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THE MOTIVE TO AVOID ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL SUCCESS IN
HISPANIC AMERICAN WOMEN

City University of New York

PH.D.

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THE MOTIVE TO AVOID ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL
SUCCESS IN HISPANIC AMERICAN WOMEN

by

SANDRA SAMANIEGO

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1980

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SANDRA SAMANIEGO

1980

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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Abstract

THE MOTIVE TO AVOID ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL
SUCCESS IN HISPANIC AMERICAN WOMEN

by

Sandra Samaniego

Advisor: Professor Laurence J. Gould

The motive to avoid academic and vocational success in Hispanic American women was explored empirically. Sixty Hispanic women, juniors and seniors on the Dean's List in the various senior colleges of the City University of New York were utilized as subjects. The subjects were given the Goldberg Articles Test, the Motive to Avoid Success Projective Test, and a demographic variables questionnaire. Subjects were tested in small groups. These findings were compared and contrasted with a comparable subject population of white Dean's List women from a previous study by Puder (1976). Results indicate that this particular subject population did not exhibit a motive to avoid success. There is a discussion as to why these results may have occurred as well as suggestions for future studies.

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and supported me when my choices were neither popular nor traditional.

And finally, I wish to thank my husband, Horace Batson, for always encouraging me to stretch myself to my fullest potential and for his sustained emotional support.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

1

The roles of women in American society are changing radically. One can immediately think of many women who are receiving a higher education or who are entering the once all male domains of higher level positions in business to attest to this. Indeed, the attitudes of women are undergoing transformation. Women no longer strictly occupy the roles of wife and mother for their emotional satisfaction and sense of recognition. Many are demanding to be recognized as individuals apart from their traditional roles.

What we see now in the United States pertaining to the Women's Liberation Movement for equality as human beings is the result of much pressure from myriad organized groups. Mass media has helped reach many audiences. Even the very traditional "Ladies Magazines" such as Woman's Day and Family Circle now frequently have articles written by mental health practitioners encouraging women to be assertive, autonomous and direct, espousing that behavioral style as the road to a deeper fulfillment in life.

Yet, old beliefs, particularly ones that have shaped us as we have grown, die hard. Change in behavior

and attitudes is easier to accomplish intellectually than emotionally. What often occurs is ambivalence and conflict over the attainment of a highly desired goal. Fear of Success or the Motive to Avoid Success is the phenomena recently introduced to explain what is frequently experienced. Briefly defined, Fear of Success or the Motive to Avoid Success exists when a person, unconsciously, sabotages his/her opportunities to achieve a consciously highly desired goal because the attainment of it would in addition to the success, bring about powerful negative consequences, real or imagined. We are inclined to suspect Fear of Success when people refuse successes that they have worked hard to achieve.

It is this author's belief that in cultures where the Women's Liberation Movement is not as strong as it is in the United States, even greater Fear of Success potentially exists for the women who are pioneers in expanding the roles and behavior of women. The reason for this belief is that it is all the more conflictual to change one's beliefs and behaviors, when there is resistance from the culture and its various institutions, the family included among them.

This author hypothesized that Hispanic women are

more firmly entrenched in a traditional sex role orientation than are Anglo-American (United States) women. The terms Latin American, or Hispanic as utilized by the author, denotes Spanish surnamed, Spanish speaking people or individuals whose ancestors came from such a heritage. Included are Spanish speaking Central and South Americans, the Caribbeans Islands as well as Spain. Latin American culture is fiercely patriarchal. In addition, women are considered second class citizens who must obey strict, authoritarian male domination. A review of the literature will add substance to this statement.

The purpose of this dissertation is to contrast and compare Fear of Success, its presence or relative absence in Latin American women and their North American counterparts as well as an intragroup study of Fear of Success, its presence or relative absence among Hispanic women. The factors that contribute to a Fear of Success (and conversely its relative absence) will be a focus of this research.

Up until this time, research on MAS¹ has been based on the study of white college women, although a few studies have been made on Black college women (Fleming and Horner, 1973; Weston and Mednick, 1972;

Horner and Walsh, 1974). This investigator is interested in testing the hypothesis that FOS is different in Hispanic women, i.e., that Hispanic women respond differently to FOS in academic and occupational situations due to cultural indoctrination and its particular sex role demands on Hispanic women.

If FOS expresses itself differently in Hispanic women, it is important for clinicians working in a therapeutic relationship with Hispanic women to understand these dynamics. Treatment approaches will be modified accordingly in order to be most useful when Hispanic women express conflicts over issues of separation, individuation, autonomy, assertiveness and achievement strivings.

Puder (1976) conducted a study on the MAS in women at C.C.N.Y. with bright achieving college students (Caucasian, seniors, on the Dean's List). Intrigued by her findings and formulations this author wanted to see if a comparable group of Hispanic women would yield comparable or statistically different results. This author is following a paradigm based on Puder's work. It is important at this point to examine that design and its hypotheses in detail.

1.

MAS (Motive to Avoid Success abbreviated) and FOS (Fear of Success abbreviated) are interchangeable to this author.

Puder (1976) empirically examined Projesz' (1974) expanded theory of "the motive to avoid success" in women. This consisted of an examination of the relationship between "the motive to avoid success" (MAS) and women's tendency to devalue the achievement competence of other women. The secondary objective focused on the developmental expansion and therefore examined the relationship between MAS and the maternal work status variable.

The hypotheses derived from the horizontal expansion involve both the evaluation of competence (hypotheses 1,2, and 3) and the evaluation of creativity-expressiveness (hypothesis 4). The aforementioned hypotheses are stated below:

Rationale for Hypotheses 1-3

According to Puder, when a woman is in the position of evaluating a professional article, she will identify with the female author. When the article is in a field that elicits MAS, namely in a male-oriented field (viz: law or city planning), the woman with a high level of MAS will project the conflict onto the female author. In order to reduce the anxiety associated with the conflict, the woman will subsequently devalue the female author's professional competence.

A woman who has a low level of MAS will also identify with the female author, but because there is little or no anxiety aroused, MAS will not be projected onto the female author. Therefore, in contrast with the women with a high level of MAS there will be little or no subsequent devaluation of the female author's professional competence.

If the field of an author does not elicit MAS, namely when the field is one reserved for women where the achievement fulfills the gratification of affiliative needs, there will be no projection of MAS and therefore little or subsequent devaluation.

Hypothesis 1. It is expected that high MAS subjects will have a tendency to devalue the achievement competence of female authors significantly more than male authors when the professional field of the article is associated with men.

Hypothesis 2. It is expected that high MAS subjects will have a tendency to devalue the achievement competence of female authors significantly less when the field of an article is one associated with women as compared to articles in which the field is associated with men.

There is an interrelationship between these three

hypotheses. The general prediction is that the high MAS subjects are expected to devalue the female authors in male fields more than any of the other ratings given to either the male authors in male fields or the female authors in female fields. In addition, the high MAS subjects are expected to devalue the female authors in male fields more than the low MAS subjects' ratings of female authors in male fields.

Rationale for Null Hypothesis

Rather than postulate a general prejudice, Puder (1976) states that it is expected that a selective pattern of devaluation will emerge consistent with MAS. Since creativity and expressiveness are traits consistent with the traditional feminine stereotype and do not elicit MAS, it is expected that even in the male fields, the women high in MAS, when rating the female authors on these evaluative dimensions, will not project MAS and therefore no subsequent devaluation will occur.

Rationale for Hypothesis 4.

The derived hypothesis from the expanded theory of MAS predicts no difference between high and low MAS subjects in their evaluation of the creativity and expressiveness of female authors in male fields.

However, there might be other points of view which predict some other relationship. It is a subsidiary interest of Puder's study to explore other possible relationships. According to the "differential acceptance hypothesis" (French and Lesser, 1964) women who value intellectual attainment and intellectual career orientation, rather than a traditional homemaker role, feel that they must reject the woman's role. The women in Puder's study probably all value intellectual attainment, since they are college students, however, it is possible that the low MAS women are more male-oriented in their sex-role orientation than are the high MAS women. Therefore, it is possible that when a low MAS woman is in the position of evaluating a female author she may devalue those feminine associated characteristics.

Hypothesis 4. It may be possible that low MAS subjects have a tendency to devalue the creativity and expressiveness of female authors when the professional field is one associated with men significantly more than high MAS subjects.

The specific hypothesis derived from the developmental expansion of MAS is stated below:

Rationale for Hypothesis 5

Mother's employment outside the home serves the critical function in the developmental process of allowing for a separation. This separation paves the way for the ultimate psychological distance and independence and development of inner psychological resources leading to autonomous achievement motivation. Mother's employment might serve as a critical variable differentiating among those high achievement women, those who develop a high or low level of MAS.

Hypothesis 5. It is expected that significantly more high MAS subjects will have non-working mothers than low MAS subjects.

Puder's subjects were white female senior college students who were achieving at a relatively high level. The criteria for high level achievement was the subject's inclusion in the Dean's List at City College of the City University of New York. Puder had 97 subjects.

Specific Research Procedures

Puder received a copy of the City College 1974-1975 Dean's Honor List. From that list, names and telephone numbers of females, whose class code classified them as entering into their senior year in the Fall 1975 term, were obtained. Puder personally contacted each subject by telephone to introduce the study, secure the subject's

cooperation, and to set up appointments. Each subject was told the following:

My name is _____ and I am a doctoral student at City College. I am working on my dissertation which is a study surveying the thinking and feelings of bright college students at City College. You were specifically selected. I got your name and phone number from the Dean's List in the Honor's Office. I am calling to enlist your help in my study. The focus of my study will be to get your attitudes about several professional articles in different fields and social situations college students might find themselves in. The survey has been constructed to ensure that it takes no longer than an hour of your time. No names are required, there is no personal interviewing and therefore you are provided complete confidentiality. I will be at the Psychological Center on _____ between the hours of 10:00 a.m. through 4:00 p.m. Your participation is greatly appreciated, and if you are interested we can schedule an appointment at the start of one of the hours between 10:00 and 4:00.

Puder saw all her subjects at the Psychological Center of the City College at least once weekly. Subjects were scheduled to arrive on the hour so that group administration would be possible. Since a few subjects did not always keep their appointments at the assigned time, some subjects were run individually, while most were run in groups.

Puder administered the Goldberg's Articles Test (GAT) to her subjects and collected them upon comple-

tion so that responses would not be affected by the other measures, which might reveal to some of the subjects the true purposes of the study. Once the subjects finished the GAT test, the Motive to Avoid Success (MAS) test and questionnaire were distributed. The subjects were told that when they finish the questionnaire to return both booklets to the investigator.

This author utilized Puder's entire questionnaire. Instead of White Anglo-American subjects, Hispanic American subjects were studied. This investigator is cognizant of Hispanic names and chose subjects from the Dean's List that sounded Hispanic. Once given the questionnaire, it was a matter of proceeding to the demographic questionnaire and looking at the response given for ethnic background, languages spoken at home and place of birth for self and parents to ascertain if this was an appropriate subject. Should the answer be other than Hispanic, the questionnaire would be disregarded and not utilized in the present study. In addition, juniors as well as seniors were studied in order to increase the sample size. For the same reason, students not only from City College but from all the senior colleges of the City University of New

York were solicited. The rationale for utilizing students from the various senior colleges is that they are a comparable sample since the admission qualifications are standard throughout the C.U.N.Y. senior colleges. Juniors are the closest in background to seniors and enabled this investigator to achieve a larger sample size. In addition to the hypotheses utilized by Puder, additional hypotheses were explored, as corollaries to each of Puder's. See chapter two for the specific hypotheses and the rationale for them. This author also added questions to the demographic questionnaire (section three of the questionnaire package) that tapped specific information that was related to the subjects' cultural background. See Appendix for the questionnaire. The questions that were added by this investigator will be enumerated at the end of the questionnaire to facilitate a comparison of Puder's and Samaniego's work.

This investigator utilized Puder's subject sample and results as a control group to compare intergroup similarities and differences between the Anglo and Hispanic subjects high and low in the Motive to Avoid Success. This study also explored the variables

involved in shaping a person to have or not have a Fear of Success. The present author hypothesized that ethnic and gender role variables for Hispanic women would indeed confirm that the subjects more commonly have a more intense and pervasive FOS than do their Anglo-American counterparts.

Puder's formulations were based in part on the work of several earlier researchers. Goldberg (1968) hypothesized that there are psychological determinants and internal variables among women that may serve to sabotage any real overt behavioral changes in sex-role. He offers as evidence research findings such as that women tend to differentially evaluate the work of other women to the point to devaluing the intellectual and professional competence of other women more than the identical work done by men. He attributed this differential evaluation to anti-feminism in women, comparable in dynamics to self-prejudices of other out groups.

Horner (1968) proposed another explanation for women's failure to achieve high academic and vocational levels, that is "a stable enduring personality characteristic" conceived as the Motive to Avoid Success. According to this theory, Horner states that the arousal

of this motive may very well account for a major part of the withdrawal of so many trained American women from the mainstream of thought and achievement (1970 p. 70). MAS is aroused and inhibits performance in achievement situations in which there is anxiety over competitiveness and its aggressive "masculine" overtones. Horner 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. According to her "aggression hypothesis" of MAS, the primary behavior manifestation is expressed as an inhibition in the performance of women specifically in achievement situations in which there is direct competition against men.

Numerous studies have attempted to replicate and/or extend Horner's and Goldberg's original findings respectively. Generally, the evidence of the two lines of inquiry point out that the two respective hypotheses are too limited to adequately describe the data.

Porjesz (1974) introduced an expanded theory of MAS which had as its focus, an expanded concept of MAS in two directions. First she expanded horizontally to show that MAS was a non-situational fear of independence

and responsibility not only behaviorally manifested in face to face competitive situations with men but also in a wider range of achievement related situations. Second, she expanded the concept of MAS vertically. This expansion took into consideration the MAS both dynamically and developmentally with specific focus on the mother-daughter relationship during the critical periods of the daughter's development of autonomy.

Porjesz viewed MAS as a more generalized, non-situational fear of independence and responsibility, with the underlying anxiety associated with loss of love and security. She attempted to expand her formulation to explain achievement related attitudes and behaviors among females in a broad spectrum of situations, not limited to those with competitive overtones, or those in which men were necessarily present. In relation to Goldberg's findings where women tended to devalue the achievement efforts of other women, Porjesz interpreted this as a manifestation of MAS. Rather than conceive of this tendency to devalue as merely a function of attitudes and beliefs, she posited that it reflected an underlying MAS conflict expressed behaviorally.

Puder's thesis, had as its major purpose to test the broadened expansion of MAS, as derived from Porjesz' expanded theory, and to bring her formulations into an empirical setting. The confirmation of the hypothesis that MAS is related to the tendency among some women to devalue the achievement competence of other women would provide empirical support for an expanded and broader concept of MAS. Puder also expected that high MAS women would show this tendency more than low MAS women.

Puder's secondary purpose was to test the developmental expansion of MAS, as derived from Porjesz' theory, which predicts that low MAS women would be more likely to have mothers who worked outside the home than high MAS women.

This author sought to compare Puder's findings with those of a comparable Hispanic subject population using her paradigm. The focus of this study was twofold: 1) to examine the differences between White and Hispanic women with low and high MAS (intergroup) and 2) to explore the differences among Hispanic women (intragroup) with high and low MAS and try to isolate the characteristics that went into shaping a high (and conversely low) MAS.

Section A: Early Contributions to the Theory of the Motive To Avoid Success

Tresemmer (1977) in his book, Fear of Success, writes of a theory of boundary maintenance as defining FOS. The writer states the following:

Perhaps more powerful than the attractive features of conformity to social roles are the threats for deviance from expectation which are avoided by conformity.

He develops this in the following manner: he further elaborates that role is a set of expectations that has an objective concrete reality and then impinges on individuals because they hold a given social position (Veroff and Feld, 1970, p.3). Position or status is the locus of a person in a network of social relationships. Role behavior has to do with repeated contacts with others whom one thinks of as members of one's social position (reference group). Potent referents for behavior are also members of the other group (negative reference group). Their norms are rejected as alien to one's own in favor of counter-norms. Where apparent (public) success is also a personal (private) failure, due to a conflict between prescribed and enacted role, this leads to negative affect and is avoided (defense against anticipated anxiety).

Gender refers to the psychological and cultural (learned) definitions of the dimensions "masculine" and "feminine" and tends to dichotomize. We can predict that success that is gender-role incongruent will elicit avoidant or reparative responses (Tresemer, 1977). He concludes by summarizing that the theory of boundary maintenance involves the paradoxical idea that people expect to suffer negative consequences as a result of a successful outcome and avoid it.

Schuster (1955) in describing the ways in which people subvert their own talents explains this behavior as "a fear of asserting one's self because of the possible consequences (punishment, retaliation, retribution)". Success is associated with defeating others: the successful person risks the collective wrath of his outdone rivals.

Before Horner's research on FOS the only quantitative social-psychological research dealing with negative responses to success images was done by Haimowitz and Haimowitz (1958). They conducted a simple word association experiment where 100 male and female college freshmen produced approximately 3,000 associations to 5 neutral and 5 "success" words (i.e., new car, best in

class, lovely marriage). Thirteen per cent of the subjects responded with anxiety to the "success" words while only four per cent did so to the neutral words. The success words were more anxiety provoking than the neutral words to some subjects.

Another early research study on FOS was conducted by Atkinson (1964) who stated that motivation or a tendency to act toward a certain goal is based on a multiplicative relationship between motive (latent, stable predisposition to action learned early in life), Expectation (cognitive judgment of the probability of succeeding at the task) and Incentive (inherent attractiveness of the goal).

Gumpert, Garner and Gumpert (1977) in their book The Success-Fearing Personality write that:

Fear of Success is a very common neurotic problem affecting men and women in all walks of life, in childhood as well as adolescence and adulthood, in different ways in a variety of settings and circumstances.

In their book, they give examples of other contributors to the FOS literature: Freud (1915) in his paper Some Character Types Met with in Psychoanalytic Work, wrote of two case histories of those "wrecked by success". In each example, illness followed close

upon the wish fulfillment and annihilated all enjoyment of it. Freud theorized that most illnesses or neuroses arise when people meet with frustration and obstacles to their forbidden Oedipal desires to the person.

Prior to the Oedipal stage, FOS can be engendered in children by negative parental responses to the child's expressions of self assertiveness and to his strivings toward achievement and independence. For individuation and separation to occur successfully, the child must experience security and support for his increasing self expression and mastery. Some parents react toward self-expression and mastery with the fantasy that the child is abandoning or competing with them. They experience feelings of insecurity, and rejection, and/or hostility, and a competitive struggle for control and supremacy. Anxiety, anger, interference, disapproval, over-control, and rejection are some of the many ways in which the parent(s) can communicate their negative reactions to the child's burgeoning efforts at attaining mastery and independence.

The child may strive toward mastery and independence, but his self assertion and success are likely

to become associated with guilt and anxiety. Because he comes to expect or fear abandonment, loss of love, or fantasied retaliation, his ambivalence and fear of accomplishment are likely to be generalized to most endeavors rather than limited to specific arenas of activity (Ovesey, 1962, Shuster, 1955 and Warner, 1954, 1966).

Horney (1937) feels that to the neurotic who fears success an endless parade of hostile challengers is the reward for the successful position rather than love and admiration. Failure's rewards are hostility, envy and humiliation. Success' rewards are retaliation, envy and rejection. When the fear of failure predominates, the person recoils from competition and withdraws from risks and efforts that might be viewed as pathetic attempts at self betterment.

