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THE FEMININITY-ACHIEVEMENT CONFLICT:
An Expanded Formulation of the 'Motive to Avoid Success'
in Females

by
YVONNE R. PORJESZ

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

I saw my life branching out before me like the green fig tree in the story. From the tip of every branch, like a fat fig, a wonderful future beckoned and winked. One fig was a husband and a happy home and children, and another fig was a famous poet and another fig was a brilliant professor . . . and another fig was an Olympic lady champion, and beyond and above these figs were many more figs I couldn't quite make out. I saw myself sitting in the crotch of this fig tree, starving to death just because I couldn't make up my mind which of the figs I would choose. I wanted each and every one of them, but choosing one meant losing all the rest, and, as I sat there, unable to decide, the figs began to wrinkle and go black, and, one by one, they plopped to the ground at my feet.

Sylvia Plath (The Bell Jar, p. 62)

It has become increasingly apparent in our rapidly changing culture, that the traditional female sex-role stereotype (of a woman's role as mother and homemaker) no longer holds the functional or culturally adaptive significance of the past. The modern domestic conveniences have essentially obliterated the role of full-time homemaker as well as most of its creative aspects. As a result, the woman's role in society is changing in the direction of a career orientation. However, what would appear to be a smooth, culturally-consonant change in the role of women has turned out in reality to be a personal, social and political struggle -- and the Women's Liberation Movement facilitates

a fortification of woman's position in this struggle.

One result of this has been the passage of new laws banning job discrimination on the basis of sex (Equal Pay Act, 1963; Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, 1964). Interestingly, the removal of this occupational barrier has not produced the expected concomitant increase of women entering professional careers. Most working women currently still hold low-skilled jobs, and of those who hold professional careers, the great majority are nurses and elementary school teachers, female-stereotyped fields in which discrimination against women was never an issue (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970).

To put it differently, the removal of "external barriers" has not resulted in a significant change in overt sex-role behavior in women, and it becomes crucial to explore the "internal barriers" which seem to play an important part in preventing women from accepting their new social role in professional careers. The present thesis explores some aspects of the achievement motive in women because this appears to be a focal point at which the internal, psychological barriers towards professional achievement performance can be tapped.

Specifically, this thesis examines the "motive to avoid success" (MAS), a psychological barrier to achievement in women recently conceptualized and introduced by Matina Horner (1968) to explain the significantly higher level of achievement-related anxiety in bright females as compared to males.

Behaviorally, the "motive to avoid success" is manifested in a variety of ways. When a bright female lies to a male friend about a school grade, telling him a score significantly lower than her actual performance, or constantly "plays dumb" in his presence, she is responding to an underlying "motive to avoid success"; when a female who has geared her college curriculum towards a career in a male-dominated field, suddenly alters her career aspiration to a traditional "feminine" career or quits college altogether, this too is a reflection of a fear of success. The most subtle expression of the "motive to avoid success" is the common phenomenon in which a bright achievement-oriented female is suddenly unable to accomplish a goal towards which she has worked long and diligently. The disruption of her goal attainment could superficially be attributed to a variety of causes in each case -- suddenly being fired from the job (because of too many latenesses, or the boss got angry for an unknown reason, etc.), or suddenly quitting a job (because the "people weren't nice," or "the job was boring"), or simply having to give up an achievement goal because of an "unforeseen mishap or circumstance." Interestingly, this phenomenon most commonly occurs just as the female is about to "make it," and although she consciously believes that she played no part in the disruption of her long sought-after goal, the actual cause of her inability to actualize her achievement efforts is an

unconscious, internal, psychological inhibition associated with a fear of success.

According to Horner's theory, MAS is aroused and inhibits performance in achievement situations in which there is anxiety over competitiveness and its aggressive, "masculine" overtones. She asserts that bright women are caught in a "double-bind" in which success in achievement means failure in femininity, and therefore social rejection by men. Since a fear of success is conceptualized as a "fear of aggressiveness," it is believed to inhibit the performance of women specifically in achievement situations in which there is direct competition against men.

Horner's conceptualization is limited in that it restricts our understanding to rather artificial achievement situations, not representative of the actual career-world in which competition is ever-present but of a more subtle nature. Moreover, with the new but yet scarce job opportunities for women, much of present competition involves women against other women, for example the increase in "female wanted" ads in so many previously male-dominated professional careers. There has been much evidence of a prejudice existing among women against the achievement efforts of other women (Goldberg, 1968). Aside of actual career performance, a wide range of attitudes and feelings about achievement profoundly affect women's daily lives in circumstances without apparent competition.

Horner's theory of MAS has limited applicability in explaining these phenomena because of its rather simplistic notion of situational anxiety associated with aggression: she views the "motive to avoid success" within an "all-or-none," present-absent framework in terms of its existence among females as well as its behavioral manifestations.

An original dynamic and developmental theory of MAS in females is introduced in the present thesis based upon an elaborate integration of empirical and theoretical evidence which distinguishes among high achievement women, those who develop a fear of success from those with no conflict over successful achievement.

It is the contention here, that the underlying conflict, like other personality conflicts has specific antecedents of a social and familial nature, and that the "motive to avoid success," like other defense systems, originally served to protect the individual from these painful, anxiety-provoking experiences, but with the development of the personality, gradually became a stable, enduring personality characteristic.

Horner views the "motive to avoid success" as an unconscious defense against situational anxiety associated with underlying aggressive impulses. In contrast, the present formulation views fear of success as a fear of independence and responsibility (a natural outcome of successful achievement), with the underlying anxiety associated with loss of

love and security, namely separation anxiety. This basic difference stems from the fact that Horner views "aggression" as the major component of the "masculine" sex-role stereotype that arouses anxiety whereas this thesis views a broader component of this stereotype, namely "autonomy" as the major area of difficulty for many females. The present conceptualization includes, but is not limited to Horner's formulation, since aggression is in fact one manifestation of autonomy.

Therefore, rather than contradict Horner, the present theory expands her formulation to explain achievement-related attitudes and behavior among females in a broad spectrum of situations, not limited to those with competitive overtones, or those in which men are necessarily present. For example, the tendency among women to devalue their own achievement competence as well as the achievement efforts of other women is interpreted by the present theory as a manifestation of a fear of success.

Dynamically, the formulation views MAS as reflecting an inadequate development of a sense of autonomy, and its development is therefore seen to parallel the development of separation-individuation in relation to the mother. Two developmental stages, ages one to three (early separation-individuation), and adolescence (second individuation) are considered as critical, although the development of MAS is seen as a continuous, ongoing process from childhood throughout womanhood. The formulation describes in depth, the

developmental antecedents of the "motive to avoid success," focusing primarily on the nature of the mother-daughter relationship, and differentiating the maternal characteristics which encourage from those which discourage the development of the daughter's sense of autonomous achievement motivation.

This developmental formulation expands Horner's conceptualization which is restricted to the influence of external social factors on the behavioral manifestations of MAS. In addition, the present conceptualization views the "motive to avoid success" as ranging along a continuum in severity, a conceptualization that is consonant with its developmental formulation. Although the "continuity" theory of the present formulation is in sharp contradiction to Horner's "all-or-none" framework, the present theory does not dispute, but rather includes Horner's formulation as one manifestation of this complex clinical syndrome.

To reiterate, based upon a critical survey and an elaborate integration of a wide range of literature, the present thesis introduces an original dynamic and developmental theory of MAS in females, conceptualizing it as a more stable personality characteristic with the underlying anxiety of a more generalized, non-situational nature. This theory provides an expanded conceptualization of MAS in females which is two-fold in direction:

- 1) horizontally, the formulation expands the

understanding of MAS in females to include broader, more life-like achievement settings which do not necessarily have competition against males as a major dimension; and

2) vertically, the formulation expands the understanding of the "motive to avoid success" dynamically and developmentally with a specific focus on the mother-daughter relationship particularly during the critical periods of early childhood and adolescence.

Following a comprehensive description of this original dynamic and developmental formulation of MAS, clinical material will be presented based upon interviews with three females, the first two representing examples of women with varying degrees of the "motive to avoid success," and the third, exemplifying a woman with no underlying conflict over successful achievement.

This clinical case material will serve the important purpose of illustrating and further elaborating the proposed theoretical formulation. It is hoped that through the translation of this thesis from a purely abstract, conceptual realm to a concrete, true-to-life level, the "motive to avoid success" which is so prevalent among females in contemporary society will become more identifiable and comprehensible, thereby enhancing its accessibility to more meaningful empirical and clinical examination as well as psychotherapeutic treatment.

Chapter II

LITERATURE

Theory

General Theory of Achievement Motivation

Achievement motivation research was given its initial impetus by Murray (1938) and later through the work of McClelland, Atkinson, et al., (1953), in which the characteristics of achievement motivation were explored toward the broader goal of constructing a theory of human motivation. Achievement motivation is defined as the tendency to behave in relation to goals that involve competing with a standard of excellence in a way that the evaluation of one's performance results in corresponding affect of a positive or negative valence.

The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) has been the primary tool utilized by researchers in this area, the assumption being that the degree of achievement imagery projected on the TAT cards by a subject reflects his (her) underlying level of need achievement motivation (n Ach). The specific scoring and criteria used to assess level of n Ach was developed empirically through experimentation, and resulted in a carefully articulated objective scoring manual (Atkinson, 1958, Ch. 12).

Achievement imagery is scored as present if at least one of the following three criteria is met by a subject's response to a TAT card: a) the expression of competition or motivation towards a standard of excellence, whether implicit or explicit; b) the description of a unique accomplishment such as an invention or artistic creation; or c) some reference to involvement in a long-term achievement goal such as becoming a doctor. In addition, within these three major criteria there are subcategories which are scored in order to ascertain degree of an Ach motivation. These include anticipatory goal states (expectation of success or failure in goal attainment), and feelings about consequences of one's efforts in goal attainment.

Until very recently, the area of achievement motivation would have more aptly been entitled "Achievement Motivation in Men" in that women were conspicuously absent (ignored) in almost all the research. This became strikingly clear in Atkinson's book, an extensive compilation of all the previous research in the area of achievement motivation in which women merely received a footnote. On a social level, this reflects the existent general state of affairs, namely that achievement was not considered within the domain of acceptable sex-role behavior for women. On a theoretical level, women were excluded from the research because the results of the few early studies in which women were included were equivocal and often contradicted the mathematical predictions of the existing body of knowledge.

The theory of achievement motivation is based upon the Expectancy-Value Theory of Motivation (Atkinson & Feather, 1966) in which the strength of the motivation to perform some act (T), is determined by a multiplicative interaction between the strength of the motive (M), the expectancy (or subjective probability) that the act will result in the attainment of an incentive (P), and the value of the incentive (I). Mathematically, $T = M \times P \times I$.

Two motives were isolated, the "motive to approach success" (Ms) and the "motive to avoid failure" (M-f), and the relative strength of these (as measured on the TAT) was found to determine achievement motivation level, and reliably predict subsequent achievement performance in males. For females, however, this measure of achievement motivation level was found to be unrelated to achievement behavior, and the predominantly male psychologists concluded that women must have a "motive to approach failure" (Mf), and excluded them from achievement motivation research entirely. This interpretation that women have a "wish to fail" is in agreement with the traditional psychoanalytic view that a central feature of a woman's psyche is its "passive-masochistic" nature (Deutsch, 1945).

Horner's Theory of the "Motive to Avoid Success" in Females

It wasn't until Matina Horner (1968), dissatisfied with this explanation, became aware of one consistent pattern that emerged when females were placed in achievement oriented situations, namely their significantly higher test anxiety than that of males. By integrating this phenomenon with the already existing Expectancy-Value Theory, Horner introduced a new concept, the "Motive to Avoid Success" (M-s or MAS) to explain the contradictory findings of women in competitive achievement situations. According to Horner (1969):

A bright woman is caught in a double bind. In testing and other achievement-oriented situations she worries not only about failure, but also about success. If she fails, she is not living up to her own standards of performance; if she succeeds she is not living up to societal expectations about the female role. Men in our society do not experience this kind of ambivalence because they are not only permitted but actively encouraged to do well (p. 37).

Horner (1968) postulated that MAS, a psychological barrier inhibiting successful achievement, results from the expectancy held by bright women, that success in competitive achievement situations will be followed by negative consequences, particularly loss of femininity and social rejection by men.

Dynamically, Horner conceptualized the "motive to avoid success" in females as a defensive expression of an underlying conflict between a wish to achieve, and a fear of competitiveness and its aggression (and by implication, masculine) overtones. Since a "fear of success" is dynamically formulated as a "fear of aggression," it is believed to

inhibit the performance of women particularly in achievement situations in which there is direct competition against men.

The level of the "motive to avoid success" is reflected in various aspects of MAS imagery expressed in response to TAT verbal cues that Horner devised. In response to these four verbal cues, Ss are requested to write stories with instructions similar to the standard visual TAT, including a description of the present circumstances, what led up to it, and a possible future outcome.

Two out of the four cues elicit success imagery and are scored for MAS, whereas the other two are utilized as neutral controls. A simple present-absent scoring system was developed in which the "motive to avoid success" is scored as present by two independent judges if at least one of the following criteria is met in a S's response:

- 1) negative affect, consequences or anticipation of negative consequences because of success.
- 2) the direct expression of conflict about success.
- 3) instrumental activity away from present or future success.
- 4) denial of effort and responsibility for attaining success or denial of the cue itself.

Early Contributions to Horner's Theory of MAS in Females

Although Horner's contribution was unique as the first attempt at carefully delineating one specific psychological barrier that tends to inhibit successful goal-oriented achievement behavior in women, earlier theorists had observed and described the same phenomenon.

In a discussion of The Problem of Anxiety, Freud (1936) described one type of inhibition resulting from anxiety that appears to be similar to the "motive to avoid success":

Other inhibitions evidently subserve a desire for self-punishment, as for example not infrequently those in the sphere of vocational activity. The ego dares not to do certain things because they would bring an advantage and a success which the strict superego has forbidden. Thereupon the ego renounces these activities also in order not to become involved in conflict with the superego (p. 15).

Contrary to Horner's theory, in this description (which does not specifically refer to females), the inhibition of vocational success is viewed by Freud as a "wish to fail" and a conflict between the ego and the superego. However, in Freud's treatise on the psychology of women, he views a central feature of femininity as "the suppression of aggressiveness which is prescribed for them constitutionally and imposed on them socially (Freud, 1965, p. 116)."

Freud (1950) as well as Erikson (1968) and Spock (in Morgan, 1970) document the "anatomy is destiny" theory of femininity by ascribing women's maturational goals of

receptivity, passivity (and non-aggressiveness) to the nature and implications of their genital structure. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to present a detailed review of the traditional psychoanalytic theory of women, its focus on "penis envy" which is seen as biologically inherent in all women, and the underlying cause of the incomplete resolution of their Oedipal Conflict. What is important for the present study, are the implications of this theory (which is still widely held) in relation to woman's capacity to change in social role towards a career and achievement orientation. The implications of the psychoanalytic theory of women make that change impossible. In Freud's words:

A woman . . . often frightens us by her psychical rigidity and unchangeability. . . . There are no paths open to further development; it is as though the whole process had already run its course and remains thenceforward insusceptible to influence -- as though, indeed the difficult development to femininity had exhausted the possibilities of the person concerned (1965, p. 134).

Kagan (1964) referred indirectly to the "motive to avoid success" in his observation of a "developmental shift" in the academic achievement of males and females. Whereas in the early school years the achievement performance of girls is superior to that of boys, the picture reverses by late adolescence and throughout adulthood when the achievement performance of females is significantly inferior to that of males. In accordance with the psychoanalytic framework (and similar to Horner's later theory), Kagan attributes this shift

to the female's anxiety over aggressiveness resulting in an inhibition of her motivation towards academic excellence.

Interestingly, Komarovsky (1959) observed a parental shift in attitude towards a daughter's academic achievement during the same period of time (late adolescence) that Kagan observed a developmental shift in the female's actual achievement behavior. In interviews with college women it was discovered that as they neared graduation, they experienced a sudden shift in parental pressures and rewards from those that stressed academic excellence to those geared towards marriage and some abstract standard of femininity.

The work of Margaret Mead (1949) has significantly influenced Horner's ideas concerning the "motive to avoid success" in females. Mead wrote extensively about the conflicts of growing up that are based on cultural contradictions. She proposed that the major problem in achievement for females in our society grows from the fact that:

When American women do rise to positions of power and status, they have great difficulty in treating their male subordinates with any decent sensitivity -- for aren't they failures to be there? . . . So we end up with the contradictory picture of a society that appears to throw its door open to women, but translates her every step towards success as having been damaging -- to her own chances of marriage, and to the men whom she passes on the road (p. 234).

Mead asserts that although males in our society are unsexed by failure, females are unsexed by success. She proposes that the girl engages in the competitive game in school for the rewards of parental approval and affection. However,

in her actual achievement behavior as a woman, she cannot become too enthusiastic since in our culture a successful career, especially in a masculine field, is defined as destructive and hostile. Although the girl grows up with the illusion of choice in constructive and meaningful work, she gradually realizes that she is caught in a double bind, and must inhibit an ambition that society continuously stimulated while she was growing up.

Maccoby (1963) describes the same phenomenon she observed in her female population:

Suppose a girl does succeed in maintaining throughout her childhood years, the qualities of dominance, independence and active striving that appear to be requisites for good analytic thinking. In doing so, she is defying the conventions concerning what is appropriate behavior for her sex. She may do this successfully in many ways, but I suggest that it is a rare woman who will not have paid a price for it: a price in anxiety. And I hazard the guess that it is this anxiety which helps to account for the lack of productivity among those women who do make intellectual careers (p. 36).

An Expanded Theoretical Conceptualization of the "Motive to
Avoid Success" in Females

1. Fear of Success and Its Relation to Autonomy

It is proposed here that MAS in females grows not merely from a fear of aggressiveness (and therefore masculinity) as Horner proposes, but rather from a fear of the broader, more meaningful "masculine-associated" characteristics, namely independence, autonomy and individuality.

Veroff's (1969) conceptualization of the "motive to avoid success" parallels the present thesis, although he views all achievement motivation in terms of competition, either with internalized standards of excellence (autonomous) or with the standards set by others (social comparison) or both. In terms of the "motive to avoid success" Veroff suggests that it reflects an ambivalent attitude and inadequate development of an autonomous achievement orientation coupled with a strong tendency to be motivated by social comparison:

Unlike the person with fear of failure, the type of person who is high in fear of success is someone who goes on to master social comparison in spite of earlier inconsistent experiences with successful mastery strivings. . . . It seems clear that there must have been some painful association to earlier successes. . . . Fear of success is apparently more common in women than in men (p. 58).

The present conceptualization views MAS as a defensive expression of an underlying conflict between a wish to achieve (and by implication, a wish to feel independent

and competent), and a fear that successful achievement will result in a loss of love, security (dependency) and/or total abandonment. This dynamic formulation of MAS expands our understanding of achievement-related behavior in females "horizontally" to include situations in which competition against males does not necessarily exist. In addition, it provides a "vertical" expansion which includes a dynamic formulation of the developmental antecedents of the presence (or absence) of fear of success in females.

Developmentally, it is proposed that women with a fear of success were provided with inadequate maternal support and encouragement towards environmental exploration and independent activity, and the separation of the self from the mother remained incomplete. In terms of achievement behavior, the mother-daughter relationship is symbiotic in nature since the daughter's achievements provide a mutual feeling of love and security which strengthens the mother-daughter unity. Since the "motive to avoid success" is viewed here as a reflection of an underlying conflict between a wish for independence and a sense of responsibility on one hand, and a fear of rejection and abandonment on the other, its formation is seen to parallel the development (or lack of development) of a sense of mastery, competence and autonomy.

Developmental theorists agree on two critical periods for the development of separation from the mother, and with it, a sense of autonomy and self-confidence in one's own competence.

The first critical period occurs between the ages of one and three, and the second critical period occurs during adolescence.

2. The Development of Separation-Individuation and Autonomy

Most ego psychologists view the struggle for identity, autonomy and individuation as a natural process of normal development. White (1959, 1960) calls this process the "effective motive," namely the child's need to have an effect on his environment. The child is intrinsically curious of the new and unfamiliar, and as he (she) explores and manipulates the environment, she gradually develops a sense of mastery and confidence in his (her) own individual capabilities. Horney (1937) spoke of "self-realization," Maslow (1962) of "self-actualization," and Erikson (1960) of "autonomy versus shame and doubt," to describe the same process. It is clear that the development of autonomous achievement motivation evolves from a child's more primitive feelings of self-esteem and effectiveness in his (her) attempts at autonomy (Veroff, 1969).

A. The First Critical Period (Ages 1 to 3)

In terms of the first critical period, although theories differ with respect to the specific timing and differential importance of the events occurring between ages one and three, all agree on the minimal requirements for the development of autonomy. If an infant (or child) is deprived of affection, rejected or even pushed prematurely towards independence, he (she) will not have the sense of security

necessary to develop independence. In addition to a basic feeling of love and trust, the mother (or mothering one) must also encourage her child's independent behavior, pacing it according to his (her) own abilities so that the experience is one of mastery and delight, and not of frustration, despair, doubt and shame. There is agreement that a maternal attitude of genuine acceptance of the child's unique nature, facilitates the development of autonomy and individuality. However, when exploratory behavior is controlled by parental wishes of how or whom she should be, the child learns to perform and achieve not for her own sense of mastery and autonomy, but rather for the gratification (and love) of the parents, and in particular, the mother (Maslow, 1962; Erikson, 1958).

The child's early efforts at environmental manipulation, exploration and mastery increasingly involve a separation of the self from the mother, and it is this process which in itself is crucial for the development of a sense of autonomy and identity. Mahler (1967) views early childhood (18 months until approximately three years) as a phase of "separation-individuation," when the child gains a psychological separateness from the mother. Although the drive for individuation is seen as an essential characteristic of normal development, there is an unusual degree of conflict in the child during this phase involving the continuous striving for individuation and yet fear of separation from the mother, which might result in a loss of her emotional

support and/or total abandonment. Therefore, although individuation proceeds rapidly, separation is resisted strongly and the child is in a state of heightened conflict until approximately three years of age, when he (she) "hatches from the symbiotic common membrane" to become an "individuated toddler" (1963, p. 309).

Mahler asserts that the development from a symbiotic oneness of child and mother to that of separateness from her occurs through the process of internalization of the primary object (mother or mothering-one), and results in the attainment of object constancy as well as a psychological distance from her. The awareness that the mother is a separate person whose wishes are not the same as his (hers), serves to facilitate the child's sense of (and increased striving towards) autonomy and independence.

Freud (1930) too, conceived of this age (Anal Stage) as a period of increased conflict centering around the toilet training experience. Although his focus was primarily upon a conflict between the ego and instinctual id impulses, he did consider the development of a sense of autonomy and mastery (ego development), and a separation from the mother as an important outcome of toilet training. In specific, Freud viewed toilet training as the ego's first conscious struggle for mastery over id impulses (impulses to soil). As the child learns to master sphincter control, he begins to feel gratification at his own accomplishments, so that mastery

becomes a goal in itself. It is this time that the child exerts sphincter control without the help of the physical presence of the mother.

The mastery of toilet training represents the child's first experience of autonomous achievement. The familial atmosphere surrounding the toilet training experience therefore has a profound effect upon the development of certain personality traits (Freud, 1908). In the formation of character, the libidinal energy is bound and utilized in the character trait, so that a very restrictive and punitive toilet training experience will affect the formation of an "anal character," namely an overly orderly, punctual, rigid, obstinate and stingy individual. On the other hand, a warm and supportive toilet training experience results in a sublimation of libidinal impulses, which is essential for the development of a creative, productive and autonomous individual.

Both Erikson (1959) and White (1960) see this period between one and three as a "battle" for autonomy in that a crucial feature in the development of autonomy is an increased conflict with the mother. The rudimentary attempts at assertion at this age are often expressed in the child's constant negativism, and the increase in motoric explorations often require parental interference. If the mother is unnecessarily cautious, restrictive, frustrating or apprehensive of her child's attempts at mastering new situations, this can have a lasting effect on the child's sense of his (her) own

competence and sense of autonomy. However, if the mother encourages the child's exploratory behavior, and her interferences are realistic in terms of safety and do not arouse feelings of humiliation and defeat (doubt and shame), the child will develop from this stage with "a lasting sense of autonomy and pride" (Erikson, 1959), and "a measure of confidence in his own strength" (White, 1960).

Although ages one to three appear to be critical in the development of a sense of autonomy as well as self-confidence in one's attempts at mastery and achievement, this does not imply that the development of autonomy does not continue throughout early and middle childhood. Erikson (1950) clearly acknowledged this, viewing early and middle childhood (ages six until puberty), as a time when the child's struggles revolve around a sense of "Industry versus Inferiority," particularly in relation to his (her) school experiences. During this stage (which is equivalent to what Freud referred to as latency) a child whose earlier family experiences failed to prepare him (her) for school life, may become overwhelmed by a sense of inadequacy and inferiority in relation to achievement competence.

B. The Second Critical Period (Adolescence)

In addition to the first critical period, theorists generally agree on a second critical period, namely adolescence in which the struggle for autonomy and identity (and

therefore the development or lack of development of MAS) becomes crucial.

Adolescence is one phase of the total continuous developmental process of the individual; it is delineated to cover a span of time beginning with the onset of puberty, and ending with the less clearly defined time when the person becomes an adult. Although sexual maturation is one phase of growth towards adulthood, this in itself is not sufficient to identify the period of adolescence. In addition, roles in work, family relations and society, as well as an emergent sense of identity and independence are important indications of the end of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood.

Similar to the first critical period, theorists agree that a crucial characteristic of the struggle for autonomy and identity during adolescence is an intensification of both intrapsychic and interpersonal familial conflict. In fact, Erikson regards this period as the stage of "Identity Formation versus Role Diffusion" (1950), and considers a major characteristic to be an "identity crisis." In his (her) struggle for a lasting sense of individuality and autonomy, the adolescent must attempt to integrate all the converging identifications of the past and present into a final ego identity which is accepted and recognized by the self and important others. This process must be stormy in nature in that it begins with the disorienting aspects of a

"physiological revolution" characterized by rapid body change, and involves a period of constant psychic change, during which the individual experiments with many different roles and possible "identities."

According to Erikson (1950) the adolescent may therefore show a number of seemingly maladaptive reaction patterns -- he (she) suffers from confusion of roles and a renewal of earlier childhood conflicts, and these are manifested in emotional lability and behavioral unpredictability. Although these symptoms may mimic neurotic and psychotic symptoms, they are considered to be a normal phase of increased conflict reflecting fluctuations in ego strength. In fact Erikson as well as Bettelheim (1967) view the increase in tension and conflict of the "identity crisis" so intrinsically part of normal adolescent development, that its absence is considered as a serious indication of psychopathology. Likewise, Anna Freud (1950), Gardner (1959), Thompson (1971) and Spiegel (1961) view adolescence as a period of normative crisis, marked by fluidity of defenses, temporary disturbances of the self, role diffusion, increased conflict with parents, and characterized by a sense of rapid change and urgency.

In accordance with Mahler's theory, Blos (1967) views adolescence as a period of "Second Individuation" (the first having occurred during ages one and three). Blos asserts that what in infancy may be regarded as a process of

separation and individuation from the symbiotic oneness of mother and child, "becomes in adolescence the shedding of family dependencies, the loosening of infantile object ties in order to become a member of society at large, or simply, of the adult world" (p. 163).

The process of second individuation is ushered in by the physical changes of puberty which in themselves produce a new biological and structural differentiation. The psychological process of second individuation, in which the adolescent must separate from familial dependencies is a difficult and turbulent one, marked by a "regressive pull" which is related to the intensity of infantile attachments. The adolescent inevitably re-experiences infantile drives and anxieties, and utilizes primitive ego defenses that at one time provided a sense of security and safety. During the adolescent process of second individuation there exists a heightened intrapsychic conflict between primitivization versus differentiation, and between regressive versus progressive pulls.

Whereas the end of the first period of separation-individuation was marked by an internalization of the object (mother) and the subsequent development of object constancy, the end of the second period (adolescence) is marked by a separation and individuation of self and object representatives which now have firm and stable boundaries. Separation-individuation is therefore a crucial aspect of the process of

identity formation. According to Blos, with a healthy and successful completion of second individuation, a new psychological equilibrium is ultimately reached, characterized by the attainment of "a personal and autonomous life style" (p. 183).

Based upon an integration of a wide range of theoretical and empirical research, Roskam (1972) isolated five "processes" which theorists agree is central to the development of a sense of autonomy by the end of adolescence.

The first, autonomy in interpersonal relationships, refers to the nature of social contacts with a particular focus on the degree to which these relationships are diversified in nature. The second, openness to inner conflict refers to the degree to which the individual is willing to experience the inevitable internal conflict associated with human growth. The third, maintenance of attitudes, values and judgments refers to the nature of the struggle in developing and establishing personal attitudes and convictions in the face of contrary pressures by parents, peers and significant others. The fourth, tolerance of friction refers to the adolescent's capacity to tolerate and engage in interpersonal familial and extra-familial discord with a minimum of anxiety and guilt. The fifth, physical independence from the family refers to the individual's actual physical proximity in relation to the immediate family by late adolescence which is one reflection of the "psychological distance" established.

The present theory of MAS operationally defines autonomy as the female's behavior in relation to these five aspects of autonomy outlined by Roskam (1972).

In summary, clinical observers generally agree that adolescence naturally includes a period of crisis, precipitated by the body changes of puberty which disrupt the psychic equilibrium. The crisis of adolescence manifests itself in a variety of emotional and behavioral symptoms including a sexual acting-out, emotional and behavioral lability, feelings of depersonalization, isolation, role-confusion, loss of a feeling of continuity and sameness, and anxiety. In addition to intrapsychic conflict, adolescence is characterized by an increase in interpersonal conflict, particularly in relation to parents. Through all this, the adolescent experiments with many identities and roles, striving towards a higher integration and a re-synthesis of the ego into a stable, enduring sense of identity.

3. The Nature of the Identity Crisis in Females

As the individual completes adolescence and enters the adult world, two elements within this new integrated configuration of ego-identity become critical -- a sense of autonomy and a "vocational identity." According to Blos (1967):

The adolescent experimentation with self and reality, with feeling states and thoughts will accrue, if all goes well, in giving a lasting and precise content and form to the individuation in terms of its actualization on the environment. The choice of a vocation, for example, represents one such crucial form of actualization (p. 179).

In regard to this aspect of self-actualization and ego-identity, theorists differentiate between masculine and feminine personality development. Interestingly, it is precisely at this period of life, as the female approaches college graduation and must choose a career and life-style, that the "motive to avoid success" becomes overtly manifested in some bright women (Horner, 1968, 1969). This phenomenon is consistent with the present conceptualization of MAS as reflecting an underlying conflict between a wish for autonomy and an infantile fear of abandonment.

For the purpose of supporting and understanding this expanded conceptualization of MAS in females, it would be worthwhile to review some theoretical literature that deals with the nature of the identity crisis in females with a focus specifically on the area of autonomy and vocational identity.

Although Erikson (1950) describes adolescence in general as a period of crisis and experimentation, in reference to females in particular, he shifts his position to one of "anatomy is destiny" (1968). He argues that the woman's identity formation is never in itself complete, but awaits integration when she joins with a man and has children. The experimentations of the adolescent male with possible roles and identities serve to increase his self-confidence and ego strength. The female however, must realize no future in these "masculine" pursuits, but must return to a passive-dependent position similar to her childhood. She must postpone the development of her ego identity until marriage, when she may vicariously participate in the "identities" of her husband and children. While Erikson is skeptical of the psychoanalytic interpretation of penis envy, he still continues to attribute characteristics to women such as passivity, dependency and vicarious achievement motivation, based on biological and anatomical rather than cultural origins.

Bettelheim (1962, 1965) focuses on the problem of female identity from a socio-cultural viewpoint. Although he acknowledges the increasing similarity in the identity crisis of males and females in recent generations, he still views them as qualitatively different. For the male, the struggle for identity involves the experience of being simultaneously drawn towards a number of positive goals and identities which he finally (after a period of experimentation) integrates

into a personally meaningful configuration. For the female however, the struggle for identity may seem at first glance to involve the experience of being drawn towards the positive goals of various career possibilities, marriage and motherhood. However, because of the contradictory manner in which her role-experimentation is received by others, she begins to experience the first goal as mutually exclusive of the latter two. Her conflict is one of approach-avoidance: she is both attracted and repelled by the goals of marriage and career. If she feels the either-or nature of her position, she may quickly choose one in order to avoid the anxieties of the conflict -- but then she must face the emotional consequences of her self-betrayal. If she is aware of her psychological difficulties in this dilemma, she may add to it a third member so that she now has her family, her career and her psychotherapist!

The conflict Bettelheim describes has as its basic nature, a struggle between autonomy and a fear of abandonment (remaining unmarried and childless if a career is chosen). In fact, the decision to enter psychotherapy as a means of resolving this conflict, is in part an expression of strong underlying dependency needs. Another means of avoiding this marriage-career dilemma is reflected in the "motive to avoid success" in women -- by avoiding successful goal attainment (in a multiplicity of ways), the female is in effect, attempting to avoid confronting and maturely resolving the marriage-

career conflict.

Matthews (1963) has also described the marriage-career conflict and its antecedents in females. She believes that parental attitudes, beginning in infancy, have a significant influence on the daughter's ultimate choice of marriage and/or career. What is important for the successful resolution of a "dual role" commitment in females is parental recognition of the daughter as a person, which involves a subtle balance between acceptance of her as a female and recognition of her as an individual with strong needs for personal occupational fulfillment.

Interestingly, the parental attitude of acceptance that Matthews describes as critical for the later development of a dual-role commitment in females, is identical to the parental attitude described earlier by the ego psychologists as critical for the development of a sense of independence and individuality in all individuals, regardless of sex.

Kovar (1968) asserts that the development of a dual-role commitment in females is inextricably associated with an underlying sense of autonomy, and she considers the autonomous female as one who can integrate a sense of individuality with an intimate relationship. Interestingly, Kovar's description of the autonomous girl's identity formation is identical to Erikson's description of the identity formation of adolescents in general. According to Kovar, the conflicts of the autonomous adolescent female involve

the possibilities of various life styles and occupations. She has received the needed confirmation of herself as a person from her family, and she continues to seek peer relationships that continue this positive confirmation:

Only the autonomous girl affirms herself in a manner that portends emotional maturity in adulthood. She has a strong sense of the "I," of autonomy, I think, I feel, I participate, and her relations with others are beginning to extend beyond reciprocity and to encompass a more personal and intimate encounter (p. 33).

4. Summary

To reiterate, theorists generally agree that the development of an integrated vocational identity in females (a resolution of the marriage-career conflict) requires that the female have a fairly firmly established sense of autonomy. This is consistent with the present conceptualization of MAS in bright, achievement-oriented women which is viewed as a defense against the anxiety associated with an underlying conflict between a wish for autonomy and individuality (achievement) and a fear that success will result in a loss of security and/or total abandonment.

From the foregoing theoretical formulations, it becomes apparent that the development of autonomy occurs during two critical periods, ages one to three, and during adolescence, and that a crucial aspect of this development is the process of separation-individuation from the mother. In addition, the process involving the development of autonomy can be characterized by an intense struggle with a heightened period of both intrapsychic and interpersonal, familial conflict.

By integrating these theoretical formulations with the present expanded conceptualization of fear of success, it is postulated that MAS females grew up in a familial atmosphere which fostered an inadequate development of autonomy and individuality, and therefore an incomplete separation

from the mother as well as a relatively calm, non-turbulent adolescent experience.

Although the development of the "motive to avoid success" has as its primary antecedents the nature of the female's experiences during the two critical periods, ages one to three and adolescence, this does not mean to imply that the periods are mutually exclusive, or that experiences during stages other than these are insignificant. Theorists agree that the development of autonomy is continuous, and that early experiences with independence affect the nature of experiences to follow. Likewise, the development of a fear (or lack of fear) of success is viewed as a continuous process, and although the focus here is on the nature of separation-individuation, the two critical periods merely represent an intensification of this ongoing struggle for autonomy.

This conceptualization includes the important implication that these two critical stages are closely related to each other within the total process of development, and that a healthy experience of early separation-individuation enhances the possibility of a full second individuation during adolescence. Conversely, an early experience of inadequate encouragement towards autonomy serves to strengthen the daughter's feelings of dependency and therefore stifle her chances for a healthy rebelliousness and "identity crisis" during adolescence. The latter is descriptive of the development of the "motive to avoid success." In addition, it must

be pointed out here that maternal attitudes towards the daughter's growing sense of autonomy generally remain consistent in either a direction of encouragement or discouragement, throughout the girl's growing years, so that the development (or lack of development) of MAS is a continuous process from early childhood until womanhood.

A more detailed elaboration of this dynamic and developmental formulation of the "motive to avoid success" in females, substantiated by an integration of both empirical and theoretical research, will be presented in a later section.

Research Findings

Studies on Sex-role Stereotypes

The implications of the foregoing theoretical research in terms of the "motive to avoid success" in females suggest that in addition to her inadequate personality development with respect to a sense of autonomy and competence, the woman who fears success is faced with the cultural contradictions of the sex-role stereotypes defined by society, which serve to intensify her already existing achievement conflict.

An examination of the traditional sex-role stereotypes in contemporary society is therefore crucial, since these form a basis for an understanding of achievement-related attitudes, feelings and behavior in females.

1. Definition and Incidence of Sex-role Stereotypes in Contemporary Society

There has been unequivocal evidence in the literature about the existence of sex-role stereotypes, namely consensual beliefs about the different characteristics of men and women. By requesting subjects to select from a list of adjectives those traits which characterize men and those which characterize women, early researchers investigated the nature of sex-role stereotypes.

In these early studies, both sexes were found to

perceive men as intellectually rational and competent, as socially uninhibited, direct and independent, and in general as demonstrating vigor, diligence, effectiveness and common sense in dealing with the environment. Negatively, men were characterized as lacking interpersonal sensitivity, warmth and expressiveness in comparison with women. Women on the other hand were perceived as demonstrating social skills and emotional support. Negatively, they were characterized as relatively less competent and logical than men, and in general as less independent and more submissive and passive than men (Fernberger, 1948; Sherriffs & Jarrett, 1953; Sherriffs & McKee, 1957). In addition, sex-role stereotypes were found to be highly traditional (Komarovsky, 1950; McKee & Sherriffs, 1959), widely held over populations heterogeneous in social, economic and educational status (Lunneborg, 1970; Seward, 1946), and very persistent (Fernberger, 1948).

With the apparent fluidity of sex-role definitions in contemporary society as contrasted with the previous decades when this research was conducted, it might be assumed that at present these sex-role stereotypes are no longer as ubiquitous and persistent. However, in an extensive six-year examination of the nature and effects of sex-role stereotypes in contemporary society, recent researchers have produced startling evidence to refute this expectation (Broverman, et al., 1972). These researchers developed a Sex-role Questionnaire consisting of a series of bipolar traits which subjects are

instructed to rate according to the "average adult male" and the "average adult female." The results of their initial study (Rosenkrantz, et al., 1968) with a socially heterogeneous sample of students indicated a significant homogeneity with respect to sex-role perceptions. The ratings of both sexes of the typical male and the typical female were highly correlated, and these traits were identical with the traditional sex-role stereotypes described by the earlier researchers.

In order to examine the content of the sex-role stereotypes the authors performed a factor analysis on their accumulated data. The male-valued items were found to reflect a "competency" cluster including characteristics such as independence, objectivity, logical thinking, adventurousness, leadership ability, ambitiousness and self-confidence. A relative absence of these attributes characterized the feminine stereotype which formed a "warmth-expressiveness" cluster including traits such as sensitivity towards others, tactfulness, neatness, interest in art and literature and tenderness (Broverman, et al., 1972).

Since their initial study, the authors have administered the Sex-role Questionnaire to a wide variety of people differing in age, education and marital status, and have found significant agreement in their beliefs about the differing characteristics of men and women. Hall and Hall (1972) attempted to replicate Fernberger's (1948) study to determine

whether a greater fluidity exists in present sex-role definitions particularly those held by women. Although the results indicated a slight trend towards a decrease in the tendency to stereotype on the basis of sex since 1948, the existence of traditional sex-role definitions was blatantly and significantly apparent, and there was no difference between the sexes in their tendency to stereotype. Both saw males as more intelligent, diligent, cruder, possessing general superiority and losing more freedom through living with women; both saw females as trouble-makers, too talkative, more submissive, more sensitive and less intelligent and aggressive than males.

From the foregoing research it becomes evident that in contrast to what the media would have us believe, "unisex" is a label invented by Madison Avenue and not a genuine expression of the underlying attitudes of people in contemporary society.

2. Sex-role Stereotypes in Children

Society's sex-role standards become an intergal part of our experience much earlier than most people would suspect, as parents begin to raise their children in accord with the traditional stereotypes from a very young age. Boys are encouraged to be aggressive, competitive, logical, achievement-oriented, and independent whereas girls are encouraged to be passive, obedient, nurturant, socially-oriented and dependent (Barry, Bacon & Child, 1957; Sears, Maccoby & Levin, 1957). These sex-role standards are overtly and covertly communicated to the child mainly through the process of identification with an appropriate parental model and through systematic patterns of reinforcement from the social environment. From an early age therefore, the child comes to learn and adopt the sex-role typical behaviors and consensually held beliefs and attitudes about the differing characteristics of males and females (Heilbrun, 1963).

A study by Hartley (1960) has demonstrated that by age five, children have developed a sex-role ideology with well-defined notions of appropriate behavior by men and women. Other studies have shown that this socialization process occurs even earlier. By age two for example, there already exists a qualitative difference in the type of questions asked by boys compared with girls. Although girls asked

more questions in general, their questions concerned social rules, the names of things, and questions of the "where" type. Boys on the other hand tended to ask more causal questions, namely "how" and "why" things work (Smith, 1933).

The results of another study indicate that in the first and second grades, when asked to suggest ways of improving various toys, boys performed better on the fire truck and girls did better on the nurse's kit, but by the third grade, boys did better regardless of the toy presented (Torrance, 1962). In a recent study, first grade childrens' toy preference was found to be significantly influenced by the sex-type associated to it. Boys preferred toys labelled "boyish," and girls chose those labelled "girlish," and this tendency was found to be stronger in girls (Liebert & McCall, 1971).

In another study, when first and second grade children were asked "What do you want to be when you grow up?" significant sex differences were found. Boys chose a much wider range of occupations, including doctor, pilot, astronaut, policeman, athlete, than girls. In fact, girls selected a total of only eight different occupational choices with the overwhelming majority selecting nurse, teacher and mother. This study clearly indicates that as early as age six a strong incorporation of traditional sex-role expectations exists (Looft, 1971). In an earlier study, Whitty (1961) found nearly identical results with high school

students whose vocational choices clearly conformed to the traditional sex-role stereotypes.

In a research project concerned with sex differences in sex-role standards about achievement, second, sixth and twelfth graders were asked to identify numerous activities as a "boyish" or "girlish thing to do." The results reflected an increasing tendency with age to stereotype activities on the basis of sex. Furthermore, with age there was an increase in agreement between the sexes on their ratings. In addition, the results indicated striking agreement among all children regardless of age and sex concerning sex-role standards about areas of achievement. Artistic, social skills and reading were considered most "feminine" and least "masculine," whereas athletic spatial, mechanical and mathematical skills were considered most "masculine" and least "feminine" (Stein & Smithells, 1969).

A partial replication of this initial study was conducted with the addition that the children were also asked to rate each of the activities listed in relation to three measures of achievement motivation: Attainment Value (its importance), Expectancy of Success (estimate of performance on such an activity), and Standard of Performance (lowest score with which the child would be satisfied). The results of this study indicated a stronger tendency in girls than boys to stereotype an activity on the basis of sex, and this was particularly pronounced for the "masculine" activities.

In relation to the three measures of achievement motivation, the results indicated that the children's sex-role standards for the six major achievement areas were related to their attainment value, expectancies of success and standard of performance in each area. In specific, there was a tendency on the part of both sexes to consider sex-appropriate activities as more important, to expect to perform better and to set a higher standard of performance on them as compared with activities associated with the opposite sex (Stein, 1971).

3. The Devaluation of the Feminine Sex-role Stereotype

Much research has been done to demonstrate the negative stereotyping of women in our society (McKee & Sherriffs, 1957; Sherriffs & McKee, 1959). In fact, a basic ingredient of sex-role stereotypes is the greater social and personal value designated to men and "masculinity" as compared to women and "femininity," and these value judgments are incorporated by the child along with sex-typical behaviors during the early period of socialization. For the girl therefore, the female sex-role stereotype and its negative valuation become part of her self-concept. In one study, femininity was clearly associated with a poor self-concept and aggressiveness towards the self by both boys and girls in middle childhood (Sears, 1970).

It has been shown that both boys and girls between the ages of six and ten express greater preference for masculine activities and the masculine role (Brown, 1957; 1958) and masculine games (Rosenberg & Sutton-Smith, 1960), than for the feminine role and associated activities. It has also been found that five to twelve times as many women than men recall having wished they were of the opposite sex (Gallup, 1955; Terman, 1938). The results of a study by Smith (1939) indicate that with increasing age boys as well as girls have an increasingly better opinion of boys and an increasingly poorer opinion of girls.

It is therefore not surprising that the tendency for females to incorporate the negative aspects of femininity into their self-concept continues from childhood throughout womanhood. In a recent study with college students, the mean self-concept score of men from their ratings of personality traits was found to be significantly different from the mean self-concept score of women in a direction indicating that each sex perceived themselves in accordance with the respective traditional sex-role stereotypes. In addition, the masculine traits were perceived as socially desirable significantly more often than the feminine traits (Rosenkrantz, et al., 1968).

In another study, male and female college students were asked to accept or refute a list of favorable and unfavorable statements about women. The results indicated a general agreement among males and females on the ratings, and demonstrated quite clearly that females tend to adopt the prevailing attitudes and beliefs of men towards women even when these attitudes are uncomplimentary (Kitay, 1940).

Sears, Maccoby & Levin (1957) report that in relation to a second pregnancy, mothers of daughters are much more pleased than are mothers of sons. Similarly, it has been found that the time interval between the birth of a first child and the conception of the second is shorter when the first is a girl than when it is a boy. In addition there is a much higher probability of a third child in families in

which the first two children are girls as compared with boys (Pohlman, 1969). In the same line of inquiry, the results of a recent survey indicated that 90% of men and 78% of women preferred a male child, and unexpectedly, this preference became stronger with increasing educational level (Hammer, 1970). In the light of these findings it is no wonder that Etzioni (1968) points out that this strong preference for a male child may result in a serious crisis in the near future time when new scientific knowledge will enable parents to control the sex of their offspring.

The ramifications and consequences of the tendency to ascribe greater social and personal value to males as compared to females becomes startling clear in a recent study by Broverman, et al. (1970). In this study, seventy-nine experienced clinical psychologists, psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers of both sexes were given the Sex-role Questionnaire with instructions to rate the items according to a description of either "a healthy mature socially competent" female, male or adult person. The results of the study indicated that there is a general agreement among clinicians of both sexes in their ratings. Furthermore, clinicians hold generalized concepts of mental health since within each set of instructions they manifested strong inter-judge reliability on each item as to which pole reflected the healthier individual. The characteristics considered descriptive of the "healthy person" closely paralleled the description of the

"healthy male," but significantly deviated from the description of the "healthy female." In addition, there was a high correlation between those characteristics described by college students as "more desirable for adults," and those characteristics described by the clinicians as reflecting the "healthy male" and "healthy person" but not the "healthy female."

These results confirm the close connection between general conceptions of social desirability, and professional concepts of mental health. In fact, they demonstrate the existence of a double standard of mental health, namely that general standards of health correspond to men whereas women are perceived as significantly less healthy than general adult standards. The results also point to serious distortions in personality evaluations made by mental health professionals who are assumed to base their assessments of individuals on valid, scientific and objective criteria.

