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COLLEGE-AGE WOMEN AND NONTRADITIONAL
COLLEGE-AGE WOMEN IN A SMALL COLLEGE
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The Ohio State University,
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A COMPARISON OF THE SELF-CONCEPT, ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION, AND FEMININE ROLE PERCEPTION BETWEEN TRADITIONAL COLLEGE-AGE WOMEN AND NONTRADITIONAL COLLEGE-AGE WOMEN IN A SMALL COLLEGE ENVIRONMENT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Marie Menza Schrader, B. A., M. A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1977

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TO TIM . . .

For all his love and support
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The roles of American women are changing at a rapid pace, causing a significant impact on our college campuses. More and more women are either attending college for the first time or are returning to the campus after a ten-to twenty-year break. As a result, college women students are increasing in all age groups, rather than the traditional ages of 18 to 23 years. For many women, higher education is the means to attain skills and a sense of competence before embarking on a new profession or career.

Cross (1974) stated that most colleges could expect the proportion of women in their student bodies to increase rapidly during the decade of the 1970's for several reasons:

(1) Education is becoming increasingly important to women as more and more women enter the labor market. . . . Almost half of all women in 1970 between the ages of 18 and 65 were in the labor force, and more than half of these workers were married women.

(2) The reservoir of academically qualified women not now going to college is large . . . . Of all potential college students, able white women constitute one group most neglected by college recruitment personnel.

(3) The new attention directed to obtaining equality of opportunity for women is part of the broader equalitarian movement. If women were to enter institutions of higher education in the same proportion as men, about one and a half million new students would enter our colleges.
Cross's expectations have been confirmed, as evidenced by a 1977 Census Bureau report:

Women under 22 years of age attending college formed a majority of 52 percent of the students last fall, according to a national survey conducted in October by the Census Bureau. The Bureau said this week that . . . its survey showed that 47 percent of all college students under 35 years of age were women.

The report noted that, in 1970, young men under 22 formed the largest group of college students, accounting for about one-third of all college students under 35. This group now accounts for only one-fourth of college students. During the six-year period, the agency said, the number of older male students 22 to 34 years of age rose 41 percent, while women students in this age bracket increased by 103 percent.2

Sewell and Shah, in their study of women attending college (1967), made an interesting point in a study of Wisconsin youth, observing that socioeconomic background was a determining factor for women:

Both socioeconomic status and intelligence have direct effects on planning on college, college attendance, and college graduation, and considerable indirect effect on the level of educational attainment through their efforts on college plans and college attendance. However, for females, the relative effect of socioeconomic status on college plans, college attendance, and college graduation was greater than was the effect of intelligence, while for males the relative effect of intelligence at each of these stages was greater than the effect of socioeconomic status.3

Cross observes that women's roles are changing more rapidly than those of men. The rate of growth of women in the labor market is increasing five times as rapidly for women as for men. Ninety percent of all women work at some time during their lives. And the typical young woman graduating from high school today may expect to work outside the home for at least 25 years of her life. Hoffman and Nye (1974)
observed that for those women desiring to enter or re-enter the work
world, clearly the college campus becomes the starting place. Hoffman
and Nye also noted that as maternal employment becomes the norm, it will
be interesting to consider more carefully the nonemployed mother. "What
are her motivations, her interaction patterns with the other members of
her family and her community, her psychological state at various family
stages?"^ Considering the effects of working mothers upon their
families, Hoffman and Nye stated that in certain situations such as when
the children are adolescent or the mother is highly educated or the
mother is the sole support and economic resources are scarce, maternal
employment has indeed a positive effect.

The time in life when adult women return to the campus can be
related to the peaks of insight in which they perceive themselves as
of definitive crisis points throughout the adult years. These identity
crisis points are by no means coincidental with decisions to return to
college. Rather, they are the cause of such decisions.

And where do our younger students, the traditional age group, fit
in the scheme of higher education? What is their motivation for attend-
ing college? How do they see themselves as individuals? And does their
self-perception relate to a motivation of wanting to achieve? Are they
interested in careers not traditionally available to women? Do they
perceive marriage as inherently separate from a career? Or do they see
that the combination of these two is compatible? Surely these students
have greater educational and vocational opportunities available to them
than to their mothers. Perhaps these students have greater information about what happens to those whose life planning stops at age 25.