Those who fear success direct themselves to innocuous and solitary activities as being safer than asserting themselves and seeking their goals of success and thus may give the appearance of indolence and laziness. This withdrawal may lead to great personal impoverishment and warping of potentialities, by placing great limits on the aspirations of the neurotic who fears success. When FOS predominates, those who

fear success stay in the competitive arena but their efforts are characterized by ambivalence, and vacillation. Their behavior is driven by a frantically grandiose and compulsive ambition to be first in the race and at the same time by an equally great compulsion to check themselves as soon as they begin to move forward or make any significant progress. Observable results include a set of checkered and unpredictable performances varying from excellent to terrible and including periods of performance interference that looks like immobilization. Neurotics who fear success are persons who tend to recoil from a success when it seems imminent, and if they do have a success, they tend not to enjoy it and in fact do not feel it as their own experience.

Sullivan (1953) saw FOS as originating in the mother-child interaction. If for some reason the mother is made anxious by the child's successes, then the child begins to associate negative reactions with his successes and to avoid, disguise, or sabotage them in order to avoid the feelings of insecurity and of being a bad child that the mother's anxiety or anger evokes. The child believes herself and her behavior to be the cause of all the mother's negative states.

She invests all of her energy in trying to change herself and her behavior in the hope of changing the mother's state and therefore her own.

Maslow (1954, 1971) on the other hand, saw FOS as a fear of greatness or ambivalence toward the highest and grandest achievements in ourselves and in others.

In the approaches of Freud, Sullivan and Horney, success for the person who fears it is seen as destructive and as promising very negative consequences. All agree that people who develop FOS occupy a weak power position and probably a low status position in relation to the people who are important in the induction of FOS.

Gumpert, Gardner and Gumpert (1978) conclude that there are five characteristics common to FOS people.

1. They are highly ambivalent about success, since they have motives both to succeed and not to succeed.
2. Their ambivalence about success represents a real or imagined competition or conflict of interest with powerful or important others.
3. The ambivalence is expressed by the dual behaviors of success-oriented efforts and by success-avoidant responses (self-sabotage).
4. FOS beyond adolescence is seen as an irrational and largely unconscious motive.
5. People who fear success employ a wide

range of rationalizations or defense mechanisms that protect them from the anxiety instigated both by their great ambition and their tendency to defeat their successes. Among these deep seated defense mechanisms are low self-evaluation, a tendency to externalize the motivation to succeed by seeing it as raised by external requirements rather than an internal desire, and a tendency to externalize the cause of success when it occurs by seeing it variously as due to luck, an easy task or as a result of the help of others, rather than as being consequent to one's own competence and effort.

Gumpert, Gardner and Gumpert define neurotics who fear success as persons who have a trio of achievement related motives: 1) a motive to avoid failure, 2) a motive to achieve success, and 3) a motive to avoid success. They have a strong motivation to achieve success that energizes and directs them to strive for achievements. These individuals also possess a primarily unconscious motivation to retreat from or avoid success. This motivation is likely to be aroused when they are close to achieving success and helps them to ward off or cope with the anxiety that imminent success engenders in them.

Finally, these persons live with a strong motive to avoid failure that leads them to ensure that they remain as far from failing as their abilities allow. Situational (psychological environment) rather than personalogical factors largely determine which of the

three motives will be dominant in the neurotic who fears success. Persons who do not fear success are more likely to work especially hard in the presence of success and to become discouraged in the presence of apparent failure. The authors define success as any achievement in the personal, or academic/occupational domains which a person regards as a success.

Fear of Success has multiple determinants. The development of FOS begins in the early childhood experiences within the family. It is given impetus by interpersonal factors in the family such as the competitiveness of parents or siblings and attempts by parents to interfere in the child's movement toward independence. The existence of such contributing factors in the family serves to feed, strengthen, and make more real for the child her self-generated competitive fantasies.

Horney (1936, 1937) adds that the understanding of a culture and its consensually shared beliefs and values is vital to a full understanding of any common neurosis.

In the case of FOS, a set of cultural beliefs and practices concerning competition, achievement, success,

failure, winning and losing helps not only to maintain the neurotic conflict but it also helps to create the family contexts within which such issues come to have overriding importance. The important concerns of a culture are usually reflected in its families and other socialization institutions. Whether the central instigating conflict is the conflict over the child's separation-individuation or the Oedipal conflict, the manifestations of the conflict are likely to involve competition in some form between the parent and the child over the child's achievement-related desires and performances, that is, in more general terms, competition about whether the child or the parent will be in control of the child's behavior.

The child who learned early in development to become anxious in performance or competitive situations, or when independence and task mastery were an issue for him, would have a very difficult time. For such a person to participate fully in this culture and to avoid such situations would be almost impossible.

Pappo (1972) in her dissertation on Fear of Academic Success wrote of a psychological state which

results in observable paralysis, withdrawal, or retraction in the presence of a consciously understood, subjective or objective goal which is perceived by the individual at the moment of withdrawal.

Cohen (1974), in her study of FOS suggests that FOS is conceived as a defense against letting go, therefore, it would be based in the anal stage of development emphasizing issues of control, self-assertion vs. submission, and shame and humiliation. According to psychoanalytic theory, the FOS person is one who suffers from an inhibition of self promoting behavior due to an unconscious equation of achievement and competence with aggressive and/or exhibitionistic impulses. Cohen administered her 64 item FOS scale to male and female high school students in a blue collar suburb. The 64 items were in a "yes-no" format. The respondents were either to agree with an item as characteristic of their behavior or beliefs or disagree with the item, thereby indicating that it is not characteristic of their behavior or beliefs. The scales tested for the following nine factors:

1. Anxiety over the expression of needs and preferences.

2. Reluctance to acknowledge personal competence.
3. Impaired concentration and distractability.
4. Indecisiveness.
5. Safety valve Syndrome - Fear of Loss of Control.
6. Illegitimacy of Self-Promotive Behavior.
7. Anxiety over being the Focus of Attention.
8. Preoccupation with Competition and Evaluation.
9. Preoccupation with the Underplaying of Effectiveness.

The results indicate that proximity of success is what activates immobilizing anxiety for persons who fear success. Anxiety serves as a kind of safety valve since it adversely effects functioning and therefore decreases the likelihood of future successful outcomes. Since anxiety does not feel good, the person experiencing it may feel less likely to be accused of deriving pleasure from the unconsciously prohibited activity. It seems that persons who fear success improve their performance in response to failure and sabotage their performance after success, where the reverse is true for a non FOS person.

Gumpert, Gardner and Gumpert (1978) studied FOS in children. Their 58 item Children's FOS scale was given to fourth through sixth graders in a school

that was heterogeneous in socio-economic status.

The scales tested for four variables:

1. Impaired concentration and distractability.
2. Reluctance to express needs and preferences.
3. Indecivness.
4. Reluctance to acknowledge personal competence - tendency to underplay effectiveness.

The results indicate a strong relationship between FOS and test anxiety. Also, the results were similar to the study done with adults by these authors indicating approach-avoidance conflict in FOS subjects. Both competence issues and independence strivings contribute to triggering anxiety in success-fearing persons.

The parents of children who fear success were observed by the researchers to say more to their children and participate more actively in the task than did parents of non success fearing children. They made substantially more critical comments than did the parents of non success fearing children. The parents' activities could have led the success-fearing child to feel that the parent was not altogether comfortable with the child's attempts to do well on his own. The results suggest that certain interaction patterns in the families of children who fear success

create ambivalence in the child about his task performances. The child learns that doing a task well on his own is dangerous.

The children's performances appear to have been affected only by the presence of the same-sex parent. This result is a function of the behavior of the parents who were themselves people who feared success and with the responses of a child who fears success to them. Children who feared success were more likely to be accompanied by a parent who was also a person who feared success although the relationship was not very strong.

What does this tell us? Parents work together to mold the achievement attitudes and achievement conflicts of their children. Children themselves play an important part in the picture. Neurotics who fear success marry those similar to them in that trait more frequently than by chance and this bolsters the assertion that people who fear success tend to choose spouses whose ideals about achievement and competition are compatible with their own. Children with FOS find the same message being delivered by events in school: succeeding is very good, failing is very bad; people who succeed are envied and made targets. The problem

is clearly cultural as well as psychological.

Gumpert et al (1978) did a study in a natural setting on people who fear success in everyday life. These data confirm the everyday operation of the FOS variable and provide us with interesting insights into the experience of fearing success in day to day life. The following variables were carefully examined in the college students studied:

1. Indecisiveness: these students do not clearly commit themselves to a particular career choice since such a commitment might constitute an acknowledgment that they will in fact be graduated someday. Vacillation and disillusionment with choices once made are indeed more characteristic of success-fearing persons than of those who do not fear success.
2. Self-Sabotage: FOS persons had spotty academic records with greater variability in their overall performance than non FOS students. They more often dropped out of school or switched majors or transferred to other schools.
3. Competence derogation: by setting their standards so high, their actual performance must necessarily fall short. Thus they can deny that they have actually succeeded.

Several scales were tested on those who feared success. The Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (1965) was used to compute a correlation between FOS and negative self esteem. The level of self esteem, in the form of negative self-evaluations and self doubt, is a core characteristic of the FOS syndrome, and it was pre-

dicted that people who fear success would have more negative self-esteem, as measured by the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale, than would non success fearing persons, which in fact they do. The Debilitating Anxiety Scale by Alpert and Haber (1960) is a scale that was originally developed to identify persons who are debilitated by anxiety in academic testing situations. The scale is probably tapping anxiety due to a fear of failure as well as FOS. This scale indicates that FOS people are more likely to express anxiety on this scale. Rotter's Internal-External Scale (1966) measures people's general expectations of the extent to which they control their own outcomes and their own fates. People who believe that outcomes they receive are primarily determined by their own actions, and who perceive they can determine the course and nature of their lives are termed internals; those who believe their lives and important outcomes are primarily determined by forces outside themselves (chance, fate, other people) are termed externals. FOS persons are somewhat more likely to score as externals on this scale (Gumpert, Gardner and Gumpert, 1978).

Tresemmer (1977) studied FOS records of both males

and females when the cue was;

After first term finals, Anne is at the top of her class in medical school.

It was determined that FOS is different for males than for females and differs when one sex answers about Anne or about a male medical student. Males, when responding to a male character showed doubt about the worth of sacrifice for success. When writing about a female character, they responded with cynical, bizarre, pessimistic, hostile and/or joking stories containing violence, death and devaluation.

Females, more often than males when writing about Anne, wrote stories depicting fear of social rejection, loss of femininity and affiliative loss. When writing about a male character, they often did not depict the character's fate negatively. FOS might have different psychodynamic significance for males and for females. Tresemer has concluded that overall, no major differences exist between the sexes in the incidence of FOS imagery. I will return to Tresemer and his hypotheses.

Horner (1968) felt that FOS was an important variable in the lives of women. Repression of aggression is an early gender-role socialization for all

women. Horner further indicates that success requires achievement behavior, achievement behavior requires competition behavior, competition behavior is negatively sanctioned for women in this society as unfeminine, therefore, success is likewise negatively sanctioned for females as unfeminine. This conflict leads to anxiety and avoidance behavior in situations involving present or future success. Horner's original study involved very specific cues that may have tapped people's perceptions of what society might sanction for the characters and not their own attitudes. She revised her study and made the cues vague, similar to the TAT cues originally designed by Henry Murray (1933)², that is, ambiguous and less specific.

Horner's study, while it has to do with gender role socialization is similar to Cohen and Pappo's study, which is psychodynamic in nature because all three combine a neurotic fear of success with a fear of social boundary transgression.

Porjesz (1974) expanded the theory of MAS and stated that it has as its focus the following:

2. The TAT consists of a standard set of pictures, each depicting a simple scene of ambiguous meaning. The subject is asked to tell a story with a beginning, middle and end. The stories are taken to reveal important aspects of the person's needs, attitudes, conflicts, identifications, aspirations and self-conception.

1. MAS is a non-situational fear of independence and responsibility not only behaviorally manifested in face-to-face competitive situations with men but also in a wider range of achievement related situations (her horizontal expansion of MAS).
2. Dynamically and developmentally, MAS is involved specifically with mother-daughter relationships during the critical periods of the daughter's development of autonomy.

The researcher Porjesz views MAS as being a more generalized non-situational fear of independence and responsibility, with the underlying anxiety associated with loss of love and security. MAS for Porjesz is a conflict over autonomy.

Tresemmer (1977) feels that implicitly in feminine FOS is role conflict and that the available research does not provide much information about the essence of the presumed conflict as it is experienced by women, or the consequences it has for their lives.

Many women, particularly those who are highly motivated to succeed in areas that have been traditionally reserved for men in this society, do indeed experience difficulties and conflicts, and these may spring from a variety of sources.

Gumpert et al (1978) indicate that in many instances there are genuine external barriers constraining women's achievement. These barriers operate in at least two levels; Gumpert et al (1978, p. 129)

discuss these below:

1. At the more overt level are the long established and formally institutionalized rules and regulations of educational or occupational organizations that stem from entrenched traditions of discrimination and that effectively serve to exclude women from opportunities.

2. Barriers may exist at the more subtle covert level in daily interpersonal relations with persons who are carriers of culturally inspired "sexist" practices.

Gumpert et al (1978) add that many women may also experience psychological conflicts surrounding such achievement strivings. These conflicts arise from their attempts to implement values, goals and aspirations that appear to be mutually exclusive or at least in conflict with one another. Some women experience difficulties in simultaneously meeting the requirements of different culturally defined roles and associated expectations for behavior. There is a reluctance on the part of many women to violate important social norms, where they believe that violation of those norms may be genuinely costly to them. The normative requirements for the "woman" and "professional achiever" (doctor, lawyer, scientist, etc.) in this society are sometimes at odds. On the individual level, women may experience conflicts integrating the associated goals of

"succeeding with men" and "succeeding professionally".

Gumpert et al (1978) further state that all FOS conflicts do not necessarily lead to performance interference or a lessening of achievement strivings. In some instances they may have such consequences; in other instances they may lead to goal oriented problem solving.

Conceiving of the phenomena in terms of role conflict emerging when women find themselves in situations that make differing role demands, coupled with the recognition of a genuine external political reality that may be discriminatory, focuses the researcher's attention on a wide range of issues heretofore under-emphasized in the literature on the feminine fear of success. Tresemer, Gumpert et al (1977, 1978) take into account situational and environmental factors which these authors encourage clinicians to also consider.

Gumpert et al (1978) postulate that one must go beyond personality characteristics in the study of the motivation to achieve or accomplish. They pose the following questions:

1. What are the environmental and situational sources of motivation to attempt and persist at productive work?

2. What characteristics of people interact with these sources of motivation to affect the degree to which a person will work productively?
3. What motivates people to do productive work? Is it a) extrinsic "material" motives? b) extrinsic "social" motives? or c) intrinsic motives?

The above questions would be useful to explore in therapy with FOS patients. Gumpert et al conclude that people who fear success do not sabotage their performances to the same degree in all achievement situations. Some of these situations are more evocative, some less, of the early childhood circumstances that led initially to the FOS. Gumpert et al (1978) conclude from their research that FOS can effect any area of accomplishment the success fearing person considers important: romance, games of skill, child rearing, interpersonal relations, avocations such as weaving, dancing or playing the violin.

The authors give examples of success sabotage as varied as long term dieters losing many pounds and at the first sign of attractiveness gaining weight again; aspiring ballet dancers spraining an ankle just before a major performance; long term investments in romantic relationships that go sour just when they are about to succeed.

Gumpert et al (1978) indicate that while FOS is

an intra-psychoic problem that is usually manifested in task performance situations, it is most basically an interpersonal problem. FOS originates in interpersonal relationships and is stimulated and maintained in what are really interpersonal contexts in which achievement, or success and failure, are important concerns. The person's relationship with others are really at stake.

The authors add that it is very likely that persons who fear success respond very differently from other people to the cooperative or competitive features of interpersonal relations. Attending to such characteristic differences helps us, to understand better how those forces affect people, and why.

The author now intends to explore Hispanic cultural components and how they can contribute to FOS in Hispanic women.

B. Aspects of Hispanic culture and their relations to FOS.

Torres-Matrullo (1976) in her paper on Acculturation and Psychopathology among Puerto Rican women in Mainland United States writes that:

There appears to be much guilt over angry feelings, suppression and repression of assertiveness and aggressiveness, and the need to preserve calm at the

expense of psychological needs. Socially direct assertiveness is frowned upon. This pattern is maladaptive in a society that stresses the value of assertiveness and upward mobility. One can see, then, how the impact of culture change from a Spanish tradition, where outward assertiveness and aggressiveness is discouraged, to American society, where it is greatly encouraged, may result in severe problems among Puerto Ricans in the United States, particularly among the women. (p. 712)

Torres-Matrullo adds:

Many psychosomatic symptoms have been found in Puerto Ricans. This also may be connected with an early inhibition of aggression and autonomy that is part of their socialization. There is an emphasis on passivity and helplessness in the upbringing of Puerto Rican women. They are expected to be self sacrificing, restricted to home, chaste, dependent and respectful of the male. She is taught that her role is to be a good mother and home-maker, hard working, responsible, yet intellectually inferior, lacking in leadership and overly emotional. This is part of Marianismo or the Cult of the Virgin, a belief system where women are paradoxically elevated to an almost saintly stature. This helps to counteract the fact that almost universally the Puerto Rican woman is seen as inferior to the male; Puerto Rican society is typically constructed to justify this belief, which can be attributed to the influence of the Catholic Church and a Spanish legacy. This cultural heritage is passed down regardless of class and higher levels of education. (p. 710)

This investigator suggests that this belief system applies to other Hispanic countries since all are influenced by the Catholic Church and a Spanish legacy. In fact, throughout Latin American countries there are several shared cultural beliefs that can contribute to the problems for women achieving autonomous functioning.

Dy Grys and Schweitzer (1973) conducted a study in La Pesca, Peru and their findings indicate that there is a strong cultural dichotomy according to sex. Women have inferior status; relationships between men and women are usually reserved and often latently hostile. No woman can hold political office there. Women are expected to support their husband or father sponsors (in fiestas) by their contribution of physical labor and the fulfillment of minor social roles. Men are the major decision makers and have authority over women and children. Women, yearly at Carnival, express ritualistically their antagonism of men, and men accept this as normal and healthy. There is a strongly held belief in Latin America of women's inferiority to men a conservative attitude that dictates that women should stay home, be nurturers and homemakers and let the men be the sole

breadwinner.

Gray (1975) in "A Bi-lingual Approach To The Issue of Achievement Motivation" expressed the belief that the achievement literature emphasizes that achievement depends on a generalized desire to achieve; it does not deal with the issue of whether or not a culture values the appropriate achievement behavior. This is a salient point as it relates strongly to Latin American women and the culture's expectation of them.

With regard to Mexican Americans, Ramiriz and Costaneda (1974) have observed that socialization practices among Mexican American communities whose value orientations are based on traditional (rural and Mexican) values, develop in the child a strong sense of loyalty in the family, community and ethnic group. Gray's study 1) examined the incentives for achievement motivation of female and male Mexican American and Anglo American children and 2) examined the relationship between their language behavior as a possible indicator of acculturation and modes of achievement motivation.

A questionnaire type scale was developed to provide a viable assessment measure that is relevant

for bi-cultural children who must learn to deal with two socio-cultural worlds of home and school. This is exactly what Hispanics have to do in the United States- deal with two systems, of home and the outside institutions.

Gray's study consisted of 480 subjects from three California dispersed school districts. Two schools were utilized per district. The bi-cultural Achievement Motivation Scale contains fifty two items and provides a general assessment of the preferred mode of achievement, i.e., Achievement for Self and Achievement for Others within two achievement settings, Academic (competitive) and Home (non-competitive). A statistically significant interaction for ethnicity and sex across both home and school achievement settings was found. This supports the hypothesis of an overall joint effect of sex and ethnic group membership on mode of achievement. In academic settings Mexican American students scored relatively higher in Achievement for others than Anglo Americans. Females from both ethnic groups scored higher in Achievement for Others than males.