In a similar vein, Haan & Livson (1972) studied sex differences in the personality assessment of fifty individuals interviewed by thirty experienced clinical psychologists using the 100-item Q Sort. The results demonstrated that male psychologists were generally more unfavorable in their judgments of both sexes, and that female psychologists ascribed more favorable characteristics to women than to men. In relation to particular traits, it is interesting to note that female psychologists saw women as valuing intellectual matters, as intellectually competent and self-accepting

significantly more than male psychologists. The latter saw women as significantly more irritable, moody, basically hostile and socially perceptive than female psychologists. It must be pointed out here that the data were only analyzed as a function of the judge's sex, and not in relation to the subject's sex. Therefore it is possible that all male subjects were seen as generally more intellectually competent and females as more socially competent regardless of the sex of the judge. However, this type of examination is not possible given the type of statistical analysis performed by the researchers; therefore, the only conclusion that can be drawn from their findings is that female clinical psychologists tend to be more favorable in their evaluations of both sexes (and particularly females) than male clinical psychologists.

Goldberg (1968) in a rather ingenious experiment also demonstrated that evaluations which are allegedly "objective" are in reality contaminated by subjective sex-role biases which devalue the intellectual competence of women. In his study, female college students evaluated (in terms of value and competence) articles in "traditional" male, female and neutral fields, not knowing that the sex of the author (first name) was being altered. Unexpectedly, Goldberg found that Ss had significantly lower ratings of all female-authorship articles regardless of the content of the article itself, pointing to a general prejudice of women against the

achievement efforts of other women. In an unpublished study by Dorros & Follet (1969) (Goldberg, 1972), Goldberg's study was replicated with a sample of male students. The findings indicated that males share the same prejudices as females in their evaluation of the intellectual competence of women as compared to men. However, unexpectedly this tendency to devalue females was found to be less strong in males than in Goldberg's original sample of females. Similarly, in a study by Alper & Korchin (Goldberg, 1972), college students of both sexes were tested on their recall of socially pertinent information including items relating to the admission of females to Harvard University. The results demonstrated a significantly greater tendency among the women as compared to the men to recall pro-male and anti-female items.

Goldberg interprets the foregoing results in accordance with Allport's (1958) theory in which prejudice is defined as negative stereotyping without sufficient warrant and/or contrary to objective evidence. Allport views anti-feminism as any other prejudice: it is the belief that women are inferior to men, and more importantly, the tendency to allow that belief to distort one's perception of women. He adds that anti-feminism, like anti-semitism consistently distorts the "evidence" of experience so that one sees not what is actually there, but what one "expects" to see. The self-devaluation or prejudice of women against other women found by Goldberg as well as by Alper & Korchin can be explained

in relation to the research cited earlier (Broverman, et al., 1968) which demonstrated that the "negative" traits of the traditional female sex-role stereotype become incorporated as part of the female's self-concept. In addition, Allport (1958) points out the fact that this tendency for a minority group to incorporate the negative, prejudicial attitudes of the dominant majority serves a defensive function which has been termed "identification with the aggressor."

There is evidence that men have consistently demonstrated a prejudicial evaluation of the work of females in general (Klein, 1950; Scheinfeld, 1944). Therefore, Goldberg's interpretation of his results as reflecting women's prejudice against the achievement efforts of other women via the process of identification with the aggressor is feasible. Pheterson (1969) conducted a study utilizing Goldberg's technique in which a sample of middle-aged, uneducated women were asked to evaluate articles which were all in "female" stereotyped fields (marriage, child discipline and special education). As would be expected, the women in this sample behaved consistently with the traditional sex-role stereotypes, and evaluated the female-authorship articles as equal to, or more favorable than the same articles with a male author.

In another similar study (Pheterson, et al., 1971) women were asked to evaluate eight abstract paintings with the description of the artist and painting varied on

three dimensions. First, the sex of the artist was altered so that the women were given identical versions of the background profile of the artist except that the sex of the artist (first name) was altered for half the Ss. Second, the status of the painting was altered so that half of the Ss were told that the painting was an entry in a contest not yet judged. Third, the personal odds of the artist were varied so that half of the Ss were told that an artist had overcome a severe handicap (e.g., "an arm amputee since 1967"), and the other half thought that the artist had faced no unusual obstacles.

The results of this 2 X 2 X 2 design indicated that when told paintings had been awarded prizes, women evaluated the technical competence and probability of future success of each artist equally regardless of sex. However, when told that the paintings were entries in a contest not yet judged, the women tended to rate female artists as significantly lower than male artists, even though the paintings were identical. The third variable, personal handicaps of the artist, had no effect on the ratings. The authors conclude:

The work of women in competition is devalued by other women. Even work that is equivalent to the work of a man will be judged inferior until it receives special distinction, and that distinction is difficult to achieve when judgment is biased against their work in competition (p. 117).

In a very recent study, Goldberg's Article Test was given to Swathmore College students. Unlike Goldberg's

sample, there was no significant general tendency for women to devalue the competence of the achievement efforts of other women. These results are divergent with those of Goldberg but the difference might be attributable to the highly select group of college females in the sample (Baruch, 1972).

What becomes apparent from this research is that the "prejudice hypothesis" is not a sufficient explanation of these rather contradictory and complex findings. A more meaningful interpretation will be offered in a later section that relates this tendency among women to devalue the achievement efforts of other women, to the "motive to avoid success."

4. Summary of Studies on Sex-role Stereotypes

In summary, the foregoing research clearly demonstrates first, the persistence of traditional sex-role stereotypes in contemporary society across groups of people heterogeneous in sex, age, education, marital status and socioeconomic background. Second, the findings relating to the content of these stereotypes indicate that "masculine" traits form a "competency cluster" with an absence of warmth and expressiveness, whereas "feminine" traits form a "warmth-expressiveness" cluster with an absence of competency. Third, the research findings indicate that these stereotypes are communicated to the child firstly by the parents, later by teachers and society in general. By the time a child is five years old (or even younger) these stereotypes have already been incorporated as part of his (her) identity, and have a far-reaching and profound affect upon his (her) self-concept, beliefs, attitudes and behavior.

Fourth, the findings reflect a general devaluation by society of the female sex-role stereotype (which includes an absence of competence, independence, assertion, leadership, achievement orientation and rationality); this devaluation is incorporated together with the general feminine sex-role stereotype to become an integral part of the female's self-concept from girlhood throughout womanhood. Fifth, sex-role stereotypes and their resultant tendency to favor males over

females distorts the clinical evaluations of professionals in a direction that significantly devalues females. Sixth, there is evidence that women themselves tend to devalue the competency of the achievement efforts of other women, which might not be surprising in light of the fact that the "competency" cluster is associated with men. Allports' "prejudice hypothesis" was offered by researchers in this area to explain this phenomenon among women to degrade their own achievement productions.

This area will be re-examined at a later point in order to reinterpret the findings in relation to the "motive to avoid success" since the nature of these traditional sex-role stereotypes, and the negative value placed upon the "feminine" stereotype form the basis of the proposed expanded dynamic formulation of fear of success in females.

Studies on the Relationship Between Achievement
and Affiliative Needs in Females

1. Definition of Achievement and Affiliative Needs and
their Relation to Sex-role Stereotypes

McClelland et al., (1953) and Atkinson (1958) describe the person with a high level of achievement motivation as one who has developed an internal standard of excellence, is independent, persistent, undertakes realistic tasks, performs well academically and has clearly formulated goals. They describe the person with a high level of affiliative motivation as one who is more interpersonally oriented, has a strong need to love and be loved by others, and is motivated by a need for external social approval.

It is quite apparent that the "warmth-expressiveness" cluster of traits associated with the traditional female sex-role stereotype centrally includes the affiliative motive, whereas the "competency" cluster of traits associated with the traditional male sex-role stereotype centrally includes the achievement motive. It is not surprising therefore that empirical evidence exists to substantiate the greater affiliative needs in females as compared with males (Oetzel, 1966; Walberg, 1969; Douvan & Adelson, 1966); namely, that females are more passive, conforming, suggestible and dependent upon the approval of others, and that their interests lie predominantly in the social aspects of a given situation (Maccoby, 1966).

2. Sex Differences in the Early Development of Achievement and Affiliative Needs

Longitudinal studies with neonates have pointed to many sex differences in mother-infant interactions which foreshadow the later development of active mastery strivings in males (achievement motivation), and the more passive, social and interpersonal strivings (affiliative motivation) in females. These behavioral observations of mother-child interactions indicate that male infants are handled more vigorously than females despite the greater maturity and sturdiness of the female infant (Garai & Scheinfeld, 1968). In addition, Moss (1967) reported a significant correlation between maternal contact and female infant irritability. Although mothers did not give more attention to female neonates than males, their attention was more closely associated with the infant's crying. This finding reflects the development of a qualitative sex difference in the mother-infant interaction in which the daughter at a very early age associates the mother with comfort, and the mother's behavior is in turn reinforced by the cessation of the infant's cries. Via this covert reinforcement contingency, the infant girl is encouraged to become more passive and dependent whereas the boy is encouraged towards activity and independence.

That this process has an effect upon very early behavior was demonstrated in one study in which 13 month

old infants were observed with their mothers in a free-play situation. The girls' play showed less exploratory behavior, less vigor, and less independent activity than boys. When a physical barrier was placed between mother and child, girls tended to cry and motion for help whereas boys demonstrated active attempts to circumvent the barrier. In addition, girls were more reluctant to leave their mothers' lap, returned to her more frequently, and looked at her, touched her and talked to her significantly more often than boys (Goldberg & Lewis, 1969).

Callard (1968) asked mothers of four year olds to indicate the ages they thought parents should expect certain behaviors from their children. The results indicated that mothers of girls granted significantly less independence and induced substantially less achievement behavior than mothers of boys.

Considered collectively, the results of this section suggest that already in infancy and early childhood, there are significant sex differences in parental attitudes and child-rearing practices that are not based upon the different needs of the child, but rather derive from the traditional sex-role standards and stereotypes of society.

3. The Fusion of Achievement and Affiliative Needs in Females

There is considerable empirical evidence in the literature that documents the fact that as young as preschool age, achievement performance of females is motivated by a desire for love and approval rather than by active mastery strivings.

In a study with nursery school children, achievement efforts were motivated by affiliative needs significantly more in girls than in boys. Conversely, the achievement performance in boys improved significantly in response to E's appeals towards mastery strivings, whereas the performance of girls remained unchanged (Lahtinen, 1964). With elementary school children too, achievement motivation scores of boys correlated positively with achievement performance whereas affiliative motivation scores of girls predicted their achievement performance (Sears, 1963). Veroff (1969) suggests that for boys the achievement motive is easily cued by internal standards of excellence, whereas for girls external support is the critical factor.

Similarly, with adults achievement arousal techniques effectively aroused achievement motivation in males but had no effect on females (Veroff, Wilcox & Atkinson, 1953), whereas appeals towards social acceptability were effective for females but not for males (Field, 1951; McClelland et al., 1953).

That affiliative strivings play a central role in achievement behavior of females is reflected not only by their behavior within an experimental setting, but even more importantly by their achievement performance in the actual "career world." In the study by Looft (1971) cited earlier, it was found that in response to the question: "What do you want to be when you grow up?", the great majority of girls chose the occupations of nurse and school teacher. It is clear that these professions are in every way consistent with the traditional feminine sex-role stereotype, and that achievement in these occupations is centrally motivated by affiliative needs. Interestingly, there is substantial agreement between these occupational aspirations of second grade girls, and the actual career choice of women in the present labor force.

According to the United States Census Bureau "Occupation by Industry" Report (PC-7C, 1970), although there has been a considerable increase in the number of women in the work force since 1960, the great majority of professional women still hold jobs in the traditional female careers which stress the "warmth-expressiveness" cluster of traits and motives. For example, in 1970, only 1.6% of engineers, 9% of physicians, 3.4% of dentists and 4.8% of lawyers and judges were women. On the other hand, 97.3% of nurses, 79.2% of librarians and 69.3% of school teachers were women.

Additional support for this comes from the findings of Sundheim (1963) who examined the relation between achievement motivation and affiliative motivation in females as a function of area of specialization in college. The highest level of achievement motivation was found in the few women majoring in the sciences, those majoring in language had a moderate level of achievement motivation, and those specializing in education had a low level of achievement motivation, but a significantly higher level of affiliative motivation than the other college females in the sample.

4. Summary of Studies on the Relationship Between Achievement and Affiliative Needs in Females

In summary, these results indicate that the affiliative motive is particularly germane to achievement performance in females, and that the need for active mastery is particularly central to achievement performance in males. For males, achievement-related behavior is oriented more in terms of an internal standard of excellence, and the anticipated series of rewards and punishments are considered to reflect an evaluation of the adequacy of the self. For females on the other hand, achievement-related behavior is oriented more in terms of external standards, and the anticipated series of rewards and punishments are considered to reflect an evaluation of the friendship or hostility of the environment.

Furthermore, there is evidence that these differential strivings begin to develop from subtle qualitative sex differences in the mother-infant interaction, and later are more explicitly communicated and reinforced by society along with the other traditional sex-role standards, stereotypes and sex-typical behaviors.

The final outcome of this socialization process is that of those women who are "achievement-oriented," the great majority have chosen careers in which achievement goals gratify affiliative needs. This fusion between achievement and affiliative needs in which achievement becomes instrumental to

the gratification of affiliative motives, will later be introduced as the basic conflict underlying the "motive to avoid success" in females.

Studies on Sex Differences in Problem Solving

A summary of the empirical research on sex differences in problem-solving performance is relevant here. It has already been documented that logical thinking, independence and achievement are associated with the "competency" cluster of the male stereotype, and the absence of these traits is associated with the "warmth-expressiveness" cluster of female stereotype (Broverman et al., 1972). It is no wonder therefore that the findings of research on problem solving (which most importantly include independent logical thinking and achievement behavior) have been consistent -- consistently indicating the superiority of males to females. In addition, the results reflect the importance of affiliative motives in improving the problem-solving effectiveness of females.

1. Sex Differences in Problem Solving of Children

The greater competency of males in the solution of problems is already evident in childhood. In one study, for example, elementary school girls were more likely to try solving a puzzle by imitating an adult whereas the boys were more likely to search for a novel solution not provided by an adult (McDavid, 1959).

In another problem-solving study, children ranging in age from three to nine years old were asked to solve two puzzles. The experimenter manipulated the success and

failure of the outcomes so that one puzzle was failed (E stopped S before completion, with the pretense that the time limit had expired), and the other passed. Following this, each child was told that he (she) could choose to work on one of the puzzles for the remaining time. The results indicated no difference in repetition choice of the nursery school children. However, for the grade school children, the boys tended to return and master the failed task significantly more often than the girls who tended to repeat the previously successful task. Interestingly, the grade school girls behaved identically to the nursery school children in general who tended to return to a previously successful task as well as seek more assistance and approval from E (Crandall & Rabson, 1960).

These findings reflect the stronger motivation in boys to master a novel, challenging task, and girls to repeat a previously successful task for which they had already been rewarded. Perhaps one reason why girls generally have higher grades than boys in elementary school (Coleman, 1961; Oetzel, 1966) is their stronger need for social approval. In these early school years, excellence is rewarded by praise and love from parents, teachers and often even peers. These sex differences in the motivation underlying achievement performance can be summarized by the idea of Kagan (1964), that boys try to "figure out the task" whereas girls try to "figure out the teacher."

Other studies have demonstrated that in relation to problem-solving, girls have significantly less self-confidence, and frequently underestimate their ability. When asked to anticipate their performance on a new task or on the repetition of a task just completed, they tend to give significantly lower estimates than boys, and their estimates are often devaluations of their actual ability (Crandall, Katkovsky & Preston, 1962; Crandall, 1969).

In a recent experiment with children and college students, McMahan (1972) examined sex differences in the expectancy of success as a function of the sex-role stereotype of the problem-solving task. Although no sex differences were found in the expectancy of success on the solution of anagrams ("feminine" task), significant sex differences were apparent in the expectancy of success on the solution of arithmetic problems ("masculine" task). Females tended to estimate their performance as significantly lower than males, in conformity with the traditional sex-role stereotypes. However, in a post-task estimate, sex differences in the expectancy of success on a future task disappeared. Although these results suggest that actual experience on a problem-solving task tends to reduce the biases of sex-role stereotypes, caution is indicated -- in a post-task questionnaire, females (unlike males) tended to attribute their success in a problem-solving task to luck! This phenomenon is indicative of the "motive to avoid success" in females which will be discussed in a later section.

2. Sex Differences in Problem Solving of Adults

Research findings with adults also reflect a significant inferiority of women in problem-solving effectiveness, and in addition indicate a substantial improvement in their performance when affiliative needs are gratified in conjunction with the solution of the task on hand.

Billings (1931) (Maier, 1933) found that although the males tested had only a 5% higher IQ than females, their ability to solve problems was 48.7% higher than women. In a study which examined sex differences in problem-solving behavior, Guetzkow (1951) focused on the operation of set in reducing problem-solving effectiveness. In a standard experimental paradigm, Ss were first given a series of problems which required the same complex solution. This was followed by another similar set of problems which could be solved in the same complex manner, but also using a very simple method. The final problem which could only be solved using the simple method produced a measure of the subject's ability to overcome the set. The results demonstrated that for college students, no sex difference in susceptibility to set existed, but males were significantly superior to women in breaking and overcoming the set.

Maier (1933) in a study designed to test rigidity versus flexibility in solution formation as a function of pre-solution instructions, found that all Ss solved problems

(e.g., "string problem") significantly better when directed to avoid persistent habits by attempting to be receptive to new solution approaches. However, important sex differences were found, namely women showed significantly inferior problem-solving effectiveness as compared to men. However, in the experimental condition encouraging flexibility of approach, the scores of women rose significantly more than those of men.

It can be postulated here, that the significant increase in scores of women in the experimental condition may be a result of the relaxing, anxiety-reducing effect of the instructions rather than the content of the directions per se. That women tend to have a significantly higher level of anxiety in achievement situations has been consistently demonstrated (Sarason, 1963; Sarason & Hartz, 1965). According to Garai (1970), females' anxiety tends to lower their level of problem-solving performance whereas the anxiety of males (which is lower than that of females) tends to serve as an incentive and increases their performance. Although Garai considers the etiology of this phenomenon to be genetic in nature, it can be more meaningfully be understood as reflecting an underlying "motive to avoid success." In short, it is postulated here in accordance with Horner's (1968) theory, that the increase of scores of females when encouraged to be "flexible" was a result of the reduction of anxiety associated with their fear of success.

Sweeney (1953) and Berry (1958) have shown that the superiority of males to females in problem solving still exists after controlling for certain correlated aptitude variables. They have suggested that women's poor solution performance may be partially attributable to a non-intellectual factor, namely a negative attitude toward problem solving associated with their sex-role identification.

Carey (1958), in an experiment designed to test this idea found that not only did women have a negative attitude towards problem solving as compared with men, but for individual Ss there tended to be a positive correlation between problem solving attitude and performance. He then went one step further to test the crucial question, namely whether an experimental attempt to alter this negative attitude (in discussion groups) would be subsequently reflected in an improvement in problem-solving effectiveness. The results indicated a significant improvement in problem-solving performance of the women (and not the men), but surprisingly without any concomitant change in attitude. Carey resolved this strange inconsistency by postulating that his attitude scale may not have been sensitive enough to reflect the change in attitude.

Rather than this explanation, it seems more plausible that the discussion groups translated the problem-solving task into a new context, from one of achievement to one of affiliation so that the solution became associated with the

gratification of affiliative needs (group approval). It is further suggested that the switch from an achievement to an affiliative context in itself removed any underlying conflict over successful achievement, and the reduction of the associated anxiety enabled an improvement in the problem-solving effectiveness of the females. A more elaborate and detailed discussion of the relationship between the "motive to avoid success" and a conflict between achievement and affiliative motives will follow in a later section.

In a series of experiments, Milton (1957; 1958) investigated the effect of sex-role identification on problem-solving ability particularly focusing on the degree of M-F identification of the subject. The results of his studies indicated that there is a significant correlation between a S's sex-role identification score (as measured on the Terman-Miles M-F Scale), and his (her) problem-solving ability. More "masculine" men and women solved problems involving mathematics and geometric reasoning more effectively than more "feminine" men and women. Moreover, when a statistical adjustment was made for the sex-role identification variable, differences in problem-solving achievement between sexes disappeared.

In another of these studies (1958), Milton attempted to examine problem-solving performance as a function of the sex-role stereotype of the task itself, and found as was expected, that females do better on problems dealing with a

feminine content such as cooking or gardening than a masculine content such as physics. In addition, he attempted to study sex differences in problem-solving approaches and found that when given a choice of analyzing the situation, going for help or using trial and error, males were significantly more likely to select an analytic solution than females who were more likely to seek help.

In another experiment (1959) Milton went one step further by presenting verbal mathematical problems to Ss; the problems were absolutely identical except that one related to "Snuff the tramp rolling cigarettes" and the other to "Sally baking." The results indicated that whereas on the former problem, males performed significantly more successfully than females, on the latter, the sex difference disappeared. Milton interprets these results as reflecting a situational motivational aspect since problem-solving effectiveness is very much a function of the stimulus properties of the immediate situation. He suggests improving problem-solving performance in women by presenting the task within a female sex-role stereotyped frame of reference. Although Milton's suggestion may in fact mitigate any significant sex differences in problem-solving effectiveness, it really does not rectify the underlying problem, namely the enormous anxiety a woman feels within a "masculine" frame of reference which is so debilitating to her achievement performance. Within Milton's experiment, the frame of

reference relates simply to one problem-solving task which seems easy enough to alter by rewording the problem into a more "feminine" orientation. However, on a more meaningful level, this frame of reference is in actuality the "male world" in which she lives, and clearly the solution to this dilemma is not an alteration of it into a "female world!"

In the first portion of a study by Hoffman and Maier (1966), a replication of Milton's study was conducted with additional experimental variables including the sex of E, and motivational instructions encouraging affiliative motives (helping E). The results contradicted those of Milton in that men were found to demonstrate superior problem-solving performance under all conditions even after controlling for mathematical aptitude. This challenges Milton's contention that women's negative attitude towards problem-solving is reduced and sex differences disappear when the problem is worded within a female-oriented context.

In an earlier study, Hoffman and Maier (1961), like Milton, were primarily interested in examining variables that might improve the problem-solving effectiveness of women. With this goal in mind, they focused on altering the environmental context rather than the task itself, by manipulating the sexual composition of problem-solving groups. They divided their Ss into three groups, all male, all female, and mixed, and presented them with the "horse-trading" problem, first individually and then after collecting their papers,

in groups. Following the group effort, Ss were asked to write the answer "you now believe is correct." The results of the "single-sex" groups, in agreement with the earlier studies, indicated that males performed significantly better than females on both the individual and group problem-solving situations. In addition, there was a significantly higher proportion of males than females who switched from an initially incorrect solution (individual effort) to a correct one following the group effort. In contrast, there was a slightly higher proportion of females than males who switched from an initially correct to an incorrect solution. However, when examining the problem-solving effectiveness in the "mixed-sex" groups, the sex difference in the proportion of switching answers disappeared. Although these results might be interpreted as reflecting a conformity among the females to the males in the group, it may also indicate one of the effective ways of reducing the negative attitudes and anxiety females feel in relation to problem-solving. Rather than Milton's suggestion of improving problem-solving performance of females by altering the task into a female context, the implication that emerges from this study is in fact the opposite; instead of perpetuating the separation of the sexes, the suggestion here is to integrate the sexes at least until a time when problem-solving is no longer an anxiety-laden stigma for females.

Hoffman and Maier (1966) in a more recent series

of experiments examined other social factors influencing the problem-solving ability of women, such as the sex of E, added motivation, and the sex-oriented content of the problem itself. Similar to their earlier study, Ss were given two chances at solving the "horse-trading" problem with additional experimental manipulations of the sex of E, and motivational instructions. These instructions were designed to make successful problem-solving instrumental to gratification of affiliative motives (request for help by E).

The results were inconsistent and confusing. On the first problem-solving attempt, no difference in performance was apparent as a function of either experimental variable. However, on the second attempt a strong interaction between motivational instructions and sex of E existed. Females who received motivational instructions performed significantly better when these instructions were delivered by a male E, and females in the control group who received no instructions performed significantly better with a female E.

The authors interpret these findings in relation to a conflict over fear of failure, and postulate that with a male E the conflict was reduced by the impact of the motivational talk, whereas with a female E the conflict over fear of failure was actually aroused. Specifically, when E is male, the problem-solving becomes "male" through identification,

and a conflict over fear of failure is aroused. However, following the motivational instructions, the conflict is resolved and hence Ss demonstrate superior performance. With a female E the situation is reversed: the problem-solving task is "female" through identification, and no conflict is present until the female E delivers the motivational instructions. At this time the conflict over fear of failure is aroused and problem-solving effectiveness declines.

It is clear that this rather detailed interpretation remains speculative until further empirical research tests the various aspects of it in a well-controlled setting. Another plausible interpretation relates to a conflict over a fear of success which is the focus of the present thesis. It is quite possible that with a male E, what is being aroused in a problem-solving setting is the "motive to avoid success," and that the motivational instructions which stress affiliative needs transfer the problem-solving situation from an achievement to an affiliative context, hence reducing the anxiety associated with successful achievement and increasing the females' problem-solving performance. This interpretation has been offered to explain many of the empirical findings in this area of research. A detailed examination of the "motive to avoid success" in females will be presented in a later section.

3. Summary of Studies on Sex Differences in Problem Solving

In reviewing the findings of research on sex differences in problem solving, one consistent trend emerges, namely the significant superiority of males as compared to females under standard task-oriented conditions. A critical analysis of the research also reveals general agreement on a substantial increase in the problem-solving performance of females when the arousal and gratification of affiliative and nurturant needs (through discussion groups or verbal statements by E) are included as instrumental to successful achievement.

The studies in this area therefore indicate that for males, effective problem solving is associated with the need to achieve, which is motivated by an internal standard of excellence. On the other hand, for most females, problem-solving performance is more closely related to an affiliative need which is motivated by external standards including love, praise and approval from others. Problem-solving behavior therefore shows striking conformity to the traditional sex-role stereotypes.

It has been postulated by the present author, that the significant decrease in the problem-solving effectiveness of females in standard achievement-oriented situations is a function of anxiety associated with the "motive to avoid success." However, when the problem-solving setting is

translated into an affiliative context, the anxiety is allayed and problem-solving effectiveness increases. This phenomenon reveals that the anxiety-provoking struggle underlying MAS in females is a conflict between achievement and affiliative needs.

Studies on Achievement Motivation

Thus far, the examination of sex differences in achievement behavior has been limited to one particular area of achievement, namely problem-solving effectiveness. In order to substantiate the interpretations offered in the last section, namely that the inferior performance of females in standard achievement settings is a manifestation of MAS, and reflects an underlying conflict between achievement and affiliative needs, it is important to review empirical research which examines sex differences in the general arousal of achievement motivation and performance.

In addition, this area of research on achievement motivation served as the context from which Horner derived her theory of the "motive to avoid success" in females. It therefore seems appropriate to present a critical survey of this background research before introducing Horner's empirical work, so that the importance of her contribution is understood in its proper historical context.

1. General Findings on Achievement Motivation in Males

Since the TAT has been the major tool utilized by researchers in the area of achievement motivation, it is not surprising to find the early research involved in examining the effects of experimental arousal upon TAT imagery relating to the Need to Achieve (n Ach).

The studies in this area have all been patterned after McClelland's (1953) original achievement arousal paradigm in which an experimental group is presented with TAT cards under an arousal condition stressing "intelligence and leadership ability," and a control group responds to the same cards under a neutral condition.

In terms of these early experiments with male Ss, the results have been consistent (Atkinson, 1958; McClelland et al., 1953) in that a significantly positive correlation has been found between achievement arousal and achievement imagery on the TAT.

Another area of research examined the effect of achievement motivation (as measured on the TAT) on achievement performance. Again the results with males have been consistent. Those high in achievement motivation (for whom $M_s > M-f$) prefer and excel on tasks of intermediate difficulty (Atkinson & Litwin, 1960), set intermediate, realistic goals for themselves (Mahone, 1960), and select competent work partners (French, 1956). In addition, they tend to show persistent behavior on all types of tasks with an element of risk provided that the outcome of their work depends upon their ability rather than luck (Winterbottom, 1958; Atkinson, 1958).

In contrast, when women were used as Ss, the results were contradictory not only with the predictions of the existing achievement motivation theory and with the

findings of males, but were found to contradict one another. Despite these very blatant sex differences, until very recently it remained the only line of investigation in the area of achievement motivation in which women were included as Ss. In reference to the early arousal studies, Atkinson (1958) says:

. . . Perhaps the most persistent unresolved problem in research on achievement concerns the observed sex differences (p. 77).

It would be useful now to review these early studies on achievement motivation in females.

2. Review of Early Studies on Achievement Motivation in Females

In reviewing the early studies on achievement motivation in females (namely, the research in this area before Horner (1968) introduced a new concept, the "motive to avoid success," we will turn first to the arousal studies and later to those studies which include other social and personality variables in examining their effect upon achievement motivation arousal and performance.

Field (1951) (McClelland et al., 1953) presented three experimental conditions to his male and female Ss, a relaxed condition, an achievement arousal condition stressing "intelligence and leadership ability," and an arousal condition stressing social acceptability. The results indicated a differential effect upon achievement scores (as measured by the TAT) for males and females. Whereas under the relaxed condition the females had higher n Ach scores than males, under the achievement arousal condition, the males' scores increased significantly and the females' scores remained unchanged. However, with the arousal of social acceptability motivation, the scores of males remained unchanged from the relaxed condition and the scores of females increased substantially.

The results of Veroff, Wilcox & Atkinson (1953) in a similar study were in part contradictory to those of Field.

Although they too found that high school and college female n Ach scores remained unaffected by achievement arousal stressing intelligence and leadership as compared with their scores under relaxed conditions, they found unlike Field, that these scores under the relaxed condition were already as high as those of males in the achievement arousal situation. Therefore, the n Ach scores for males and females were found to be identical under the achievement arousal condition with the important difference that the male scores had significantly increased from relaxation to arousal, and the female scores remained at their initially high level.

McClelland (1953) points out two possible explanations for these results, invalidity of the scoring system for women and/or scores too high (under the neutral condition) to go any higher (under the arousal condition). However, he adds that these two possibilities have been eliminated through empirical evidence and concludes:

. . . Apparently the usual arousal instructions simply do not increase achievement strivings in women. . . . (p. 178).

In contrast, Angelini (1955) (French & Lesser, 1964), working with college women in Brazil, found results consistent (although not significantly so) with men, in that the achievement motivation scores of his females were higher under the achievement arousal condition than under a neutral condition. The contradiction between his results and those of U.S. researchers is explained by Angelini in

reference to the limited educational opportunities in Brazil for women, resulting in college women with exceptionally high levels of intellectual and competitive functioning.

This explanation was the impetus for a study by Lesser, Krawitz & Packard (1963) using a group of Hunter High School females as Ss, a school which selects students based upon scores on a highly competitive entrance examination stressing an intellectual standard of excellence. This group of girls was assumed to be analogous to Angelini's sample in which motivation toward intellectual accomplishment is extremely high, and motivation for social desirability low. The authors hypothesized that the failure of researchers to obtain the expected increase in n Ach scores of females under achievement arousal conditions is due to the fact that Ss were more concerned with social desirability as suggested by Field (1951) in his sample of University of Maryland females. They selected a group of high achievers and underachievers (based upon actual school performance) who were matched for IQ, and exposed them to TAT cards under both standard neutral and achievement arousal conditions.

When comparing overall TAT stories under the two conditions, no increase in achievement motivation scores were found for either group, again challenging the results of Angelini. However, when the results were analyzed as a function of the sex of the principal figure on the TAT cards, significant differences were found between groups and

experimental conditions. Under the achievement arousal condition, the achievement motivation scores for the high-achieving girls increased in response to TAT cards depicting female figures, and decreased in response to male TAT cards. For the underachievers, the opposite trend emerged, namely the achievement motivation imagery increased for male pictures and decreased for female pictures. The author's interpretation is that high achieving females value achievement for themselves and therefore can project a female stimulus figure as achieving. However, according to Horner (1970) this explanation is insufficient in that most of the pictures depicted females engaged in the traditional female sex-role tasks. The findings are ambiguous in explaining why high achievement-oriented females have higher achievement scores on TAT pictures of women performing homemaking tasks than on TAT pictures of men engaged in achievement-oriented activities.

Morrison (1953) (McClelland, 1953) in an unpublished Masters thesis found that under achievement arousal conditions the achievement imagery scores of his female SS increased equally to TAT cards depicting male figures as to cards depicting female figures engaged in career-oriented tasks.

In order to better understand these inconsistencies, in addition to an examination of differential responses to male and female TAT cards, many researchers have included another variable in their research, a social or personality

variable which in some way divides their Ss into two groups. Unfortunately, here too the results are not only contradictory and ambiguous, but generally incomparable in that the variables selected as well as their measurement are different from one study to the next.

Veroff (1959) (French & Lesser, 1964), using attitudes towards household work as the personality variable, found that college women who favored homemaking scored higher in n Ach imagery on TAT cards depicting females in domestic situations, and women who had an unfavorable attitude towards housework had higher n Ach scores on cards depicting females in career situations.

Alper (1957) (Horner, 1968) attempted to tease out the variable, need for social acceptance, as a possible personality characteristic influencing females' level of achievement motivation. In addition, two experimental arousal conditions, one of traditional achievement orientation and another of task orientation were utilized. The results indicated that females high in need for social acceptance elicited significantly higher achievement scores to male TAT figures than to female figures under the achievement arousal condition, and females low in need for social acceptance elicited significantly higher achievement imagery in response to the male TAT figures under the task oriented condition. In summary, Alper's results demonstrate that females who have high achievement motivation (the Ss were students at Wellesley

College) elicit achievement imagery in response to female figures only when the need for social acceptance and achievement arousal are kept at a minimum.

French & Lesser (1964) in a complicated 3 X 2 X 2 X 2 factorial design, attempted to examine some characteristics of achievement motivation in women. There were three levels of Value Orientation (women's role; intellectual achievement; dual role), two levels of Arousal conditions (women's role; intellectual achievement), two types of College students (coed; female college) and two types of Stimulus Figures on the TAT cards (male; female).

The results indicate that all Ss regardless of value-orientation, responded more to the male stimulus figure under the intellectual arousal condition (I), and to the female stimulus figures under the women's role arousal condition (WR). In addition, achievement motivation scores were high when arousal cues were related to the goals appropriate to the subject's value orientation, but not otherwise. The third significant result (which was unexpected) was that Ss low in intellectual role (IR) and high in women's role (WR) value orientation, responded significantly more to male stimulus figures under the I arousal condition than under the neutral condition. This result is important since these low IR - High WR females were the only group whose achievement imagery scores increased to arousal conditions that were incongruent with their goal orientation.

According to the authors:

. . . It suggests the possibility that women who value intellectual attainment feel they must reject the woman's role, while those who value the women's role are free to accept or reject the intellectual (p. 128).

In an attempt to test this "differential acceptance hypothesis," Taylor (1967) conducted a study using female college students who were selected on the basis of their scores on the French & Lesser Student Attitude Scale. Those who scored high in either career orientation or women's role orientation were asked to rate fictitious women who were described as representative of one of the two value orientations. The descriptions and names given to the various stimulus figures were randomized. The "differential acceptance" hypothesis would predict that WR females would be equally accepting of both types of women whereas career-oriented women would reject the incongruent role. The results supported the "differential acceptance hypothesis" only for areas of personal involvement and social interaction. However, all women rated WR pictures as lower on intelligence, and unexpectedly, IR females rated all fictitious women, regardless of role orientation, as less ambitious and intelligent than WR females. There will later be a re-examination of this latter finding in reference to the "motive to avoid success" and its relation to the devaluation of the achievement efforts of other women.

Lipinski (1965) in a study based on McClelland's

achievement arousal paradigm, attempted to focus on the effect of sex-role orientation (similar but not identical to French & Lesser's value orientation), achievement arousal and sex of the stimulus figure upon n Ach scores of females. Two aspects of sex-role orientation, latent (Drawing Completion Test), and overt (Femininity Scale) were measured on a M-F continuum.

The results indicated that as a group, college women have a higher n Ach score under the achievement oriented condition stressing intelligence and leadership than under the neutral condition. These results strongly contradict those of Field (1951), Veroff et al. (1953) and Lesser et al. (1963), and support the findings of Angelini (1955). When examining the interaction between stimulus figure and sex-role orientation, Lipinski found that male stimulus figures elicited significantly stronger n Ach imagery than female stimulus figures for all Ss regardless of sex-role orientation. This result supports the earlier finding of French & Lesser (1964) in their I arousal condition. However, when comparing TAT responses as a function of sex-role orientation, Lipinski did not find the expected higher achievement scores of the more "masculine" women under the achievement arousal situation, but instead found it to exist under the neutral condition. In specific, Ss high in "masculine" sex-role orientation, had significantly higher n Ach scores under the neutral condition than Ss high in "feminine" sex-role

orientation. Furthermore, these "feminine" Ss showed a significantly greater increment in achievement scores to male TAT cards from the neutral to the achievement arousal condition than did the more "masculine" Ss.

Although this phenomenon was unexpected, it is consistent with the results of French & Lesser (1964) in reference to their low IR - high WR females who also showed a significant increase in achievement imagery to male stimulus figures under the achievement arousal condition; this result strengthens the "differential acceptance hypothesis," that women who favor a more feminine value orientation feel in some way freer to express achievement imagery under achievement arousal situations although they do not necessarily perceive this goal for themselves. Lipinski interprets these results in terms of a differential responsiveness of these groups to the demand characteristics of the experimental situations, as well as the achievement arousal cues. In specific, according to Lipinski, "feminine" Ss exhibit a more generalized responsiveness to environmental arousal and cues whereas "masculine" Ss are more selective. Although this interpretation is almost identical to the "differential acceptance hypothesis," both fail to explain why women who hold an intellectual achievement value orientation feel they must reject any environmental cues relating to women's role. They also fail to explain why these women tend to devalue the intelligence and ambitiousness of all

women more than those who hold a more traditional, feminine sex-role orientation (Taylor, 1967). Therefore, although these interpretations are tenable, they by no means fully explain the findings or resolve the contradictions of research in this area.

3. Summary of Studies on Achievement Motivation

It would be difficult (if at all possible) to summarize the findings of these studies with females concerned with the effect of arousal on achievement motivation scores as reflected by TAT imagery. What is clear however is that women fail to elicit the expected increase in n Ach scores when exposed to experimental conditions stressing intelligence and leadership ability.

As mentioned previously, this research grew out of the original work of McClelland and his co-workers (1953) which was based upon Expectancy-Value Theory. Their studies isolated two motives the Hope for Success (Ms), and the Fear of Failure (M-f), and the relative strengths of these was found to reliably predict the level of achievement motivation and performance in males. The attempt of these researchers to understand achievement motivation arousal of females within the context of this experimental and theoretical paradigm, resulted in increasingly more confusion until these early researchers finally concluded that women must have a strong Hope for Failure (Mf), and excluded them from their research on achievement motivation entirely.

In order to clarify the cloudy picture that emerged with females, other researchers have attempted to relate achievement motivation scores to environmental variables such as the sex of the principal TAT figure, nature of the arousal

condition, and to personality variables such as sex-role orientation, scholastic achievement performance and need for social acceptance. Rather than elucidate the dynamics of achievement in females, these studies have only compounded the confusion. Evaluation of the findings is complicated by the widely differing research designs, arousal techniques and dependent variables used. Aside from these methodological differences, there remains a very basic lack of knowledge and understanding of achievement motivation in women.

Studies on the "Motive to Avoid Success" (MAS) in Females

1. Sex, Age and Intellectual Differences in the Incidence of MAS

In 1968 Matina Horner successfully reconciled some of the contradictory and confusing findings in the early research on achievement motivation in women by postulating an avoidance motive experienced by females in relation to successful achievement.

The development of this new concept, "the motive to avoid success" (M-s or MAS), the underlying theory and rationale and its measurement have already been extensively described in the theoretical section.

In her original empirical research, Horner (1968) administered the verbal TAT cues to 90 male and 88 female freshman and sophomore college students. The cues were altered so that the principal character was of the same sex as the subject writing the story. The results for the male Ss indicated that 90% expressed a strong positive attitude towards the successful achievement of the male in the verbal cue, including confidence in his future and a feeling that achieving success would enable the fulfillment of other goals such as general happiness in personal relationships or marriage. Only 9% of the males (8 Ss) had responses that reflected the "motive to avoid success," and their stories focused mainly on the man's rather unexciting personality.

The results for the female Ss indicated that as many as 65% of the women expressed strong negative feelings and attitudes towards the successful achievement of the female in the cue, including negative consequences in her future such as social rejection by men and loss of femininity.

In a qualitative analysis of one particular cue, "After first-term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical-school class," Horner teased out three major classes of responses which reflected the "motive to avoid success" in these highly gifted college women.

The most common category were those stories which expressed strong fears of social rejection as a consequence of success. The women in this group showed anxiety over becoming unpopular, unmarriagable and lonely. For example, "Anne doesn't want to be number one in her class -- she feels she shouldn't rank so high because of social reasons. She drops down to ninth in the class and then marries the boy who graduates number one."

The second fear of success category included stories which expressed concern about definitions of womanhood, femininity and normalcy with a great deal of despair and guilt associated with success. For example, "Anne feels guilty -- she will finally have a nervous breakdown and quit medical school and marry a successful young doctor."

The third category included stories which expressed denial as a major defense mechanism in dealing with their

ambivalence over successful achievement. For example, "Anne is a code name for a nonexistent person created by a group of medical students." Another example of this third category was evident in a study cited earlier (McMahan, 1972) in which females attributed their success in the solution of mathematical problems to luck.

The findings of Horner's (1968) initial study, that females have a significantly higher incidence of "fear of success" imagery than males, has been reproduced in several subsequent studies with samples varying in age, school grade and occupation.

Horner & Rhoem (1968) (Horner, 1972) in a study with female Ss found the incidence of the "motive to avoid success" imagery to be 47% in seventh graders, 60% in eleventh graders, 81% in college undergraduates and 87% in secretaries.

Schwenn (1970) confirmed the high incidence (75%) of fear of success imagery in his sample of female college Juniors in a select eastern University. Likewise, Watson (1970) found that 87% of the female Law School students and 65% of the female summer school students tested, showed evidence of fear of success imagery (Horner, 1970, 1972).

Alper (1974) replicated Horner's (1968) study with undergraduate females at Wellesley College during the academic year of 1970-1971. The results indicated an incidence as high as 89% of MAS imagery. During the same period, Hoffman (Alper, 1974) tested females at the University of

Michigan where Horner had conducted her original study, and found that the incidence of fear of success imagery had remained as high as it had been in 1968.

Prescott (1971) (Horner, 1972) in a very recent study with male and female college Freshmen found that although statistically significant sex differences exist in the production of fear of success imagery (males, 47%; females, 88%), males tended to have a higher incidence of the "motive to avoid success" than previously evidenced by Horner in her initial research. However, a qualitative analysis of these stories helped explain this recent phenomenon. What emerged was the ideological theme that doing well in medical school (and other achievements sanctioned by society) means joining the "capitalistic rat-race," and forfeiting personal fulfillment. In short, the men who expected negative consequences as a result of successful achievement were not concerned or conflicted about masculinity, but rather tended to express a preference for non-materialistic happiness.

In contrast, these stories which reflect changing attitudes towards what was traditionally successful in our society did not exist for the females. The stories of the women who scored high in the "motive to avoid success" continued to reflect the conflict between successful achievement, social rejection and/or loss of femininity. However, the manifest content of these underlying concerns in a number of cases took on a new form since Horner's original work,

including themes of "becoming a lesbian" and "accidentally becoming pregnant" which interfere with achievement pursuits.

To summarize, the research findings concerned with sex differences in the incidence of the "motive to avoid success" imagery indicate that males have a significantly lower incidence than females, and of the female college samples cited thus far, fear of success imagery has ranged from 60% to 89%. In addition, the results reflect a general trend towards an increase in the incidence of MAS imagery with school grade level. This finding was confirmed by Cross & Detterbeck (1972) who in addition found a significant positive correlation between intellectual ability (College Board Verbal Scores) and level of the "motive to avoid success," offering the interpretation that bright women as well as women close to graduation face a greater possibility of outperforming men, and therefore are in greater conflict over success.

In a very recent study, Tresemer (1974) reviewed a large number of studies concerned with an examination of the incidence of MAS. Although the studies tended to support a high degree of fear of success imagery in females, there was a great deal of fluctuation in the actual percentage of MAS among females (as well as males) from one study to the next with no consistent pattern in the variations found. In an attempt to decipher the cause of this confusion, Tresemer examined the scoring criteria utilized by the different

researchers as indicative of MAS. His results reflected significant inconsistencies in the measurement of fear of success from one study to the next due to sexual biases on the part of the scorers (with female Es scoring a higher percentage of MAS imagery) as well as variations in the criteria established as to what imagery qualifies as a manifestation of the "motive to avoid success." Tresemer attributes these inconsistencies in part to a clouded theoretical understanding of the "motive to avoid success," and points out that the relationship between MAS imagery and achievement behavior, particularly in competitive settings still remains ambiguous. He concludes on a note of skepticism, and suggests that the validity of the "motive to avoid success" cannot be judged until these theoretical and methodological problems are more carefully researched and understood.

Alper (1972) too, observed what she termed a "now-you-see-it-now-you-don't" phenomenon in relation to the incidence of MAS imagery from one study to the next, but she attributes these fluctuations to methodological differences from one study to the next, rather than to a lack of validity of the motive, or a basic instability in its occurrence. She postulates that differences in personality characteristics and sex-role orientation of the subjects from one study to the next may account for differences in results, and therefore suggests the need for a more systematic examination of the

influence of these variables on fear of success imagery and behavior.

In the following sections, research will be examined which attempts to study the relationship between MAS imagery and the female's achievement performance as well as her sex-role orientation.

2. The Effect of MAS on Intellectual Achievement Performance in Females

Interestingly, although in Cross & Detterback's (1972) experiment, females high in MAS tended to have significantly higher verbal ability, they were no different in actual performance (Grade Point Average) than female peers who scored low in MAS and had poorer verbal ability. This finding suggests that the "motive to avoid success" apparently depresses intellectual performance and neutralizes the ability difference between high and low MAS women so that their difference in ability is not reflected in a difference in school grade.

The effect of MAS level on achievement performance was also examined by Horner (1968) in her initial study with 88 college men and 90 college women. Horner hypothesized that women high in fear of success would show a significant decrease in performance level in achievement situations involving direct competition with males. This hypothesis is based on Horner's theory that MAS, a psychological barrier inhibiting successful achievement, results from the expectancy held by women that success in competitive achievement, and its concomitant aggressive overtones, will be followed by negative consequences including loss of femininity and social rejection by men.

All Ss in the study worked on the solution of a

series of achievement problems (verbal and arithmetic) alone (non-competitive situation), and against a member of the opposite sex (competitive situation).

The results demonstrated a significant and dramatic decline in performance of MAS females under the competitive achievement setting as compared with the non-competitive situation. On the other hand, women low in fear of success behaved more like men in that they solved significantly more problems in the competitive situation than when working alone. In addition to the "motive to avoid success," Horner tested these Ss with the traditional visual TAT cues for a measure of the "motive to achieve," the "motive to affiliate with others," and the "motive to avoid failure," and analyzed these scores in relation to performance under the different experimental conditions. The results of this analysis indicated that the independent measure of the "motive to avoid success" was the only variable measured that related significantly to the observed decrease in performance of some women in achievement settings involving direct competition with men.

This finding helps to explain the contradictory and often ambiguous findings in the early research with women in which achievement motivation was aroused via instructions stressing "intelligence and leadership ability," and subsequently measured on visual TAT cues. These researchers based their conclusions on the belief that they had in fact aroused

the "motive to achieve" in their female Ss, and with this erroneous assumption it is no wonder that they concluded that women must have a hopeless "will to fail." Instead, Horner has effectively demonstrated that what is being aroused in some women is not the "motive to achieve," but rather anxiety associated with the "motive to avoid success."