Cross observed that even with an increased change in the feminine role, low educational aspirations among women college students are still predominantly more the rule than the exception. Cross traced the reasons for this level of aspiration directly to the attitudes of society. Young women receive from their parents and society at large less encouragement, than do young men, to achieve at high levels.

A characteristic that women have in common with other groups of people who have not been a part of the dominant culture is the problem of diminished self-concept. Women have been encouraged to think about elementary school teaching rather than college teaching, about typing instead of business management, and about becoming nurses rather than doctors. These constant reminders of a secondary role in society take a toll, and the results are clearly evident in the research.5

It was with these specific issues of self-concept, achievement motivation, and attitudes toward the present female role that this study was concerned. Research about women students is essential if any understanding from college faculty, staff, and administrators is to occur relative to these students' needs and concerns. Indifference and a lack of understanding of women students has prevailed instead of definitive programming and counseling.

There are two separate groups of women students on campuses today: the traditional-age student (18-23 years old) and the nontraditional-age student, typically an older student in her twenties or late thirties, married, with children, completing study for a Bachelor's degree begun years ago. This latter group evokes particular interest. How well do
they achieve and succeed in college compared to the younger students? What are their motivations for achievement and success? Other than the obvious age differences, what personality differences, if any, exist between these two groups? It was precisely these questions which this study sought to answer.

Statement of the Problem

Osipow (1975) claimed that a great deal of the research which deals with women, their education and careers, and the subsequent effects on them and their families is not well designed. Variables are confounded; measures and observations are too often poor, unreliable, and invalid; and the samples studied are frequently biased in their selection, as well as limited in their range. Because of the potential impact in shaping the basic, educationally related career choices and commitments which women are likely to make, the problems associated with measuring vocational interests, self-concepts, and achievement motivation assume major significance.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate the three variables of self-concept, achievement motivation, and feminine role perception, relative to the traditional and nontraditional women students. The purpose was to investigate their motivation for attending college, to examine reported feelings about themselves as persons, and to examine their perceptions of the female role in the era of the 1970's. Because education for many is the training ground for future careers and life
patterns, how does one relate to a woman's motivation to achieve the college degree, when the basic assumption has been that a woman's role is limited and a college degree is unnecessary.

Specifically, this study sought to determine significant differences between the self-concept, achievement motivation, and feminine role perception of traditional college age women (18-23) and those of non-traditional college age women (30 and over) in a small college environment. Other than the obvious difference of age, what personality differences exist, if any, between these two groups of women?

Hypotheses

Three hypotheses were the basis of this research:

1. A more positive self-concept is reported by traditional-age women students than by nontraditional-age students due to a greater availability of educational and vocational opportunities and greater flexibility in life planning.

2. A higher level of achievement motivation is reported by the nontraditional-age group than the traditional-age students because of greater clarity of goals.

3. Less concern with the traditional female role is reported by a younger group of women students than an older group. The younger students will show less concern with society's expectations and more concern with their own expectations. Because these younger students have a greater availability
of educational and vocational opportunities, their sex role orientation will not be traditionally feminine.*

Overview

The chapters which follow are divided into four areas: a survey of the literature, the design and methodology of this study, an analysis of test results, and the conclusions. In Chapter II, literature pertinent to this study is reviewed. The characteristics of traditional and non-traditional students are examined and discussed. Literature pertaining to each of the three variables—self-concept, achievement motivation, and female role perception—is reviewed in depth. The relationship between parental influence and the development of self-concept, achievement motivation, and psychological femininity will also be discussed in Chapter II.

In Chapter III, the design of this study is presented, with descriptions of the sample, instrumentation and hypotheses, and the statistical test used for the data collected. The results for each hypothesis are presented in Chapter IV, as well as an analysis and interpretation of the findings. The summary and conclusions of this study are presented in Chapter V.

*These three hypotheses are restated in testable form in Chapter III.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The nontraditional-age student was defined in this study as a woman student, age 30 or older, returning to college after an absence. Also included were those students, 30 or older, who had a high school education and were attending college for the first time. The traditional-age students, 18-23 years, were those individuals who were following the established or traditional pattern of formal educational training. They attend college immediately upon high school graduation. The following sections discuss in detail the characteristics of these different student groups.