In the Home Setting a greater similarity was shown among Anglo and Mexican females and Mexican American

males in mode of achievement than in the Academic setting. Anglo males showed the highest mean score on Achievement for Self and the lowest mean score on Achievement for Others in the Home setting. The mean scores on the Bi-lingual approach to the issue of Achievement Motivation were more closely related to sex of the Mexican-American students than to degree of language dominance of the students. Sex was the major predictor of achievement motivation.

Perhaps the above findings can be better understood by some awareness of Mexican culture. Medina and Reyes (1976) in their article entitled "On the Dilemmas of Chicana Counselors" offer some insights into Mexican culture. The authors discuss the characteristics that are encouraged in Chicana women: the importance of family honor which includes such sub-myths as "purity" and "virginity" which applies to wives and daughters, never to men or boys. Women are expected to be gentle and mild, intuitive, maternal, self-denying, self-sacrificing and faithful. Spanish speaking women have been reared in the tradition that only men are "professionals" and have the power of authority. Chicana women in a counseling or therapy situation want to be told by a male counselor in an

authoritarian manner what to do. Autonomy and freedom of choice are not even issues dreamed of.

Early socialization for the Mexican American woman is to be "other directed". Typically, they are the product of a culture that defines the value of a woman only in her roles as wife or other. In the eyes of their culture, some highly intelligent women are doomed to failure because instead of being housewives and mothers, their interests lie in abstract knowledge in filling the bright and creative role usually reserved to white males.

Werbin and Hynes (1975) in an article entitled "Transference and Culture In a Latino Therapy Group", discuss cultural characteristics shared by their group members (out patients, heterogeneous diagnoses, heterogeneous Hispanic cultures from Central and South American countries). Pervasive in the group was the shared belief in Fatalism, the belief that one's destiny is determined exclusively by external powers. Latin American culture(s) teaches its people to accept fate passively and learn to adjust. The "good woman" was supposed to put up with poverty, many children and an abusive and alcoholic husband. A desire for leisure had to be curbed. Only "bad women" went out by them-

selves. A good woman never leaves the children behind.

Any small victories of assertion achieved at home were often attributed by relatives to "something that the doctors (therapists) are doing to you at the clinic". Family attitudes contributed to their feeling that there was an enormous gap between their weakness and the strength of their therapists (doctors). The therapists had to be extremely supportive and use a great deal of positive reinforcement to convey awareness to the women of their own capacity to change some of their life patterns.

The group members commonly used a phrase "Si Dios quire" (God willing) and often regressed, as seen by an increase in somatic complaints and becoming overly anxious when they received a counter reinforcement from the local priest who told them to "bear your cross", endure suffering and accept fate. Often magic, in the form of mediums or spiritual healers were the only resource available to the members for their various unbearable situations. Again, the women learn an orientation to life that stresses that control is external and not within the individual's power to modify. Also, a self-effacing role defines a

woman's cultural script in Latin America.

Montijo (1975) in his article entitled "The Puerto Rican Client" adds weight to the preceding views. He states that female patients can be expected to come in showing a "martyr" image, while accepting their inferior social role at face value. They may evidence conflicts surrounding sado-masochism, dominance, and dependency needs, and strong guilt feelings attached to aggressive and sexual behavior. Somatization is not unusual and in serious conditions, depersonalization, fugue states, and amnesia may be present. They will shrink from assuming responsibility for their symptoms: they are not responsible; externalization is common. Many Puerto Ricans believe in luck, fate and chance. Things, good or bad happen to them. They do not make things happen. They are innocent. Any attempt to explore motivation and wishes at the unconscious level (particularly in therapy or counseling) will be resisted as a criticism. The therapist becomes a judge and the client/patient the defendant.

Puerto Ricans are very concerned about verguenza (shame) and structure their lives in what personality

theorists would view as an effort for the preservation and enhancement of the social self. To Puerto Ricans there is no such thing as unconscious motivation. Admission of actions outside of consciousness is related to loss of control, for which one also does not assume responsibility.

This author hypothesizes that the more a Hispanic woman believes the above cultural definitions of a Hispanic woman, the more Fear of Success she will have. Since this study deals with college women who are achievers, the author intends to explore how the Fear of Success expresses itself in achieving Hispanic College women.

This author hypothesizes that there is a relationship between FOS and ethnic-gender role for Hispanic women. Tresemer's Theory of Boundary-Maintenance (1977) is a case in point. He states that threats for deviance from expectation in social role are powerful and avoided by conformity. Hispanic women are encouraged by every segment of their society to be passive, indirect and other directed, in general, traditional. Their social position is that of second class citizens to men. Their role is in strict dichotomy to that of men. To transgress brings negative

sanction from other women, from men, from the Catholic Church and can lead to emotional ostracism. Such subsequent activity is usually enough to contain any expression of role change. Shuster (1955) adds to this hypothesis by stating that success is associated with asserting oneself and being exposed to the possible consequences of punishment and retaliation of others. This can easily occur when Hispanic women attempt such role change.

Gumpert et al (1977) write of FOS being engendered prior to the Oedipal stage when a child is striving toward achievement and independence. These qualities are strongly discouraged in Hispanic females who have a very rigid sex role definition. For a child to achieve individuation and separation successfully, she must experience security and support for her increasing self-expression and mastery. This does not occur in Hispanic culture for the females but is characteristically reserved for the males.

The parents have learned the cultural definitions of appropriate, acceptable behavior for Hispanic female children and unconsciously as well as consciously adhere to those principles in their childrearing. In all sincerity, they are doing what they have learned

is "best" for the child so she will be a "successful" female adult, and that is defined as a housewife and mother.

Sullivan (1953) correctly saw FOS as originating in the mother-child interaction. While there are other powerful instructors in a culture (for example, fathers, school, history, other family members, government, religious institutions, politics to name some), certainly for a Hispanic girl her mother is her role model and greatest teacher. A mother can communicate to her daughter her feelings about the child's behavior and she soon learns what is acceptable and rewarded and what is unacceptable and discouraged. The daughter learns to avoid, disguise or sabotage those behaviors that displease mother because such displeasure is anxiety provoking to the child.

Freud, Horney and Sullivan agree that success fearing people occupy a low power position and low status position in relation to the people who are important in the induction of FOS. Certainly Hispanic female children are in both low power and low status positions with their parents and society at large.

Gumpert et al (1977) add that people who fear success have a low self-evaluation, a tendency to

externalize both the motivation to succeed by seeing it as raised by external requirements rather than by internal desires, and tendency to externalize the cause of success when it occurs by seeing it as due to luck, or as a result of the help of others, rather than as being consequent to one's own competence and effort. Hispanic culture very much lends itself to these hypotheses. Hispanic women are raised to have low self evaluation on the basis of their being women and therefore second class. The culture encourages externalization of motives and of success or failure since the culture strongly believes in "Fatalism" or one's fate being out of one's control and up to luck or fate.

Horney (1936, 1937) writes that the important concerns of a culture are usually reflected in its families and other socialization institutions. The manifestations of the conflict, in this case the female child's separation-individuation, will likely involve competition about whether the child or the parent will be in control of the child's behavior. In Hispanic culture, the parents typically overcontrol the children since docility, respect toward elders, and passivity are highly desired behaviors for the

females especially. In a study conducted by Gumpert et al (1978) with fourth through sixth grade children, the researchers found that those children who were success fearers had more intrusive parents than the other children. The parents of the former group participated more actively in tasks that their children were supposed to perform alone. Moreover, they spoke more to their children than the parents of the children who did not fear success. The intrusiveness of the parents could have given the success fearing children the impression that the parent was not altogether comfortable with their attempts to do well alone. This is characteristic behavior from Hispanic parents in particular with their daughters. Oversolicitousness, and overprotectiveness are often seen on the part of the parents toward their daughters.

Horner (1968) hypothesized that repression of aggression is an early gender role socialization for all women. This is perhaps more strikingly true with Hispanic women. Achievement behavior requires competitive behavior which is a "sublimated" form of aggressive behavior; it is negatively sanctioned for Hispanic women as "unfeminine" therefore success is negatively sanctioned for Hispanic women as unfeminine.

This conflict leads to anxiety and avoidance behavior in situations involving the particular success.

Porjesz (1974) expanded the theory of MAS by stating that MAS is a more generalized non-situational fear of independence and responsibility, with the underlying anxiety associated with loss of love and security. MAS for Porjesz is a conflict over autonomy. Torres-Matrullo states that Hispanic culture very early inhibits aggression and autonomy as part of socialization (1976). Hispanic females according to Torres-Matrullo, are taught that their particular role is to be lacking in leadership, overly emotional and intellectually inferior. Taken together, the powerful interface between MAS and Hispanic socialization for females is clear. Hispanic women are trained to believe that they cannot be autonomous, independent and responsible to and for themselves. They are threatened with loss of love and security to transgress these boundaries.

Role incongruence also operates and can encourage psychological conflicts for Hispanic women. It may be difficult to integrate passivity in the role of wife and mother and assertiveness that is often called for in one's academic or vocational role.

There is also the genuine external political reality that is often overlooked. For Hispanic women, a patriarchal society that has often as its basis a dictatorship or non democratic rule by a power that is often external to the culture (for example, U.S. influence in much of Latin America) is repressive and lacking in empathy for the role of women in particular.

Gumpert et al (1978) conclude that FOS most basically is an interpersonal problem. The person's relationships with others are really at stake. Hispanic women are socialized to be other directed (valued in their roles as nurturing wife or mother) rather than self directed. As a result, their relationships with others are in an especially precarious position when they dare not follow role prescriptions. This is unlike more autonomous people who can withstand the disapproval of others and even their rejection when they make choices they firmly believe in. Since men in Hispanic culture are the major decision makers and have authority over women there is consequently engendered a FOS when women have aspirations beyond their traditional roles. Hispanic culture does not value achievement behavior for women

(Gray, 1975). Only men have the power of authority and can be professionals (Medina and Reyes, 1976). Finally, a self-effacing role defines a woman's cultural script in Latin America (Werbin and Hynes, 1975).

This author concludes that for Hispanic females, FOS is easily more common than for their Anglo American counterparts. Hispanic culture is more rigid in its sex role definitions therefore FOS is more likely to be pervasive and can apply to more areas of functioning. Last, FOS is probably more firmly entrenched in Hispanic culture since the external political, religious, cultural and social environment have more at stake in preserving the status quo of a clear dichotomy between the sexes.

The culture has no experience with direct patterns of communication. Having come from an extended family culture where women were second class citizens and deferred to the male, indirect communication in a passive aggressive manner was the only way women had some of their demands met. In that way they saved family honor since no direct arguing or confrontation took place that could have brought shame to the family. Also in that manner the male is always

respected.

In conclusion, the values of assertiveness, autonomy and achievement motivation especially for women are discouraged in Hispanic culture. What is encouraged is passivity, helplessness, and the engrained idea that women are inferior to men. This applies particularly to Hispanic women who are exposed to two cultures, that of the traditional home and that of the Anglo American social institutions which make contradictory demands upon them. Anglo American women have less of a dichotomy between their home life and the outside institutions of society. They often have the intellectual, if not emotional support of enlightened men, have won positive changes as a result of government rulings (i.e., jobs, equal opportunity in hiring and promotion, opening up of quota systems in schools of higher education) and a growing acknowledgement of women becoming equals of men and first class citizens. With a knowledge of FOS and some understanding of Hispanic cultural aspects, the author will now turn to the hypotheses and design of the study.

CHAPTER II

HYPOTHESES

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The present study was conducted in order to test the applicability of a paradigm developed in Puder's (1976) study for a Hispanic subject group, and to compare and contrast the similarities and differences with an Anglo American population as well as the differences between the high and low Fear of Success Hispanic subjects. Porjesz's (1974) expanded theory of "the motive to avoid success" in women was utilized. The study focused primarily on the horizontal expansion of Horner's theory (1968), and therefore examined the relationship between the "motive to avoid success" (MAS) and women's tendency to devalue the achievement competence of other women. The secondary objective focused on the developmental expansion, and therefore examined the relationship between MAS and the maternal work status variable.

The hypotheses derived from the horizontal expansion may be subdivided into two areas; that is, the hypotheses 1,2, and 3, involving the evaluation of competence, and hypothesis 4, involving the evaluation of creativity-expressiveness. The specific hypotheses derived from the horizontal expansion of MAS from these

two areas are stated below:

Rationale for Hypotheses 1-3

When a woman is in the position of evaluating an article, she will identify with the female author. When the article is in a field that elicits MAS, namely in a male-oriented field, the woman with a high level of MAS will project the conflict onto the female author. In order to reduce anxiety associated with the conflict, the woman will subsequently devalue the female author's professional competence.

Hypothesis 1. It is expected that high MAS subjects will have a tendency to devalue the achievement competence of female authors significantly more than male authors when the professional field of the article is associated with men.

It is hypothesized that Hispanic women high in MAS will devalue the professional competence of a female author in a male-oriented field significantly more than their white counterparts. The rationale for this is that Hispanic women are socialized to believe that only men are professional and authority figures.

Hypothesis 1a. (corollary) It is expected that high MAS Hispanic subjects will have a tendency to devalue the achievement competence of female authors

significantly more than male authors when the professional field of the article is associated with men. Furthermore, it is expected that high MAS Hispanic subjects will devalue these same authors significantly more than will high MAS white subjects.

A woman who has a low level of MAS will also identify with the female author, but because there is little or no anxiety aroused, MAS will not be projected onto the female author. Therefore, in contrast with the woman with a high level of MAS, for the woman with a low level of MAS there will be little or no subsequent devaluation of the female author's professional competence.

Hypothesis 2. It is expected that low MAS subjects will have a tendency to devalue the achievement competence of female authors when the professional field is one associated with men, significantly less than the high MAS subjects.

The same is expected of low MAS Hispanic subjects: that MAS will not be projected onto the female authors. Therefore, little or no devaluation of the female author's competence will occur.

Hypothesis 2a (corollary). It is expected that low MAS Hispanic subjects will have a tendency to

devalue the achievement competence of female authors when the professional field is one associated with men, significantly less than the high MAS subjects.

If the field of an article does not elicit MAS, namely when the field is one reserved for women where the achievement fulfills the gratification of affiliative needs, there will be no projection of MAS and therefore little or no subsequent devaluation.

Hypothesis 3. It is expected that high MAS subjects will have a tendency to devalue the achievement competence of female authors significantly less when the field of the article is one associated with women as compared to articles in which the field is associated with men.

The same is expected to apply for low MAS Hispanic subjects: if the field of the article does not elicit MAS, namely when the field is one reserved for women where the achievement fulfills the gratification of affiliative needs, there will be no projection of MAS and therefore little or no subsequent devaluation.

Hypothesis 3a (corollary). It is expected that high MAS Hispanic subjects will have a tendency to devalue the achievement competence of female authors significantly less when the field of the article is one

associated with women as compared to articles in which the field is associated with men.

Although these three hypotheses are stated separately, they are actually interrelated. The general prediction is that the high MAS subjects are expected to devalue the female authors in male fields more than any of the other ratings given to either the male authors in male fields or the female authors in female fields. The same is expected for high MAS Hispanic subjects. In addition, it is expected that their devaluation of female authors in male fields will be significantly greater than that of their high MAS white counterparts.

It is also expected that the high MAS subjects are expected to devalue the female authors in male fields more than the low MAS subjects' ratings of female authors in male fields. The same is expected of the Hispanic subjects: that high MAS Hispanic subjects are expected to devalue the female authors in male fields more than the low MAS Hispanic subjects' ratings of female authors in male fields.

Rationale for Null Hypothesis

Rather than postulate a general prejudice, it is expected that a selective pattern of devaluation will

emerge consistent with MAS. Since creativity and expressiveness are traits consistent with the traditional feminine stereotype and do not elicit MAS, it is expected that even in the male fields, the women high in MAS, when rating the female authors on these evaluative dimensions, will not project MAS and therefore no subsequent devaluation will occur.

Null Hypothesis. It is expected that high MAS subjects will not significantly differ from low MAS subjects in their tendency to devalue the creativity and expressiveness of female authors when the professional field is one associated with men.

It is expected that high MAS Hispanic women will differ significantly from low MAS subjects in their tendency to devalue the creativity and expressiveness of female authors when the professional field is one associated with men since Hispanic culture strongly denies women "men's work" and writing in a male field, even if about "feminine" characteristics such as creativity and expressiveness is prohibited.

Null Hypothesis a (ccorollary). It is expected that high MAS Hispanic subjects will significantly differ from low MAS subjects in their tendency to devalue the creativity and expressiveness of female

authors when the professional field is one associated with men. It is expected that this will be true when both low MAS White and Hispanic subjects are compared with high MAS Hispanic subjects.

Rationale for Hypothesis 4

According to the "differential acceptance hypothesis" (French and Lesser, 1964) women who value intellectual attainment and intellectual career orientation, rather than a traditional homemaker role, feel that they must reject the woman's role. The women in this study probably all value intellectual attainment, since they have aspired to and achieved placement on the Dean's List; however, it is possible that the low MAS women are more male-oriented in their sex-role orientation than are the high MAS women. Therefore, it is possible that when a low MAS woman is in the position of evaluating a female author, she may devalue those feminine associated characteristics.

Hypothesis 4. It is expected that low MAS subjects have a tendency to devalue the creativity and expressiveness of female authors when the professional field is one associated with men significantly more than high MAS subjects.

It is expected that this is probably different for

Hispanic low MAS subjects because they may be trying to balance the wishes of their culture as well as achieving some of their own goals. Hispanic culture is still strongly other directed, especially for the women so this author hypothesizes that low MAS Hispanic women will attempt to negotiate the contradictory demands and meet a balance midway.

Hypothesis 4a (corollary). It is expected that low MAS subjects who are Hispanic have a tendency to devalue the creativity and expressiveness of female authors when the professional field is one associated with men significantly less than their white counterparts.

Rationale for Hypothesis 5

Mother's employment outside the home serves the critical function in the developmental process of allowing for a separation. This separation paves the way for the ultimate psychological distance and independence and development of inner psychological resources leading to autonomous achievement motivation. Mother's employment might, in addition, serve as a model for the development of positive attitudes toward female competence. Therefore, mother's employment might serve as a critical variable differentiating among

those high achievement women, those who develop a high or low level of MAS.

Hypothesis 5. It is expected that significantly more high MAS subjects will have non-working mothers than low MAS subjects.

For Hispanic women, this situation might be different. This author hypothesizes that many of the mothers, if they do work, do so because of financial necessity and not necessarily because they enjoy it or wish to work. Therefore, the Hispanic women whose mothers worked outside the home and enjoyed it, regardless of whether or not they chose to work or had to work, would most probably produce daughters who are low in MAS.

Hypothesis 5a (corollary). It is expected that significantly more high MAS Hispanic subjects will have non-working mothers than low (Hispanic or white) MAS subjects. In addition, it is expected that significantly more high MAS Hispanic subjects will have working mothers who do not enjoy their work than low MAS subjects (either Hispanic or white).

Procedure Section

Materials

Goldberg's Articles Test

The test as well as the procedure used were adapted from Mischel's (1974) modification of Goldberg's original test and procedure (1968).

As empirically determined by both Goldberg and Mischel, the two fields most strongly associated with masculine achievement were law and city planning, and education and dietetics were fields found most strongly associated with female achievement.

For any one article, half of the booklets had a male author's first name appearing on the first page of each article. The other half had a matched female authored name, the first name was the only thing that was different. Each booklet had two male and two female authored articles, one from each field.

The order of the authors was counterbalanced so as to make sure that the attribution of authorship was independent of the field of the article. In any one group of subjects, four different sets of booklets were to be distributed such that the counterbalancing of authors was as follows: male, male, female, female; male, female, female, male; female, male, male, female; female, female, male, male. In addition, the order of the articles for each booklet was randomized.

At the end of each article the subjects answer a

set of six evaluative questions. Each author is referred to as simply the author or "him" or "her", that way the test functioned more like a projective tool and the stimuli remained vague. Each question contained five response choices ranging from 1, the most favorable rating, to 5, the least favorable rating. Therefore for each article the subject's score ranged from 6 to 30.