Makovsky (1972), in a 2 X 3 X 2 factorial design, conducted an expanded version of Horner's (1968) study in order to further examine the effect of MAS level on achievement performance of women in competitive as compared with non-competitive achievement settings. Ss were given Horner's TAT verbal cues to assess whether MAS was present or absent, and were then given a series of anagram problems in one of three experimental conditions; one-third worked alone, one-third competed against a member of the opposite sex, and one-third competed against a member of the same sex. In addition, the instructions were varied so that half of the Ss in each of the above conditions received "male instructions" and half received "female instructions." The male instructions informed Ss that males typically do better on anagrams because of the ability men have in spacial and visual organization, and that the task correlates highly with other tests of masculinity and professional ability. The female instructions informed Ss of the opposite, namely that females typically do better because of their better ability in verbal skills, and that the task correlates highly with other tests

of femininity and homemaking.

The results of the study reflected a significant interaction between all three variables. Surprisingly, all women regardless of whether or not MAS was present or absent, performed poorly when working alone. Women high in MAS solved anagrams most effectively when working in competition with another woman on a "feminine task." In addition, there was a significant decline in performance of these women when competing against a male, and this was true especially on a "masculine task."

This latter result confirms Horner's prediction that women high in the "motive to avoid success" perform significantly poorer in achievement settings in which there is competition with males. However, the findings do not support Horner's contention that competition per se is a determining factor in the arousal of the anxiety associated with MAS since women high in MAS performed significantly better in the competitive situation against a member of their own sex, than they did when working alone.

Females low in fear of success on the other hand were found to perform significantly better when working in competition against a male especially on a "masculine task" than they did when working alone or in competition with a female, especially on a "feminine task." In other words, although all women showed a significant decline when working alone, women high in MAS performed best when competing

against another female on a "feminine task," and women low in MAS performed most effectively when competing against a male on a "masculine task."

These results were based upon the author's assumption that by altering instructions she was varying the sex-role orientation of the task itself, when in fact what may have been mobilized instead is the S's attitudes towards a sex-role orientation. In specific, for a woman who believes a career is important (which Makovsky found to be the women low in MAS), a task that is said to "correlate highly with other tests of femininity and homemaking" might be expected to arouse negative attitudes and a desire not to do well! This interpretation relates specifically to the earlier mentioned "differential acceptance hypothesis" proposed by French & Lesser (1964), and empirically confirmed by Taylor (1967) that women who favor a career orientation for themselves, feel they must reject the homemaking orientation and everything associated with it. It is therefore probable that it was this negative attitude towards homemaking that Makovsky was observing in her female Ss who were low in the "motive to avoid success."

In order to examine what was actually intended, namely the relation between level of fear of success and performance on a masculine versus a feminine stereotyped task, the content of the material itself must be altered (e.g., from mathematical to verbal).

Makovsky's finding that low MAS women do significantly poorer when competing against women than men, may possibly be reflecting the new "sisterhood" phenomenon experienced by many career-oriented women, and encouraged in the enumerable womens' "consciousness-raising groups" that presently exist. This feeling of comradarie among bright career-oriented women may have significantly mitigated their tendency to compete and outwin one another -- hence, the significant decline in performance.

The fact that high MAS women were found to perform significantly better when competing against other women than when working alone refutes Horner's prediction concerning the arousal of fear of success. It must be reiterated here that Horner's conceptualization of the "motive to avoid success" refers to a very specific avoidance motive with the underlying anxiety of a situational nature being aroused in achievement situations involving direct competition with men. According to the theory, it is the rather aggressive, masculine overtones of a competitive achievement situation that arouses anxiety in high MAS women which is associated with the expectation of negative consequences of social rejection by men and loss of femininity. It would therefore be expected from this theory that women high in MAS would perform most effectively when working alone with no competitor, less effectively when competing against other women, and least effectively when competing against men.

The latter prediction was partially confirmed by Makovsky as the high MAS women performed most poorly when competing against men. However, the fact that they worked more effectively in a competitive situation against other women than when working alone, suggests that another factor aside from competition and its aggressive nature per se is responsible for the anxiety and concomitant decline in achievement performance in women with a fear of success. What is suggested here instead, is the arousal of the "motive to avoid success" in achievement situations in which the gratification of basic dependency or affiliative needs is threatened.

Indirect support for this hypothesis comes from the findings of a recent study by Morgan & Mausner (1972) who attempted to test the possibility that behavioral indicators of the "motive to avoid success" might be present at times when the fear of success is not expressed in TAT fantasy productions.

Male and female high school students were given half of the Hidden Figures Task, and Ss whose scores fell in the lowest and highest quartile proceeded to the second part of the experiment. Ss were also given Horner's verbal TAT test. During the second part of the experiment, male and female partners were set up in two conditions with respect to their scores on the Hidden Figures Task: high-male: low female and low-male: high female. Ss were given "standard cooperative" instructions to work on the second half of the

Hidden Figures Task. Different colored pencils were given to differentiate the work of each partner within the dyad, although a team score was obtained. A "difference score" was obtained for each dyad by subtracting the original score of the low partner from the team score.

The results indicate that females in the high-female: low-male dyads did significantly poorer when working with a male than when originally working alone. However, in the dyads in which the male was originally high and the female low, the male persisted in his superior performance when working with a female partner.

In an examination of each subject as his (her) own control, it was discovered that high females as a group, had a significant decrease in performance when working with a male partner, the performance of low females remained constant from the solo to the dyad condition, the performance of high males declined slightly, and the performance of originally low males improved from the solo to the dyad condition.

These results clearly demonstrate behavioral manifestations of MAS in bright females. In terms of fantasized indicators of MAS (as measured on Horner's verbal cues), no significant relationship was found between fantasized fear of success and actual fear of success behavior. In fact, there was an overall tendency on the part of all females (regardless of MAS imagery) who originally scored high on

the Embedded Figures Task, to lower their scores below that of their male partner, and/or to display anxiety through giggling, etc.

The experimenters question Horner's test as an adequate tool for measuring the presence or absence of MAS. Certainly the results indicate the necessity for caution and a preference to utilize it in conjunction with other measures.

The results of Morgan & Mausner's study support the postulations of the present thesis that the "motive to avoid success" is a more generalized personality conflict in females not restricted to situations in which there is direct competition with males as Horner proposes. What is interesting is the existence of behavioral manifestations of MAS within a cooperative setting between the sexes in which Ss were told to help each other in working on the solution together. This situation elicits the arousal of both achievement and affiliative motives which are hypothesized by the present writer to be the source of conflict underlying the "motive to avoid success."

It is suggested that the decline in performance of initially "high-performance" females when working cooperatively on the same task with "low-performance" males, is a reflection that MAS affects behavior in a non-competitive, cooperative setting. These women are caught in a double-bind -- on one hand exists the desire to be helpful (affiliative need), but this simultaneously means outshining the male partner

(achievement motive), since they are in fact more skilled at the task. The conflict here is one between affiliative and achievement needs, between wanting to be helpful, to be liked, and wanting to do well, to succeed. The fear of success here is clearly a fear of being disliked, rejected and abandoned if she surpasses the performance of her male counterpart, and not, as Horner suggests, a fear of the aggressive overtones of a competitive achievement situation.

It is possible therefore that MAS imagery was not necessarily evident in women who showed a fear of success in behavior, precisely because Horner's verbal cues refer implicitly, but specifically to achievement situations in which there is direct competition between males and females. It would be necessary therefore, to include verbal stimuli which refer to more generalized achievement settings. In effect, Horner's verbal TAT cues are designed specifically for the type of experimental manipulations she performed in her study. It is not suggested here that fear of success is not aroused within competitive achievement situations. Rather, what is being suggested is that this is only one of a large variety of achievement settings in which anxiety over success inhibits successful achievement in females, and that these settings have in common, an underlying conflict between achievement and affiliative needs.

The nature of the anxiety underlying the fear of success motive again becomes an issue in the interpretation

of the findings by Weston & Mednick (1970). In this study, Horner's verbal TAT cues were administered to Black and White undergraduate females of a lower and middle-class status, and their stories were scored and compared in terms of MAS imagery.

The results indicated that Black women as a whole showed significantly less MAS imagery than White women. The authors interpret their results within the framework of Horner's theory, and conclude that the anxiety associated with the aggressive nature in intellectually competitive settings is not relevant to Black women who are often placed in a more dominant, aggressive position within the family structure. It is the belief of the present writer that although the results of this study clearly point to a social and cultural etiology of MAS, it is not necessarily the "aggressive" characteristic that is crucial here in differentiating the two cultures with respect to fear of success. Rather, one must examine differences within the entire range of characteristics associated with the female sex-role stereotype including passivity, dependency and "warmth-expressiveness" which could also be determining the presence or absence of MAS imagery.

Again the possibility emerges that basic dependency needs and affiliative motives are the important underlying needs intrinsically connected with the "motive to avoid success." In this regard, it is quite true that Black women are often forced by circumstance into a more independent position

socially (the high percentage of male-absent families) as well as occupationally. Even within middle-class Black culture, the sex-role stereotype associated with females does not centrally include an absence of achievement as with middle-class White culture. This point will be considered again in the next section in reference to the important influence of male peers on the level of MAS behavior in females.

In summary, the findings of the empirical research in this section confirm the high incidence of MAS in bright, achievement-oriented women, and support Horner's (1968) prediction of an increase in MAS as a function of intellectual ability, and school year. However, in contrast to Horner's theory, the empirical findings indicate that the arousal of the "motive to avoid success" in females is not restricted to achievement settings in which there is direct competition between males and females. This finding refutes Horner's theoretical formulation of MAS in which the underlying anxiety is believed to be associated with a fear of aggression which becomes particularly intense within competitive achievement settings.

The present theory offers an alternative dynamic formulation of the "motive to avoid success," with a focus on an underlying conflict between affiliative and achievement motives. Empirical research documenting the existence of a strong fusion between achievement and affiliative needs in

many females has been reviewed in an earlier section. It must be noted that in some achievement settings, there is a congruent fusion between affiliative and achievement needs, namely the gratification of affiliative needs is instrumental to the achievement goal at hand. However, in many achievement situations (one of which is a competitive achievement setting), there is a direct conflict between achievement and affiliative needs -- the gratification of one threatens the gratification of the other. It is within these achievement settings that some women (with strong dependency and affiliative needs) become anxious and attempt to resolve the underlying conflict via the "motive to avoid success."

What is being suggested here is that the anxiety associated with a fear of success is not a fear of aggression (which is one dimension of the "masculine" sex-role stereotype), but rather a fear of independence and autonomy (another "masculine" characteristic) which would result from successful achievement. For women high in MAS, the sense of independence which naturally accompanies successful achievement, precipitates an underlying anxiety of being abandoned, unloved and alone. In this situation, basic affiliative needs are considered to be threatened by achievement needs, and the anxiety associated with this conflict is allayed via "the motive to avoid success."

3. The Motive to Avoid Success and Sex-Role Orientation in Females

In a recent small study of sixteen college women, Schwenn (1970), using a modified questionnaire version of the TAT and intensive interviews, explored some personal and situational factors during the college experience which tend to arouse fear of success behavior in women with this predisposition.

One important finding that emerged from the data was that upon entrance to college, most of the women were highly involved and dedicated to a future innovative career, but as graduation approached, many had altered their aspirations and plans towards a more traditional feminine occupation. Interestingly, the presence of MAS imagery on the TAT was significantly correlated with this change towards a traditional occupational choice.

Tangri's (1969, 1972) findings confirm the fact that a great majority of women progressively alter their occupational choice in the direction of a traditional female career from their freshman to senior year in college. However, unlike Schwenn's findings, no significant difference in the presence or absence of the "motive to avoid success" imagery existed when comparing senior women with a "traditional" career choice with those who had chosen an "innovative" male-dominated career.

In another very recent study with college women, a high positive correlation was found between MAS level and the tendency towards the traditional feminine sex-role orientation. Specifically, those women who scored high in MAS imagery on Horner's verbal TAT cues, valued a traditional homemaking orientation as wife and mother for themselves significantly more than a career-orientation. This tendency towards the feminine sex-role orientation was significantly more pronounced in women high in MAS compared with women who did not express MAS imagery in their fantasy productions. However, no correlation between level of MAS (or sex-role orientation) and the importance a woman places on femininity or her own feelings of femininity were found (Makosky, 1972).

The results of the studies cited thus far clearly parallel the general increasing trend in the incidence of MAS in women from their Freshman to their Senior year in college. Taken together, the findings indicate a concomitant intensification in MAS and the tendency towards a traditional homemaking orientation in women as graduation approaches.

Alper (1974) has recently begun an extensive examination of the relationship between sex-role orientation and fear of success imagery among females. In one such study, incidence of MAS imagery was examined as a function of the sex-role orientation of the TAT cue and the subject. Half of the subjects (nursing students and liberal arts undergraduates) in each group were given Horner's original "Anne

medical school" cue, and the other half were given a reworded "Anne nursing school" stimulus. The results indicated that the nursing students showed a significantly higher percentage of MAS imagery (80%) to the "medical school" as compared with the "nursing school" stimulus (14%), suggesting the lack of arousal of MAS imagery in relation to a traditional, female-appropriate field. Surprisingly, however, no such discriminatory pattern emerged for the liberal arts students who showed equal MAS imagery to both cues.

In another study, Alper (1974) reworded the stimulus cue, omitting the medical school reference ("After first term finals Anne finds herself at the top of her class"). The results indicated that for Wellesley College undergraduate females, the omission of the "masculine-associated" aspect of the stimulus cue, significantly reduced the percentage of arousal of MAS imagery.

In addition, Alper constructed the Wellesley Role Orientation Scale (WROS), a self-rating scale which measures the degree a female tends towards a traditional career and family sex-role orientation. Following these self-ratings, Alper (1974) presented subjects with a TAT "Chem Lab" picture, which depicted two females in a laboratory setting. The results indicated a significant relationship between sex-role orientation and degree and nature of MAS imagery. The women who favored a feminine sex-role orientation, tended to have a significantly higher percentage of MAS imagery, and their

"success" stories tended to reveal achievement as instrumental to the gratification of dependency ("woman as man's helper) and affiliative needs.

Alper's (1974) results strongly confirm the present expanded dynamic formulation of MAS as reflecting an underlying conflict between achievement and affiliative needs, with the former motive being associated with the "masculine" and the latter motive with the "feminine" sex-role stereotype and orientation.

4. The Influence of Male Peers on MAS in Females

In the study by Schwenn (1970), women who were high in MAS preferred to conceal from male peers the fact that they received an "A" in a course, and tended instead to pretend that they received a grade of "C."

Another interesting finding that emerged was that those women with an underlying "motive to avoid success" who had altered their occupational plans towards a more traditional, female career, were either not dating at all (those with straight "A" averages) or were dating men who disapproved of "career women." In fact, many of these women were quite explicit in relating how this disapproval of their male friends had influenced their tendency towards a more traditional field.

On the other hand, those women without a fear of success, and even those with MAS who were continuing to strive towards innovative careers, were engaged or seriously dating men with a positive attitude towards intellectual and career orientation for women.

In relation to the important influence of male peers on women's occupational choice, Tangri (1969, 1972) confirmed Horner's findings. "Role Innovators" (Senior college women who planned a career in a male-dominated field) tended to have significantly more male friends who supported a career orientation for women than "Traditional" women. Although the

personality profiles of "Innovators" were found to include such characteristics as individualism and autonomy, Tangri found that the reassurance of a tolerant, supportive boyfriend was particularly critical in influencing and sustaining their career choice in a male-dominant field. Although there was no significant quantitative difference in MAS imagery between Innovators and Traditional women, qualitative differences were found to exist. Although all women expressed a fear of rejection by men, Traditionals focused specifically on romantic relationships whereas Innovators expressed a fear of rejection by male peers in non-romantic relationships as well.

The importance of this male influence on the ultimate career choice of women tends to point to a significant interaction between the "motive to avoid success" and dependency in women. The developmental antecedents will be explored in a later section.

5. The Motive to Avoid Success and Personal Adjustment in Females

Since the "motive to avoid success" reflects an underlying conflict, it is not surprising that several researchers have attempted to examine whether college women with a strong fear of success are generally more maladjusted than women with no such conflict over achievement.

Horner (1972) presents data in the form of TAT fantasy productions to support the contention that the anxiety associated with MAS has a deleterious effect on the women's psychological well-being. She referred specifically to the frustration, hostility, bitterness and confusion expressed in the stories of women high in fear of success who constantly inhibit any direct expression of their achievement needs. For example, in response to the cue "Anne is sitting in a chair with a smile on her face," 90% of women low in MAS expressed positive, primarily affiliative stories whereas 80% of women high in MAS expressed negative and primarily hostile stories centering around Anne's manipulation of others. Again Horner's finding substantiates her theory that the conflict underlying the "motive to avoid success" involves aggressive and hostile impulses.

In a study by Cross and Detterbeck (1970), personality assessments of college women were made using the Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB) in addition to Horner's

story completion technique. The results indicated that for freshman women, no difference in personality adjustment existed as a function of the presence or absence of the "motive to avoid success." However, for juniors, a significant difference was found, namely women with MAS were found to be significantly more maladjusted than women without such a conflict. Furthermore, Junior women with an absence of fear of success were found to be significantly better adjusted than the other three groups. These results confirm Horner's prediction that as women approach graduation (success) there is an intensification of the conflict underlying the "motive to avoid success" which is reflected in poorer adjustment. In addition, these results demonstrate that those women who remain conflict-free under conditions which tend to enhance a conflict over success, are in general better adjusted. This phenomenon appears to support the present thesis that MAS is a more general personality characteristic affecting a wide variety of behaviors in a wide range of situations, not merely a fear of aggression within competitive achievement situations.

Binger (1966), in an article concerned with emotional disturbances among college women, describes a particular syndrome of depression as the single most frequently encountered emotional disturbance:

The depression seems to be a kind of declaration of dependence, of helplessness and a muted cry for help as well (p. 197).

Binger describes the depression as an "identity crisis" with underlying feelings of inadequacy. This is manifested in a wide range of symptoms including varying degrees of anxiety, maladjusted eating habits ranging from overeating to anorexia, acne, menstrual irregularity, a loss of zest, a feeling of apathy and fatigue, and an apparent need for extra sleep often during class hours.

Although Binger does not specify the underlying dynamics of this depression, his examples of its occurrence are all related to a conflict between "love and security" (affiliative needs) and academic achievement. Interestingly, his description of this phenomenon observed in so many college women seems identical to the "motive to avoid success" which Horner describes. In fact, in relation to the precipitating event of this depression, Binger says:

Even conspicuous success can bring on this reaction in certain individuals (p. 198).

There has been empirical research which substantiates Binger's findings that the incompatibility between the female role and success in a college setting results in a failure on the part of many women to make a successful adjustment to the college setting. Heilbrun (1962) found this to be significantly related to the high dropout rate in college women before the second year. The findings of both an earlier study by Komorovsky (1946), and a follow-up study by Wallin (1960) indicate that a large number of college

women feel a necessity to feign inferiority to male peers, while in reality feeling themselves as equals. Heilbrun (1963) conducted a study to examine the effect of the incompatibility between feminine sex-role behavior and college demands on personality adjustment in college women. The results indicated that the stronger the feminine sex-role adoption, the greater the sex-role confusion in female students. However, the confusion was not found to exist in interpersonal relationships, but rather tended to be restricted to those behaviors directly associated with achievement motivation.

Although the foregoing research preceded Horner's contribution, it clearly relates to the "motive to avoid success," and suggests a close connection between this conflict over achievement, sex-role confusion and emotional difficulties among college women.

In a study by Watson (1970) (Horner, 1972) with 37 college females, a significant positive correlation was found between heavy drug use (marijuana, LSD and speed), and fear of success -- whereas 54% of the MAS women reported heavy drug usage, only 7.7% of the non-MAS women did so. It must be remembered however, that this finding is purely correlational and therefore no definitive causal relationship or explanation can be derived from it. However, taken within the context of the foregoing research, this parallel relationship between heavy drug usage and the "motive to

avoid success" suggests some emotional difficulties in women with a fear of success. The underlying dynamics to explain specifically why these women tend to resort to drugs -- be it an escape or avoidance mechanism, or an expression of dependency needs -- remains at present mere speculation and awaits future empirical research.

5. The Motive to Avoid Success in Females and their Devaluation of Feminine Achievement Competency

Although women's inability to attain work status comparable to that of men especially with respect to professional achievement has been frequently attributed to such external barriers as discrimination by employers, scarcity of day-care centers and "male chauvinism," the research summarized thus far indicates that internal psychological barriers revolving around the "motive to avoid success" in women has in itself contributed to the present state of affairs.

Another set of data already cited is relevant here, namely the work of Goldberg (1968) in which women were found to devalue the merit and competency of articles allegedly written by females as compared to the identical articles with a male authorship. Dorros & Follet (1969) (Goldberg, 1972) in a replication of Goldberg's study with a sample of male college students found the same negative bias in relation to achievement efforts of women, but less strongly than Goldberg's female sample. Goldberg's interpretation of these results as reflecting women's prejudice against the intellectual achievements of other women via the process of "identification with the aggressor" (Allport, 1958) is feasible. However, it does not explain the fact that this prejudice is stronger in women than in men. In

addition, it does not explain the findings of a study cited earlier by Taylor (1967) in which females who favored an intellectual career orientation tended to devalue the intellectual competence and ambitiousness of other women significantly more than females who favored a homemaking orientation.

Therefore, there must be some additional underlying motivation contributing to this phenomenon of prejudice among women against the achievement efforts of their own sex. It is hypothesized by the present writer that in addition to the defense maneuver of "identification with the aggressor," the "motive to avoid success" is another defense responsible for the apparent bias women demonstrate against the achievement of other women. To reiterate, Horner (1968) proposed that the "motive to avoid success" exists in bright, educated women who experience anxiety over the consequences of achieving success because "unusual excellence in academic intellectual or other competitive achievement becomes conspicuously equated with a loss of femininity and the possibility of social rejection becomes very real (p. 3)."

It is postulated here that in the process of evaluating articles written by other women, those females high in fear of success identify with the female authors, and project this fear onto them. Thus, the anxiety associated with the "motive to avoid success" in women is aroused in the presence of an achievement effort of another female via the process of

identification and projection, and is reduced by the subsequent devaluation of the author's intellectual and professional competence.

It must be repeated here that Horner viewed the anxiety associated with MAS in women as situational in nature being aroused specifically in achievement settings involving direct competition with men. The underlying rationale for this conceptualization is that the anxiety is specifically associated with the aggressive, "masculine" overtones that exist within situations involving direct competition especially with males. This conceptualization is limited because it restricts our understanding to rather artificial achievement situations not representative of the actual career-world in which competition is ever-present but of a much more subtle nature. It can be said that even aside from the formal employment world, the average person is constantly bombarded with samples of achievement efforts (in magazines, newspaper articles, books, recordings, paintings, etc.) which he (she) evaluates in reference to some standard of excellence. These everyday evaluations are subtly competitive in nature, and it is quite plausible therefore that the underlying existence of MAS would serve to distort this standard of excellence in a direction which favors the achievement efforts of males as compared with females.

The confirmation of this hypothesis would provide

an expanded conceptualization of the "motive to avoid success" -- that when present, it exists as a more stable personality characteristic with the underlying anxiety of a more generalized, multi-situational nature affecting a wide range of achievement-associated attitudes, beliefs and behaviors.

Support for this hypothesis is evidenced in a study cited earlier by Pheterson (1969) who utilized Goldberg's (1968) technique with a sample of middle-aged, uneducated women. Unlike Goldberg's study, the articles were all in "feminine" stereotyped fields (marriage, child discipline and special education). The results contradicted those of Goldberg as the women in this sample evaluated the female-authorship articles as equal to or more favorable than the same articles written by a male. The different results of Goldberg and Pheterson were obviously due to the different sample of Ss and articles used, and can dynamically be understood in terms of the presence (Goldberg's study), and absence (Pheterson's study) of the "motive to avoid success." The research findings cited thus far consistently demonstrate a high positive correlation between intellectual ability, level of education and the existence of MAS. These results are consistent with Horner's theory that the greater the probability of surpassing men in the area of achievement, the greater the probability of the existence of a conflict over success. The women in Pheterson's study were all middle-aged and although no study thus far has measured the incidence

of MAS in this age group, it would be expected that the level of fear of success would be significantly lower than in the sample of college women in Goldberg's study. The articles too in Pheterson's study were all in traditionally feminine fields in which female achievement is readily accepted. It is quite plausible therefore, that the combination of the sample of women and articles in Pheterson's study resulted in no conflict over achievement whatsoever, and hence there was no evidence of devaluation of female authors.

By introducing the concept of the "motive to avoid success," the previously uninterpretable results of another similar study cited earlier (Pheterson, et al., 1971) become meaningful. These researchers used a variation of Goldberg's technique with paintings, and in addition to the sex of the painter, the researchers also manipulated the status of the painting ("entry" versus "winner" of a content). The paintings were evaluated by college females along the dimensions of technical competence, creativity, overall quality and content, emotional impact, and prediction of artist's future success.

The results indicated that when a painting was allegedly an "entry in a content," there was a significant devaluation of the identical painting with a female as opposed to a male painter. However, these significant devaluations of female painters occurred only on the dimensions of technical competence and prediction of artist's future

success. On the other hand, no significant differences were found in evaluations when the paintings allegedly were "past winners" in a contest. The authors interpret these findings in relation to the "prejudice hypothesis." Although they admit that this interpretation is by itself not sufficient, they are unable to offer a further explanation of the phenomenon they observed in their study.

It becomes apparent that the concept of the "motive to avoid success" is extremely pertinent here in explaining the strong tendency among females to devalue the technical competence and future success of other women. In the first place, although there was no direct competition in the study, the "entry" condition does imply an indirect form of competition. In accordance with the hypothesis proposed by the present writer, the female ss in the study identified with the female painters depicted, and those ss with an underlying fear of success projected this fear onto the painter. In addition to Horner's belief that MAS is aroused in achievement situations involving direct competition with males, it is hypothesized here, that MAS is also aroused in achievement situations in which the competition is of a more indirect, subtle nature, for example, in the "entry" condition of this study. In specific, it is quite plausible that for women with a high level of MAS, anxiety is aroused in a situation in which paintings are allegedly "entries" in a contest, and anxiety over success is reduced when success has already been

achieved ("winner" condition).

This explanation is very comprehensible in that MAS is an "avoidance" motive associated with the anticipation of a goal: women high in MAS, in a multiplicity of ways, avoid achieving success altogether. However, if a situation is set up in which the anticipation and avoidance of an achievement goal has already been successfully overcome, the anxiety associated with the anticipation of the consequence of success is no longer relevant, and anxiety is therefore reduced.

If the arousal of MAS is in fact the chief underlying factor responsible for these devaluations, and not a general prejudice which the authors postulate, then it would be expected that a selective pattern of devaluations would emerge consistent with a fear of success. This in fact occurred since the ratings of the female painters in the "entry" condition were not uniformly devalued along all dimensions, but rather appeared specifically in reference to the painter's technical competence and expected future success. Interestingly, the latter is a direct expression of the "motive to avoid success," namely when a painting is described as an "entry" in a content, women tend to significantly devalue the artist's future success if she is a woman. In contrast, the dimensions on which no significant devaluation occurred were all feminine stereotyped characteristics (creativity and emotional impact), and therefore no conflict

over success would be expected.

Certainly the "motive to avoid success" as well as women's tendency to degrade their own and each other's work both contribute to the general lack of willingness among women to try to achieve and support each other's achievement efforts. The present formulation of the "motive to avoid success" as a crucial underlying factor influencing this tendency among women to devalue the achievement efforts of other women has been substantiated by the findings of empirical research.

This formulation provides an important horizontal expansion of MAS in females to include a broad framework of achievement-related attitudes, feelings and behavior, not restricted to those achievement settings in which there is direct competition against males.

Studies on Developmental Antecedents of the
"Motive to Avoid Success" in Females

Aside from expanding the present conceptualization of the "motive to avoid success" horizontally to include a broader framework of achievement behavior, of interest here too is a vertical expansion that would enable an understanding of the developmental antecedents associated with the predisposition towards MAS in women.

This particular area has not yet been directly examined theoretically or empirically so that all pertinent information must be derived indirectly from research in related areas.

It must be remembered that according to Horner (1968), MAS is paradoxically present in bright women with a high level of achievement motivation. This is understandable because only for women with a strong motive to achieve as well as the inherent ability to actualize an achievement goal (success), can a conflict over success exist. To review the major research briefly here, MAS women were found to be bright women with a high level of achievement motivation; they tended to have histories of academic success, and despite their high Grade Point Average in college, their occupational aspirations were in traditional female-dominated fields. Bright women who did not have a fear of success on the other hand, were inclined to aspire towards a graduate

degree and a career in a male-dominated, innovative field.

In order to shed some light upon possible familial antecedents of the "motive to avoid success" in women, it is relevant here to review empirical research that examines the effect of parental variables on a daughter's subsequent achievement motivation level and career orientation. For our purpose therefore the focus will concentrate primarily on studies using high achievement-oriented women. Fortunately, there are a number of researchers who differentiate among high achievement women, those with career aspirations in traditional "female-dominated" fields from those with career aspirations in fields that are "male-dominated."

For the purpose of deriving viable hypotheses concerning the developmental antecedents of MAS from this research, it will first be necessary to examine parental characteristics of high achievement women in general, and then to sift out from these general characteristics, those which distinguish "traditional" (MAS) women from "contemporary" (non MAS) women.

1. Achievement Motivation and Sex-Role Orientation in Females as a Function of Maternal Child-Rearing Attitudes

Keniston & Keniston (1964) feel that women develop conflicted if not negative attitudes towards a dual role of career and family through the process of identification with the primary female model, the mother (or mothering-one). Specifically, within the family network, it is the mother who exerts a primary influence on the daughter's subsequent attitudes towards achievement and a career orientation.

Larsen (1969) confirmed this contention in a study which examined female achievement conflict as a function of parental sex-typing and identification. The results indicated (as hypothesized) that female coeds strongly identified with a "non-traditional" mother, and those weakly identified with a "traditional" mother experience an achievement conflict significantly more than ss weakly identified with a "non-traditional" mother and those strongly identified with a "traditional" mother. Furthermore, of those who experience achievement conflict, a majority see achievement as a threat to interpersonal relationships (revealed in sentence completion stories), particularly heterosexual, when their achievement exceeds that of a male.

In relation to paternal identification, a similar trend was found, although not significant -- females strongly

identified with "non traditional" fathers, and weakly identified with "traditional" fathers were more conflicted over achievement than other Ss. The results of this study tend to support the notion that achievement motivation in women is more closely related to the value-orientation of the mother, and the strength of the daughter's maternal identification than in relation to the paternal value-orientation or identification.

A study by Siegel & Curtis (1963) confirms the importance of mothers in influencing the level of achievement motivation in daughters. In a study aimed at deciphering the familial correlates of an orientation towards future employment among college women, Siegel found that only one familial variable, mother's work orientation, was significantly related to a female's work orientation. Specifically, females with "career-oriented" mothers, verbalized career as well as marital aspirations.

In addition to the importance of the mother's orientation, much empirical research has demonstrated the significant influence of maternal child-rearing attitudes upon a daughter's level of achievement motivation and behavior. In one such study, Shaw and Dutton (1962) compared the mothers of bright female achievers and under-achievers on the Control Scale of the Parental Research Instrument (PARI) (Schaefer, Bell & Bayley, 1959). The results indicated that mothers of high achieving females are more

independent, less dominating, and less in need of the attention and dependency of their daughter than mothers of under-achievers.

According to Roe (1957), the two important determinants of vocational choice are level of achievement motivation and parents' child-rearing attitudes. Those who experience their parents as "warm and protective," develop an orientation Towards Persons (TP), and seek occupations in fields involving people, and those who experience their parents as cold and avoiding, develop an orientation Not Towards People (NTP) and seek occupations which do not involve extensive contact with people. Interestingly, this theory was only applied to males, and was the impetus of a very recent study by Kriger (1972) in which its applicability to females was examined.

With the purpose of examining the dynamics of career development in women, Kriger compared career women (in "female-dominated" and "male-dominated" professions) and homemaking women with respect to two variables: perception of their parents' child-rearing attitudes, and n Achievement level. The hypothesis, based on the work of Roe (1957), is that women can be placed on a continuum in terms of career orientation. On the lowest end are those who are homemaker who would be expected to have the lowest n Achievement and perceive their parents as strict and protective. Second are those women with a career in a female-dominated

field who would be expected to have a higher need achievement level and perceive their parents as less strict and protective. Finally, on the highest end are women with a career in a male-dominated field who would be expected to perceive their parents' child-rearing attitudes as permissive, causal and supportive. Using these three groups of women, all of whom are married with at least one child, Kriger assessed their perceived parental attitudes on the PARI, and their n Achievement level on the EPPS (Edwards, 1959). The results confirmed all hypotheses, with one exception -- the difference between the perceived parental child-rearing attitudes of the two career-oriented groups was in the expected direction, but not statistically significant.

When comparing these two groups of career-oriented women, Nagely (1971) found that women in male-dominated fields are more committed to their career than those in female-dominated fields. This not only confirms the findings of Kriger, of the higher n Achievement level of women in male-dominated fields, but in addition points to the fact that only the most highly motivated, involved and committed (non-conflicted) women tend to hold jobs in male-dominated fields.

Using a sample of senior college women with a high level of achievement motivation, Tangri (1969) compared the familial background of those having a career aspiration in a female-dominated field ("Traditionals"), with those who were

working towards a male-dominated career ("Role-Innovators"). Again, maternal variables proved to be a more important influence than paternal variables on the daughter's career choice. The results indicated that of all maternal variables associated with work (educational background, income, occupational choice), the most significant predictor of the daughter's role innovation is the mother's present employment status. In addition, mothers of Role Innovators as compared with Traditionals tended to be employed when the daughter was young and tended to have a higher level of education. In terms of their interaction with their mother, Role Innovators have a more autonomous relationship; although a basic closeness between mother and daughter is maintained, simultaneously a cognitive distance from both parents exists with substantial conflict on issues concerned with college goals and occupational aspirations. Although the majority of these mothers are employed, they are usually working in female-dominated, traditional fields. Their attitude towards a Role Innovative occupational choice for their daughter with its underlying implication of delayed marriage tends to be negative, and therefore there are strong disagreements between mother and daughter around this issue and related consequences.

In a study concerned with female sex-role ideology, Lipman-Blumen (1972) used college females as Ss who were wives of graduate students in the Boston area. Based upon

a series of questionnaires, the women were divided into two types of sex-role ideology -- traditional and contemporary. They were subsequently compared with respect to various characteristics including educational plans, mode of achievement and perception of parental attitudes.

The results of the study indicated, as expected, that contemporary women have significantly higher educational aspirations than traditional women; they are also more likely to satisfy their achievement needs in a direct mode (through their own efforts) while traditional women are more likely to satisfy their achievement needs in a balanced mode (equal weight on husband's accomplishments and their own) or in a vicarious mode (fulfillment completely through their husband's accomplishments). This finding is supported by Tangri (1969, 1972) who found an expectation on the part of Traditional women to live through and for others, and in contrast, an expectation on the part of Innovators to live through their own efforts.

In addition, the results of Lipman-Blumen indicate no correlation between a woman's sex-role ideology and socio-economic or religious background, or number of siblings. However, there were parental factors that had significant effect on the sex-role ideology of the daughter. Traditional women tended to come from paternally-dominated families whereas the contemporary women had egalitarian or maternally-dominated homes as children. However, the most crucial

familial variable was perceived maternal dissatisfaction -- contemporary women tended to perceive their mothers as dissatisfied with homemaking tasks. This was found to be the overriding variable in producing the contemporary ideology in women, because even in paternally-dominated homes, if the daughter tended to see her mother as dissatisfied with homemaking, she would generally hold a contemporary viewpoint.

In terms of developmental antecedents, contemporary women tended in adolescence, to achieve a certain psychological distance from their families, and to evolve a sense of individuality. This finding is consistent with Tangri's observation in Role Innovative college women. In addition, Lipman-Blumen found that closely associated with the development of the contemporary sex-role ideology, is low admiration for parents, the reluctance to please them and the desire in adolescence to reject them, coupled with the tendency to see the mother as frustrating and critical. There was no difference between sex-role ideology and happiness in marriage or in self-esteem profiles.

The importance of maternal attitudes and child-rearing practices on the level of achievement motivation in females is also stressed by Moss and Kagan (1961, 1962). Rather than interview mothers of college females (Shaw & Dutton, 1962) or interview college females in reference to their perceived maternal sex-role attitudes (Larsen, 1969; Siegel & Curtis, 1963; Tangri, 1969, 1972; Lipman-Blumen,

1972), or perceived maternal child-rearing attitudes (Kriger, 1972), Moss and Kagan examined the effect of maternal child-rearing attitudes and practices upon the development of the child's subsequent achievement motivation in a long-term longitudinal study at the Fels Institute.

Interestingly enough, the results complement and confirm the studies previously cited. Specifically, they found that maternal acceleration (1961) and hostility (1962) during childhood are highly correlated with a female's achievement motivation and behavior during adolescence and adulthood. Maternal acceleration was defined as an excessive concern and general dissatisfaction with the child's cognitive and motor development, and a wish for precocious achievement in her child; in short, the tendency on the part of the mother to "push" her child beyond his (her) ability. Maternal hostility was defined as a critical attitude towards the child, low nurturance, dissatisfaction with the child's performance, and "constantly harping on their faults and failures (1962, p. 222)." Their findings indicated that maternal hostility during the first three years of life together with acceleration during ages six to ten, are positively associated with later adult achievement motivation and intellectual mastery in women. According to the researchers, it is a general attitude of criticism, frustration and dissatisfaction in the daughter's achievement behavior, and not a more severe active rejection or

punitiveness that characterizes the maternal hostility and acceleration associated with a high level of intellectual mastery among females. Therefore, the two maternal characteristics, namely hostility and acceleration found to be correlated with achievement behavior in females are almost identical with each other, having as their basis a general attitude of dissatisfaction in the daughter's intellectual performance. Maternal protection and restriction on the other hand are negatively related to later achievement behavior in females.

The authors explain the causal basis of this correlation via the process of maternal identification: "It is reasonable to assume that the girls identified with these intellectually aggressive women who valued mastery behavior (1962, p. 222)." According to the researchers, it is doubtful that maternal hostility is essential or causally related to later female need achievement behavior. What they see as more plausible is that the combination of maternal characteristics and practices (critical, acceleratory mothers that presented intellectually aggressive and competitive role models) "and their timing in the girls' development are both critical in the development of intellectual mastery in the girl (1962, p. 222)."

The findings of Crandall, et al., (1964) with elementary school children confirmed the results of Kagan and Moss as well as those of Lipman-Blumen that high academic

achievement in girls is highly associated with less nurturant and affectionate mothers who are generally critical of their daughters and set high standards for their intellectual performance.

These results were also confirmed by Bayley and Schaeffer (1964) who found intellectual performance in girls to be correlated with a relatively low level of warmth and affection on the part of their mothers.

Veroff (1969) indicated that the development of the achievement motive in girls requires certain maternal attitudes including a somewhat rejecting, hostile attitude when the child is young, an appropriate timing of stress and frustration when she is in middle childhood, and a generally positive maternal attitude towards achievement in females.

In summary, it seems clear that within the research exploring the interrelationship between level of achievement motivation, career-orientation and perceived parental attitudes in women, there is consensual validation that achievement level is positively related to a career (contemporary) orientation, and that these in turn are significantly correlated with specific parental attitudes. In all the studies, the perceived maternal attitudes seemed to have significantly greater influence on the daughters' achievement motivation level and sex-role orientation than paternal attitudes. Furthermore, there is consistent agreement on the nature of the maternal attitudes that appear to encourage in daughters,

high levels of Achievement and a career orientation. In general, one can characterize these mothers as aggressive, hostile, very critical, frustrating and non-nurturant in their perceived (and actual) child-rearing attitudes, and in terms of their values, they tend to be career-oriented, achievement oriented and themselves dissatisfied with the homemaking role.

2. Achievement Motivation and Sex-role Orientation in Females as a Function of Maternal Employment

Aside from maternal sex-role and child-rearing attitudes, another variable with significant influence upon achievement behavior and sex-role orientation in females, is the past and present status of maternal employment.

Vogel, et al., (1970) examined stereotypic sex-role perceptions by male and female college students as a function of the mother's employment history. The results indicated that females with employed mothers perceive significantly smaller differences between masculine and feminine roles than do those with homemaking mothers. For males however, maternal employment had no effect on the degree of stereotyping on the basis of sex. Interestingly, the influence of maternal employment for females was most striking on the "competency" dimension -- females with working mothers perceived less difference between the sexes with respect to competency, and perceived females as significantly more competent than did women with non-working mothers. The authors interpret these findings with respect to degree of sex-role differentiation in a family, namely that a girl growing up in a family with a working mother experiences significantly less differentiation between the parents with respect to sex-roles and this would diminish the child's tendency to perceive others within the traditional sex-role

stereotyping framework.

These results were confirmed by Hartley (1964) who found maternal work status to be the decisive variable affecting the development of sex-role concepts in girls. Daughters of non-working mothers tended to perceive a clear sex-role differentiation between adult males and females, whereas daughters of working mothers tended to see adults as mutually sharing activities.

Another related study has demonstrated that maternal employment history and status significantly increases the daughter's expectation of a dual role of career and wife/mother (Riley, et al., 1963). Baruch (1972) found that college women whose mothers had present and/or past employment, tended to accept and value the achievement competency of other women significantly more than women with non-working mothers who tended to devalue the intellectual performance of other women.

In addition to the influence of maternal employment upon a daughter's sex-role attitudes, many studies have examined its influence upon achievement motivation level and behavior. The findings of this research have indicated that maternal employment tends to increase the daughter's level of achievement motivation (DePree, 1962), increase her career orientation (Peterson, 1958), increase her likelihood of pursuing a professional or academic career (Graham, 1970), and more specifically, increase the probability of her career

choice in a male-dominated, professional field (Douvan, 1963).

3. The Devaluation of Feminine Achievement Competency
by Females as a Function of Maternal Sex-role
Attitudes and Employment

Baruch (1972) tested two contradictory hypotheses offered by researchers to explain the specific nature of the maternal influence upon college women's attitudes towards professional achievement for women in general. Specifically, the study attempted to tease out the maternal variables which differentiate women with a positive attitude from those with a negative attitude towards the achievement efforts of other women.

The first hypothesis was offered by Goldberg (1968), and is based upon the prejudice theory of Allport (1958). In his theory, antifeminism is perceived as analogous to the self-prejudices of other minority groups. The prejudice hypothesis (which was explained previously) proposes that women incorporate the negative attitudes and beliefs held by the majority (men) about women via the process of "identification with the aggressor."

The second hypothesis is based upon the theories of Kenniston (1964) and Vogel, Broverman et al., (1970) that women develop negative feelings towards the achievement efforts of women in general via the process of "identification with the maternal model's behavior in relation to work." If the mother displays competence in work herself, then the

daughter would be more likely to accept competency in achievement for women. Whereas the "prejudice hypothesis" refers to a process of identification with beliefs and attitudes, the "competence hypothesis" refers to a process of identification with maternal behavior.

The two hypotheses were presumably tested utilizing Goldberg's technique (1968) in which females evaluated articles in various professional fields not knowing that the sex (first name) of the author was being altered. In addition, each subject's attitudes towards a career-orientation was assessed as well as her perception of her mother's sex-role ideology and employment history. According to the "prejudice hypothesis," it would be predicted that those women who devalue the intellectual competence of women as compared to men would also have a negative attitude towards career women and the dual role pattern. It would also be predicted that mothers of devaluers would have negative and conflicted attitudes towards a dual role pattern for women. According to the "competence hypothesis" it would be predicted that women who devalue the intellectual competence of other women would have a non-working mother.

The results supported the "competence hypothesis": the only variable that significantly differentiated those women who tended to devalue the achievement competency of other women from those who did not, was the maternal work status with devaluation being significantly associated with

a non-working mother. There was no relationship between the tendency to devalue and the subject's sex-role attitudes or her mother's sex-role ideology.

Although the results refute the prejudice hypothesis and confirm the competence hypothesis as stated, it seems that for many reasons, the hypotheses were not accurately tested to begin with. In the first place, with the tremendous upsurge of "Women's Liberation" literature, there exists a strong covert pressure on women (as well as men) to verbalize a "dual-role" and "equal rights" for women ideology. It is therefore naive to question women about their attitudes and their mother's attitudes towards a career orientation, and assume that one is in fact tapping the woman's true underlying feelings and conflicts.

Secondly, the predictions appear to be distortions of the hypothesis from which they were derived. For example, the competence hypothesis does not predict that maternal employment has no effect upon the daughter's sex-role attitudes. In fact, the authors themselves (Vogel, et al., 1970) found a significant relationship between maternal employment status and the daughter's tendency to hold traditional sex-role attitudes and beliefs.

Third, Baruch offers a rather simplistic interpretation of the finding that maternal work status is the crucial variable in differentiating those women with a positive attitude towards the intellectual competence of women from those

with a negative attitude. Specifically, her theoretical interpretation of this finding, namely that the daughter identifies with the competency model presented by her mother, is by itself incomplete. It fails to take into account the underlying dynamics and complexity of the mother-daughter relationship from birth through adulthood.

The research cited in the previous section reflected the importance of maternal child-rearing attitudes since females with a high level of achievement motivation and a career orientation tend to have hostile, acceleratory mothers. In addition, the critical factor distinguishing achievement oriented women in "female-dominated" careers from those in "male-dominated" careers appears to be the degree to which the daughter experienced conflict with her mother and established a degree of psychological distance from her, particularly during adolescence, but continuing into adulthood. The research findings demonstrate the importance of maternal employment status, indicating that maternal employment tends to decrease sex-role stereotyping in women, increase career orientation, particularly in "male-dominated" fields, and decrease the tendency among women to devalue the intellectual competence of other women.

By integrating this description of the nature of the mother-daughter relationship with the findings concerning the importance of maternal employment, a fuller picture emerges of the developmental antecedents of achievement motivation and

career-orientation in women. This integration is smoothly accomplished as a similar sample of women were studied. Considered collectively, although the findings indicate that all high achievement women tend to have hostile, critical, acceleratory mothers, those who have chosen a career in a "male-dominated" as opposed to a "female-dominated" field, developed (during adolescence) a sense of "separateness" from their mothers, and in addition, had mothers who worked.

The pattern that emerges here is that maternal employment influences a daughter's achievement orientation in a more complex and subtle way than merely providing a "competency model" with which the daughter identifies (as Baruch postulates). There is a strong suggestion here that maternal employment provided for the daughter a childhood and adolescent experience which included as a crucial factor, time away from her mother with greater freedom to "wander and explore" (Maccoby, 1966), to discover her own feelings and beliefs, and to develop a sense of independence, individuality and what Veroff (1969) calls an "autonomous achievement orientation." It would be consistent to assume that such a childhood experience would result in greater conflict and "psychological distance" from the mother during the later period of adolescence. It would also be expected that females growing up in this freer, more autonomous environment would be less likely to conform to the traditional sex-role standards and stereotypes.

The following section offers a re-interpretation of Baruch's important findings within the context of an original dynamic and developmental formulation of the "motive to avoid success" in females, taking into account, the nature of these maternal child-rearing and occupational variables.

Chapter III

AN EXPANDED THEORY OF THE "MOTIVE TO AVOID SUCCESS" IN FEMALES

Returning to the major focus of the present thesis, namely the "motive to avoid success," it seems possible now to consolidate the existence of this conflict over success in high achievement women with the research findings just cited concerning maternal child-rearing attitudes and work status. This integration provides an original and meaningful dynamic as well as developmental formulation of the "motive to avoid success" in females.

It must be reiterated here that according to Horner (1968), women with a high level of MAS, have on one hand, a high level of achievement motivation, but on the other hand, a fear that successful achievement will lead to a loss of femininity and social rejection by men. One possible behavioral outcome is the tendency among MAS women to change their occupational choice towards a traditional "feminine" career as graduation approaches (Horner, 1968; Schwenn, 1970). In order to illuminate possible developmental antecedents of the "motive to avoid success," it is reasonable to examine maternal characteristics of high achievement women in traditional female-oriented fields. It must be acknowledged

here that all conclusions from this indirect examination must remain postulations until maternal child-rearing attitudes and work status are directly investigated in women who score high in fear of success imagery on Horner's verbal TAT test.

The foregoing findings indicate that traditional achievement oriented women (MAS women), like all women high in achievement motivation, have domineering, critical, hostile, non-nurturant mothers who "pushed" their daughters towards achievement activities yet were never satisfied with the daughter's achievement productions. In addition, these mothers themselves were found to be dissatisfied with the homemaking role.