Characteristics of the Nontraditional Student

Voelz (1974) found the principal concern of mature women seemed to be finding meaning and self-fulfillment in a period of diminishing family responsibilities and increasing freedom and leisure. Waters (1974) described adult women at a community college to be more independent than the traditional stereotypes. Davis (1973) found mature women students, when compared with younger college women, more focused on their work and education, less concerned with peers and parents, more productive as evidenced by higher academic performance, and less anxious, hostile, and depressed. Roach (1976) described the typical older woman student to be a white, middle-class homemaker in her later 30's who has...
had two years of a traditional liberal arts education before she dropped out to marry and raise a family. Her return to the campus coincides with the "middle motherhood" phase of her life when children's demands on her time and energy are fewer and her husband is generally involved in his own career. She is feeling less needed and anticipating the eventual permanent departure of children, which generates some serious concerns and questioning. The result is often a decision to return to college. Roach claimed these women find that their decision to return to school after an extended interruption of their formal education is both serious and significant. It changes not only their values, perceptions, and self-images, but also gives rise to stress and change in their relationships with their families. Roach claimed that changes in life style and in self-image require a long and difficult struggle. These changes often prove to be disturbing, disrupting, disabling, and even disastrous.

Lynn's data (1972) showed that the older woman student perceives a change in her role. Society is now saying it is alright to achieve and to attend college. Lynn claimed that conditions in our society have changed, that producing and rearing children can no longer be the sole basis for the meaningful existence of women.

By the time they are 35 or 40, for many women the responsibilities of motherhood consume only a fraction of their energies, leaving them relatively free of other pursuits. Our society has generated few (if any) roles for either men or women that offer prestige and fulfillment other than vocational ones, barren as work can sometimes be. It would seem that society must confer prestige on women as well as men for work, since women can find only partial fulfillment through producing and rearing children. It also seems obviously unfunctional.
to restrict opportunities for productive contributions to society for women who are prepared to contribute, want to, and need to. Thus many turn to education and the college environment to begin the re-entry process.⁶

Re-entry women students studied by Plotsky and Ohm (1976) were found to be well-motivated to achieve their goals. Responding to questionnaires, 107 re-entry students claimed their major intent was to relate the goal of a degree to a profession and career. They were serious students, did well academically, indicated average concerns, and had an attrition rate comparable to the traditional-age student. Most of these students were married and had waited until the last child was in school before returning to the campus. The majority had experienced a 15-19 year interruption in their studies, but had previously attended a college or university. Over a third earned a grade point average of "A." After completing their studies, 51 percent were employed; 55 percent were employed at the time of the survey. Forty percent indicated that their employment was related to their major academic areas. These figures seem to suggest that returning women students use their education for specific purposes.

A U. S. Department of Labor report (1975) stated that the overwhelming majority of women age 35 and over who were attending college in October, 1972, were going to school part-time. Nearly three out of four of these part-time student women were working or seeking work—a proportion much higher than for women in the same age group who were not in school. Nearly seven out of ten of all women college students age 35 and over were married, and nearly all of these women were in school part-time.
Even though they had home responsibilities, the great majority of these married women students were also in the labor force in October, 1972.

Roelf's survey for the Educational Testing Service (1975) found older students (over 23 years) to be well-motivated and serious students. Older students were less likely to struggle with indecision about educational and occupational goals. They were more likely to have definite post-college plans than students aged 22 years or younger. Roelf claimed that there may be an increasing need for counseling expertise to deal with problems arising out of combining college, work, and family life. The once-typical student who lived on campus and depended on the college for all social and intellectual nourishment is fast disappearing. Now many students are commuters with family responsibilities and full-time jobs who view college as one of several resources for personal and vocational development.

