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CAREER/FAMILY ORIENTATIONS IN FEMALE  
COLLEGE SENIORS.

City University of New York, Ph.D., 1976  
Psychology, social

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SANDRA B. HABER

1976

CAREER/FAMILY ORIENTATIONS IN FEMALE COLLEGE SENIORS

by

Sandra Haber

A dissertation submitted to the  
Graduate Faculty in Psychology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy,  
The City University of New York

1976

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

## CAREER/FAMILY ORIENTATIONS IN FEMALE COLLEGE SENIORS

by

Sandra Haber

Adviser: Professor Florence Denmark

A random sample of 50 female graduating seniors from Brooklyn College, CUNY were selected for study. All women were given a questionnaire and interview designed to assess their future plans and ambitions. The variables of innovative vs. traditional occupational choice and career oriented vs. non-career (e.g. family) oriented were used to categorize the subjects into four groups: innovative career oriented, innovative non-career oriented, traditional career oriented, and traditional non-career oriented. In general, perceived parental encouragement and values, and daughter's sex role orientation were the variables of importance in understanding the dynamics of all four subgroups of women. Surprisingly, the employment status of the mother was not related to the daughter's orientation. Additionally, all women anticipated difficulties in combining work and family roles, with many of the innovative career oriented women resolving this dilemma by stating that they had no desire for children. The implications of these findings in terms of the changing roles of women were discussed.

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## Introduction

According to 1970 census figures, women now comprise 38% of the working force in the United States and account for 2/3 of the 11.9 million new jobs added to the work force during the 1960's (Rosenthal, 1973). However, as Rosenthal has indicated, further inspection of census data reveals that women's job gains actually reflect mixed results. A comparison of the 1960 and 1970 census figures indicates that only small increases in the number of women have occurred in the high status, predominantly male professions. Women dentists, comprising 2.1% of the 1960 jobs, have shown a small increase to 3.4% in 1970. Similarly the percent of female engineers has risen from 0.8% to 1.6%, lawyers and judges from 3.4% to 4.8%, and physicians from 6.7% to 9.0% for the years 1960 and 1970 respectively. Although these figures show gains made by women in the past decade, men still comprise over 90% of the individuals in these high status professions.

Surprisingly, an analysis of the traditionally feminine professions reveals some decrease in the numbers of employed women during the 1970 period. The percentage of female librarians has gone from 85.8% in 1960 to 79.2% in 1970. Similarly, the figures for nursing are 97.6% and 97.3%, and elementary and secondary school teaching reflect 72.6% and 69.3% for the 1960 and 1970 periods respectively. The largest single occupational category for women in 1970 was clerical workers, representing one-third of the employed

females. Growth within this occupation was great, with women claiming over four-fifths of the new clerical jobs since 1960. Occupationally, it is clear that women, although comprising a substantial part of the work force, fail to capture a representational share of the high status professional jobs. Additionally, the fact that women have not gained but lost their edge in traditionally female occupations suggests that "the declining status of women" (Knudsen, 1964) may remain an indication of future trends. Knudsen also notes that while the absolute number of women professionals has increased in recent years, the proportion of the total number of female professionals has declined from about two-fifths to slightly more than one-third from the period of 1940-1966.

A second parameter that may be used to judge the current status of women workers is that of income. Here too, men in the professional and technical occupations surpass their female counterparts. The average income for men in this occupational category was \$12,262 in 1969 while females in the same category averaged \$5,927 or 48% as much (Rosenthal, 1973). According to Knudsen's (1964) analyses, full-time employed women earned from 41% (sales workers) to 65.1% (professionals) of their male colleagues. A corollary of these statistics is that

For women, the relationship between levels of income and numbers employed in any occupational category is clearly a negative one: as the proportion of workers being female in any occupational category

increased, the relative income of women has declined over the past quarter century. (Knudsen, p. 188)

Similarly, on an experimental level, Touhey (1974), by presenting descriptive passages of high status occupations, has found that the ratings of prestige and desirability of these professions decreases if subjects anticipate an influx of women within the next thirty years.

In addition to occupation and income, education is a third measure of the status of women. The data indicate that females in 1966 received 40.7% of the B.A. degrees compared to 59.3% received by men. These figures are no different from the 1940 figures of 41.3% and 58.7% of the B.A. degrees awarded to women and men respectively. Greater discrepancies exist in male and female achievements as measured by graduate degrees. The 1966 data (Epstein, 1970) indicated that women comprised 33.1% of the masters degrees awarded and 11.6% of the doctoral degrees. This represents a small increase since 1950 (when the figures were 29.2 and 9.7 for masters and doctoral degrees respectively), and a sharp decline from the 1930 depression years level of 40.4 and 15.4, masters and doctoral degrees respectively.

Knudsen (1964) states that

There appears to be considerable evidence that not only have women failed to achieve equality in terms of occupation and income, but in education -- the one area of historic superiority -- women are relatively less well off now than 25 years ago.  
(p. 190)

Given these facts regarding occupation, income, and

education, the image of woman as an underutilized resource emerges. Why is it that many highly intelligent women fail to pursue graduate education and fail to appear in the high status professions, while those that do succeed are often found at the lowest level of their profession? Of the 82% female college graduates (aged 20-24) who chose to work rather than continue their education, the fact that one-fifth of these women were employed in 1966 as service, factory, sales or clerical workers needs explanation. Justifications are needed for Epstein's (1970) startling observation on women's achievements: "But no matter what sphere of work women are hired for or select, like sediment in a wine bottle they seem to settle on the bottom." (p. 2)

To effectively analyze why so many women do not work, and why, when they do work their status remains low, one should first explore the concept of the working women from an historical perspective.

According to Smuts (1974), prior to the turn of the 20th century, the newly industrialized American culture saw a tremendous emphasis on male-female sex role differences. The concern for sex differences was a natural outgrowth of urbanization which resulted in a decline of the family as an economic unit and the rise of men as sole breadwinners. Women, rather than retaining their former role of economic partner in the pre-industrialized occupations of agriculture or crafts, were now economically dependent on their husbands. Women's sphere was defined in terms of the home and children;

men's sphere was defined in terms of the work world. In highly industrialized societies, changes in the economic system and division of labor resulted in psychological rationalizations and legitimizations of the feminine role. Woman was no longer the helpmate and partner in the struggle for survival, but was now "...the romantic, inhibited swooning Victorian whose fragility required cosseting (and corseting)." (Blake, 1974, 138) In America, this image was most prevalent among the Southern women during the mid-1800's. By stressing physical and temperamental vulnerability, middle-class women were now effectively kept out of the employment market. Physically, women's bodies were thought to be delicate and readily prone to damage by industrial employment. From a psychological perspective, industrial employment threatened to destroy the feminine qualities admired during this new era; the ideal characteristics of womanhood were exemplified by the genteel woman nurturing contented children. The need to attract and hold a man was now of utmost importance since a woman's status was totally derived from her husband's success. The importance of a husband was further emphasized by the difficulties encountered by those single women who were forced (by death, desertion or spinsterhood) into the labor market, and were regarded by both men and women as unfortunate anomalies. More seriously, the virtues of purity and chastity, qualities held in high esteem, were threatened by the image of the working woman.

Going to work was often viewed in the same light as being out alone after ten-thirty. Employment, it was felt, brought women into close association with men under particularly demoralizing circumstances... The belief that women's employment was likely to lead to immorality was expressed... by the Supreme Court... in the well-known case of Muller v. Oregon. In upholding an Oregon statute limiting the hours of women's work, the court sustained the argument... that the prevailing ten-hour workday was likely to leave a woman exhausted, her higher instincts dulled, craving only excitement and sensual pleasure. (Smuts, 118-119)

The idea of depravement of working women is not unique to American culture. Fears of sexual promiscuity have been used in other cultures as well as the United States as deterrents for women who wished to work. For example, in the Korokorosei culture in West Africa, women are discouraged from partaking in trade by believing in the widespread fear that a woman who travels is likely to be promiscuous. The results of this belief is that women remain economically dependent on men, with their appropriate domain defined in terms of the domestic sphere. (Leis, 1974)

To some extent, the negative associations common to working women during the industrialization period remain in effect today. Women, when they do work, often perform it as a secondary or supplemental function to their primary domestic role. This often takes the form of part-time employment or, in the minority of cases where it reaches a professional level, as low-level professional activities (school teaching, nursing, librarian, social worker). On a

psychological level, attitudes supporting the division of the domestic and working spheres appears to be as strong in 1974 as it was during the turn of the 20th century. The results of a 1970 National Fertility Study indicated that almost 80% of the women surveyed (6,740 married or once married women under the age of 45) supported the idea that "It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and the family." Less than half of the respondents believed that "A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work." (Blake, p. 143) Regardless of the behavior pattern of a particular woman, the same traditional ideals and societal expectations are usually espoused.

The wife who works, and who inevitably encounters some conflict in responsibility as a result, is handicapped in dealing with it constructively by the fact that society -- and perhaps she herself -- doubts whether she should be working in the first place. (Lewis, 1968, 139)

Once married, this conflict leads many women to withdraw from the labor force as soon as their husband becomes economically stable or, at the very latest, when the first child is born. Consequently, society's image of prominent women in 1974 frequently reflects the notion of derived status common to the industrialization period in the United States. According to the Roper Organization (1974), of the five most respected women, only one -- Golda Meier -- was recognized for her own achievements. (The top five women

were Mamie Eisenhower, Golda Meier, Ladybird Johnson, Queen Elizabeth II, and Pat Nixon.)

The conflict in women's lives between family and work roles, epitomized in the psychological stereotypes of femininity and masculinity respectively, has become a focal point of investigation in recent years. As early as 1946, Komarovsky noted evidence of the incompatibility in adult female sex role expectations manifested in the autobiographies of Barnard college seniors. Career and marriage were often portrayed in diametrically opposite terms by parents and students alike, resulting in confusion and uncertainty; compromise of goal was the frequent result. Komarovsky concluded that

Generally speaking, it would seem that it is the girl with a "middle-of-the-road personality" who is most happily adjusted to the present historical moment. She is not a perfect incarnation of either role but is flexible enough to play both. She is a girl who is intelligent enough to do well in school but not so brilliant as to "get all 'A's"; informed and alert but not consumed by an intellectual passion; capable but not talented in areas relatively new to women; able to stand on her own feet and earn a living but not so good a living as to compete with men; capable of doing some job well (in case she does not marry or, otherwise, has to work) but not so identified with a profession as to need it for her happiness. (p. 189)

Komarovsky's (1953) follow-up study indicated that almost 50% of the female subjects viewed their postgraduate jobs in a temporary manner, their beliefs congruent with the early 20th century concept of domestic vs. work spheres.

For example, these women endorsed the statement "That it is natural for a woman to be satisfied with her husband's success and not crave personal achievement" and "That the role of a mother homemaker can be completely satisfying to a woman, especially if she takes part in the cultural and civic affairs of the community." (p. 93)

During the same period in which Komarovsky was gathering her interview and anecdotal evidence on family-career conflicts in women, Sherriffs and Jarret (1953) were systematically investigating sex role stereotypes in male and female college students. Subjects were found to be highly consistent in their assignment of appropriate behaviors to men or women. Both sexes, when forced by a 6 point Likert scale, indicated a better opinion of males than of females. (McKee & Sherriffs, 1957) Additionally, when subjects were forced to ascribe adjectives to males or females, both sexes responded more favorably to males. An analysis by sex indicated that men tended to ascribe a greater number of favorable adjectives to males, and women ascribed a greater number of unfavorable adjectives to females. The stereotype of the male (Sherriffs & McKee, 1957) was defined by both sexes as encompassing a straightforward, uninhibited social style fostered by attributes of competence and ability. Women were defined in terms of social graces and skills, warmth and emotional supportiveness, and the spiritual qualities of art, sensitivity and religion. In spite of these stereotypes, men, according to

McKee and Sherriffs (1959) believed women would like them to possess the favorable traits of both sexes; this was congruent with women's stated desires. Women, however, believed men desired them to possess strictly feminine qualities to a more extreme degree than men stated. Women's self-descriptions often reflected this belief by their inclusion of a significantly larger number of unfavorable characteristics than men reflected in describing their self concepts.

More recently, the work of Steinmann et al (1964) has indicated that women's image of "man's ideal woman" was usually represented by a passive, family oriented woman. This description of man's ideal woman in terms of passive femininity is reflected cross-culturally as well as in the United States (Steinmann et al 1964-65; Steinmann & Fox, 1966). Men, however, claimed that their ideal woman is one who was balanced between intra-family and extra-family feelings.

Current research on sex role stereotypes in the late sixties through the early 1970's has indicated little change in the traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity. Rosenkrantz et al (1968) has found consensus among males and females in describing male and female traits along a continuum of bipolar adjectives. Subjects were asked to indicate on the questionnaire the extent to which they expected each item to characterize an adult male (masculinity response). Subjects then remarked the questionnaire for an adult female (femininity response). Finally, subjects

indicated on the questionnaire what they themselves were like. In addition to the agreement noted among the male and female subjects in describing what typical men and women were like, results indicated that self concept scores, although less extreme than the stereotyped traits were similar to these responses, with women's self description encompassing more negative traits (as determined from social desirability ratings) than men's self descriptions. More seriously, these sex role stereotypes were held not only by college students, but by mental health professionals as well (Broverman et al, 1970). In this study, clinically trained psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers were given the sex role stereotype questionnaire with one of three sets of instructions -- to indicate the healthy male, healthy female, or healthy adult (sex unspecified). Results indicated that although the ratings of the male and female clinicians did not differ from each other, their responses to the different instructions did differ significantly. Clinicians tended to ascribe the socially desirable masculine characteristics more often to men than to women, but only half of the socially desirable feminine characteristics were attributed more frequently to women than to men. Additionally, the masculine concept of health and the adult concept of health did not differ, but there was a significant difference between descriptions of the healthy adult and the healthy female, suggesting a double standard of mental health. Broverman et al (1972) summarizes the

current research in the field of sex role stereotypes by noting that

Consensus about the differing characteristics of men and women exists across groups differing in sex, age, marital status, and education. Masculine characteristics are positively valued more often than feminine characteristics. Positively valued masculine traits form a cluster entailing competence; positively-valued feminine traits reflect warmth-expressiveness. Sex role definitions are incorporated into the self concepts of both men and women; moreover, these sex role differences are considered desirable by college students and healthy by mental professionals. Individual differences in sex related self concepts are related to sex role relevant behaviors such as achieved and ideal family size. Sex role perceptions also vary as a function of maternal employment. (p. 60)

As Broverman et al (1970) had shown, mental health professionals, attempting to foster their concept of health in others, often perpetuate the current value system. Vocational counselors, dealing with occupational and individual compatibility, are also the victims of the same system. Thomas and Stewart (1971) have shown that high school girls who displayed masculine goals (engineering) were seen by both male and female counselors as having less appropriate goals and in greater need of counseling services than those girls espousing conforming goals (homemaking).

Behaviorally, a high degree of sex role stereotyping in mothers has been correlated with large family size; less sex role stereotyping, resulting in the incorporation of the masculine quality of competence into the self concept, has

been correlated with smaller family size (Clarkson et al, 1970). Other manifestations of sex role stereotyping have indicated that ratings by female college students of articles allegedly written by men or women, reflected a bias by women against women with respect to both the quality of the article and the talent of the author. Articles, whether in the traditionally feminine fields of school teaching or dietetics, or in the traditionally masculine fields of law or city planning were found to be more valuable and the author more competent when they were written by males (Goldberg, 1968). Pheterson et al (1971), further defined the conditions under which sex bias will occur by asking subjects to rate slides of modern art paintings done by males or females. Results indicated that sex bias was only manifested when the artist's painting was in the entry condition; in this case the status of the painting was uncertain, and male artists were rated as significantly superior to female artists. However, when the painting was given the status of a prize winner, no sex bias was manifested. Similarly, sex bias has been found in the explanations of successful performances (Deaux & Emswiller, 1974). Subjects were asked to rate on a skill-luck dimension, male and female performances on a sex consistent or sex inconsistent task. The results indicated that independent of the gender appropriateness of the task, males were rated as more skillful than females. Superior male performances were attributed to skill while superior female performances were attributed to luck.

According to Klein (1951), the stereotype of femininity exemplified in the preceding examples serves two purposes. First, an individual characteristic manifested by a woman will be seen as a variation of a stereotypic feminine trait, keeping women within a common framework; secondly, the stereotype of femininity becomes part of the educational process by which attitudes and values are transmitted. As Bem and Bem (1970) have noted, this educational process is both implicit and explicit. Women acquire their feminine roles by a socialization process that begins with the child's birth. Indeed, so pervasive is this indoctrination that it is referred to as a "nonconscious ideology", subtle, yet totally permeating the learning process at every stage of development.

Recent investigations have indicated that the current educational system fosters the socialization of stereotyped sex roles. An analysis of elementary school readers (Stefflre, 1969) has indicated that an average of 20% of the women portrayed in the readers were employed (against 40% in real life) and only 39% of the employed women in the texts were married (against 60% in real life). Of the characters who were depicted as mothers, only 3.3% were employed, generally as professional workers. Key (1972) has noted that the prize winning Calderott and Newberry award books are not exempt from this sexist ideology. Themes of "boys invent things" and "girls use what boys invent" are widespread. It was not with surprise therefore,

that Hartley (1959) found that both boys and girls ages 5, 8, and 11, in describing what men and women do, described a traditionally domestic picture of women. Clearly, the appropriate sex role behaviors and values are learned early by children. Yet, for females, the emphasis on femininity in terms of dependence, affiliation, and nurturance comes in conflict with achievement goals stressed both by parents and the educational system.

The results of the socialization of sex role stereotypes are clearly exhibited during the early school years. Maccoby (1966) notes that girls score higher on general intelligence tests during the preschool years, boys score higher in high school. Girls initially score better on verbal performance, but by the age of ten, boys have caught up on their reading skill. Girls learn to count at an earlier age than boys, but by high school boys excel in arithmetic reasoning; boys and girls do not differ at young ages in spatial ability, but by the early school years, boys excel. And, although girls get better grades than boys throughout the school years, Maccoby notes that

In adulthood, after graduation from school, men achieve substantially more than women in almost any aspect of intellectual activity where achievement can be compared -- books and articles written, artistic productivity, and scientific achievements. A follow-up study of gifted children showed that while gifted boys tended to realize their potential in their occupations and creative output, gifted girls did not. (p. 28)

One explanation of these findings is that career choice and school achievements are concurrent with the establishment of sex role identity (Wolfe, 1969). Achievement and competence, antithetical to the feminine image, may be perceived as threatening to the girl who does not yet have a stable sex role identity. From this perspective Flanagan's results (in Wolfe, 1969) follow logically:

Girls in entering high school do about as well as, or slightly better than boys on such tests as arithmetical reasoning, reading comprehension and creativity. However, when these girls were retested about three years later in the twelfth grade, the boys excelled on all of these tests. The boys gains on these tests were on the average about 20 percent higher than the girls. (p. 2)

Horner (1972) summed up the competence-femininity conflict as the "motive to avoid success", which "receives its impetus from the expectancy held by most women that success, especially in competitive achievement situations, will be followed by negative consequences for them."