Although these general maternal characteristics and child-rearing attitudes appear to be descriptive of the mothers of all high achievement women, the research cited also sifts out one maternal variable, maternal work status, which seems to distinguish among achievement-oriented women, those who have chosen an innovative, male-dominated career choice (non MAS women) from those with a traditional, female-dominated career choice (MAS women).

More specifically, the research demonstrates that women who have chosen a male-dominated career (non MAS women) tend to have mothers who worked. It has been proposed that in addition to providing a "competency model," maternal employment, in its inherent nature serves the more critical

function in the developmental process of allowing for a separation between mother and daughter during childhood and adolescence. This hypothesis proves to be in agreement with empirical findings that the mother-daughter relationship of females with innovative career aspirations (Tangri, 1969, 1972) and a contemporary ideology (Lipman-Blumen, 1970) (non-MAS women) can be characterized as close but with an important degree of psychological distance. In relation to their adolescence, these women describe themselves as rebellious, as having rejected their parents, and as having had frequent conflicts with the mother in particular. It is important to note that although the adolescent period of non MAS women was stormy and rebellious, by the time she is a college senior, she has reestablished a close but autonomous relationship with her mother (Tangri, 1969).

It is suggested here, that this adolescent experience is a natural, healthy process that is critical for the development of the inner psychological resources, including autonomy, independence and individuation, that are necessary for the ultimate decision to enter an innovative, male-dominated career. In addition, it is postulated that the earlier separation from the mother while she worked, enhanced and paved the way for the later stormy, active rejection and separation from the mother during adolescence, which results in "psychological distance" and independence from her.

Empirical support for this hypothesis is reflected

by the high percentage of women who attributed their career decision in medicine to an inner motive towards developing their full potential (Cartwright, 1972). In accordance with Jungian theory, the researcher calls this motive "individuation," namely:

. . . the process of forming and specializing the individual; . . . a process of differentiation, having for its goal the development of the individual personality (Jung, 1923, p. 561).

As cited in an earlier section, the majority of developmental theorists describe the period of adolescence as a normal period of increased conflict: Blos (1967) conceptualized the adolescent stage as a period of "Second Individuation"; Erikson (1950) as an "identity crisis"; Gardner (1959), as a period of temporary role diffusion, and Anna Freud (1958), as a stage of normative crisis, to name a few.

Therefore, in terms of the bright, high achievement, non MAS woman who has chosen an innovative, male-dominated career, it can be stated that during her adolescence she experienced an intense identity crisis which was partially manifested in conflicts with her mother, rejection of many of her values and beliefs, and culminating in a "psychological distance" and independence from her. In relation to achievement motivation in particular, she developed what Veroff (1969) terms an "autonomous achievement" motivation which he believes must be effectively mastered beginning in childhood, in order for the later absence of "a fear of success orientation" in females.

In contrast, the bright, high achievement, MAS woman who has chosen a traditional, female-dominated career, has a more acquiescent, non-rebellious adolescence in general, and specifically in relation to her mother. There appears to be for these women, no disruption or disharmony within the mother-daughter relationship. This does not imply that these women do not experience the natural identity crisis of adolescence, but rather that this crisis is of a less intense, more covert nature, and its scope does not include blatant conflict with the mother, or the development of a psychological distance from her.

This might not be surprising when considered within the context of the earlier childhood experience. Like the non MAS female, the female with a fear of success has a dominating, critical, "acceleratory," non-nurturant mother who herself is dissatisfied with the homemaking role. However, unlike the mother of a non MAS woman, the mother of a woman who fears success, does not work outside the home. It is suggested here that this fact has a profound influence on the mother-daughter relationship during childhood and adolescence which antecedes the development of the "motive to avoid success" in the daughter.

In the first place, these mothers are homemakers, yet dissatisfied with the homemaking role. Therefore it is not unreasonable to conclude that they must feel intensely frustrated and unfulfilled in relation to their daily

activities. Contrary to mothers of non MAS women who feel frustrated with homemaking, but have constructively alleviated this dissatisfaction by seeking employment, mothers of MAS women continue to remain in this state of frustration -- the important question is "at what cost?"

The "frustration-aggression" hypothesis, namely that frustration, when experienced, often leads to aggressive behavior, has been well-documented in theoretical as well as empirical literature (Dollard, Doob, Miller, et al., 1939). In addition, Miller's experiments have demonstrated that when the agent responsible for the frustration is unknown or inaccessible as an object of aggression, or when it is associated with conflicting feelings, another object will be chosen. In these circumstances according to Miller, there is a tendency for the aggression to be displaced upon an object or person most similar to the actual source of frustration.

Returning now to the mother of a female with the "motive to avoid success," it is postulated that the source of her frustration over the homemaking role which she has continued to pursue might be pressure from her husband not to work, or perhaps an inner belief that full-time motherhood would be advantageous to her daughter, or the lack of the required educational experience or training for a career that would interest her, or even a fear of success herself! In all these instances it is clear that the mother of an MAS

female experiences a great deal of conflict over work, and it is consistent with the frustration-aggression hypothesis that the resentment over feeling unfulfilled in the homemaking role will be displaced onto the most similar, accessible object -- her daughter.

Although all mothers of high achievement women have been characterized by researchers as non-nurturant, critical, hostile and frustrating in relation to their daughters, it is suggested here that these overt child-rearing attitudes are the result of different underlying motives in mothers of non MAS females as compared to mothers of MAS females. The wish on the part of the mother of a non MAS female for her daughter to successfully achieve, to be dissatisfied and critical with anything but excellent performance, is consistent with her own achievement behavior. This does not imply that these "acceleratory" mothers of non MAS females are more nurturant than mothers of MAS women. Rather, what is suggested here is that since these mothers have at least partially resolved their own frustration with homemaking by seeking employment, the pressure they exert on their daughters to achieve is not displaced aggression, but rather the direct expression of an inner achievement motive.

In contrast, a more complex picture emerges when examining the "acceleratory," dominating, non-nurturant, hostile, critical and frustrating child-rearing attitudes on the part of a mother of an MAS female. What becomes strikingly

clear is a basic inconsistency between her achievement demands from her daughter, and her own achievement behavior. It is postulated that the underlying motivation here is a displacement of aggression associated with her own frustration, and in addition, an attempt to gratify these frustrated, unfulfilled achievement needs vicariously through the achievement efforts of her daughter.

Therefore, unlike the non MAS female who experiences the communication from her mother to achieve as direct and consistent, the MAS female experiences discrepant communications between the maternal verbal demand and the actual maternal behavior model with which she identifies. In essence, already at a young age, a conflict over achievement is communicated to the child within the mother-daughter relationship. In addition, the maternal achievement demands on MAS daughters are implicitly but inextricably associated with the gratification of affiliative needs. The covert message to the daughter is "do well in school and you will make mommy happy (and she will love you)."

Therefore, for MAS females, achievement becomes associated with a mutual gratification of dependency needs within the mother-daughter relationship. The daughter attempts to do well in order to secure her mother's (and later her teacher's) love and approval, and the mother in turn gratifies her own frustrated achievement needs through her daughter's performance. What is being suggested here is

the existence of a symbiotic relationship between mother and MAS daughter specifically within the area of achievement.

This symbiotic relationship is intensified and sustained because the mother does not go out to work, and the daughter is therefore not given adequate time away from her to "wander and explore" (Maccoby, 1966), to develop a sense of mastery and competency separate from the mother, or to develop what Veroff (1969) terms "an autonomous achievement motivation." The experience of separation from the mother is especially crucial given the domineering, overbearing and aggressive maternal personality characteristics.

For non MAS women, as previously cited, the mother-child relationship is of a more autonomous, non-symbiotic nature in relation to achievement already during childhood. In the first place, the mother was fulfilling (at least partially) her own achievement needs through employment, and therefore was less prone to gratify needs vicariously through the achievement efforts of her daughter. In the second place, the daughter was given a more consistent, non-conflicted communication about achievement, with a strong stress on high standards of excellence associated with mastery. Third, since the mother worked, there was an early experience of separation from the mother, and time for the daughter to explore and experiment with her own achievement capacities and develop a sense of her own competency in dealing with the world.

Therefore, for the non MAS woman, a familial atmosphere existed in which the achievement motive, namely the desire towards mastery, independent of others, according to an internal standard of excellence could develop. For the MAS woman on the other hand, the familial atmosphere in which she grew up strongly associated achievement with the affiliative motive, namely the motive to achieve love, approval and recognition.

To summarize briefly here, although mothers of high achievement women have been characterized as "acceleratory," it is suggested that the differences in maternal work status between MAS and non MAS women reflects a profound difference, and has a profound effect upon the nature of the mother-daughter relationship during childhood, and therefore upon the personality development of the daughter.

Whereas for the non MAS woman, achievement is associated with a separation from the mother, and the concomitant feeling of autonomy, for the MAS woman the opposite relationship exists -- for her achievement is associated with maternal love and approval, and a strengthening of the mother-daughter bond. It is postulated therefore that MAS women would tend to be generally more dependent, less autonomous and have a stronger affiliative need and need for social approval associated with achievement efforts.

It would also be expected that substantial differences between MAS and non MAS women would be evident during

adolescence. As mentioned previously, empirical research indirectly confirms this postulation. In contrast to the stormy, rebellious adolescence of non MAS women (contemporary, innovative females) in relation to the mother in particular MAS women (traditional females) have a more benign, conforming adolescence, and tend to sustain a close, relatively conflict-free relationship with the mother (Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Tangri, 1969, 1972).

In a recent study (Roskam, 1972), high achievement college women who differed in need for social approval were extensively interviewed and tested in relation to a wide variety of personality characteristics and interpersonal relationships. The results indicated substantial differences between the two groups of females although both were high in achievement motivation. Those with a high need for social approval (HNA) were described as being threatened by novel, unfamiliar situations which they tended to avoid, and as having a low sense of independence and autonomy. In addition, their values and attitudes tended to be identical or similar to those of their parents, and few seemed motivated or involved in the struggle for independence from them. They frequently described their relationship with their mothers as "close," and seemed to be physically dependent on their parents, often expressing this in a wish to live near them after marriage. The same pattern emerged in reference to other interpersonal relationships: in forming

peer friendships, they appeared more motivated by their dependency needs than a wish to enhance their own personality and life experience.

In contrast, high achievement females with a low need for social approval (LNA) were seen as deeply involved in an inner struggle towards individuation, emotionally as well as cognitively. Most held a different ideology than their parents in relation to their personal goals as an individual. For these adolescents, a sense of autonomy and individuality was considered a crucial life goal, and in terms of this struggle for independence, most reported frequent open and direct conflicts with their parents. Few of these women spent time at home with their families, and the great majority verbalized a strong desire to move away from them as soon as possible.

Interestingly, there is a striking similarity between these differences among high achievement women with a high versus low need for social approval, and Tangri's (1969) sample of Traditional versus Innovative females as well as Lipman-Blumen's (1970) Traditional versus Contemporary women. It is hypothesized here that these HNA, high achievement motivation females in Roskam's study, who have a close dependent relationship with their parents with few conflicts, are in fact women with a strong "motive to avoid success." This contention is supported in Roskam's observation of a higher level of internal conflict among these

women as well as a strong tendency among them to "avoid" becoming involved in novel, innovative experiences that would require an adventurous attitude. Instead, they tend to be of a more conforming nature, adhering to those involvements and experiences that are familiar and traditional.

Thus far we have traced the development of the "motive to avoid success" from early childhood through adolescence, differentiating among high achievement women, the familial antecedents associated with the presence or absence of the predisposition towards a fear of success. Following adolescence, during early adulthood, these differences have a crucial effect upon the young woman's college experience and career choice. It is during this period of early adulthood that the "motive to avoid success" which has been developing, but remaining latent, is first clearly expressed overtly in the young woman's career choice and interpersonal relationships as graduation approaches.

For the non MAS woman the college experience which stresses academic excellence, individuality, independence and responsibility, grows naturally from her home environment. For the MAS woman however, the demands of college in many ways clash with the expectations of her home life. Until this time, the close association between her need to achieve and her need for affiliation were consonant with the symbiotic nature of the mother-daughter relationship; the MAS woman was doing well academically in order to seek love and approval

from her mother (as well as teachers). In college, when the object of her affiliative needs shifts towards a boyfriend and marriage, these two motives suddenly conflict, resulting in the overt expression of the "motive to avoid success."

This affiliative-achievement conflict is also enhanced by an alteration in the maternal demands on MAS women. The mother now insists that it is more important for her daughter to find a suitable husband in college than to achieve academic goals. This phenomenon is confirmed by Komorovsky (1950) who interviewed undergraduate women at Barnard College. Almost all these women expressed a particular conflict which resulted from what they perceived as a sudden reversal in parental demands. Whereas formerly they were consistently applauded for academic success by their parents, they were now suddenly being evaluated in terms of some standard of femininity with a strong emphasis on marriage as the most important college goal.

It is postulated here that what Komorovsky is describing is in fact one manifestation of the conflict associated with the "motive to avoid success" in females. For the MAS college woman therefore, finding a suitable husband now becomes the primary goal for the mother's love and approval; if she succeeds in this goal, her affiliative needs are fulfilled in a two-fold way, namely by her husband as well as by her mother. However, she has developed the skills and motivation towards succeeding academically since

childhood, and this goal cannot be abandoned so easily. In her effort to gratify her affiliative needs by securing a husband, as well as her achievement needs by succeeding academically, she finds herself caught in an anxiety-provoking double-bind conflict. Her anxiety centers around a fear that men may reject her for her intelligence or her academic accomplishments, as well as a fear that she may fail her family if she succeeds academically and thereby loses a man. This achievement-affiliative conflict is double-bind in nature, because either way she turns, she feels she has lost -- when she succeeds she also fails because the gratification of one need threatens and excludes the gratification of the other.

It is suggested here that the anxiety underlying the fear of success is not merely a specific fear of expressing aggression within a competitive achievement situation (although this certainly is one manifestation of it), but rather a more basic, primitive separation anxiety and fear of abandonment; it is first manifested in relation to the primary object (the mother), but later generalizes to all significant interpersonal relationships, particularly towards a boyfriend and husband. The defensive maneuvers to protect herself from this basic underlying infantile fear of abandonment and being all alone results in the "motive to avoid success."

As previously described, the "motive to avoid

success" is expressed subtly in a multiplicity of behaviors throughout the woman's interpersonal and academic experience in college. For example, her grades as she approaches graduation tend to be good but not excellent, and she tends to devalue and minimize her intelligence when relating to male peers. It was postulated earlier that the tendency among some women to devalue the intellectual competence of other women in general is also a reflection of the presence of the "motive to avoid success."

To review, it was suggested that whenever a woman evaluates the achievement production of another woman, she tends to identify with the author, and any underlying fear of success would simultaneously be projected onto her. Therefore, the anxiety associated with the "motive to avoid success" is aroused in the presence of an achievement effort by another woman via the process of identification and projection, and is reduced by the subsequent devaluation of the author's intellectual and professional competence.

By the same process that a woman with MAS devalues her own intellectual competence as compared to that of a male, so too does she degrade the competence of women in general. That the presence of MAS is responsible for the degradation by some women of the achievement efforts of other women is given further support in Baruch's (1972) finding that devaluers tend to have non-working mothers. It has been postulated that the variable of maternal work status is crucial in

differentiating among high achievement females those with a presence from those with an absence of MAS, with non-working mothers being significantly associated with fear of success in daughters.

As graduation from college approaches, and career and future aspirations become a reality, the anxiety associated with a fear of success becomes more pronounced, and more overtly affects behavior. It is postulated that the vocational resolution of this conflict between affiliative and achievement needs is the decision on the part of MAS women to enter traditional, female-dominated careers.

Aside from the strong affiliative nature of "feminine" stereotyped fields (as cited earlier), entering a female-dominated career provides for a continuation of her close relationship with her mother, in that she spends most of her time at work around other women. In addition, the choice of a traditional feminine field frees the MAS woman from out-performing men, and therefore is in itself an expression of the "motive to avoid success."

Another manifestation of MAS was described earlier as the tendency among Traditional women to gratify a great part of their achievement needs through the successes of their husband or boyfriend (Tangri, 1969, 1972) or what Lipman-Blumen (1970) termed the "vicarious mode" of achievement. This phenomenon is consistent with the female's earlier experience in which her mother gratified her unfulfilled

achievement needs vicariously through the daughter's own achievement efforts. As the MAS female develops, this vicarious mode of achievement is transmitted from mother to daughter via the processes of identification and incorporation, and the daughter, now like her mother seeks vicarious gratification from her husband and perhaps too, from her own daughter. As cited earlier, according to Erikson (1968), the female's sense of "ego identity" remains incomplete by itself and awaits integration via the vicarious mode of gratification in relation to the achievements of her husband and/or children. Although Erikson believes that this phenomenon is inherently and anatomically present in all females, the present thesis views the vicarious mode of achievement gratification as particularly descriptive and even symptomatic of MAS females.

To recapitulate, given the nature of the maternal personality characteristics and child-rearing attitudes, MAS women, beginning with the early mother-daughter relationship, consider achievement as a means of receiving love, affection and security. Within the framework of personality theorists, their early environmental experiences fostered an inadequate development of the "effective motive" (White, 1960), or a "sense of autonomy" (Erikson, 1950), and of "separation-individuation" (Mahler, 1967) from the mother. The mother-daughter relationship therefore remained symbiotic in nature, characterized by a mutual feeling of love and security from

the daughter's achievement performance. This interaction served as the prototype for the daughter's later vicarious mode of achievement gratification. In the same vein, the adolescent experience of the MAS female (which naturally includes a period of intensified intrapsychic and interpersonal, familial conflict culminating in a lasting sense of autonomy, individuality and ego identity), remained relatively conflict-free with little disruption of the mother-daughter bond.

In college, with the greater demands towards individuality, independence and responsibility, the MAS woman can no longer fulfill her achievement and affiliative motives via the same object (the mother), and she becomes increasingly more anxious that success in achievement will threaten interpersonal, heterosexual popularity and security. The defense mechanism erected to allay the anxiety associated with this underlying conflict between achievement and affiliation, and the concomitant infantile fear of rejection and/or total abandonment results in the "motive to avoid success" in some females.

Conclusions

By integrating the findings of the empirical and theoretical research reviewed, the following conclusions have been drawn and assimilated into a comprehensive, dynamic and developmental formulation of the "motive to avoid success" in females:

1. Traditional sex-role stereotypes still exist in contemporary society, and can be divided into two major clusters of traits: the "competency" cluster, describing the masculine stereotype, and the "warmth-expressiveness" cluster, describing the feminine stereotype.

2. These stereotypes are communicated to the child from the very first, and as early as preschool age, they are incorporated by the child as an integral part of his (her) self-concept, profoundly affecting every aspect of thinking, feeling and behaving.

3. Our society ascribes significantly greater social and personal value to the "masculine stereotype" and therefore to men, than to the "feminine" stereotype and to women. The research reflects a strong tendency among men as well as women themselves to devalue females in relation to all characteristics associated with the "masculine" stereotype. In fact this tendency was found to be stronger among women than men.

4. The need to achieve is a central trait within

the "competency" cluster associated with masculinity, and the need to affiliate is a central trait within the "warmth-expressiveness" cluster associated with femininity. It is not surprising therefore that achievement performance for most females beginning in childhood and continuing throughout womanhood is motivated by a need for love and approval from others, whereas for most males, achievement performance is motivated by internal, independent mastery strivings.

5. On problem-solving tasks involving competency in logical thought, females demonstrated significantly inferior achievement performance when compared with males. However, under experimental conditions which arouse affiliative motives as instrumental to the achievement goal, there is a significant improvement in the problem-solving effectiveness of females.

6. In terms of the traditional research on achievement motivation which is based upon the Expectancy-Value Theory, two motives were isolated, the "motive to approach success" (Ms), and the "motive to avoid failure" (M-f), and the relative strength of these was found to determine achievement motivation level. Standard arousal conditions stressing "intelligence and leadership ability" reliably predicted achievement motivation level and performance in males. For females, the findings of the early research based upon this traditional experimental paradigm were inconsistent and contradictory, and the researchers concluded that women

must have a "motive to fail" (Mf).

7. The "motive to avoid success" appears to be a sound theoretical formulation in explaining the inconsistent behavior of females in achievement-oriented situations. Empirical findings indicate a significant positive correlation between the incidence of MAS in females and intellectual level and college year. In addition, women with a fear of success tend to show a decline in achievement performance when competing against men, and also when working in a cooperative achievement setting with males. They generally conceal intellectual ability and academic success from male peers, they tend to alter their career plans towards traditional feminine fields, and they have a significantly higher incidence of drug use and emotional difficulties in college than do non-MAS women.

8. There is indirect empirical evidence to support the contention that the tendency among women to devalue the achievement competency of other women is a reflection of the "motive to avoid success" which is conceptualized as a more stable personality characteristic with the underlying anxiety of a more generalized, non-situational nature. This formulation expands the present conceptualization of MAS horizontally to include a wide variety of achievement settings not restricted to those in which there is direct competition with males.

9. In relation to the developmental antecedents

of achievement motivation and career orientation in females, the results are consistent. First, there is evidence that maternal attitudes have a significantly greater influence than paternal attitudes. Secondly, one can characterize the mothers of females with a high level of achievement motivation as hostile, acceleratory, critical, frustrating, and non-nurturant in their perceived (and actual) child-rearing attitudes; in terms of their values, they tend to be achievement-oriented, and dissatisfied with the homemaking role. Another maternal variable, namely past and present work status was found to have a significant effect on the daughter's sex-role orientation and career choice in that non-working mothers had daughters who tended to stereotype on the basis of sex, to choose careers in traditional feminine fields, and to devalue the achievement competency of other women.

10. By integrating the foregoing empirical as well as theoretical findings, a developmental theory was presented which differentiates among high achievement females, those with an absence from those with a presence of the "motive to avoid success." The formulation described the effect of qualitative differences in the mother-daughter relationship on the development of separation-individuation and with it a sense of autonomy and ego identity in the daughter. Dynamically, the "motive to avoid success" is conceptualized as a defense mechanism erected by the woman to allay the underlying separation anxiety and basic fear of abandonment in situations

where an achievement-affiliation conflict is aroused. This formulation considers a fear of success as reflecting an inadequate development of a sense of autonomy, and its development is therefore seen to parallel the development of autonomy and separation-individuation in the female.

Two developmental stages, ages one to three (and continuing into middle childhood), and adolescence are viewed as critical in the development of a sense of autonomy, and therefore in the development (or lack of development) of MAS in females. The present dynamic formulation of MAS is strongly supported by the consistent agreement between what personality theorists view as essential familial antecedents for the development of autonomy, and the maternal attitudes and behaviors that empirical researchers have found to be crucial for the development of an innovative, career-oriented (non-MAS) female. This elaborate integration of theoretical and empirical research has provided a vertical expansion of the "motive to avoid success" in females to include a more meaningful understanding of the nature of this struggle which is so prevalent among bright, achievement-oriented women in our society.

Chapter IV

METHOD

Subjects

The three females who served as subjects were all 29 years old, had been born in the United States and raised in an area within or near New York City, and are of White, middle-class background. For each woman, the immediate family remained intact, namely she grew up living with both parents in an atmosphere of no significant familial crisis.

The three females were all married approximately four years ago when they were 25 years old, and none has had children. In addition, they have a high intellectual capacity, they all received graduate training, and all currently work full-time in professional careers, demonstrating a high level of achievement motivation.

Despite this similarity in basic identifying data, the females show striking differences objectively in their professional career choice, and subjectively, in their general personality style as well as in their achievement-related attitudes, feelings and beliefs. The first subject, a Social Worker (a career in a traditional female-dominated field) serves to illustrate an example of a female with intense fear

of success. The second subject, a Mathematics Teacher (an innovative interest within a traditional, female-dominated field) serves to exemplify an average level of the "motive to avoid success" typically seen in bright, achievement-oriented females. The third subject, a Lawyer (an innovative, male-dominated field) serves as an illustration of a female with no underlying conflict over successful achievement.

Procedure

The Clinical Interview

The investigator initially contacted each subject by telephone and after a brief and friendly introduction, each was given the following request for participation in the interview:

I am interested in studying the lives of women in many different professions and careers, and I was given your name by ---- who told me that you are a ---- [career]. I'd really be interested in interviewing you so that I could learn more about your background. Would you be interested?

The subjects were not offered financial payment for their participation. The interviews were conducted at a time and place convenient for the subject, and the interview time ranged from one and a half to two hours depending on the individual. All interviews were tape recorded. Before beginning the interview, each subject was given the following information based upon Roskam's (1972) instructions:

In this interview I will be asking you many questions about yourself and about your life experiences, your values and attitudes. I will be tape recording this interview chiefly for my own convenience so that I don't have to take notes while you speak and therefore can pay better attention to what you say. Your identity of course will remain anonymous and I will call you by your first name, only, if that is O.K. with you. Do you have any questions?

The clinical interview was conducted in a relaxed, personal and informal manner with a basic goal of "getting to know" as much about the subject as possible.

The major interview questions followed a clinical outline so that there was a general uniformity from one interview to the next although a great deal of variation existed in the exploration of specific issues and incidents depending upon the life experiences and personality of each female.

In an effort to illustrate the proposed dynamic and developmental formulation of the "motive to avoid success," the clinical outline followed a chronological order from childhood, through adolescence, to present adulthood with a particular focus upon the nature of the mother-daughter relationship, and the female's achievement-related attitudes, feelings and performance during each stage in her life.

It was as if the interviewer and subject travelled together in time from the female's earliest childhood recollections until the present, stopping along the way to explore relevant life experiences and feelings. Remarks on the part of the interviewer such as "Let's move on now . . ." were common in an effort to maintain a basic uniformity in structure from one interview to the next. In short, the interviewer's approach can be characterized as one of structured flexibility, namely the interview flowed freely within a structured context.

Following the clinical interview when the examination of the subject's present life situation had been completed, the interviewer turned to questions based upon "The Autonomy

Interview" by Roskam (1972), with the following comments:

I have some additional questions to ask you [points to page]. I know we've covered many of these already, but I'll ask them anyway, and we'll just skim over the ones we've already discussed.

Following the autonomy questionnaire, after the tape-recorder had been switched off, the examiner stayed to informally chat with the subject and answer any questions she had concerning the specific purpose of the interview material.

Chapter V

THE CLINICAL INTERVIEWS

Sheila

A Case of an Intense Level of Fear of Success in Females

Identifying Data: Sheila

Sheila is a 29 year old Jewish female who was married four years ago to a Puerto Rican man who is fourteen years her elder, and works as a cartoonist of a popular cartoonstrip. She and her husband presently reside in an elegant section of Manhattan.

Sheila received a MSW degree from Hunter School of Social Work in 1972, and is currently a full-time social worker at the Family Court of New York. In addition, she is a member of a training program at Metropolitan Center for Mental Health.

In terms of her college education, Sheila studied at Queensboro Community College for two years, transferred to City College for the following two and a half years, and received a BA degree in 1966 with a major in Psychology. For the following two years, she worked in the personnel department of the New York State Employment Agency, and during

the next year worked in Brookwood Child Care Organization, which offered her a scholarship that financed her social work studies. Prior to her present position, Sheila worked for one year in a Foster Care Agency in New York.

Sheila has one sister, Arlene who is eighteen months younger than herself. Arlene received a BA degree at Buffalo University, and a Masters degree in Fine Arts at Midwestern University. She is single, and presently lives alone in New York, and is working towards a doctorate degree in Medieval Literature at New York University.

Identifying Data: Parents

Sheila's father is a 61 year old man who works as a salesman in an appliance store. During Sheila's childhood, he owned an appliance store with his brother-in-law, which fell into bankruptcy when Sheila was still young. From that time on, he continued to work as an appliance salesman in large department stores as well as small privately owned stores.

Sheila perceives a striking discrepancy between her father's educational background and his actual work history. He completed a special three year program in College which enabled him to transfer directly to Law School, and after two or three years of studying law, he was forced to drop out due to financial difficulties of the depression.

According to Sheila there has always been secrecy about her mother's age, and Sheila believes that she is 62 years old, and one year older than her father. In addition, there has also been secrecy and dishonesty surrounding her mother's educational background. Although Sheila was always told by her mother that she had completed a high school education, as recently as eight years ago, her mother confessed that she "had lied," and had only completed the eleventh grade.

From the time Sheila was seven years old, her mother held part-time employment as a billing clerk, and as Sheila grew older, she extended her hours to full-time work.

Sheila's home environment consisted of an extended family, with both her maternal grandmother as well as her uncle and his family living in the same building. The families (which included a male and female cousin of approximately the same age as Sheila and her sister) constantly spent time together, and the grandmother even had a key to Sheila's apartment which was frequently used.

Mental Status

Sheila is approximately five feet tall, of average weight, and appears much younger than her age. Her very short dark-brown hair is combed simply by stylishly in Sasoon fashion, she wears glasses, no makeup, and dresses in relatively plain but attractive attire.

Although Sheila is by no means pretty in a physical sense, she exudes a quality of warmth and friendliness which is very attractive and appealing. During much of the interview, Sheila took her shoes off and sat with her legs crossed in her seat. She spoke quietly, and when requested to speak louder for the purpose of the tape recorder, this had a very temporary effect, and she relapsed into a soft voice shortly thereafter. For this reason, the microphone was placed directly in front of her, pointing away from the interviewer, and despite this positioning, her taped voice was at times almost inaudible, whereas the interviewer's voice was clear throughout the interview.

Sheila spoke in an articulate and relevant manner, answering the questions in a succinct yet highly personal way. Her remote and recent memory are both excellent, and she is clearly an extremely intelligent and alert young woman. Sheila became emotionally involved in the interview questions almost immediately and generally approached the material with an attitude of openness and honesty. There was always an effort on her part to communicate her life as she experienced it, and she frequently clarified a response with appropriate descriptive examples. While relating these anecdotes, she often relived the experience with all its emotionality, so that by the end of the interview, the examiner had detailed information as well as more global, emotional grasp of her life and her family.

In addition to being psychological-minded, Sheila demonstrated a strong and natural curiosity to understand her own motivations and feelings as well as those close to her.

Although these qualities are descriptive of Sheila's general personality style and approach during the interview, there were particular areas of inquiry which elicited an entirely different reaction. These areas concerned specific aspects of her relationship with her mother, her sister, her conflicts relating to her sense of autonomy and independence and her career choice. In response to questions in these areas, Sheila became anxious, giggled a great deal, curled up in her seat and appeared much like a little girl. At such times, her capacity for reflection declined, she became confused and either admitted not knowing a response to the question, or impulsively offered a response as well as an interpretation which lacked meaningful insight or understanding.

The recurrence of this behavior formed a pattern as the interview progressed, and it became apparent that her major areas of conflict relate to autonomy, independence and achievement behavior.

Pertinent Personal, Family and Achievement History

1. Early and Middle Childhood: Elementary School
(ages 3 through 11)

Sheila spent her childhood in a lower-middle class neighborhood in the south Bronx. She has no concrete memories of early childhood before beginning school, but recalls a general experience of playing with her sister, cousins and other children in the building. When questioned about whether she played mostly in her own apartment or that of the other children in her building, Sheila answered:

I can't imagine my mother would have let me leave that much. I think that she would have had the tendency to hold me closer to her.

Sheila's earliest specific recollection is of her first day of kindergarten when she was five years old. The school was located on the same block as her house, and she remembers walking there with her mother feeling "scared shit," but pretending she wasn't afraid. She recalls another child in her class crying and feeling so upset that his mother ultimately had to come and take him home. In relation to this earliest childhood recollection, Sheila said:

I was ashamed for him, but at the same time I wished it had been me. . . . It must have been harder for my mother than it was for me.

Sheila considers her mother the clearly dominant parental figure throughout her life, and describes her as tense, "hyper-nervous," aggressive and "very critical" so that there was

"very little you could do to please her." According to Sheila, her mother took full control of the family, including her father in relation to organizing the household, setting rules and insuring that they be followed. The following interaction clearly expresses this maternal dominance:

Q: Whom as a child, do you think was the person you tried to please the most?

A: My mother.

Q: You said that without any hesitation.

A: Yeah. Without any hesitation, because she was the one who controlled everything.

Sheila describes her father as a good-looking man who "wasn't strong enough to overcome my mother," and in general was very passive and retiring. In addition to her parents, the maternal grandparents served as important parental figures for Sheila during her childhood. She describes her grandmother as "very similar to my mother . . . stubborn, cantankerous and authoritarian"; and describes her grandfather as "a very special man." Although her memories of her grandfather are vague since he died when she was seven years old, she has an early childhood recollection of taking bus rides with him from the first to the last stop of a route, and she remembers the joy and pride she felt "just being with him."

When Sheila was very young, she remembers her mother always "fussing" over her and her sister, and as they grew older and entered school, the fussing took the form of

constant nagging and criticism: "She was very critical; always on the verge of yelling about something."

In terms of the family constellation, Sheila was perceived by her mother (as well as herself) as the "good" girl, and Arlene was perceived as the "bad" girl. This evaluation appears to have been based upon the degree of compliance with the mother's wishes and beliefs. According to Sheila, Arlene was always negativistic even when she was as young as two years old, and she and her mother fought constantly. During these fights the mother would characteristically compare Arlene with Sheila using phrases like "why can't you be as good as she?". Sheila recollects some quarrels between Arlene and her mother which would lead to maternal threats of calling the police to take Arlene away for being "bad." During such threats, Sheila often secretly feared that they might come "and take the wrong kid [meaning Sheila]."

Given the nature of maternal criticism which focused predominantly on the attack of one sibling in comparison with the other, as well as the small chronological age difference, Sheila and her sister became strong rivals from early childhood to the present time. Sheila perceives Arlene as being exceptionally intelligent as well as creative, and already in early elementary school, she felt Arlene to be a strong competitor.

Sheila describes her elementary school days (grades

one through six) as a very "happy" time in her life. She did extremely well in all school subjects, she was "adored by every single teacher," and had many friends. When asked to describe herself at that time, she laughed and said: "ass-kissing; the good girl." In an effort to illustrate this, Sheila described an incident when she was in the third grade. At that time, her sister, who as one grade behind her happened to have the same teacher as Sheila had a year earlier. Sheila remembers this teacher saying to her: "I wish you were back again," because Arlene was so troublesome in school. Sheila laughed and added that Arlene would typically stand up whenever she was told to sit down, whereas Sheila was extremely obedient -- "no kid should ever be so good."

When Sheila was in the second grade, her mother began working part-time as a billing clerk, and Sheila remained "under the supervision" of her grandmother. She ate lunch at her grandmother's house, and after school generally played with her cousins in the building.

Sheila remembers her mother as always being involved in her school work, not in a supportive, helpful way, but rather in a highly critical and controlling way. Although her grades in elementary school were always "satisfactory" or "excellent," her mother complained that they weren't all "excellent," often comparing her to another child whose grades were better than hers. Sheila recalls her intense anxiety during open school week, although she knew that her mother

would receive a favorable report from her teachers. According to Sheila, her mother would typically return home with compliments which would inevitably be followed with criticisms.

Sheila's mother was not only constantly concerned whether Sheila was a "good" girl, but also whether or not she was a "good" mother, and according to Sheila, her mother measured her own competence at mothering by Sheila's behavior towards her. In essence, "good mothers have good daughters." This led to confused expectations between mother and daughter around the issues of loving and being good which was particularly pronounced in relation to Sheila's weight. Her mother was preoccupied with Sheila's weight which she viewed as an index of her capability as a mother, "because good mothers feed their children well." Since Sheila was very thin as a child, her mother frequently took her to the doctor, probably to allay her own anxiety over being a "bad" mother.

This maternal preoccupation is epitomized by an incident that Sheila described as "bizarre." When Sheila was seven years old, she came home from school, and was greeted by her mother who was holding a letter which she claimed was from an orphanage, that was given Sheila's name by a neighbor because she looked like "skin and bones." Sheila remembers her mother saying: "The adoption agency is going to come and take you away. . . . Everybody thinks I'm a bad mother." Sheila remembers feeling disbelief at

first, taking the letter from her mother, seeing the name of an orphanage printed across the top (it actually was a request for donations), and becoming panicky and bursting into tears. According to Sheila, as soon as she saw how upset Sheila was, her mother relaxed and told her the truth: "That was gratification for her. It was proof that I loved her and wanted to stay."

When an additional interpretation was offered to her by the interviewer, namely that her reaction of panic might also have assured her mother of Sheila's fear of being taken away, Sheila reflected on this and responded:

Listen, if you think about it, my mother never separated from her mother. O.K. So you know that she's going to make her kids have a fear of being taken away.

In general, Sheila's mother was a constant complainer, not only harping on the faults of her daughters, but also expressing constant dissatisfaction with her own work which she claimed she did merely to financially support the family since her husband's income was extremely low. She would often threaten Sheila and her sister that she would "go crazy" or "commit suicide" because her job and her daughters "aggravated" her.

When Sheila was eight years old, her mother had to be hospitalized for what turned out to be a benign breast tumor. Sheila vividly remembers her mother's "hysteria," and constant verbalizations: "If I die who's going to take care

of my babies?" Sheila recalls being extremely frightened: "I thought she was going to die." In describing the incident she added:

There was always a constant fear of separation which I caught.

At a much later point in the interview, Sheila related a recurrent childhood dream that she had around this period of time (ages 8, 9 and 10):

I had a childhood dream that recurred. Really about my mother being crazy and my trying to take care of her. It's a recurring dream about the building we lived in burning to the ground, and my mother being unaware of it, and my trying to get her away from it.

At times her mother would just stand there unaware of Sheila's cries for help, and at other times she would be "buying rolls," but in each version of the dream the outcome was the same -- her mother would not hear her, and Sheila would wake up with a sudden intense feeling of panic and anxiety.

When Sheila was in the sixth grade, she began dating boys in her class, which delighted her mother. She looks back on this as "crazy," and added: "I was scared, and often took Arlene for protection."

Throughout elementary school, Sheila's grades remained high, and she graduated as "one of the four brightest kids in the school." Although the other three peers won prizes at graduation, she did not, and this became a strong source of disappointment for her, particularly because her sister became valedictorian of her sixth grade class one year later.

In broadly reviewing her elementary school years, Sheila said:

I was in my own world, protected by the building and relatives, and loved by teachers. . . . I have a feeling that a lot of my good feelings were coming from outside. It depended so much what people thought of me. I was taking my own self from them. That became disastrous for me in adolescence.

2. Early Adolescence: Junior High School (ages 12 through 13)

Sheila began junior high school when she was twelve years old, and was placed in an "SP" class so that she accomplished three grades of school in two years. The bus ride to school, represents her first experience of leaving home, and she describes it in the following way:

For me, getting on the bus to go to junior high school was a really big deal. My mother went with me the first few times . . . travelling away from home was very scary. . . . So after school I didn't see friends. It was O.K. to take the bus back and forth to school. But no more. Anything else was really stepping out.

Sheila perceives a drastic change beginning at the time she entered junior high school, a change that pervaded every aspect of her life. She described this period as "terrible," and felt herself to be "on the fringe" of everything. She was no longer popular with peers or "the teacher's pet," her grades dropped to "mediocre," and she generally felt "sad and lonely."

It was during junior high school that Sheila began to "hate" science and history, and love reading and all

related subject areas. Her performance began to reflect this, as she continued to do exceptionally well in English, but her grades in mathematics, science and history declined significantly. Although Sheila's mother "bugged" her about her school grades during this time, the pressure was lessened because, according to Sheila, "Arlene came into ascendancy."

Aside of academic achievement per se, Sheila's greatest source of difficulty existed in social and interpersonal relationships. She attributes a major cause of her sudden drop in popularity to the fact that she was emotionally and physically immature compared to her peers. She describes herself as "tiny," and felt that popularity at that time was closely associated with the onset of puberty, which was a prerequisite for "being a person." According to Sheila, "I wasn't a person, because I didn't develop until I was about thirteen, and I got my first period when I was fourteen."

Although she had several boyfriends during the sixth grade, when she entered junior high school Sheila stopped dating altogether, and had two girlfriends who were "on the fringe too." Although Sheila became close with these friends in school, the relationship was limited to school hours, and after school she continued to associate with her cousins and a few other friends in the building. It was at that time that she began a hobby of stamp-collecting, and became an avid reader.

Sheila's feelings of loneliness continued during the summer vacations which the family (including her cousins' family and grandmother) always spent at a bungalow colony. Although she enjoyed the summers while she was in elementary school, from the time she was twelve years old, she "hated it," and felt like a "social isolate," spending most of her time alone "devouring books."

3. Adolescence: High School and College (ages 14 through 21)

When she was fourteen years old, Sheila entered Morris High School (tenth grade), and describes this as "a fantastic experience"; because "I was one of few who could speak English and the teachers doted on me." However, the neighborhood had become progressively more deteriorated, and the area was regarded as a high crime section. When she was fifteen years old (in fact the day after her fiteenth birthday), the family moved to Flushing, Queens. According to Sheila, given the dangers of the neighborhood, the family should have moved much sooner but "we didn't move earlier because my mother couldn't separate from her mother." Although Sheila does not believe she ever felt close to her grandmother, she recalls that she "picked up the guilt about leaving her from my mother." When the family moved, the grandmother remained in the building with her housekeeper who Sheila describes as "an old maid . . . she was like my "bete en noire' . . . she wore orthopedic shoes . . . a

caricature of a spinster." Often when her mother nagged Sheila about reading in her room instead of going out on dates, she would add the threat: "do you want to grow up like Rose?"

The move to a new neighborhood away from her old friends in the building was a very difficult one for Sheila. In fact, in a very nostalgic voice she described a recent experience of passing the Simpson Street Station on the train:

I pressed my nose so close to the window to see it again, to get a glimpse of it. . . . There's a piece of me there.

Sheila attended Flushing High School during her junior and senior years, and felt again much like she did two years earlier in junior high school. She describes herself in the following way:

I was just really awkward. I dressed wrong. I really did everything wrong. I wore the wrong clothes, I had the wrong hairdo. I had coca cola lenses on my glasses. You know these real thick lenses. I was just a mess.

She sees this as a reflection of her feelings of loneliness and self-consciousness. Her few friends were "social outcasts like myself," and unlike her positive feelings about her childhood school days, Sheila very vehemently says: "I hated adolescence."

Instead of dating, Sheila spent her weekend nights either sitting alone in her room feeling terribly lonely, or baby-sitting, something she really enjoyed. Her mother

constantly nagged and "pushed" her to go out, often comparing her to peers who were more popular. To make matters worse, Arlene was extremely popular, and was going through what Sheila describes (with a combination of contempt and envy) as her "seductive phase" during which she wore "makeup and tight clothing," "was always the pacesetter of her little group," and was constantly going out, and "being pursued by guys."

During adolescence, the fighting between Arlene and her mother became more frequent and intense. Her mother complained about Arlene's attire, that she was disobedient, and spent too much time away from the house. These fights were extremely stormy in nature, and Arlene frequently ran out of the house, not to return until much later that night. During these fights Sheila felt "out of it," and when the screaming became loud, she often felt embarrassed that neighbors might hear them.

Sheila's fights with her mother during adolescence were of a completely different nature both in content and quality. Sheila's mother would nag her on essentially two topics, that she read too much, and that she didn't date. Rather than argue back, Sheila characteristically reacted with silence and withdrawal, and this infuriated her mother who would call her a "cold fish."

However, in a voice of great pride and joy Sheila added: "You know, I ran away from home once." This incident

occurred before her only date in high school, and in response to the tremendous fuss her mother made about the fact that Sheila was finally going out, Sheila ran away to her grandmother's house in the Bronx, so that she in fact never went out that night.

During the summer of her fifteenth year, rather than return to the bungalow colony with her family, Sheila took a job as a "mother's helper." This was the first time she was away from her family, and added: "It was such a big deal, I can't begin to tell you."

When she was sixteen years old, upon her mother's insistence, Sheila had a sweet sixteen party "to please her." In terms of her school work during adolescence Sheila said:

You know, for a long time I forgot that I was smart in Flushing High School. I was so kind of down that I didn't do well in my subjects and I was bored.

Although Sheila continued to enjoy and receive very high grades in English (90-95%), her grades in science, mathematics and history were even lower than in junior high school (60-65%).

Sheila remembers her attitude towards her work as being "haphazard," "not giving a damn," until graduation approached, and she had to face a decision about college. According to Sheila:

When my marks started to get low, my mother went through a phase too. She said: "Why do you have to go to college. Get a good job as a secretary. . . ." So, I even took a course in steno and a

course in typing not really knowing what I would do . . . in the last year of high school.

During this time Sheila applied to colleges in the New York City vicinity "haphazardly," and when she was rejected by them all, she found employment as a clerk for the following six months. According to Sheila:

This was my developmental period. I began dressing more attractively. . . . I always picked up surrogate mothers along the way . . . a lady next door, and a lady at this job who were so kind to me. They showed me how to dress. They told me what to wear. They showed me how to fix my hair.

Sheila began dating around this time, although her baby-sitting jobs still occupied most of her weekend nights.

She began Queensborough Community College the following January, because it was "the thing to do," and does not recall actually reapplying to college. Six months later, when Arlene graduated high school, she insisted on going to Buffalo University where she had been accepted, and her mother vehemently protested, both because she did not want Arlene to go out-of-town, and because she could not afford to financially support her education. After many stormy disagreements, Arlene took a bank loan, and left for college. According to Sheila:

I envied her, the chutzbah to do it, but I was also delighted that she was out of the house.

Sheila describes Queensborough College as a very positive experience for her. She formed a very close friendship with another female, and spent hours with her cramming for examinations. In relation to her studies, a pattern emerged quite

similar and consistent to her earlier achievement performance. Her grades in English remained excellent, her grades in science, mathematics and history remained poor, and she graduated after two years with a C+ average. When she entered City College the following year, she majored in elementary education in accordance with her mother's wish that she become a teacher. However, at the beginning of her second semester, after taking a course in psychology and being fascinated by the subject matter, she switched her major to psychology.

Sheila remembers going home that night, and announcing the switch in major to her mother in the following way:

Ma: I changed my major to psychology. I'm going to be a doctor.

According to Sheila, her mother's reaction was intense:

She got hysterical; "You're going to be too smart and no one's every going to want to marry you. [Laughter] You'll go to school all your life. What kind of life is that for a girl?"

Although Sheila laughed during this description, it was a highly anxious laugh, and she later acknowledged that her mother's statement was "very scary."

Sheila remained at City College for two and one half years, registering for every possible course in psychology (a total of 60 credits), and earned mostly A's and B's in these courses. She dated predominantly one steady fellow throughout the two year period who worked as a banker, and she had two very close female friends with whom she studied.

When Sheila graduated from college, she had no specific professional plan:

There was a point when I graduated college when I was almost sorry I hadn't been a teacher, because teachers got jobs right away.

4. Adulthood: Post-College (ages 22 to Present)

Following graduation, Sheila took a summer vacation in Europe with a friend, financing it with the baby-sitting money she had earned, as well as her earnings from a part-time clerical job she held during her City College years. She considers this trip a highlight in her life, and it represents the second time she left home. She describes herself at the departure as extremely tense and anxious. Her mother accompanied her to the airport, and similar to the first time she left home at age fifteen, her mother kept insisting: "Listen, if you want to change your mind it's O.K. You can come home with me."

According to Sheila, when she returned from Europe:

I took some tests for government jobs and I happened to get a job at New York State Employment Service, and it seemed to suit me as well as anything else at that time.

Although her first responsibility entailed finding employment for secretaries, by the end of the two year period, she worked as a semi-vocational counselor for minority-group adolescents. It was around this period of time that her father developed cancer and was hospitalized. Sheila views her father's illness

as instrumental in her decision to move from her parents' home, and find her own apartment when she was 23 years old:

It was very selfish but also strength you know, that I felt that if something happened to my father that I would really be trapped at home forever. My mother would need caring for her -- so I really fled when I moved. I really knew that it had to be that time for me to get out. And so I did. I found my own apartment. I was very scared about moving. I had the apartment about two months before I had the courage to move into it.

Sheila stuttered and laughed a great deal in describing how she actually told her parents that she wanted to move out:

I really waited. My mother was constantly saying: "Look, if you don't like it here move out." So, I took the apartment and waited. It took three more months [laughs]. Then she said: "Look, if you don't like it here, move out." I said: "O.K. [laughs] I got an apartment!"