Lunnenborg's research (1974) sought to examine adult learning abilities and college study in middle age. Her sample of adult students took a battery of pre-college aptitude tests. Compared to university freshmen, the median scores for older students were above the 75th percentile for freshmen on vocabulary and spelling and below the 25th freshman percentile on quantitative tests. Knox and Sjogren (1965) and Sjogren, Knox, and Grotelueschen (1968) found consistently that the level of education and recency of participation in education were positively related to how well adults could learn new materials. Continued education meant continued intellectual growth. Lunnenborg found that older undergraduates who return to finish their college degrees are not at any disadvantage intellectually (except in quantitative measures).
when compared to traditional-age freshmen. This middle-aged pattern of abilities must be taken into account in guidance and planning for the verbal-quantitative discrepancy noted in the research, when younger and older groups are compared. The verbal-quantitative discrepancy was vivid in this middle-aged sample. Because few selected engineering courses, the verbal-quantitative discrepancy probably had a great deal to do with older students deciding to major in the humanities.

Brandenburg (1974) wrote of the middle motherhood period, which is typically between the ages of 35 to 40, but is related more to situation than to age. It is a critical period for women. It is often a time of renewed identity crisis and a second important period for career exploration (Bart, 1972; Manis and Mochizuki, 1972). The married woman with a family, who holds no job outside of the home, is especially subject to the difficulties of this period. Demands on her time and energy are reduced. Resulting feelings of being less needed or less useful, together with the pressure of advancing age, generate serious questions for such a woman. Questions asked during this period include "Who am I?," "What do I do with my time?," "Why am I depressed?," "Why do I feel I have failed?" For many such women, an attempt to deal with these questions results in the decision to return to school, and the needs of women resuming their formal education at this period in their lives must be understood and viewed in this context by college faculty, staff, and administration.

Brandenburg's study (1974) at Queen's College, City University of New York, found that most re-entry women students had previously
discontinued their education to marry and raise children; a few said they had left because of financial need or a lack of interest in school. All had had some type of work experience, paid or volunteer, outside the home during the period they were not attending school. The type of work in which they engaged was almost exclusively in areas traditionally pursued by women—secretarial, bookkeeping, and clerical jobs. The psychological reasons cited for returning to school were a search for identity, constructive interests outside the home, and a desire for self-fulfillment, self-improvement, self-confidence, meaningful employment and financial independence (Brandenburg, 1974).

The sample surveyed by Brandenburg had subverted their own needs and interests to those of others for a long time. Some had gone from being dependent on their parents to being dependent on their husbands and had not developed their own identities. Iopata (1971) and Self (1969) claimed that this dependency may produce resentment toward self and family, fear of taking risks, and depression. A resulting lack of confidence may be further reinforced by limited opportunities to achieve success outside of the family. Brandenburg stated that in order to achieve, women need to develop and strengthen their capacities to assert themselves and to make decisions. These capacities are crucial to learning. The student must be able to read critically, analyze information, attack questions, and assert her own ideas. Problems of dependency and lack of confidence may undermine the entire educational process.

Brandenburg stated that re-entry women also face resistance to their return to school from husbands, families, and friends. The women become
involved in their school work, with a consequent effect on other parts of their lives. There is less time for housekeeping responsibilities and less time for family and friends. When these changes affect other people, there is usually a reaction. Reports by women indicate several reaction patterns of husbands and families, ranging from continuous open hostility to continuous support. The experience of continued support was comparatively rare among Brandenburg's group. Most experienced some degree of resistance to their return to school. The women students, however, claimed an eventual improvement of their marriage and family situations as a result of attending college.

Brandenburg, however, found it difficult to determine how many women had been forced to leave school as a result of negative reactions from others. Mothers reported feeling varying degrees of guilt and experienced different degrees of resentment and pride from their children. Some reported improved relationships with their children, more sharing with them, and felt their children achieved greater independence. Others reported, however, an increase in feelings of competition, especially with older children, with both increased resentment and regressive behavior on the part of the children. Unsolicited challenges came from friends: "Why are you neglecting your husband and family?", "What are you getting out of it?" Friends may see a returning student woman's re-evaluation of her life style as a threat to their own situation. The negative reactions may also arise from a fear that the change will alter the friendship. Brandenburg noted that in some situations no negative reaction is experienced. However, the re-entry woman may need support and friendship from other women in a similar situation.
Brandenburg claimed also that this type of student can set up internal barriers which affect achievement—barriers such as feelings of dependency, self-defeating behavior, and coping with resistance from husbands, children, and friends. These women must explore the extent to which they prevent their own success. The "motive to avoid success" (Horner, 1969) may be operating and interfering with their intellectual and professional accomplishments. Brandenburg further stated that it is important that colleges learn more about the women's needs—not only because more women are returning to school, but also because there has been widespread insensitivity to the needs of these women and because they constitute a valuable resource that no school or society can afford to neglect.