(p. 62) It is interesting to note that the equation of a successfully educated woman with a loss of femininity has a strong history in the United States. Bullough (1974) cites the fact that the mental illness of a Connecticut Governor's wife during the colonial period in America was attributed to her passion for education:

If she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved

them usefully and honorably in the place  
God had set her. (p. 297)

Later, in 1873, in response to women's desired entrance into Harvard College, Dr. Edward Clarke, an overseer at the college, noted that numerous ailments awaited the educated woman:

...those greivous maladies which tortured  
a woman's earthly existence, called  
leucorrhoea, amenorrhoea, dysmenorrhoea,  
chronic and acute overitis, prolapsus  
uteri, hysteria, neuralgia, and the like.  
(Horner & Walsh, p. 124)

Yet, at the present time, women are often encouraged to attend college, and do so in large numbers. However, as seen previously, their pursuit of studies and vocations is usually less intensive than that of men. Within college, the enticement to forfeit grades and studies in favor of popularity with males and ultimately marriage, is a common occurrence (Komarovsky, 1953). Horner & Walsh (1973) have noted that female students with high grade point averages and high fear of success scores tended to pursue the traditional feminine professions of housewife, mother, nurse and teacher. Their data further indicated that the "either-or" phenomenon of marriage or a career is a persistent dilemma in the 1970's, with the additional observation of a recent association between lesbianism and achievement appearing in some female responses. Results of a pilot study indicated that a change in aspirations was manifested by those women who had high fear of success as they moved through college. "Instead of being politicians, they planned to work for politicians.

Instead of going to law school, they decided to teach."

(p. 127) The association of career women with loss of femininity, and the perception of the roles of female and professional as mutually exclusive, frequently leads women to avoid success.

Academically talented girls are less likely to enter college and complete the undergraduate degree than equally bright young men; they are less likely to take advanced degrees; they are less likely to use the PhD's they do take; and they are less productive than men even if they do take the PhD, remain unmarried, and continue to work full time... In addition, girls underestimate their academic abilities and choose academic majors and jobs that are not challenging.  
(Bardwick, 1971, 168)

In addition to feminine occupational success being seen as incompatible with traditional male-female relationships, attempts at success may also be aborted because of their perceived incompatibility with the maternal role. Although other countries have attempted, with varying degrees of success, to integrate the roles of motherhood and employment (for example, the USSR, China, and Israel), the prevalent view in the United States remains one of motherhood vs. employment during the child's early years, unless conditions of dire financial difficulties exist. However,

In Soviet society, social pressure is clear and positive in the direction of participation in the work force by all who are able. Women's work is considered good for the country, good for the woman, and good for the children. In the Soviet context, a woman would be expected to explain why she is not working; in the American setting, she

has to explain why she is working.  
(Epstein, p. 43)

American culture dictates to the mother primary responsibility for raising her children. This idea is espoused by both mothers and childrearing authorities alike. Furthermore, the working wife is devalued by both the housewife and the working woman, with the assumption being made that the working wife is not as good mother or wife as is the woman who is exclusively a homemaker (Epstein, p. 26). Sweet (1973) notes that one of the primary constraints on the employment of women with young children is that the

...psychological compulsion to care for one's own young children (is) supported by, if not created by, the widespread belief in American society that the mother's place is in the home, especially if she has infant or older preschool-age children. (p. 113)

Wolfe (1969) has noted that 86% of her middle-aged female respondents and 71% of her younger female respondents believed that a woman with preschool children should not work. Similarly, about 50% of Komarovsky's (1953) subjects concurred with this view, and further believed that the woman who works cannot possibly be as good a mother as the one who stays home, even for school-aged children. Consequently, it was not surprising that Hartley (1972) found indications of guilt in her upper middle-class working mothers, which seemed to result from violating feminine norms; guilt led some of these mothers to tell their children that the reason for work was that of financial necessity, although in

reality it was often enjoyment. Yarrow et al (1962) explains that the choice of the dependent variables in their study of working and non-working mothers was dictated by the current opinions of the time, none of which predicted any positive effects of maternal employment. The rationale behind the hypothesis was that

Working is presumed to result in "deficiencies" in mothering; less dedication and less effectiveness, deviations in supervision and control of the child, exaggeration of the child's dependency needs, greater stress on achievement, altered sex role training, and decreased participation of mother with child. (p. 124)

Nye and Hoffman (1963) confirm this negative view of the working mother as one that is held by layman and professional alike. They state

In this case, even social scientists, for the most part, took a negative view. Psychiatric comment was generally negative... Many interested laymen, always alert for a simple explanation of the numerous and complex social problems of our times, speculated that the employment of the mother was the principal cause of current social problems. Proposals were made to force mothers out of employment. (p. 6-7)

The increased employment of mothers has been cited as the cause of higher divorce rates, more crime and delinquency, increased alcoholism and schizophrenia among women, and being harmful to children. The resulting syndrome is one of guilt, and, as aptly documented by Friedan (1973), acts as a powerful deterrent to women's employment; the "feminine mystique" demands that women relinquish selfish career motives in favor

of marriage and motherhood. For the first time in the history of any culture, motherhood has been declared a full-time occupation for women, with the "duties" of motherhood expanded to take up all free time (Rossi, 1964).

A final factor which mitigates against a women's employment is the economic data related to the expenses of working wives and mothers. The U.S. Department of Labor (1969) has revealed that work-related expenses such as clothing and personal care, food, child care, household help and taxes consume between one quarter to one half of a wife's earnings. An additional difficulty is the fact that the wife's earning will frequently place the employed couple in a higher tax bracket, consumming an even greater portion of the income. Clearly then, it often does not "pay" for a woman to go to work.

Given the vast number of factors that operate against a woman's employment, from psychological stereotypes through economic realities, the facilitative factors involved in feminine employment will now be explored. Single women and women who are the sole heads of households work in spite of the multitude of reasons noted above, but they are, to a great extent, forced to work out of economic need. For example, out of the 31.5 million employed women in 1970, 7 million were single women who supported themselves, 4.4 million were married to husbands earning less than \$4,000 in 1969, and 5.9 million were widowed, divorced or separated and were supporting themselves and others.

Clearly then, economic pressures give many women little choice in deciding whether they will or will not work. As with single women and women who are the sole heads of households, the chief reasons given by employed wives for working is that of financial necessity. Indeed, as the husband's income increases, the number of employed wives in the labor market decreases suggesting that economic factors are a primary force in the employment decision. Sweet (1973) noted that four-fifths of the employed women in a 1955 study gave financial reasons as their primary motivation to work. However, financial need is often a nebulous concept since "need" can refer to survival or luxury needs. Perhaps a better concept is that of economic pressure in describing the motivation to work. This concept could subsume both survival needs and also mobility aspirations, debts and differences in the standards of consumption. Additionally, education, which results in increased marketable skills, increased earning potential, and more desirable jobs, is positively correlated with employment.

Another variable influencing the decision to work is the immediate family situation. Women without children are more likely to work than women with children. Furthermore, the number of children planned is negatively related to future expectations of working. One study reviewed by Sweet indicated that for married women, the future expectancy of work was associated with current use of contraception and fewer children desired. Another facilitating

factor for the employed mother is the presence of other adults who function as baby sitters. It is interesting to note that an extended family, whether living with the nuclear family or near them is the chief source of child care for preschool children of employed mothers. A 1965 study of child care arrangements (Sweet, p. 20) indicated that 32% of the preschool children of employed mothers are cared for in their own homes by a relative; only 6% of these children are cared for in an organized group form (i.e. nursery school). The U.S. Department of Labor (1969), however, estimates an even smaller number of children (2%) being cared for in group facilities.

However, the psychological factors which influence the employment of women, are perhaps, of utmost importance and will be the major focus of this study. There is some evidence to indicate that the female's perception of her future role has changed drastically in recent years. Technological advances have left the woman with free time and little responsibility, the economic burden having been shifted to her husband. According to Nye and Hoffman (1963), "These advances have transformed the mother from a vitally important economically contributing member of the family to one whose utility in this respect sometimes approaches the trivial." (p. 4) The need to fill surplus time can be accomplished in many ways -- a woman may go to work, or she may have another baby (Hoffman, p. 19). Perhaps, somewhere between these two extremes lies activities like volunteer

work, PTA, and community projects.

A somewhat different finding is Friedan's (1963) observation that housewives, in spite of technological advances, are often pressed for time. According to her analysis, two fundamental principles can be observed: first, that if a woman's sole function is defined in terms of the home, she will resist finishing her tasks since this would leave her without any functions at all, and secondly, that the time needed for household tasks varies inversely with the number of other challenging tasks she is committed to. Concurring with Friedan's view, Hoffman (1963) notes that the educated woman may indeed face a dilemma should she choose to remain exclusively in the home:

The role of housewife and mother, however important it may be to society, carries with it little opportunity for a sense of achievement, competence, and contribution. The educational system and cultural values have tied feelings of achievement to success in the intellectual or business world. These have been intimately linked to money and the increasing size of the pay check, whether it increases because of inflation, union demands, or promotion the housewife has none of these rewards.  
(p. 6)

The creativity and time needed to accomplish the house-keeping role is now absent. With the advent of technology, prepared food mixes, frozen dinners and modern appliances, ability and competence are no longer the chief requirements for being a successful housekeeper. Hoffman notes that "If cooking is no longer creative, what is dusting, vacuuming, turning on the washing machine, running the drier,

ironing, making beds, and doing 3,500 dishes every month? Furthermore, the repetitive nature of these tasks makes the housewife wonder if it is necessary to do them as often as she does, and indeed, there is some evidence that it is not necessary." (p. 27) The fact that employment on even a low level occupation involves a change of scenery, ends at a specific time of day, involves adult interactions, will often involve feelings of contribution, and is rewarded by a paycheck, makes employment a frequently attractive alternative to housekeeping. As previously noted, the housekeeping role may be particularly difficult for the educated woman. Betty Friedan's (1963) analysis of Smith College graduates elucidates the educated woman's dilemma: Friedan's thesis is that women's problems are that of identification,

a stunting or evasion of growth that is perpetuated by the feminine mystique... as the Victorian culture did not permit women to accept or gratify their basic sexual need, our culture does not permit women to accept or gratify their basic need to grow and fulfill their potentialities as human beings, a need which is not solely defined by their sexual role.  
(p. 69)

However, not all educated women will resolve the dilemma by accepting the feminine mystique. Some women will be almost totally career oriented and put primary emphasis on their work rather than on their family; others will direct all of their energies towards family life as did Friedan's subject; still others will seek some satisfactory combination of career and family orientation; and, finally,

a remaining group will opt for a "job" as opposed to a career in combination with family life. Our concern then, is with the educated middle-class female who has a variety of options; what will determine the individual orientation of any one woman? In particular, one wishes to distinguish between a job and a career. If the woman perceives her employment in terms of financial motivation alone, working will frequently be viewed in a temporary manner, akin to a woman's "helping" her family to achieve some particular goal (i.e. working to put the husband through school, or helping to pay off a house). In addition to being correlated with a low level of occupational commitment (Sobol, 1963), employment viewed in this temporary manner often leads a woman to accept a lower level job since she does not view her working as a permanent part of her role definition, hence the large number of educated women in clerical jobs. Additionally, this type of motivation will frequently be non-threatening to the male since, by helping out, she is fulfilling an aspect of the feminine role, and by accepting a low level position, she is allowing for male dominance and the continuation of the image of the male as chief breadwinner. Therefore, working at a job, may frequently not require a major redefinition of the feminine role.

On the other hand, if the woman chooses a career as her occupation, the work is now defined as an integral part of her self definition; this will require a redefinition of the traditional male-female roles and may pose a threat to

the male and to her feminine image since the career orientation is correlated with increased commitment, increased salary, and increased competence. Hoffman notes that "If the idea that women's place is in the home, and that women should be subordinate are thus linked, it is likely that a person who adheres to one of these ideas would also adhere to the other." (p. 32) If woman no longer sees herself as subordinate, it becomes unclear who is responsible for the cooking, housekeeping, and nursing tasks, when they interfere with employment related commitments.

The focus of this dissertation will be to investigate some factors involved in the career-family orientations of female college seniors. Our sample, being highly educated, will have available the options of career commitment, but, obviously, education itself is merely a necessary, not sufficient factor. The absence of women in positions of leadership and prestige occupations can be seen within the realm of everyday life, or more formally, in the census statistics. High grades in college also do not correlate to any great extent with professional success.

Three factors are hypothesized as correlates of female career aspirations: (1) the employment status of the mother (employed vs. unemployed, length of time employed, and the particular status of the occupation), (2) the satisfaction the daughter feels towards her mother's lifestyle (defined as family and/or work orientation), and (3) the presence of a supportive male figure. Respondents will be college

seniors as this is time when family and career conflicts will be strong. Zinberg (1973) notes that

It is not surprising to learn from recent studies of women undergraduates that, unlike their male peers, they become less happy over the four years, and as seniors are less career-oriented than they were as freshmen. (p. 118)

The fear of femininity loss and the dichotomizing between family and career has some basis in reality. As Zinberg (1973) notes, Astin's study of women doctorates in the United States revealed that only 55% of these women were married (including those who were divorced) compared to 86% of the general population in that age range. "They are not afraid of becoming men by devoting themselves to careers so much as afraid that they will lose the chance to develop into women, i.e. wives and mothers." (p. 119) In spite of this, some women do choose to pursue careers. The first variable hypothesized to correlate with a career orientation is the employment status of the mother, whether she is employed or nonemployed, the length of her employment, and the effect of her particular occupational status.

Some mothers have chosen to work, not viewing their employment as detrimental to their child. Indeed, the maternal deprivation syndrome that resulted in extreme pathology on the part of the child (i.e. institution studies of Spitz, Bowlby, etc.) is quite different from the usual circumstances of the employed mother. The institutionalized children in the former studies often experienced both

maternal and paternal deprivation that existed on a 24 hour continuous basis and was often accompanied by insufficient staff and environmental deprivations. Children of employed mothers represent an entirely different situation. Many of these children are cared for by relatives in what may be assumed to be a warm nurturant environment, and even that small proportion of children cared for in group facilities is dissimilar to the institutionalized children in terms of environment, number of staff members, and the temporary nature of their stay.

Controlled studies support the idea that the employment of the mother need not be a necessary source of harm to the children. Yarrow et al (1962) has found that merely classifying mothers as working vs. non-working was not related to childrearing patterns. Stoltz (1960) in an intensive review of the literature concluded that

What we need to know is why some children of employed mothers develop acceptable behavior and others do not. After reading these studies, it looks as if the fact of the mother being employed or staying at home is not such an important factor in determining the behavior of the child as we have been led to think. (p. 779)

Siegal et al (1959) studied behavioral correlates of dependence and independence in children in relationship to mother's employment status. The findings indicated that in a comparison of matched samples controlled for family size, minority group status etc. no differences were found between the children of employed vs. non-employed mothers. Nye et al

(1963) investigated the concept of maternal deprivation in relationship to employed and non-employed mothers, hypothesizing that if the employed mother constituted a state of partial deprivation, personality difficulties should appear in children as a result of this situation. Results indicated that no significant differences between children of employed vs. unemployed mothers were found on any of the measures assessed -- anti-social behavior, withdrawal tendencies or nervous symptoms. In another study, Burchinal (1961) investigated the relationship between maternal employment and selected personality characteristics in children and concluded that

it would appear that maternal employment during the specified periods of the children's lives has no apparent relationship with the selected characteristics of the children... Within the limits of the methodology used, apparently maternal employment per se cannot be considered an index of maternal deprivation having consequent detrimental effects on the development of children. (p. 119)

In general then, these studies have found no detrimental effects resulting from the employment of the mother. In addition, other studies have indicated that positive effects may occur; evidence exists that the traditional sex role values found in very young children may be modified by the employment status of the mother. On a theoretical level, Broverman et al (1972) suggests that

Maternal employment status appears to be central to the role differentiation that occurs between parents. If the father is employed outside the home

while the mother remains a full-time homemaker, their roles tend to be clearly polarized for the child. But if both parents are employed outside the home, their roles are more likely to be perceived as similar -- not only because the mother is employed, but also because the father is more likely to share childrearing and other family-related activities with the mother. (pp. 72-73)

Hartley (1959) using a variety of play, pictorial, and verbal approaches of both a projective and factual nature found that girls and boys hold traditionally domestic or work expectations of grown women and men respectively. However, the sons of working mothers ascribed significantly greater amounts of work role activity to women than did the sons of non-employed mothers. Other findings indicated that fewer children of working mothers thought that work had unpleasant connotations for women. Of importance was the fact that the daughters of non-working mothers chose housewife as their future occupations, whereas the daughters of working mothers tended to choose non-traditional professions for their future occupations, indicating that a modeling effect had taken place. Additional findings by Douvan and Adelson (in Tiller, 1967) suggested that the daughters of employed mothers tended to idealize their mothers; this tendency was often reflected in the daughter's career plans.

Vogel et al (1970) compared the sex role stereotyped responses of college students of employed vs. unemployed (homemaker) mothers. Results indicated that both the sons and daughters of employed mothers perceived less difference

between the masculine and feminine roles on both the stereotyped and differentiating items, than did children of homemaker mothers. In particular, women of employed mothers tended to perceive the feminine role as entailing more competency than did the women of homemaker mothers. Therefore, the evidence supports the hypothesis that the employment of the mother will foster and be correlated with the presence of career aspirations in the daughter.

Although there are a number of studies assessing the relative effects of unemployed vs. employed mothers on their parent-child relations, few studies have attempted to assess the effects of particular occupational status on the perception of the maternal role. As Hoffman has noted:

Studies that have examined the effects of maternal employment on the child usually locate a group of children around the same age, half of whom have employed mothers and half of whom do not, and compare the two groups... But to find a group of children of the same age whose mothers have professions is obviously more difficult. In fact, I know of few such studies. (p. 212)

Hoffman's solution was to rely on the data of educated, middle-class mothers and the results of direct questioning of professional mothers without the supplemental data of their children. Her findings are supportive of the hypothesis that the mother's occupational status will have an effect on the child's perception of masculine-feminine roles. High status employment is associated with greater privileges, higher pay, better working conditions, and more

enjoyment; indeed Hoffman has found that there is tendency for higher status jobs to be well liked. Tiller (1967) reports that "These results point to a possibility that a vocational career for the mother can actually have beneficial effects on the child's development." (p. 90) Ginzberg and Yohalem (1966) noted that among their educated working mothers, "Many of these women believe that their working enhances their relationship with their children, who benefits from having mothers whose satisfactions from their work provide a relaxed and stimulating atmosphere in the home." (p. 51) Tiller (1967) has also noted that when employed mothers were divided into those who worked primarily for financial reward vs. those who worked primarily out of interest in their job, behavior disturbances manifested by children were greater for the former type of mother than for the latter. An additional finding was that the children of this former group of mothers also displayed lower achievement in school. Hoffman's (1961) analysis may further explain these findings. In her study, comparisons between the children of employed mothers who enjoyed their work were made with the children of employed mothers who disliked their work, in a test of the "guilt-over-protectiveness" vs. "neglect" theories respectively. The results indicated that the children of mothers in the former category tended to describe their mothers in more positive terms than children of mothers in the latter group. The satisfied mothers were also found to be more positive in their attitudes towards

their children. Furthermore, Kligler (1966) has found that women who work because of interest in their jobs more frequently report improved mother-role performance than do women who work for financial reasons. Douvan (1963) citing similar findings on working class vs. middle-class employed mothers explains her findings by the fact that

The mother who works because of serious economic need is not necessarily one whose psychological make-up prepares her for the dual roles of homemaker and worker... (while) the woman of higher social status who works full-time does so, at least in part, because of personal choice. (pp. 159-161)

Ginzberg and Yohalem's (1966) examination of the autobiographies of Columbia graduate students whom they designate as "planners" reveals a group of women who had clear, uncompromising goals. An examination of the career-oriented planners, those who subordinated all else to their pursuit of a career, indicated some elements of commonality within their backgrounds. In particular, the high status and positions of many of the mothers seemed to have exerted strong influences on their subsequent life styles. The first subject studied revealed that in her family, all women were expected to be "somebody" and, indeed, her mother was a musician until forced by an arthritic condition to retire. Yet her mother still "...encouraged my interest in working, and it was taken for granted that I would have a career." (p. 14) The second subject revealed that not only was her mother a high school and college history teacher, but her

maternal grandmother had earned a graduate degree and engaged in college teaching. The third career-oriented subject did not reveal her mother's status but did mention that "...my mother particularly got tremendous satisfaction from my career and general freedom..." (p. 19) The final subject indicated that all the women in her family had worked and it was therefore expected that she would too; her mother, a black school teacher, possessed considerable status at that time.