Sheila believes that she waited for the right moment to break the news in order to "mitigate the guilt as much as possible."

Sheila continued to work at the employment agency for one more year after she had moved from her parents' home, and according to her:

When I moved out, shortly after I got my own apartment, I also started therapy.

Sheila began therapy in order to clarify and better understand her feelings about Ern, her husband, who lived in the same building as she did, and whom she had begun dating almost immediately after moving into her apartment. At that time Sheila was anxious and confused about her relationship with him since he was fourteen years older than herself, and already married and divorced twice, having had one child in

each marriage. In addition, Sheila had to contend with the fact that Ern was of the Puerto Rican culture, and believed very strongly that in a heterosexual relationship: "he is the boss and the woman is the follower." Although a successful cartoonist, Ern never had a high school education, and felt very ambivalent about Sheila's wish to work.

Although Sheila verbalized difficulties with Ern in regard to differences and inequalities in age, culture, past life experiences and attitudes towards the role of women, when asked about what attracted her to him she responded:

I felt I found a match . . . his age and experience and brightness matched me.

The female psychologist whom Sheila began seeing when she met Ern, died unexpectedly after two years of psychotherapy. The experience was so upsetting to Sheila that she did not return to therapy for the following four years, and even currently finds herself becoming depressed, cancelling and/or forgetting sessions with her present therapist (also a female) around the time that her first therapist died, something she is totally unaware of at the time, but later realizes when her therapist points the connection out to her.

Soon after they began dating, Sheila and Ern lived together, alternating between the two apartments, and after a period of two years, they were married. At that time, because Sheila's parents objected to her marriage to a Puerto Rican man, the couple eloped, because, according to Sheila:

"I feared my mother would spoil my marriage."

Sheila began Social Work School at Hunter College during the first year of marriage. Although Ern was highly ambivalent towards Sheila's wish to work, she feels he has become increasingly more supportive of her achievement endeavors, and more flexible in terms of sharing household responsibilities. Sheila considers her biggest difficulty in the marriage, her own anxiety during quarrels with Ern which is expressed in the following interaction:

Q: What is an argument like now with your husband?

A: It's painful; it's terrible; it's horrible; it scares the crap out of me to argue.

Q: How do you feel afterwards?

A: Awful.

Q: Towards yourself or towards the other person, or . . .

A: That's where I get confused; it gets all -- you know; like if I get angry -- it just goes all -- what I worry about is if I'm going to be loved; if I'm going to still love. I mean it's so devastating, the whole idea of it.

In terms of her present relationship with her family, Sheila feels she has established "some distance" from both her sister and her parents, whom she telephones weekly, and visits approximately once a month. According to Sheila her parents now "adore" Ern, and she views this change in feelings towards him as having influenced their more respectful attitude towards her, because: "They perceive me and my marriage almost as an entity."

However, Sheila currently feels strong parental pressure particularly from her mother that she have children and Sheila herself verbalized a wish to have children in the very near future. In this regard, Sheila anticipates what she sees as an inevitable conflict between being a mother and having a career:

I don't really believe somewhere that you can work and have children and care for them at the same time, and I'm very reluctant to give up either -- and I'm going to have a hard time with that.

Behavioral and Attitudinal Indices of the "Motive to Avoid Success"

Sheila clearly represents a woman with a high level of the "motive to avoid success" which manifests itself in a wide range of achievement-related attitudes and behaviors beginning in childhood and continuing in her present day experiences.

On a very basic level, Sheila fulfills the criteria offered by Horner as descriptive of women with a fear of success -- she demonstrates a high intellectual capacity as well as a high level of achievement motivation, but her achievement performance declined significantly as she approached an achievement goal. In addition, although she verbalized a wish to become a psychologist, and majored in psychology in college, she instead became a social worker, a career in a highly female-dominated field.

In reference to her school interests and grades, Sheila clearly manifested what was discussed earlier as a "developmental shift," namely a sudden reversal in school-related achievement as a function of sex. More specifically, although in elementary school, girls generally show superior achievement performance as compared with boys, there is a sudden shift during pre-adolescence so that by high school, boys do significantly better in school achievement than girls. Sheila's school performance is typical of the

feminine example of this "developmental shift." Whereas in elementary school her grades in school were all excellent and she graduated as the fourth top student in her school, in junior high school and continuing throughout high school and college, her grades fell significantly. However, the decline in achievement performance was not stable across all school subjects but rather highly discriminatory in terms of the traditional sex-role stereotypes described earlier.

Sheila sustained a strong interest in English and all related subjects (subjects clearly associated with the feminine stereotype), and her grades in these courses continued to be excellent, reflecting a high level of achievement motivation and performance. However, beginning in junior high school, she "hated" mathematics, history and especially science (subjects associated with the masculine stereotype), and her grades fell significantly in these areas in a way that reflected her negative attitude towards the subject matter, and her subsequent decline in achievement effort. This dichotomy that existed between language arts and science increased with age so that by the time Sheila graduated from high school, her average in the languages was 90% - 95%, and her average in the sciences was barely passing.

This dichotomy in achievement motivation and performance as a function of the associated sex-role

stereotype of the subject matter is one blatant manifestation of the "motive to avoid success." Sheila's tendency to do poorly in all male-associated areas is closely akin to what was discussed earlier as the tendency among women to devalue the achievement efforts of other women particularly in "masculine" fields, and both are seen to reflect a fear of success.

Closely associated with this, was Sheila's tendency throughout school to devalue her achievement performance following an examination, regardless of the subject matter of the test itself. More specifically, Sheila would typically leave an examination feeling she had failed, and although this evaluation always proved to be a highly exaggerated underestimation of her actual test score, this pattern would persist. This phenomenon could be said to reflect a "fear of failure," namely by anticipating failure, even a barely passing score would come as a welcomed relief. However, in that her test score often proved to be very high it appears to be more a manifestation of a "fear of success," namely a way of allaying the anxiety associated with possible impending success. This phenomenon is reminiscent of "playing dumb" during the period of time directly following the examination, and facilitates a feeling of sheer surprise on the part of the female when the test grade proves to be high. The surprise reaction has a strong element of denial in that the female feels as if her superior performance is

more attributable to luck than skill. Horner refers to denial as a major defense mechanism in dealing with ambivalence over successful achievement, and therefore a major manifestation of the "motive to avoid success."

Sheila admitted to having played dumb in relation to male peers, and although she would often verbalize her belief that she failed an examination, she never actually lied about a grade once she knew her actual score. Other indications of the "motive to avoid success" are manifested in Sheila's study habits beginning in junior high school and continuing throughout college. Particularly in relation to courses she disliked (those associated with the masculine stereotype), Sheila approached her work "haphazardly," she tended to procrastinate during the semester and make up her course work by cramming the night before examinations.

Towards the end of high school, Sheila showed many attitudinal and behavioral signs of an underlying fear of success. For example, in her senior year, she took two courses, one in typing and the other in stenography in order to be qualified for secretarial work even though she had no thought or interest in actually becoming a secretary. At this time, Sheila's conflict over successful achievement became even more obvious in relation to her attitude towards college. In comparison with her early school studies which Sheila enjoyed and seemed to approach with a focus and clarity, Sheila's approach to decisions about college appeared

to be vague, confused and conflicted. From her own description of the ambivalence she experienced while applying to college, it is no wonder (and in fact would be expected) that she was rejected by all the schools. In Sheila's own words:

I applied haphazardly to college being sure I wouldn't be accepted . . . It's like whatever would have happened to me would have been acceptable.

Here, the "motive to avoid success" is blatantly expressed, and it is clear that Sheila's "haphazard" and passive way of applying to college was an expression of her unconscious wish to be rejected so as to undermine any possibility of success.

Again six months later when she entered Queensborough Community College, Sheila manifested a fear of success in her total loss of memory of ever having reapplied to college again. This is another expression of Sheila's need to deny and divorce herself from any active participation in her achievement decisions, efforts or goals. Clearly her choice of a two year college represents her ambivalence over successful achievement in that the general liberal arts coursework (similar to advanced high school work) does not include the choice or preparation for a professional career. Sheila graduated from Queensborough Community College with a C+ average, with high grades in English and sociology, and low grades in mathematics, history and science. At that

time, not knowing her own interests, and with strong pressure from her mother, she transferred to City College and majored in elementary education.

Given her intellectual capacity as well as her strong interest in English literature and writing, this career choice clearly is motivated by a fear of success rather than by a positive or genuine interest in elementary education. Sheila herself admits never having wanted to be a teacher, and during her second semester in college, she switched her major to psychology.

Her description of this change in major, the nature of her decision-making process, and the way she communicated this decision to her mother are clearly a reflection of an underlying "motive to avoid success." Although Sheila was generally reflective and insightful in describing her personal experiences, in reference to her decision to major in psychology, she was strikingly vague and evasive, and showed no interest in understanding or exploring her underlying motivation.

After having changed her major from elementary education (her mother's choice) to psychology, Sheila came home and announced to her mother: "I'm going to be a doctor." However, in examining her own motivations in altering her major, nowhere does Sheila genuinely consider becoming a psychologist. In fact, there is no mention or thought of becoming a doctor except during this very sudden proclamation

to her mother.

It is clear that for Sheila the choice of psychology is totally disassociated from any genuine professional goal-orientation, and appeared to be more an impulsive and rebellious act than the result of an active and mature decision-making process. Her mother's reaction to this announcement (namely she cried and threatened that Sheila would never get married) was easily anticipated, and perhaps Sheila had unconsciously wished for this response as a way of confirming her own fears associated with the "motive to avoid success." Sheila described this incident with a combination of mischievousness and anxiety, and it becomes clear that she had actually elicited the fear of success reaction from her mother in the rather sudden and shocking way she made her announcement. She admitted not having thought about becoming a doctor beforehand, and remembers feeling very frightened by her mother's response.

Therefore, this announcement to become a doctor is seen as a symbolic expression of Sheila's own fear of success, representing a genuine achievement wish, a rebelliousness against her mother's wish that she become a teacher, as well as a fear that successful achievement would result in negative consequences.

Sheila thoroughly enjoyed her psychology courses, and even mastered statistics and experimental psychology although she was terrified of these courses, again indicating

her anxiety associated with subject matter considered more "masculine" in nature. Although she chose to take 60 credits of psychology (and remain in school an extra semester), never did Sheila actually or realistically consider applying to graduate school. In her own words:

I was intoxicated by the whole idea about it. I didn't know what I was going to do with it.

Although Sheila utilizes the word "intoxicated" to denote intense happiness and enthusiasm, it also expresses the lack of direction and realistic career-planning associated with her achievement efforts that is so blatantly characteristic of the "motive to avoid success." In fact, following her college graduation, she even felt remorse at not having become a teacher.

Sheila's intense ambivalence over her career choice becomes strikingly clear in the following interaction:

Q: When did you decide on social work school? Can you date it?

A: About the time I took the job with Brookwood. I can't tell you why I chose it.

Q: Because what I'm hearing is you're sort of saying to your mother: "I'm majoring in psychology and I want to be a doctor -- "

A: Right -- but you know I didn't have an idea when I finished City College. I had enough of school for awhile.

Q: Were you considering going to graduate school at that point?

A: I thought about clinical psychology. But you know you had to be a genius to get into that clinical psychology. At that time, if you went

into clinical psychology they were asking: "Do you plan on having any children?" . . . and they wanted you to swear practically that you were going to get involved, you know -- that you would stick with the program.

Q: So you weren't sure whether you would stick --

A: And I just didn't know -- I really didn't know at that point.

Sheila's ultimate decision to become a Social Worker occurred in a way that was as "haphazard" and passive as her decision to enter college. Beginning with the government tests which "placed" her in a position as a semi-vocational counselor, and followed by a job as a case aide at Brookwood Foster Care Agency which offered to finance her graduate studies, Sheila found herself becoming a social worker! She has no recollection of actually choosing this profession, and when asked about motivating factors, she responded "I don't know," attributing her profession to circumstance rather than to any active participation in career selection.

By remaining almost a totally passive victim of her achievement fate, Sheila avoided any active responsibility for possible successes she was inherently intellectually prone to encounter. In addition, her choice of a highly female-dominated field supported her school achievement pattern in which she did poorly in subjects associated with the masculine stereotype.

Even at the present time, Sheila's thoughts about

"doing it all over again" lack any feelings of serious or realistic commitment to a career choice:

I don't know. I think about that. I would love a doctorate. I mean it's just snobbery. It sounds so nice to have a doctorate you know. If I had the time and money -- I think like if we suddenly got like a zillion dollars I might really indulge myself. . . . I could maybe like getting into clinical psychology or going to medical school and becoming a psychiatrist.

Here, the striking lack of any mature consideration of the nature of the career itself or the amount of hard work and planning required for such a commitment is even inappropriate. Instead, Sheila focuses on loving the degree itself, on the snobbery associated with it, and on how nice it sounds! The achievement wish she describes is motivated by external factors (which will be discussed later) rather than by any genuine intrinsic mastery strivings.

In this description Sheila sounds much like a little girl attracted by the external, sensual aspects of an achievement goal rather than by its essence. Besides sounding childishly passive and even magical, her expressed need for a "zillion dollars" in order to accomplish this goal reflects the unrealistic and highly impossible nature of her experience of this achievement wish. Here, the "motive to avoid success" is expressed blatantly in Sheila's transformation of what could be a realistic achievement goal (well within the realm of her innate intellectual capacity) into a childish wish which could only be attained with the occurrence

of a miracle! Again Sheila assumes the passive role in relation to her achievement goal, only in this instance the fate which she awaits is a clear impossibility.

The expression of the "motive to avoid success" unconsciously serves to protect Sheila from actively dealing with her underlying conflict over successful achievement, and is very reminiscent of the magical and disassociated quality that Horner describes as frequently characteristic of the TAT imagery of MAS females.

The Development of Autonomy

Throughout her life, the struggle for autonomy has been a particularly difficult one for Sheila, and represents a major source of conflict for her. Although Sheila's difficulties with regard to a sense of autonomy and independence will be discussed more comprehensively later in relation to the developmental and dynamic formulation of the "motive to avoid success," it is useful here to briefly describe some of these in relation to the five aspects of autonomy outlined by Roskam (1972).

1. Autonomy in Interpersonal Experience

Although as a child Sheila had various school friends, she spent her spare time playing with her cousins and sister in the building until she was approximately fourteen years old.

She describes herself as lonely and isolated during her adolescence. She had only two female friends who were also "on the fringe" socially, and had no boyfriends whatsoever. Unlike her sister, Sheila did not experiment with the various fads, stages and diversified relationships typical of adolescence. Instead, she spent most of her leisure time alone, and occupied herself by "escaping into books," stamp-collecting and baby-sitting.

It wasn't until her last two years of college that Sheila began dating, and then too dated predominantly one

fellow for two years, although she "cheated" and saw other men too. Sheila certainly did not feel autonomous with respect to interpersonal relationships and it almost seems as if holding onto the security of one boyfriend made it possible for her to date others.

Almost immediately after she moved from home, Sheila met her husband and was married two years later. She views the lack of diversified friendships as one of her major areas of difficulty, and is presently struggling to overcome her past rather limited social contacts. She currently has more female friends than ever before and makes "a point" of seeing them as often as possible. She recently has developed some friendships which she has kept "separate" from her husband, something that is "very new" for her.

2. Openness to Inner Conflict

Although Sheila is generally open to exploring her inner conflicts particularly in relation to her parents and sister, she became very evasive when questioned (even remotely) about achievement-related conflicts, namely conflicts relating to a fear of success. She verbalized a mother-career conflict which she expects will be a difficult one for her to resolve in the future, but denies a present marriage-career conflict, viewing it as something she overcame in the past. Despite the fact that Sheila is currently in individual psychotherapy which clearly represents a

willingness on her part to better understand herself, there is a striking lack of insight on her part into present difficulties and conflicts.

For Sheila, "becoming independent means having a sense of yourself and liking that sense." In terms of her feelings about her own independence, Sheila responded with a cute "little-girl" tone of voice: "I'm getting there."

3. Maintenance of Attitudes, Values and Judgments

Although Sheila's attitudes, values and judgments are certainly not identical to those of her mother, she acknowledges that her mother has had a profound effect on her thinking, feeling and behavior. In terms of who in her life Sheila feels most influenced her choice in friends, she responded: "Certainly my mother; her feelings about herself that extended onto me." In fact, Sheila's choice of a husband represents her only deviation from her mother's wishes. Perhaps the security of marriage enabled this direct disagreement with her mother (which she hoped to make less direct by eloping).

Beginning in early childhood, Sheila's mother had a significant control on Sheila's life, and in an attempt to win her love and approval, Sheila became the "good girl." Even today, Sheila dislikes most about herself, "when I find myself still being the good girl and not really responding to a situation the way I should." Ironically, in this

description, the "should" reflects a woman who is still governed by approval from others more than by a genuine sense of autonomy and self-fulfillment.

4. Tolerance of Friction

Although from early childhood onward there was always a great deal of quarreling between Sheila's sister and mother, Sheila herself has always had an extremely low tolerance of friction. She describes their fighting as often "violent" and "crazy," and felt "different" and "alone" in relation to it. Sheila would characteristically respond to fights by withdrawal and isolation, and this pattern became more acute during adolescence as the fighting between her sister and mother escalated. Interestingly, this mode of responding became Sheila's more generalized behavioral pattern in dealing with all interpersonal relationships during adolescence.

In the following interaction, Sheila clearly describes the type of friction in her home and the difference between herself and Arlene in relation to it:

Q: Did you have any part in making the rules in your house?

A: No.

Q: Who made the rules?

A: My mother did.

Q: Did your sister have any part in making the rules?

A: Um -- not making them -- in fighting them -- breaking them.

In terms of her present relationship with her husband, Sheila experiences tremendous anxiety during even the most trite spats, and views this as a major and serious emotional difficulty. Her own description of a typical quarrel with Ern was detailed earlier, and is characterized by overwhelming feelings of fear, pain, anxiety and confusion.

5. Physical Independence from Family

The achievement of some degree of physical independence from her family was always a source of conflict and anxiety for Sheila. Her childhood life revolved around the building, and her bus rides home from school were such "a big deal" that she rarely saw her school friends after school hours. Sheila's reluctance during childhood to visit friends outside of her own building is a direct reflection of her mother's tendency to "hold her close" physically and psychologically.

Sheila never went to summer camp because her "parents believed you don't send children away," and Sheila herself "never thought about it." Instead, the family and relatives who lived in the building spent their summers in a bungalow colony: "It was just like switching residency."

It was not until Sheila was fifteen years old that she left home for the very first time to become a "mother's helper" during the summer. She did not go to out-of-town college, and envies her sister for having the courage to leave

for Buffalo University despite financial difficulties and her mother's protests. When Sheila graduated from college she left home on a summer trip to Europe, her second physical separation from her family. Both departures were experienced with a great deal of anxiety on the part of Sheila as well as her mother.

At age twenty-three, Sheila found her own apartment, but the anxiety associated with leaving and directly informing her mother of this decision was extremely overwhelming, and she ultimately waited three months for her mother to "kick her out" first. (Refer to an earlier description of this incident.)

At present, Sheila speaks to her parents once each week, and sees them approximately once every month.

Dynamic and Developmental Formulation of the "Motive to
Avoid Success"

Thus far it has been demonstrated that Sheila represents a woman with a strong underlying "motive to avoid success," and in addition has a great deal of difficulty and conflict in relation to each of the five aspects of autonomy and independence outlined by Roskam (1972). It is now important to integrate these two seemingly different aspects of emotional and cognitive functioning with relevant historical data in order to provide a meaningful developmental and dynamic formulation of Sheila's fear of success. This formulation serves very nicely to illustrate the expanded conceptualization of the "motive to avoid success" in females offered in the present thesis.

Sheila's family constellation is strongly maternally-dominated with both a mother and maternal grandmother being very similar in personality. Sheila perceives her mother as tense, hyperactive, critical, frustrating, pushy and controlling: "There was little you could do to please her." In relation to achievement, she is clearly a hostile and "acceleratory mother" although this type of critical dissatisfaction pervaded all aspects of thinking, feeling and behaving.

At a very early age, in response to this maternal dominance, Sheila attempted to win her mother's love and approval by becoming the "good" girl while her sister who

was one year younger received maternal attention by becoming the "bad" girl. It seems probable that the mother played a significant part in assigning these respective roles to her daughters. In the first place, there is a general tendency for parents to view their oldest child as "special," particularly when siblings are of the same sex. Furthermore, given her greater maturity, the oldest child is actually better able to "listen to her mother," and do most things, especially during childhood. According to Sheila, being a "good" girl in a general sense meant loving your mother, showing obedience to her and being helpful at home -- certainly with respect to these attributes, Sheila had a head start compared with her younger sister.

The strong tendency on the part of Sheila's mother to compare her daughters with one another, created the great dichotomy between "the good girl" and "the bad girl" that has persisted from early childhood to the present. In effect, Sheila's mother viewed her daughters as one organism, so that any personality or behavioral distinctions between them became intolerable to her. In essence, individual differences became criticisms, so that phrases such as "why can't you be more like Sheila?"; "why can't you be more like Arlene?" were frequent.

It was the mother's inability to accept and respect each daughter's individuality that led to the types of unrealistic and critical judgments that existed in the home.

The mother was in effect unconsciously creating a symbiotic relationship between her daughters in that for every personality attribute, one was designated as "good" and the other as "bad" so that only as a merged unit would they survive successfully in all areas of living.

That Sheila and Arlene were caught in a mutually competitive as well as symbiotic relationship was expressed by Sheila in the following way:

I have a tendency to confuse myself with Arlene at an early age.

In relation to many childhood experiences, Sheila was often unsure as to whether it actually happened to her or to her sister. Sometimes the confusion expressed her competitive feelings towards Arlene, namely her jealousy and wish to be Arlene, and at other times there was a genuine confusion and merger of experiences. The competitive confusion related primarily to experiences in which there was some degree of assertion towards the mother. In such instances, Sheila would suddenly remember that she had actually observed this interaction between Arlene and her mother.

When questioned about the differences in personality attributes assigned by the mother to each daughter, Sheila was well able to step back and describe the dichotomy. Sheila was viewed by her mother as polite, courteous, obedient, helpful and reliable which were evaluated as "good," whereas Arlene was viewed as disobedient, negativistic and unreliable, which were evaluated as "bad." However, as the girls grew

older (particularly during adolescence), Sheila was evaluated negatively as a "cold fish" in that she typically withdrew from arguments with her mother whereas in this regard Arlene was evaluated positively as emotionally responsive to maternal provocations, even though she reacted against these. Similarly, during adolescence Sheila was evaluated negatively as "unpopular" with regard to heterosexual relationships, and threats that she might become a spinster were common. In contrast, Sheila's mother regarded Arlene's popularity with males in a positive light although she evaluated her manner of dress (tight clothing, make-up, etc.) negatively, and Sheila's attire (plain, unstylish clothing like her mother) positively.

In terms of achievement per se, as an "acceleratory mother," Sheila's mother pushed both daughters equally during elementary school, constantly harping on their faults, comparing them with one another, and being dissatisfied with everything but the very best. The types of goals she set for her daughters were idealistic and realistically unattainable, so that even when a daughter showed superior performance, "compliments always went with criticisms."

Although the mother considered both daughters as bright, Sheila was considered the "good pupil" during elementary school and Arlene the "bad pupil" since Arlene proved to be a discipline problem in school. However, by the end of Elementary School when Sheila graduated as

number four, and Arlene as number one, the mother's attitude altered drastically, and from that time onward, Arlene was considered "the genius" by the mother, and Sheila clearly incorporated this evaluation of her sister.

Dynamically, this rather arbitrary assignment of dichotomous personality characteristics to each of her daughters represents the mother's own unconscious conflicted feelings about her sense of self-worth. This becomes more obvious in terms of her relationship with Sheila and her tremendous need to "measure up" as a "good mother." In addition, it served the defensive function of profoundly controlling the freedom and individuality of her daughters. By limiting the development of their separate sense of autonomy, the mother was unconsciously insuring and sustaining their dependency on her as well as on each other.

Sheila's mother was clearly conflicted about her own sense of autonomy, and this form of control served to allay her own unconscious separation anxiety that by permitting them the freedom to grow in their own separate and unique ways, they would ultimately abandon her.

Given this type of maternal personality structure, it is not surprising that Sheila's relationship with her mother was basically symbiotic in nature not only in terms of achievement behavior, but also in relation to basic love and security needs. As a result of this type of symbiosis, the threat of separation was always imminent and extremely

anxiety-provoking to both Sheila and her mother, who, as Sheila pointed out, never adequately separated from her own mother.

Interestingly, Sheila's earliest childhood recollection involves the first actual separation (the first day of kindergarten) from her mother, and the separation anxiety she attempted to conceal, although unsuccessfully. In summarizing her description of this incident, Sheila added: "It must have been harder for my mother than it was for me." Here, Sheila is expressing a profound recognition of the mutual separation anxiety that existed within her relationship with her mother.

Many of Sheila's later childhood recollections involve incidents in which her mother threatened to leave her or send her and Arlene away. In one such example (when she was six years old or younger), Sheila's mother threatened to call the police to take Arlene away because she was "bad," and Sheila feared that "they would take the wrong kid." This again demonstrates the merger between Sheila and her sister.

When Sheila was seven years old, her mother threatened that an orphanage would take Sheila away because she was "all skin and bones," and her mother didn't nourish her properly. (This incident was detailed earlier.) In this rather "bizarre" interaction, there is clearly a merger of mother and daughter in a way that confuses the culprit

and victim. In the first place, Sheila's mother perceived Sheila's weight as reflecting her mothering -- as if she was part of Sheila's body. Secondly, although the mother felt guilty about being a "bad mother," she saw Sheila as the one who was to be punished and sent to an orphanage. Here, Sheila's weight became the focus of confused expectations around the issues of loving, "being good" and feeling secure.

In essence, the oral experience, which is naturally characterized by a symbiotic relationship between mother and infant continued to be a source of anxiety for Sheila's mother. Her fear of Sheila's low weight can be translated on an unconscious level as an expression of her own ambivalence about nurturance as well as her own wish to return to this early infantile dependency state. By utilizing Sheila's weight as a barometer of her own mothering ability, Sheila's mother attempted to keep the mother-daughter relationship at a very infantile level, one in which Sheila remains totally dependent upon her mother for basic biological security needs. Therefore, this rather elaborate set of projections around Sheila's weight served to camouflage her mother's own separation anxiety -- a fear that if Sheila became self-sufficient with regard to fulfilling basic needs, she (the mother) would be abandoned. In regard to this incident, it wasn't until Sheila burst into tears that her mother informed her that it was a tale. In effect, her mother needed to be constantly reminded of Sheila's separation-

anxiety in order to feel secure and loved. By projecting her own separation anxiety onto Sheila, the mother successfully aroused Sheila's own separation anxiety, which became a powerful controlling device that ultimately stifled the development of her sense of autonomy. In Sheila's own words: "There was always a constant fear of separation which I caught."

When Sheila was eight or nine years old, again her separation anxiety was aroused by her mother who had to enter the hospital, and before the operation, constantly verbalized a belief that she would die. Sheila very clearly remembers the terror she experienced at that time because she was convinced that she would never see her mother again.

Another example of this was Sheila's mother's constant threats that she would "go crazy" and be "institutionalized" because of all the "aggravation" created by her job and her daughters. Interestingly, these threats aroused separation anxiety in Sheila which was allayed by further attempts to be "good" and do whatever her mother wished -- in this way she wouldn't be sent to an orphanage, and her mother wouldn't go crazy and be taken away.

It is clear that the symbiotic relationship between Sheila and her mother in terms of mutually gratifying basic security needs resulted in a great deal of confusion between mother and daughter roles. Sheila not only felt the need to please her mother by doing well in school and being obedient

at home, she also felt pressure to care for her mother and "to worry about her," because these too, were basic ingredients of a "model child." In essence, Sheila's need to be the good girl won her love and approval in a twofold manner, directly, by being praised and loved, and indirectly in that her mother measured her own sense of self-worth as a mother in terms of Sheila's behavior. Therefore, when Sheila was "good," her mother felt she was a "good" mother, and therefore felt secure and loved -- and, as her own separation anxiety declined, her tendency to project this onto her daughter, and threaten separation decreased as well. This type of complex network of mutual gratifications is confusing to understand and very characteristic of highly symbiotic relationships.

Interestingly, the mutual dependency and separation anxiety at the core of Sheila's relationship with her mother are expressed in her recurrent childhood dream when she was seven, eight and nine years old. The dream itself has aspects of the "orphanage incident" although in highly disguised form. In the dream, the building the family lived in is burning while Sheila's mother is inside, totally unaware of the fire. The focus of the dream is on Sheila's attempts to "get her away" which all are frustrated because her mother remains unaware of Sheila's cries for help. The nature of the mother's obliviousness would vary from dream to dream. At times she would just stand there, and at other times she be busy

"buying rolls," but the dream would inevitably end with a feeling of intense anxiety and panic from which Sheila would awake.

On a most blatant level, this dream expresses Sheila's rescue fantasy towards her mother, and a feeling of impotence in regard to having any real effect on her mother's well-being. Here, Sheila is expressing an unconscious experience of her mother's helplessness and dependency needs, and the pressure she feels to be the "good" girl and "worry" about her mother. Sheila's own interpretation of the dream concerns her mother's threats about "going crazy": "I had a childhood dream that reoccurred. Really about my mother being crazy and my trying to take care of her."

In an earlier discussion, these threats of going crazy were interpreted as threats of separation. Therefore, in a broader sense, the dream is about separation anxiety, and the panic Sheila experienced is not only the result of feelings of frustration, but also feelings of panic that her mother would suddenly leave her for good. The combined frustration and separation anxiety can be translated in the following way: "nothing I can do is good enough for her -- and if I'm not good, she may abandon me."

Interestingly, in one version of the dream her mother is buying rolls, an image very symbolic of the episode in which her mother threatened to send Sheila to an orphanage because she was underweight. Here, the rolls (an oral image)

are symbolic of their mutual dependency as well as anxiety and confusion around the issues of nurturance and security. In that the fire can be seen to represent impending separation, the rolls in the dream act as a deterrent to attempts at rescue and therefore represent a real threat of separation. This dream therefore is very reminiscent of the "orphanage incident" in which Sheila's mother actively manipulated the oral experience as a threat of separation. Interestingly, in the manifest content of this dream, Sheila's mother is portrayed as a passive victim who is buying rolls, totally unaware of the impending danger around her. This apparent discrepancy in maternal personality characteristics, represents Sheila's attempts at repressing the "bad" mother.

On a deeper level, in disguised form however, the dream does express Sheila's unconscious perception of her mother's hostile destructiveness (represented by the fire), as well as her ambivalence over genuine nurturance. The latter is manifested in her mother's oblivious inattention to Sheila's cries. It is as if Sheila is saying: "Why can't she hear me when I really want her?"

Here again there is confusion (and fusion) between the rescuer and the helpless victim, which is symbolic of Sheila's deeply symbiotic relationship with her mother.

When Sheila was a bit older, the theme of orality again arose in her mother's insistence that each egg eaten on Passover would reduce the time until marriage by a year -- and

"stuffed them down" Sheila's throat. Once more the threat of abandonment (becoming a spinster) is closely associated with the oral experience.

Although threats of abandonment were frequent, these served to hold Sheila closer to her mother, and fostered a deep dependency which was manifested both physically and psychologically beginning in childhood. Given this highly symbiotic relationship with her mother as well as with her sister, is it not surprising that Sheila's developing sense of her individuality was stifled and distorted by the intricate network of familial inter-relationships. Sheila found her place within the family constellation as the "good girl" who received parental love and approval by being obedient and helpful at home. This in essence became part of Sheila's sense of identity, and therefore broadly affected all extrafamilial relationships as well.

By the time Sheila entered school, her role of "good girl" fit easily into the school situation, and as an obedient, hard-working girl she became "all the teachers' pet." For Sheila, the fusion between achievement and affiliative needs was supported by her mother, teachers and peers, and she earned high grades, and was extremely popular. In looking back, Sheila is extremely aware of her tendency to seek love and approval through her achievement efforts, and remarked that "nobody should be so good." However, she is unaware of the more profound connection between this fusion of achievement and affiliative needs, and the psychological fusion between her mother and herself, and her

inadequate development of a sense of autonomy.

In terms of achievement per se, Sheila's mother believed that "smart mothers have smart kids," so that within the mother-daughter relationship, Sheila's achievement performance reflected her mother's intelligence. Overtly, Sheila's mother can be described as "acceleratory" in relation to achievement, namely she was hostile, critical and frustrating, constantly pushing Sheila to enhance her achievement efforts and performance.

However, underlying this seemingly genuine interest and involvement in her daughter's achievements, is a highly conflicted set of motivations having nothing whatsoever to do with Sheila's own growing sense of autonomous mastery. The mother's wish that Sheila achieve and do well in school is in fact motivated by her own need to satisfy her frustrated achievement needs as well as to confirm her own sense of intelligence and competence. Given the symbiotic nature of the mother-daughter relationship with respect to basic love and security needs, it is not surprising that this same type of mutual gratification exists in the area of achievement. Similar to the way in which she viewed Sheila's weight as a reflection of her capability to be a "good mother," so too does the mother see Sheila's achievement performance as a reflection of her own intelligence and achievement potential.

In relation to the most basic life experiences therefore, Sheila's mother viewed Sheila as a reflection and extension of herself, a vicarious mode of relating that limited Sheila's freedom to explore, to find her own interests

and become involved in achievement efforts that gratify these interests. Instead, as the "good girl," Sheila's achievement efforts became fused with affiliative needs, namely she did well at home and in school in order to win the love and approval of her mother (as well as her teachers). In essence, Sheila's mother was gratifying her own unfulfilled achievement motives vicariously through the achievements of her daughter, and offered her the basic security of love and approval in return. However, in that the vicarious mode of gratification never brings genuine fulfillment, Sheila's mother was never satisfied with Sheila's work, and continually pushed her to do better.

That Sheila's mother felt intensely unfulfilled in relation to her own achievements is manifested in her need to lie to Sheila about having had a high school education when in fact she never graduated. Her need to conceal this until recently, reflects how strongly this incompleting achievement goal is connected with her sense of self-worth and feelings about her own competence and intelligence. Therefore, although Sheila's mother is overtly acceleratory in relation to achievement, her wish for Sheila to achieve does not grow from a genuine wish for Sheila to develop an autonomous sense of mastery, but rather from conflicted feelings about her own self-esteem and competence which ultimately served to control and stifle, rather than enhance Sheila's sense of individuality and personal growth.

Throughout her childhood (and even during adolescence),

Sheila remained close to home both psychologically and physically. She belonged essentially to an extended family, and spent her hours after school playing in the building with her cousins. When Sheila was still in elementary school, her mother began working as a billing clerk (a job she constantly criticized), and during lunch and after-school hours, Sheila "remained under the supervision" of her maternal grandmother, a woman whom she describes much like her mother. Therefore, although maternal employment allowed Sheila some time away from the symbiotic relationship with her mother, she still remained very much in the grips of her family in an atmosphere that restricted her freedom to "wander and explore," and develop a true sense of autonomy. However, this limitation was not experienced as a difficulty for Sheila until junior high school.

During her elementary school years, Sheila's developing pattern of achieving in order to win love and approval was rewarded and supported by her female teachers who made her "teacher's pet," and by peers with whom she became popular because of the special attention she received in school. Sheila describes this period in the following way:

I was in my own world protected by the building and loved by teachers. . .I have a feeling that a lot of my good feelings were coming from outside. It depended so much what people thought of me. I was taking my own self from them. That became disastrous for me in adolescence.

Sheila was unable to offer any meaningful interpretation as to why "this became disastrous in adolescence," and the statement seemed to grow from a connection of feelings on an unconscious level.

It is clear that the symbiotic relationship between mother and child along with the achievement-affiliative bond it created did not allow an adequate development of separation-individuation.

Sheila's adolescence was really a continuation of her childhood with very little personality change -- there was no sudden overhaul of old values, beliefs or behavioral patterns, nor was there any significant manifestation of an "identity crisis" in which the adolescent experiments with many different identities. However, Sheila's adolescent experience was drastically different from that of childhood. Although in childhood she felt involved and rewarded in social, academic and familial situations, from the time she entered junior high school until well into college, she felt lonely and isolated. This dramatic change in Sheila's sense of self-worth and feelings of well-being, reflects not a change in her personality structure, but rather the lack of change. In short, it is the fact that Sheila's childhood patterns of dealing with the world (her need to be the "good girl," to conform with external expectations) no longer meshed with the changing demands of adolescence (which most importantly include a growing sense of autonomy and individuality), that she

began to experience herself as "on the fringe."

As Sheila observed the rapid changes in her peers, their "secrets," their rebelliousness as well as a new interest in sex, boys, clothing, music and dancing, she felt "out of step," and found her only comfort and security in the isolation of her room. This type of defensive avoidance and withdrawal became particularly severe in response to her relationship with her family which was shaken by her sister's intensely stormy adolescent experience.

During her adolescence, Arlene experienced a normative "identity crisis" marked by rebelliousness at home particularly in relation to her mother's attitudes and values, and constant and radical changes in behavior and appearance as she experimented and explored many different roles and identities. At times she became the "intellect," the "bohemian," and at other times the "seductive female," wearing tight clothing and make-up. Sheila, who describes herself at that time as "awkward" and "deplorable," viewed her sister's different adolescent stages with a combination of contempt and envy.

Arlene was very popular, and as the "pace-setter of her group," spent all her leisure time with her friends, often away from home. At that time overt conflicts and arguments between Arlene and her mother were constant. Arlene often left home slamming the door behind her, and Sheila responded to this familial turmoil by further withdrawing

and isolating herself in her room. In contrast to Arlene, Sheila ran away from home only once and went directly to her grandmother's house in her old neighborhood. Although Sheila proudly mentioned never having had a temper tantrum or crying in relation to disagreements with her mother, this experience of overt conflict and clash between parents and child during adolescence is seen as crucial for the development of a sense of autonomy.

It was perhaps Arlene's role as "bad girl" that allowed her the freedom to rebel and ultimately find her own sense of identity, and Sheila's role as "good girl" that limited this normative crisis of adolescence and fostered an inadequate development of "second individuation" from her mother. It is not surprising that Sheila remained with her family during college and Arlene fought and succeeded to go out-of-town.

Rather than sever the symbiotic bond that characterized the relationship between Sheila and her mother, Sheila's adolescence served to perpetuate it and further stifle her own sense of individuality and independence. Sheila's need to conform to her mother's wishes in order to feel loved and secure continued to be the underlying motivation for much of her behavior. In the same way, her avoidance of all unfamiliar or novel situations was motivated by an intense unconscious fear that to be autonomous, to explore new ideas and areas perhaps different from her mother's

interest and attitudes would mean giving up the role of the "good girl," and consequently a loss of love, security and perhaps total abandonment. As Sheila matured, pressures for autonomy naturally grew, serving to intensify this underlying infantile separation anxiety. Although Sheila spent a great deal of her adolescence "alone" in her room, she felt "lonely" much of the time rather than the gratifying feeling of "comfortable aloneness" that characteristically accompanies a growing sense of independence. In short she "escaped into books," and into the isolation of her room.

Interestingly, Sheila's mode of defense against the anxiety aroused by all attempts towards autonomy (including the behavior of peers as well as her sister), can be characterized as withdrawal, isolation -- in short, "avoidance." It is not surprising therefore that in relation to achievement (which becomes increasingly associated with autonomous rather than affiliative motives as one nears adulthood), Sheila also utilized the defense of "avoidance," namely the "motive to avoid success."

From the time Sheila entered junior high school until the present, much of her achievement-related behavior has been motivated by a fear of success rather than by active strivings towards goal attainment. The multiplicity of manifestations of MAS have been described in detail in a previous section, and need not be reiterated here. What is important, however, is an examination of the close relationship between

this unconscious conflict over the achievement of autonomy and independence -- in essence, the unconscious fear that successful achievement would result in loss of love, security and/or total abandonment by her mother, by peers, and later by her husband.

When Sheila began junior high school, the trip away from home by bus was a "big deal" and her mother accompanied her the first few times. Interestingly, Sheila's first behavioral manifestations of the "motive to avoid success" occurred already in her first semester in the new school (when her grades, particularly in mathematics, science and history, declined), and indicates a strong connection between a fear of success and an underlying fear of separation and autonomy.

It must also be remembered that during her second year, Arlene joined her at the same junior high school, having graduated as number one in her elementary school. It was at this time that the mother's attitude towards her daughters' achievement behavior switched drastically with a new focus on Arlene as "the genius." Although her mother continued to be interested in Sheila's school performance, her demands and involvements lessened, and Sheila received less criticism and also less praise in relation to her achievement efforts. Sheila's progressive pattern of decline in achievement performance from junior high throughout high school can be attributed in part to this decline in her

mother's involvement in her achievement efforts. This phenomenon reveals the strong underlying fusion between achievement and affiliative motives.

The fact that Sheila's achievement behavior is motivated by affiliative motives rather than active autonomous mastery strivings was well expressed in the following description of her college experience:

Something a teacher said really triggered off an idea in my head that when you're in college you don't have to answer to anybody. Your parents are no longer responsible for your grades (laughs), for your marks. It's your business whether you pass or fail. . . And when I suddenly made it my own it was as if everything changed.

Although it is clear that this teacher did trigger and reveal to Sheila her major underlying conflict area in relation to achievement behavior, her latter statement expresses a wish rather than a reality -- she in fact had difficulty "making it her own," and she continued to do poorly in subjects associated with the masculine sex-role stereotype. In addition, a bit later in the interview when Sheila spoke about her City College experiences two years later she remarked:

Then I went to City College and my mother said 'be a teacher. Everybody respects a teacher.' So, I was still being the good girl you know, and I majored in elementary education.

The fact that much of Sheila's fear of success behavior directly reflects an attempted gratification of her mother's wishes strongly suggests an association between MAS and an underlying wish for love and approval, and fear of the removal

of these securities and abandonment. As long as she achieved in ways that vicariously fulfilled her mother, as long as she avoided experiencing any skepticism about her mother's goals for herself, and avoided any active search for, or decision about her own achievement interests "separate" from her mother, Sheila remained secure in the mother-child unit. This is very characteristic of Sheila's ways of avoiding success which were described earlier.

The fact that she took courses in typing and stenography because her mother wanted her to be a secretary, and became a clerk (like her mother) following high school, and majored in Education during her first year of college, all strongly suggest that much of Sheila's achievement-related behavior is motivated by an underlying need for love and approval from her mother. In addition, given Sheila's intelligence and high level of early achievement motivation, there is a striking lack of any active search of interests or decision-making process in terms of applying to college, finding a job or choosing a career. Instead, much of Sheila's achievement behavior which reflects an underlying fear of success in fact represents a "search for a mother" or mother-image, and can be symbolized as an infantile wish to reunite with her mother, to form the symbiotic oneness that will protect her from abandonment and allay her intense separation anxiety.

This formulation is clearly reflected in Sheila's first

job as a "mother's helper" when she was fifteen years old which in fact was also her very first separation from her family. Interestingly, the title "mother's helper" is strikingly symbolic of Sheila's role in her family where as the "good girl" she literally was her mother's helper! Although this job represented Sheila's first attempt (despite her mother's protests) to leave home and become more independent, the position she chose reflects her strong fear of autonomy and separation anxiety.

In addition, her search for a mother or mother-image was intensified when she graduated high school and found her first daily job as a clerk. At that time she "picked up mother surrogates along the way" who helped her improve her appearance, taught her how to dress, comb her hair, etc. Although this full-time job represented an attempt towards autonomy, her choice of position as a clerk, like her mother, and her attraction to "mother surrogates" at work clearly reflects her fear of autonomy and dependency on the maternal figure as a teacher and a provider of nurturance. It is perhaps her mother's critical, hostile yet controlling manner that so strongly motivated Sheila's search for a mother-surrogate to provide her with the positive emotional support that she never had.

Following college, having majored in Psychology with no idea of what she really wanted to do, Sheila began working for an employment agency, helping others find jobs!

Underlying her own career indecisiveness, reflective of the "motive to avoid success" was a strong conflict between achievement and affiliative needs. Although she verbalized a wish to be a doctor, she never realistically planned her career future, because of fears that this might jeopardize the gratification of affiliative needs. Sheila's work as a vocational counselor represents fear of success behavior that attempts to reconcile her own dilemma between achievement and affiliative needs. By helping (affiliative needs) others with an overt problem similar to her own, she has externalized her own difficulty, and is symbolically attempting to resolve it herself as she helps others.

Following this job, Sheila worked as a case aide at a foster care agency. This achievement work too reflects the "motive to avoid success" in that it stresses the gratification of affiliative needs, and represents a truly female-dominated field. Sheila's job functions included meeting with prospective foster mothers, assisting with the placement of foster children, and evaluating the familial situation in foster homes. In a highly personal way, this particular job clearly demonstrates that Sheila's achievement behavior is very strongly motivated by an unconscious, infantile wish to reunite with her mother which is aroused by separation anxiety. The area of work is closely associated with her own childhood memory of the "orphanage incident" which was discussed earlier as expressive of the intensely symbiotic relationship between

Sheila and her mother, marked by maternal threats of abandonment which aroused intense separation anxiety in Sheila and ultimately served to perpetuate the mother-child bond at the expense of the natural development of separation-individuation and autonomy.

Similar to her job at the employment agency, Sheila's work at the foster care agency represents her attempts at resolving this painful and unforgotten childhood recollection in which her mother threatened to send her to an orphanage. By meeting with orphans, Sheila is unconsciously reliving her own fears of abandonment, and by meeting with foster mothers and finding the children adequate foster homes, she is in essence working through her most intense fear -- loss of love, security and total abandonment. Again, there is an emphasis on the gratification of affiliative needs, as instrumental to achievement behavior. In short, Sheila characteristically utilizes achievement settings as a source of gratification of early experiences with her mother that originally were anxiety-provoking. Since these early experiences of trauma are associated with fears of loss of love, security, and/or total abandonment, Sheila's work serves to safeguard these fears, resulting in behavior that undermines all chances for autonomous, goal-directed and successful achievement (MAS).

When Sheila left home at age twenty-three, her most important separation from her family, she literally waited for

her mother to threaten to "kick her out," a pattern very reminiscent of her mother's early threats of separation. After moving out, she immediately began therapy with a female psychologist (a continued search for a mother), and given her family history, she was particularly devastated when the therapist died two years later. Although she had wanted to enter therapy earlier, the pain of this separation kept her away from therapy until four years later when she again found a female psychologist.

Although Sheila found her "own apartment," this became more a gesture towards independence from her family than a genuine experience of being alone and enjoying a growing sense of autonomy. Immediately after she moved from home, Sheila not only became involved with a female therapist, she also became involved with Ern, a man fourteen years her elder, with whom she basically shared her apartment. Whether this type of relationship grew from Sheila's search for a father can only be speculated here, although this interpretation seems plausible given his rather passive and retiring personality characteristics, and the very "special" way she perceived her grandfather.

It is interesting to note that the intensely painful anxiety Sheila experiences during arguments with Ern, stems from her confusion between a fear of a loss of being loved, and loving. Here, the type of symbiotic fusion and confusion between being "abandoned" versus being the

"abandoner," is very reminiscent of the confusion around separation that existed within her relationship with her mother. It is also of interest, that following Sheila's marriage, her mother's attitudes towards Sheila changed dramatically in a direction of greater respect for her ideas and opinions. Sheila attributes this change in maternal attitude to her mother's perception of Sheila and her marriage (Ern) "as one of entity."

Sheila's ultimate choice of a career (which in essence was not an active choice, but a more passive reliance upon circumstance) again reflects underlying conflict over successful achievement. On one hand she had wanted to be a psychologist, and on the other hand desperately feared that such autonomous functioning would have negative consequences, including loss of love and security both in relation to her mother and in relation to the possibility of a future husband. These underlying fears were verbalized as threats by her mother when Sheila informed her of a wish to become a doctor (You're going to become too smart and no one's ever going to want to marry you"). It was Sheila's underlying fear that success in her achievement endeavors would present a direct threat to her affiliative needs, that created her indecisiveness in actual career planning, and the reliance upon circumstance to decide her achievement fate. It is not surprising therefore that Sheila waited until after she was married to make a career commitment to social work, and

immediately matriculated into graduate school!