Four of the questions tapped the subject's evaluation of the author's competence; the other two questions tapped the subject's evaluation of the author's creativity and expressiveness. The six questions at the end of each article were the same for each article, except for the author's identity. An example of the revised GAT used in this study can be found in Appendix A.

For each article a subject receives a score ranging from 4 to 20 (from most to least favorable rating) for the questions dealing with the author's competence. In addition, the subject receives a score ranging from 2 to 10 (most to least favorable) for the questions dealing with the author's creativity and expressiveness.

The Motive to Avoid Success Projective Test (MAS test)

Each subject receives a booklet containing the MAS test with standard instructions on the cover sheet. There are three verbal cues within each booklet, each written on a separate page with space for the subjects to write a story. The three ones chosen for this study from the cues available in the manual (Horner, et al., 1973) are stated below:

1. After much work, Anne has finally gotten what she wanted....
2. Joan is looking into her microscope...
3. Carol is walking along the beach late in the day...

Although the scoring manual does not make it explicit that the names of the female subjects in each of the three cues should be different, this investigator followed Puder (1976) who changed the names for each one (rather than have Anne as the only female in each of the three ones) in order to control for possible carry-over from one story to the next.

There were six scoring categories and for each category a numerical weight was given. The total score may be determined by either categorical or continuous scoring and the developers of this test make it clear in their scoring manual that there is no strong evidence on the basis of which method to recommend, but they suggest

that whichever one is chosen should be made explicit. Scores for this study were determined by continuous scoring, that is, scores for the three stories theoretically can be from -6 to +24. This author is replicating Puder's method of scoring for subjects.

The care with which the scoring categories are described in the manual, though perhaps appearing tedious, seems essential for making explicit what criteria are used in the scoring of the thematic content. A full description of the six scoring categories can be found in the manual which is included in Appendix D.

This investigator was one of the raters of the subjects and rated their MAS tests according to the criteria set out in the scoring manual. To determine reliability of the investigator's ratings, another rater was recruited to blindly rate the MAS test of the subjects. This rater was trained by the investigator on a series of scoring examples (hypothetical stories and their correct scores) described in the scoring manual (Appendix D).

Overview

The MAS score, as measured by the newly revised

MAS projective test; all subjects whose scores fall one standard deviation and above from the mean of the sample are classified as high MAS subjects; those subjects whose scores fall minus one standard deviation and below the mean are classified as the low MAS subjects.

The sex-role association of the professional field of the article in the modified Goldberg's Articles Test (GAT): city planning and law are considered masculine, while dietetics and education are considered feminine.

The sex of the author of the article in the GAT: for any one subject, there were four articles, two written by men and two written by women.

The evaluative questions at the end of each article of the GAT were divided into those which were male-oriented in the context of their sex-role stereotype, tapping the competence of the author, and the other set of questions tapping the female sex-role stereotype like creativity and expressiveness. The ratings of these items are the dependent variables in this study.

The maternal work status variable gleaned from the questionnaire is divided into those subjects whose

mothers worked during the following four periods; their early childhood (1-5); their middle childhood (6-12); their adolescence (13-18); and their mother's present work status from those subjects whose mothers did not work during these periods.

Questionnaire

This investigator devised a set of questions for all subjects to answer in addition to the questions already formulated by Puder. Information was obtained about the subject's age, race, religion, marital status, academic achievement, college major and career plans, graduate school plans, as well as attitudes of relatives toward the student's academic and vocational goals. This information was used not only to identify subject, but also to describe the sample. The relevant item in the questionnaire which was used in the analysis of the results was the information concerning their mother's present and past work status. Questions about their mother's employment history were included. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

Subjects

For this study, Hispanic female junior and senior college students who were achieving at a relatively

high level were utilized as subjects. The criteria for high level achievement was the subject's inclusion in the Dean's Honor List at a senior college of the City University of New York.

Specific Research Procedures

This investigator received a copy of the 1978-1979 Dean's Honor List of the senior colleges of the City University of New York. From this list, all names that sounded Hispanic in origin (surnames) were utilized. This investigator obtained the name and telephone number of future subjects. The method of contacting the subjects was to be by telephone. The investigator would contact the subjects as did Puder (1976), introduce the study, secure the subject's cooperation and set up appointments. Each subject was to be told the following:

My name is _____ and I am a doctoral student at City College. I am working on my dissertation which is a study surveying the thinking and feelings of bright college students at City University's Colleges. You were specifically selected. I got your name and phone number from the dean's list in the Honor's Office at your college. I am calling to enlist your help in my study. The focus of my study will be to get your attitudes about several professional articles in different fields and social situations college students might find themselves in. The survey has been constructed to ensure that it takes no longer than an hour of your time.

No names are required, there is no personal interviewing and therefore you are provided complete confidentiality. I will be at your college, room _____ on _____ between the hours of 10:00 a.m. and 4 p.m. Your participation is greatly appreciated, and if you are interested we can schedule an appointment at the start of one of the hours between 10:00 and 4:00.

It is explained to the subjects that because of the nature of the research, further details could not be revealed to her at the time, or for that matter immediately after her participation in the study, but that the investigator would obtain her address at the time of their appointment and would be glad to furnish her with such information and further results of the study after the study had been completed.

Appointments are held in a designated room (provided by the Dean of Students of the schools; at the City College, the room is in the Psychological Center) once a week between the hours of 10:00 and 4:00. The subjects were scheduled to arrive on the hour so that group administration would be possible.

Once the subjects have taken seats and arranged themselves with a pen or pencil, the investigator, prior to the actual administration of the three tasks, thanks the subjects for coming, and explains the general instructions for the study, the content of which is the

same as what was said to each subject over the phone. The subjects are, in addition, informed that no names are to be put on any of the booklets and that a code number consisting of the first three digits and the last four digits of their social security numbers are to be written on the top of each of the booklets.

The Goldberg's Articles Test (GAT) is first distributed and the subjects are told to read the instructions, written on the coversheet of the booklet, to themselves:

In this booklet, you will find excerpts of four articles, written by four different authors in four different professional fields. At the end of each article, you will find several questions which are to be answered before you proceed to the next article. Please write the first evaluation that you think of, don't spend too much time thinking about the questions. You are not assumed to be sophisticated or knowledgeable in all the fields. We are interested in the ability of students to make critical evaluations in the professional literature.

The GAT test is administered first and immediately collected when subjects are finished so that responses would not be affected by the other measures, which might reveal to some subjects the true purpose of the study. Once the subjects finished the GAT test, the Motive to Avoid Success (MAS) test and questionnaire are distributed.

The instructions for the MAS test are written on the coversheet and the subjects are told to read them to themselves;

On these pages, there is a description of an event, your task is to make up as dramatic a story as you can. Tell what led up to the event, describe what is happening at the moment, what the person involved is feeling and thinking and give the outcome. You have four minutes for each story.

The subjects are timed individually from start to finish of the MAS test. They are given 20 seconds to read each cue and four minutes to write each story. When the MAS test is finished, the subjects are asked to proceed to the questionnaire. The subjects are told that when they finish the questionnaire to return both booklets to the investigator. At this time the subjects are thanked again and informed that if they have any questions about the study to leave their names and addresses on a pad of paper the investigator provides. The investigator promises to furnish them more information once the study is complete.

Data Analysis

Hypothesis 1-3 were tested in a 2x2x2 analysis of variance. High and low MAS was treated as a between-subject variable. The other two variables, field of the article and sex of the author of the article, were

treated as within-subject variables. The hypotheses of the study are tested by the significance of the second order interaction (MAS x field x sex of author). The hypotheses do not depend on the significance of main effects or first order interactions. The corollaries to hypotheses 1-3 were tested in a similar manner.

Hypothesis 4 was also tested in a 2x2x2 analysis of variance. High and low MAS was treated as a between-subject variable. Field of article and sex of author were treated as within-subject variables. The hypotheses are tested by the significance of the second order interaction (MAS x field x sex of author). The hypotheses do not depend on the significance of main effects or first order interactions. The corollary to hypothesis 4 was treated in a similar manner.

Hypothesis 5 and its corollary were tested by chi-squares.

RESULTS

The results of this study are presented in terms of the various analyses which were conducted in order to test Porjesz's (1974) horizontal expansion of Horner's MAS theory (1968), specifically formulated in Hypotheses 1-4; and to test the developmental expansion of Horner's theory, specifically formulated in Hypothesis 5. Puder's (1976) results will be contrasted and compared with this author's. Further, several post hoc analyses of demographic variables were undertaken to assess which differentiate between the two MAS Hispanic groups.

Horizontal Expansion

The mean competence ratings of articles in each condition are shown in Table 1. These data were submitted to a 2x2x2 analysis of variance (mixed design). The analysis of variance tested the effect of MAS level (high and low), sex role association of the professional field of the article (male and female), and the sex of the author (male and female) on the competence of the article.

In order to assign high and low MAS scores to the sixty subjects, their responses to Horner's MAS stories were rated according to the scoring manual (see appendix

for examples]. Each subject's MAS score was calculated as an average rating of the two raters. While theoretically, it is possible to achieve scores that range from a low of -6 to a high of +24, these subjects achieved scores of -2 to +6. These results indicate that the subjects scored low to medium low on the MAS. There were no high scorers. In order to dichotomize the data into two distinct groups (low and high MAS), zero was utilized as the median between low (-2 to -1; n=25) and high (0 to +6; n=35) MAS. Discussion of the implications of these findings and the possible reasons why the subjects scored as they did will be discussed in a later section.

Table 1

Mean Ratings Of Competence Of Male And Female Authors Writing In Male And Female Fields.

	Male field		Female field	
	male author	female author	male author	female author
High MAS	14.68	15.22	15.74	15.65
Low MAS	16.08	15.28	16.20	15.68

Note: Higher numbers indicate more devaluation.

The results of the analysis of variance for the competence ratings are the following: the analysis yielded no significant main effects ($F=1.11$, $df=1$, $p<.29$; $F=1.79$, $df=1$, $p<.18$; $F=2.76$, $df=1$, $p<.79$) or interaction effects ($F=.07$, $df=1$, $p<.79$).

The analysis of variance indicates the existence of some systematic effect attributable to the unique combination of two of the three treatment factors, but it does not provide enough information to draw a conclusion as to the significance of the three experimental hypotheses. All subjects gave higher scores to female fields as compared to male fields but this was not significant. This is a first order interaction and indicates a trend only.

As can be observed from Table 2, hypothesis 1 was not confirmed at the .05 level of significance, demonstrating that the high MAS subjects did not devalue the achievement competence of female authors significantly more than male authors when the professional field of the article was one associated with men. Further, since the high MAS Hispanic subjects did not devalue female authors significantly more than high MAS white subjects, corollary hypothesis 1a could not be confirmed.

Puder's subjects responded similarly, and for her study Hypothesis 1 was also not confirmed.

Hypothesis 2 was not confirmed, demonstrating that the low MAS subjects did not significantly differ from the high MAS subjects in their evaluation of the competence of female authors in male fields. Corollary Hypothesis 2 states the same as hypothesis 2 only for Hispanic subjects. For Puder's subjects, Hypothesis 2 was confirmed, demonstrating that her low (White) MAS subjects significantly differed from the high (White) MAS subjects in their evaluation of the competence of female authors in male fields, with the low MAS subjects giving more favorable ratings. Puder (1976) described the possible significance of these results as follows: her low MAS subjects represent "female chauvinists", who seem to tip the scales a bit in favor of women, exhibiting a form of pro-feminine bias and idealization of female competence in traditional masculine pursuits. This effect did not appear to be operating with this investigator's subjects.

Hypothesis 3 was not confirmed in the present study, demonstrating that the high MAS subjects did not devalue the achievement competence of female authors significantly less when the field of the article was one

associated with women as compared to the articles in which the field was associated with men. Although the differences in the cell means were not significant, the differences were in the reverse of the predicted direction: low MAS subjects devalued the achievement competence of female authors more than did high MAS subjects, by assigning lower competency scores to female authors.

Corollary Hypothesis 3 states the same as hypothesis 3 only for Hispanic subjects. Puder's subjects gave results that also failed to confirm Hypothesis 3.

The mean creativity-expressiveness ratings of articles in each condition are shown in Table 2. These data were submitted to a 2x2x2 analysis of variance (mixed design). The analysis of variance tested the effect of MAS level (high and low), sex-role association of the professional field of the article (male and female), and the sex of the author (male and female) on the creativity-expressiveness ratings of the article.

Mean Ratings Of Creativity-Expressiveness Of Male And Female Authors Writing In Male And Female Fields.

	Male field		Female field	
	male author	female author	male author	female author
High MAS	7.17	7.68	7.28	7.51
Low MAS	7.68	7.68	7.56	7.88

Note: higher numbers indicate more devaluation.

The results for the analysis of variance for the creativity-expressiveness ratings are shown in Table 3. As can be observed, the analysis yielded no significant main effects, first order interactions, or second-order interactions. Hypothesis 4, which predicted that low MAS subjects would have a tendency to devalue the creativity-expressiveness of female authors, when the professional field was one associated with men, significantly more than the high MAS subjects, depended on the significance of the second order interactions (MAS x field x sex of author). Inspection of the cell means reveals little or no difference and therefore Hypothesis 4 was not confirmed. Neither was Hypothesis 4 confirmed for Puder's study.

Corollary Hypothesis 4a, which expected that low MAS Hispanic subjects have a tendency to devalue the creativity and expressiveness of female authors when the professional field is one associated with men significantly less than their white counterparts was not confirmed.

Table 3

An Analysis Of Variance Of The Creativity-Expressiveness Ratings As A Function Of MAS Level, Sex Of Field, And Sex Of Author.

Source	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Mean	13325.76200	1	13325.76200	4877.18	0.000
G=Group (low vs. high MAS)	4.76190	1	4.76190	1.74	0.192
Error	158.47142	58	2.73227		
A=Sex of Author	4.11857	1	4.11857	2.11	0.151
AG	0.65191	1	0.65191	0.33	0.565
Error	113.03143	58	1.94882		
F=Sex of Field	0.00190	1	0.00190	0.00	0.973
FG	0.06857	1	0.06857	0.04	0.838
Error	94.43143	58	1.62813		
AF	0.00429	1	0.00429	0.00	0.971
AFG	1.33762	1	1.33762	0.40	0.528
Error	192.14572	58	3.31286		

The Null Hypothesis, predicting that high MAS subjects would not significantly differ from low MAS subjects in their tendency to devalue the creativity-expressiveness of female authors when the professional field is one associated with men, cannot be rejected at the .05 level

of significance.

Null Hypothesis a(corollary): it is expected that high MAS subjects will significantly differ from low MAS subjects in their tendency to devalue the creativity and expressiveness of female authors when the field is one associated with men. It is expected that this will be true when both low MAS White and Hispanic subjects are compared with high MAS Hispanic subjects. Neither part one nor part two of the Null Hypothesis a(corollary) was confirmed.

Developmental Expansion

Hypothesis 5, which predicted that high MAS subjects would have a more significant tendency to have non-working mothers than low MAS subjects, was tested by chi-square tests of association for four periods. A chi-square was done in order to test whether there were any significant differences between the two MAS groups on the maternal work status variable for the age periods 1-5, 6-12, 13-18, and present. The chi-square revealed no significant differences. There existed for Puder partial confirmation of this hypothesis: (her) high MAS subjects have significantly fewer mothers who worked during their (the white high MAS subjects) ages from 6-12 than her low MAS subjects.

Puder (1976) hypothesizes that what is special about the years 6-12 is that those years are the middle years of childhood beginning with a child's entrance into school. This period is referred to as the "latency period", and also the time when the superego is formed. In addition, separation-individuation from the mother takes place. It is during latency when achievement and work-related issues are foremost in the child's experience. It is for these reasons that Puder hypothesized why her low MAS subjects differed significantly from her high MAS subjects on this issue. This factor did not appear to be operating in the subjects utilized in the present study.

Corollary Hypothesis 5a, comparing the subjects of this study with the white subjects in Puder's study stated that it is expected that significantly more high MAS Hispanic subjects will have non-working mothers than low Hispanic or white MAS subjects. This hypothesis was not supported. In addition, hypothesis 5a (corollary) also predicted that significantly more high MAS Hispanic subjects will have working mothers who do not enjoy their work than low MAS subjects, either Hispanic or white. This hypothesis could not be demonstrated. High MAS

Hispanic subjects had mothers who enjoyed their work as did the mothers of low MAS Hispanic subjects.

Post Hoc Analyses

Although there were no specific hypotheses at the onset of the study concerning the relationships between MAS level and several demographic variables, some analyses of these variables have been done in order to investigate whether they discriminate between the high and low MAS groups. In addition, the sex role career orientation of the subjects (vis a vis, academic majors, occupational goals, etc.) was individually then conjointly rated by the two raters.

Puder found significant differences in the sex role career orientation of her high and low MAS subjects. Her high MAS subjects had a significantly higher tendency toward female-oriented sex role career orientation than did her low MAS subjects. This was the only demographic variable in which Puder found significant differences.

This investigator found no significant differences between the low and high (Hispanic) MAS groups for sex role career orientation. In fact, the subjects proved to be very homogeneous. There were no discriminating variables between the low MAS and high MAS subjects. As no subject scored high in the motive to avoid success,

but was in reality low or medium low in MAS, this investigator was curious to learn what were the characteristics of the subjects in the two groups.

Non-Discriminating Demographic Variables

Graduate School Plans. The investigator was interested in whether there would be any significant differences between the high and low MAS groups in terms of their graduate school plans. Table 4 shows the data arranged in a contingency table.

Table 4

CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR THE CHI-SQUARE TEST FOR
MAS LEVEL AND GRADUATE SCHOOL PLANS

	MAS Level	
	Low	High
Yes	14	21
No	10	12

Note: 57 out of 60 subjects plan to attend graduate school.

The obtained chi-squares for the data was not significant ($X^2=0.896$, $p>.05$).

Of those in the high MAS group who plan to attend graduate school, 62.1% intend to obtain their master's degree and 18.2% intend to obtain their doctoral degree. Of those in the low MAS group who plan to attend graduate school, 78.6% plan to obtain their master's degree and 21.4% intend to obtain their doctoral degree. MD degrees and law degrees were placed in the doctoral degree

category in order to simplify. There were no significant differences between the MAS groups in terms of the types of graduate degrees sought.

Religion. There were no significant religious differences between the two MAS groups.

Age, Academic Achievement and Marital Status. The age of subjects did not appear to discriminate between the two MAS groups (mean of high MAS = 27.6; mean of low MAS = 27.8).

The reported grade-point average (GPA) for the two groups also did not appear to discriminate them.

There appeared to be no significant difference between the two MAS groups on the marital status variable, with 51.5% single, 42.4% married and 6.1% divorced in the high MAS group, and 64% single, 24% married and 12% divorced in the low MAS group.

Mother's Educational Level And Occupation Level.

There was no significant difference between the high and low MAS groups for mother's educational level. For the MAS groups, of their mothers who had less than 7 years of school, 34.8% were from the low MAS group; 35.7% were from the high MAS group; of those who had a junior high school education, 8.17% were from the low MAS group while 10.7% were from the high MAS group. Of those who had partial high school training, 4.3% were from the low MAS

group while 3.6% were from the high MAS group. Of those who were high school graduates, 30.4% were from the low MAS group while 39.3% were from the high MAS group. Of those mothers who had partial college training, 13.0% came from the low MAS group while 3.6% came from the high MAS group. Of those mothers who had completed a standard college or university bachelor's degree education, 8.7% came from the low MAS group while 3.6% came from the high MAS group. None of the low MAS and 3.6% of the high MAS subjects' mothers had graduate school training. This breakdown into seven categories is from the Hollingshead education scale. See Appendix for the scale. The majority of mothers of both high and low MAS subjects were either high school graduates (35.3%) or had less than seven years education (35.3%).