Further autobiographical data, this time on successful women in the sciences (Kundsinn, 1973) also reflects a rather direct relationship of the high status mother on her children's aspirations. One prominent female architect stated that "I inadvertently convey to my daughter, very strongly sometimes, some of the basic elements of my philosophy of life." (p. 8) A crystallographer, in describing her daughters' successful careers describes their high achievements in terms of the effects of their home life on their aspirations. Very often, one can observe that the image of the employed mother seen in a highly positive light, as when the electrical engineer noted "...and my children have also been raised to enjoy the benefits of a working mother... I would say that my children have gained more than they have lost because of my professional career. They seem like a happy enough bunch." (p. 22) An educator, attributes her success to her mother's early influences, stating that her mother's "...energy, her hard work in

behalf of unpopular causes (women's suffrage, peace, prison reform, racial equality) made the deepest impression on me. I can't remember a time when I didn't expect to go to college to prepare myself to save the world." (p. 29) And, as the preceding generation effected her lifestyle, this educator further noted that in the behavior of her children, they too espoused the ideals of egalitarian family relationships. The horticulturist on the panel, also acutely aware of her direct influence of her children stated that "I feel my greatest contribution to the women's movement is my exemplification of a role for my daughter and for other women with a background similar to mine. My oldest daughter is a hematologist ...my second daughter is a graduate of Harvard Business School ...my youngest daughter is in her second year at Harvard Law School... (p. 35)

The autobiographical data as a whole, seems to indicate that the commitment to work and the love of work were the overriding factors causing these women to seek employment. All enjoyed high status, highly interesting positions, but the financial incentives, so frequently cited by women in general as the motivation for working, were often absent, or at least of lesser importance. Financial difficulties, however, were often abundant, as noted by the mathematician who describes her early years as wife and mother: "In the normal course of events, I married a biochemist and we had a child. We were still students, both studying for our Ph.D. degrees. Needless to say, our finances were extremely

limited. I did all my own housework, my own cooking, and even my own washing." (p. 16) The electrical engineer stated that "My salary as a professional has always far exceeded my needs, and consequently my salary has been of little interest to me; I really work for love, and not for money." (p. 22) The chemist on this panel described the difficulty of obtaining child care and cites the fact that in her last year of graduate school she spent 75% of her income on child care. Similarly, the consumer specialist made the comment in describing her part-time employment in relationship to her four children: "I don't believe it ever occurred to my husband to question my working, even when I earned less than the cost of household help." (p. 58, underlining mine)

Hoffman (1973) noted that in a comparison study of mothers who were faculty members, unmarried faculty women, and educated mothers who were non-employed, it was revealed that the non-working mothers had the lowest self-esteem and least sense of competence in childrearing skills. "These women also felt least attractive, expressed most concern over self identity issues, and most often indicated feelings of loneliness." (p. 211) In general, many possible effects of having a professionally employed mother can be noted. A number of investigations reviewed by Hoffman do indicate that the high achieving woman has a high achieving daughter, and in support of our hypothesis "Various studies suggest that the optimum conditions for a high-achieving female

include the presence of a model, and the model of a professional woman is more relevant to academic and achievement goals than is that of the nonemployed housewife."

(p. 213)

Tangri (1972) in her study of role innovating women, has delineated a group of female college seniors whose choice of occupation was one where women were under-represented (fewer than 30% female). Her findings indicated that the strongest correlate of role innovation is the mother's role innovation score and the mother's current employment status, with role innovating and currently employed mothers having the most role innovative daughters. Apparently, role modeling was an important variable in the daughter's choice of occupation. Tangri postulates a four part typology of maternal role modeling whereby the daughters of more educated working mothers grow up in a family which values both education and career commitments for women; here there is less sex-typing in the division of labor in the home, and the daughter receives greater independence training. On the other hand, daughters of more educated but non-employed mothers are likely to be high on achievement needs but, having internalized a traditional set of sex role values, may manifest ambivalence about achievement. Thirdly, daughters of less educated working mothers are presented with another image of the feminine role -- working women as an acceptable role, but for financial rather than achievement purposes. Finally, the daughters of less educated non-employed mothers

are presented with the traditional feminine non-working model. Tangri's schema supports our hypothesis, lending strength to the prediction that daughters of working women will be more career oriented than daughters of non-working women, and daughters of women with high employment status will be more career oriented than daughters of women with lower employment status.

A final study which serves as a transition point between the first two major hypotheses is that of Baruch (1972) who also stresses the importance of the mother-model in determining the inclusion or exclusion of career commitments in women:

Because of the crucial process of identification, it is the maternal model's attitudes, experiences, and problems with respect to work that are viewed as the major determinants of whether a woman will associate negative consequences with career commitment. (p. 33)

Using the Goldberg (1967) articles to test for devaluation of feminine achievement, an attitude scale toward dual roles for women, and a personal data sheet of maternal employment, Baruch noted that overall the women subjects did not devalue feminine competence as Goldberg's subjects had done. However, a significant devaluation in feminine competence was found when the responses of subjects of employed mothers were compared with the responses of subjects of unemployed mothers; devaluation of feminine competence was manifested to a significant extent by the latter group. Surprisingly, this relationship between responses of daughters of employed

vs. non-employed mothers did not relate to the subject's attitudes towards careers for women. Not only was there no relationship between the responses of daughters of employed vs. non-employed mothers, but there was also no relationship between level of maternal employment and career attitudes. However, further analysis by Baruch revealed significant relationships which support the second hypothesis proposed in this dissertation; this hypothesis is that the subject's satisfaction with the mother's lifestyle will interact with the variable of maternal employment status in determining the subject's career/family orientation. In the only systematic investigation of this variable, Baruch, utilizing open-ended interviews proceeded to explore the mother's working behavior, the father's attitude towards the mother's lifestyle and the subject's reaction to the mother's lifestyle. Results indicated that the subject's attitudes towards careers for women was related to maternal interest in career related achievements, maternal endorsement of dual role patterns, mothers as a model of dual role compatibility, father's acceptance of a career-oriented wife and maternal commitment to work. Baruch concludes that "if increasing numbers of women enter the work force and attain high positions, the tendency to devalue feminine professional competence will decrease and work may even lose its masculine label... The findings also imply, however, that to be attractive the dual role pattern must be rewarding and free from serious difficulties." (p. 37)

Other evidence in support of this second hypothesis is not as formalized as the data presented in Baruch's study. Although, in general it is predicted that a mother with high employment status will tend to have a career-oriented daughter, interactive influence, as noted by Baruch, must be considered. If the career activities of the mother have resulted in familial strains in either the husband-wife or mother-daughter relationship, then the orientations of these particular daughters may be diametrically opposite to their mother's career-oriented lifestyle. It is hypothesized that a positive perception of the mother's lifestyle regardless of occupational status will be correlated with a similar desire in lifestyle on the part of the daughter; a negative perception of the mother's lifestyle will be correlated with an alternate desire on the part of the daughter. The intensive study on dual career families done by the Rapoport (1971) resulted in an overall positive portrayal of the career oriented wife. However, one of the strains acknowledged in this type of family relationship was that of "overload." The wife, removed from the traditional domestic role, could no longer maintain exclusive responsibility for housework, child care, social relationships and this work was either neglected or redistributed. Although all of the families studied utilized domestic aid, the children were also frequently pressed into helping roles. On the positive side, this may lead to independence and resourcefulness of the child, but on the other hand, dependency needs may go

unsatisfied; the child may also be the recipient of over-protective behavior resulting from maternal guilt feelings. Depending on the individual childcare arrangements, the youngster may feel burdensome or different from his peers. Additionally, the emphasis on a high standard of excellence, manifested by both parents, may be stifling to the child. As suggested previously, any perceived difficulties in the husband-wife relationship in the dual career family may lead the daughter of a career oriented mother to reject the maternal model. As Bailyn (1970) has noted, "marriages of men whose exclusive or primary emphasis is on their careers to women who themselves place store on integrating a career with their family lives are not very happy." (p. 111) The perceived satisfaction of the mother's lifestyle again become important as noted in DePree's (1962) analysis which indicated that '...without the communication of a parental attitude that achievement outside the home is a 'relevant and enjoyable activity for women,' the childrearing practices associated with higher achievement motivation will not take full effect.' (Tangri, p. 180) Similarly, high achieving women may be motivated by negative perceptions of their mothers. One of the highly educated subjects in Ginzberg and Yohalem's (1966) study had chosen the lifestyle of a career mother. In her autobiography, this woman reflects upon her mother's completion of a college education and notes that "To her everlasting regret she never pursued the teaching career for which she had been prepared, and her

restlessness around the house made me realize the limitations of domestic activity for an educated mind... At an early age I decided not to repeat my mother's experience." (p. 59) Further evidence portraying the homemaker in a negative manner has been heavily explored during the past decade; women's roles have been the focus of much attention and the discontented housewife no longer remains an invisible figure. It is unlikely that the image these particular women present to their daughters is a desirable one, but due to the paucity of studies on this particular point one can only hypothesize that many of these daughters will have negative feelings and hesitate to imitate the lifestyles that appear to be unsatisfactory for their mothers. For example, although some of the homemakers studied by Komarovsky (1953) were contented in their roles (and hence would be positive models), others were upset and disillusioned. In the latter instances, "Overwork, tired muscles, constant and almost exclusive association with young children, monotony are among the frequently mentioned grievances." (p. 107) The disillusionment faced by an educated woman may be particularly acute since "...active discontent depends upon the ability to conceive a better alternative to one's present condition and upon the belief that unfair obstacles stand in the way of its realization." (p. 117) Similarly, the women in Friedan's (1963) analysis would hardly be conducive models for young daughters to emulate. A more extreme analysis in a clinical setting presented by Bart (1971)

studies extreme unhappiness in women who chose to make their families the sole focus of their lives. The particular depression syndrome, Bart noted, was likely to occur in middle-aged women who had lost their self definition (role of mother) as their children became fully grown.

Because the most important roles for women in our society are the roles of wife and mother, the loss of either of these roles might result in a loss of self-esteem -- in the feeling of worthlessness and uselessness that characterizes depressives... These women's self-conceptions must change; some of these women cannot make this change. They are over-committed to the maternal role and in middle age suffer the 'unintended consequences' of this commitment. (pp. 137-138)

Furthermore, Bart noted that it was the housewives, rather than the working mothers who were most likely to succumb to this syndrome, since the latter women had evolved multiple role definitions of self. It is relevant to note that when these depressed women were asked to state what they were most proud of, all replied in terms of their children with a few referring to their husbands in a secondary capacity. "None mentioned any accomplishment of their own, except being a good mother." (p. 140) These findings become particularly relevant for the subjects in this dissertation, whose own mothers would be approaching middle age, and may also be exhibiting to some extent the symptoms noted in Bart's subjects, thereby conveying to their daughters the dangers of an exclusive homemaker role.

Horner (1972) also noted that some of her college

women seemed to be motivated for careers by the negative examples set by their mothers. One subject stated "My mother is now working as a secretary, but she didn't work until now. I don't want to end up like that." Another subject remarked that "Another reason I am going to have a career and wait to get married is a reaction to my mother's empty life." (p. 169) It is unfortunate that the perceptions of the mother's lifestyle have not been investigated in a more systematic manner. For example, Hennig (1973), investigating women executives who were president or vice-president of national business firms, noted that only 100 women occupy this role in the United States; 25 took part in the study. Of these 25, only one had a mother who was employed. The remaining group of mothers, although highly educated, occupied the traditional domestic role, although they, as well as their husbands, supported their daughter's aspirations. It would be interesting to explore and speculate whether these mothers resented the limitations of the feminine role, and whether, perhaps, the daughters perceived their mother's abilities as being "wasted". Unfortunately, this aspect was not pursued. Other evidence culled in support of this hypothesis is Hochschild's (1973) statement that "Many professional women were motivated in the first place not only by the positive goal of a career, but by the negative goal of not being a 'mere' housewife." (p. 183) Rapoport and Rapoport (1971b) too, noted that "Many of the dual-career family wives had mothers who worked than did the

conventional wives, and those dual-career wives whose mothers did not work showed a greater tendency to have been frustrated with their housewife roles than was true for the conventional wives." (p. 522)

It is postulated that the career-family orientations of our subjects will be related to both the mother's employment pattern and the daughter's interpretation of the mother's lifestyle. The satisfaction of married women has been investigated by Fuchs (1971) who noted that married women with a positive attitude towards work report personal motivation for working, believe that employment is not disadvantageous to the family, believe that they have enough time for their family, and are satisfied with their lifestyles to a significantly greater extent than married women who have a negative attitude towards their employment. These latter women also take a negative view towards vocational and professional training for girls, and would probably not be encouraging of careers for their own daughters. Not surprisingly, the women with greater work commitment were more skilled and highly educated than the women with less work commitment. This lends support to the expected correlation between the first two variables to be investigated in this dissertation -- particular employment status of the mother and the perceived satisfaction of the mother's lifestyle. Other studies (Safilios-Rothschild, 1971) have indicated that a woman who works with a low degree of job commitment is not only dissatisfied with her

work role, but very often exhibit dissatisfaction with the roles of wife and mother too.

In conclusion, the effect of the non-working vs. working mother may be mediated by the perceived satisfaction that daughter has of the mother's lifestyle. The employment of the mother, rather than being an isolated variable, must be viewed in relationship to the particular occupational status and in relationship to other aspects of family life. As the Rapoport's (1971) noted:

...on the one hand marital happiness was thought to decrease with a wife's commitment to work because she could not give the necessary attention to her husband and to her home, and data could be found to support this. On the other hand, marital happiness was also shown to increase when the woman goes out to work because she then avoided boredom and a sense of being 'captive' or exploited. (Bailyn, 1970, p. 524)

The third variable to be investigated, and one which is often cited as critical in determining a woman's career orientation is the presence of a supportive male, defined as either the father or steady boyfriend. On a theoretical level, psychoanalytic views lend support to the importance of the father. Forrest (1966) noted that "Specifically, for the girl, the father's influence helps her experience herself as a feminine person and helps her relate to the social world as female." (p. 21) Although one might take exception to the stereotyped qualities Forrest perceives as positive and desirable in the female, he does note that the daughter integrates her father's needs and values for her

with her own needs and values. In terms of the proposed variable, paternal approval and encouragement of a daughter's aspirations should be of crucial importance if a career commitment is to be viewed as complementary to the feminine personality. Forrest also noted that there was a complex relationship whereby the daughter's identification with the mother makes her sensitive to parental interactions between the father and the mother. In terms of the proposed variables, a father's attitude towards the mother's work role would be another aspect of his influence on the daughter's perceptions of what constitutes appropriate feminine behavior. Other supportive evidence for this hypothesis comes from two sources -- autobiographical and experimental analyses. On the former level, the importance of the father has been shown by Cartwright (1972) who investigated women's motivations to study medicine. She noted that the most commonly mentioned predisposing factor for these women was encouragement from others; more specifically "...both parents strongly cathected educational attainment as a central family value, applicable to their daughters as well as their sons." (p. 205) Encouragement, utilization of talents and self actualization by both parents was mentioned in almost all of the autobiographical data in the Kundsinn (1973) symposium. The self-portraits of the subjects in Ginzberg and Yohalem's (1966) review also reflected parental encouragement as a strong influence of feminine development. One subject from this latter study stated that "I don't

believe it has ever occurred to anyone on either side of the family that a woman could be or ought to be "a mere housewife", and hardly a man in the family would be likely to choose a wife who saw herself in that single role. It is a family in which every woman is supposed to be somebody." (p. 13)

On an empirical level, Lancey's (1973) data has indicated that a father's untraditional attitude towards the mother's real or hypothesized work experiences was significantly related to the sex role untraditionality manifested by the college daughters studied. Lancey further suggested that the father's attitude acts as a mediator with respect to the mother's role behavior. Baruch (1973) has found that career aspirations in fifth and tenth grade girls is related to a tendency to identify with the father, as defined by a desire to lead an everyday life like the father rather than the mother. Hennig (1973) in an analysis of family dynamics of women executives found that the childhood relationships of her subjects with their mothers was typically warm and nurturant, but the childhood relationships with the fathers was perceived by these subjects as being atypical in that it entailed a greater amount of paternal warmth, support and closeness than was common in the usual father-daughter relationship. Lozoff (1973) in analyzing the interrelationship between fathers and female autonomy, noted that the degree of autonomy and the relationship with the father appeared to be directly linked. The high

autonomous women in her sample described themselves as emotionally similar to their fathers, yet frequently at odds with their father's attitudes and values. Relating these findings to those of Horner (1970), one notes that the fear of success and perceived antithesis between competency and femininity common in Horner's women is apparently absent in Lozoff's autonomous women. The explanation for this may be that the fathers of autonomous women

...treated both daughters and sons with respect for their abilities and urged each child to develop according to her or his talents and inclinations. At the same time that these fathers encouraged the women students to develop competencies without linking any sex-role value, for example, to either traditional or masculine interests, they still treated their daughters in a way that conveyed to the students a sense of their value as women. As these students developed during college, they were remarkably unconcerned and unselfconscious about their femininity. (Lozoff, p. 92)

The interrelationship and importance of maternal models, perception of mother's lifestyle, and male influence (the three variables proposed in this thesis) are most aptly seen in Lozoff's descriptions of the effect of the high powered professional fathers and the frequently low-keyed, homemaker mothers:

The fathers of the Autonomous Developers perceived intelligence, energy, and talent in their daughters and pushed them to exploit these qualities. Their mothers, capable hostesses and respected and beloved wives of well-regarded men, provided a contrasting attraction that often contributed to a toning down of such ambitions. As freshmen, most of the Autonomous

Developers described their mothers as inadequate, because they perceived them either as lacking forceful personalities or as viewing issues in an emotional, irrational, or uninformed manner. The students admired nurturant qualities like gentleness and generosity, but found irritating their mother's perceived irrationality, submission to the father, and interest in high social status. The students equated femininity with indecision and immaturity; masculinity with competency and rationality. As they progressed through four years of college, however, their descriptions of their mothers began to include such characteristics as wisdom and strength of opinion. It may be that turbulence and concern connected with the growth of the daughters stimulated development in the mothers, but it also is possible that the daughters no longer needed to perceive their mothers as relatively colorless and ineffectual.

There was, however, much about their mothers' lives that disquieted them. One student commented: 'The thing that depresses me most about married women is that they are not individuals'. The comments and behavior of the women, including the Autonomous Developers, suggested that 'fathers are not enough', that the dearth of adult women who comfortably pursued challenging careers neutralized the influence of fathers. (p. 93)

On the other hand, the fathers of the Least Autonomous daughters tended to support rigid sex role differentiation within the home. These daughters, led by the mother, but supported by the father, were groomed for the traditional role in marriage. If a woman marries, the support or non-support of her husband will usually be more salient than the attitudes of her father (although there is enough evidence to suspect that these attitudes should be highly correlated). It is relevant to note that according to the

1966 Department of Labor, only 4% of employed women were working in opposition to their husband's wishes (Hawley, 1971), again indicating the importance of male influence. Since males exert substantial influence in determining female orientations, the attitudes of the steady boyfriends and fiances of our subjects in addition to the attitudes of their fathers will be explored.