The choice of social work represents a compromise from Sheila's verbalized wish to become a psychologist, as is characteristic of MAS females. Here, the underlying conflict between achievement and affiliative motives is compromised in her selection of a much more traditional "feminine" field that very strongly gratifies affiliative needs, both in her contacts with female co-workers as well as the types of nurturant activities that characterize her work.

In contrast, Arlene's choice of field, medieval literature, represents a highly innovative area, which may not be surprising given their very different childhood and adolescent experiences. Although they had the same mother, her need to constantly compare and contrast them formed Arlene's role in the family constellation as the "bad" girl, and Sheila's, as the "good" girl. This resulted in a mother-daughter relationship that was qualitatively different for each sister. For Arlene, constant clashes with her mother and an extremely stormy adolescence followed naturally from her role as the bad sister, and served to develop separation-individuation from the mother. This general rebelliousness gave her the psychological strength to leave home for college, an experience of separation that furthered her growing sense of autonomy and independence.

Arlene is presently living alone in Greenwich Village and is a matriculated doctoral student at New York University.

Since she was not directly interviewed, no definitive statement can be made here about Arlene's personality in relation to the continuum of fear of success -- non-fear of success. However, it can be stated with a good deal of objective substantiation that she is not struggling with fears of autonomy and separation to the degree that Sheila is, and if she has an underlying "motive to avoid success" at all, it is certainly not as intense or debilitating as Sheila's fear of success. This comparison of the two sisters from childhood through adulthood strengthens the present dynamic and developmental formulation which focuses on the process of separation-individuation during childhood and again during adolescence as the crucial area of conflict underlying a "motive to avoid success" in females.

In reviewing the total spectrum of Sheila's achievement endeavors, a very interesting pattern emerges which clearly supports the interpretation of fear of success as a defensive maneuver against underlying infantile separation anxiety. All the achievement efforts described symbolically reveal a wish to please her mother and/or a wish to find a mother or "mother-surrogate," and the symbolic gratification of these needs through work (achievement) allays her underlying separation anxiety and fear of abandonment.

Sheila recognizes her struggle over autonomy and independence in personal, familial and social aspects of her

life, and is currently making active strides in the direction of "doing her own thing," separate from her husband. However, she remains unaware of the ways in which this underlying fear of abandonment profoundly distorts the nature, and jeopardizes the outcome of her achievement efforts. In essence, Sheila has no awareness of the fact that she has a strong underlying "motive to avoid success."

LaurieA Case of an Average Level of Fear of Success in FemalesIdentifying Data: Laurie

Laurie is a 29 year old White female who was an only child in her family. She was married approximately four years ago to a man her own age, and they currently live in a private house which they rented in a rather rural section of Yonkers.

Laurie received an MA degree in mathematics education from Teachers College, Columbia University in 1967, and has been working as a mathematics teacher in a middle school (grades five through eight) in Ardsley, New York ever since.

Her husband had just completed law school and passed his New York State Bar Examination several weeks prior to the interview, and is currently seeking employment as a lawyer.

Identifying Data: Parents

Laurie's parents continue to reside in the home in Tarrytown, New York where Laurie spent her childhood and much of her adolescence. Laurie's father, a 66 year old man was born in the United States, and her mother, a 62 year old woman was born in Hungary and immigrated to this country when she was approximately 20 years old.

Her father completed two years of college (evening division) as a mathematics major, but dropped out of school to become a mailman. He retired from his job ten years ago, and currently works as a bookkeeper.

Laurie's mother completed an eighth grade education, and although she never held employment, she occasionally worked at home as a seamstress for neighbors.

Mental Status

Laurie is a very attractive young woman of average height and weight, with wavy shoulder-length dark brown hair, and very beautiful large blue eyes.

Although she was very reluctant to take part in the interview when she was telephoned, and anxiously questioned its purpose, with clear explanations and a great deal of support on the part of the interviewer, she finally agreed.

Laurie's anxiety continued during the very early portion of the interview, but she responded quickly to the relaxed atmosphere and in a short time felt comfortable and became extremely involved in the material discussed. In fact, a good rapport was established almost immediately which was quite unexpected given her wariness over the telephone.

Laurie is an extremely bright and sensitive young woman, who is out-going and friendly, provided she feels accepted and supported. She spoke clearly, and answered

questions in a personal and relevant manner. Quite frequently she became emotionally involved in her description of an experience, and at such times her speech became rapid and her voice became louder, although not to an inappropriate degree. Laurie demonstrated a good capacity for reflection as well as a unique eagerness to delve beyond the superficial aspects of a situation.

She showed a rare quality of energy and vitality, combined with a curiosity and openness to better understand herself and her family. Rather than assume the role of passive interviewee, answering questions merely for the interviewer's benefit, Laurie utilized the experience for her own learning and personal growth. At times she became excited that a question directly corresponded to an issue she is currently dealing with in her own psychotherapy, and at other times, she became intrigued with interview questions about aspects of her life which she had never thought about or explored. Quite early in the interview, in response to questions about her relationship with her parents during childhood, Laurie commented with a feeling of enthusiasm: "This is really interesting; I've never thought about this." In her attempt to answer such questions, she began to find patterns and connections with later experiences, and bubbled over with excitement about her new insights and realizations.

This combination of vitality, involvement, curiosity, and drive towards growth on Laurie's part made the interview

a thoroughly enjoyable and refreshing experience.

Pertinent Personal, Family and Achievement History

1. Early and Middle Childhood: Elementary School (ages 3 through 11)

Laurie grew up in Tarrytown where her family shared a house with five other families. She recalls playing with other children in the house before beginning school, although her first vivid memory is of her first day in kindergarten:

I remember the first day, when I walked in and the teacher asked me what my name was and I spelled it out for her ("Laurie"), and then I was corrected by my mother because she didn't want me to use that name.

Laurie never understood why her mother insisted on the dichotomy of "Laurie" at home and "Lauretta" in school, especially since she had given Laurie her nickname. However, Laurie obeyed her mother's wish and until she entered college, she was known by her home friends as "Laurie" and by her school friends as "Lauretta," a name she "always hated."

According to Laurie:

When I went to college you had to wear name tags so I immediately changed it and I have been Laurie ever since.

Laurie describes her mother as clearly the more dominant parental figure both in relation to child-rearing and her parents' marriage. During her elementary school days Laurie explained:

My father was my friend, and my mother was the disciplinarian. She really was the one who brought me up.

Laurie's memories of her mother during childhood were at first vague ("I don't remember her in elementary school"), and she described her mother as dominant, but not restrictive or critical until junior high school. However, with reflection, she suddenly began to recall many childhood incidents in succession which reflected maternal dominance and control already during early childhood. One such incident occurred when she was eight years old and the family went to Florida. According to Laurie, while the family was sun-bathing on the beach, she had "wandered off " to explore the area. When she returned, her mother was furious with her, and for many years, whenever Laurie "acted up," her mother referred back to that incident. In general, according to Laurie:

I was a very free kind of kid, and I used to go and wander away from home a lot which would drive her crazy.

In addition, Laurie remembered the following maternal characteristics:

One thing she did when I was a kid, I don't remember if it was pre-school or elementary school, but I was very young, and that was whenever I did something that she didn't like she'd say "I'm going to call the orphanage, and they're going to take you away." Some women had the boogie man, and with her it was the orphanage -- and it's really funny because I had forgotten all of this. . . And I remember another thing -- all of this is coming back. As I said, I had a lot of friends in the neighborhood, and I played outside a lot, and whenever she wanted me to come upstairs, she'd never say

"come upstairs." First of all, in her very strong accent she'd yell: "Laurie" (imitates), and you could hear her all over the neighborhood. And I'd say "what?", and she'd say: "I have a surprise for you," and I'd come upstairs, and it would be "dinner is ready," and it would be her devious way to get me to come upstairs.

Laurie remembers spending a great deal of time as a child with dolls, play-acting the role of mother. The theme of this fantasy activity was a reenactment of incidents within the mother-daughter relationship in which Laurie could relive the experience the way she wished it had been. She remembers spending time with her dolls as well as in fantasy "wishing to be a mother so that I could be the opposite -- talk nicely, not deviously." Following this description, Laurie laughed and added:

So I guess I wasn't very happy with her.

In terms of school work, Laurie remembers her mother as always having been "too much involved." For example, she commented:

In elementary school I was a girl scout so she became a girl scout leader.

In addition, she complained:

My mother was always around the house.

In the following interaction, Laurie's perception of her mother's critical attitude is revealed:

Q: Whom as a child, do you think was the person you tried to please the most?

A: Her -- definitely, because she was the one who -- this is something I'm talking about in fact

yesterday in therapy (laughs). I think pleasing her was equated with getting her love, and like I never felt that I got it. . . . There were never any compliments from her so I was always trying to do more and more to try to get those compliments from her -- but I never got them.

Laurie recalls that whereas her mother was critical and never satisfied with her school grades (which were always very high), her father was supportive and often helped her with her homework, particularly in mathematics:

In elementary school I was like inseparable with him. He was like my best friend. . . . We were too close and he would let me do anything I wanted and most of the time he would do it with me, like baseball and the movies. I was kind of a tomboy at that time.

When she reached the sixth grade however, Laurie was no longer a tomboy, and instead became sexually interested in boys, and frequently went to coed parties in her neighborhood. In general, she describes her elementary school days in a very positive way. She remembers always being popular, describes herself as an "extrovert," and her grades were all "good" or "excellent."

2. Early Adolescence: Junior High School (ages 12 through 13)

Although Laurie cited many instances during her childhood which reflect maternal dominance, criticism and hostility, her memories of these are relatively vague, and she experiences some confusion between these maternal characteristics and an inner belief that she rarely fought with

her mother or felt controlled by her until the time she entered junior high school:

My mother was very over-protective to the point of never letting me do anything, and this is to say, up until junior high school, I had complete reign. . .up until junior high school I was a normal American kid and in junior high school, I think she, because of her age felt like she was going to lose me, because I was growing up the way an American kid would grow. . . .

Laurie therefore perceived a drastic change in maternal child-rearing attitudes beginning in early adolescence, and attributes it to both her own and her mother's age, and the maternal fear of losing her daughter. At that time, maternal dominance and criticism intruded on all of Laurie's activities, including her social relationships, her achievement behavior and her behavior at home. According to Laurie:

She questioned me until I got married on everything.

Laurie's junior high school was walking distance from her home. During the seventh grade, she sustained friendships she had formed in elementary school, and belonged to a group of approximately ten boys and girls. The group spent a great deal of time playing tennis and doing other sport activities together on weekends and after school. Laurie remembers her mother as being particularly restrictive towards her activities with this group, and described the following example:

Any time I wanted to go horseback riding with some friends my mother said: "you don't know how to ride a horse. You can go draw a horse."

At this time, in response to constant maternal restrictions and demands, there was a great deal of fighting between Laurie and her mother. Although the screaming and yelling continued until Laurie left for college, only once does she recall having actively rebelled against maternal dominance. At that time, Laurie's mother called her a "whore" for sitting with a group of boys and girls in a relatively deserted area. This infuriated and embarrassed Laurie, who responded by dressing up "like a whore," and "walking the streets," although she returned home in a short while, feeling "scared out of my mind." Shortly after this incident however, Laurie drifted away from this group of friends and added:

My mother may have been subconsciously influencing me.

In the eighth grade, Laurie developed a close friendship with one girl she met in junior high school. Ultimately this friendship ended in a way that was extremely upsetting to Laurie, and remains a very painful memory. At that time the friend "betrayed" her and spread "nasty rumors" about her to a group of girls, and although Laurie questioned her about the content of the rumors, she never found out what actually had been said about her. These girls formed a clique from which Laurie was ostracized, and for the remainder of her junior high school days, she had no close friends and felt generally lonely and excluded.

In terms of her school performance, Laurie did

extremely well, and received grades in the 90's in all subjects during her three years of junior high school. Laurie perceives a drastic shift in parental involvement beginning at this time, and continuing during high school. Although her father had been the more involved parent in terms of school work during elementary school, his involvement declined suddenly when Laurie entered junior high school, and there was a simultaneous increase in her mother's involvement. According to Laurie, her father's sudden lack of involvement in her studies represents only one example of the more general way her father began to recede into the background from the time she entered junior high school.

She attributes the decline in her relationship with her father to the increase in the fighting between herself and her mother. Therefore, on one hand Laurie blames her mother's critical, intrusive and harassing manner for the loss of the close friendship she had with him, yet on the other hand she blames her father because of his failure to support her during arguments with her mother.

For Laurie, junior high school marked the beginning of familial discord which in relation to her father, took the form of increasingly greater distance and less communication, and in relation to her mother took the form of increasingly greater negative communication, namely greater conflict and fighting. Although this mode of communication first emerged during Laurie's early adolescence, it became more pronounced

and clearly evident during her adolescence.

3. Adolescence: High School and College (ages 14 through 21)

When Laurie was fourteen years old, she entered a high school, which like her earlier schools, was walking distance from her home. During her first two years in high school, Laurie describes herself as a "goody goody" as far as never doing anything daring. At that time she had two very close friends who were known by their classmates as the "holy three." Although the three females were not included by other peers in any social activities, they became very involved in extra-curricular school-related activities.

According to Laurie:

I had a finger in every pot.

Although she wasn't at all popular socially, she considers herself to have been a "school figure," since she was editor of the school newspaper, and editor of the school literary magazine. In addition to her interest in writing, she held various school offices, was involved in art, and played the violin in the school orchestra. According to Laurie:

I had this thing of always wanting to be better than everyone else.

Although constantly busy with this wide range of school-related projects, she felt "shy and self-conscious" during most of high school, and was aware at the time that she had only two friends. Laurie attributes her unpopularity during

high school to the fact that she was an extremely ambitious, hard-working student:

I was very studious. I would actually get really interested in whatever I was studying. . . That turned off a lot of kids, because I would come up with fantastic reports.

Later, Laurie added:

I was voted the most studious of my senior class, and I guess -- I held a lot of offices and things, but I was not popular, and I was sort of like -- if you need help in math go to me. I hated high school: I mean I just resented being voted that.

Laurie believes that she in fact was not that studious, but that during high school:

I had two images, you know. I had what the clique thought of me in high school as a very serious, studious person, and what people who knew me outside of school -- I was like a lot of fun.

This two-image dichotomy developed from the fact that Laurie did not date boys in her high school, but rather became involved in social relationships with peers who lived "outside of the town."

During this time, Laurie's relationship with her father became barely existent, whereas her mother became very involved in Laurie's school achievements:

When I was in high school, she was part of that; part of the PTA. She helped me with my homework. She saw every paper I brought home. I mean totally involved in school work -- too much!

She describes her mother at that time as "extremely critical," not only in relation to her school work, but in response to everything she did. She gave the following examples:

Nothing was ever enough. O.K. Let's say I brought home a paper and I had a 98% on it; she would say: "O.K., let's see where you missed the two points," even though she had only gone up to the eighth grade. . . She was a seamstress, and if I was making anything, the seams would never be straight, and she'd say: "O.K. Start all over," and of course I'd never finish it; and in my painting, she would take them to people and say: "What do you think?", and they would say: "Oh, I don't like the color of the sky," and she'd come home and tell me to paint the sky differently.

Laurie added:

I think pleasing her was equated with getting her love, and like I never felt I got it. So you know, like I'd do things -- and I'm still very thing-oriented, like project-oriented, and I'm still a perfectionist, that things are never right, because nothing was ever right with her.

During this period, Laurie and her mother fought "constantly and viciously," with a great deal of screaming and name-calling. According to Laurie:

She was really happy once to see she had left her handprint on my face.

Laurie recalls that the fighting occurred every single day during her four years of high school, and "it was so bad living at home, I was dizzy all the time." She in fact did not realize the connection between her frequent dizzy spells in high school, and her relationship with her mother until several years later when she began psychotherapy. According to Laurie:

If you could live one day where everything you do is criticized. Even worse; Let's say you're about to do something, and before you can do it you're told to do it. . . . I felt she was always there. You know she was a busy-body.

Although Laurie engaged in a great deal of screaming and yelling with her mother, in describing herself during these fights she commented:

My problem in high school was that as much as I yelled and screamed at her, I was very much afraid of her, and -- I would never -- it would have been good if I had done something like gone away for a night or something. But she had a very strong power over me, and the whole time I was fighting with her, I never did anything that she didn't want me to do -- ever. I was still a goody goody, because there was just something inside of me that said: "you can't do what she --." If I did do something, which was very rare, I'd immediately tell her.

During these fights, Laurie's father would either withdraw into another room and read, or side with the mother, often saying to Laurie: 'Honor thy mother and father,' and this enhanced the great distance that was already developing between them.

During her high school days, and perhaps even earlier, Laurie recalls a recurrent dream:

I had a dream which I understand was a very sexual dream of -- it was like a net, and it would go into a cone (indicates with her hands), and then I would imagine myself falling into the cone.

According to Laurie, in the dream she would either be falling lower and lower into the "bottom of the net," or she would "catch" herself on the net, but in both versions, she would wake up suddenly with a feeling of intense anxiety and panic. When asked what was on the bottom of the net, she responded: "nothing."

Following Laurie's junior year of high school, having studied a year of Chemistry, she decided on a chemist as an occupational aspiration, and already when she applied to college the following year, she had the full intention of becoming a Chemistry major. Laurie's high school grades were all extremely high, and she graduated as number three in her entire senior class. Having done so well in school, she applied to four Ivy League Schools, and as safe schools, applied to Syracuse University and William Smith College. She was only accepted to the safe schools, and chose to attend William Smith College which is located in upstate New York.

According to Laurie, by the time she was a senior in high school, life was so unbearable in her home, that she could not wait to leave for college. This was not her first time away from home, since she had gone to sleep-away camp during several summers beginning in junior high school.

Laurie left home for college with a feeling of optimistic enthusiasm, and at first described her freshman year as "a ball." As a Chemistry major, she took the standard "pre-med" courses, and did extremely well in all her subjects, ultimately achieving Dean's List both terms. In addition, she dated a great deal, and considered herself the "belle of the school." However, at a later point in the interview, when asked about any feelings of homesickness during college, Laurie denied this but added:

I wasn't homesick, but I had a lot of trouble adjusting. I was a real hypochondriac that first year, and I was constantly in and out of the infirmary. So I think I was like on one hand scared to be away from home because my mother had this strong influence on me, and on the other hand I was like enjoying every second of it.

However, Laurie never wrote home "I miss you" to her parents, and she remembers how upset they were because they believed that she wasn't homesick. Instead, Laurie describes her letters to her parents in the following way:

I let them know the name of every single guy I dated. I don't know why I did it, but I did.

Her parents' letters commonly consisted of interrogations about her grades and school activities, as well as demands that she work hard and achieve Dean's List.

Laurie distinctly remembers her parents' first visit to her college during her freshman year, and describes it in the following way:

My mother burst into tears when she saw I was doing my own laundry. That was a big thing for her.

One of Laurie's great difficulties, but also pleasures during college was buying her own clothes. This was especially important for her since until she entered college her mother, who was a seamstress, sewed almost all of Laurie's clothing without consulting her daughter about preferences of style or fabric. Laurie describes this very new experience in the following way:

My first year in college I started to buy my own clothing, and I remember shopping for clothes and thinking: "Would mommy like this," and then say:

"I can't do that -- it's up to me -- I can get whatever I want."

At the end of her second semester of her sophomore year, Laurie suffered what she termed a "partial breakdown." Although her grades up to that point were extremely high (having achieved Dean's List every term), during this semester she had some difficulty in her Organic Chemistry course, and ultimately gave up chemistry as a major as well as a vocational aspiration. Laurie experienced this episode in the following way:

My sophomore year was very very hard. I was having a real identity crisis, because that was when I was feeling failure for the first time. Like I had planned on being this big chemist, and I -- I didn't make it.

Interestingly, when questioned about her grade in chemistry that term she hadn't in fact failed at all, but rather received a "C" on one chemistry examination, and became extremely anxious, consequently dropping the course. In reality her grades that term were quite good (including a "B" in Physics), although for the first time she did not achieve Dean's List.

During this time, Laurie constantly felt overwhelmed by anxiety and panic, and began to call her mother long-distance daily, and sometimes more than once each day. Her mother also visited her at college during this time at Laurie's strong request. Laurie remembers feeling confused about who she was, and in what direction she was going, both

emotionally and in relation to a professional career, and she called her mother for support and help in finding an answer to her dilemma. In Laurie's own words: "She became my buddy. I confided in her." As the Spring semester of her Sophomore year drew near, Laurie began voicing a wish to drop out of college altogether. According to Laurie, it was her parents' insistence that "they would do anything in their power" to insure that she completed college, that ultimately convinced her to change her mind and continue with her studies.

By the end of her sophomore year, having actually sustained high grades during this entire emotional episode, Laurie switched her major to mathematics because:

Math was something I was good at. I don't think there was that much of an interest in it.

Shortly after this decision to be a mathematics major, Laurie began psychotherapy with a male psychologist. When asked about her presenting problem, Laurie responded: "My mother," but added: "My biggest conflict then was not knowing what I wanted to be." According to Laurie, her therapist strongly believed that her relationship with her mother was creating her emotional difficulties, and directed her in the following way:

I want you to promise me that you will visit less, and when you get out of college, you'll never live at home again.

Although Laurie was able to effectively limit her visitation with her parents during the school year, she continued to

spend her summer vacations with them, and described the quarreling with her mother as identical to the way it had been during her earlier adolescence.

Laurie terminated therapy at the end of her junior year because she was feeling more relaxed, her calls to her parents had declined significantly, and she began to enjoy herself again. Her senior year proved to be a very pleasant experience -- she began to enjoy painting once more, a hobby she had given up following high school, and she became "part of the school scene." Her grades continued to be extremely high, she was awarded membership in Phi Beta Kappa, and graduated from college, magna cum laude.

Towards the end of her senior year, Laurie again experienced an emotional crisis in reaction to the fact that all her friends were getting married. According to Laurie:

Then I started applying to graduate school, and I didn't know what I wanted after college. So, applying to graduate school was just putting off the decision -- what to be.

Although she verbalized this indecisiveness of career plans, Laurie applied only to graduate programs in the field of Education, and decided to attend Columbia University, Teachers College.

4. Adulthood: Post-College (ages 22 to Present)

Following college, Laurie returned home to spend the summer with her parents whom she found were getting along

and communicating with each other much better since she had begun college. However, upon her return, the fighting between Laurie and her mother was rekindled "as if it had never stopped," and her mother treated her as if she were still in high school.

As the summer progressed, it was in response to her parents' insistence that she move out, that Laurie found an apartment with two other women in New York City, although she felt anxious about living in the city, and was reluctant to move from her parents' home.

Laurie found her graduate studies extremely easy, she barely studied except the night before an examination, and received a grade of "A" in every course. However, she found her life in the city extremely difficult emotionally. According to Laurie:

I had a lot of very anxious times when I lived in the city. . . . This was when I had a weird relationship with my mother. I guess the city kind of frightened me and I would get these anxiety attacks where I thought I was going to crack up, and the only person who could get me out of it was my mother, and I would talk to her on the phone for hours about --. She still had the umbilical cord, and as long as I would talk to her I would survive in the city.

During this period of time which lasted almost three years (and Laurie already held a teaching position), Laurie visited home every weekend, and would often beg her mother to let her move back home, a request that her mother vehemently refused to fulfill.

It was during this time that Laurie began to date her husband, and because of difficulties in their relationship as well as her relationship with her mother, Laurie entered group therapy. Almost immediately after she joined the group, her relationship with her mother changed and she no longer had the need to call her:

And when I started going to the group, I realized how sick my relationship with my mother was . . . I think they took over my need to talk to someone.

Laurie remained a member of the group for two years, being single during her first year, and married the second year. Following their marriage, Laurie and her husband moved away from New York City to their present house in Yonkers.

Since the time she began group therapy, Laurie's telephone conversations with her mother are limited to very "brief hellos," and she currently contacts her parents approximately once a week.

For the past eight years, Laurie has been teaching mathematics to seventh graders in a middle school in Ardsley, New York, and according to her:

I really didn't enjoy teaching until I got married because the five years I was teaching before I got married, I felt I could do better with my life.

Laurie currently enjoys her work, and has become increasingly more involved in painting which she attributes in part to the strong encouragement and support of her husband.

She began weekly sessions in individual therapy again last November, and sees her primary goal as finding out who she is, "separate" from her mother.

Behavioral and Attitudinal Indices of the "Motive to Avoid
Success"

Laurie is certainly a female with a strong underlying fear of success which affected her achievement-related attitudes and behavior in an increasingly more blatant and pervasive way as she progressed from high school through college.

In terms of Horner's basic criteria of the "motive to avoid success," Laurie clearly qualifies -- she is exceptionally bright, and creative, and displays an extremely high level of achievement motivation, although her achievement performance and attitudes altered suddenly as she neared her achievement goal in a direction away from fulfilling this aspiration.

Specifically, although Laurie had strongly wished to be a chemist, she suddenly dropped this major in the middle of her sophomore year of college (exactly at the half-way mark of her college career), and at the same time almost dropped out of college altogether. Laurie actually experienced herself as "failing" chemistry when she in fact received a grade of "C" on an examination. This very unrealistic evaluation of her intellectual potential and performance points to the existence of an underlying conflict over achievement, namely the "motive to avoid success." This interpretation is given further support by the fact

that in describing her earlier achievement successes during her freshman year, Laurie proudly cited many examples in which she had entered the final examination with a low grade in chemistry, and ultimately did so well on the examination that she received a grade of "A" in the course. It is significant that in her sophomore year, she was unable to remember and utilize these experiences, but instead became overwhelmed with anxiety and ultimately "avoided" the course entirely by dropping it. Therefore, given this past history as well as the fact that Laurie indeed has the intellectual capacity to be a successful chemist, it is clear that her decision not to be a chemist was motivated not by a fear of failure (which she believes it to be), but rather by a fear of success.

A further clue that this in fact is the case is revealed in the nature and pattern of career aspirations that emerged subsequently. Laurie at first majored in mathematics, but instead of becoming a mathematician, ultimately chose a career as a teacher of seventh grade children. The progression of successive career aspirations reflects an underlying "motive to avoid success" in a startling way -- her first career aspiration as a chemist represents a highly innovative, male-dominated career, and her second aspiration, namely a mathematician, is also in a non-traditional, male-dominated field although it was a field strongly encouraged by her father. In contrast, her ultimate career choice, namely a teacher represents a highly traditional, female-

dominated field which Laurie admits she never actually aspired towards at all. Her specific position as a mathematics teacher of children clearly represents her resolution of a strong underlying conflict over successful achievement. Although she retains her interest in mathematics, this achievement motive is camouflaged by the fact that she is teaching young children and therefore is only involved in the most elementary mathematics. It cannot be disputed that in terms of early education, the emphasis for a teacher is much more upon the relationship between pupil and teacher than on the actual content of the subject matter taught. Therefore, in her attempt to avoid success, Laurie has concealed her own interests in mathematics (achievement need) by becoming a teacher (affiliative need) of seventh graders.

Despite the fact that Laurie sustained consistently high grades in all courses throughout her school career, and graduated with honors from every school, she ultimately chose a career that demanded much less than her intellectual capability could fulfill, but more importantly, a field in which she never had an interest. The following interaction which occurred very early in the interview reveals how strongly the "motive to avoid success" has shaped Laurie's achievement-related attitudes and ultimate career choice:

Q: In elementary school did you have any subject you liked better than any other ones?

A: Well -- it depended on what year. Like I always had something I wanted to be, and --

Q: I'd be interested in that.

A: That's been part of my life -- always wanting to be something. That's one of the things I'm talking about in my therapy, like this drive to be somebody. I don't know if it was pre-school or elementary school, but I wanted to be an actress. I don't know where I got that from. And then about, I guess around sixth or seventh grade, I wanted to be a writer, and then for most of high school, I wanted to be a writer. Then about my junior year in college, I mean in high school, I wanted to be a chemist, and then about somewhere's in college I wanted to be an artist. So I'm going through -- I never wanted to be a teacher -- ever -- no never. That was the one thing I said I would never be.

Q: When did you decide on being a teacher?

A: When I graduated college and I didn't know what I wanted to do. And I didn't have -- I didn't feel creative enough to be an artist which is what I really wanted to do, and I had given up writing because I didn't feel I was a good writer -- and it was like what do I do? I have to earn money.

Q: Were you always interested in mathematics?, because you didn't name that as one of the --

A: Well math was something I was good at. I don't know if there was that much of an interest in it. But that's important because math wasn't an interest. It was something I stood out for . . . and then my father had majored in math for his two years in college and -- math was like -- I think that's what my parents wanted for me to be in, math, because it's something that a woman doesn't do [laughs], it's special; and that's how I ended up in it.

Laurie's slip of the tongue during this interaction ("then about my junior year in college, I mean high school, I wanted to be a chemist") reveals that Laurie's strong underlying wish to be a chemist persisted during her junior year in college, the year that she had switched her major

from chemistry to mathematics.

In a broad sense, this interaction need not be examined -- it is self-explanatory and reflects a consistent fear of success that operated within Laurie long before she entered college. Her wish to be innovative is expressed, as is her wish to please her parents and her strong tendency to devalue her own achievement capabilities. Although she expresses strong opposition to ever becoming a teacher, at a later point in the interview, the following is revealed:

Q: What did your mother want you to be?

A: A teacher.

Q: Your father?

A: A teacher.

Therefore, although in the first interaction Laurie claims that her parents wanted her to be involved in mathematics, in the second interaction she claims that they both wanted her to be a teacher -- hence, Laurie combined both these parental wishes, and became a mathematics teacher! This conformity to parental expectations explains why Laurie commented that "applying to graduate school was just putting off the decision what to be." In short, although she applied exclusively to education programs, and superficially appeared to be goal-oriented in her choice of graduate schools, Laurie's underlying fear of success, and not a genuine interest, was the motivating force behind this behavior.

Laurie's underlying "motive to avoid success" began to

emerge overtly beginning in high school when she created "two images" of herself, that of "studious" and bright student, versus that of the "fun-loving girl" in relation to peers. The following interaction clarifies this manifestation of the "motive to avoid success":

Q. Did you ever find yourself trying to play dumb with guys?

A: Yeah -- very often.

Q: Can you tell me about it?

A: Almost all my relationships with guys except for the guys who I felt were brighter than me, I always, and still do play down how well I did in school. I got this feeling in high school that guys don't like girls that are smarter than they are, and I felt that in high school I didn't have any dates because I was up there. That's why I could date people from out-of-town who didn't know me, and when I was in college, I tried very very hard not let anybody know how bright I was except a lot of the time I would date guys who were brighter, and then I could be myself.

Laurie's tendency to play dumb is closely associated with her devaluation of her own intellectual achievement capabilities which ultimately forced her to switch to a career choice that hardly interested her at all. This tendency among females to devalue their own achievement efforts as well as those of other females has been discussed earlier as reflecting an underlying "motive to avoid success."

Another example of this is Laurie's consistent pattern of underestimating her performance following an examination. In response to a question as to whether she

ever experienced this phenomenon, Laurie commented:

I've had that every single time I take an exam except my last two years when I had relaxed. I remember one time coming out of a chemistry exam at the end of freshman year. The girls in the house would think I was obnoxious, because I'd come in and I literally thought I failed, and I came in and started slamming every single door in the place and screaming I failed. And I had gotten 100% on the exam, and he had curved the exam because everyone else had failed. I was the only one who passed, and I passed with 100. And I was absolutely positive that I had failed that exam. And when I got an "A" on my report card, I went up to him and said: "I think you got the wrong person." I couldn't believe it [laughs]. But I always felt that, and I felt that in high school too.

This phenomenon represents Laurie's means of denying her own active participation in the success of an achievement endeavor, and instead the success is attributed to luck, or to a mistake. This defensive maneuver reflects an underlying fear of success which was detailed earlier (refer to the case material of Sheila).

It is interesting to note Laurie's remark, that this tendency to devalue and underestimate her achievement efforts declined significantly during her last two years of college when she felt more relaxed. In specific, it is precisely during those two years of college when she no longer majored in chemistry that Laurie's school functioning was motivated more by the "motive to avoid success" than by active mastery strivings. It would be expected therefore, that she would feel more relaxed during those last two years of college, since by switching her major from chemistry she was in fact

reducing her underlying anxiety associated with successful achievement. In addition, since she was no longer working towards a career that elicited a fear of success conflict, she no longer needed to deny or avoid responsibility for her achievement efforts, and therefore there was a concomitant decline in her tendency to devalue and underestimate her achievement performance.

In summary, although Laurie maintained an exceptionally high level of achievement performance throughout school, much of her achievement-related behavior during high school and particularly during the second half of college was influenced by a strong underlying "motive to avoid success." This took the basic form of a tendency to devalue her achievement efforts in a multiplicity of ways which ultimately led to a career choice in a traditional, "feminine" field that she herself had always devalued.

The Development of Autonomy

Having completed this examination of Laurie's underlying fear of success, it is now important to turn our attention to an examination of her cognitive, emotional and behavioral functioning in relation to the five aspects of autonomy outlined by Roskam (1972). A rather brief investigation will suffice here to be followed in the next section by a comprehensive developmental and dynamic formulation of Laurie's underlying "motive to avoid success," which primarily takes into account an underlying conflict over a sense of autonomy.

1. Autonomy in Interpersonal Experience

Laurie has had difficulties in interpersonal relationships which she acknowledges to have been a great source of anxiety particularly since early adolescence. An important aspect of her difficulty in social situations is clearly attributable to a conflict over autonomy.

This is revealed during Laurie's first year in junior high school when she drifted from her circle of friends, having been "subconsciously influenced" by her mother. The following year, Laurie felt "betrayed" by her best friend and ostracized by an important peer clique, an experience that is very reminiscent of the "deviousness" she strongly perceived in her mother's attitudes and behavior.

In high school, "the holy three" represented an inseparable friendship in which Laurie spent almost all her time with two best friends. During this period of time, her lack of diversified relationships and her need to be bound by the title "holy three" reflects difficulty in autonomy. In fact, during her junior year of high school, when Laurie did begin to form a greater variety of friendships, it was with friends who were a year younger than herself, which Laurie considers a significant indication of her fear of social situations.

Laurie's need during high school, to compartmentalize her school-related friends from her social-related friends (which she termed her "two images"), again reflects difficulties in a sense of autonomy. Rather than engage in a wide range of diversified friendships, Laurie instead related in two different modes which she held separate and distinct from each other. Therefore, rather than allow herself to relate interpersonally in a way that was truly herself (autonomous), Laurie split her needs (achievement versus affiliative) by splitting the nature of her relationships.

However, Laurie's characteristic involvement in extra-curricular school activities and hobbies including writing and painting indicate a strong need for self-expression and creativity. There were however periods in her life when Laurie gave up these interests entirely because of

serious doubts about her own competence and a generally low sense of self-confidence in the worth of her achievement efforts.

During college, Laurie felt a strong need to describe and name every fellow she dated in letters to her parents. This indicates that despite the greater diversity of friendships she formed during college, Laurie still felt conflicted about her freedom to choose her own friends regardless of parental attitudes and opinions.

In response to the question: "What role do you think friends play in one's life?", Laurie commented:

Friends are a very important part of one's life, maybe for me even more important than for other people, but I don't think life is worth living unless you have people to share it with.

Although this response is by no means inappropriate, the urgency and intensity of Laurie's need for friends that is expressed here reflects her difficulty in establishing autonomous relationships. For Laurie, friends serve a survival function which she acknowledges goes well beyond the importance of friendship for most people.

It is not surprising therefore that Laurie has great difficulty doing things by herself which is clearly expressed in the following interaction:

Q: If you wanted to go to a dance, or a concert, or a movie, and didn't have anybody to go with, would you go by yourself?

A: Let's say this. I'd probably want to go by myself. Whether or not I really did [laughs]
-- no.

2. Openness to Inner Conflict

It has already been stated that Laurie is extremely motivated to better understand herself, and is currently dealing in therapy with her problem in autonomy as well as the primary source of this difficulty, namely her relationship with her mother.

During the interview, she demonstrated a general quality of openness to inner conflict, combined with a willingness to talk about these difficulties, utilizing the interview questions as stimuli for introspection. With this attitude of openness and curiosity, it is not surprising that the interview itself became a learning experience for Laurie who rediscovered many forgotten childhood memories, and had many new insights which she was enthusiastic to continue to explore in therapy.

Following the session, Laurie was eager to know the purpose of the interview, and when the concept of fear of success was briefly explained, she became reflective for awhile, and then attempted to relate it to her own experiences. She verbalized never having heard about the "motive to avoid success," and also never having looked at her life in this way and added: "This will give me a lot to think about."

3. Maintenance of Attitudes, Values and Judgments

Laurie describes her mother as always having been an extremely "devious," "domineering," "critical," and

"obstinate" person who had her own ideas and opinions about everything. Although she remembers having a great deal of freedom as a child, she also recalls many instances of strong maternal control. In general however, Laurie was much closer to her father during childhood, and confided all her thoughts and feelings to him.

By the time Laurie was a pre-adolescent, her father receded in importance, and her mother became not only her enemy, but also her confidant. Although there was constant quarreling between mother and daughter, Laurie was very much under her mother's control. The following interaction exemplifies this:

Q: Did you have any part in making the rules in your home?

A: Never.

Q: Who made them?

A: My mother. She used to say things like: "in my house you do as I do."

During adolescence, Laurie kept her mother well-informed about every detail of her school life including homework, examination grades and extra-curricular activities. This extended also to her social activities, and she always told her mother where she was going, when she would return home, as well as a detailed description of experiences with her friends. This continued even while she was away at college, and later while she lived in New York City.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Laurie has

been very influenced by her mother's attitudes, values and judgments. In fact, the perceived long-range parental life goal for Laurie, namely "getting married, being a teacher and having kids," is identical to Laurie's present life situation, although she wants to wait several years before having children.

The following interaction clearly summarizes the powerful way in which Laurie continues to be influenced by her mother's attitudes, values and judgments:

Q: Do you feel your values and beliefs are in any way similar to your mother's?

A: Unfortunately yes, and right now what I'm doing [in therapy] is trying to find out which are hers, and it's very difficult. Like I'm finding out more and more things that I think are mine are really hers. And that's what I'm trying to weed out.

4. Tolerance of Friction

The fact that Laurie and her mother argued and fought constantly from the time she was thirteen years old was discussed earlier as was a description of the nature of their quarrels. In relation to the development of autonomy, it is important to note here that although Laurie engaged fully in these fights, she rarely asserted her own will in relation to her mother:

She was irrational. After arguments I always felt frustrated. I knew I would never win.

Later she added:

My problem in high school was that as much as I yelled and screamed at her, I was very much afraid of her . . . and the whole time I was fighting with her, I never did anything that she didn't want me to do -- ever.

Therefore, although Laurie has a good tolerance for friction, this is not historically associated with active autonomy strivings, but rather became a mode of communication that actually sustained her mother's powerful control over Laurie.

In her present relationship with her husband however, Laurie describes herself as "a good fighter." She does not consider conflicts or arguments with her husband as a problem area for her, nor does she feel she has difficulty asserting her opinions or feelings.

5. Physical Independence from Family

Despite the fact that Laurie spent time away from her family at a sleep-away camp beginning at age twelve, she had a great deal of difficulty being away from home during, and following college.

Although the details of these difficulties were discussed earlier, it is important to reiterate highlights that relate directly to conflicts over a sense of autonomy.

The first signs of anxiety associated with the physical distance from her parents were severe "hypochondriasis" during her freshman year of college (although she denied being homesick), high frequency of contacts with her parents both by telephone and letters, and a strong need to

confide personal, social experiences to them. The following year, her "partial breakdown" also reflected difficulties in autonomy, both in the sudden increase in telephone calls, and requests for visits from her parents, as well as her strong wish to leave college and return home. With the help of a psychologist, and in accordance with his direct demands, Laurie's visits and telephone contacts with her parents diminished.

Again following college, while living in New York City and attending graduate school and later teaching, this state of anxiety and panic re-emerged in even greater intensity, and for a period of almost three years, Laurie hardly left her apartment except to go to school and return home to her parents on weekends. At that time, she spent endless hours on the telephone with her mother, begging her to allow her to return home. Again, with the help of psychotherapy (this time group therapy), Laurie was able to feel more relaxed, and her need to see and speak with her mother declined.

Therefore, although Laurie found the quarrels at home unbearable and "couldn't wait to leave home for college," the most difficult periods in her life without question, occurred while she was living away from home, until the time she was married.

Developmental and Dynamic Formulation of "The Motive to
Avoid Success"

Laurie clearly represents a fear of success woman who is typical of the sample of females Horner examined. Although she showed signs of the "motive to avoid success" already in high school in relation to social contacts, it wasn't until her sophomore and junior years of college that her fear of success actually interfered with her achievement behavior and ultimate career choice. By intergating the fairly detailed historical data presented thus far it is possible to provide a comprehensive developmental and dynamic formulation of Laurie's "motive to avoid success." From this formulation, it will become clear that Laurie's fear of success is very closely associated with an inadequate development of a sense of autonomy and a concomitant achievement-affiliative conflict.

Beginning in childhood, Laurie's relationship with both her mother and father is characterized by a striking achievement-affiliative contingency in which Laurie attempted to gain parental love and approval by doing well in school and other achievement-related activities.

Both her parents themselves were unfulfilled in terms of their own achievement needs (her father did not complete college and her mother received only an eight grade education), and Laurie always felt the need to gratify them

through her achievement efforts. Rather than her achievements serving to strengthen her own sense of individuality and independence, they instead served to please her parents and strengthen the parent-child bond.

During childhood, Laurie felt the need to please her father most via her achievement efforts, and she describes her relationship with him as "inseparable" and "much too close." Here, a symbiotic relationship between daughter and father existed in which basic security needs became fused with achievement behavior.

Although Laurie has fewer recollections of her mother during childhood, and believes that she was not close with her, the few forgotten memories that suddenly emerged during the interview all reflect the existence of a strongly symbiotic relationship already during childhood. Her mother's threats to send Laurie to an orphanage, her anger when Laurie left the blanket on the beach in Florida to wander around the area, and her loud screams for her daughter to come upstairs, all indicate a strongly controlling maternal figure who transmitted her own inadequacies in autonomy to her daughter by limiting her freedom to "wander and explore," and at times even threatening abandonment when she expressed some form of independent behavior. In short, beginning in childhood, there are indications that Laurie's mother fostered an inadequate development of autonomy in her daughter both by limiting and controlling her behavior, and by

threatening the basic security needs whenever she wandered too far.

This type of maternal control, and Laurie's strong dependency on her mother as a result intensified because Laurie's mother did not work, and therefore "was always around." Therefore, until she entered school, Laurie was constantly with her mother, and even when she began to attend elementary school her mother's involvement in her school activities (e.g., girl scouts, PTA) gave Laurie little opportunity to be alone and develop a sense of independence.

Although in relation to her achievement efforts Laurie remembers a greater need to please her father, she recalls her mother as having always been very involved in her achievement performance. However, Laurie perceives a drastic difference in each parent's general approach and attitude towards her achievement behavior. Although both parents were "acceleratory" in terms of "pushing" her to do better and better, Laurie views her father as having been generally helpful and supportive, sharing in her achievement efforts, and perceives her mother as having been hostile and overly critical, constantly dissatisfied no matter how well Laurie did.

The symbiotic relationship around achievement between mother and daughter was more blatantly established at the onset of Laurie's adolescence. At this time, Laurie perceived a drastic increase in her mother's "acceleratory"

attitudes, and attributes this to maternal separation anxiety in response to Laurie's strides towards autonomy:

I think she really felt that she was going to lose me, and it was time to tighten up, and I think it was subconscious.

In addition, around this time, Laurie's relationship with her father weakened as he receded into the background of the family constellation, and this served to intensify Laurie's relationship with her mother.

Since the daughter's development towards separation-individuation was perceived as a threat to the maternal well-being, and therefore to the securities of the mother-daughter relationship, it is not surprising that for Laurie, all attempts at autonomy were experienced with a great deal of anxiety associated with a fear of abandonment. A strong element within the mother-daughter bond therefore can be characterized as mutual separation anxiety associated with autonomous functioning.

This symbiotic relationship became particularly pronounced in relation to achievement behavior, because Laurie attempted to receive the securities of maternal love and approval for her achievement endeavors, and her mother in turn attempted to receive vicarious gratification of her own unfulfilled achievement needs. However, this mode of vicarious gratification by its intrinsic nature cannot provide genuine satisfaction, and therefore Laurie's mother was "never satisfied" with Laurie's work, and Laurie in

return, did not receive the love she was seeking, but rather criticism and frustration: "nothing was ever enough." Therefore, each member within the symbiotic relationship was constantly in a state of frustration which paradoxically served to further intensify their cravings, and thus their mutual feelings of dependency:

There were never any compliments from her so I was always trying to do more and more to try to get those compliments from her, but I never got them.

In high school, this need to please her mother was manifested in Laurie's need to be involved in a multiplicity of school activities: "I had a finger in every pot." Around this time, Laurie became involved with two close female friends, and as a group they were known as "the holy three," with their friendship revolving almost exclusively around their interest in extra-curricular school activities. Here, the "holy three" can be seen to symbolize Laurie's need for fusion in order to feel comfortable in achievement endeavors. On another level, the "holy three" is symbolic of her own family constellation (the Oedipal triangle), and the symbiotic relationship that existed between Laurie and both her mother and father during childhood, particularly in the area of achievement.

Although Laurie verbalized a genuine interest in these school-related activities (achievement motivation), she is aware on some level that her involvement was (and still is)

very bound up in pleasing her mother (affiliative need):

I think pleasing her was equated with getting her love, and like I never felt I got it. So you know I'd do things -- and I'm still very thing-oriented, like project-oriented.

It is interesting to note that the theme of Laurie's "thing-orientation" in order to please her mother during childhood and adolescence later becomes the basis of her search for a career:

That's been part of my life, always wanting to be something.

Given Laurie's history of doing "things" in a hope of receiving maternal love, her use of the word "something" rather than "somebody" reveals the strong underlying connection between a career and Laurie's craving to be loved. It is from this basic achievement-affiliative fusion that Laurie's "motive to avoid success" develops, and is clearly manifested in college around choosing a career, and her continued indecisiveness about a career until she was married.

Aside from having a "finger in every pot," beginning in childhood, Laurie attempted to receive parental love and approval by being "the best" in whatever achievement endeavor she performed:

I always had this thing of wanting to be better than everyone else.

During her childhood and throughout her first year in college, Laurie was in fact very competitive in school-related areas, and successfully achieved becoming "a school figure." However,

from her descriptions it becomes clear that for Laurie, being the "best" meant being special and noticed, and therefore was motivated by affiliative rather than achievement needs. This pattern essentially developed from her very earliest experiences in her family as the only child, and she often verbalized parental wishes that she be "special."

Just as her need to be involved in a multiplicity of projects appeared only superficially to be motivated by a need for self-expression and autonomous mastery strivings, so too was her competitive need to be "better than everyone else." It is not surprising that this early manifestation of what appeared to be "motive to approach success" later was altered into an expression of the "motive to avoid success" when it came time to actively choose a career:

Well, math was something I was good at. I don't know if there was that much of an interest in it, but that's important because math wasn't an interest. It was something I stood out for, because very few women were good in math . . . it's special and that's how I ended up in it.

Interestingly, Laurie "ended up" being a mathematics teacher, a field clearly dominated by females, and the process of this career choice was already discussed as a clear manifestation of the "motive to avoid success." Here however, what becomes strikingly clear is the close connection between Laurie's fear of success, and not a fear of competitiveness, but rather a fear of genuine autonomy. Laurie's involvement in mathematics has a long history of association with the fulfillment of

basic security needs (working on mathematics with her father during elementary school), as well as nurturant needs: "if you need help in math go to me" (in high school).

Laurie acknowledges (although she is not aware of the underlying meaning of her statement) that she chose a career that "wasn't an interest," but something for which she "stood out."

This however was not the earliest manifestation of MAS. Interestingly, it was during high school, at a period of time when the mother-daughter relationship was most symbiotic in relation to achievement that Laurie showed the first overt signs of fear of success. This might be expected given the fact that during this stage in development, namely adolescence, there are increasing pressures particularly from peers towards autonomy and independence, pressures which for Laurie created a great deal of conflict and anxiety. Had Laurie's achievement endeavors during high school been motivated by a genuine fulfillment of a well-integrated mastery strivings, she would not have had the need to split her school friends from her social friends, nor would she have had the need to "play dumb" to boyfriends.