There was no significant difference between the high and low MAS groups for mother's occupational level. See Hollingshead's Occupation scale in the Appendix for a description of the seven categories utilized.

Father's Educational Level And Occupational Level.

Father's educational, like mother's educational level, did not significantly differentiate between the two MAS groups. For the MAS groups, of the fathers who had less than 7 years of school, 39.1% were fathers of low MAS scores while 32.4% were fathers of high MAS scorers; 13.0% of low MAS

scorers and 11.8% of high MAS scorers had fathers who had a junior high school education; 17.4% of low MAS scorers and 11.8% of high MAS scorers had fathers who had partial high school training; 21.75% of low MAS scorers and 26.5% of high MAS scorers had fathers who were high school graduates; 0.0% of low MAS scorers and 2.9% of high MAS scorers had fathers with partial college training; 8.7% of low MAS and 14.7% of high MAS scorers had fathers with a bachelor's degree education; neither low nor high MAS scorers had fathers who had graduate school professional training. Again, the majority of fathers of both high and low MAS subjects were either high school graduates (24.6%) or had less than a 7th grade education (35.1%).

There were no significant differences between the high and low MAS groups for father's occupational level.

High School Average. There were no significant differences between the two MAS groups in terms of their high school averages. In the low MAS group, 54.2% of the subjects had an average of A. 45.8% had an average of B. In the high MAS group, 51.4% of the subjects had an average of A, while 48.6% had an average of B.

Father's Age. The average age for the father of the low MAS subjects was 57 years; for the high MAS subject, the father's average age was 54.4 years. There were no

significant differences.

Mother's Age. The average age for the mother of the low MAS subject was 52.7 years; for the high MAS subject, the mother's age was 53.1 years. There were no significant differences.

Number of Siblings. The low MAS subject had an average of 3 siblings; the high MAS subject had an average of 2.4 siblings. There were no significant differences in this variable.

Languages Spoken At Home By Subject. There were no significant differences between the high and low MAS subjects on the variable languages spoken at home: the majority of subjects spoke both Spanish and English at home.

Mother's Work History. Low MAS subjects has mothers who averaged 15.8 years working full time, outside of the home, for pay. High MAS subjects had mothers who averaged 13.5 years working full time, outside of the home, for pay.

Mother's Attitude Toward Work. The majority of mothers worked because they had to but enjoyed it (low MAS = 62.5% felt this way; high MAS = 56.0% felt this way).

Most subjects, both high and low in MAS, when asked how assimilated/aculturated they felt gave scores that indicated that they felt somewhere in the middle. They

responded in the next question that this was the way they wanted to continue to feel. When asked if they felt a dichotomy between their work life and personal life, they stated No: in both the work sphere and their personal (home, social) life, most subjects described themselves as assertive, innovative and independent instead of traditional, very respectful of others' feelings and projecting a low profile. See appendix for sample copy of questionnaire.

The women in this investigator's study, both the high and low MAS scorers had a strong support system from all the important others in their lives. In regard to their desire for a higher education, mothers, fathers, spouses and others (most frequently described as siblings, other relatives, friends) as well as the subjects, fully reinforced and accepted higher education as a goal. The relative who most often inspired/encouraged the women to go toward a higher education was the mother, with the father second (about half as often). Both parents demanded excellence in their occupational and educational endeavors when demands were made upon the subjects. For some subjects (about half), no demands were made upon them. The subjects who had demands made upon them responded to the demands by making them their own, and

thereby internalizing their parents' demands. Mothers, fathers and others as well as the subjects themselves were overwhelmingly accepting in their attitude toward women having careers outside of the home. They were also equally accepting in their attitude toward women being self supporting.

The subjects identified equally with both parents as to who shaped their attitudes about academic and also vocational achievement.

The purpose of this dissertation was to test Porjesz' horizontal and developmental expansion of the motive to avoid success utilizing a Hispanic population. This investigator also wished to contrast and compare the MAS in Hispanic subjects in relation to similar research done with white subjects. A discussion of the findings, the implications of these findings, and tentative directions for future research are presented.

To summarize the results, the Null Hypothesis could not be rejected. The five hypotheses could not be confirmed. Perhaps the most striking finding was that all the subjects scored low to medium low on the fear of success. This particular finding merits discussion. Further, there were several variables which may have confounded the results. These are discussed below.

Instrument bias might have been one factor. The cues (Anne, Joan, Carol) contained Anglicized names. These names did not provide ethnic identification. It is possible that these names had no personal, emotional relevance to the Hispanic subjects and therefore elicited no fear of success. This may not have been a valid instrument as such for this population. There have been other studies done that question the validity

of the FOS/MAS instrument. Horner's early cues (1968) were very specific: "At the end of first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her class in medical school".

Such a cue, when administered to male and female students elicited markedly different responses according to the sex of the subject. According to Tresemer (1977):

It has been found repeatedly that males more often than females wrote cynical, bizarre, pessimistic, hostile and/or joking stories containing violence, death, devaluation of success and achievement and doubt about the worth of sacrifice for success. Females more often wrote stories depicting (fear of) social rejection, loss of femininity, and affiliative loss.

Perhaps what is scored for males as FOS is different from what is scored for females as FOS. FOS as measured may have different psychodynamic significance for males and females. For instance, FOS seems to signify for females fear of affiliative loss, loss of femininity, fear of social rejection. FOS for females may indicate an upset in their shaky sense of autonomy and could be exposing a strong, unconscious dependency need. For males, what FOS seems to signify is doubt about the worth of sacrifice for success, and devaluation of success (when responding to the male cue; responses by men to female

cues frequently elicited derogatory stories, a cross sex story from men may be tapping a male socio-cultural prejudice against women). Perhaps cross culturally there is an additional different psychodynamic significance of the name in the cue for Hispanic women. Quite possibly, the Hispanic subjects were not responsive to the cues because the names lacked a significant cultural identification for them. Marcos and Urcuyo (1979) in their article entitled "Dynamic Psychotherapy With The Bilingual Patient" state that:

The second language is less emotional.
Often the second language is allied
with intellectualization and more
obsessive defenses than the first
language.

This author hypothesizes that cues containing Hispanicized names such as Ana, Juana, Cristina (instead of Anne, Joan, Carol) might provide a truer, less intellectualized approach to the task and perhaps reveal for more subjects a FOS.

Substantial research has been done on the phenomenon of language independence. Marcos and Urcuyo (1979) define language independence as:

a bilingual's capacity to acquire,
maintain and utilize two separate
language codes, each with its own
lexical, syntactic, phonetic, semantic,
and ideational components. Thus, many

bilinguals operate parallel encoding mechanisms, each with its own stream of associations between message words and events in the ideational system.

In the same article, Buxbaum adds:

...for bilingual patients speaking in the secondarily acquired language means avoiding the language of their key fantasies and memories, and enables them to detach themselves from significant psychic traumata.

In the same article, Greenson adds that the original language is the pregenital tongue and the bearer of important unresolved conflicts. According to Greenson, the second language can afford the patient an opportunity to build up a defensive system against the infantile life.

As the majority of the subjects in this investigator's study were bilingual in Spanish and English, it is likely that the names Ana, Juana and Cristina would be recognized as names from their first and earlier language, Spanish. One possibility then would be to present the essays to the subjects in English with Hispanicized names (After much work, Ana has finally gotten what she wanted.. Juana is looking into her microscope... Cristina is walking along the beach late in the day...) in the event that the bilinguals do not write Spanish as fluently as they speak. This is often the case with people long in a

country where their second language is the language usually spoken, as in the United States.

The introduction of Hispanicized names in the cues may be sufficient to trigger early unconscious associations, memories, experiences for the subjects and they might respond more openly. Certainly, a future study should have both types of cues, (Hispanicized and Anglicized), half of the subjects assigned one language cue and the other half of the subjects assigned the other language cue to test to see if significantly different trends result.

It is possible that females high in the FOS excluded themselves from this investigator's study by refusing to participate. Over one hundred and fifty Hispanic Dean's List junior and senior classwomen were solicited from the senior colleges of the C.U.N.Y. Only sixty subjects actually participated in the study. While none were informed that the study dealt with FOS, the subjects were told that the investigator was doing research on the attitudes of bright, achieving college students.

In addition, those most threatened by female competence may have excluded themselves (by refusing to participate in the study) once they heard the female investigator on the telephone when she made her initial inquiry. A female investigator, for women with FOS may

have elicited anxiety about the subject's own conflicting achievement and success issues. These feelings might never be raised by a male investigator's request since it is less likely that a female with FOS will identify with a male investigator. It is possible that the fantasy of the nature of the study was threatening to some subjects. While the following is highly speculative and cannot be confirmed, this investigator hypothesizes that perhaps some subjects who refused to participate in the study were fearful of confronting unresolved issues, possible related to implications about where they are in their college career.

Also as discussed earlier in this dissertation, the Women's Liberation Movement has had a profound impact upon women. It could be that in 1979, when this study was conducted, there was a greater awareness and self-consciousness on the part of women to redefine attitudes concerning women and work. The subjects in this study may have responded from this frame of reference when constructing their stories for this study.

Let us now look more closely at the subjects in this study. As mentioned in the Results section, this was a skewed sample, a very homogeneous group. The subjects were on the average twenty seven years of age, already

more mature in years than Puder's subjects. They had very strong support for their academic and vocational endeavors from all significant others (parents, spouses, other relatives, friends) and were predominantly from the lower class when measured by parents' education and career background. In addition, they were frequently the first generation in college.

Many interesting hypotheses occurred to this investigator as a result of the "typical subject" characteristics. First of all, being on the Dean's List may have a different meaning for Hispanic women than for white women. It could signify a special attainment, an outstanding accomplishment to a first generation Hispanic female college student. It may not be so special to a woman from the mainstream culture where it is already a more acceptable, common occurrence.

Frazier (1962) wrote of the differences between middle class and lower class Black women and their attitudes toward Black women and their achievement:

Since middle class life is generally more male dominated and family life more stable, it is reasonable to expect that the Black middle class college woman will be less dominant and striving than her lower class counterpart.

This author hypothesizes a similar trend with

Hispanic women, namely that the lower class Hispanic female is probably more dominant and striving than her middle class counterpart. This may be a contributing factor to the absence of a FOS in this particular subject sample.

Hoffman (1972) states:

White, middle class women believe that top academic success is likely to have negative consequences. They are taught this from early childhood and this belief is maintained by observing the reality of the lack of women in top positions throughout their lives.

This adds credence to the hypothesis that lower class women have less to lose since they have less at stake to begin with.

The attitudes of Hispanic women and the lower class Hispanic family in particular may be changing. In an article entitled "The Semantic Differential: A Tri-Ethnic Comparison Of Sex And Familial Concepts", Garcia and Martinez (1979) noted that the responses of female Mexican participants did not coincide with the socially defined sex role stereotype of femininity. The Mexican female participants perceived themselves as strong, faster, active, successful and tenacious. The subjects in this current study most likely did not conceive of themselves in the socially defined sex role stereotypes

either.

In an excerpt from "Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future" (1976) the authors write:

Despite this prevailing non college orientation, however, many low income Puerto Rican parents will "sacrifice tremendously" to obtain for their children the highest possible degree of education. They have learned that social and economic mobility depends heavily upon academic credentials. The Puerto Rican student who graduates from high school tends to be very "hardy" and "fiercely determined to enter into the mainstream of American Society". (p. 126)

Summer and Kiesler (1974) in their article "Those who are number two try harder: the effect of sex on attributions of causality", summarize their findings. The authors found that their female participants, often referred to as the second sex, try harder. This is similar in concept to the advertising that Avis-Rent-A-Car Makes: "At Avis, we're #2. We try harder". This author hypothesizes that Hispanic women try harder still since they have two strikes against them: sex and minority status ethnically.

This author offers the hypothesis that perhaps what these particular Hispanic subjects had was not a fear of

success but a fear of failure. While a fear of failure for the most part leads to avoidance of a threatening situation in one way or another, it can at times lead to aggressive success striving (Tresemer, 1977). All these subjects had familial support and most probably an accompanying familial pressure as well to succeed, perhaps to be a good example of the culture as well as to improve the family's situation. These women were Pioneers. This combination may have made a fear of success a luxury they could ill afford. Instead, they probably feared failing and disappointing all those who were rooting for them to succeed.

Experimenter bias may also have been a confounding variable. The experimenter, by her physiogamy as well as by her last name was obviously recognized as a Hispanic. The subjects knew she was a doctoral candidate (by the introduction on the telephone) therefore the fact that she was a high achieving female was established. In addition, at times it was necessary for the investigator to show some warmth and encouragement in order to increase the motivation of some subjects to participate. Puder (1976) had a similar experience and notes:

The investigator not only

presented herself as an achieving woman going for a doctoral degree, but she indirectly presented herself as a warm and accepting person. It is speculated that the presence of a competent and warm female model during the testing situation might have reduced any anxiety stemming from the affiliative-achievement conflict that might be present in some of the women.

The group administration of the testing, where a female Hispanic investigator gave the questionnaire to Hispanic females only may have triggered either consciously or unconsciously in the minds of the subjects the true purpose of the experiment. This is particularly striking in a coeducational school that is multi-ethnic.

Further research can take these variables into consideration and test their possible effects. This investigator suggests that a Hispanic male and a Hispanic female investigator administer the questionnaires with each of the investigators giving half the subjects the study. Males as well as females should be given the study in a group setting. Lastly, non Dean's List women could be studied to see if they have a fear of success. Subjects with low, medium and high grade point averages could be compared. A FOS may be present in a mid range where success is neither assured (as is likely the case

with the high achievers) nor impossible (as is likely the case with the lowest achievement group) but at the tantalizing limit of one's reach (Tresemer, 1977).

A possible psychodynamic interpretation of the findings in the present study is suggested in the Dynes, Clarke and Dinity (1956) article entitled: "Levels of Occupational Aspiration: Some Aspects of Family Experience as a Variable". The authors suggest that high aspiration and unsatisfactory interpersonal relations in early childhood go hand in hand and result sometimes in a neurotic need for success and achievement. The authors note:

Much of the psychoanalytic literature suggests that unsatisfactory interpersonal relations in early childhood produce insecurity which is translated into neurotic striving for power, recognition and success (aspiration as measured by Reisman's scale). High aspirers frequently report 1) feelings of parental rejection, 2) demonstration of favoritism to some child in the family, 3) less attachment to parents, 4) lesser degree of childhood happiness, and 5) other indices of unsatisfactory interpersonal relations.

These speculations point to behavior that is often covert and subtle. The relationship holds more for interpersonal factors than for overt parental pressures. Again, we must note that what is being considered is on a neurotic and not particularly severe level. It is

possible that the particular subjects in this present study did strive for power, recognition, and success. They are females which already places them in a second class position in relation to males. This could be further aggravated by the position female children occupy in Hispanic families which is even more extreme in its devaluation of females than North American culture which is at present more "enlightened". The subjects in this study were in addition to being female and Hispanic, of lower class origins in a country where they are minorities, and not the majority as in their country of origin. Those additional statuses which are detrimental to one's mental health (being lower class and a minority) perhaps combined with others experiences at present not known by this author had a paradoxical effect upon these women to forge ahead and not be overcome by circumstances. Certainly an in depth interview study of several highly achieving Hispanic women perhaps similar in scope and format to Porjesz' 1974 study would be particularly elucidating. Such a study would help to further understand Hispanic females with a fear of success as well as those without one. Such a study might help to better understand the separation-individuation issues as well as autonomy

issues of Hispanic females and how they might differ from the mainstream society. Such knowledge could be very helpful in psychotherapy with a Hispanic population.

There are valid criticisms of the FOS/MAS studies. Tresemer (1977) notes an almost total lack of studies exploring race and class differences in FOS studies. Tresemer analyzed FOS data for white college men and women of the middle class; Horner analyzed FOS data for white and black college men and women, again of the middle class. There are no studies prior to this investigator's on FOS in Hispanics.

In his book Fear of Success, Tresemer (1977) notes that in no study was need for achievement studied. Both Tresemer and Alper (1974) comment on the non-replicability of follow up studies. Tresemer states that:

...replicating the experiment should yield coming up with the same results. When these results fail to appear a second time, or if the results appear to suggest the reverse of the originally demonstrated truth, what then?

Tresemer adds that so far, no unitary construct for FOS has emerged that measures a personality variable which can predict future behavior. We must distinguish between need achievement and actual achievement. He also

adds that we must simply consider the possibility that the "FOS" system is befuddled with stories that do not necessarily imply a "fear" and work to improve it.

Tresemmer (1977) criticizes the FOS research further:

FOS imagery is often taken as an already proven measure of a unitary personality trait. FOS tests are increasingly being used as absolute criteria in themselves, and not as tests in the sense of being predictors of other behavior. Furthermore, the range of behaviors that were measured in the experimental studies was very great, preventing comparisons. In addition, the presented data were often insufficient to estimate the effect size (or even the significance level) for the effects of interest, most often due to the absence of planned comparison tests of hypothesized effects for statistically significant interactions between experimental factors of several levels. (p. 133)

There is the frequent argument that FOS is not different from fear of failure or test anxiety. Tresemmer attempts to differentiate the two constructs, fear of success and fear of failure, as follows:

FOS must be shown to lead to a performance decrement in achievement-oriented competition where success may be an outcome; FOS must not lead to performance decrements in the face of failure.

This differentiation depends on a priori determinants of the Incentives and Expectancies of the experimental or natural situation (Atkinson, 1964). This naturally requires a knowledge of the situational determinants which we do not at present possess. Jackaway and Teevan (1976) state that FOS bears a close relationship to the thematic measure of "Fear of Failure", the Hostile Press scoring system (correlations ranged from .41 to .58 in a study reported by the above authors), and it does not differentiate between pure "FOS" themes and negative antecedent themes. The possible equivalence of FOS, test anxiety and fear of failure means an integration of all these professional literatures- a task barely begun here.

In relation to the correlates of FOS, Tresemer (1977) finds that there is a relatively low degree of interrelatedness between FOS and theoretically important and related variables (age, number of children, drug use, FOS imagery and being in the menstrual cycle, FOS and co-education, cooperation vs. competition, external-internal locus of control, gender role identification, ability, anxiety, and avoidance phenomena).

What Tresemer recommends are studies involving a more complicated set of partial correlations (factors or

clusters) which relate FOS to important constructs while holding constant the variation in still other constructs. He adds that this does not necessitate new studies but further work with secondary data analysis of the usual quantity of unanalyzed material available from competent studies already completed.

In conclusion, it is important to stress the exploratory character of this first empirical investigation with Hispanic subjects of the expanded formulation of MAS. MAS is a complex and fascinating clinical entity. Testing with empirical methods is somewhat limited. Any real evaluation must include rigorous systematized clinical investigation.

APPENDICES

- A. GOLDBERG'S ARTICLES TEST
- B. MOTIVE TO AVOID SUCCESS PROJECTIVE TEST
- C. QUESTIONNAIRE
- D. SCORING MANUAL FOR THE MOTIVE TO AVOID SUCCESS
PROJECTIVE TEST
- E. THE HOLLINGSHEAD OCCUPATION SCALE
- F. THE HOLLINGSHEAD EDUCATION SCALE

INSTRUCTIONS

In this booklet you will find excerpts of four articles, written by four different authors in four different fields. At the end of each article you will find several questions which are to be answered before you proceed to the next article. Please write the first evaluation that you think of, don't spend too much time thinking about the questions. You are not assumed to be sophisticated of knowledgeable in all the fields. We are interested in the ability of students to make critical evaluations of professional literature. Thank you for your cooperation.