Horner (1972) in her research on fear of success noted that the attitudes of male peers

appears to be the most significant factor in arousing the motive to avoid success in these girls. The girls who showed evidence of anxiety about success and social rejection and had altered their career aspirations toward a more traditional direction were either not dating at all (interestingly enough, it was the three girls with the all A averages who were not dating at all) or were dating men who do not approve of "career women."  
(p. 65)

If the often cited belief that women tend to be highly dependent and sensitive to the attitudes of significant others is true, then undoubtedly the males' view will exert a critical influence on women's career choice. Tangri (1972) noted that

Relationships with the opposite sex are a critical part of the woman's self-esteem... and for almost all the women college is seen as their best opportunity to establish such a relationship... Since she can exercise active preference only in choice of boyfriend, the values and attitudes of this person are both a gauge of her own set of priorities and an important source of reinforcement for them.  
(p. 194)

The Rapoport (1971a) also verified in their investigation of dual career families that the support of the husband was a critical factor. For the husbands, it was important that their wives worked, and for the wives, it was crucial that their husband supported their endeavors. Additionally, the interview and autobiographical data of Komarovsky (1953) reflects the importance of the husband's attitude which is deemed "to be a crucial factor in the success or failure of the employed homemaker." (p. 185) Frequently, it was the overt disapproval of the husband which kept otherwise eager women from pursuing their work. In fact, some of the most unhappy women appeared in Komarovsky's section on the career-minded homemaker. These women were found to experience a longing for their previous occupations, a loss of economic independence and a loss of self-esteem. The evidence of Ginzberg and Yohalem (1966) also illustrates how a husband's attitude can make or break the marriage. Whereas one careerwoman jubilantly points out the comfort of her husband's encouragement and the pride he took in her accomplishments, another woman notes that the strains her professional orientation placed on the marriage resulted in divorce. (pp. 29-33) Similarly, the life experiences for successful women in the sciences (Kundsin, 1973) again illustrates the importance of a supportive husband. It should be noted, however, that these husbands appeared to be on an intellectual par with their scientific wives, although they were frequently in different fields; the husbands were

also egalitarian in their approach to housekeeping and childrearing chores. McIntosh (1973) reflects on the apparently unanimous view when she states that "It is no secret that the basic factor in the success of married women in careers is the cooperation and support of their husbands." (p. 30)

In summary, the major hypotheses proposed for study are

I The Effects of the Mother's Employment

- a. An employed mother is defined as a mother who is currently participating in a salaried, full-time (30 hours/week or more) occupation. Mothers who are temporarily between jobs (unemployed for less than one year) are considered to be employed. It is hypothesized that the employment of the mother will be positively correlated with the career aspirations of the daughter; the non-employment of the mother will be correlated with the absence of career aspirations in the daughter.
- b. The longer the mother has been employed, the greater the daughter's career aspirations will be.
- c. The occupational status of the mother will be defined as upper, middle or low status. These categories will be obtained by dividing the North-Hatt NORC ratings of occupations into 3 categories. The higher the occupational

status of the mother, the greater the career aspirations will be in the daughter.

## II The Effects of the Daughter's Perceptions of the Mother's Lifestyle

It is hypothesized that the role modeling effect proposed by Hypotheses I will be mediated by the subject's perceptions of the mother's lifestyle. Specifically, it is predicted that

- a. Subjects who are career oriented and have mothers who are also employed will view their mother's employment favorably.
- b. Subjects who are not career oriented and have mothers who are employed will view their mother's employment negatively.
- c. Subjects who are career oriented, but have mothers who are not employed will view their mother's lifestyle negatively.
- d. Subjects who are not career oriented and have mothers who are not employed will view their mother's lifestyle favorably.

## III The Effect of a Supportive Male

- a. The presence of a male (either father or boyfriend) who is supportive of an untraditional feminine role will be related to the presence of career aspirations in subjects.

## IV Other Hypotheses

- a. It is hypothesized that career oriented subjects

will admit to more androgynous personality characteristics than will family oriented subjects.

- b. It is hypothesized that career oriented subjects will view a dual work role as appropriate for women more frequently than family oriented subjects.
- c. It is hypothesized that career oriented subjects will report more willingness to seek employment when there are preschool children in the home for reasons other than financial necessity.
- d. It is hypothesized that career oriented subjects will tend to be less religious than family oriented subjects.
- e. It is hypothesized that career oriented subjects will want fewer children than family oriented subjects.
- f. It is hypothesized that career oriented subjects will rank the expected satisfactions from their careers higher than any other possible sources of satisfactions from life.

### Method

Subjects: Fifty female graduating seniors from Brooklyn College, City University of New York were used as subjects. From the females expected to graduate at the end of the semester, every fourth subject was contacted by mail and asked to participate in a psychological study concerning attitudes about graduating from college (Appendix I).

Interested subjects were instructed to contact the investigator by telephone, at which time the first of two appointments would be arranged. Subjects were informed that payment of \$3.00 would be made upon completion of the study. To increase the size of the sample, a random selection of subjects who were contacted by mail and did not respond were telephoned and asked to participate in the study. Only those volunteering subjects who were between the ages of 20 and 24, single, and living with their biological parents were accepted for participation in the study.

Materials: An attitude questionnaire (Appendix II) was administered to subjects either individually or in small groups, depending upon time of appointment. The questionnaire had been designed to assess Ss future career and/or family plans in both a direct and an indirect manner. Other questions directly probed the mother's pattern of work and attitude towards employment. The father's attitudes towards the mother's real or hypothesized employment were also assessed. The closeness in the relationship between the student and each of her parents was explored in addition

to the family and career aspirations both parents and boyfriend (if appropriate) expected for the subject. Although some of the questions were constructed specifically for this study, many items were adopted from previous investigations where they were found to be important discriminating items (i.e. Lancey, 1973; Sobol, 1963; Bailyn, 1972). The Bem Sex Role Inventory is included in the battery. This measure consists of 60 personality characteristics for which subjects are asked to describe themselves on a scale from 1-7. The Inventory, unlike other sex role inventories, treats masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions, thereby making it possible for a subject to be described as either masculine, feminine, or androgynous in personality characteristics. Finally, questions relating to the desirability of women engaging in careers and the expectations of satisfaction to be derived from future careers and family activities was assessed.

During the second stage of the study, an open-ended interview modeled after Baruch (1972) was used. Data from this portion of the study was tape recorded. The interview provided an opportunity to clarify any unclear responses to the questionnaire and assess in-depth qualitative aspects of the subject's orientations and family relationships. As in Baruch's study, one goal was to determine the 'lesson of the mother's life' (p. 35) and the effect that this lesson had on the daughter's orientation. Five significant variables from Baruch's study were assessed on a 3 point high-

moderate-low scale. These variables are maternal interest in career related achievements, maternal endorsement of dual role patterns, mother as model of dual role compatibility, father's acceptance of career oriented wife, and maternal commitment to work.

Procedure: A computer printout of all female graduating seniors from Brooklyn College, CUNY was obtained during the spring, 1975 semester. A total of 1,068 women were on this list. A brief letter describing the proposed study was sent to every fourth senior. Individuals who were interested in participating in the study were instructed to telephone the investigator to arrange a mutually convenient appointment. In all, this initial recruiting letter was sent to 267 female graduating seniors.

To assess the representativeness of the sample to the Brooklyn College population, the potential subjects were divided into five comparison groups. The first group was comprised of free volunteers -- those individuals who had contacted the investigator in response to the initial letter, desired to participate in the study, and met the specified qualifications in terms of single marital status, age of 20-24, and residency with parents. Fifteen female seniors comprised this first category of voluntary subjects.

A second group of subjects was designated as telephone volunteers -- those subjects who were contacted by telephone after receiving but not responding to the mail invitations. From this telephone invitation, 35 seniors agreed to

participate in the study; these 35 subjects in combination with the 15 subjects in category one comprised the individuals who served as the focal point for the study.

Category 3 was composed of 22 individuals who were contacted by telephone following the mail invitation but declined further participation in the study. All individuals in this category did give the investigator basic biographical information (age, marital status, residency pattern, major, and grade point index) over the telephone.

Category 4 was composed of 61 individuals who did not respond to the initial mail inquiry and were unable to be contacted by telephone. These seniors received a second letter (Appendix III) requesting the basic biographical information noted in category 3 and a request for an explanation as to why they chose not to participate in the study. Self-addressed stamped envelopes were included with this form. All subjects in this category provided the requested biographical information and explained further lack of participation in terms of time pressures.

The final category (5) was composed of 23 seniors who were contacted for participation in the study but were deemed ineligible because of age, marital status, or present residency arrangements.

Support was given to the representativeness of the findings from the 50 subjects studied. A comparison of all groups in terms of the three requirements for participation in the study was made: (1) single marital status,

(2) between the ages of 20-24 and (3) residency with parents. Eighty-six per cent of all individuals in the 5 groups were single, 97.4% of the entire group was in the age bracket of 20-24, and the final requirement in terms of residency was met by 81% of the entire subject pool. It was therefore concluded that the 50 subjects studied were representative of the larger group of female graduating seniors from Brooklyn College, CUNY.

## Results

The questionnaire and interview data from the 50 respondents indicated that two variables appeared to be salient in understanding the plans and aspirations of these graduating seniors. The first variable which described these women was innovative in occupational choice vs. traditional in occupational choice. The term "innovative" was used to define an occupation that was non-traditional for women (under 30% female) and therefore tended to have a greater preponderance of males. For example, the occupations of marine geologist, political analyst, lawyer, and chemist were considered to be innovative professions. On the other hand, teaching, social work, secretarial studies, and nursing (over 62% female) were considered to be traditional occupations for women (U.S. Census, 1970). The particular occupation the subject planned to enter rather than major area of college study was used as a measure of innovation since it was found that the latter could be misleading. Thus, for example, a subject who was a college science major but who aspired to be a science teacher in the public school system would be pursuing an occupation (teaching) that was traditional for women. On the other hand, the science major who was planning to enroll in a graduate program in order to become a marine geologist would be classified as innovative, since she was pursuing a profession that was non-traditional for women.

A second differentiating variable which appeared among

these women was career vs. non-career (e.g. family) orientation. A career oriented subject was defined as one who anticipated making a lifetime commitment to a specific occupation. Career orientation was assessed by 9 scores which were measured from 5 items from the questionnaire (Items 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7b). These scores were obtained from plans upon graduation from college, the mention of a specific career choice upon graduation from college, the occupational status of this work, the degree of actual professional preparation the subject had, the presence of career aspirations ten years from now, the mention of a specific career ten years from now, career aspirations 20 years from now, the description of a specific career 20 years from now, and the self-concept of the subject as a careerwoman. A numerical score was derived from the sum of these items and used as an additional overall measure of career aspiration. The validity of this numerical score was indicated by the fact that the correlations between this measure and each of its components was significant at the .001 level. Furthermore, the validity of the career and family items was suggested by the correlations of each item with every other item. Of the 72 possible Pearson Correlations, 6 were significant at the .001 level, 16 at the .008 level or better, 8 at .01, 16 at .05 or better, 4 at .10 or better and 2 had correlations of .11 (see Appendix IV). In general, the most highly related items involved the professional work status the subject desired, her future work

plans 10 and 20 years from now, and her self-perceptions as a careerwoman. The items that were least discriminatory as correlates were the subject's immediate plans and her focus on a specific career after graduating from college, since all subjects, regardless of career or family orientation, planned to work following their college graduation.

The major findings of this study were that the encouragement of the parents and the daughter's sex role orientation were critical factors in determining both her career choice and career commitment. The daughter's career orientation was correlated with the perceived attitude and beliefs of the mother, rather than the mother's actual employment or non-employment status.

Analysis of the results was facilitated by the use of a 4-part typology contrasting the variables of innovative vs. traditional occupational choice and career vs. non-career (family) orientation. From this framework, subjects were placed into 1 of 4 categories: innovative occupation-career oriented, innovative occupation-non-career oriented, traditional occupation-career oriented, or traditional occupation-non-career oriented. As Table 1 indicates, the type of career chosen was not significantly related to the degree of career orientation (Fisher exact, n.s.).

A discriminant analysis of the 4-part typology revealed three variables which statistically distinguished between the subgroups of women (Table 2). As the lambda scores indicate, the variables of femininity score, number of

Table 1

Distribution of Subjects According to Type of Career and  
Career Orientation

		<u>Type of Career</u>	
		<u>Innovative</u>	<u>Traditional</u>
Career Orientation	Non-Career Oriented*	4	18
	Career Oriented	10	18
		N = 50	

\*Fisher exact, n.s.

Table 2  
Discriminant Analysis of the 4-Part Typology

<u>Discriminant Function*</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>	<u>Relative Percentage</u>	<u>Canonical Correlation</u>	<u>Functions Derived</u>	<u>Wilks' Chi- Lambda Square</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Significance</u>
1	0.66358	55.96	0.632	0	0.3858 41.902	18	0.001
2	0.44147	37.23	0.553	1	0.6419 19.507	10	0.034
3	0.08079	6.81	0.273	2	0.9253 3.418	4	0.490

\*Discriminant Function 1 = average femininity score,  
 2 = number of children expected,  
 3 = father's perceived feelings about the daughter as a  
 careerwoman.

children expected, and father's perceived feelings about the daughter's career explain almost all of the variance among the groups. More specifically, the canonical correlation (squared) serves as a guide in measuring the proportion of the variance described by each particular function.

## Overview

### Innovative-career oriented

The women in this category exhibited a high degree of career orientation in response to the questionnaire items designed to measure this factor, and were in or aspiring to be in innovative professions. These subjects viewed their occupation as a lifetime commitment. All of the women saw themselves working in their area of specialization ten years from now, and all but one individual saw herself in this same profession 20 years from now. Additionally, almost all of the subjects had amassed a great deal of experience in their profession over and beyond the usual college course requirements. For example, GRE tests, resumes, volunteer work, job applications, scholarship applications and awards, independent research, and actual occupational experience were the norm for these individuals. An enormous amount of drive and persistence was exhibited even when experience and opportunities appeared to be relatively inaccessible. For example, one subject writes

I've majored in anthro and psych since medical anthropology required a strong social science background. Since there is no course in it in B.C. I'm doing an independent research course in readings compiled by a staff member of Mt. Sinai Hospital. Anytime I have to do a term paper for an anthro course I try to find a topic that suits the class requirements and at the same time is related to medical anthropology... This helps me compensate for the lack of background I'm getting here and the inadequacy of graduate programs because of the newness of the field.

Other characteristics that were unique to these women were their downgrading of marriage and children relative to their careers ( $t = 2.95, p = .01$ ;  $t = 3.99, p = .003$  for career-marriage and career-children ratings respectively). These subjects were happiest when they thought of themselves as careerwomen and tended to respond more negatively to thoughts involving marriage and children. Perhaps more surprising was the fact that these women believed their parents would also be highly supportive of their career goals and happy in their career achievements. In fact, there was a strong tendency for the mother of the innovative career oriented woman to be perceived as being happier at the thought of her daughter as a careerwoman than with the thought of her daughter as a mother ( $t = 2.09, p = .06$ ). Apparently, these women saw their parents as encouraging their careers while not placing undue pressure on them to marry and raise children (Table 3). In general, neither of the parents were believed to emphasize the traditional lifestyle of marriage and family for their daughters. The fathers were a particularly important source of encouragement to both their daughters and their wives. For example, in this group the husband of unemployed women were perceived as encouraging the wife to begin working (66%). In spite of this encouragement, the 50% unemployment rate of these mothers was higher than might have been expected from the aspirations of their ambitious daughters. However, this rate is comparable to the national statistics which indicate

Table 3

Innovative-Career Oriented Subjects and Parents Compared For  
Ratings of Marriage, Career and Children

	Marriage	Career	Children
Subjects' Ratings*	4.3	5.9	3.8
Perceptions of Mothers**	5.3	5.1	4.6
Perceptions of Fathers***	5.1	5.4	4.9

\*T-test for subjects' feelings of marriage compared with feelings for career ( $t = 2.95$ ,  $p = .01$ ) and feelings for children compared with feelings for career ( $t = 3.99$ ,  $p = .003$ )

\*\*T-test for perceptions of the mother regarding marriage and career for the daughter ( $t = .45$ , n.s.) and children and career for the daughter ( $t = 2.09$ ,  $p = .066$ )

\*\*\*T-test for perceptions of the father regarding marriage and career for the daughter ( $t = .82$ , n.s.) and children and career for the daughter ( $t = 1.25$ , n.s.)

that in 1974, women accounted for only 39% of the labor force. More specifically, analysis of all married women with husbands present indicates that only 43% of these women were in the labor force during 1974 (Handbook on Women Workers, 1975). For this particular sample, the unemployment of the mothers appeared to be due to a lack of marketable skills, coupled with the current employment of the husband. (Note that no husband was unemployed.) However, the mothers and daughters appeared to share the understanding that the mother's lifestyle would be unsuitable for the daughter, the latter of whom was in the process of learning skills with clear economic value. A high degree of sensitivity to the dissatisfactions within the mother's life, and parents that were highly supportive of an untraditional feminine role were commonalities among these women.

Other interesting results were that of all subjects tested, this group tended to have the greatest rejection rate of children, with 30% of the women stating that they definitely did not want to have any children during their lifetime. Another finding was that 20% of these women were sex-typed masculine on the Bem Sex Role Inventory, while the rest were classified as androgynous. For the group as a whole, the masculinity scores on the Inventory were considerably higher than the femininity scores. In fact, this group of subjects had the lowest femininity scores of all subjects,  $F(3,46) = 4.862, p = .01$ . Finally, this group had the lowest religiosity scores in comparison to all other groups

$F(3,46) = 3.704, p = .03$ . In general then, these women are highly career oriented and are experiencing a minimum of conflict with respect to the traditional feminine role. Most have made priority choices in favor of careers and believe they are being supported by their parents. An example of the decisiveness which permeates this group of women would be the following statement

I want my independence now. I want to be able to do what I want later on... I want to work and get what I want.

Or, as another subject stated

In today's society there's a lot of emphasis on women's liberation and women's rights and I would think that young people graduating want to make a life of their own, assume their own identity, and then later on have a family... What are women fighting for?

### Innovative Non-Career Oriented

Although the four women in this category were innovative in occupational choice, they failed to meet the criteria for career orientation. Claims to extreme happiness with the self-perception of careerwoman ( $X = 6$ , standard deviation = 0) contrasted with a lack of incorporation of their careers into future plans 10 and 20 years from now (Table 4). The commonality among these women was their unclear focus for plans concerning the future. Exhibiting disillusionment with their lives, they claimed to be living on a day-by-day basis, unable or unwilling to project into the future. Similar to the first group of subjects, these women stressed career over marriage or children, but the parents of these subjects appeared less supportive than the parents of the first group of subjects (Table 5). Greater family dissension within this group was indicated by the fact that these subjects exhibited an unusually high level of disagreement with their father's attitudes and opinions. In fact, these subjects seemed to believe that nothing they did in terms of marriage, career or children would truly make their fathers happy.

As compared with the innovative career oriented women, greater family tension was indicated by the fact that these women believed that their fathers did not support their mothers' working ( $t = 5.38$ ,  $p = .003$ ). Another distinguishing characteristic of these subjects was the tendency of the mothers of these women to accept rather than encourage

Table 4

Average Career Scores For Plans 10 and 20 Years From Now

	<u>Ten Years*</u>		<u>Twenty Years**</u>	
	Innovative Occupation	Traditional Occupation	Innovative Occupation	Traditional Occupation
High Career Orientation	4.4	3.8	3.9	3.8
Low Career Orientation	2.0	2.7	2.2	2.4

\*F(3,46) = 15.198, p < .001

\*\*F(3,46) = 8.377, p < .001

Table 5

Innovative Non-Career Oriented Subjects and Parents Compared  
For Ratings of Marriage, Career and Children

	Marriage	Career	Children
Subjects' Ratings*	3.5	6.0	2.7
Perception of Mothers**	5.0	5.0	4.7
Perception of Fathers***	4.2	4.5	4.7

\*T-test for subject's career vs. marriage and subject's career vs. children incalculable (standard deviation for career = 0)

\*\*T-test for perception of mother's feelings towards daughter as a careerwoman vs. daughter's marriage,  $t = 0$ , n.s.; daughter's career vs. daughter with children,  $t = .33$ , n.s.