Manis (1976) described a disturbing phenomenon of "disengagement" among middle-aged, married women. Cumming and Henry (1961) defined "disengagement" as a process during which the aged gradually withdraw from their interpersonal associations and their social functions. Termination of learning, employment, friendships, contacts with other people, political participation, and social activities are some of the characteristics of disengagement. Essentially this effect occurs when one withdraws from active involvement in society. Manis, interestingly, claimed that many middle-aged, married women suffer from disengagement.

Studies of middle class, middle-aged housewives have revealed that they experience a disengagement process. They become isolated from other adult contacts, lose the mental stimulation of employment or school, and greatly limit their interest to their immediate surroundings (Lopata, 1971; Friedan, 1963; Bell, 1967; Landis, 1965).
The women whom Manis studied described themselves as being bored, depressed, friendless, useless, feeling inadequate, and without goals. These same terms can be used to describe the aged. Manis defined disengagement in women as a process of gradual reduction of activities and association outside the home after marriage. Manis claimed that such disengagement is dysfunctional, resulting in unnecessary emotional stress, wasted talents, frustrations, marital conflicts, and poor self-concepts. Manis further stated that in a modern society where child nurturing is limited to 10 or 15 years, disengagement in married women is highly dysfunctional. Even during the stage of child nurturance, women with no outside interests may experience emotional stress and feel confined, depressed, and irritable.

Bart's (1972) portrait of a classic "depressive" was that of a woman and mother, not of a single woman. The dependence upon husband and children for the mother's happiness results in resentment and hostility. Other family members find burdensome the responsibility for the woman's happiness. The woman resents her dependency, her husband's outside involvements, and her own sense of social isolation. Certainly not all middle-aged, married women experience disengagement, but it can appear as a result of lack of child and home care assistance, a lack of employment opportunities, meager friendships, no expressed future goals, and dissatisfaction with work experience before marriage, probably as a result of lack of commitment to work and poorly planned employment and educational goals. Manis' research subjects indicated poor self-concepts of ability, with accompanying low aspirations and motivation for
achievement. Almost their entire self-identification was in the role of wife and mother. Their need to be liked by others and their dependence on others for making decisions were often in conflict. Manis firmly stated that counselors who work with young, unmarried women in high schools and colleges and who are involved in career counseling or marriage counseling, need to make these women aware of the consequences of social withdrawal. Career planning must go beyond the first 25 years of life. Programs which examine the changing roles of women must be developed for young students who still have unrealistic expectations of life and marriage.

**Characteristics of the Traditional Woman Student**


The fact that 65% of the freshmen women and 58% of the men included in the ACE Freshman Survey for 1973 wanted two or fewer children, indicates that a preference for smaller families is now characteristic of college youth nationally.8

Wilson (1975) noted that apparently during the 1970's, and perhaps for a longer time, "having no more than two children" would appear to have been established as a guiding principal for the great majority of young women (and men) as they seek to determine the most appropriate avenues for their personal development and to shape their plans for the future. The survey data indicated that the plans of young college women for their own careers are being shaped increasingly along nontraditional lines, influenced by more liberal attitudes toward the role of women in
society. Carlson (1974) discovered that her sample of sophomore women students at the University of Michigan placed a higher priority on education and a career than on raising a family.

These trends hold obvious implications for counseling. Career-related concerns are likely to increase as more young women consider sex-atypical careers. College women aspiring to nontraditional careers may tend to be more critical of the type of counseling assistance provided by their college. Wilson claimed that to meet the counseling needs of young college women, college authorities should allocate definite personnel and resources to the process of monitoring the educational and career preferences and the problems and attitudes of women students. Wilson questioned the adequacy of current career counseling and placement programs for women. He also called for a re-examination of educational procedures and arrangements, with a view to determining whether they are consistent with the changing career outlooks and orientations of young women in college today.