Code number
(first three numbers and last four
numbers of your social security
number)

Sex: _____

Readiness for Learning

Pauline L. Conger

What is most important for teaching basic concepts is that the child be helped to pass progressively from concrete thinking to the utilization of more conceptually adequate modes of thought. But it is futile to attempt this by presenting formal explanations based on a logic that is distant from the child's manner of thinking and sterile in its implications for him. Much teaching in mathematics is of this sort. The child learns not to understand mathematical order but rather to apply certain devices or recipes without understanding their significance and connectedness. They are not translated into his way of thinking. Given this inappropriate start, he is easily led to believe that the important thing is for him to be "accurate" -- though accuracy has less to do with mathematics than with computation. Perhaps the most striking example of this type of thing is to be found in the manner in which high school students meet Euclidian geometry for the first time, as a set of axioms and theorems, without having had some experience with simple geometric configurations and intuitive means whereby one deals with them. If the child were earlier given the concepts and strategies in the form of intuitive geometry at a level that he could easily follow, he might be far better able to grasp deeply the meaning of the theorems and axioms to which he is exposed later.

But the intellectual development of the child is no clockwork sequence of events; it also responds to influence from the environment, notably the school environment. Thus instruction in scientific ideas, even at the elementary level, need not follow slavishly the natural course of cognitive development in the child. It can also lead intellectual development by providing challenging but usable opportunities for the child to forge ahead in his development. Experience has shown that it is worth the effort to provide the growing child with problems that tempt him into the next stages of development. In teaching from kindergarten to graduate school, I have been amazed at the intellectual similarity of human beings at all ages, although

children are perhaps more spontaneous, creative and energetic than adults. As far as I am concerned young children learn almost anything faster than adults do if it can be given to them in terms they understand. Giving the material to them in terms they understand, interestingly enough, turns out to involve knowing the mathematics oneself, and the better one knows it, the better it can be taught. It is appropriate that we warn ourselves to be careful of assigning an absolute level of difficulty to any particular topic. When I tell mathematicians that fourth-grade students can go a long way into "set theory" a few of them reply: "of course." Most of them are startled. The latter ones are completely wrong in assuming that "set theory" is intrinsically difficult. Of course it may be that nothing is intrinsically difficult. We just have to wait until the proper point of view and corresponding language for presenting it are revealed. Given particular subject matter or a particular concept, it is easy to ask trivial questions or to lead the child to ask trivial questions. The trick is to find the medium questions that can be answered and that take you somewhere. This is the job of teachers and textbooks. One leads the child by the well-wrought "medium questions" to move more rapidly through the stages of intellectual development, to a deeper understanding of the mathematical, physical, and historical principles. We must know far more about the ways in which this can be done.

Answer the following questions by circling the one response to each question which most clearly reflects your opinion. Work as quickly as you can and answer all questions.

1. How valuable for the professional field would you consider Pauline L. Conger's article to be?
 1. extremely valuable
 2. moderately valuable
 3. some value
 4. little value
 5. no value
2. Based on this article, what would you judge her professional competence to be?
 1. extremely competent
 2. above average competence
 3. average competence
 4. below average competence
 5. incompetent
3. Based on the article, how creative do you feel Pauline L. Conger to be?
 1. extremely creative
 2. above average creativity
 3. average creativity
 4. below average creativity
 5. not creative
4. Based on your reading of this article, what would you guess Pauline L. Conger's status in her field to be?
 1. a leader in the field
 2. important person in the field
 3. average status
 4. less than average status
 5. little or no status in the profession
5. Quite aside from content, how expressive would you judge her writing style to be?
 1. extremely expressive
 2. moderately expressive
 3. some expressiveness
 4. little expressiveness
 5. no expressiveness
6. If you were to assign a grade to her article, what would it be?
 1. A
 2. B
 3. C
 4. D
 5. F

Sense and Nonsense about Nutrition

Steven W. Hamilton

Question: A radio broadcaster says that lack of Vitamin E in the diet of a father before conception may cause abnormalities in his children. Should he take extra vitamin E as a precautionary measure?

Answer: He should not. There is no scientific evidence to support this notion.

I have a thousand such questions in my files. And new ones keep coming in response to a syndicated column I have been writing for the past four years. To my surprise I have found there is little difference between the queries from people of modest schooling and those from college graduates. Indeed, I am beginning to think that the better educated a man is, the greater his skill in summoning up pseudoscience to support the latest food fad.

To be sure, he never uses this term. He takes his delusions seriously, as did our forebears who -- from earliest recorded history -- have attributed magical powers, both good and bad, to food. Sea salt was perhaps the first nutritional myth to gain a commercial foothold in this country. In his delightful book on quackery, Dr. James H. Young reports that a Massachusetts Bay colonist was fined five pounds in 1630 for vending sea water to cure scurvy. Today, although the Food and Drug Administration has brought numerous actions against the purveyors, sea-salt tablets are still widely sold, mainly to elderly people who believe they will restore vigor and cure assorted ailments.

Of course, they can do no such thing. Nor is there any evidence that beets build blood (not even Harvard beets). Fish and celery are not brain foods; and yogurt-- alas-- will not keep one young.

In a few instances, the seemingly uncanny powers of certain foods have been scientifically explained. We now know, for example, that limes or lemons cured scurvy because of their vitamin C content. Rice polishings prevented beriberi by reason of the vitamin B₁, or thiamine they provided. An ancient treatment for goiter was dried

or burned sponge, which is rich in iodine. Sometimes a half-truth or a distorted scientific fact will give rise to a food myth. For example, carrots, as is often said, can be "good for the eyes", but only if you have not been getting sufficient vitamin A for some time. The human body converts carotene, the yellow pigment of carrots, into this vitamin which is needed to form an essential pigment (rhodopsin) of the retina. However, there is also plenty of carotene in green vegetables, where its yellow color is masked by chlorophyll. So green vegetables can be equally good for the eyes.

Will plenty of rare steak make you strong? Certainly it is rich, in good quality protein. But so are fish, eggs, milk -- and overcooked steak. You can get equally strong on a diet of the right cereals and legumes plus a small amount of animal protein to supply certain amino acids which the body cannot get from any other source.

To say all this --as I have been doing for many years in writing and in person -- will not, I know, have an immediate effect on your consumption of carrots or steak. Eating habits are deeply rooted in our nature and culture and it takes a long time to alter our taste or whittle away our prejudices. Most people, in fact, have an extraordinary way of adapting scientific information to their own whims and preconceptions.

A striking example of such perversity was reported a few years ago by Dr. Edward Wellin, an anthropologist of Harvard's Department of Nutrition, after an expedition to Peru. There he studied the maternal and infant feeding practices of the 230 residents of Espinos. He described these villagers, culturally typical of the area, as "neither Indian, Spanish, nor modern Latin American but a mixture of all three". He found them "industrious, dignified, and poor." They had little formal education. But public-health officials, nurses, doctors, and teachers had been carrying on a continuing educational program among them for some years. However, Espinos mothers clung obdurately to their own nutritional myths. They had been told by the health experts, for example, that colostrum-- the secretion of the mother's breasts right after birth-- is a desirable food for the baby because it is high in vitamins and minerals and provides antibodies to help ward off infection. But the women of Espinos believe that

colostrum blocks the milk flow, that it may foul the child's stomach and even kill it. So the mother carefully squeezes the colostrum from her breasts and buries it in the ground.

She is also aware that her diet during pregnancy and lactation influences her health and her child's. Accordingly, she reduces her intake of meat, eggs, fresh fruit, and vegetables while pregnant, and as always, drinks very little milk. Her fare consists of the usual corn, beans, squash, rice, tea, and stews, despite the contrary urging of experts.

Health workers have sung the praises of orange juice and the villagers now accept it as desirable for adults, particularly the sick, and for children of school age. But no mother will give it to a baby, being convinced that an infant who is still on milk should get nothing else.

As to vitamins in general -- public health workers and relatives living in cities have persuaded the villagers that vitamins exist and that they impart substance and vigor to certain foods. However, they interpret and apply this information in their own fashion. They regard vitamins as too "strong" for infants and too "fattening" for pregnant women. Thus they endow all foods known to be very nourishing or fattening with a high vitamin content. One woman explained that although she loved beef and fish-head soup she passed up both during pregnancy "because they had too many vitamins."

Ludicrous as these notions may seem, not a few Americans have equally weird ideas about vitamin pills -- particularly the belief that if you gulp enough of them, you will be adequately nourished. In fact, vitamins are simply catalysts which enable other nutrients to function more effectively. Furthermore -- contrary to popular myth there is no reason to increase your consumption of vitamins as you grow older. They serve primarily to help metabolize food and thus to produce energy and build, maintain, and repair body tissue. Since total food intake diminishes (or should diminish) with the years, the elderly in general have less need for vitamins than younger folk. At any age, whether a given individual needs extra vitamins is a decision for his doctor to make.

In the matters of nutrition, however, all too many Americans prefer to take their counsel from TV commercials, an oracular voice on the radio or a newspaper report on the latest diet fad. A woman's magazine editor recently told me that his readers feel neglected unless he publishes a new diet every other month. "You need some gimmick", he said with a long sigh.

At best, most of these gimmicks are worthless. One of the most ridiculous was the Hay diet of the 1930's, which prompted a lot of people to cut and eat hay fresh from the fields. Actually the diet was the invention of W.H. Hay, M.D., whose gimmick was a prohibition against eating protein and carbohydrates at the same meal. Since many individual foods contain both these components, the injunction is senseless. But though the Hay diet is forgotten, the notion persists that meat and potatoes -- or some other combinations of foods -- is bad for you.

Answer the following questions by circling the one response to each question which most clearly reflects your opinion. Work as quickly as you can and answer all questions.

1. How valuable for the professional field would you consider Steven W. Hamilton's article to be?
 1. extremely valuable
 2. moderately valuable
 3. some value
 4. little value
 5. no value
2. Based on this article what would you judge his professional competence to be?
 1. extremely competent
 2. above average competence
 3. average competence
 4. below average competence
 5. incompetent
3. Based on the article, how creative do you feel Steven W. Hamilton to be?
 1. extremely creative
 2. above average creativity
 3. average creativity
 4. below average creativity
 5. not creative
4. Based on your reading of this article, what would you guess Steven W. Hamilton's status in his field to be?
 1. a leader in the field
 2. important person in the field
 3. average status
 4. less than average status
 5. little or no status in the profession.
5. Quite aside from content, how expressive would you judge his writing style to be?
 1. extremely expressive
 2. moderately expressive
 3. some expressiveness
 4. little expressiveness
 5. no expressiveness
6. If you were to assign a grade to the article, what would it be?
 1. A
 2. B
 3. C
 4. D
 5. F

City Planning and Urban Realities

Henrietta F. Redlich

American intellectuals have begun to rediscover the city. Not since the days of the muckrakers has there been so much interest in local politics and the "Physical" features of the city -- the problems of slums and urban renewal, middle-income housing, the lack of open space, the plight of the downtown business district, and the ever-increasing traffic congestion. The new concern with questions usually relegated to architects and planners has been stimulated especially by two recent changes in city life. The rapid influx of Black and Puerto Rican immigrants has created slums in some neighborhoods where intellectuals live, forcing them to choose between fighting for neighborhood improvement or joining the rest of the middle class in flight. At the same time the post-war projects -- is altering and destroying some favorite intellectual haunts like New York's Greenwich Village and Chicago's Near North Side.

This change has provided new material for one of the basic themes of the ongoing critique of American society-- the destruction of tradition by mass-produced modernity.

The vital neighborhood should be diverse in its use of land and in people who inhabit it. Every district should be a mixture of residences, business, and industry: of old buildings and new; of young people and old; of rich and poor. People want diversity, and in neighborhoods where it exists, they strike roots and participate in community life, thus generating vitality. When diversity is lacking, when neighborhoods are scourged by the great blight of dullness, residents who are free to leave do so, and are replaced by the poverty-stricken, who have no other choice and the areas soon turn into slums.

The most important component of vitality is an abundant streetlife. Neighborhoods that are designed to encourage people to use the streets, or to watch what goes on in them, make desirable quarters for residence, work and play. Moreover, where there is street life, there is little crime,

for the people on the street and in the buildings which overlook it watch and protect each other, thus discouraging criminal acts more efficiently than police patrols.

The abundance of street life is brought about by planning principles which are geometrically opposed to those practiced by orthodox city planners. First, a district must have several functions, so that its buildings and streets are used at all times of the day, and do not (like Wall Street) stand empty in off-hours. The area should be build up densely with structures close to the street and low enough in number of stories to encourage both street life and street watching. Blocks should be short, for corners invite stores, and these bring people out into the streets for shopping and socializing. Sidewalks should be wide enough for pavement socials and children's play; intensive and high-speed automobile traffic should be directed elsewhere, for the automobile frightens away pedestrians. Small parks and playgrounds are desirable, but large open spaces -- especially those intended only for decoration and not for use -- not only deaden a district by separating people from each other but also invite criminals. Buildings should be both old and new, expensive and cheap, for low rents invite diversity in the form of new industries, shops and artists' studios.

Neighborhoods which are designed on the basis of these principles are areas like New York's Greenwich Village and San Francisco's Telegraph Hill (where residences of all types, prices and ages mix with small business, industry and cultural facilities) and low-income ethnic quarters like Boston's North End and Chicago's Back-of-the-Yards district.

The new forms of city building discourage street life, and create only dullness. Highrise apartment buildings, whether in public housing or private luxury flats are standardized, architecturally undistinguished, and institutional in appearance if not operation. They house homogeneous populations, segregating people by income, race, and often age, and isolating them in purely residential quarters. Elevators, and the separation of the building from the street by a moat of useless open space, frustrate maternal supervision of children, thus keeping children off the street.

Often there are no real streets at all. because prime access is by car. Nor is there any reason for people to use the street, for instead of large numbers of small stores fronting on a street, there are shopping centers containing a small number of large stores-- usually chains -- each of which has a monopoly in its line. The small merchant, who watches the street and provides a center for neighborhood communication and social life, is absent here. In such projects, the residents have no place to meet each other, and there is no feeling for their neighbors, and no identification with their area. In luxury buildings, doormen watch the empty streets and discourage the criminal visitor, but in public housing, there is no doorman, and the interior streets and elevators invite rape, theft, and vandalism. Areas like this are blighted by dullness from the start, and are destined to become slums before their time.

The major responsibility for the new forms of city building may be placed on the city planner and on two theories of city forms: Ebenezer Howard low-density Garden City, and Le Corbusier's highrise apartment complex, The Radiant City. The planner is an artist who wants to restructure life by principles applicable only to art. By putting these principles into action, he is methodically destroying the features that produce vitality. His planning theories have also influenced the policy makers, and especially realtors, bankers, and other sources of mortgage funds. As a result, they refuse to lend money to older but still vital areas which are trying to rehabilitate themselves, thus encouraging further deterioration of the structures until they are ripe for slum clearance, redevelopment and projects -- and inevitable dullness.

Answer the following questions by circling the one response to each question which most clearly reflects your opinion. Work as quickly as you can and answer all questions.

1. How valuable for the professional field would you consider Henrietta F. Redlich's article to be?
 1. extremely valuable
 2. moderately valuable
 3. some value
 4. little value
 5. no value

2. Based on this article, what would you judge her professional competence to be?
 1. extremely competent
 2. above average competence
 3. average competence
 4. below average competence
 5. incompetence

3. Based on the article, how creative do you feel Henrietta F. Redlich to be?
 1. extremely creative
 2. above average creativity
 3. average creativity
 4. below average creativity
 5. not creative

4. Based on your reading of this article, what would you guess Henrietta F. Redlich's status in her field to be?
 1. a leader in the field
 2. important person in the field
 3. average status
 4. less than average status
 5. little or no status in the profession

5. Quite aside from content, how expressive would you judge her writing style to be?
 1. extremely expressive
 2. moderately expressive
 3. some expressiveness
 4. little expressiveness
 5. no expressiveness

6. If you were to assign a grade to her article what would it be?
 1. A
 2. B
 3. C
 4. D
 5. F

A Post Mortem of the Eichmann Case

Louis M. Michaels

The majority of legal commentators of the Eichmann case have upheld the right of the State of Israel, in conformity with international law, to try the kidnapped Adolph Eichmann in an Israeli court under an admittedly extra-territorial and retroactive Israeli law. Most writers go no further in the review of the case, considering the legal matter closed upon the determination of legality. But the unfortunate truth appears to be that the legality of the Eichmann case is not derived from the particular compliance of this case with some high and taxing standards of the law, but from the general permissiveness of the applicable international law, under which, apparently, "every independent state has jurisdiction to punish war criminals in its custody regardless of the nationality of the victim, the time it entered the war, or the place where the offense was committed."

Indeed, even some of the commentators who found the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal objectionable on the ground that it penalized political offenses (such as "crime against peace") hitherto not recognized in international law, have not made the same objection to the trial of Eichmann, who was tried and convicted for "crimes against humanity" (of which the "crime against Jews" is a mere particularization) and "war crime" -- both of which have had a longer history and recognition in international law.

The fact that the trial of Eichmann did not constitute a violation of international law, fails to answer completely the question whether Israel's conduct required to meet the growing needs of a world society striving for a greater degree of order and security through more effective standards of world law. As has been providently pointed out, "the important thing is that the trial and judgment shall not only be but appear to be just and fair, and shall contribute to the growth of law among the nations."

The trial of Eichmann complied with only a part of this admonition. It is undeniable that the actual conduct of Eichmann's public trial complied with a high standard

of judicial process and also effectively conveyed this impression to the world community. But while in the long run the case will in most likelihood help fortify the body of international criminal law -- through its reiteration of the Nuremberg principles and the reassertion of individual responsibility -- it has unfortunately left the impression that this result was partially procured through force. Indeed, the illegal force employed in bringing the accused to trial made it unclear in the mind of the world whether it was "force" or whether it was "justice" which had won in the last analysis. The keen observation has been made in this connection that "the cause of law is always poorly served by lawless law enforcement." Clearly, the precedent-setting value of the case, which gives recognition to universally-enforced international criminal penalties, suffers from the fact that Eichmann's apprehension and punishment were not accomplished through judicial process only. In the final analysis, it has been suggested, the trial of Eichmann failed to answer the fear of those who can see the misuse of the name of international law, in future times, by a victorious force which may or may not necessarily be on the side of justice. But what is feared most, indeed, is the impact of lawless law enforcement on our own morality and judicial institutions rather than that it may provide, in the future, an "excuse" or "precedent" for the "wrong" victor who requires little or any such precedent.

Because of the criticism of the Nuremberg trial as one, conducted under the auspices of the victorious powers, it was the hope of many that future international tribunals would be more broadly constituted, in order to alleviate the fear of politically motivated or oriented justice and to lend future judgments wider international scope. Unfortunately, Israel's decision, based on understandable domestic needs, to try Eichmann in its own courts, has not complied with this hope. The absence of an existing international criminal tribunal made it difficult for Israel to do otherwise. Yet it is feared that this unilateral enforcement may considerably weaken the case's role as an effective deterrent against further international criminal behavior.

In bringing the Eichmann case before a domestic rather than an international tribunal, Israel nevertheless acted in accordance with historical practices and may have very

well contributed to the joint-national-international responsibility for the creation and enforcement of international criminal law. The inability or unwillingness of the international community in the past to adopt an international criminal code and to establish an international criminal tribunal must not, indeed, deter individual nations from adopting and reasonably expanding their own internal legal principles, derived from what is already generally acknowledged among nations. Israel's reliance upon the principle of Nuremberg and the Genocide Convention as authority for its own law may serve as a prime example of a healthy cross influence between national and international law. As the observer for the International Commission of Jurists pointed out:

"The Eichmann trial is an illustration of international penal justice. This justice, which is still in the first phases of its development, or what is often called a 'primitive state', is administered mainly by states. A state fulfills this task by applying international law either directly or through its body of laws."

Critics of Nuremberg have argued, and the same argument could be repeated in the Eichmann case, that:

"Before one may expect the creation of an international criminal law as enunciated at Nuremberg it will first be necessary to accept, and to practice without crippling reservations, the principle of compulsory jurisdiction of an international court or agency over states in all their dispute even though these disputes may be claimed to be political in character."