\*\*\*T-test for perception of father's feelings towards daughter as a careerwoman vs. daughter's marriage,  $t = .64$ , n.s.; daughter's career vs. daughter with children,  $t = .61$ , n.s.

their daughter's career interests. In response to the Bem Sex Role Inventory, this group, similar to the first group, showed a reversal of masculinity and femininity scores with the former substantially higher than the latter. In fact, of the four groups of subjects, these women had the highest masculinity scores,  $F(3,46) = 3.506$ ,  $p = .03$ .

In general, disillusionment with little or no support by the parents seemed to characterize the beliefs of this small group of women. For example, one subject stated

After getting rejected from two law schools and counting on a third and final one, I'll just go look for a job thru the NY Times... (In 10 years) What I expect it to be like and what it's going to be like or what I want are 2 different things. Things never turn out the way you want...

Another subject stated that in 20 years it will "Probably be the same old drag as it will be ten years from now".

A third subject from this group replied to the question regarding career plans with "I don't know what I'm doing tomorrow! I can't even think in terms of a week from now."

To the 20 years question, this subject merely stated "No comment".

### Traditional occupation-career oriented

The 18 subjects in this category were career oriented in terms of the assessment criteria and were headed towards traditional occupations -- primarily public school teaching or social work. These subjects responded more positively to career than marriage and family plans ( $t = 2.75$ ,  $p = .01$ ;  $t = 3.70$ ,  $p = .002$  respectively). However, the parents of these subjects were seen as placing equal emphasis on marriage, careers, and children (Table 6). These women were all motivated for their careers and almost all saw themselves as working in 10 and 20 years, with short leaves of absence for childbearing and childrearing. Unlike the innovative career oriented women, ten year priorities were in terms of family first, work second (t-test for 10 years plans,  $t = 2.31$ ,  $p = .02$ ); however by 20 years, the plans of the traditional career oriented women resembled those of the innovative career oriented women ( $t = .04$ , n.s.). The traditional career oriented women expected to enjoy their traditional occupations particularly because they can easily be combined with a successful family life.

These women were also unusual in that they had the highest percentage of full-time employed mothers (44.4%). The employed mothers were perceived as successfully integrating their work and family life. One factor which aided this integration was the flexible hours many of the working mothers enjoyed, which apparently served to minimize the conflict and strain on family life. In general, these

Table 6

Traditional High Career Oriented Subjects and Parents  
Compared For Ratings of Marriage, Career and Children

	Marriage	Career	Children
Subjects' Ratings*	5.1	5.8	4.6
Perception of Mothers**	5.5	5.1	5.5
Perception of Fathers***	5.5	5.3	5.5

\*T-test for subject's career vs. marriage,  $t = 2.75$ ,  $p = .014$ ; career vs. children,  $t = 3.70$ ,  $p = .002$ .

\*\*T-test for perception of mother's feelings towards daughter as a careerwoman vs. daughter's marriage,  $t = .92$ , n.s.; daughter's career vs. daughter with children,  $t = 1.07$ , n.s.

\*\*\*T-test for perception of father's feelings towards daughter as a careerwoman vs. daughter's marriage,  $t = .64$ , n.s.; daughter's career vs. daughter with children,  $t = .61$ , n.s.

subjects can be characterized by their realization of the importance of a profession and the delicate balance required to integrate career and family life. These subjects want a job once their children are raised, and a job that is interesting, responsible, high in status, and has flexible hours. They are acutely aware of the working woman as a potential threat to the male. Finally, these women were unique in that their scores on the Bem Sex Role Inventory were either androgynous or sex-typed feminine. Unlike the first two groups of subjects, they showed higher femininity than masculinity scores.

A typical example of the traditional career oriented subject would be the following:

I'm interested in going to nursing school... (my mother) she wants it to be something I pursue but more it's something like having a skill -- something I can go back to after I'm married and have children -- a skill I can go back to... I'm particularly pursuing a career that I can get a job with anytime, anyplace, just about. It's not the only reason I'm going into it but that's really the major consideration. I know I can always go back to it when my children are in school or whatever.

Another subject stated

I'd like a family, a job... Well I think I would wait till my children grew up to take a full-time job... I'd like to get into it (special education) for 5 years or so, maybe 4, then bring up my children... Then I'd go back to it.

Finally, another subject explained how her role model was her sister-in-law who was a

College graduate, teacher, now mother of two... She wants to start going back in September (to teaching) for 2 days a week... Happy family life; that's about it.

### Traditional occupation-non-career oriented

The 18 women in this category aspired to traditional occupations but were not career oriented. They indicated little or no desire to pursue their profession on a long term basis. Of all subjects studied, these women assigned the lowest values to the self-perceptions of careerwoman  $F(3,46) = 26.218, p < .001$  (Table 7); equally low assignments were made to their perceptions of marriage and family life (Table 8). As Table 8 indicates, the parents of these subjects were perceived as having definite views which offered little support for the subject as a careerwoman and a great deal of support for the subject in the role of wife and mother. Almost three-fourths (72%) of the parents were thought to believe that careers for their daughters were definitely less desirable than family life. In addition to opposing any career aspirations for the daughter, the fathers also were believed to be opposed to the idea of women working. Similarly, the mothers were thought to believe that a woman could not successfully handle the dual role of family and work. Not surprisingly, this group had the highest percentage of engaged subjects (over one-fourth) although the results of the Sex Role Inventory were identical to those subjects in category 3. Of all groups, these women indicated the desire for the greatest number of children.

Interestingly, only 55% of these women were able to project 10 and 20 years from now. Most of the subjects had

Table 7  
Self-Perceptions of Careers According to  
Subject Classification

	Innovative Occupation	Traditional Occupation
High Career Orientation	5.9	5.8
Low Career Orientation*	6.0	4.7

\* $F(3,46) = 26.218, p < .001$

Table 8

Traditional Non-Career Oriented Subjects and Parents  
Compared For Ratings of Marriage, Career and Children

	Marriage	Career	Children
Subjects' Ratings*	4.7	4.7	4.3
Perception of Mothers**	5.1	4.2	5.6
Perception of Father***	5.5	4.3	5.6

\*T-test for subject's career vs. marriage,  $t = 0$ , n.s.;  
career vs. children,  $t = 1.16$ , n.s.

\*\*T-test for perception of mother's feelings towards  
daughter as a careerwoman vs. daughter's marriage,  $t = 1.75$ ,  
 $p = .098$ ; daughter's career vs. daughter with children,  
 $t = 4.08$ ,  $p = .001$ .

\*\*\*T-test for perception of father's feelings towards  
daughter as a careerwoman vs. daughter's marriage,  $t = 2.81$ ,  
 $p = .012$ ; daughter's career vs. daughter with children,  
 $t = 4.11$ ,  $p = .001$ .

no specific goals or plans. When they did articulate aspirations, it was clearly family first, a leave of absence from work, and then a reentry into the labor force when the children were grown. However, even at this last point, these women desired a "job" rather than the return to a particular profession or occupation. In fact, it was this group of subjects which indicated the greatest resistance to combining work and the rearing of preschool children. It was surprising, however, to find that these women did not view their mother's lifestyles favorably or look with happiness at their own life plans. Perhaps, the most salient characteristic of this group was a reluctant acceptance of a traditional feminine role, a belief that career and family life could not be successfully combined, and a resignation to the apparent lack of alternatives. Some of these feelings can be illustrated by the following quotations:

I worry about his (my fiance) getting a job more than my getting a job because I guess it's more traditional that the man is the breadwinner. I shouldn't feel this way -- women's lib people would kill me -- but a woman's income is supplemental.

Another subject stated

I'll teach and when I do get married... it will be good. I hope for a sharing of responsibilities but chances are I'll be cooking...

The following three subjects further highlight the contradiction and confusion present in these women:

After I'm married I should stop (working) and that's where the contradiction lies. It is a contradiction... It seems like

it would be just for nothing... not really a contradiction but a waste; I could have stopped after high school and achieved the same end... Everything is to take up time until you do get married.

Marriage is the ultimate to her (my mother)... In order to make it... you're supposed to get married...

I don't see them (a career and family) easily combined because I think you have to give up one or the other. You can't raise a family and have a career at the same time. It's too difficult.

## Factors Influencing the Subject's Orientation

### The Effect of a Supportive Male

One of the most influential factors in assessing the subject's orientation was the belief that a father was supportive of an untraditional feminine role (Hypothesis 3). The results of this study indicated that perceived paternal support had two aspects to it -- first, the father's responses and encouragement of the daughter, and second, the father's responses and encouragement of the wife in pursuing an untraditional feminine role. Perceived paternal influence was correlated both with career orientation ( $r = .28$ ,  $p = .05$ ) and with the selection of an innovative occupation. Innovative subjects perceived their fathers as significantly less happy at the thought of their marriage and motherhood than did traditional women ( $r = .33$ ,  $p = .009$ ;  $r = .40$ ,  $p = .002$  respectively).

In accordance with the 4-part typology, perceived paternal influence was found to vary according to the daughter's aspirations so that innovative career oriented women (as well as traditional career oriented women) perceived their fathers as responding favorably to their careers, as indicated in Table 9,  $F(3,46) = 3.785$ ,  $p = .029$ . Additionally, these supportive fathers did not pressure their daughters into the traditional roles of wife and mother, as there was no significant difference in the daughter's perception of the father's feelings about marriage, career or motherhood for the subject; these women

Table 9

Average Ratings for Father's Perceived Feelings About the  
Daughter as a Careerwoman

		<u>Type of Career</u>	
		<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Innovative</u>
<u>Career Orientation</u>	Non-Career Oriented*	4.3	4.5
	Career Oriented	5.3	5.4

\*F(3,46) = 3.785, p = .029

believed their fathers would be equally pleased by all three roles. Apparently, as perceived by the daughters, the fathers concretized these perceptions in their behavior towards their wives by providing a supportive and encouraging atmosphere for the working wife.

The innovative non-career oriented women had fathers whose chief characteristics were their perceived disagreement with their daughter's attitudes, values and opinions. It was this group of subjects who seemed to see their fathers and themselves in the greatest amount of conflict. Apparently, the father-daughter relationship tended to be globally unhappy as these subjects gave their fathers low scores for perceived happiness for the subject as wife, careerwoman, and mother (Table 10). Apparently, no avenue these women could pursue would please their fathers. Additionally, the fathers were not perceived as being supportive of the unemployed mother who desired work or the employed mother who was already working.

The traditional career oriented subjects had fathers who were believed to exhibit equal support for all phases of the subject's life -- marriage, career, and motherhood. The careful weighing of family and career commitments were noted both in the subject's responses and in those values perceived for the father. Note that these fathers tended to be perceived as more happy at the thought of their daughter as a mother than were the fathers of innovative career oriented women ( $t = 1.86$ ,  $p = .07$ ).

Table 10

Perceived Ratings For Father's Happiness With Subject's  
Marriage, Career, and Children

	Innovative Career Oriented	Innovative Non- Career Oriented	Traditional Career Oriented	Traditional Non- Career Oriented
Subject's Marriage	5.1	4.2	5.5	5.5*
Subject's Career	5.4	4.5	5.3	4.3**
Subject's Children	4.9	4.7	5.5	5.6***

\*F(3,46) = 3.117, p = .03

\*\*F(3,46) = 3.785, p = .029

\*\*\*F(3,46) = 3.196, p = .031

The fathers of the traditional non-career oriented daughters were believed to be nonsupportive of any deviation from the feminine role. These fathers were perceived as devaluing careers relative to marriage and motherhood for the subject ( $t = 2.81, p = .01$ ;  $t = 4.11, p = .001$  respectively). Of all groups, these subjects had the most to say during the interview about their father's behaviors and attitudes. A general theme of father as fostering the traditional role for women and as being vulnerable to psychological threat from any woman who did not conform to this traditional role emerged. For example, the following comments were made by traditional non-career oriented women:

Last summer she (my mother) was supposed to get this job... she was supposed to start the following Monday. She didn't even ask how much she was getting paid, she was so excited at the part-time job -- just to get out of the house. Then Sunday night my grandmother got violently upset -- you've got to cater to her a lot... so my mother didn't even start working 'cause she knew it wouldn't work out... My father was glad that my mother didn't even start working part-time even though it was only supposed to be 25 hours a week... He was glad in a way that she didn't go into work part-time so he surely wouldn't like her working full-time. He just thinks she's very good around the house.

Another subject indicated that she knew her father would never want her mother to go to work:

I really don't know his attitude on it -- maybe he feels threatened as a man that the wife is going out and contributing to the household expenses... He feels that if we need the extra

money in the house it's good but otherwise I wouldn't like her to do it... My mother is very bright, very intelligent, finished college and... she just didn't pursue it because when she went back to finish my father said, 'you can finish but don't get a job. I wouldn't want you working'. And he was so adamant about it that he made her pregnant and she had my sister. So, he really didn't want her to work.

Another subject states that

My father enjoys being on top: He's strongwilled and he feels that the male is the dominating factor in the family, and I think that he would find it (if my mother worked) a threat because I can remember when my mother had a part-time job, my father would constantly tell my mother 'We don't need this. We don't need the money'. He would do stupid things like not get out of bed on time so she couldn't make the bed before she went to work. He was acting very childish. My father has to be the head of the household and it has to be his income that is taking care of the whole thing.

A fourth subject states

(My father) always wanted to be the king and the head of the household and at some point my mother was making more money than him and that sort of bothered him. Although my mother was very shut off from the way my father felt. I don't think she realized it, but I realized it because I was sort of close with my father. I thought he felt his manhood was somehow put down because my mother was making more than him.

Finally, one subject reflects that

He (my father) doesn't mind that she works but he won't make any concessions because she is working. He still expects supper to be on the table, the house to be clean. If

she's too tired, he won't accept that as an excuse.

More specifically, statistical analysis revealed that for subjects with innovative careers, the father was perceived to be significantly less happy at the thought of marriage ( $t = 2.47$ ,  $p = .01$ ) and children ( $t = 3.10$ ,  $p = .003$ ) than fathers of subjects with traditional careers. Similarly, subjects who thought that their fathers would be happier with their careers than with marriage were significantly more career oriented ( $t = 2.75$ ,  $p = .005$ ) than subjects who believed their fathers would be happier with their marriage than their careers. Additionally, women who perceived their fathers as being happier at their careers than with children were significantly more career oriented ( $t = 3.24$ ,  $p = .005$ ) than women who believed the reverse. Therefore, the father's perceived beliefs were influential in both innovative and career oriented women.

Other data indicated that the daughter's perceptions about her father's feelings of her as a careerwoman were significantly related to her overall career aspirations ( $r = .28$ ,  $p = .05$ ) and to her own feelings about her happiness as a careerwoman ( $r = .28$ ,  $p = .02$ ). An interesting interrelationship between the father's perceived attitude towards the working wife and the father's perceived attitude for the daughter's career were previously suggested in the interview descriptions, and further substantiated by statistical analysis. There was a strong

correlation ( $r = .34$ ,  $p = .007$ ) between the mother's working and the daughter's belief that her father would be happy if she was a careerwoman. This can be understood by the fact that women who work tend to have husbands who are neutral or in favor of this pattern (77.7%) while women who do not work tended to have husbands who opposed their working (68%). Clearly then, the father's perceived attitude towards the mother is an important reference point in the daughter's perceptions of the father's attitudes and desires for herself.

A supportive male was originally assumed to be either a father or a boyfriend who was supportive of an untraditional feminine role. Therefore, an analysis with respect to the perceptions of the boyfriend and their effects on the subject was undertaken. The general findings indicated that the perceived values of the boyfriend had no effect on the subject's role innovation or career aspirations. However, rather than the boyfriend's attitudes, the question was raised as to whether the presence of a serious boyfriend could cause women to think and behave in a manner more oriented towards marriage and less oriented towards careers. Perhaps it is only women lacking male companionship who choose to emphasize their career expectations. To assess this possibility, differences in total career aspirations were computed for those women who were dating seriously ( $N = 22$ ), were engaged to be married ( $N = 9$ ), and those who were uninvolved with any particular male ( $N = 19$ ).

No significant differences in career aspirations were found between these three groups of women,  $F(2,47) = 1.883$ , n.s.

## The Effect of the Mother

### Mother's Encouragement

Little support in the data could be found for the hypotheses that either the mother's employment pattern or the subject's attitude towards her mother's lifestyle would be of importance in determining the orientation of the subject (Hypotheses 1 and 2). The findings of this study indicated that the most critical element was neither of these two factors but rather the presence of a mother who encouraged a non-traditional lifestyle for her daughter -- an encouragement based on "not following in the mother's footsteps." Thus, one correlate of career innovation was the subjects' belief that their mothers placed relatively lower value on motherhood than on careers for their daughters ( $r = .45, p = .001$ ). A comparison was made between subjects who believed their mothers rated careers higher than marriage with subjects who believed their mothers rated careers lower than marriage. The results indicated that subjects who believed the former tended to be more career oriented than subjects who believed the latter ( $t = 1.93, p < .06$ ). Using the same statistical paradigm, when subjects who perceived their mothers as valuing careers over children were compared with subjects who believed their mothers valued careers below children, the former group was significantly more career oriented than the latter group ( $t = 2.75, p = .005$ ).

The mothers of career oriented daughters were perceived

as encouraging career related achievements in their daughters as opposed to the mothers of non-career oriented daughters who were described as being unimpressed with career related achievements ( $t = 2.31, p = .02$ ). The mothers of career oriented daughters were also believed to feel significantly happier with the description of their daughter as a careerwoman than did the mothers of non-career oriented daughters ( $t = 2.14, p = .04$ ).

Within the structure of the 4-part typology, the mothers of innovative career oriented daughters could be characterized as being highly supportive of a career orientation for these women and relatively less supportive of traditional family orientations. One subject emphatically states

They (my parents) both wanted me to go to law school. My mother insists that I cannot get married until I do -- until I've finished.

Yet, this same mother quoted above was unemployed, and, behaviorally speaking, was not an innovative role model for her daughter. In response to the realistic observation of her mother's lifestyle, this same subject noted that she would "absolutely not" want to mimic her mother's lifestyle.

My mother, I think, would have wanted a career but she couldn't go to college because she needed the money for the family... I couldn't see spending 20 years of my life as a housewife. I definitely wouldn't want that.

Another innovative career oriented woman also described a

mother who clearly desired her daughter to be non-traditional; however, the mother herself was neither innovative nor career oriented. This subject was preparing to be a political analyst of Asian studies.

Right now she (my mother) doesn't want me to have a family. She thinks I'm too young to get married... She's got a crummy job. She went back to work after 20 years of being married. She works in Tiffany's -- just a clerical job... She's got too many children (8). My mother is really a smart woman but she's never done anything. She took a year of college, she got married and stayed home; she had children. It's no life anybody should lead.

The innovative non-career oriented subjects tended to have mothers who accepted but did not strongly encourage their daughter's aspirations. These subjects exhibited similar attitudes towards their mother's lifestyle as did the innovative career oriented subjects. For example, one innovative non-career oriented woman of an unemployed mother stated that

Her emphasis is too much on her family and her home. She really doesn't have any other life besides that. All my relatives' lifestyles have set negative examples for me. My aunts, my mother, my grandmother -- they're always thinking about the house -- what kind of curtains to buy. If they get new furniture, they throw a party and it seems so -- I don't know -- not worth it... because nobody really pays attention to what kind of curtains you have or if the house is spotless. They're not going to say, 'Wow, this person is a great housewife!'... I think it's a waste for the kind of life she has.

The traditional career oriented women tended to have mothers who encouraged marriage in combination with a prestigious job having flexible hours. The mothers exhibited a clear priority on family life in order to create a minimum of career-family conflicts. These mothers were perceived as being significantly happier at the thought of motherhood for their daughters than were the innovative career oriented mothers ( $t = 2.30, p = .03$ ).