It was Laurie's internal achievement-affiliative conflict and the concomitant fear that successful achievement would result in social rejection, loss of security and/or total abandonment that motivated her need to externally compartmentalize these internally conflicted needs. It is

important to note here, that Laurie's first manifestation of MAS, namely her creation of "two images," one in relation to school friends and the other in relation to social friends is a direct repetition of her earliest childhood recollection in which Laurie complied with her mother's wish to call herself "Lauretta" in school, and "Laurie" at home and with friends. This pattern strongly reveals the fact that for Laurie, fear of success had its origins within the earliest mother-daughter relationship, and is strongly associated with her need to please her mother.

Furthermore, an examination of Laurie's relationship with her mother during the time of her first manifestation of MAS, namely adolescence provides additional support to the interpretation of her fear of success behavior as a defense against underlying conflicts over autonomy (and not aggression).

It has already been stated that this relationship was always highly symbiotic in relation to achievement, and that it became intensified during Laurie's adolescence when she showed some attempts at autonomy. It was at this time that Laurie began confiding her social experiences and difficulties to her mother who often gave her advice and support. However, at the same time there was a tremendous increase in maternal dominance, hostility, and criticism with constant maternal demands and intrusions on Laurie's ways of thinking, feeling and behaving. This became the primary basis and theme

of the constant quarrels ("vicious fights") that existed between Laurie and her mother, and although Laurie frequently screamed and yelled at her mother, there was rarely any active rebellion to foster the process of "Second Individuation" which is necessary for the normal development of autonomy and independence. Therefore, although on one hand Laurie's quarrels with her mother expressed some degree of resistance to maternal demands, on the other hand they paradoxically strengthened the close, symbiotic relationship that existed between them. For Laurie and her mother, the symbiotic bond was not only sustained by mutual confiding and gratification of basic security needs, but more importantly, by hostility, criticism and mutual quarrelling. The symbiotic nature of their quarrels is symbolized by Laurie's following comment:

She was really happy once to see that he had left hand-print on my face.

Again, the symbiotic relationship and its basic characteristic of control and hostility are symbolically expressed in Laurie's recurrent dream during this period of time. In the dream, Laurie feels herself falling lower and lower into a net which has "nothing" at its bottom, and waking up with a feeling of anxiety and panic. Here, the feeling of being caught in a net symbolizes her feelings of being controlled by her mother. The net, similar to a "web" is seen to symbolize the hostile mother (e.g., black widow spider).

In addition, her fear of falling into the "nothingness" of the bottom symbolizes her fear of total abandonment within the mother-child relationship, and the panic from which she awakes is clearly associated with separation anxiety. On another level, the net too can be seen to symbolize the womb and therefore expresses Laurie's infantile dependency needs within the symbiotic relationship between mother and child.

Given the nature of the mother-daughter relationship and Laurie's concomitant fear of abandonment, it is not surprising that during adolescence and early adulthood, when successful achievement became increasingly more associated with a growing sense of autonomy and independence, that Laurie began to show overt signs of the "motive to avoid success."

This became strikingly clear when she left home to attend college. Although Laurie "couldn't wait to get away" from her mother, once having left home, she had "difficulty adjusting," and appeared to have had severe separation anxiety. This highly ambivalent feeling towards her mother was manifested in her denial of homesickness yet severe hypochondriasis which forced her to spend a great deal of time in the school infirmary. These multiple somatic symptoms during her freshman year of college symbolically express "homesickness," and at the same time gratify her need for love, care and attention as a secondary gain. This expression of separation anxiety and fear of autonomy did not interfere

in any serious way with Laurie's achievement efforts during her first year of college, although signs of fear of success were expressed subtly in her characteristic way of devaluing her achievement work. (This was described earlier.)

In the middle of her sophomore year, Laurie's "partial breakdown" in relation to a grade of "C" on an organic chemistry examination, and the concomitant intensification of her contacts with her mother clearly indicates a strong relationship between fear of success, and a fear of autonomy and independence based upon early infantile fears of abandonment in relation to the mother. Laurie describes her "partial breakdown" as an "identity crisis," which is interesting since this crisis normally includes active rebellion, intrafamilial conflict, and a growing sense of autonomy. For Laurie, the opposite was true, namely during her crisis there was a renewed strengthening of the mother-daughter bond, and her experience can therefore more aptly be described as a "fear of autonomy crisis," and a "fear of success crisis." Laurie's panic, anxiety, and wish to drop out of school and return home grew from an unconscious fear that becoming a successful chemist would threaten her basic security needs particularly in relation to her mother, but also in relation to her father and peers. Her decision to drop her chemistry course was premature, and motivated by a fear of success rather than a realistic appraisal of her abilities. The fact that her decision to give up her

occupational aspiration as a chemist occurred simultaneously with her heightened contacts with her mother reveals a close unconscious symbolic connection between these two phenomenon, which very strongly substantiates the "autonomy" theory of the "motive to avoid success."

In resolving what Laurie believed to be a vocational crisis, she ultimately switched her major to mathematics, and entered psychotherapy. Interestingly, both of these modes of resolution have as their basis, the gratification of basic security needs. In the first place, Laurie's parents wished her to major in mathematics so that by complying with their needs rather than her own interests, she attempted to safeguard her fears of abandonment. Furthermore, by beginning psychotherapy, she had a new person with whom she could confide, and upon whom she could depend so that by the end of the year she felt more relaxed and no longer needed to call her mother each day.

In view of the fact that her new achievement goal no longer threatened her basic need to be loved, Laurie was able to sustain a high average, and graduate from college with honors. This too, was in accordance with the parental wish that she be "special." In addition, her decision to become a teacher, and apply to graduate school occurred at a time when she was feeling anxious because all her friends were getting married. She described applying to graduate school as "putting off the decision what to be," since this choice

of a teaching career was her parents', and not her own. For Laurie, this career decision clearly is motivated by the "motive to avoid success," and reflects the basic fear of individuality and autonomy that is associated with it. This also becomes apparent by the heightened separation anxiety she experienced upon leaving college, which by that time provided her with a feeling of safety and belonging. Again, just at the time she was about to make a career commitment and enter graduate school, there was a reintensification of her relationship with her mother, and an expressed wish to remain home.

During the three year period when Laurie was attempting to live in a most autonomous way in New York City, she spoke to her mother several times each day, and had what she termed a "sick relationship with her . . . she still had the umbilical cord." Laurie was unable to go out, or go to sleep without the comfort and support of her mother, although they still fought constantly. During this period of time, Laurie completed graduate school, and began working in her career as a teacher. The underlying association between a fear of success and a fear of autonomy, namely the unconscious fear that successful achievement would jeopardize the security of basic dependency and affiliative needs is clearly expressed in the severe anxiety Laurie experienced constantly during this period of time, which could only be allayed through contacts with her mother. Again, similar to her experience

in college, it was only when Laurie began therapy and had another source of emotional security, that she could separate from her mother.

Laurie's succession of career aspirations from a chemist ultimately to a teacher reveals a strong "motive to avoid success" and has already been discussed. What has been revealed here, is the very striking association between Laurie's fear of success and her underlying separation anxiety and fear of abandonment, if she were to fulfill an achievement goal of her own individual choosing.

However, having a strong motive to achieve as well as an awareness of never having wanted to be a teacher (a parental wish), Laurie continued to be conflicted about a career choice long after she began teaching. The following statement serves as an excellent summary of Laurie's achievement conflict, its associated need for affiliation and fear of autonomy, and her resolution of it via the "motive to avoid success":

I really didn't enjoy teaching until I got married, because the five years I was teaching before I got married I felt I could do better with my life. Should I be a programmer, should I be a commercial artist, should I be this, should I be that? And every February, I don't know why it was always February, I used to go through these crying jams, because I didn't like what I was doing, yet I didn't know what else to do. And I haven't had one of those since I've been married.

Interestingly, two important events occur for Laurie during February: first, it is the month of her birthday, and second it was the month during which she had her emotional crisis in

college when she switched her major from chemistry to mathematics. This crisis was described earlier as a "fear of success crisis" and a "fear of autonomy crisis," so that both events are closely associated with growing up and becoming independent.

Therefore, this yearly crisis represents on one hand an active search for a career that would be genuinely self-fulfilling, but on the other hand represents a reexperience of her intense fear of success and underlying fear of autonomy. The fact that this yearly vocational crisis suddenly disappeared when she was married, reflects the greater strength of her dependency needs and fears of abandonment than her needs for autonomous achievement. Just as she needed her mother to protect her from her fears of autonomy associated with successful achievement during college and graduate school, so too does her husband protect her from fears of abandonment. Once married, the inner pressure for autonomous achievement disappears, and she begins to even find enjoyment in fear of success behavior (teaching), which indicates a fear that continued strivings toward autonomous achievement might jeopardize the emotional supports of her marriage.

In summary, it becomes evident that for Laurie, the "motive to avoid success" is a defensive maneuver against underlying fears that by becoming autonomous in her achievement efforts, she would lose her basic securities of love, safety

and protection, and that these needs grew from a symbiotic relationship particularly with her mother which fostered an inadequate development of separation-individuation. For Laurie, each confrontation with autonomous achievement intensified a need to reestablish this symbiotic relationship with her mother.

In essence, each step towards autonomy triggered a strong regressive pull towards reuniting with her mother to insure that her basic securities were not in jeopardy. This persisted until such a time as Laurie was able to find other objects to gratify these infantile dependency needs (e.g., therapy, a husband), as well as utilize her defensive resources in a resolution which characteristically reflected the "motive to avoid success."

EllenA Case of Non Fear of Success in FemalesIdentifying Data: Ellen

Ellen is a 29 year old White Jewish female who was an only child in her family. She was married approximately four years ago to a 33 year old man who is a psychologist.

Ellen received a Bachelors degree from Cornell University in 1966, and after spending one year travelling, she began New York University Law School. Since 1970, she has been working as a legal aide lawyer in the criminal court building in Manhattan. Her husband has a small private practice, but spends most of his time teaching both day and evening session courses at a college in New Jersey. Ellen and her husband currently reside in an apartment in Greenwich Village.

Identifying Data: Parents

Ellen's father passed away in 1968 of a heart attack while Ellen was in law school. All during Ellen's life, until his death, her father worked as a certified public accountant having received his CPA degree from Baruch College, Business School.

Ellen's mother is a 60 year old women who currently lives alone in an apartment in Brooklyn. She received a

Masters degree in education at Brooklyn College, and worked as an elementary school teacher until she retired last year. Before Ellen entered school herself, her mother taught per diem, and when Ellen began the first grade, her mother began working full-time as a third grade teacher, and later as a cluster reading teacher. Ellen's mother was offered a position as assistant principal which she turned down several years ago, because of her preference for teaching as opposed to administrative duties.

Mental Status

Ellen is a tall, slender and attractive female who carries herself with an air of self-assurance. She has hazel eyes and long brown hair which she wore in a thick and beautiful braid.

Ellen was very eager to participate in the interview, and aside from the general information given to her, did not ask for any further explanation of the nature of the questions to be asked. She is an extremely friendly and out-going female, with a good sense of humor and a general quality of self-confidence. She required almost no support or encouragement to relax and talk about herself and her personal experiences, and describes herself as always having been "kind of an extrovert." Ellen exudes a general quality of grandiosity, but appears to be comfortable with

it, and takes great pride and pleasure in her achievement endeavors. She spoke quickly and enthusiastically, and answered questions in a direct and relevant manner.

Ellen has a unique capability for organizing information and communicating it in a way that is concise yet comprehensive. There was no point during the interview that a question had to be rephrased for a more elaborate response, although at times there was a need for initiation on the part of the interviewer to help her delve more deeply into her feelings about an experience. At times she showed a rather limited capacity for reflection and introspection, and was more concerned with the precision and clarity of her response.

Ellen demonstrated a particular talent for the use of words in her descriptions of people as well as experiences, a strength which certainly is important in her career as a lawyer. At times this style would appear to be overly dramatic and poetic, but in general reflected an appropriate but somewhat superficial integration of thoughts and feelings. Given Ellen's rather self-confident style, coupled with her unique capability in verbal skills, it is not surprising that at the end of the interview, she laughed and said: "Thank you for giving me the chance to talk so much."

Pertinent Personal, Family and Achievement History

1. Early and Middle Childhood: Elementary School (ages 3 through 11)

Ellen was born in Brooklyn and lived with her family in a small private house. Her earliest childhood recollection dates back to when she was approximately a year old:

This is very interesting. . . . I remember when I was in the crib. I remember seeing the color red, and what was red was my mother's blouse, and I remember trying to reach up . . . to the toy, and I remember in the background hearing my mother sing some kind of song. Only later did my mother tell me she had this particular lullaby that she used to sing to me. . . . It's a lovely memory.

In terms of her childhood recollections before entering school, Ellen commented:

I remember doing a lot of playing. I remember having a lot of fantasies as a little girl.

In one type of fantasy play, Ellen dressed in some of her mother's clothes, and talked to herself and sang in front of the mirror.

Before she was five years old, and continuing into elementary school, Ellen also spent a great deal of time in fantasy with a collection of buttons of all sizes, shapes and colors. Here, she developed an elaborate city of families and schools, and different buttons were set to play different roles. She remembers inventing detailed fantasies "like a soap opera," assigning herself the role of "Queen" and "leader" of the village.

Already before she began school, when she was about three years old, Ellen's mother worked per diem as an elementary school teacher. According to Ellen, this wasn't too frequent, but while her mother was at work:

I used to stay at friends' houses, and my mother would pick me up.

From the time Ellen entered the first grade, her mother worked full-time each day.

She considers her mother to have been the stronger parental figure both in terms of disciplining her, and in relation to her husband. She describes her mother in the following way:

My feelings about her altered depending upon my age. Generally, my mother was dominant. My mother was very strict. My mother was a pusher, but at the same time she also had a tendency to be very flexible. She had a tendency to be very understanding. So my feelings about my mother were somewhat ambivalent, but I would say that I respected her and she respected me.

Therefore, although Ellen perceives her mother as having been very involved in her school work and general achievement behavior, she cited many examples in which her mother demonstrated flexibility and understanding:

I remember when I first started having homework. I used to ask her to help me. And she set down this, now if I look back, quite a nice deal where I would do my homework and only after I finished it would she help me, would she check it out with me.

In another example, Ellen commented:

My mother very much wanted me to take piano lessons so I took them, and I remember getting so absolutely

disgusted with the practicing end of it . . . and um, I stopped, and I'll tell you one thing I remember, she was very nice about it, my mother. As long as I tried, as long as I made an effort, and then if I didn't like it . . . well, she respected that I didn't like the practicing, and then it was O.K., and that was quite nice.

However, although Ellen perceived a general flexibility and respect on the part of her mother towards her achievement efforts, she also experienced a great deal of maternal pressure, with constant dissatisfaction in her school achievements:

That was one thing that bugged me. I always did well. I got SO's (highest grade: Satisfactory-Outstanding) all over the place, but with my mother your report card had ten spaces, and if there weren't ten SO's, you were doing something wrong. She always wanted more and more.

Ellen's only "weak" subject in elementary school was penmanship, particularly during the early grades when "teachers made such a fuss about it." According to Ellen, she had difficulty writing neatly and keeping her letters on the line, adding humorously that to this day she has a rather careless handwriting.

In contrast to her mother, Ellen describes her father in the following way:

My father was a very passive man, somewhat of a submissive man. A very good man, and a very kind and very loving man, but very passive. . . . I also had a very different relationship with him. I always had more fun with him. I used to play some sports with him . . . but I remember also he would take me to the movies, to parades. I used to have more fun with him than with my mother.

Beginning in elementary school and continuing into her early adolescence, Ellen spent many of her summers at camp. Although she attended day camp during her early childhood, beginning in latency (when she was nine years old) she went to sleep-away camp for one month. She remembers "some homesickness" during her first week away from her parents, but then adjusted well to camp life, and by the next summer, was "looking forward" to a two month camp experience.

In general, Ellen describes herself as "a bit of a tomboy" up until the fifth grade at which time she became interested in clothing, boys and parties. Her grades continued to be extremely high in all subjects, and she was generally outgoing and popular. She remembers her childhood familial relationships, peer relationships, school and camp experiences in a very favorable light.

2. Early Adolescence: Junior High School (ages 12 through 13)

When she was twelve years old, Ellen began junior high school which was located a bus ride from her home. She rode to school with some friends she met during elementary school, and soon developed a different group of friends at her new school.

According to Ellen:

Junior high school I liked because of departmentalization -- you know when a different teacher teaches each subject. I really dug that, and one reason I really liked that was the teachers seemed more involved, seemed more interested in the subjects

they were teaching, and also you were a little bit more on your own going from class to class.

Ellen perceives a drastic change in her relationship with each of her parents beginning in junior high school. She shared much less with her father, because her interests changed, and he was basically very shy, and there no longer were particular activities to do together. In addition, her relationship with her mother began to change, which Ellen attributes to changes in her own personality and interests:

I was much more, call it rebellious in junior high school, . . . because I started getting interested in things and I think she was setting limits on me, and I didn't like that. My father stayed out of it -- I wish he didn't.

Ellen is referring here to the beginning of a great many quarrels with her mother that emerged at that time particularly in relation to Ellen's developing interest in dramatics:

And I think the most pronounced thing is that I got interested in dramatics. I always had this flair, like talking in front of the mirror. But I really started getting interested in dramatics, and used to want to spend a lot of time -- and I did spend a lot of time -- which was an area of contention for my mother. She felt that it was a phony field, she felt I was wasting too much time in dramatics, and I should be more serious about my school studies. But the point of the matter was that I was doing very well in everything, and I kind of resented the implication that what I was doing was phony.

Ellen cited many examples of fighting with her mother over this, which came to a real climax at a time when Ellen was playing a lead role in the play "Lil' Abner." At that time,

the dress rehearsal took place the evening before a mathematics examination, and Ellen's mother insisted that she stay home and study. According to Ellen: "I was furious. I stormed out of the house." During this period of time, Ellen describes herself in the following way:

I got interested in a lot of different things. I got into everything. I think I was very faddy. I got into rock 'n roll, and I got into makeup, and I was very boy crazy, you know I was beginning to develop, and I was very boy crazy; every other day there was a crush on a different boy.

Ellen and her mother also fought a great deal about Ellen's taste in clothes, her makeup, and the kind of music she listened to on the radio. She sees her many varied interests and tastes as being reflected in part, in her interest in dramatics:

I liked being with my friends. I liked the playing of different identities -- which it was, you know.

In terms of her achievement behavior, Ellen's junior high school grades were all in the 90's, and she developed a special interest in both history and mathematics:

History was my favorite. I had a growing interest in learning about people in the past, and I liked math. I liked the puzzlement -- I liked the solving aspect of it.

According to Ellen, her only weak subject was Art: "It was like penmanship."

Although Ellen had an extremely pleasant three-year experience in junior high school being involved in dramatics, doing well in school and having many different

friends, the fighting with her mother had begun to increase as Ellen became older, and she remembers the very end of junior high school with a great deal of disappointment:

My first major battle with her had to do with dramatics. I remember very much wanting at the end of junior high school to go to the Academy of Dramatic Arts High School, and ah -- she was against it completely, and I didn't go.

3. Adolescence -- High School and College (ages 14 through 21)

For the following three years, beginning when she was fourteen years old, Ellen attended Sheepshead Bay High School in Brooklyn. She describes her high school experience in the following way:

I think it was an extension of junior high in many ways. I still maintained my interest in history. I still maintained an interest in dramatics. Both those interests got even more.

Similarly, she describes her relationship with her mother as an intensification of the way it had been in junior high school, with a great deal of quarrels and fighting:

Oh God, it was bad -- it was very bad. It was probably a variation on the theme of the way it was in junior high school, only it got worse. . . . My mother used to bug the hell out of me about being serious in my studies, and I had boy-friends -- nothing was serious, but I had a lot of different boyfriends -- that was the whole thing. I wanted to have a good time, and my mother was very strong about being serious in my studies.

When asked to give an example of a "typical" fight with her mother, Ellen described an incident when she had wanted to go bowling with her friends the day before an examination,

and her mother insisted that she remain at home and study:

I said "Ma, I know I have an exam. But I want to go bowling with my friends. I studied for my exam." And I went out bowling with my friends.

Ellen characterized many of her fights with her mother this way, and commented that they frequently ended when Ellen "stormed out of the house." Although she often did what she wanted despite maternal protests, Ellen acknowledged how difficult her relationship with her mother was:

I wouldn't say we fought every day, but I would say we fought enough to make my years with my mother kind of rough -- on her, and on myself.

Another strong area of conflict was around the issue of Ellen's curfew, which when she was in high school was 11:00 p.m. At times, when out having a good time with her friends, Ellen would phone her mother to inform her that she would be home late. According to Ellen, when she returned home later, her mother would often say to her:

"Oh Ellen, I stayed up and I was so worried." She'd do the guilt trip.

In terms of her school work, Ellen sustained very high grades (in the 90's), and achieved Arista. According to Ellen:

I loved history. It was terrific. We started getting into debates which I think was the blossoming of my interest in law, even though I wasn't aware of it then.

Aside from personal disputes, Ellen also began "debating" and arguing with her mother about politics, and their many differences in values and beliefs.

In terms of peer relationships, Ellen had a great

many friendships although they shifted rapidly at that time. She did however sustain one close friendship with a girl in whom she was able to confide her difficulties at home, her feelings and experiences:

When I was in elementary school, I think I confided a lot in my mother. I think I told her everything. I think that started changing in junior high because of all the bickerings we had, and in high school you know like you have your period, and you had a crush on a boy, you talk about kissing -- whatever problems of that time, I discussed with Valerie, and it was nice to have a friend to confide in.

When Ellen was in her senior year of high school, she applied to Cornell University, a college she had heard had a good reputation in terms of academic standards, physical beauty, and social atmosphere. Since the competition for acceptance to Cornell was so great, she applied to two additional safe schools, Buffalo and Boston Universities, being sure that she wanted to go out-of-town to college, particularly in light of her quarrels with her mother. She was accepted at Cornell University, School of Liberal Arts and Science, and spent four years there living in a dormitory her first year, and sharing a house with friends during her next three years. She views her Cornell experience as a highlight in her life:

Oh I loved it. Oh I loved Cornell so much . . .
my memories are so good and positive.

As a political science major, Ellen became involved with a group of students who shared her interests. At that time, she became interested in "radical politics" and was

extremely involved in Civil Rights and anti-poverty programs. Part of this experience involved a trip with some friends to Mississippi. These interests, in addition to her course work, kept Ellen extremely active and busy so that she only had time to visit home one vacation (either Christmas or Easter) each school year. In addition, although she spoke to her parents by telephone occasionally, she wrote to them very infrequently:

If anything was an area of some embitterment that year, really those years, that was, I was very busy, and I was always involved in a lot of different things, and I called my mother or she called me occassionally, but when it came to writing, I was very lackadaisical. Sometimes I forgot. I felt bad about it, but I did, I forgot.

However, Ellen did spend most of her summers during College living with her parents and working:

. . . to bring money back with me so I could feel a sense of um -- call it independence, you know, I didn't have to ask them for everything.

During these summers, Ellen's relationship with her mother was generally much improved, something that Ellen attributes to the fact that "we were away from each other." She does however cite one incident during a vacation while she was a junior in college which represents a direct confrontation between mother and daughter. At that time, Ellen had brought a boyfriend (a non New Yorker) home with her, and her mother vehemently opposed his sleeping over at their home:

Wow, was my mother angry about that. Because I wanted him to stay over. But he did. He did stay over. He slept in a separate bedroom of course which it wasn't my intention for him to sleep in my bedroom.

In general, Ellen's social life during college was varied although she tended to become friends with students who shared her interests in politicals and/or dramatics. She had many different boyfriends, but considers her heterosexual relationships as "nothing really serious." However, she was very serious in her studies, and maintained an extremely high Grade Point Average, ultimately graduating magna cum laude.

4. Adulthood: Post-College (ages 22 to Present)

It was during her senior year, that Ellen began to consciously experience a "vocational crisis," and although she wrote away for graduate school applications in Political Science, she never actually applied:

Throughout the four years I did assume, I assumed that I would teach Political Science on a college level, and I thought that I would go for my Ph.D in Political Science . . . but there was always this gnawing sense of "is that what I want to do?" "Is that really what I want?" When I graduated [sigh] I didn't apply to graduate school, because I think on some level I must have known that I wasn't sure about it.

Instead, given her doubts about a career, and her wish to "take a break" after "eighteen years of school," Ellen spent the following six months visiting friends in California, and travelling to Europe. During this period of time, she also did a great deal of thinking about her career conflict, and although the thought of becoming a lawyer came to her attention while in California, it became crystallized as a real

career choice shortly after she returned to New York from Europe and began psychotherapy:

It really wasn't until I started to think while I was away in California, and also in France that I started thinking seriously about law -- how much I love debating, how much I love to talk in front of people, how much I love to solve puzzles, how much I'm interested in social conditions of people, when I started thinking maybe I could integrate Well, a lot of that came from my therapy also, that I could um -- talking about things, and being able to clarify what in my mind were -- divergent interests turned out to be interests I could combine.

A great many events occurred almost simultaneously when Ellen returned to New York City after her six month travelling experience: she found her own apartment in Greenwich Village, she began psychotherapy with a male psychiatrist, and three months later she applied to law school. Therefore, although she had entertained the possibility of becoming a lawyer, it wasn't until she was in therapy, that the decision-making process was successfully resolved. Ellen describes the following motivations that brought her into therapy:

It wasn't a pain that got me into therapy, it was a question mark. A feeling of gee, there's something else.

She remained in psychotherapy for approximately two years.

Ellen entered New York University Law School the following September, and did extremely well, ultimately achieving "Law Review," which is honored only to a few top students in each class. She enjoyed law school, and has always felt very comfortable and pleased in her decision to

become a lawyer:

It seems to be like all my education culminated in law school, and all my divergent interests were integrated.

While a first year law school student, Ellen met her husband, and although she dated him almost exclusively, they were not married until her last year in law school. She describes her marriage in a positive light, and sees her major area of difficulty as her husband's tendency to "slip back" into the dual-role conception of the traditional sex-role stereotypes. However, she feels that her husband basically supports and even enjoys her involvement in her career.

Ellen appreciates the fact that she and her husband have very different fields, yet at the same time share a common interest in attempting to better understand and help people. She often accompanies him to psychology seminars, and he too often joins her at law conferences. Their pattern of acquaintances is much the same, namely they share some common friends, and hold other friendships individually. Ellen's current friendships are quite varied, including one former high school friend, her Cornell friends, and the friends she developed in law school and more recently at work.

Ellen's father passed away during her second year in law school which aside from her own grief at his loss, created a strong emotional concern in relation to her mother's ability "to cope" without him. According to Ellen, her mother

has done extremely well since her husband's death, has lived alone, continued to teach until she retired one year ago, and even "returned to past hobbies." Ellen currently speaks to her mother over the telephone twice a week, and sees her approximately once a month. Although they still disagree on a great many of their beliefs and attitudes, and her mother at times still attempts to assert her will onto Ellen, they have developed a general "acceptance" of each other, and a better tolerance of their respective differences.

Ellen feels a great deal of self-fulfillment in her current work as a legal aide lawyer, and sees this also as "good preparation and experience" for her future goal, namely to establish a private law practice. Although she would like to have children in the future, she feels she is not ready to be a mother yet, until her career is more firmly established and offers her greater flexibility of time.

Behavioral and Attitudinal Indices of the "Motive to
Avoid Success"

Although it cannot be definitively stated that there is no underlying "motive to avoid success" whatsoever, it can certainly be asserted that for Ellen, achievement behavior has always been motivated by active mastery strivings with a drive towards a greater and greater sense of autonomy and individuality.

This is reflected already in her earliest childhood recollection in which she is "reaching up" for a toy. Ellen is an extremely bright female who demonstrated high achievement motivation, and consistently superior achievement performance throughout her life. Her interests and behavior did not conform to the traditional sex-role stereotypes, nor did she show an oppositional trend, namely a tendency to do well and become involved in only masculine-associated subjects. Rather, Ellen appears to have pursued those activities that genuinely captured her interest, namely history, mathematics and dramatics, although she maintained high grades in all her subjects.

In addition, Ellen was not overly studious -- she did not engage in achievement efforts at the expense of social experiences. There always seemed to be a natural integration of achievement-related activities and interpersonal involvements.

Throughout her life, Ellen's achievement behavior can be characterized as intensely goal-oriented. Already when she graduated junior high school, she had definite ideas about wanting to attend a high school that offered the traditional course work but in addition stressed dramatics. This early goal was met with strong maternal opposition, so that she ultimately attended a general high school, but continued to pursue this interest even more intensely than before.

Ellen's general approach of actively planning her future is expressed clearly in the following interaction:

Q: When did you start thinking about going to college?

A: When I entered high school [laughs]. When I seriously started thinking of college was in my junior year -- um -- I knew where I wanted to go.

Q: Where did you want to go?

A: Where I went, which is Cornell.

Here, the active goal-orientation and satisfaction at having attained it are characteristic of a woman with no underlying conflict over successful achievement.

Again, the following interaction demonstrates a genuine lack of fear of success on Ellen's part:

Q: Did you ever find yourself playing dumb in front of a guy, like sort of lowering your intelligence in one way or another.

A: Where, in college? [looks confused]

Q: At any point -- You're looking at me very puzzled --

A: Yeah. I've never played dumb. No. I think some of my friends did that, and I couldn't

for the life of me understand that because I was really into having people, men, respect me and think of me highly, and would feel like a phony doing that.

Here, Ellen's comment: "I was really into having people, men respect me," expresses her experience of men as people first, and their gender as secondary in relation to intelligence and achievement behavior.

In addition, Ellen tended to realistically appraise her performance on examinations as well as have a general idea of how prepared she was before she actually took an examination. She generally tended to organize her school work so that she studied intermittently throughout the semester except during a short time period in college when she was extremely involved in political activities, and was forced to cram for her final examinations. She does not appear to have a tendency to devalue her own achievement efforts, but instead appears proud, and even a bit boastful in relation to her accomplishments.

As Ellen neared college graduation, she began to experience an intense "vocational crisis." Although she had "assumed" throughout college that she would immediately go on to graduate school to receive a Ph.D in political science, as graduation approached, she began having serious doubts about this career choice, and therefore did not apply to graduate school. On a superficial level, this might appear to reflect an underlying "motive to avoid success,"

particularly since it manifested itself at the specific time that Horner observed its occurrence in female subjects. However, on closer examination, in the light of Ellen's personal history of achievement behavior, her career indecisiveness reflects a feeling of uncertainty about her prior career choice, and a wish to better insure that her career would bring genuine self-fulfillment.

Throughout her life, Ellen had the tendency to set goals for herself, and at times these goals were premature, and it was often not necessary that she already have a specific goal in mind. There are many examples of this, including her decision to become an actress in junior high school, her decision to go to college during her first year in high school, and most clearly, her decision as soon as she entered college to be a political science major, and work towards a career as a political science professor. Given the fact that she attended the Liberal Arts and Science division of Cornell University, she was offered the opportunity to "shop around" and find her interests through her course work during her freshman and sophomore years. However, although she did select a diversified curriculum, her mind was made up in terms of a career during her very first semester.

Ellen's decision to re-evaluate this career aspiration is therefore seen as a healthy and mature response to what appears to have been a rather impulsive career decision based for the most part upon passion with very little

reflection:

I knew that I wanted a career. It wasn't that I didn't want a career. It was that I didn't know what I wanted to do. I knew that teaching Poli Sci, as exciting as it was, was not it.

Had Ellen ignored these feelings of indecisiveness, and plunged herself into her graduate studies, this underlying "gnawing" conflict would have continued to interfere with her achievement efforts. Rather than reflect the "motive to avoid success," this decision to postpone graduate school reflects the "motive to approach success," in which "success" is defined not only by how well one does, but more importantly, by the degree to which one's achievement efforts fulfill and inspire genuine interests, and enhance for the individual the process of personal growth.

Ellen clearly acknowledged the importance of this life decision, and left school for a period of six months to give herself time to travel and think through various career possibilities. When she returned to New York City, although the profession of lawyer seemed appealing to her, she still felt "a question mark," and decided to enter psychotherapy in order to have professional assistance in clarifying this career choice.

Having spent so much time and energy in this active decision-making process, it is not surprising that Ellen "loves" her work, and feels she "made the right decision" in this highly innovative, masculine-dominated (particularly when she applied to law school in 1967) professional career.

At the time that Ellen experienced her "vocational crisis," she did not experience a concomitant marriage-career crisis which is commonly found in fear of success women:

I was not interested in getting married. I really felt that I had so much more to live.

Instead, Ellen planned her life in a way that revealed a wish to first better understand herself, and find her own achievement-related interests and goals, before making a decision and commitment to marriage.

The following interaction once again demonstrates that Ellen's "vocational crisis" was not motivated by a fear of success, and her career choice was based upon active, autonomous mastery strivings:

Q: Did you have any skepticism about going to law school because so few women are lawyers?

A: Not really. No, I didn't really think of myself as woman who is applying to law school. It was Ellen who was applying to law school.

Ellen has given her future career plans a great deal of thought, and although she continues to be extremely goal-oriented, she is not as definitive about her future as she tended to be in the past. Perhaps, she has learned something from the premature nature of her career decision in college:

I would say that I have a path in front of me. It is not all that structured as of yet. I do enjoy what I'm doing now. There are some negative things involved in it. There is a tremendous amount of pressure, and we don't have all

the independence as when one is one's own boss, let's say. But I am getting a lot of experience -- good preparation. I intend at this point, another maybe two years or so, to establish my own law practice.

Again, similar to her decision to postpone marriage until she was more firmly established in terms of her career, Ellen has decided to postpone having children until her private law practice is developed which will give her ample flexibility of time to successfully combine the mothering and career experience.

The Development of Autonomy

Throughout her life, Ellen shows a particular strength in the development of a sense of autonomy and independence which is evident in relation to each of the five aspects of autonomy outlined by Roskam (1972).

1. Autonomy in Interpersonal Experience

Ever since she was a little girl, Ellen had a great many friends, and her social relationships were always an important part of her life. She never seemed to experience any difficulty in forming friendships, and appears to have been out-going and popular. Already before she began school, Ellen spent time at the homes of friends while her mother occasionally worked, and this continued throughout her elementary school years. In junior high school, she retained some of these friends, but developed a new circle of chums with whom she spent most of her leisure time.

Beginning in early adolescence, and continuing throughout her high school days, Ellen was extremely interested in boys, in rock 'n roll music, in dancing, and in clothing, and describes herself as being extremely "faddy," often attempting to "be the first" in her clique to wear a particular stylish outfit. At that time, she went to many parties on weekends, and "hung around" at a particular candy store with her group of friends. However, there were rapid

shifts in her friendships:

I changed a lot. I had a best friend for a certain period of time, and then I had another best friend for another period of time.

In relation to boyfriends, a similar pattern emerges although the shifts were considerably more frequent and intense:

I was very boy crazy -- every other day there was a crush on another boy.

Therefore, during much of her adolescence, Ellen had very diversified friendships of a short-lived nature, with little feeling of commitment or seriousness associated to them. However, by the time she entered her junior year of high school, she began to become more selective in her choice of friends, so that many of them shared her interest in dramatics. In addition, she developed one very intimate chumship with a girl to whom she confided all her personal thoughts and feelings, and the friendship has continued to the present time.

In college, Ellen continued to be involved in a wide range of friendships both in terms of female friends, and the men she dated. However, she maintained closest contact with a group of friends who shared her interests, so that her most intimate friendships developed around political projects and activities, and there was a feeling of serious commitment to these friends and their mutual goals.

Ellen describes her present friendships in the following way:

I have friends that I share with my husband, but I have friends still from high school, college, and some from law school who I consider my friends who I see when I have off hours.

Although Ellen feels that friends are an extremely important part of her life, she also maintains a sense of autonomy in relation to going to places of interest by herself. This is reflected in the following interaction:

Q: If you wanted to go to the theater let's say, or the movies or a concert, and you didn't have anybody to go with, would you go by yourself?

A: I probably would if it was something that I really wanted to go to. Ah -- if the movie or concert or whatever wasn't so great, I probably wouldn't because I'd enjoy it more with somebody. But if it was something I really wanted to see then I'd probably go myself.

Q: Have you ever gone alone?

A: Yes -- to a concert or two.

Q: What about lectures in your area?

A: Well, I don't consider myself alone. I mean, yes, I'm going alone; it's not with a friend or my husband, by my colleagues are there.

Here, Ellen demonstrates a healthy integration between a sense of autonomy, and a feeling of interpersonal involvement. She does not view friends as serving to allay anxiety about being alone, but rather as serving to enrich an experience by sharing it with her.

2. Openness to Inner Conflict

Of the five aspects of autonomy, Ellen appears to have the most difficulty in her willingness to be in touch with inner conflicts. Even during the interview, there were times when she demonstrated some reluctance to hesitate and

reflect before responding to a question. She is extremely strong-willed, and frequently has the need to present herself in a way that demonstrates a clear grasp of her past and present life experiences. In her effort to appear lucid, she often sacrifices the experience of introspection which might create a more clouded or ambivalent picture of herself. The result is at times a coherent, well-articulated response of a rather superficial nature.

This is not to say however that Ellen did not allow herself to be candid during the interview or that she defensively withheld information. In general, she was warm, open and honest, and this tendency towards clarity and simplification is very much characteristic of her way of dealing with all life situations, and is seen also to represent a psychological strength. Certainly, in her work as a lawyer, this capacity to be lucid is seen as a strong asset.

In addition, Ellen's tendency to know what she feels, and to verbalize her feelings in a clear, concise way, reflects a strong sense of self-confidence, and is in fact a genuine expression of her relatively low level of conflict in the areas of focus during the interview. It must not be overlooked that the emphasis of the interview questions was on achievement-related attitudes, feelings and behaviors, with a particular focus on the mother-daughter relationship, and the development of a sense of autonomy and individuality. Although this includes a broad spectrum of life experiences

and feelings, it by no means examines many other important areas of living (e.g., sexual relationships) in which Ellen in fact might have personal difficulties. Therefore, although Ellen's tendency to be clear and well-articulated in her responses in part represents some difficulties in introspection and insight, it is seen to more importantly reflect a general personality style and strength, as well as a genuine expression of the fact that the issues covered by the interview material tap an area that for Ellen is relatively conflict-free.

This is not to imply that throughout Ellen's lifetime she has not experienced conflict over her achievement efforts. Her "vocational crisis" during her senior year in college in fact represents a sudden and intense ambivalence over a career choice. Her willingness to take off to think and to travel, followed by her decision to enter psychotherapy, all reveal a wish to confront and resolve this inner conflict.

Here, Ellen does show a capacity for reflection as well as an openness to inner conflict. When asked to describe what she feels she "got out of therapy," Ellen thought a bit, and responded:

That's really kind of hard to put into words. Maybe a clarification, an understanding, a sense of knowing what I want, knowing my feelings a little bit more, and um -- and a way for me to see that I can do, and I can combine in my life things I want to do. It was a clarification.

Here again, the sense of a yearning for "clarification" is

expressed which is very characteristic of Ellen's personality style. However, the fact that she remained in therapy for the following two years, demonstrates a more generalized openness to inner conflict, in view of the fact that her "vocational crisis" had been successfully resolved at an early point in her therapy.

Ellen also demonstrates a general openness to inner conflict in her pleasure at spending time by herself, as revealed in the following response to a question about "spending time alone":

I love it -- that's what I love about my husband's teaching, because he teaches some nights. It's my chance to unwind. It's a very peaceful and quiet time, and I get a tremendous amount of pleasure out of it.

3. Maintenance of Attitudes, Values and Judgments

Ellen has always demonstrated a particular strength in having confidence in her own attitudes, values and judgments. This is seen in a large part as having developed from the maternal attitude of support and "respect" for Ellen's feelings and beliefs that was already apparent when she was in elementary school. Her mother respected Ellen's decision to discontinue piano and dancing lessons as long as she had first demonstrated a genuine effort in practicing the activity.

It is not surprising that already in early childhood, Ellen not only began to develop her own ideas and opinions, but also had a very basic confidence in her

convictions. The following example illustrates this, as well as maternal respect and support she gained by maintaining her beliefs:

I remember one incident. . . . I think it was in the second or first grade when you started to learn how to print . . . and when you wrote your name, you were supposed to . . . skip a line and then write something else, and skip a line again. Well, I never used to skip a line. I don't remember what I thought, but I must have said to myself: "what am I skipping a line for? This is stupid to waste space; what's the difference!" Well, the teacher made a big issue out of it. She called my mother in to complain, to criticize the fact that I wasn't skipping lines. And my mother couldn't get over it. She said: "Why does my daughter have to skip lines? What's the big issue?" So my mother took my side. She agreed with me. But I did have to skip lines. I mean that was the rule!

Beginning in early adolescence, Ellen and her mother began to disagree on a great many issues, and during these arguments Ellen demonstrated a strong capacity to maintain her own values, beliefs and judgments. For example, Ellen held onto her interest and involvement in dramatics despite maternal opposition, and in general, although her mother wanted Ellen to be more "serious" in her approach to school work, she continued to gratify her need to "have a good time" socially in addition to successfully completing her studies. The following interaction reveals Ellen's strength in maintaining her own attitudes, values and judgments despite strong maternal demands:

Q: Who made the rules in your house when you were a child?

A: My mother. No question about that. My mother,

as I said was the dominant one, but oh my God, in junior high and high school, forget it -- I broke them a lot!

Although Ellen had a relatively strict curfew during adolescence, she "broke it" a great deal of the time, although she did inform her mother by telephone beforehand. In addition, she rarely confided in her mother, nor did she see the need to tell her where she was going and with whom she would be.

Given her strong convictions about her own behavior, it is not wonder that Ellen's relationship with her mother was extremely stormy during adolescence. However, at present they have again re-established a sense of mutual respect and acceptance for each other's feelings and opinions:

She still has to assert her opinion in things, and I let her. There's a kind of acceptance now that there wasn't as much when I was in junior high and high school. And we have differences of opinion now.

Ellen enjoyed debates in high school, particularly when she played the role of "devil's advocate," debating a position which she herself did not actually believe. This activity reveals Ellen's enjoyment in the "process" of holding a conviction, and represents a forerunner of her ultimate career choice. Therefore, this strong life-long capability of maintaining her own attitudes, values and beliefs is seen as underlying her success and fulfillment in her current work as a lawyer.

3. Tolerance of Friction

Ellen's tolerance of friction has already been discussed in the last section because of its strong association to the other aspect of autonomy, namely her ability to "stick to her position" in quarrels with her mother, and debates in school.

The nature of their fights can be summarized in terms of the maternal wish for her daughter to be "serious about her studies," versus the daughter's wish to "have a good time." Therefore, quarrels generally occurred at times when Ellen wanted to go out with her friends or rehearse for a play, whereas her mother insisted that she remain home to study. In addition, the fighting included maternal opposition to Ellen's clothing, lack of seriousness in her friendships, and general behavioral and attitudinal instability. The quarrels were extremely stormy in nature with a great deal of screaming and yelling, as is typical of healthy rebelliousness of an adolescent girl who wishes to experiment with many different roles and identities. Very often the quarrels ended when Ellen "stormed out of the house" to do whatever she had in mind at the time. When she returned home, she generally "made up" with her mother until their next fight (which was soon thereafter).

Ellen is seen to have a healthy tolerance for friction and again (similar to her strength in maintaining her convictions), her choice as a lawyer has this aspect of

autonomy as its basis. Likewise, she appears to have no difficulty in asserting herself in arguments with her husband, which frequently concern "women's role" issues.

Although Ellen has a strong capacity to maintain her own ideas, and judgments, coupled with a good tolerance for friction, this does not mean to imply that she rigidly holds her position during arguments. Much like her mother's tendency "to be flexible" in her demands on Ellen when she was a child, so too does Ellen have a good capacity to listen, and to compromise during current arguments with her mother, her husband and with her friends.

5. Physical Independence from Family

Even prior to elementary school, Ellen spent a great deal of time away from her family while her mother taught occasionally in nearby public schools. This continued throughout her childhood and adolescence when her mother worked full-time in schools that were located a further distance, so that she often did not return home until late afternoon.

In addition, Ellen spent many summers during her childhood and adolescence at sleep-away camp, and although she felt "homesick" during her first week away (when she was nine years old), she adjusted quickly to camp life, and looked forward to camp the following summers when she spent two months away from home.

Likewise, she "looked forward" to the bus ride to

junior high school. Ellen spent a great deal of her leisure time during adolescence both after school, and on weekends away from home with her friends, rehearsing for plays, going to parties, and just "hanging out" at the neighborhood soda shop.

Given her vast experience of physical independence from her family as well as the type of friction that existed between Ellen and her mother during her adolescence, it is not surprising that she chose to go to out-of-town college. This is clearly expressed in the following interaction:

Q: So it sounds like you really wanted to go out-of-town --

A: Oh yes. I should have told you. That was it. No Brooklyn College, no City College. . . . I didn't want to stay home. Oh God -- No!

Q: And what did your parents think about that?

A: They thought it was O.K. Fortunately there was not too much bickering about it at all.

Ellen enjoyed her four year experience at Cornell University and had no difficulty adjusting to college life. Her involvement in political activities and school work limited her visitation with her parents to once a year in addition to some time during her summer vacations, and although she spoke to them several times each month, she wrote very infrequently.

Following college, her six month period of traveling increased her physical distance from her family, and when she returned to New York City, she found her own apartment in Manhattan. The following interaction clearly

summarizes Ellen's own conception of independence as well as her perception of her own independence:

Q: What does becoming independent mean to you?

A: [long pause] That is a very difficult question. It's a very generalized question. There is no way I can give a specific answer to it except to do whatever I, and only I want, and stand on my own two feet and trust and love and respect myself.

Q: What are your feelings about your own independence?

A: That's a little bit easier to answer. I think of myself as very independent. But I need people you know, I need my husband, I need my friends, I need my law you know, I need my career -- so there are things that I am dependent upon.

In relation to the five aspects of autonomy therefore, Ellen has developed a healthy integration between maintaining a sense of individuality and sustaining close interpersonal relationships.

Developmental and Dynamic Formulation of the "Motive to
Avoid Success"

It becomes clear thus far, that Ellen has little conflict over successful achievement, and that she represents a non MAS female. She is bright, with a very high level of achievement motivation, and has demonstrated consistently superior achievement performance, ultimately choosing a career in a highly innovative, male-dominated field.

In addition, she demonstrates considerable strength in relation to each of the five aspects of autonomy discussed. Of interest here, is an exploration of the interrelationships that exist between these two areas of psychological functioning in order to provide a comprehensive dynamic formulation of the lack of development of fear of success in females.

Although the maternal figure is clearly dominant within the family constellation, from a very early age, Ellen was given opportunities as well as encouragement to develop a sense of autonomy and individuality. This becomes particularly pronounced in relation to achievement behavior. Although Ellen's mother can be characterized as hostile and "acceleratory" in terms of her daughter's achievement efforts, namely she was critical and frustrating, constantly pushing Ellen to do better, at the same time she encouraged Ellen to do things on her own. In fact, the push towards autonomous achievement was very basic to maternal achievement

demands. The "homework deal" Ellen describes in which her mother refused to assist her until Ellen had completed her work as best she could by herself, reflects an "acceleratory" mother who encourages the development of autonomous mastery strivings in her daughter.

It is not surprising therefore, that very little of Ellen's early achievement behavior was motivated by affiliative needs, namely the wish to please her parents and teachers:

Q: Whom as a child do you think was the person you tried to please the most?

A: Boy, that's rough. I would say my mother, my father and myself.

Here, achievement motivation towards self-fulfillment is expressed, and is seen to develop from the nature of the mother-daughter relationship which during Ellen's childhood is close, yet allows and even encourages freedom for self-expression and individuality.