Pleas for an international criminal code and an international criminal tribunal will continue to be made. Whether the code or the tribunal should come first is already subject to disagreement. In response to the claim that without an international criminal code, "real progress in international law can achieve nothing unless there be an international court to apply it." Furthermore, the precedent of the World Court may indicate that international accord could more easily be obtained for the establishment of an international criminal tribunal than for the enactment of a comprehensive international criminal code.

The defects in the Eichmann case, it is hoped, may possibly serve to stress again the need for a permanent international criminal tribunal. The Eichmann case, indeed,

furnished an opportunity for the establishment of an ad hoc tribunal in the Nurenberg tradition, but the opportunity was not seized. It is obvious that the only constant means for preventing future misuse of international law will be through the constitution of such an international tribunal, to act within the confines of the best international judicial traditions, and to supervise the healthy development of an international "criminal" rather than "political" international law. This obviously has not come to pass as yet. In the interim, it is quite likely that the historical facts may tend to justify the position of Justice Jackson that we cannot await a perfect international tribunal or legislature, and that international law must develop, as did the common law, through custom, agreement, and judicial precedent, such as the Nurenberg and Eichmann trials themselves -- despite their defects-- were intended to provide.

Answer the following questions by circling the one response to each question which most clearly reflects your opinion. Work as quickly as you can and answer all questions.

1. How valuable for the professional field would you consider Louis M. Michaels' article to be?
 1. extremely valuable
 2. moderately valuable
 3. some value
 4. little value
 5. no value

2. Based on this article what would you judge his professional competence to be?
 1. extremely competent
 2. above average competence
 3. average competence
 4. below average competence
 5. incompetent

3. Based on the article, how creative do you feel Louis M. Michaels to be?
 1. extremely creative
 2. above average creativity
 3. average creativity
 4. below average creativity
 5. not creative

4. Based on your reading of this article, what would you guess Louis M. Michaels' status in his field to be?
 1. a leader in the field
 2. important person in the field
 3. average status
 4. less than average status
 5. little or no status in the profession

5. Quite aside from content, how expressive would you judge his writing style to be?
 1. extremely expressive
 2. moderately expressive
 3. some expressiveness
 4. little expressiveness
 5. no expressiveness

6. If you were to assign a grade to his article, what would it be?
 1. A
 2. B
 3. C
 4. D
 5. F

CODE NUMBER _____
(First three
numbers and last four numbers
of your social security number)

SEX _____

ON THESE PAGES, THERE IS A DESCRIPTION
OF AN EVENT. YOUR TASK IS TO MAKE UP
AS DRAMATIC A STORY AS YOU CAN. TELL
WHAT LED TO THE EVENT, DESCRIBE WHAT
MIGHT BE HAPPENING AT THE MOMENT, WHAT
THE PERSONS INVOLVED ARE FEELING AND
THINKING AND THEN GIVE THE OUTCOME.
THERE ARE THREE EVENTS ON THE FOLLOWING
PAGES, AND YOUR TASK IS TO WRITE ONE
STORY FOR EACH EVENT. YOU HAVE FOUR
MINUTES FOR EACH STORY.

CAROL IS WALKING ALONG THE BEACH LATE IN THE
DAY.....

JOAN IS LOOKING INTO HER MICROSCOPE_

AFTER MUCH WORK, ANNE HAS FINALLY GOTTEN WHAT
SHE WANTED

QUESTIONNAIRE

134

Code number
 (first 3 numbers
 and last four numbers
 of your social security no.)

Date _____
 1. Age _____ 2. Religion _____
 3. Ethnic Background _____ 4 Marital Status _____
 5. Languages spoken at home (name all) Mar. Single DIV. SEP. WID.
 By self _____ By parents _____ By others _____
 6. Place of Birth _____ Parents' Place of Birth _____

In your family's country of origin (or your own if you are not U.S. born) what socio-economic class were you a member of?

Upper class _____ Middle class _____ Lower (working) class _____

7. High School average _____
 (approximately in numerical values, e.g., A+=95 and above
 A=90-94; B+=85-89; B=80-84; B-=75-79; C+=70-74; D=65-69)

8. Name of College _____

9. Overall Grade Point Average _____
 (approximate in numerical values, e.g., 4.0-A, 3.0-B
 2.0-C, and all the values in between)

What clubs did you belong to in high school? _____

What clubs do you belong to in college? _____

10. When you first entered college, what did you plan to major in? _____
 What was your initial career goal? _____

11. What are you majoring in at present? _____

12. What career plans do you have after graduation? _____

13. Are you planning or have you already applied to graduate school? _____
 If so, in what field? _____

13. (cont'd) For what degree _____

14. Parents: Married _____ Separated _____
 Divorced _____ Widowed _____

15. Father's Age _____ (if deceased, how old were you when he died) _____?

education _____
 Place of birth _____
 type of employment _____

16. Mother's age _____ (if deceased, how old were you when she died _____)

(Did another woman other than your natural mother function as your guardian, for example, a grandmother or a step-mother? _____ If yes, please answer the following questions, but specify whether the answer refers to your natural mother and/or your mother substitute.)

education _____

place of birth _____

Is your mother presently working? _____

If yes, what kind of occupation? _____

Part-time _____ or Full-time _____ Voluntary _____ or Paid _____

Works in the home _____ or Outside of the home _____

Approximate length of time she has been employed in this type of occupation _____

Did your mother work anytime during your childhood and/or adolescence? _____

If yes, did she work during the following ages of your childhood and adolescence?

_____ 1-5 years old If yes, what kind of work _____
 Part-time _____ Full-time _____
 Voluntary _____ Paid _____
 In the home _____ Outside the home _____

_____ 6-12 years old If yes, what kind of work _____
 Part-time _____ Full-time _____
 Voluntary _____ Paid _____
 In the home _____ Outside the home _____

_____ 13-18 years old
 If yes, what kind of work _____
 Part-time _____ Full-time _____
 Voluntary _____ Paid _____
 In the home _____ Outside the home _____

17. If your mother has worked since having children, would you say she generally,

- _____ worked because she had to, but enjoyed it.
 _____ worked because she had to, and did not enjoy it.
 _____ worked because she wanted to, and enjoyed it.
 _____ worked because she wanted to, but did not enjoy it.

18. How many other children are in your family?

Sex

Age

Education

Occupation

19. How acculturated or assimilated do you feel you are in the mainstream Anglo-American, middle class culture? Circle the one number that most fully describes you.

1. Very little- my family's culture, beliefs and socialization are ones I value and practice most.
2. I ascribe to aspects of both cultures but am more comfortable accepting of my family's culture, beliefs and socialization.
3. I ascribe to both equally well.
4. Some of each culture but I am more comfortable with Anglo-American middle class culture, beliefs and socialization.
5. I am close to or fully acculturated or assimilated. My values are almost exclusively if not totally Anglo-American middle class. Very few or no aspects of my family's culture do I maintain or practice.

20. How acculturated to you want to feel?

On a scale of 1 to 5 where one is fully acculturated and five is not at all, please circle the one that best describes your feeling.

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
fully not at all

21. Do you experience or feel a clear dichotomy between your professional (school, work) and your personal life? Is your behavior very different in these two areas of your life? Please circle A or B.

1. In my professional life I am best described as:

A. Very innovative, assertive, independent.

or

B. Very respectful of others' expectations; I am traditionalist; my behavior is low key,

2. In my personal life I am best described as:

A. Very innovative, assertive, independent.

or

B. Very respectful of other's expectations; I am a traditionalist; my behavior is low key.

22. What is your family's reaction to your getting an education that is higher than that which many men get? Which answer below is most descriptive? One choice per family member.

1. Fully reinforce and accept my goal.
 Mother: True or False
 Father: True or False
 Spouse: True or False
 Other: True or False (please specify whom) _____

2. Ambivalent: Feel I may be too educated a woman
 Mother: True or False
 Father: True or False
 Spouse: True or False
 Other: True or False (please specify whom) _____

3. Are not generally in favor of my higher education
 Mother: True or False
 Father: True or False
 Spouse: True or False
 Other: True or False (please specify whom) _____

23. If you changed your original career goal (present one is not initial goal) please circle reason that best applies.

1. My current goal is easier to accomplish.
2. I feel this new choice is more fulfilling.
3. I can get money to enter this field (scholarships, work study, loans, etc.)
4. My family is more accepting of this choice.
5. I feel my original choice was not within my personality/character style.
6. I feel my original choice was not within my intellectual/academic abilities.

24. Who inspired/encouraged you, if anyone, to go to school and get a higher education? Please circle one which best applies.

1. Relative, Which one, ones? _____
2. Friend. Whom? _____ What is sex of friend? _____
3. Teacher _____ Counselor _____
4. Other (please specify whom) _____
5. No one. It was my own choice. _____

An Empirically Derived Scoring System*
for Motive to Avoid Success

SCORING MANUAL

1. SCORING CATEGORIES

In the parentheses below each category are the names of the closest corresponding categories of Horner's original (1968) present-absent scoring system for "fear of success imagery". The prior system was used to tap subjects' expectations about the consequences of highly successful achievement and therefore only very explicit success specific cues were used. E.g. "Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class." This system does not require such specific cues.

Scoring
Weights

A. CONTINGENT NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES +2

B. NON-CONTINGENT NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES +2

For both A and B (negative consequences because of success, negative affect because of success, bizarre, inappropriate, unrealistic or non-adaptive responses to the "success" situation described by the cue).

C. INTERPERSONAL ENGAGEMENT +2

(instrumental activity away from present or future success)

D. RELIEF +1

(any direct expression of conflict about success)

E. ABSENSE OF INSTRUMENTAL ACTIVITY +1

(instrumental activity away from present or future success)

F. ABSENCE OF OTHERS

-2

(opposite of fear of social rejection)

NOTE This is a counter indicative category

*The system presented here is based on data from female subjects only. Verbal cues were used.

SCORING CRITERIA FOR EACH CATEGORY

NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES

To score for negative consequences whether of the contingent or non-contingent category, there must be movement somewhere in the story toward a situation which could be experienced or interpreted as worse than the original situation. The initial state can be positive or neutral (or even slightly negative) but the consequence of movement somewhere within the story or preferably the overall development of the story can be characterized variously as tension-producing or involving failure, loss, frustration, hopelessness, deprivation or disaster.

The movement and/or the negative consequences may involve:

1. Tension: increase in negative affect usually explicitly stated (anxiety, regret, lament...) or being afraid that something might be lost or blocked.

"She has been in the building speaking with Paul.. Paul is my fiance... Why is she smiling so wryly? And why is she so dressed up and acting so confident? I feel tears on my cheek..."

"Sue is late for class. She's trying to find the amoeba on the microscope slide that her instructor has just pointed out. She is shaking and nervous. Suddenly she realizes this is a zoology exam. She had forgotten all about it. How could she? Her instructor is very strict. He wouldn't understand if she tried to explain. She feels panicky.

Note: In this last example, though the movement is minimal, it does progress from bad to worse. Note also that some marginal statements ("late for class," "forgotten... Suddenly realizes... How could she?" "strict... wouldn't understand") could also have been considered as scorable negative consequences. This story, however, also has a clear statement of tension.

2. Deprivation: inability to attain and keep a desired goal, having something one wants taken away, lost or destroyed by any source at all; a recognition that such blocks as natural laws, personal failures, etc. will prevent one from moving toward or attaining a desired goal.

"Sue is looking into her microscope when someone bumps her. Why is it, she thought, every time I try to do an experiment something goes wrong, someone bumps me causing me to break a plate."

"....She feels sad though because everyone is already dead and she will be alone for the rest of her life."

"She is examining a culture in a biology class. Her partners are competing for a contest in school. Because they had done such remarkable work before, they were eligible to enter this contest. They are all anxious for the experiment to turn out right. They know theirs is best. They may win and go to a science fair in Europe. But alas!-- too much confidence, one partner forgot to keep record on his control group."

3. Disaster: acts of God or man take away or ruin something, often appearing as a bizarre and/or sudden ending.

"....they left together in his car-- not noticing Linda's father parked across the lot in his station wagon. He pulled out and followed them. When the teacher noticed, he started to drive quickly to escape. He ran off the road and the two of them died -- together -- as the sun went down on the otherwise tranquil world."

"Sue is a medical technologist. She is looking to see how many white blood cells are on a slide. She has seen millions of them before, but this slide is special. It is a slide from her sister's blood. Her sister has too many cells and has leukemia...."

Notes and Scoring Conventions

1. Negative consequences are scored when they occur for any character in the story, not only the main character.
2. Movement toward increased tension, deprivation, or disaster often occurs quite suddenly and is encapsulated in a single sentence. Frequently it is the very last sentence which gives the story a downward turn, and regardless of what the rest of the story was like, this is enough for scoring negative consequences. For example, this very last sentence of an otherwise positive story: "She dropped the glass and the experiment was ruined." or "Unfortunately he was killed in a plane crash."
3. Descriptive statements of difficulties, blocks, hardships or disasters that merely function to set the stage for the rest of the story are not scored. These generally occur in the first sentence and are followed by improvements in the situation or some more definitive negative consequences.

"Linda is all alone and yes, she is lonely, Today was just a perfect day at the beach and now it has come to an end. The flaming, orange sun slowly sinks behind the ocean. Its bright and brilliant rays shine down upon the water. The sun is going to find peace and rest just like Linda's brother who was killed in Vietnam."

Note: The statement in the first sentence is setting the stage for the rest of the story and, while negative, is not scored as a negative consequence. Note also that it is the final statement of the story that is scored and not the progression of events being described.

4. Things that "get in the way" of instrumental activity such as interruptions, physical blocks and other obstacles in stories where there is no movement are not scored.

"Sue is looking into her microscope, She received it for Christmas a few weeks ago. She finally has time to look at the blood stain she took a few hours ago. She has been interrupted by many people. She sits down and views her slide and is adjusting the lens as her sister enters the room. All she wanted was a little time alone."

5. Situations where there is an explicit statement of someone's involvement with or persistence at an instrumental activity such that the deprivation or displacement of the first person comes about because someone else wants to do the activity are not scored as deprivation. This is especially clear when the activity's function is to satisfy a "need to know" or curiosity goal.

"Carol is looking through a telescope because she is a member of the astronomy class that is on a field trip to a local observatory. Carol is using the telescope because each member of the class is being given a chance to look through the telescope as they have never had the chance to use a telescope of such high magnitude before... Carol is so excited that she doesn't want to stop looking through the telescope. And she will probably have to be told to let someone else have a turn."

"Carol is looking through the telescope. Her younger brother, Teddy, is waiting for a chance to look through it. But, Carol is fascinated by the boy in the window of the house next door. Teddy wants to look at the mountain that is near their house. After waiting 20 minutes, Teddy finally pushes Carol away and get his chance."

6. A number of stories contain numerous fluctuations up and down, and we have termed these "zigzag" stories. If there are several shifts between positive and negative movements so that neither clear negative consequences nor "relief" can be scored with confidence, the story is not scored for negative consequences. The following examples illustrate this oscillation phenomenon:

"Barbara is a freshman. She's tired, liked chem in beginning. Now she's sick of so much lab. Chem has nothing whatsoever to do with her career plans. She had to take chem to fulfill a requirement. Thought she'd do terribly, actually is succeeding quite well, but isn't really working at it. She feels guilty. So she's going back. She'll put in time and appease guilt feelings. She'd just as soon this semester was over with but she doesn't want to go home for summer! She'll put in time, will really accomplish nothing. She doesn't have to work to do well. Is terrifically lazy."

"Anne is happy. Sort of. She is in the lunch-room with lots of people, but doesn't feel them around her. She feels separate. She's happy like usual, but not really because nothing good has happened today. Al didn't speak to her at breakfast. Nobody wants to be with her, help her. She's happy because that's the only way she can go on living. If she's happy about the myriad of wonderful little things, then the big ones don't hurt so much. Al will smile at her at lunch. That won't make any difference. She feels like a pawn, a body to him. He's cold, hard. She wants to help him but can't."

Negative Consequences fall in one of two scoring categories; Contingent and Non-contingent:

A. Contingent Negative Consequences (+2)

When the tension, deprivation or disaster comes about because of something about the character involved:

1. Personal characteristics which must be explicitly stated:

"...In an effort to become popular, Joan took to smoking and drinking extensively. There seemed to be no problem at first, however as time wore on Joan became dependent upon smoking.."
"She has always been clumsy... the key test tube was broken."

2. Actions:

"....She killed herself..."

"Carol, what are you doing. Watch out for the telescope, it's tipping! Crash. The telescope laid shattered on the floor. Carol looked forlornly at the professor and began to cry."

"....She was looking at some cells of a plant, when all of a sudden she lost the focus..."

3. Failure to act (e.g., forgetting):

"....Now she doesn't study much anymore. The next semester Joan flunked out of med school."

"But...alas! -- too much confidence, one partner forgot to keep record on his control group."

"....She bent her head over to see how far away the slide was from the edge. In so doing she forgot that she had left the Bunsen burner on. Her hair was singed a little but she was not hurt otherwise..."

Note: To be contingent, the fault for one's suffering must be one's own.

B. Non-contingent Negative Consequences (+2)

Something that comes about through the impingement of external forces:

1. Accidents and acts of God (floods, earthquakes).
2. Objects or concrete events (time runs out, paper is missing):

"....She feels she has plenty of time. She will sketch the drawings carefully at first, and as time runs out, she will be tense and make more hurried drawings and copy details for her text book."

3. Other forces not explicitly tied to the personal characteristics or the fault of the character on or to whom the negative consequences impinge or occur.

"....Why is it, she thought, everytime I try to do an experiment something goes wrong, someone bumps me causing me to break a plate."

"Sue is looking into her microscope as she watches the tiny organisms moving around. It wasn't long ago when she wouldn't have even known what these were. Now, though, she is a technician and looking at a patient's tissues. She liked Mrs. Smith and was hoping that she wouldn't find what she was now looking at. These tissues were definitely cancerous."

"....Hand in hand they both turn and walk down the beach. Each tries to hold on to this moment. For tomorrow Tom leaves for Vietnam. Linda heads for school. Neither wants the other to leave, each walk silently with nothing to say..."

Note: In the last example, the causes of the unwanted separation are out of their control: the negative consequences for Tom is Linda heads for school; the negative consequences for Linda is Tom leaves for Vietnam.

Notes on Specific Scoring Conventions

- a. If the responsibility for a consequence is mixed by convention it is scored as non-contingent.
- b. "Probably" or "maybe" statements should be scored as if the events happened.

"....Soon Carol's friend will become impatient and maybe even angry because they had to put some money in the telescope."

"Probably it will rain and she won't be able to go."

- c. Do not interpret motives. Score the language actually used in the story. "She ruined the experiment" is an active statement and is scored as contingent. "The experiment was ruined" (without other statements connecting this outcome to an actor) is a passive statement and is scored as non-contingent.

"Joan comes walking into the Soc. Sci. Center looking very pleased. She has been up most of the night writing a paper for history. She had put a great deal of work into it and was confident of a good grade. She reached into her pocketbook for the paper only to find it missing. Retracing her steps, she found the neatly typed paper lying in a mud puddle. Very upset, she returned to the building and found her instructor."

Note: The story does not say "she lost the paper" and is therefore scored as non-contingent negative consequences.

C. Interpersonal Engagement (+2)

Interpersonal engagement is scored when two or more specific persons are clearly involved or occupied with each other in the story. There are two aspects to this engagement: a) it must comprise a major goal in the story -- i.e., an interpersonal or affiliative goal must be as important as an achievement, task or power goal if mentioned; and b) there must be an active concern with this interpersonal goal or activity toward it.

1. Affiliative Goal Orientation

The goal of the story (or one major goal in the story) must explicitly be affiliation with another. It may be either negative or threat-oriented (e.g., dealing with an interpersonal problem) or positive and/or goal oriented (e.g., wanting to become closer to another). Sometimes the existence of these goals is not clearly stated and must be partially inferred.