My mother wants (me to have) something like a skill, something I can go back to after I'm married and have children, a skill I can go back to. (But there is a lot of pressure to get married.) She comes out and says it. A perfect example is I came to her a few days ago to tell her of a job possibility I had, and the way I phrased it was 'I have good news for you' and she said, 'Oh, you're engaged' and that's what she would typically say... When I told her what it was about she was excited but not nearly as much.

Another subject stated that

She (my mother) wants me to grow into at least some kind of semi-professional. She was a nurse... She was never a housewife. She doesn't want me sitting home even if I had kids eventually but have a career as well.

Another subject highlights the approval for both job and family, but indicates the clear emphasis on the latter:

She (my mother) wants me to go to college and become something... She says things once in awhile -- what are you going to do when you get out of school besides teach? Marriage, she's start collecting things... glassware, silverware, things like that. She wants family, after I've finished college though.

For the traditional non-career oriented woman, the dual role is presented as incompatible for women as far as both the mother's actual behavior and her attitudes go. A job is seen as important only in the case of disasters or "God forbid anything should happen".

Just as long as I could go out and be independent, earn my own money so that I don't have to depend on anyone. I would imagine that she had in mind -- God forbid anything should happen to her or I was left alone or if I got married and something happened -- that then I would be able to support myself.

Another subject reflects on the limitations both her mother and her religion present:

The Orthodox Jewish view is that the woman should stay home... until I do get married it's (education) fine. After I'm married it should stop... (My mother is) living in somebody else's reflected glory. I would rather be something myself. But it doesn't fit in with the scheme of things. I would contradict everything we hold sacred.

Another subject states

I think a career for the woman is important so you can build up some sort of savings (when you're first married) and then once you start a family I think the woman should give up her career and put all her attention on raising the family...

Another states

I originally wanted to go to law school and she (my mother) was kind of upset by this because how could you raise children and be a lawyer at the same time? Children come first, law comes second... You can't be a good mother (and a lawyer at the same time) -- then you'll have other people raising your children. That's the number one sin; it's just not right.

The statistical analysis of the "mother's encouragement" was significantly related to the subject's orientation. The mother's encouragement of career related achievements was correlated with desire for high occupational status by the daughter ( $r = .22$ ,  $p = .06$ ), salience of career aspirations in 20 years ( $r = .20$ ,  $p = .07$ ), and daughter's perception of herself as a careerwoman ( $r = .32$ ,  $p = .02$ ). The mother's encouragement of the dual role for women was significantly related to the work status the subject desired ( $r = .32$ ,  $p = .01$ ) as was the mother's own perception of her ability to handle the dual work role ( $r = .41$ ,  $p = .01$ ). Similarly, the father's acceptance of the dual role for the wife (part of the interview battery) was related to career salience in the subject 20 years from now ( $r = .23$ ,  $p = .05$ ). Lastly, mother's commitment to work indicated that the greater her commitment was to her job, the greater was her daughter's professional preparation ( $r = .37$ ,  $p = .03$ ), career salience in 20 years ( $r = .45$ ,  $p = .01$ ) and daughter's view of herself as a careerwoman ( $r = .39$ ,  $p = .02$ ).

#### Maternal Behavior

As previously noted, the hypothesized variables (Hypotheses I a and b) concerning maternal employment and length of employment were not significantly related to the daughter's career innovation or career orientation. A wide distribution of both of these factors was obtained, however, with 17 mothers employed full-time, 9 employed

part-time, and 24 unemployed. Additionally, the work pattern ranged from one to 20 years for full-time employed mothers and one to 15 years for part-time employed mothers. It was only the mother's occupational status (Hypothesis Ic) which had some relationship to the daughter's aspirations. Mothers with high occupational status tended to have daughters with greater professional career preparation ( $r = .26$ ,  $p = .09$ ) and daughters who perceived their careers as salient 10 years from now ( $r = .32$ ,  $p = .05$ ). Unfortunately, in this sample, the mothers' occupational status proved to be one of the few variables with a highly restricted range. Only two of the mothers were employed as blue collar workers, and only five were in the semi-professional category. No mother had an occupational status which could be categorized as professional. The majority of occupations, therefore, were clearly white collar, primarily clerical, with 19 out of 24 (73%) of all working mothers having this designation. Therefore, the possibility remains that occupational status might be a significant correlate of career commitment.

### The Desire for Children

The apriori hypothesis that women who are career oriented would desire fewer children than those women who are not career oriented (Hypothesis 4e) was supported by the findings of this study. Pearson correlations indicated that the desire for fewer children was correlated with increased career expectations after college ( $r = .29$ ,  $p = .02$ ), increased degree of professional preparation ( $r = .22$ ,  $p = .06$ ), career saliency in 10 and 20 years ( $r = .36$ ,  $p = .008$ ;  $r = .25$ ,  $p = .05$  respectively), positive perception of self as careerwoman ( $r = .36$ ,  $p = .008$ ) and numerical indicator of career orientation ( $r = .40$ ,  $p = .004$ ).

Subjects with innovative as opposed to traditional careers did not differ in the number of children desired. However, if one only looks at responses to the question of whether any children are desired, the findings indicate that women who can be categorized as role innovative and career oriented respond differently; three out of the 10 innovative career oriented subjects emphatically stated that they desired no children, compared with only one subject in the traditional high career oriented group, and no subject in either the traditional non-career oriented or innovative non-career oriented group.

### Sex Role Orientation

The Bem Sex Role Inventory classified subjects into personality types that were androgynous (31 subjects), sex-typed feminine (14 subjects) or sex-typed masculine (5 subjects). Although there was no correlation between sex role category and career vs. family orientation (Hypothesis 4a), there was a strong relationship between sex role category and innovative vs. traditional career choice ( $X^2 = 12.42$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = .002$ ). As Table 11 indicates, all but one subject who was sex-typed masculine had chosen innovative careers and all subjects who were sex-typed feminine had chosen traditional professions. The androgynous subjects were proportionately divided between innovative and traditional career choices (10 out of 14 subjects and 21 out of 38 subjects respectively).

Statistically, comparisons of the average femininity and masculinity scores for each subject indicated that innovative careers were correlated with higher masculinity scores ( $r = .35$ ,  $p = .005$ ) and lower femininity scores ( $r = .41$ ,  $p = .001$ ). A higher masculinity score was also correlated with some aspects of career orientation. Subjects with high masculinity scores desired a higher work status ( $r = .34$ ,  $p = .007$ ) and were more likely to mention a specific career upon graduating from college ( $r = .44$ ,  $p = .001$ ). These women were also more likely to have mothers who encouraged career related achievements in their daughters ( $r = .28$ ,  $p = .02$ ). High femininity scores,

Table 11

Sex Role Orientation in Relationship to Innovative and  
Traditional Career Choices

	<u>Androgynous</u>	<u>Sex-Typed Masculine</u>	<u>Sex-Typed Feminine</u>
Innovative*	10	4	0
Traditional	21	1	14
			N = 50

\* $\chi^2 = 12.42$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = .002$

on the other hand, were associated with liking a part-time working mother's lifestyle ( $r = .64, p = .02$ ) and was negatively related to favorable perceptions of self as a careerwoman ( $r = .27, p = .025$ ). There was also a tendency for high femininity scores to be related to negative feelings about a career being viable for the subject herself ( $r = .20, p = .07$ ).

### The Dual Role

Another factor of considerable importance in understanding the orientation of these graduating seniors was their attitude towards the dual role (work and family) for women (Hypothesis 4b). The findings indicated that subjects who had positive attitudes regarding women engaging in dual roles (Item 23) tended to be more career oriented than women who had mixed or negative feelings about women engaging in dual roles. Specifically, women with positive attitudes tended to have more positive perceptions about themselves as careerwomen ( $r = .39, p = .002$ ) and greater professional preparation ( $r = .23, p = .05$ ). When the question was rephrased (Item 24) in an attempt to personalize the statement and assess how the subject viewed the dual work role for herself, even stronger relationships appeared. Viewing the dual work role as appropriate for oneself was correlated with greater professional preparation ( $r = .33, p = .008$ ), greater salience of career plans in 10 years ( $r = .25, p = .03$ ), positive perceptions of self as a careerwoman ( $r = .57, p = .001$ ) and the overall

summed measure of career orientation ( $r = .30$ ,  $p = .01$ ). There were no differences, however, in responses given by innovative vs. traditional subjects to either of these items (Items 23 and 24) regarding the dual work role for women. Apparently, these items were linked to career orientation rather than occupational choice.

#### Sources of Expected Satisfaction

Although the expected satisfactions in life (Hypothesis 4f) do not vary with career choice (innovative vs. traditional), they are correlated with career saliency in the subject. Women who ranked career satisfactions first out of all possible satisfactions they expected to receive in life tended to view themselves positively when they anticipated being careerwomen ( $r = .25$ ,  $p = .03$ ). Those women who ranked family first of all possible satisfactions in life tended to have less professional preparation ( $r = .29$ ,  $p = .01$ ) and also tended to be less happy when they thought of themselves as careerwomen ( $r = .31$ ,  $p = .01$ ).

#### Religiosity

The degree to which a subject believed herself to be religious (Hypothesis 4d) strongly correlated with her choice of innovative or traditional career. The results indicated that the choice of an innovative career was associated with a decreasing degree of religiosity ( $r = .35$ ,  $p = .006$ ). Religiosity, however, was not strongly associated with the degree of career orientation.

### Other Hypotheses and Findings

It was expected that career oriented women would endorse more reasons for leaving a preschool child at home to return to work than would a family oriented woman (Hypothesis 4c). This hypothesis was not confirmed; with the exception of financial necessity, no consensus was reached as to an acceptable reason for leaving a preschool child to return to work.

Surprisingly, socio-economic and biographical variables were found to be unrelated to both occupational choice and career orientation. Forty-nine of the 50 subjects were Caucasian and, primarily, of either the Catholic (27.1%) or Jewish (66.7%) backgrounds. Subjects tended to come from middle income homes (average income \$10,000 to \$14,999). However, neither income nor religious background were significant correlates of the variables investigated in this study.

## Discussion

### Overview

Why are women's talents under-utilized? Why is it that highly educated women are concentrated in the semi-professions of teaching, nursing, and social work? How can one understand Epstein's summary statement that "No matter what sphere of work women are hired for or select, like sediment in a wine bottle they seem to settle to the bottom"? (Epstein, 1970, p. 2)

In an attempt to answer these questions, this study has explored the desires and aspirations of a group of female graduating seniors. Results of this investigation have indicated that, for the most part, these college women do not have highly ambitious career goals which later become thwarted by discrimination procedures in the professional world. Almost half of the women studied did not have long term career aspirations, and the majority of those who were career oriented desired to be in the traditional semi-professions. Only a small subsample of women intended to pursue long-term career commitments in non-traditional professional occupations.

The dynamics of each of the groups of women within the 4-part typology (innovative-career oriented, innovative non-career oriented, traditional career oriented, and traditional non-career oriented) were found to vary considerably. Cultural variables such as ideas of traditional femininity, values and expectations were salient in the analysis of

traditional non-career oriented and traditional career oriented women. However, individual variables of a familial and personal nature were pronounced in the understanding of the innovative non-career oriented and innovative career oriented women. In general, perceived parental encouragement and values, and daughters' sex role orientation were variables of importance in understanding the dynamics of all four subgroups of women.

### Traditional non-career oriented women

Over one-third of the sample, the traditional non-career oriented women, rejected contemporary ideas of women's role; their desired lifestyles, in terms of work and family, reflect traditional concepts of femininity.

#### Work

As with women of previous decades, the planned participation of the traditional non-career oriented women in the labor force can be described in terms of an "M" shaped pattern: "Labor force participation of women reaches a peak after graduation from school, goes down during the childbearing and childraising years and climbs upward again as children become older" (Cornell University, p. 7). The implications of this pattern is that women will remain out of the labor force for 10-20 years after the birth of their first child -- the same years that are regarded as prime time for the professional development of men.

The ten or so years that a woman is out of the work force however are crucial... These are the years when young men rise within their fields, when they are marked for advancement. For a woman trained in a profession or technical skill, these lapsed years can mean that she has missed important changes in her field and that she has grown rusty in the skills she once had. (Cornell University, p. 6)

The drive towards a particular profession was absent in the traditional non-career oriented woman. In fact, these women confirmed the idea that they went to college and were "urged to study in order to support themselves if they have to" (Cornell University, p. 6). Perhaps a

more apt description, used by many of the subjects themselves is the "God Forbid" syndrome. These women had been raised with the idea that a "girl" should go to college so that she can support herself if, "God Forbid" something should happen to her parents or her future husband. In many respects, she plans to use her education as an economic safety valve in her future marital situation -- a resource that can be used if and only if it becomes necessary to do so. In their later years, these women anticipate reentry into the labor force. At that time they will have a "job" (rather than a career) which will be something to keep them busy and pass the time while their children are in school.

#### Family

In listening to the interviews of these women, it was surprising to realize that the 20-24 year old 1975 subjects of this study sounded similar to the college-aged women interviewed by Betty Friedan 15 years prior, and to the middle-aged women interviewed by Pauline Bart (1971). Clearly, the traditional non-career oriented women were goal oriented towards family life (see quotations on pp. 80-81) and a large number of these women were already engaged. Compare this to Friedan's (1963) interviews of college women, one of whom states that

Girls don't get excited about things like that (nuclear physics, modern art) anymore. We don't want careers. Our parents expect us to go to college. Everybody goes. You're a social outcast at home if you don't. But a girl who got serious about anything she studied -- like, wanting to go on and do research -- would be peculiar,

unfeminine. I guess everybody wants to graduate with a diamond ring on her finger. That's the important thing. (p. 145)

An educator, also interviewed by Friedan stated that

These girls behaved as if college were an interval to be gotten through impatiently, efficiently, bored but business-like; so 'real' life could begin. And real life was when you married and lived in a suburban house with your husband and children. (p. 146)

Similarly, one of Bart's (1971) middle-aged women stated that "getting married was the only thing she ever did that made her parents think she was worthwhile..." Another woman said 'It will be the greatest joy of my life when my granddaughter meets somebody and she'll get married' (p. 137).

In all three of the above situations, one hears family oriented women whose goal was to get a husband, women whose dream was that of the suburban housewife, "women whose greatest ambition has been (is) marriage and children" (Friedan, p. 22).

In addition to being traditionally feminine in terms of their values and goals, the women in this study were also found to be highly flexible. After listening to a number of the interviews, I noted that following observation: "Pressure to get married exists even in the absence of beau. It's almost like filling in a slot with an appropriate male. No demands on him. Women are flexible and will do all the accommodating." In retrospect, this impressionistic note is a summary of these women's goals and provides a clue to understanding their desires. They anticipate lifestyles

that most college males will be able to satisfy. Many expressed the desire for an egalitarian relationship in household chores, although, in the next breath they said it was unlikely they could get it -- in fact they often did not truly expect it. In a search for a theoretical understanding of these women, Angrist's (1972) notion of "contingency training" seemed most valid. Angrist stated that "...flexibility in future fulfillment of women's roles is built into socialization both early and late as 'contingency training'. In other words, woman lives by adjusting to and preparing for contingencies" (p. 104). Angrist delineates six contingencies or "ifs" that occur in the woman's life: an unknown spousal relationship, a lack of guarantee that she will marry, the probability that work may be an economic necessity at some time, the need to fill time before and after children, and the possibilities of divorce and widowhood. Studying these contingencies, one realizes that they can be easily condensed into two major factors: women must be flexible for difficulties or problems that arise with their potential mates, and women must be flexible enough to occupy themselves before and after, but not during, child-rearing. Since the contingencies, by their very definition, depend upon other people, and since flexibility itself implies a lack of clear structure and commitment, one understands that a woman who has adopted this orientation is bound to be traditional and non-career oriented -- a woman who cannot project into the future 10 or 20 years from now

(this would not be flexible) and one whose job or lack of job will depend upon the needs and wishes of her family (contingencies). Clearly then, these are traditional notions of woman's role, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find that many of these women are sex-typed feminine on the Bem Sex Role Inventory. Self descriptions in terms of yielding, affectionate, loyal, sympathetic, sensitive, compassionate, tender, childlike, loves children, etc. with the exclusion or deemphasis of the complementary masculine attributes, are clearly descriptions in terms of traditional feminine stereotypes (Broverman et al, 1972).

#### Etiology

The question arises as to why these college educated women are so similar to the women of the previous generation? An explanation in terms of lack of role models is clearly not sufficient since, in terms of the entire sample, few of the women studied had career oriented mothers to serve as role models, and none had mothers in innovative occupations. A more likely explanation is in terms of the lack of "cognitive models". The traditional non-career oriented woman had parents who wished for only one thing -- to see their daughter happily married to an acceptable young man. College has its purpose in being the proper meeting arena for the potential couple and gives the woman the added benefit of advanced knowledge and marketable skills in case she ever needs to work. Yet, there was also the recognition that too much education or too much skill could be

detrimental if the primary focus was to be only family life (see p. 122 for an elaboration of this attitude). The results of this study indicated that it would be a mistake to underestimate the effects of parental influences on these young women. Their parents' marriage is the only relationship these women have intimately observed, and the message delivered by both parents is loud and clear: "Do it this way; there are no alternatives." In fact, attempts by the mother to break the traditional role had caused difficulties and disruptions in the family unit. Perhaps the strength of parental influence and rigidity of thinking can best be illustrated by a former student of mine, an older woman returning to school. She wrote on her final exam:

This article (Horner's "Why Women Fear Success") really brought back old memories to me. I graduated high school as an Arista student with a 92 average. I had also taken my entrance exams for Brooklyn College and passed them. However, my parents could only see my pursuit of education as a stumbling block to marriage. The smarter the girl became, the smaller the list of eligible husbands. She would become too choosy and would not find a mate from the neighborhood roster. We were not middle class. We were upper-lower class and had just survived a depression. My parents could not see that college was upward mobility. To them, it meant reaching into a class that would only reject rather than accept a woman of intelligence. So, at age 40, I was a freshman at Brooklyn College.

SUNDAY NEWS, FEBRUARY 8, 1976

## The Inquiring Fotographer

By JOHN STAPLETON

The News will pay \$10 for each question accepted for this column. Today's award goes to C. Fiorello, 6511 20th Ave., Brooklyn.

### THE QUESTION

Census figures show the more educated a woman is, the less likely she is to marry. What is your reaction?

### WHERE ASKED

Along Lexington & Third Aves.

### THE ANSWERS

Pauline Scherzer, manager:

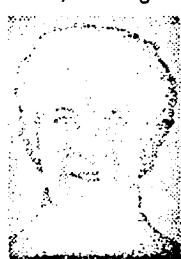


"It's logical. An educated woman is more independent. She can do for herself without having to rely on a man. If she has a college education, she is bound to be career-oriented. Also she may have trouble finding men on her level of intelligence."

ended. Also she may have trouble finding men on her level of intelligence."

Dr. Robert Sandow, Lexington

Ave., optometrist: "I agree, but it doesn't mean these women have no time for men. Based on today's mores, there is a tendency on the part of modern, well-educated women to live with someone rather than get married. That way, if they decide to split, it's easy enough to do without the need for a divorce."



rather than get married. That way, if they decide to split, it's easy enough to do without the need for a divorce."

Yael Bonder, teacher of disturbed children:



"They must have been looking at me. I'm 32 and not married. I started studying at the age of 6 and I haven't stopped yet. It bothers me that I never met a man who could fulfill my expectations of a husband. If I ever marry and have a daughter, I will make sure she is not well educated."

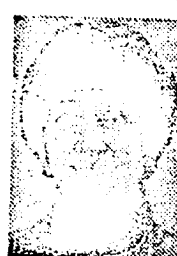
could fulfill my expectations of a husband. If I ever marry and have a daughter, I will make sure she is not well educated."