Ellen's mother appears to be a woman with a strong drive towards achievement as well as a good sense of autonomy, and her acceleratory characteristics in relation to Ellen's achievement endeavors are for the most part motivated by these genuine mastery strivings. This is not to imply that Ellen's mother did not have an underlying conflict over achievement since she did choose a field, namely teaching, which stresses the gratification of affiliative needs. However, at the time she selected a career, the sex-role

stereotypes were much more rigid and firmly rooted in society, and her choice to even have a professional career represents a form of innovation. What can be definitively stated here, is that Ellen's mother, regardless of her own achievement conflicts, had a strong enough sense of her own achievement integrity to encourage a sense of independence in her daughter.

The fact that her mother worked, had an effect on Ellen's developing achievement motivation and sense of autonomy in a multiplicity of ways. In the first place, it allowed Ellen time away from her mother to "wander and explore" and find her own interests and strengths. This is particularly important given the maternal characteristics of dominance and aggression despite encouragements towards individuality. In the second place, it allowed the mother to gratify her own achievement needs, and feel a sense of satisfaction in her own accomplishments. In this way, she had much less of a need to gratify her own achievement needs vicariously through the efforts and performance of her daughter, and likewise had less of a need to "hold" Ellen close to her. Instead, she felt pleasure at Ellen's development from a dependent infant to an autonomous and productive adult. In the third place, the maternal employment provided a good "competency model" with which Ellen could (and did) identify.

Therefore, maternal employment had a broad effect upon the mother-daughter relationship, in a direction that enabled the process of early "separation-individuation," and

with it Ellen's growing sense of mastery, self-confidence, autonomy and individuality. This process was further enhanced while the mother was at home in her encouragements of Ellen's self-expression and autonomous functioning. In short, the mother-daughter relationship during Ellen's childhood provided on one hand the basic biological and emotional securities, and on the other hand allowed and even encouraged freedom of movement, exploration and separation. A very basic ingredient of this process was maternal self-sufficiency and pleasure in both her own career life as well as in the experience of mothering.

The close connection between maternal self-fulfillment and the daughter's developing active mastery strivings within the process of "separation-individuation" is brought to light in Ellen's earliest childhood recollection. In this recollection, two simultaneous images emerge, one of Ellen "reaching up" for a toy in her crib, and the other of her mother "in the background singing." Rather than view this recollection as a literal event, it can be examined as a symbolic expression (much like a dream) of Ellen's earliest childhood experiences in relation to her mother. Here, the "reaching up" symbolizes autonomous achievement strivings, the singing represents maternal self-fulfillment and pleasure, and the fact that the mother is "in the background" suggests an early experience of separation in a relaxed, and comfortable atmosphere. Here, the close connection between early

separation-individuation, and non-conflicted autonomous achievement motivation is clearly revealed.

Aside from maternal encouragement for autonomous achievement during childhood, a very basic ingredient in maternal acceleration was a sense of support and respect for Ellen's feelings and beliefs about her own achievement efforts. Although she "pushed" Ellen to take dancing and piano lessons, she "respected" her choice to discontinue lessons as long as Ellen had first seriously attempted to practice. Again when Ellen refused to "skip a line" when practicing penmanship in school, her mother supported Ellen's conviction before explaining that Ellen had to listen to the teacher despite the absurdity of this request.

It is this very early basic respect in her daughter's feelings and beliefs that is germane to the development of a genuine sense of autonomy as well as a more specific development of autonomous achievement motivation and behavior. Interestingly, Ellen's early experiences of being "respected" foreshadows the lack of a later underlying "motive to avoid success," and reveals the close connection between a "fear of success" and a fear of autonomy and individuality.

However, before Ellen's sense of basic self-respect was firmly established, she entered a long and stormy period of adolescence. While Ellen was involved in experimenting with many different roles and identities through dramatics as well as rapid shifts in ideas, friendships, and tastes in

clothing and music, her mother continued to insist on the standards of "serious" and "focused" autonomous achievement that had begun when Ellen was growing up. Therefore, during her adolescence, this pattern of maternal acceleratory demands clashed significantly with the kinds of more whimsical, superficial, unstable interests and friendships that Ellen was experiencing. The constant and direct conflicts and quarrels between mother and daughter during Ellen's adolescence (that were discussed earlier) reveal this major area of dissonance, namely the maternal wish for serious achievement efforts as opposed to Ellen's wish "to have a good time."

It must be stated, however, that despite the emotional and behavioral turmoil that characterized Ellen's adolescent experience, she maintained a high level of achievement performance and developed a particular interest in history, mathematics and dramatics. Although the latter interest is seen by Ellen herself to be motivated in part by her need to experiment with different roles and identities, the former more academic interests are motivated by an intrinsic curiosity and autonomous mastery strivings. This is substantiated by the fact that Ellen developed an interest in two subjects traditionally associated with the masculine stereotype which are not in any central way associated with the gratification of affiliative needs. These interests represent a lack of fear of success on Ellen's part, and

reveal a very basic well-rooted sense of autonomy, particularly in relation to achievement that was established already prior to adolescence, during childhood.

It is also this earlier experience of maternal "respect" and encouragement towards separation-individuation that gave Ellen the inner psychological strength to fight back in arguments with her mother during adolescence, and more importantly allowed her the freedom to stick to her own position, and "storm out of the house" without the fear of separation and/or total maternal abandonment.

This adolescent experience provided Ellen the chance to literally "act-out" many feelings, roles and identities, and in addition provided her with the very important experience of feeling the consequences of her various modes of behaving. It is through this process of rampant experimentation and psychological upheaval that Ellen could better discover where she stood in relation to the infinite possibilities of values, attitudes, interests and behaviors, and ultimately choose from these what she wanted for herself. It was from this process of "Second Individuation" of adolescence, that Ellen developed a more firmly established sense of identity and autonomy, and a growing respect for her choices and convictions.

During the more stable and tranquil period following the storm of adolescence, when Ellen was a junior in college, a new relationship between mother and daughter was established

which was close, but autonomous, and which was characterized by a greater sense of mutual respect and acceptance of individual difference. This became clear when Ellen brought a boyfriend home during a vacation from college, and although there was mother-daughter disagreement as to whether he could sleep at Ellen's home, a compromise was reached which respected both of their feelings and beliefs.

Therefore, the early experiences of maternal respect in Ellen's beliefs and autonomous achievement interests and efforts which grew from the process of separation-individuation during childhood, developed into a feeling of self-respect as well as maternal respect through the process of Second-Individuation in adolescence. Interestingly, much of Ellen's achievement-related attitudes, feelings and behaviors which reflect a lack of fear of success, have as their basis, this feeling of self-respect and the associated inner sense of individuality and autonomy. Very briefly, the theme of "respect" can be traced from maternal "respect" for Ellen's wish to discontinue piano lessons in elementary school, to maternal opposition and "disrespect" for the "phoniness" of Ellen's interest in dramatics, to Ellen's following statement about "playing dumb" in front of men:

I was really into having people, men respect me and think of me highly, and would feel like a phony doing that.

This response reflects a clear lack of fear of success in that "playing dumb" represents one of Horner's objective

criteria of an underlying "motive to avoid success."

What emerges here is the clear relationship between the development (or lack of development) of this unconscious defense mechanism, and the nature of the developmental process of separation-individuation within the mother-daughter relationship. It is not surprising therefore, that when Ellen describes "what becoming independent means" to her, she concludes with the following statement:

. . . do whatever I, and only I want, and stand on my own feet and trust and love and respect myself.

The fact that the feeling of respect appears as a central theme in Ellen's perception of independence and autonomy, as well as in her behavioral and attitudinal manifestations of non fear of success, indicates a strong underlying association between these two modes of psychological development and functioning.

The "vocational crisis" that Ellen experienced towards the end of college reveals yet another struggle for autonomy, this time in relation to a career choice. Although for many women, this period of time reflects an intensification of a "fear of success" conflict, and results in a defensive and often passive choice of a career with no relationship to the female's interests, for Ellen, this crisis reflected a "hope for success," namely a crisis in which she struggled to find a career that would "integrate" her "diversified" interests. This crisis too, grew from the nature of her

relationship with her mother which was acceleratory, but autonomous in relation to achievement:

She always wanted me to have a career; always wanted me to focus and be a serious student, but she didn't have a specific goal for me as far as a career is concerned.

Ellen's ultimate decision to become a lawyer, in order to integrate her interest in dramatics, her enjoyment in "solving puzzles," and her concern over the human social situation (verbalized in that order), clearly reflects an innovative career choice which primarily fulfills active mastery strivings and only secondarily gratifies affiliative needs. This reflects a woman whose achievement endeavors are minimally (if at all) motivated by a fear of success, as does her decision to marry (affiliative needs) only after her career choice and goal (achievement needs) were firmly established.

In summary, the early period of separation-individuation from the mother encouraged the development of a rudimentary sense of autonomy in which Ellen's early achievement behavior primarily fulfilled active mastery strivings. This was followed by the later period of Second Individuation during adolescence, in which this more primitive sense of autonomy was further developed and differentiated into more specific achievement interests, attitudes and beliefs (a sense of "identity"), which ultimately culminated into a "vocational

crisis" in which Ellen actively integrated these resources into a career choice.

Here, the development of achievement motivation and behavior in a non fear of success female clearly corresponds to the more general and basic development of autonomy and independence. In short, for Ellen, achievement behavior has been motivated by a drive towards freedom of self-expression and a commitment to her own sense of individuality and self-respect.

Chapter VI

DISCUSSION

The clinical case material presented not only sheds a clearer light upon the proposed dynamic and developmental formulation of the "motive to avoid success," but also serves as a basis from which to contrast the present thesis with Horner's (1968) original conceptualization. What emerges in a striking way is the fact that the women interviewed fall along a continuum ranging from a relative lack of a conflict over successful achievement on the lowest end, to an average level of fear of success commonly experienced by bright, achievement-oriented women, and on the highest end, to an intense or severe level of the "motive to avoid success."

Interestingly, Laurie who represents a woman with an "average" level of fear of success showed behavior typical of the females in Horner's study. This is not surprising considering that Horner chose subjects who fulfilled her objective criteria for the presence of the "motive to avoid success." In her primary screening process she selected bright female college students with a high Grade Point Average, and tested them with the verbal TAT cues she devised. What was revealed from her data was a generally high percentage of MAS imagery with subjects falling into one of two groups, MAS or non MAS females. From this original perception, she postulated and

then tested her theory that for those Ss with MAS, anxiety is aroused in situations in which there is direct competition against males, creating a significant decline in achievement performance. Her results supported this "aggression hypothesis," and later studies indicated that despite the female's high Grade Point Average, those with a high level of fear of success tend to choose a career in a traditional feminine field, and often show a sudden decline in achievement performance as graduation (the achievement goal) approaches.

Laurie clearly meets these criteria, having switched her major from Chemistry to Mathematics in her junior year of college following a severe crisis, and ultimately choosing a career as a mathematics teacher. What is important to note here is that whereas Laurie showed her first significant overt signs of MAS during the middle of college, Sheila (who in the present study represents a female with intense fear of success) began to manifest fear of success behavior much earlier, namely in junior high school and high school.

Therefore, although Sheila is clearly as bright as Laurie, and has a high level of achievement motivation (ultimately having gone to graduate school to receive a Masters degree in Social Work), she does not qualify for Horner's (1968) criteria of MAS, and therefore would not have been among the subjects examined in Horner's research. In short, by the time Sheila entered college, her underlying "motive to avoid success" had so debilitated her achievement performance that

she was only accepted for admissions by a very mediocre Community College.

These clinical studies therefore have revealed a very important limitation in the work of Horner and her co-workers, namely that in an effort to select subjects on the basis of objectively sound criteria, they have restricted their work to only one group of subjects and by so doing, have failed to examine the broad spectrum of manifestations of this behavioral and psychological syndrome.

This limitation has had profound consequences both in terms of the generalizations that grew from the research about all women with a fear of success, and more importantly upon the theoretical formulation of the "motive to avoid success" that emerged from the data. It is as if a major portion of the continuum of fear of success was accidentally ignored, and what emerged was an "all or none" conceptualization that is well-suited for objective empirical examination.

It is therefore not surprising that there has been an upsurge of empirical research concerned with an examination of a fear of success in females, motivated also by the recent increased interest in women. Here, research has concerned itself with experimental manipulations including varying the sex-role orientation of the competitive task on hand (e.g. Makovsky, 1972), varying the sex-role orientation of the subject (e.g. Alper, 1973), varying the stimulus figure in the TAT verbal cues (Alper, 1974), as well as a growing concern

over the actual scoring criteria utilized for its measurement. In fact, a very recent survey (Tresemer, 1974) sharply criticized Horner's conceptualization primarily on the basis of inaccurate and unreliable scoring procedures.

While researchers are fanatically concerned with the applicability of the "motive to avoid success" in a variety of laboratory settings, they have forgotten to explore its most important aspect, namely its meaning! The present thesis has viewed this as its major focus, and in an attempt to better understand this very prevalent defensive behavior among women, has taken its examination from the laboratory into a clinical setting.

This approach is not in opposition to the pioneering work of Horner who made a crucial contribution in her observation of the existence of the "motive to avoid success" in females. The fact that Horner regarded this phenomenon as an "unconscious" defense, and utilized a clinical tool, namely a projective test for its measurement indicates her awareness of its psychodynamic complexity. It is surprising therefore, that Horner postulated its existence within a simplified "all or none" framework. Perhaps the ease with which this dichotomy applied itself to empirical investigation motivated Horner to temporarily regard it in this polarized fashion until it had been better studied and understood.

What happened instead, is that recent researchers are examining the "motive to avoid success" assuming an "all or none"

dichotomy as intrinsically inherent in its nature, so that when results conflict with those of Horner, or scoring criteria appear clouded, they vigorously oppose the validity of the entire conceptualization. The present expanded clinical approach and formulation has as its central goal, a wish to avoid this premature evaluation by inspiring a new look into the meaning of this prevalent, unconscious psychological defense among females.

This examination has not questioned the existence of MAS among females -- this is well established -- but, more importantly has investigated the underlying psychodynamics as well as the development of this clinical syndrome with a new focus and depth that could not possibly have been accomplished by Horner all at once.

The dynamic formulation that has been presented here does not contradict, but rather expands Horner's early postulations of the "motive to avoid success" among females. Behaviorally, this expansion includes a broader range of achievement-related activities, intrapsychically, the expansion has provided a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of the underlying conflict and associated anxiety, and developmentally, the present formulation has provided a detailed description of the environmental factors creating its presence beginning in childhood, and continuing throughout womanhood. This expanded conceptualization considers the "motive to avoid success" as ranging along a continuum in severity, a

conceptualization that is consonant with its developmental formulation.

In contrast, Horner's dynamic formulation, that anxiety is aroused in MAS women in situations where there is direct competition against men and not otherwise, has the "all or none" conceptualization as its basis, and is consonant with her "MAS -- non MAS" dichotomy.

Although the "continuity" theory of the present thesis is in sharp contradiction to Horner's "all or none" conceptualization, it is suggested here that the present formulation does not dispute, but rather includes Horner's formulation as one of many manifestations of this complex clinical syndrome.

Horner views the "motive to avoid success" as being aroused as an unconscious defense against situational anxiety associated with underlying aggressive impulses. In contrast, the present formulation views fear of success as a fear of independence and autonomy, with the underlying anxiety associated with loss of love and security, namely separation anxiety. This basic difference stems from the fact that Horner views "aggression" as the major component of the "masculine" sex-role stereotype that arouses anxiety in females, whereas the present thesis views a broader component of this stereotype, namely "autonomy" as the major area of difficulty for many females. This expanded conceptualization includes, but is not limited to Horner's formulation since aggression

is in fact one manifestation of independence and autonomy. Certainly "self-assertion" is a central feature of autonomous functioning, and has as a major component, sublimated aggressive impulses. However, autonomy is viewed here (in agreement with the Ego Psychologists) as a natural growth process which includes the basic drives towards curiosity, mastery, individuation and self-actualization, a process in which aggressive impulses although present, play a relatively minor role.

In terms of causal antecedents of the "motive to avoid success," Horner attributes its appearance to a clash between societal sex-role stereotypes which consider successful achievement "masculine," and the female's high level of achievement motivation and intellectual capacity. She views the "aggressive" overtones within competitive achievement situations as the significant ingredient that triggers this achievement conflict. Horner has not provided a developmental theory of this dynamic formulation of the "motive to avoid success" which is not surprising given its limited applicability to a developmental framework. In the first place, the "all or none" conceptualization directly contradicts the sense of continuity inherent in development, and in the second place, by attributing the appearance of MAS in females primarily to societal causes, Horner and her co-workers have limited their focus to an examination of external variables affecting its occurrence.

In contrast, the present dynamic conceptualization

is inextricably connected with a developmental formulation, viewing MAS as ranging along a continuum, and having as its primary focus, an unconscious internal conflict around autonomy. With this as the central conflict, the present developmental theory proposes that women with a fear of success grew up in an atmosphere that fostered an inadequate development of autonomy (beginning with the earliest experience of separation-individuation), an environment in which active attempts at exploration and independence became associated with threats to basic security needs.

This developmental formulation offers not a contrary, but rather an expanded conceptualization of Horner's theory of the "motive to avoid success." Although the focus here is on experiences of separation-individuation within the mother-daughter relationship, this by no means excludes the importance that Horner places on the traditional sex-role stereotypes in influencing the nature of this relationship. The present dynamic and developmental formulation takes these sex-role stereotypes into primary account, viewing the underlying conflict of MAS as an achievement ("masculine") versus affiliative ("feminine") conflict, which is transmitted from mother to daughter in a multiplicity of ways.

It is useful now to turn our attention to an examination of the clinical case studies, and to compare and contrast the three females in relation to each other, Horner's formulation and the conceptualization of fear of success proposed here.

It should be noted first, that the clinical material will be explored here in relation to important themes that emerge, and that for a detailed description of each female in relation to each theme, the reader should consult the individual case study.

The examination of the clinical material will begin with a comparison of the three females in relation to the development of separation-individuation during childhood and adolescence. This comparison serves to illustrate the proposed expanded dynamic and developmental theory of MAS in females. In terms of this clinical material, Horner's theory will be compared with the present theory whenever relevant. However, in view of the fact that Horner's theory has serious limitations in its applicability with respect to the process of development, the focus of the comparison between the two theories will predominantly relate to the females' manifestations of MAS during late adolescence and early adulthood.

Although it is not possible to have direct information about each female's earliest childhood experiences during the stage of separation-individuation (ages one to three), a great deal of these earliest experiences are revealed symbolically in the first childhood recollection. Interestingly, the two MAS females shared a similar recollection of the first day in kindergarten, an event that for each marks her first separation from the mother. Whereas Laurie's memory focuses on her

compliance with the maternal wish that she use the name "Lauretta" for school purposes, Sheila's recollection focuses directly upon separation anxiety and her unsuccessful attempts at hiding her panic from herself as well as her mother.

In contrast, Ellen's first recollection stems to an earlier period of time, and relates not to separation anxiety, but rather to an experience of active, goal-directed achievement ("reaching up to a toy") near to, but separate from her mother.

These earliest childhood recollections form a continuum that dramatically reflects the intrapsychic levels postulated by the present dynamic theory as underlying the "motive to avoid success." Ellen, who represents a non MAS female recollects an experience of unconflicted autonomous achievement behavior; Laurie who represents a typical MAS female recollects an achievement-affiliative conflict, namely a conflict between an autonomous wish as opposed to a maternal wish in relation to achievement (school), ultimately choosing to please her mother; and Sheila who represents a female with intense MAS recollects an experience of mutual separation anxiety within the mother-child relationship.

The present expanded dynamic formulation views MAS as a defense against an achievement-affiliative conflict with concomitant unconscious, infantile fears of loss of love, security and/or total abandonment associated with autonomous achievement. Sheila's recollection reflects the most primitive

and regressed fears associated with MAS (separation anxiety), and Laurie's recollection reflects the higher-level conflict underlying this defense (achievement-affiliative conflict), a trend identical to the intensity of their later manifestations of the "motive to avoid success." The existence of this phenomenon strongly supports the present dynamic and developmental formulation of MAS in light of the fact that the degree of defensiveness (in this case MAS) would inevitably be expected to vary according to the intensity of its associated underlying anxiety and conflict. This is further supported by the fact that Ellen's first recollection dates to a much earlier time in her development than the recollections of the two MAS females, indicating her lower level of conflict during early childhood, resulting in less of a tendency towards defensive forgetting.

Similar trends emerge in relation to the female's maternal personality and child-rearing characteristics as well as their achievement-related attitudes, feelings and behaviors. Although each female perceived her mother as the dominant parental figure, the nature of the mother-daughter relationship varied considerably from one female to the next.

Beginning in early childhood, Sheila's relationship with her mother was highly symbiotic in nature with constant maternal threats of abandonment whenever Sheila expressed her own individuality separate from her mother. As discussed previously, the intensity of the mother-daughter bond grew

from maternal separation anxiety which was transmitted to Sheila via these threats of abandonment. A similar pattern emerged in relation to achievement, a pattern in which Sheila learned to do well in school in order to please her mother (and female teachers) in order to safeguard the basic securities within the mother-daughter relationship. Achievement therefore became associated with the fulfillment of affiliative needs rather than active autonomous mastery strivings, and Sheila remained what her mother felt was a "good girl."

For Laurie, the mother-daughter relationship during her childhood was ambiguous, offering at times freedom to "wander and explore," and at other times maternal hostility and restrictiveness. In addition, the symbiotic relationship between mother and child was significantly diluted by Laurie's close relationship with her father during her childhood. However, in terms of Laurie's achievements, her relationship with her mother can be characterized as symbiotic since much of her achievement efforts were in fact attempts to gain maternal love and approval, something she admittedly never received.

In contrast, Ellen's relationship with her mother during childhood was close but autonomous, with strong maternal encouragements towards Ellen's developing sense of mastery and competence.

All three mothers can be characterized as hostile

and "acceleratory" in relation to the daughter's achievement efforts, namely aggressive, critical and frustrating, being constantly dissatisfied with the daughter's achievement behavior. However, there was a vast qualitative difference between this attitude on the part of the MAS mothers as compared with Ellen's mother, a difference that profoundly affected the nature of the mother-daughter relationship, and the daughter's developing sense of independence and individuality.

Each of the MAS mothers clearly felt unfulfilled in her own achievements (refer to the case material), and attempted to gratify these unfulfilled motives vicariously through the efforts and performance of her daughter. This mode of vicarious gratification is inherently unfulfilling, and in response to this feeling of frustration, each mother continuously demanded more and more from her daughter in the way of achievement behavior. The more dissatisfied the mother was, the more she threatened the basic securities of the mother-daughter relationship, and therefore the harder the daughter attempted, through her achievements, to please her. Paradoxically therefore, the maternal hostility and frustration served to strengthen the symbiotic relationship that existed between mother and daughter around achievement. Given the constant threats of abandonment that existed in Sheila's early relationship with her mother as contrasted to Laurie's relationship, it is not surprising that Sheila later developed a more intense fear of success.

Ellen's mother, unlike the MAS mothers worked full-time as a school teacher, thereby gratifying her own achievement needs directly. She therefore had less of a tendency to gratify herself vicariously through Ellen's work, and her acceleratory demands more clearly reflect a genuine wish for her daughter to develop a sense of mastery and competence. Although she was critical and hostile, there was also a quality of "flexibility" in her demands, and a "respect" for Ellen's beliefs and convictions. This maternal attitude, although superficially similar to that of the MAS mother, is in fact opposite, and served to strengthen and enhance the process of separation-individuation and Ellen's growing sense of autonomous achievement.

Maternal employment also provided an experience of physical independence for Ellen, an experience that was lacking for Laurie whose mother "was always around," and for Sheila who spent her time with her maternal grandmother while her mother worked, a woman whom she describes as "much like my mother." However, Laurie, (unlike Sheila who spent her summers with her family and relatives) did have several summer experiences at sleep-away camp.

The females can therefore be placed along a continuum identical to their severity of MAS, in relation to a wide range of variables during childhood, including maternal autonomy, maternal achievement behavior and gratification, the intensity of the mother-daughter relationship, the degree of achievement-

affiliative fusion and experiences of physical independence from the family. These variables all clearly play an important role in the process of separation-individuation within the mother-daughter relationship. More specifically, in comparing the three females, Sheila who represents a female with severe underlying MAS had the most intensely symbiotic relationship with her mother, showed the strongest separation anxiety already during childhood, developed the strongest fusion between achievement and affiliative needs, and clearly had the most limited development of a sense of autonomy. In the same vein, of the three maternal figures, Sheila's mother had the most intense separation anxiety, felt the most frustrated in terms of her own achievement efforts (she lied about her education and "hated" work), and most actively limited her daughter's development of separation-individuation.

In terms of these childhood variables, the experience of Laurie, who represents a typical fear of success female, is similar to that of Sheila, although to a lesser degree, so that Laurie too had an inadequate development of separation-individuation. In contrast, Ellen, who represents a non fear of success female had a very different childhood experience with many opportunities to "wander and explore," and develop a healthy sense of separation-individuation from her mother.

The fact that the severity of the manifestations of fear of success later in life parallels the intensity of these

childhood experiences and variables associated with separation-individuation from the mother clearly substantiates the present dynamic and developmental formulation of the "motive to avoid success" in females. This becomes extremely clear in comparing the comments of the three females in response to the question: "Whom as a child do you think was the person you tried to please the most?"

Sheila responded:

My mother. . .without any hesitation, because she was the one who controlled everything.

Laurie responded:

Her, definitely, because she was the one who -- I think pleasing her was equated with getting her love and like I never got it. So you know like I'd do things, and I'm still very thing-oriented.

In contrast, Ellen responded:

Boy, that's rough. I would say my mother, my father and myself.

In these responses, the two MAS females responded without any difficulty -- they clearly experience maternal dominance. In addition, both responses reflect an experience of strong maternal hostility despite wishes to please the mother. Again Sheila's response expresses a more intensely symbiotic relationship, namely the maternal figure "controlled everything," whereas Laurie focuses on her strong achievement-affiliative fusion in response to maternal dominance and frustration. In contrast, Ellen has difficulty responding, which is not surprising given the greater complexity of her

response, and her failure to see one parent as the object of her achievement efforts. Ellen's response, unlike that of the MAS females clearly reflects the existence of autonomous achievement behavior as early as childhood.

This comparison illustrates very clearly that a major difference in early achievement behavior between MAS and non MAS females is that for the fear of success females, achievement performance is strongly motivated by affiliative needs whereas for non fear of success females, active autonomous mastery strivings are of primary importance. This important difference supports the present dynamic and developmental formulation of the "motive to avoid success" in females which considers the achievement-affiliative fusion as the major underlying conflict of fear of success behavior.

Up until the time the two MAS females graduated from elementary school, their underlying achievement-affiliative fusion fit well into their social and school environment. They did extremely well in school, were liked by teachers and were popular with peers. Ellen too excelled in school, was basically liked by teachers with some conflict (see case material), and had many friends. Overtly therefore, the three females appeared much the same during childhood, showing a generally good adjustment to early school life.

Beginning in pre-adolescence (junior high school), each female experienced drastic changes both in terms of her

own personality, and in her relationship with her mother, and for each female, the particular direction of the change intensified throughout adolescence.

For Sheila, this change took the form socially as a sudden drop in popularity, and all during adolescence, she hardly dated and spent increasingly more time at home in her room. In terms of achievement behavior, Sheila's grades in masculine-associated subjects (e.g., mathematics and history) declined increasingly more severely from junior high school to college. This is viewed as Sheila's earliest manifestation of the "motive to avoid success." In relation to her mother, Sheila became increasingly more withdrawn and overtly unresponsive to maternal provocations, and took pride in her ability to remain silent and not fight back. In short, during Sheila's adolescence there was a significant decline in her performance and involvement in all activities which in childhood were experienced with pleasure. Instead, she insulated herself from the kinds of varied and tumultuous experience that normally characterize this stage of development, and it is not surprising that Sheila commented, "I hated adolescence."

For Laurie too, there was a sudden decline in popularity during adolescence although to a lesser extent than was the case for Sheila. In addition, during high school she showed her earliest indirect manifestations of the "motive to avoid success" in her need to separate her school friends

from her social friends, particularly the men she dated (refer to case material). The most dramatic change in adolescence for Laurie was the change in the nature of her relationship with her mother, in a direction of increasingly more "vicious" fighting between them. These quarrels generally involved maternal restrictions on Laurie's behavior with her friends and in the home as well. Laurie perceives this sudden rise in maternal restrictiveness as a maternal response to her own increased wish for autonomous functioning. According to Laurie, as much as she screamed and yelled however, there was never a time that she asserted herself behaviorally, so that she "never did anything" in opposition to her mother's wishes, and on the "rare" occasion that she even slightly defied maternal demands, it was immediately "confided" to her mother in the form of a confession. In terms of achievement behavior, Laurie continued to sustain exceptionally high grades, and became involved in many school activities and projects, achievement behavior that is clearly motivated by a wish to "please" her mother. (Refer to the earlier quotation.)

Ellen also perceives drastic changes at that time in terms of her life experiences and interests, as well as in her relationship with her mother. For Ellen, the adolescent experience was characterized by rapid shifts in friendships, values and beliefs with very little sense of commitment. Her tastes in clothing, music, choice of boyfriends, etc., changed

radically from one day to the next, and this instability along with her growing interest in dramatics became a source of contention for her mother who wanted Ellen to be "focused" and "serious." Fighting escalated as Ellen progressed through high school, and would typically revolve around maternal opposition to Ellen's wish to "have a good time." Quite frequently, the quarrels ended when Ellen "stormed out of the house," to do what she intended despite maternal opposition.

Although Ellen's adolescence is marked by an overhaul of attitudes, values and beliefs, and there was a general instability in her behavior at that time, her school achievement remained consistently superior, and she developed a particularly serious interest in history and mathematics. In addition, she remained extremely popular with peers and had very diversified friendships.

In comparing the three females in terms of their adolescent experience, particular themes emerge consistent with the present dynamic and developmental theory of MAS. In accordance with this expanded formulation, the adolescent experience, including a normative "identity crisis," marked by behavioral and attitudinal instability in which the female experiments with many different roles and identities is essential for the development of "Second Individuation," and therefore a lack of development of the "motive to avoid success."

Ellen's adolescent experience is certainly descriptive of this "identity crisis," and her ability to effectively

stick to her convictions rather than succumb to maternal demands is seen as a crucial factor underlying the growing process of individuation from the mother and with it, a concomitant sense of autonomous achievement motivation.

Laurie by contrast, had a more benign adolescent experience in terms of extra-familial involvements, having had few friends, and little opportunity for experimentation with different roles and identities. At home, although stormy, her fights with her mother did not foster a development of individuation, but rather served to maintain the symbiotic nature of the mother-daughter relationship. (Refer to the case material.)

Sheila's adolescence can be characterized as almost totally devoid of an "identity crisis" so that the development of individuation was very severely limited.

The fact that the differing adolescent experiences among the three females form a continuum that reflects the severity of later manifestations of MAS, serves to clearly substantiate the expanded dynamic and developmental formulation of fear of success which has as its primary focus, the nature of the mother-daughter interaction in relation to the process of separation-individuation. In accordance with this theory, it is during the period of adolescence that the female is again (similar to the early stage of separation-individuation) confronted with an intensification of the battle for autonomy, and the nature of this experience is seen as critical in

determining the development (or lack of development) of MAS. If the female is able to rebel against maternal demands, is able to explore many different modes of experience, and discover her own sense of identity separate from her mother, there will be a concomitant development of autonomous achievement behavior. Therefore, the degree to which she is able to experience a Second Individuation during adolescence (and sever the achievement-affiliative fusion in relation to the mother, if one exists), will have a determining effect upon the severity (or lack of existence) of the "motive to avoid success."

If on the other hand the adolescent experience is benign, thus sustaining the symbiotic nature of the mother-daughter relationship, what will develop from the earlier achievement-affiliative fusion will be an intense achievement-affiliative conflict. More specifically, although this symbiotic contingency creates no conflict during childhood, as the female develops, pressures towards autonomy naturally increase, and if the female had inadequate experiences of separation-individuation during childhood and adolescence, these new pressures towards autonomous achievement will trigger intense infantile fears of loss of love and/or total abandonment in relation to the mother and later in relation to peers. It is in response to the anxiety associated with these new pressures towards autonomy particularly during early adulthood, that the female erects a defense system which manifests itself behaviorally in the form

of the "motive to avoid success."

Although the focus here is on separation-individuation during two critical periods, namely early childhood and adolescence, the development of autonomy is viewed as a continuous life process, and the two stages are critical in the sense of representing an intensification of this struggle for individuality. This conceptualization of the development of autonomy as a continuous process includes the important implication that the two critical stages of separation-individuation are by no means mutually exclusive, and that a healthy experience of early separation-individuation and the concomitant feelings of independence that emerge from it, enhance the possibility of a successful second individuation during adolescence.

Conversely, an early experience of maternal threats of loss of love and/or abandonment serves to strengthen the mother-daughter unity, and limit the daughter's growing sense of autonomy. It is very unlikely that such a mother suddenly alters her attitudes and encourages her daughter's autonomous activity later in life. Therefore, the combination of the daughter's inadequate development of separation-individuation during early childhood, and continued maternal restrictions on autonomous behavior during later childhood and latency serves to severely limit the possibility of a healthy rebelliousness and development of a sense of identity and autonomy during adolescence.

The latter pattern of consistently inadequate experiences in relation to the development of autonomy and individuality is reflected in the case material of Sheila. The fact that she represents a female with an intense fear of success clearly supports the present dynamic and developmental formulation of MAS.

This completes a comparison of the three females in relation to the developmental theory of MAS presented in this thesis. Certain important differences have emerged among the women in relation to variables within the mother-daughter relationship, including maternal acceleratory characteristics, maternal employment, the achievement-affiliative contingency, and the nature and degree of conflict with the mother particularly during adolescence. Other differences, including diversity of interpersonal relationships and the nature and degree of an "identity crisis" during adolescence are also apparent. What is striking here is that the variables themselves all relate to the basic theme of separation-individuation, and more importantly, that the females' personal experience in relation to these variables form a continuum that reflects the severity of MAS that develops later, during early adulthood. This consistent trend serves to substantiate the present dynamic and developmental theory of MAS which has as its primary focus, the nature and degree of separation-individuation within the mother-daughter relationship.

A detailed description and analysis of the overt manifestations of MAS for each female has been presented in the case material and need not be reiterated here. A brief review of these patterns of fear of success behavior among the females will serve as a basis for a comparison between Horner's "aggression" theory, and the present "autonomy" theory of the "motive to avoid success."

The first striking trend that emerges is the chronological variation between the two MAS females in terms of the onset of overt manifestations of fear of success. Whereas Sheila's achievement behavior was clearly motivated by the "motive to avoid success" beginning in junior high school, Laurie did not show manifestations of MAS in her achievement behavior until the middle of her college career.

This trend of the earliest occurrence of fear of success directly supports the developmental theory of MAS that has just been presented. Given Sheila's more strongly symbiotic relationship with her mother particularly in relation to achievement, and the stronger achievement-affiliative fusion and inadequate sense of autonomy that developed as a result, it would be expected that her achievement behavior would be influenced by a fear of success at an earlier point in her development than Laurie.

Interestingly too, from the first time each female began to overtly manifest an underlying fear of success, most of their achievement-related behavior that followed also

reflected MAS. This pattern of fear of success behavior suggests a sense of continuity inherent in its nature which is in sharp contrast to Horner's "all or none" conceptualization. In addition, these women manifested an underlying "motive to avoid success" in relation to a broad spectrum of achievement-related attitudes, values and behaviors, not exclusively in situations which involved direct competition against men, for example their tendency to significantly devalue their performance following examinations to male and female peers, as well as to themselves. This phenomenon supports the present expanded conceptualization of MAS, and suggests severe limitations in Horner's theory.

In addition, Horner's "all or none" conceptualization has little applicability to a developmental formulation of MAS although one can infer from her dynamic formulation that she would postulate early difficulties in relation to aggressive impulses. It would be useful to evaluate Horner's theory in reference to the clinical case material by comparing the females in terms of their experiences associated with the expression of aggression, and/or fears of "masculinity." This evaluation will serve as a good comparison between Horner's conceptualization of MAS as reflecting underlying conflicts over aggressiveness and its associated fears of loss of femininity, and the present expanded conceptualization of MAS as reflecting underlying conflicts over autonomy and associated fears of loss of love and/or total abandonment.

It becomes clear from the case material, that the theme of aggression per se appears to have played a minor role in the early developmental experiences of all three women, and does not become a major theme until adolescence in relation to conflicts with the mother. It is interesting to note that both Laurie, an MAS female, and Ellen, a non MAS female describe themselves as "tomboys" during childhood. This appears to be a function of the fact that as the only child in their family, both had a close relationship with the father during childhood, and shared many sport activities with him. The fact that this tomboyism has no relationship whatsoever with the later occurrence of fear of success, strongly suggests that the "fear of masculinity" plays little role in the "motive to avoid success," and is in sharp contradiction to Horner's dynamic formulation.

In addition, Laurie's verbalizations of "always wanting to be better than everyone else," reflect a woman who was always highly competitive, and there is clear evidence that Laurie could successfully compete with men and women alike -- she graduated as number three from high school and graduate magna cum laude from College in addition to receiving membership in Phi Beta Kappa. Despite having received academic honors, Laurie's achievement-related behavior beginning during the middle of her sophomore year in college reflects a strong underlying "motive to avoid success." Her pattern of achievement behavior strongly disputes Horner's

theory that MAS is aroused specifically in situations in which there is direct competition against men, and suggests the need for an alternate interpretation.

The present formulation, that MAS reflects an underlying fear of autonomy and an associated fear of loss of parental love offers an interpretation of Laurie's achievement-related feelings and behavior that meaningfully explains her competitive wish to be the best on one hand, and her underlying MAS which ultimately forced her to switch her vocational aspiration from that of a chemist to a career as a mathematics teacher on the other hand.

Although Laurie's competitiveness would superficially be seen as a lack of conflict over aggression, on a deeper level, it reflects her wish to be "special," a wish that grew from her need to please her parents, which was particularly strong since she held the position as "only child" in her family. Her achievement behavior in college reflects this same wish, only in this case, her wish to be a chemist triggered a conflict between achievement and affiliative needs, namely becoming a "great chemist" would mean becoming independent, thus jeopardizing her basic securities in relation to her mother.

In her attempt to resolve this conflict, Laurie changed her career choice to that of a teacher (a highly feminine field which gratifies affiliative needs), a resolution which allowed her to continue to be competitive (special),

and receive very high grades in both college and graduate school, since achievement in this area was not associated with independence, and therefore did not threaten the gratification of basic affiliative needs. Further substantiation for this interpretation is revealed in the intensification of her relationship with her mother during the time she experienced this crisis, and again when she lived alone in New York City. (Refer to the case material.)

Therefore, the present expanded conceptualization provides a meaningful explanation for achievement-related behavior which appears totally ambiguous in relation to Horner's dynamic theory of MAS.

The issue of aggression or competitiveness is not manifested in the case material again until adolescence where it appears in relation to conflicts with the mother. The fact that Sheila, a female with intense fear of success is unable to confront or fight with her mother appears to support Horner's conceptualization of fear of aggression associated with MAS. However, for Laurie, the pattern that emerges is again confusing when interpreted in relation to Horner's theory alone, in that Laurie had "constant" and "vicious" fights with her mother, and appears to have no difficulty in expressing feelings of anger and rage (aggression). This fighting between mother and daughter superficially resembles Ellen's quarrels with her mother during adolescence, although on closer examination, a drastic difference emerges

between the women. Whereas Ellen was readily able to assert herself during these fights, Laurie was not, and admitted that despite her screaming and yelling, she never actually did anything in opposition to maternal demands. Therefore, Laurie demonstrates an underlying conflict over assertiveness rather than aggression per se, adding further support to the present expanded formulation as opposed to Horner's theory of MAS. More specifically, assertiveness represents one important manifestation of a sense of autonomy, and it is this psychological conflict rather than a conflict over aggression that is a major source of difficulty for Laurie, who in fact admits to being "a good fighter."

Interestingly, Sheila's inability to engage in fights with her mother has continued as a difficulty in relation to arguments with her husband. However, the case material reveals that this difficulty, although reflecting in part some fears over her own aggressiveness, is more importantly associated with fears of loss of love within her symbiotic relationship with her husband. (Refer to the case material for quotations reflecting this, as well as a detailed analysis that relates this to the earlier mother-daughter interaction.)

As a final comparison of Horner's theory and the present formulation of MAS, it is interesting to examine the case material of Ellen in order to evaluate which theory more comprehensively explains the particular strengths associated with a lack of an underlying conflict over successful achievement.

The case material of Ellen reveals the theme of "respect" as having played an important role in her achievement-related attitudes, feelings and behavior from childhood to the present time. Although it is true that she has no particular difficulty in applying her fullest effort to her achievement endeavors even in situations involving direct competition against men (something that commonly exists in her profession as a lawyer), Ellen continuously expressed a wish for self-respect as well as respect from others, regardless of sex, as the primary motivating force behind her very successful achievement performance.

Since a very fundamental ingredient of this wish for respect is autonomous achievement behavior, it can be stated that the non MAS woman feels gratified only when her achievement behavior reflects a genuine personal interest. In contrast, the MAS woman feels gratified in her achievement performance only when it pleases significant others, even if this means that she herself has no personal interest in the activity.

Therefore, when personal interests and the interests of others are synonymous, there is no overt difference in achievement performance between fear of success and non fear of success females -- both are bright and excel in their achievements. (This is the case for the three women during elementary school.) However, when personal interests clash with wishes of significant others, a remarkable difference

in achievement behavior exists between the two groups of women. For the non MAS female, it is most important to do what interests her most, since anything else would clearly undermine her feelings of self-respect. In contrast, the MAS female feels caught between an achievement-affiliative conflict, namely her wish to please others strongly conflicts with her own interests. In fear of jeopardizing her basic security needs, the MAS female inevitably is drawn to the behavior that safeguards her need to be loved, and the resolution of this conflict appears as fear of success behavior.

In short, the difference in underlying motivation of the two types of women is striking: for the MAS female, achievement behavior gratifies strong dependency needs, whereas for the non MAS female, achievement behavior gratifies a wish for self-respect, autonomy and individuality.

Therefore, the case material of Ellen, and her expressed wish for "respect" as a primary motive for much of her achievement behavior clearly supports the fact that her lack of fear of success is a function not of freedom in the expression of aggressive impulses (as Horner postulates), but rather a broader feeling of freedom of self-expression and a commitment to her own individuality.

In summary, the comparison of the case material in relation to Horner's theory and the present formulation of MAS clearly substantiates the greater value of the present

thesis in providing a meaningful understanding of this conflict that is so commonly manifested in women of contemporary society. The use of clinical case material has proven to be an invaluable research tool in formulating and illustrating this expanded, multidimensional theory of the "motive to avoid success" in females.

Chapter VII

EPILOGUE

Although only two examples of the "motive to avoid success" were presented in this thesis, this by no means implies that it is a rare phenomenon among bright achievement-oriented females. In fact, it is interesting to note that the two women utilized as illustrations of fear of success, were actually the first two women formally approached for an interview. This was not the case for the non MAS female who was much more difficult to find, clearly indicating the great prevalence of fear of success (in varying degrees) in women of contemporary society.

In an earlier phase of this thesis, during the process of formulating the theory that was presented, many women were casually interviewed who commonly reacted with a combination of relief and excitement when some of the ideas and hypotheses about the nature of the "motive to avoid success" were communicated to them. Their relief expressed the reduction of anxiety that so often accompanies the realization that "I'm not alone -- others are struggling with the same difficulties" (a phenomenon that paradoxically again illustrates the underlying fear of being alone that is associated with the "motive to avoid success"). Their excitement

reflected both the reduction of anxiety in realizing that their confusion, anxiety, struggle, etc., had meaning and was intelligible, as well as a genuine interest in the theory.

Aside from these casual conversations which served as a basis for feedback during the process of theory-building, the formulation of MAS that has been presented here grew from an elaborate integration of a wide range of empirical and theoretical research about women which until now remained fragmented and ambiguous. This integration, and its contribution to a more meaningful understanding of women suggests the vital need for a continuation of this type of research endeavor.

Many interesting hypotheses emerge from the dynamic and developmental formulations presented in this thesis, providing important implications for future empirical, theoretical and clinical research that will serve to further our understanding of the "motive to avoid success" in females.

It would be important to examine the horizontal expansion of MAS that postulated the existence of fear of success behavior in a broad spectrum of situations, for example the relationship between the "motive to avoid success" and the tendency among women to devalue the achievement efforts of other women as well as their tendency to severely underestimate their own performance following school examinations, job interviews, etc. The hypotheses that emerge here are well-suited for objective and controlled experimental examination.

In addition, the development formulation of the

"motive to avoid success" offers many important avenues for systematic investigation. The theory most strongly suggests the need for a longitudinal investigation of the mother-daughter relationship from early childhood through womanhood, with a particular focus on the two stages of separation-individuation. This type of research approach would provide a clearer understanding of the nature of the interactions that exist between maternal acceleratory characteristics, and the particular timing and quality of the manifestations of the "motive to avoid success" in the daughter. In addition, a systematic longitudinal approach could help decipher the relative importance of the two critical periods with respect to the severity of fear of success that later develops.

The contrast between the present "autonomy" theory and Horner's "aggression" theory of the "motive to avoid success" requires further empirical and clinical investigation to determine whether the former theory is truly an expansion of the latter, or whether particular situations exist which render them contradictory. Such an examination necessitates the construction of a new projective test for the measurement of the "motive to avoid success" based upon the expanded dynamic theory that is presented in this thesis, since Horner's TAT cues have competition as a major theme.

Aside from the wide range of research that is directly stimulated by the material presented here, there

are many important issues that emerge in relation to the "motive to avoid success" that have not been specifically examined in this thesis. One such area of interest concerns the importance of the father in the development of a fear of success. Although the present formulation focused on the mother-daughter relationship, this by no means implies that the father's influence is not significant, and further research is needed to determine the relationship between paternal dominance and acceleration, and the development of MAS in the daughter.

In addition, although the focus of the present thesis has been concerned with fear of success in females, this defensive behavior is by no means exclusively a "feminine" phenomenon. In fact, despite the greater preponderance of this psychological syndrome among females primarily as a result of social factors, the phenomenon of career indecisiveness that frequently is experienced by males suggests the existence of the "motive to avoid success" in men as well. It would be interesting to examine the incidence of fear of success in males, as well as the variables influencing its occurrence in order to formulate a dynamic and developmental conceptualization that can be contrasted to the present formulations of MAS in females.

Aside from the many avenues of research suggested by this thesis, the formulations presented here hold important implications for maternal child-rearing attitudes and practices,

distinguishing between those which discourage from those which encourage autonomous achievement behavior. In short, an integration between maternal acceleration and genuine support and respect for the daughter's growing sense of independence appears to be the important combination of ingredients that foster a later lack of conflict over successful achievement. In addition, the developmental theory has stressed the importance of a stormy adolescence, characterized by a general instability and rebelliousness on the part of the daughter. Although the nature of this "identity crisis" will inevitably make life difficult (and at times unbearable) for parents, the present thesis strongly indicates the significance of this experience for the growing sense of autonomy that is so necessary for self-gratifying and successful achievement behavior in adulthood.

The thesis has also served to enlighten the clinician in his (her) treatment of female patients who so frequently struggle with conflicts and issues directly or indirectly reflecting a fear of success. Although highly sensitive to the early mother-daughter relationship as a source of the patient's present-day emotional difficulties, this thesis provides the psychotherapist with a new perspective which utilizes the nature of this early relationship as a focus for achievement-related conflicts and inhibitions.

In regard to the nature and outcome of psychotherapy

with an MAS female, many important questions are raised which are beyond the scope of the present thesis. The investigation of clinical case material based upon the therapeutic treatment process with MAS females could provide invaluable insight into some of these issues, such as themes manifested in dream material and its interpretation, and the nature of the transference, to name a few.

In summary, fear of success does not refer to a conflict that affects a "privileged few," nor does it refer to a conflict that is subtle or insignificant in relation to the broad spectrum of life experiences. It is instead, a struggle felt intensely by a great many females that adversely affects their experience and functioning in ways that undermine their very existence. It is therefore imperative that empirical and theoretical researchers as well as clinicians systematically investigate the wide range of unresolved issues that have been stimulated by the present thesis, since increased knowledge in this area will ultimately serve to enable women to lead more self-fulfilling and productive lives.

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