In the first example below, the major concern of the story is with the relationship between Carol and the teacher. The second example does not have a clear interpersonal goal and even though an interaction occurs, it is in the context of the far more important goal, namely the task at hand. Thus, the first story below is scored for interpersonal engagement, while the second is not. The last three examples involve positive relationships and illustrate how interpersonal goals may be inferred if the hint is strong enough.

"Carol is looking through the telescope. She is in zoology lab. She is late. They're frantic because she forgot... She wants to speak to the professor. He casts her a bad stay-where-you-are look. Is he as mean as he looks? She wonders. I've heard some awful things about him. Never tried speaking with him. Shall I tell him my problem?..."

"Sue is in biology class and she is looking at a slide of bacteria. Sue realizes she must be able to identify correctly every form, or she will flunk the exam. She needs a good mark if she is to continue in the course. Mr. Potter, her professor, has warned her about her need for a good grade, and he feels she can achieve much more than she already has."

"He decides to have a good time tonight and calls his girl friend and makes a date..."

"....She is a biology major at UNH and really enjoys school. Her future ambition is to become a doctor. Mr. Mackle is her professor who is a very kind and extremely intelligent man. He is so willing to spend extra time with any student who needs the help. Sue digs "bio" and I'm sure you can see why!"

"Judy just read a letter from her boy friend-- saying he was coming up to see her this weekend at school... Now they can go to the hockey game, the Mil-Arts Ball and out to dinner with her

parents on Sunday....Now she'll have to pick up the apartment and tell her roommate it's her turn on the couch this weekend. David hadn't been up for three weeks."

If the interpersonal activity of goal attainment is considerably less developed than is achievement, power or task-oriented instrumental activity ("doing" something), the story is not scored for interpersonal engagement. In the first example below, Judy seems much less interested in Jack than in the snow. At least the relationship between them is not the focal point nor the key theme developed in the story. Thus, it is not scored for interpersonal engagement. The second example, on the other hand, contains a number of other processes (making mistakes on the job, living on his own away from parents), but also includes as a major goal the interpersonal relationship between the brother and sister; this example is scored for interpersonal engagement.

"Judy is thinking about the beautiful day she spent yesterday. She remembers how her and Jack went to the mountains and sat and watched the snow come down and cover the trees and ground. She remembered how happy it made her feel when it snowed. She loved the snow. Then she remembered how they went sliding down a hill on a toboggan. This was a great thrill-- to enjoy the new snow."

"Judy received a letter from her brother in California and he is telling her about the first day on the job and how many mistakes he has made. She feels lonely that he has gone out there since he was her only sibling, but felt that he had to start to live on his own away from their parents. He has also invited her to come out and spend some time with him when he gets settled and she is smiling with happiness."

2. Kinds of Activity Scored as Interpersonal Engagement

a. Verbal Mode: "Dialogue":

Sometimes the stories are written in dialogue form, which clearly makes the present interchange of the story conspicuously important. In the following example, even though there are other sorts of actions going on, the interpersonal engagement, especially with Bill, stands out as being of primary importance.

"'Bill, how did you do on your physics test?'
'Oh, about the same as usual, D+; I don't expect to do much better than that. How did you do? You look like you did fantastic'. 'I did. I can't believe it! My first B in physics! You know how bad I've been doing this term with two D's and an F and I pull a B on the last test of the term.' 'How'd you manage that?' 'I finally got up enough nerve to ask the professor for some help, and he got me a private tutor who knew exactly what I was doing wrong.'"

The verbal mode is evidenced in other ways than dialogue-- common verbs showing interpersonal engagement are the following: tell, ask (a question, for a date), say, suggest (what to wear), announce, urge, invite, convey (thoughts), listen, discuss, talk to, call and phone.

b. Non-verbal Mode:

Stories also describe interactions which are non-verbal. Common verbs used are as follows: wait for, come by, pick up, flirt with, approach, meet, join, be with, visit, love, kiss, take (to movies), help, show (appreciation), present, receive (presents), share, settle and make (happy, mad, friends).

Notice and Specifications: It is often difficult to assess just how the common verbs listed above are being used, that is, whether anything specific is being done. Caution must be taken to avoid the cases where these or similar words are used to describe an interchange where there is no interpersonal involvement at all. For example, a teacher may briefly tell a student about an assignment but without a clearer development of interpersonal involvement, the verbal

interaction is not enough to warrant a score in this category (see also the example of teacher's warning above). A helpful rule is that the relationship have some effect on one or both parties, as in the experience of external press. E.g., one of the common father-daughter stories:

"Carol's father had always been interested in astronomy, and consequently he was constantly urging her to share in his interests. She, being 19 years old, felt as though she could use her time more wisely; pleasurably by doing other things of her own interest. However, Carol, being an only child, had not the heart to deny her father's request to gaze at the stars through his telescope. Therefore, she sacrificed a good time for him."

D. Relief (+1)

Relief is scored when a relative tension or deprivation state is suddenly (sometimes magically) alleviated, often in a manner incurring surprise. There must be movement in the story.

"It had been so long that Judy was sick that she became discouraged, pale, and thin. She bore the pain daily, but she occasionally broke down to tears when the pain intensified. Suddenly she walked into our room and sat down in a chair, smiling. 'It's gone,' she said. 'The pain is gone, and I'm healthy again.'"

"The tests were passed back to all in the chemistry class. Joan's paper finally reached her, she was afraid to turn it over, she thought to herself and wondered if she had studied enough. Joan finally got the courage and she turned her paper over. To her amazement, she had gotten an A- on the exam."

Although relief generally occurs at the end of a story, it need not necessarily do so. It may just as well occur earlier in the story as long as a prior state of tension has been established.

"Linda is sitting in her bedroom looking out at the sunset. It seems relaxing to her after such a busy and hectic day."

Some stories seem to end in a symbolic "whew!" or to have the quality of a great breakthrough or burden lifted, a longing satisfied.

"Joan is married to Jean and for many years they've been trying to have children. Well, today she just returned from the doctor's and found out that she was pregnant. She feels beautiful sensations as she and her husband have longed for a baby ever since they were married. In 9 months Jean and Joan will bring a baby boy into the world!"

"Carol is looking through a telescope and sees a strange-looking object. She realized that this is the U.F.O. that everyone has been trying to locate for the last 200 years. The problem is that the object is moving and she has to follow it with the telescope. But she wants to call the UFO Bureau and report her findings. She can't leave the telescope. She is in a state of confusion because she wants the money, the \$100,000 reward. All of a sudden out of the clear blue sky her husband comes in the room and Carol's husband calls and they live happily ever after."

There must be no clear statement that an individual's efforts led to the positive outcome. However, if step-wise positive striving (instrumental activity) to ameliorate tension is mentioned in the story but rewards are completely out of proportion with the effort or somehow magically increased, it is still scored for relief.

"Judy is really pleased with the results. Her instructor just handed her the paper she and her classmates had passed in two weeks before. Much time, work and effort has been put into it. She was secretly hoping for an A but didn't quite expect it. Well she did get one and was very happy about it..."

Note: The goal-oriented activity here is clear, but the fact that she did not really expect to get an A but got one anyway (increasing her positive affect) qualified this story for relief.

".... As she watched the sunset, she thought about all her problems and how maybe she could solve them all. She tried to think of happy things later on and became filled with joy at watching the sunset..."

Note: The above story is marginal. The extent of conscious voluntary attempts to solve her problems is unusually extensive; but the positive outcome ("became filled with joy") is both the effect of the workings of an external stimulus and out of proportion to the moves she makes to solve her problems.

E. Absence of Instrumental Activity

In scoring a story for this category, the judgment to be made is whether instrumental activity is present or not. The following are the definitions and criteria for assessing presence of instrumental activity.

Instrumental activity is any overt or mental activity by one or more characters in the story indicating that something is being done about attaining a goal. There are various goals which may be stated or easily inferred: the first example below shows an achievement goal, the second example a curiosity goal.

"....Four years of your life doing hard work, trying to get to this end with good grades to get into law school...."

"....Carol is a very excitable person and is extremely excited when she looks through the telescope because she is amazed at how close the stars and planets seem to appear. And she wonders how they came to be this way."

Great care must be taken not to make inferences of actions from described end-states. Also, statements

of one's condition or situation are not instrumental activity. E.G., "while driving back from the beach" describes a setting and, unless clearly connected with a goal or some sort, does not indicate instrumental activity, nor do statements that describe outcomes or effects. Thus, the statement "Just the fact that she knows she finally put him down, set him in his place," is not scored. It merely describes a state of affairs, the effect of an action on another. Since it does not describe the action itself, it is not scored as instrumental activity.

Also, instrumental activity is not to be confused with the mere presence of verbs. For example, the statement, "She made a contribution to the world," would not be scored because only the effect of the person's actions has been described and not the goal toward which the person is striving. The verb "made" is insufficient since it is not stated what is being made, or what the making of it entails. On the other hand, "She was working on her project, which would be a contribution to the world," would be scored since the actual activity is explicit in the story. In addition, the statement, "She was thinking about the solution to the problem, which would make a contribution to world," would be scored as instrumental activity toward the goal of solving the problem ("thinking" rather than "doing").

Stories where several people are interesting, and/or the goal is not clear, and/or the verbs involve action which is not specific (like help, meet, call up, etc.) are usually not adequately focused toward a goal to meet the requirements of instrumental activity. E.g. "John is helping Susan" is not scored. These are often scored as interpersonal engagement (see that category). If "John is helping Susan" do something, it is scored. In the following example, however, the goal of one of these verbs is clearly toward a specific goal (a focused microscope) and therefore it is scored. Note also that "has to write" describes an assignment -- a setting and not an action.

"Sue is in biology class and has been asked to look at a paramecium slide under the microscope.

She has a lab partner and each table has an instrument. She has to write what she observes down for her report which will be collected after class by her teacher who is helping the students focus their microscopes."

There are a small number of common verbs which are difficult to score in this category; thinking, wondering, wishing, imagining, watching, and so on. Special care must be taken with these apparently passive activities to evaluate whether the verb shows something being done about attaining it. Also difficult is the case of "curiosity" or "need to know." In the first of the two examples below, the character is not "wondering" aimlessly but directedly (how the cells came into being, secrets of life); thus instrumental activity is scored as present. In the second example, however, "wondering" involves something other than a search for knowledge or resolution of curiosity and therefore does not qualify as instrumental activity.

"Sue is looking into her microscope, wondering how those tiny cells and bits ever came into being, a conglomeration as they are now... She is glad that she took this lab biology course for without it she would have never known the underlying secrets of life..."

"Carol is looking through the telescope wondering where the man in the moon is. Her mommy always talks about him but poor little Carol never does get to see him. And when she's lonely like tonight and needs a friend, she really wishes she could see him and have a nice chat. But again, Carol has never heard the man in the moon talk back. She can only hear of him from grownups. Carol can't wait until she grows up so that she may find and see the great big man on the moon."

Absence of Instrumental Activity

No statement of any instrumental act ("thinking" or "doing") toward attaining a goal within the story. Also scored when the only instrumental act is in the

first phase in the story and is essentially a restatement of the cue material. Commonly a story that is description of a state of "being" (vs. the "doing" of instrumental activity).

"In the matter of an instant the bare branches of the trees were transformed from their stark presense into a multitude of tiny veins endlessly reaching toward the vibrance of the hues which were above them. The rich warm colors of the sun provided a feeling of pulsating life for Linda as she lay beneath the trees gazing into the sunset. It would seem that climbing these massive branches should deliver her into the warmth of the sun yet she knew that even the uppermost reaches of the tallest tree could not serve to make her one with heaven."

The subjunctive tense used above ("would seem... should") does not qualify as the description of overt or mental activity. The following example has instrumental activity in the first sentence, which is merely a repetition of the cue; the rest of the story does not contain instrumental activity, so it is scored for absence. Also, the action in the story exists without reference to any goal -- "has just come back from a visit" is neither toward any goal nor away from a clear goal.

"Sue is looking through her microscope in the chemistry lab. She isn't really working though. School is becoming very difficult for her and she has just come back from a visit with the assistant principal and is quite upset. The teacher in this class is very hard and Sue is so far behind in her work she feels the situation is hopeless. Also, her boyfriend has this class with her and he tends to be brilliant as a student which makes matters worse.

F. Absence of Mentions of Other Persons (-2)

(This is a counter-indicative category.)

Absence of others is scored if no character or group

other than the person specified in the cue is mentioned in the story. Stories about animals count as though they were people (second example).

"Carol has had many problems lately, so since she likes the beach so much, she decided to go down and take a walk along it one late day. She thought about all her problems, and the rush of the water and the quietness of the day made her feel better even though she had no solutions."

"Ann is sitting on the antique chair smiling at Tonka Ming -- Tonka is her siamese kitten. He has been stalking a ladybug across the carpet and when the ladybug suddenly flew away, the little cat had sat back and howled disconsolately. Ann smiles at Tonka's predicament. She had wanted the bug to get away. Yet she was sorry for the frustrated big-game hunter. She will take him (Tonka) into the kitchen and feed him tuna fish and raw eggs -- his favorite dish."

If the label of a group is global or vague, or if it describes a situation, then it is not treated as a mention of other persons.

"Sue is in a biology lab and she is looking through her microscope to observe what an ant would look like close up. Her class has been studying insects and she decided that she wanted to know what an ant really looked like..."

"....In the future she will receive a Nobel prize and take the money and donate to more extensive cancer research. She is truly humanitarian and now will have a chance to prove herself to the world."

Note: In the first example, "class" is a situation and not the description of a group; this is also true for such phrases as "power to the people." In the second example, no person is mentioning awarding the "Nobel prize," and the "world" is considered far too general to refer to specific others. Consequently, these two are scored for absence of others.

Others may not be mentioned by implication or noted as missing. Thus statements that the cue character is all alone or feeling lonely do mention other persons by their absences and are not scored in this category: e.g.,

"....and she's the only one there..."

"....and Carol was getting lonely..."

"....These moods often came over her, feelings of loneliness, the absence of a true friend..."

"....The partner who was to have worked with her is not here today so she is all alone..."

(N.B.: In the stories where the verbal or picture cue depicts more than one person, the use of this category is questionable, and should not be scored.)

Determining A Motive To Avoid Success Score

Three or four stories should be used in determining a subjects total score. There are two ways possible to obtain a final score and we have no strong evidence on the basis of which to recommend one over the other but the method used should be reported.

Categorical Scoring:

The subject may receive ONLY one score per category. If imagery occurs in at least one story for a particular category, the category is scored present. Scores are not summed across stories. The final score for the subject is computed by weighing each category with appropriate weights given in the manual. Thus scores for subjects may range from -2 to +8.

Continous Scoring:

The major difference here is that scores for each category are summed across stories. The final score is computed by weighing each category with the weights given. Thus scores may range from -2 to +8 for one story and -6 to +24 for 3 stories.

EXAMPLE:

Subject A

	2	2	2	1	1	-2
category	A	B	C	D	E	F
Story 1	X		X			
Story 2		X	X	X	X	X
Story 3	X		X		X	

The categorical score for this subject would be 6.

The continuous score would be 13.

IMPORTANT

Before attempting to use this system in empirical work, or reporting empirical work using this system, it is important that a scoring reliability of at least .85 be achieved.

Methods for determining scoring reliability for thematic scoring of this kind can be found in the appendix of J.W. Atkinson, Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society

We gratefully acknowledge the help of a number of our colleagues in various phases of this book-- Jackie Fleming Hamilton, Joseph Pleck, Larry Aber, and Susan Kaplan.

SCORED EXAMPLES

- A. "The year is 1976. This is supposed to be the last sunset Linda will see, well at least according to the Bible. Actually, she is glad (2) that this will be her last day, at least she won't have to worry (2) about washing her hair tomorrow, and (2) she won't have to take that Psychology experiment. Imagine her distress (1) when she sees tomorrow's sunrise.

Scoring:

1. Non-contingent negative consequences: The negative consequences are indicated by her distress. They are caused by the world not ending, an event external to Linda, and not under her control. (+2)
2. Relief: Relief is clearly expressed by the phrase, "at least she won't have to worry..." but it could also be inferred from "she won't have to take that Psychology experiment." Her positive affect ("she is glad") is the result of the somewhat magical (Biblical predictions) alleviation of her problems. (+1)
3. Absence of mention of other persons: No persons are mentioned other than Linda, who is named in the cue. (-2)
4. Absence of instrumental activity: Linda performs no activities toward any goal. "She is glad" and "washing her hair" are descriptive of states, not activities. "Sees tomorrow's sunrise" is an event without a goal. (+1)

Total score: +2

- B. "On a nice freshly cut green lawn is Linda and Jerry sitting looking out at the sunset. Linda said to Jerry (1): It's such a beautiful sunset and Jerry said (1): You certainly are. Linda then gave Jerry a funny look (1). Linda was the type of girl who loved nature and all of its belongings. Whereas Jerry was just the opposite. No matter how hard Linda tried to convey thoughts to Jerry (1) he just wouldn't listen. Finally Linda told him (1) that they will never be happy together because they disagree (1) about practically everything (2). So, then they broke up (2).

Scoring:

1. Interpersonal engagement. The whole story is about the involvement of Linda and Jerry. The activity of watching the sunset or trying to convey thoughts are the occasions for events within the relationship. Scoring for engagement is not affected by whether the relationship is successful or not. (+2)
2. Contingent negative consequences: The deprivation occurs in the last sentence. "So, then they broke up." It is contingent because it is a direct consequence of the actions of the people in the story: "No matter how hard... he just wouldn't listen. Finally Linda told him that they will never be happy together..."

Categories not scored:

Absence of instrumental activity: There is activity in the story: Linda gave him a book, Linda told him, toward the goal of working on the relationship and eventually terminating it.

Absence of mention of others: Jerry is a person not mentioned in the cue.

Relief: There is none -- the story ends with deprivation after a consistently downward movement.

Total score: +4

- C. "Sue had never wanted to go to college, but her parents and all her friends had gone -- so she had no choice. In her first semester, she was required, to her despair, (1) to take a full-credit course in botany. The lectures were boring, but the labs -- 1 per week -- were unbearable. She found herself dreading (1) each Tuesday morning, because she knew that her destination would be her Botany lab; however, she was able to fool them all by looking into her microscope and seeing-- not scientific phenomena-- but her own dreams of getting out of the class."

Scoring:

1. Non-contingent negative consequences: This whole story is full of negative consequences. Non-contingency is indicated by the phrase "she was required," and tension by the phrase "to her despair." The movement of the first two-thirds of the story is from bad to worse culminating in "... the labs were unbearable. She found herself dreading ...". (+2)
2. Relief: Relief is shown by the upward movement at the end to the story -- "however, she was able to fool them all" -- and via the nature of the alleviation (dreams in a microscope). (+1)

Categories not scored:

Interpersonal engagement. Even though there are constraining interpersonal relationships ("had no choice"), no interpersonal goal is developed. The only active constraint ("required") is made by an unnamed adversary (probably the college curriculum) and does not constitute an interpersonal engagement.

Absence of mentions of others: Others are present: "parents," "friends," and, later in the story, "them."

Absence of instrumental activity: Her actions around the microscope are oriented to the goal of attaining dreams. When avoidance or escape is actively pursued (e.g., "working on a plan to escape") or clearly toward a specific better place, then instrumental activity is present. If something is only being avoided this is not instrumental activity toward a goal.

Total score: +3

The Hollingshead Occupation Scale

1. Higher executive, proprietors of large concerns and major professionals.
2. Business managers, proprietors of medium sized businesses, and lesser professionals.
3. Administrative personnel, small independent businesses, and minor professionals.
4. Clerical and sales workers, technicians, and owners of little businesses.
5. Skilled manual employees.
6. Machine operators and semi-skilled employees.
7. Unskilled employees.

The Hollingshead Education Scale

1. Graduate professional training.
2. Standard college or university education.
3. Partial college training.
4. High school graduate.
5. Partial high school training.
6. Junior high school education.
7. Less than seven years of school.

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