George Garrastegui, E. Second St., Brooklyn, Stock man: "It's understandable.

When a woman is well educated, she's bound to be more interested in a career than she is in marriage. So she focuses on a career. By the time she realizes there's more to life, she may be too old to attract a man."



Mrs. Gloria Rosen, hearing aid

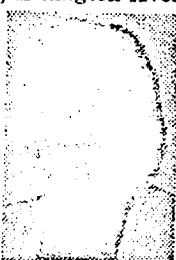


consultant: "Figures don't lie and it is unfortunate. A woman who is well-educated has so much to offer as a wife and mother. Unhappily, the more educated she is, the higher the standards she sets for a possible husband. She may never find a man who meets those standards."

er the standards she sets for a possible husband. She may never find a man who meets those standards."

Alex Spielman, Lexington Ave.,

owner jewelry store: "I don't think education has anything to do with marriage. Every woman wants to get married. Of course, it's easier for the attractive ones than the ugly ones. Those who can't attract male interest have plenty of time to further their education."



Of course, it's easier for the attractive ones than the ugly ones. Those who can't attract male interest have plenty of time to further their education."

### Traditional career oriented women

Acutely aware of the discrepancy between American ideology and American reality, and attempting to integrate new and old notions of femininity, is the traditional career oriented woman. Together with her parents, these women are attempting to pursue a lifestyle that will be meaningful throughout the various stages of her life.

### Ideology

American ideology, in spite of a great deal of evidence to the contrary (re: Stoltz, 1960), supports the notion that the prerequisite for good mothering is a full-time mother; exceptions to this rule are only made in cases of disaster, not in cases of desire. The intellectual and emotional knowledge that the employment of the mother per se does not necessitate harm to the child, are facts that appear to be available to the intellectual elite. The vast majority of the American public tenaciously cling to the idea that for a woman, employment and motherhood are basically antithetical; the traditional career oriented woman in this study is not exempt from this belief. The following excerpt from a well read but nonacademic source, brought to the investigator's attention by a number of students, reflects their beliefs and fears:

Mothers of infants, who leave them for work or school, are endangering the children's mental development... There is no way day care is going to do them much good... They will be second class citizens in terms of the brain development that they have... It's the

difference between an IQ of 70 and of 120, he said. That's a very big difference. Although his (Dr. Humberto Nagera of the University of Michigan) severest criticism is for day care centers that care for infants, he also feels that neither a day care home, a babysitter, nor even the father can ensure the child's development as well as the mother can... The psychiatrist said that the movement to more day care centers, and centers for younger children, was a political decision being made without consideration for the welfare of the child... Nagera compared day care centers to orphanages, warning 'You never got a bright child out of that'... (Serrin, 1974)

This ideology is enforced on a current governmental level. For example, a bill to provide day care to all women regardless of economic status under a national child development program was vetoed by President Nixon on the grounds that it had 'family weakening' implications. However, a bill to provide these same services to low income working mothers was passed and reinforces the notion that "day care is a cheap custodial operation for the poor and not to be confused with education." (Kemble, 1975)

### Reality

Conflicting with American ideology is American reality which dictates that

Today, women have more years without the responsibilities of childbearing and child care than with them. Women marry earlier, have fewer children, are more likely to marry and never have children, and to complete the years of childbearing earlier than ever before. While these activities have become less consuming, women have increased their time simply by an increase in life expectancy from 40 in

1850 to over 70 years by 1950. (Glazer-Malbin, p. 9)

The solution to the ideological-reality conflict for the traditional career oriented women lies in the pursuit of the semi-professions (teaching, nursing, social work), which distinguish themselves by their compatibility with family life. Leaves of absence for childrearing are easily obtained in these professions, and the hours are flexible enough to coincide with the school schedule of young children. Unlike professional occupations, the amount of work done in the home is minimal, thereby providing relatively clear distinctions between work and private life. The compatibility of the semi-professions with family life is clearly a major attraction for many women. As Etzioni notes:

As far as elementary school teaching is concerned, it is clearly congruent with feminine socialization, work styles, and familial roles. Compared to other alternatives for women, teaching offers attractive prestige and money. The decentralized nature of school organization means local hiring in almost every community; teaching is thus accessible to women who are relatively immobile members of the work force. The absence of interpersonal rivalry for monetary rewards fits the socialization experiences Caplow attributes to American women. The work schedule of teachers facilitates the participation of women with school age children -- their work hours coincide with those during which their children are outside the home. The slow-changing technology of teaching permits teachers to be away for protracted periods (as during the early years of childrearing) and to return without excessive loss of skill. An obvious but important correlative fact should also be

mentioned: in our society, as in most, the care of small children is culturally defined as women's work. (pp. 21-22)

As Etzioni noted in his last sentence, the tasks of the semi-professional are highly compatible with traditional feminine ideology. The semi-professional in teaching, social, and nursing, is by definition performing a helping, nurturant role. It is not surprising, therefore, that the sex role orientations of the traditional career oriented women were either androgynous or sex-typed feminine.

If one reflects on the choice of the semi-professional career, it is ironic to note that the primary motivation towards a particular field is often dictated not by the particular tasks required, but by external factors such as hours of work, vacation time, maternity leave, etc. It is also interesting to note that these factors are important not because the individual herself strongly desires particular hours or long vacations, but because she must maintain flexibility so as to satisfy the needs of the other potential members of her family. Since the American culture dictates that women's primary responsibilities are to the home, but reality indicates that 9 out of 10 women will be in the labor force at some time of their lives, the pursuit of the semi-professions is clearly the most conflict free alternative. It was interesting to note that only two of the women had any idea that the dogma of continual maternal presence, both during the preschool years and later during the after school hours, was an American, rather than a

worldwide, ideology. Both women are planning to emigrate to Israel, and view the Israeli ideology as a solution to this American dilemma. The first woman acknowledges the discomfort she sees in her mother's lifestyle, and expresses her hopes for herself:

That's all she does is sit at home. She's very overweight... From the financial point of view it would help my father a lot (if she worked)... I don't want to be like that at all. It's a stagnating life. She really has nothing. It would be very unfulfilling for me... I don't see a conflict (between family and work) especially if I stay in Israel because there most of the women are working... I wouldn't have to worry about staying home with children.

The second woman similarly states:

My fiance is an Israeli and we are going to live in Israel. In Israel, a lot of the women work... It's almost part of the lifestyle there that both parents should work. That's why I don't see any problems. I see more problems here... For some reasons, in Israel, the women are very satisfied and I don't know what the difference is... I don't know anyone (in America) who really works and has children unless their mother takes care of them. I don't think my mother wants to take care of my children.

### Etiology

In understanding the motivation of these women, it would be erroneous to view them as lacking in career dedication. Although the choice of profession is, in large part, dictated by cultural definitions of woman's role, these women are clearly career oriented in terms of both short and long-term commitments. They intend to remain in their occupations before children arrive, and plan to

return to this same occupation as soon as possible. It is important to distinguish between these women and the traditional non-career oriented women who have no desire to return to their professions following the establishment of a family. From the evidence of this study, one would not support Ziegler's (1967) global assumption that "Female teachers intend to teach only until they get married or until a bit later when they begin a family. The female perception of the teaching occupation is thus in and out." (pp. 78-79) Examples of the dedication many of these women had towards their careers were seen in their responses to the question of professional preparation. One woman wrote:

I have applied to 3 grad schools. I had to take the MAT's for one of them. I have had much experience in working with handicapped children. This is the field I would like to get in to. I have taught in classes of children who were brain injured, emotionally disturbed, educable MR, and trainable MR. I have also worked as a teacher in a preschool and next week I am to start work in a recreation center for handicapped children. I have also gone through the special education sequence at B.C.

Another woman wrote:

I've done work in a nursing home, at Willowbrook, at Brooklyn State Hospital and on a Hotline, plus future work in drop-in center. This is in preparation for social work. I am also working on the floating hospital or in a camp for the blind this summer (hopefully). I applied to graduate schools and the Peace Corps plus Vista!

Another subject continues:

To begin, I have done volunteer work in

my field -- 1) I have volunteered in a special bowling program for retarded children at Rainbow Lanes, 2) I have collected for the March of Dimes for 2 years and 3) I was a volunteer at Downstate Medical Center. So far, I have sent out over 40 resumes to private schools and clinics. I check the NY Times want ads every Sunday. I have also sent in my application for admission to graduate schools at Brooklyn and NYU. I have taken 2 licensing exams for the Bd. of Ed. I have also taken the National Teacher's Exam.

Parental encouragement has played a clear role in dictating the choices of these women. Their support, a reiteration of American ideology and reality, offered their daughters a limited set of options defined by careers in the semi-professions. Both parents are cognizant that their daughters will need other interests besides that of their prospective families. However, the parents are also aware that the choice of a traditional profession will, in the long run, present the least amount of potential conflict to their daughters while providing a substantial amount of reward. One would have to say that, in light of contemporary American society, the choice of a traditional profession is the most realistic alternative for a career oriented woman to pursue.

Innovative non-career oriented women

Unlike the other women studied, the innovative non-career oriented subjects have parents who are distinctively non-directive in stating goals for their daughters. Whereas the traditional non-career oriented and traditional career oriented women had parents who strongly supported a family, or family plus "feminine" profession respectively, the innovative non-career oriented women have parents who accept rather than encourage their daughter into a particular lifestyle. This non-directive acceptance on the part of the parents gives these women the widest range of acceptable lifestyles. Within rather large boundaries, the daughter is clearly in charge of her own life and free to determine her future. Some examples of the non-directiveness of the part of the parents can be seen in the following response to the question of whether the parents were encouraging a particular career:

No, as long as I go out and make money, it doesn't matter what I do; as long as it's something that's not low in status according to them...

Similarly, another subject states of her mother:

Well, when I tell her what I want to do she says all right, but she really doesn't encourage me. She accepts it. (My father stresses) nothing. He says as long as I'm happy, let me do what I want.

The freedom given to these women, while it probably would be envied by many students, has burdensome aspects to it. As Fromm noted, humans frequently need to "escape

from freedom" and search for guidelines when none seem present. Having chosen innovative professions, these women now need support, and the same freedom that enabled them to choose non-traditional careers is the very same freedom that will, in all probability, keep them from attaining these goals. This negative prediction for the future of these women has some support from Epstein's idea of the self-fulfilling prophecy that surrounds ambivalence in women: "anticipation of problems and expectations of ultimate defeat probably do result in weak commitment to any career goal, lessened investment in training, and perhaps less toleration of early deprivation which would make success more possible." (p. 69)

It is also interesting to note that the very idea of innovation without career orientation is a contradiction in terms. For a woman to maintain a desire for an innovative occupation but to have no career planning and to be unable to project herself into the future, almost eliminates the possibility of this occupation ever becoming a reality. Perhaps, this dilemma and basic contradiction in terms explains why so few women are in this category. For example, the prospective lawyer could have turned towards teaching history just as the prospective geologist could have taught science. Yet these women maintain their desire for the innovative professions but are not planning their futures around it. The initial desire for the innovative rather than the traditional career can be understood in terms of

the women's sex role orientations which were either androgynous or masculine sex-typed. The lack of career orientation can be understood in terms of the diffuseness of the parental attitudes noted previously, and also, in the negative relationship these women expressed towards their fathers in particular. A parallel appears to exist between the innovative non-career oriented women in this study and another study of "autonomous conflicted" women (Lozoff, 1973). As with our women, Lozoff observed a "joyless" note in their attitude. Lozoff also noted that the fathers of many of these women were

aloof, self-disciplined, and perfectionistic. Occasionally a Supercompetent student would mention having considerable difficulty with her father because both of them were stubborn... The Supercompetents' mothers appeared to them to be conciliatory and ineffectual. Several of them leaned on the girls for support, rather than offering them protection against the fathers' demands or opportunity to identify with a strong feminine figure. (pp. 93-94)

Similarly, the need for parental support is illustrated by Cartwright's (1972) analysis of female medical students. She notes that the most frequent response to the question of motivation for studying medicine was encouragement from another:

Thus although the subjects do not enjoy unambivalent approval of society for their occupational choices, they have nevertheless found important reinforcement for their decisions within their own personal milieu -- parents, teachers, husbands and relatives. The general sentiment behind the statements grouped under this first

motive could be expressed as 'I'm here because others kindled, nurtured, and approved of my interests and gave me a helping hand.' (p. 205)

Also relevant to this analysis was the fact that many career oriented women cite "Actualization of a parental dream" and "identified less with the parent's actual occupations and lifestyle, and more with what their parents might have been." (Lozoff, p. 206)

To synthesize the understanding of the innovative non-career oriented woman, one might hypothesize that initially parental acceptance of the innovative career was present in addition to the women's own sex role orientation. Both of these factors were sufficient to sustain the subject during the college years. However, added support is now necessary to overcome the ordeals of graduate school applications, scholarship forms, interviews, rejections and decisions; this extra support is not available. The father, in particular, having a stressful relationship with the daughter, and being unsupportive of an untraditional lifestyle for the mother, appears to be a chief deterrent to the daughter's pursuit of a career.

Innovative career oriented women

The innovative career oriented women in this study view their careers as lifetime commitments. These women are distinguished by the fact that their parents provide support by both emphasizing their particular careers and downgrading the importance of the childbearing role. Although the mothers of this group, when employed, were not in career oriented or innovative occupations, they seemed to provide "cognitive role models" for their daughters. In other words, both the perceived belief of the mother, and the beliefs of the daughter were that the ranges of options and alternatives for the daughter was greater than those available to the mother; and, both mother and daughter expected that the daughter's style of life would be new and different from the life led by the mother. In these mothers there appeared to be a flexibility, acceptance, and encouragement of options. It was interesting to note that part of the dedication in Cynthia Epstein's book was to her parents, who she simply described as the "creators of options". Similarly, Epstein's description of a study in post-revolutionary Russia indicated that parents educated their children for the kind of life they expected in the new society rather than educating them in traditional ways (p. 54). A study by Lipman-Blumen (1972) lends considerable support to the analysis of innovative career oriented women in this study. In the Lipman-Blumen study on sex role ideology, it was found that socio-economic indices

and maternal employment were unrelated to sex role ideology. However, as in the present study, the daughter's perceptions of the attitudes and beliefs of the mother were strong predictors of sex role ideology. Lipman-Blumen states that

A mother's encouragement enhanced the tendency toward the contemporary viewpoint more than a father's encouragement alone. When both parents equally encouraged their daughters to go to graduate school, however, the daughter was most likely to have the contemporary sex-role ideology. (p. 39)

The perceived agreement of the father and mother in the importance of a career for the daughter results in a supportive foundation for our women's ambitions. The results of concerted opinions of parents in the formation of their children's attitudes was noted by Keniston and Keniston (1964) who state that:

An American girl first learns what it means to be a woman at her mother's knee. She may decide to be like her mother or not to be like her mother, to be like her in some ways and not in other ways; or she may even believe she has completely forgotten her mother and set out on a new path of her own; but in the background her conscious and unconscious assessment of her mother's life, of its joys, satisfactions, virtues and failings, almost always remains central. In determining this assessment, the mother's conception of her own adequacy as a woman is of enormous importance, but equally momentous is the father's conscious and unconscious conception of his wife. In most stable marriages, these two judgements are (or soon become) complementary; and in our small and "isolated" families where mother and father are the only two adults present to the small girl,

their consensus is especially decisive in forming the daughter's view of her sex... Again, if the parents feel and act in concert, these early lessons become so deeply ingrained that they persist unconsciously even for adult women who consciously deny their validity. (p. 365)

Our women's view of their sexual identity is also illustrated by their masculine or androgynous classifications on the sex role inventories, indicating acceptance of masculine traits which are, of course, necessary to pursue innovative career commitments. Perhaps this ideology is also related to their secondary interest in family life -- a characteristic more typical of males than females. As noted by Friedan, "The identity issue for the boy is primarily an occupational-vocational question, while self-definition for the girl depends more directly on marriage." (p. 155) However, our women, in addition to showing an emphasis of career over marriage, desired to minimize or eliminate the motherhood role. To understand this finding, one must recognize that the careers these women have chosen do not provide flexible hours or part-time positions which would be compatible with childrearing. Therefore, these women must either adjust to the probability of some amount of "absent mothering" or, as 30% of them stated, they can reject the role of motherhood in its entirety. The results of this study appear to indicate that, although career and marriage are frequently seen as compatible, career and children are often viewed as incompatible. This directly contradicts the analysis of Van Dusen and Sheldon (1976)

who note that

Thus there developed the notion that there are two categories of women: those who are married and those with careers.

In fact, of course, such a dichotomy never existed. In 1950, one quarter of all married women who were living with their husbands were in the labor force, and more than one quarter of all women in intact marriages who had school-age children were employed: more than 10% of married women with husband present and preschool children were in the labor force. And the number of women who combine career and family roles has risen steadily since then. (p. 107)

The apparent contradiction between the findings of the present study and the above quotation can be resolved, however, by noting that "being in the labor force" and having a career, are, in fact, two very different terms and cannot be used, as Van Dusen and Sheldon imply, interchangeably. More accurately, Theodore (1971) notes the distinction between job and career, and comments that

The arrival of children into the family, an occurrence which rarely effects the occupational involvement of the father, has a decided effect on the professional mother... Although the middle-class father tends to assist more in the child-care process than does the father in the lower classes, the professional wife continues to assume the major responsibilities of the home and care of children; thus, even the dual-professional marriage does not insure an egalitarian family. Despite the proliferation of labor-saving devices, domestic and child-care obligations are both fatiguing and distracting from full professional development. The inadequacy or unavailability of child-care substitutes and day-care facilities are additional deterrents, even for part-time employment. Professional mothers usually have fewer

children than do non-professional mothers but the period of responsibility for children nevertheless covers a span of approximately twenty years, a period of time which seriously affects the career commitments of professional women.  
(pp. 21-22)

In fact, as the women in our study noted, professionalism implies conflict -- in terms of sheer hours away from the home, in the need to maintain and exchange current knowledge, to establish informal and formal social networks, to attend meetings, conventions and colloquiums, and to contribute to research productivity. In terms of the American society, marriage (to the right man) could occur within this framework; however, the presence of children would undoubtedly cause substantial role conflict. The innovative career oriented women are aware that the usual feminine seriatum approach of "work -- withdrawal from work -- return to work", would impose serious obstacles to their professional achievements. For example, realistic results of the seriatum approach might be isolation from other professionals, obsolescence of skills, or need for retraining. Additionally, it has been suggested that peak productivity occurs in the late twenties and thirties, the very years of withdrawal according to this approach. (Theodore, p. 26) However, in addition to the realistic difficulties of withdrawal from work, psychological effects should not be minimized.

In the case of complete withdrawal with the anticipation of return, the risks are high that the future career may

either not eventuate or may prove unsatisfactory. This is especially true in the leading professions. Once the decision to withdraw is made, continuous postponement is likely to occur from loss of confidence in one's ability during the inactive period; the longer the postponement, the more difficult the return. (Theodore, p. 26)

With this type of potential conflict, it is not surprising that many of our innovative career oriented women expect to forego the role of motherhood. And, for those who anticipate having children, the major problem does not seem to be "inadequacy or unavailability of child care substitutes and day-care facilities" (Theodore, p. 22) but the anticipation of guilt and conflict over absent mothering. Understandably, all of the women in this study have internalized to some degree, the idea of the full-time mother and reject the notion of day-care for a preschool child. Parenthetically, it was interesting to observe that the two women who expect to emigrate will use day care in Israel but would not use day care in America. From the interview, the reasons behind this dual value decision appeared to have little to do with the quality of the care in one country as opposed to the other, nor with any beliefs about their children's welfare or needs. The major component in the decision was American society disapproval vs. Israeli approval for the same pattern of behavior. In the former condition, they and their children would be different, unusual, and possibly "wrong"; in the latter country, day care behavior would be the norm, no excuses

or apologies would be necessary. Truly in America,

Day care in contrast to nursery school, for example, has come to imply custodial rather than nurturing or educational processes, substitute rather than supplemental mothering. Day care is for the children of the welfare (and, thus by definition inadequate) mother, nursery schools for the more affluent; day care implies convenience or therapy for the mother and nursery school implies opportunity for the child. (Cornell University, p. 9)

The ambivalence and potential problems children bring (no innovative career oriented woman spoke about potential joys) is illustrated by the following subject who was unsure if she ever wanted children at all:

There would have to be enough money. Money would be crucial. I don't want to have to leave my child in a day care center... I guess that would mostly be a part of whether I decide to have a baby or not. If I can leave whatever I am doing until the baby is ready to go to preschool -- which is 3 years old -- if I can leave what I am doing for three years and be sure that I can go back to it -- know that I'll be able to get back into it somehow, I guess that wouldn't be bad.

Again, the all or none attitude is voiced by another innovative career oriented woman:

I wouldn't have children unless I was in the position to stay home with them. I don't believe in other people raising my children.

### Effect of the parents

One of the chief findings of this study was that the perceived guidance and support of the parents were crucial factors in determining the daughter's career choice and career commitment. The importance of the father is confirmed by a number of other studies (see for example, Forrest, 1966; Cartwright, 1972; Kundsinn, 1973; Lozoff, 1973, etc.) of both an empirical and theoretical nature. The father who believes that a career for his daughter is congruent with her femininity, enables the daughter to expand her sex role identity beyond the traditional boundaries. Additionally, if the father also encourages and supports the wife in similar endeavors, a working example of an androgynous relationship is modeled for the daughter. If a wife or daughter's behavior and values do not threaten the father, the daughter can expect that other men will respond similarly to her. It appears to be this self acceptance which makes the innovative career oriented woman secure in her non-traditional pursuits.

Similarly, maternal support was another important variable related to the daughter's aspirations and commitments. However, a critical outcome of this study is the finding that maternal encouragements and cognitive options rather than maternal behavior were correlated with career commitments and career aspirations. Support for this finding can be noted in Tangri's (1972) study of role innovative women. She noted that although role innovation

was correlated with maternal employment status, "Neither parent seems to be serving as a role model..." (p. 184) Similarly, Lipman-Blumen's (1972) study on traditional and contemporary ideology noted that

Obvious socio-economic indices, such as parents' income, education or occupation, surprisingly had no bearing on the daughter's sex-role ideology. In fact, none of the usual socio-economic characteristics of the family was related to female-role ideology... Another usually important factor, childhood religion, failed to show statistically significant influences on sex-role ideology... It is worth noting that homes disrupted by divorce, separation or death did not differ from intact homes in the proportion of traditional-ideology and contemporary-ideology women they produced. This holds true regardless of the age of the daughter when the home was disrupted. Moreover, having younger sisters or brothers, either younger or older, had no effect on sex-role ideology. Working mothers have been praised and damned for the effects of their outside commitment on their children. In our sample whether or not a mother worked had no perceptible impact on her daughter's sex-role ideology. (p. 37)

Apparently, Hoffman (1973) was correct when she stated that "Maternal employment is too heterogeneous a variable to study." (p. 212) The findings of the present study suggest that a more useful concept may be in terms of cognitive models of alternate lifestyles which the mother may provide regardless of her employment status. Although it is more likely that a greater number of cognitive models would be present in the employed mother, employment per se would by no means guarantee their existence. Similarly,

maternal unemployment would not imply the nonexistence of alternative cognitive models.

### Summary and Implications

The results of this study indicate that the pursuit of innovative career commitments by well educated college women is an uncommon choice. The underrepresentation of women in high status occupations can be explained by the anticipated psychological difficulties of combining the traditional full-time wife and mother role with a full-time professional occupation. All of the women studied saw these roles as difficult to combine, and even those who chose to pursue professional careers anticipated future problems and conflicts.

In understanding the determinants of career choice, it was found that the perceived attitude of the father towards the daughter's future career and towards the mother's real or hypothesized employment was of critical importance in determining the daughter's orientation. Similarly, the encouragement the daughter received from the mother in pursuing her goals was correlated with both career commitment and occupational innovation. Of special importance was the finding that maternal employment per se was unrelated to either career commitment or occupational innovation. More important than the mothers' behaviors were the mothers' attitudes and beliefs about their daughters' abilities. Women who incorporated innovative careers into their life plans believed their mothers were accepting of the changing culture and were perceived as encouraging their daughters to pursue a lifestyle which differed from

any they had ever known. Although these mothers were traditional in their own behaviors, they encouraged a wide range of psychic options in their daughters. Clearly, the implications of this finding is that an approach more in line with the cognitive developmental theorists appears to be more fruitful in predicting behaviors than a strictly social learning modeling approach.

Appendix I

Recruiting letter sent to 267 graduating female seniors

Psychology Department  
Brooklyn College CUNY  
Brooklyn, New York 11210

April 4, 1975

Dear Graduating Senior,

Currently I am involved in a study of the attitudes and expectations of seniors graduating from Brooklyn College this semester. The study involves a twenty minute questionnaire and a short interview, both of which (if you desire to participate) can be scheduled at your convenience.

Most students, who have participated, find this to be an interesting learning experience. In addition, remuneration of \$3.00 will be paid to you upon completion of the interview.

If you are interested, please contact me during the next two weeks at 996-8949, at the following times:

Monday & Wednesday	8:30PM	to	11:30PM
Tuesday	7:00AM	to	6:00PM
Thursday	12:00Noon	to	11:30PM
Friday	1:00PM	to	11:30PM

You may also contact me all day Saturday and Sunday on April 12th and 13th.

I do hope you choose to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Sandra Haber  
Instructor of Psychology

Appendix II

Questionnaire and interview to be used in the dissertation

ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

On the following pages are a series of questions regarding the attitudes and values of students graduating from college. There are many items, so please take your time and answer each one as carefully and completely as possible.

Thank you for your cooperation.

S. Haber

For the interview, please complete the following:

Your name: \_\_\_\_\_

Your telephone number: \_\_\_\_\_

Best time to reach you: \_\_\_\_\_





4. Describe what you expect a day in your life to be like ten years from now.

5. Describe what you expect a day in your life to be like twenty years from now.

6. Can you briefly describe the type of relationship you would expect to have with your mate (if and when you choose to marry).

7. On the following items, indicate how you feel when you think of each occurrence:

a) The thought of my getting married makes me feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Somewhat Unhappy	Somewhat Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

b) If I think of myself as a careerwoman, I feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Somewhat Unhappy	Somewhat Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

c) When I think of myself as the mother of small children, I feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Somewhat Unhappy	Somewhat Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

8. For what reason(s), if any, would you leave your pre-school child to go to work? Circle "yes" for any acceptable reason, circle "no" for any unacceptable reason.

Yes No I would leave a preschool child if I enjoyed working more than being home.

Yes No I would leave a preschool child if I were bored in the house.

Yes No I would leave a preschool child if money was needed for luxury items, i.e. car, vacation, purchase of house, etc.

Yes No I would leave a preschool child if there were severe financial problems.

Yes No Under no circumstances would I leave a preschool child.

9. At the present time, does your mother have a paying job outside the home? Answer yes if she is temporarily (one year or less unemployed) between jobs.

Yes, full-time \_\_\_\_\_  
 Yes, part-time \_\_\_\_\_  
 No \_\_\_\_\_

10. If "yes" to the above question, name and describe as carefully as possible, the occupation in which she works.

11. During your lifetime, how many years has your mother been employed full-time?

12. What is the chief reason that your mother works, or would work (if she is not currently employed)? Put a "1" next to the most important reason, a "2" next to the second most important reason, etc. Only rate the reasons that apply to your mother.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. She enjoys accomplishing something outside the home.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. She works or would work to relieve boredom.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. She is needed to help in the family business.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. We could exist financially without her salary, but we need the money for luxury items -- vacations, cars, etc.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. We could not exist financially without her salary.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Under no circumstances would my mother work.

13. How similar do you feel to your mother, as far as agreeing with her opinions and ideas? As far as our opinions and ideas go, my mother and I

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Slightly	Moderately	Strongly
Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

14. If your mother is presently working, to what extent have you ever wished that she would stop working and spend more time with you?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Slightly	Moderately	Strongly
Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

15. If your mother is presently at home (unemployed) to what extent have you ever wished that she would go to work and spend less time with you?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Slightly	Moderately	Strongly
Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

16. Think of your mother. On the following items, indicate how she would feel if YOU did the following:

- a) The thought of my getting married makes my mother

feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Somewhat Unhappy	Somewhat Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

b) The thought of my being a careerwoman makes my mother feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Somewhat Unhappy	Somewhat Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

c) The thought of my being the mother of small children makes my mother feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Somewhat Unhappy	Somewhat Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

17. If your mother has a paying job outside the home, how would you describe your father's attitude towards her employment?

- \_\_\_\_\_ a) My father dislikes the fact that my mother is working and is encouraging her to quit.
- \_\_\_\_\_ b) My father dislikes the fact that my mother is working but doesn't protest because her income is needed.
- \_\_\_\_\_ c) My father does not feel strongly one way or the other about her working.
- \_\_\_\_\_ d) My father likes the fact that my mother works.

18. If your mother does not have a paying job outside the home, what would be your father's attitude if your mother decided she would like to take such a position?

- \_\_\_\_\_ a) My father would forbid my mother to take a paying job outside the home.
- \_\_\_\_\_ b) My father would discourage my mother from taking a paying job outside the home.
- \_\_\_\_\_ c) My father does not feel strongly one way or the other.
- \_\_\_\_\_ d) My father would like my mother to take a paying job outside the home.

19. How similar do you feel to your father, as far as agreeing with his opinions and ideas?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree

20. Think of your father. On the following items, indicate how he would feel if YOU did the following:

a) The thought of my getting married makes my father feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Slightly Unhappy	Slightly Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

b) The thought of my being a careerwoman makes my father feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Slightly Unhappy	Slightly Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

c) The thought of my being the mother of small children makes my father feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Slightly Unhappy	Slightly Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

21. Are you currently dating someone seriously \_\_\_\_\_  
engaged to be married \_\_\_\_\_  
none of these apply \_\_\_\_\_

22. If you check one of the first two statements in question 21 (dating seriously or engaged), please answer the following questions. Think of your boyfriend. On the following items, indicate how he would feel if YOU did the following:

a) The thought of our getting married makes my boyfriend feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Slightly Unhappy	Slightly Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

b) The thought of my being a careerwoman makes my boyfriend feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Slightly Unhappy	Slightly Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

c) The thought of my being the mother of small children makes my boyfriend feel

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unhappy	Moderately Unhappy	Slightly Unhappy	Slightly Happy	Moderately Happy	Very Happy

23. My general attitude regarding married women engaging in a career (in which there is a long-term commitment) is:

- I am in favor of this  
 I have mixed feelings regarding this  
 I have neutral feelings regarding this  
 I am against this

24. As far as MY life goes, my feelings about engaging in a career (to which there is a long-term commitment) once I am married is:

- I am in favor of this  
 I have mixed feelings regarding this  
 I have neutral feelings regarding this  
 I am against this

25. On the following, rank all items from 1 - 7. For example,

- a) Which one item will give you the most satisfaction out of life. Use the number "1" to indicate this item.
- b) Which one item will give you the next greatest satisfaction out of life? Use a "2" to indicate this item.

- Participation as a citizen in affairs of your community  
 Participation in activities directed towards national or international betterment  
 Your career or occupation  
 Family relationships  
 Leisure time recreational activities  
 Running a home  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Questions related to personal data:

26. Your age \_\_\_\_\_

27. College Major \_\_\_\_\_

28. Your religion \_\_\_\_\_

agnostic  
 atheist  
 Protestant  
 Catholic  
 Jewish  
 Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

29. Your father's religion  
 \_\_\_\_\_ agnostic  
 \_\_\_\_\_ atheist  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Protestant  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Catholic  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Jewish  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
30. Your mother's religion  
 \_\_\_\_\_ agnostic  
 \_\_\_\_\_ atheist  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Protestant  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Catholic  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Jewish  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
31. Compared to the "average person", I consider myself to be \_\_\_\_\_ religious.
- |           |            |           |                   |                   |                   |
|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1         | 2          | 3         | 4                 | 5                 | 6                 |
| Extremely | Moderately | Slightly  | Slightly          | Moderately        | Extremely         |
| Religious | Religious  | Religious | Non-<br>Religious | Non-<br>Religious | Non-<br>Religious |
32. How would you describe your political views?
- |         |         |          |                   |                   |                   |
|---------|---------|----------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1       | 2       | 3        | 4                 | 5                 | 6                 |
| Radical | Very    | Slightly | Slightly          | Very              | Radically         |
| Liberal | Liberal | Liberal  | Conserva-<br>tive | Conserva-<br>tive | Conserva-<br>tive |
33. Which ethnic group do you identify with?
- |                 |                             |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| _____ Caucasian | _____ Mexican-American      |
| _____ Black     | _____ Puerto-Rican          |
| _____ Chinese   | _____ Other (specify) _____ |
34. How many older brothers do you have? \_\_\_\_\_
35. How many younger brothers do you have? \_\_\_\_\_
36. How many older sisters do you have? \_\_\_\_\_
37. How many younger sisters do you have? \_\_\_\_\_
38. How many children do you expect to have (excluding adopted children)?
- |                   |                             |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| _____ no children | _____ five                  |
| _____ one         | _____ six                   |
| _____ two         | _____ seven                 |
| _____ three       | _____ eight                 |
| _____ four        | _____ Other (specify) _____ |

39. What is your grade point average in school? \_\_\_\_\_

40. About how much total income do your parents earn yearly at the present time?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. less than \$3,999
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \$4,000 to \$7,499
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. \$7,500 to \$9,999
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. \$10,000 to \$14,999
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. \$15,000 to \$19,999
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. \$20,000 and over

41. About how much does your mother earn on a yearly basis?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. She has no income
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. less than \$3,999
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. \$4,000 to \$7,499
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. \$7,500 to \$9,999
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. \$10,000 to \$14,999
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. \$15,000 to \$19,999
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. \$20,000 and over

On the next page, you will be shown a large number of personality characteristics. We would like you to use those characteristics in order to describe yourself. That is, we would like you to indicate, on a scale from 1 to 7, how true of you these various characteristics are. Please do not leave any characteristic unmarked.

Example: sly

Mark a 1 if it is NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 2 if it is USUALLY NOT TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 3 if it is SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 4 if it is OCCASIONALLY TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 5 if it is OFTEN TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 6 if it is USUALLY TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 7 if it is ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE that you are sly.

Thus, if you feel it is sometimes but infrequently true that you are "sly", never or almost never true that you are "malicious", always or almost always true that you are "irresponsible", and often true that you are "carefree", then you would rate these characteristics as follows:

Sly	3
Malicious	1

Irresponsible	7
Carefree	5

## DESCRIBE YOURSELF

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE	USUALLY NOT TRUE	SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE	OCCASIONALLY TRUE	OFTEN TRUE	USUALLY TRUE	ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE

Self reliant	
Yielding	
Helpful	
Defends own beliefs	
Cheerful	
Moody	
Independent	
Shy	
Conscientious	
Athletic	
Affectionate	
Theatrical	
Assertive	
Flatterable	
Happy	
Strong personality	
Loyal	
Unpredictable	
Forceful	
Feminine	

Reliable	
Analytical	
Sympathetic	
Jealous	
Has leadership abilities	
Sensitive to the needs of others	
Truthful	
Willing to take risks	
Understanding	
Secretive	
Makes decisions easily	
Compassionate	
Sincere	
Self-sufficient	
Eager to soothe hurt feelings	
Conceited	
Dominant	
Soft-spoken	
Likable	
Masculine	

Warm	
Solemn	
Willing to take a stand	
Tender	
Friendly	
Aggressive	
Gullible	
Inefficient	
Acts as a leader	
Childlike	
Adaptable	
Individualistic	
Does not use harsh language	
Unsystematic	
Competitive	
Loves children	
Tactful	
Ambitious	
Gentle	
Conventional	

## Interview

## I. Maternal interest in career-related achievements

High\_\_\_Moderate\_\_\_Low\_\_\_

Comments:

## II. Maternal endorsement of the dual role pattern

High\_\_\_Moderate\_\_\_Low\_\_\_

Comments:

## III. Mother as model of dual role compatibility

High\_\_\_Moderate\_\_\_Low\_\_\_

Comments:

## IV. Father's acceptance of career-oriented wife

High \_\_\_ Moderate \_\_\_ Low \_\_\_

Comments:

## V. Maternal commitment to work

High \_\_\_ Moderate \_\_\_ Low \_\_\_

Comments:

Appendix III.

Second letter requesting basic biographical information

Brooklyn College  
 Department of Psychology  
 Brooklyn, New York 11210

May 8, 1975

Dear Graduating Senior,

A few weeks ago you received a letter asking for your participation in a study on attitudes concerning graduation from college.

Many students have participated in this project, while others have chosen not to do so. In order to analyze the findings, we need to know if our volunteer respondents differ from our non-volunteer respondents in any significant manner.

Would you please be so kind as to fill in the following items and mail this form as soon as possible? As you will note, return postage has been supplied. Your responses are, of course, anonymous, but I do hope you will take a few minutes to answer the questions so the data we do have can be treated appropriately.

---

Your age \_\_\_\_\_ Marital Status \_\_\_\_\_ Your major \_\_\_\_\_

Your overall grade point average (in numbers) \_\_\_\_\_

Are you living at home (with your parents)? \_\_\_\_\_

Briefly: Why did you chose not to volunteer for this study?

Thanking you in advance--  
 Sandra Haber  
 Instructor of Psychology

Appendix IV

Intercorrelation of career-family variables for  
Items 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7b on questionnaire

	grad. <sup>1</sup> col.	spec. car.	work status	prof. prep.	10 yrs.	spec. car.	20 yrs.	spec. car.	num. sc.	my car.
grad. col.	---	.25 <sup>2</sup> .03	.34 .007	.24 .04	.38 .003	.28 .02	.22 .05	.17 .11	.52 .001	.19 .08
spec. car.	.25 .03	---	.84 .001	.31 .01	.25 .03	.34 .007	.22 .05	.42 .001	.56 .001	.31 .01
work status	.34 .007	.84 .001	---	.38 .003	.21 .06	.34 .008	.25 .03	.35 .006	.59 .001	.30 .01
prof. prep.	.24 .04	.31 .01	.38 .003	---	.38 .003	.51 .001	.25 .03	.55 .001	.66 .001	.58 .001
10 yrs.	.38 .003	.25 .03	.21 .06	.38 .003	---	.63 .001	.62 .001	.50 .001	.76 .001	.31 .01
spec. car.	.28 .02	.34 .007	.34 .008	.51 .001	.63 .001	---	.47 .001	.78 .001	.76 .001	.51 .001
20 yrs.	.22 .05	.22 .05	.25 .03	.25 .03	.62 .001	.47 .001	---	.68 .001	.75 .001	.40 .002
spec. car.	.17 .11	.42 .001	.35 .006	.51 .001	.50 .001	.78 .001	.68 .001	---	.78 .001	.57 .001
num. sc.	.52 .001	.56 .001	.59 .001	.66 .001	.76 .001	.76 .001	.75 .001	.78 .001	---	.57 .001
my car.	.19 .08	.31 .01	.30 .01	.58 .001	.31 .01	.51 .001	.40 .002	.57 .001	.66 .001	---

<sup>1</sup>The variables are: plans upon graduating from college, mention of a specific career, work status desired, degree of professional preparation, plans 10 years from now, mention of a specific career 10 years from now, plans 20 years from now, mention of a specific career 20 years from now, summed numerical career scores, and self-perceptions of self as a careerwoman.

<sup>2</sup>Note that the top figure indicates the Pearson correlation; the bottom figure indicates the significance level.

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