In a survey of freshman and sophomore college women, Hoffman and Hoeflin (1972) reported that although 62 percent expressed a strong interest in a career in the future, most of these women, when asked what they would like to do now or immediately after college, seemed to prefer activities such as "travel and adventure" which differed from their actual goals for the future.

Anderson (1976) claimed that there is evidence that affiliative needs are extremely important to the young college woman and that she is reluctant to engage in behaviors which are perceived as sex-role inappropriate and which she fears may lead to social rejection and/or
doubts about her femininity. Anderson's hypothesis that affiliative relationships are the major concern of senior college women was supported in her research. Nearly half (48%) of the subjects hoped to marry within the next two years, and 84 percent hoped to marry within the next five years. An additional finding was that the women studied did not equate academic achievement with actualization of their potential. Rather, Anderson's data suggest that self-actualization is more directly associated with fulfilling the sex-role identity as adult females. Anderson also claimed that a sizeable number of her subjects hoped to combine marriage, child-rearing, and graduate school.

Bickman (1975) studied 50 randomly selected senior college women in order to determine whether any particular psychological constructs were associated with the decision to marry immediately after graduation. Bickman found that some of her subjects were marrying in order to find affiliative support for ambitious career goals, while others were marrying to find refuge from strong demands they made on themselves.

Pagel (1975) hypothesized that achievement conflict will occur more frequently in highly intellectually competent females and will have a negative impact on self-perception. In a study of 202 UCLA senior women, the existence of a relationship between achievement conflict and gifted status were strongly supported, as were indications of a relationship between achievement conflict and negative self-regard. Pagel stated that the existence of fear of success has been suggested as a major factor barring young, intelligent women from fulfilling their potential. However, Pagel further noted that while the young women in her study
appeared to experience negative emotional side effects in association with achievement conflict, they, nevertheless, were maintaining high levels of career aspirations.

In order to study the psychological constructs of self-concept, achievement motivation, and feminine role perception, there must be clearly understood definitions of these terms. What is meant by achievement motivation in women? What is psychological femininity? Perhaps the self-concept has the most obscure meaning or calls to mind several meanings rather than a clearly defined concept. The following sections will attempt to clarify the meanings of these three major variables in this study.

The Self-Concept

Definition

The defining of the self-concept is treated with great detail in order to understand the measures from the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (Pitts, 1965) which was administered to the subjects of this study.

Allport (1955) defined the self-concept as "all the regions of our life that we regard as peculiarly ours." Epstein (1973) finds difficulty with that definition in that one cannot identify the self-concept until one identifies what people regard as essentially theirs, a process which requires identification of the self.

James (1910) identified the self as an object of knowledge consisting of whatever the individual views as belonging to himself. This interpretation includes a material self, a social self, and a spiritual
The material self is an extended self which contains one's body, family, and possessions. The social self includes the individual's emotions and desires. All parts of the self are capable of evoking feelings of heightened self-esteem and well-being or lowered self-esteem and dissatisfaction. James viewed the self as having a unity as well as being differentiated and as being intimately associated with emotions as mediated through self-esteem. Mead (1934) noted that the self-concept arises in social interaction as an outgrowth of the individual's concern about how others react to him. In order to anticipate other people's reactions so that he can behave accordingly, the individual learns to perceive the world as they do. Sullivan (1953) identified the self-system as "an organization of educative experiences called into being by the necessity to avoid or to minimize incidents of anxiety." For Sullivan, the need to avoid unpleasant affect is a major function of the self-system. Lecky (1945) identified the self-concept as the nucleus of the personality. He defined personality as an organization of values that are consistent with one another. The organization of the personality is considered to be dynamic, as it involves a continuous assimilation of new ideas and rejection or modification of old ideas. It is assumed that all concepts are organized within a unified system, whose preservation is essential. The self-concept as the center of the personality plays a key role in determining what concepts are acceptable for assimilation into the overall personality organization. There is one major motive: the striving for unity. Lecky claimed that a threat to the organization of the personality produces feelings of distress.
Rogers (1951) defined the self as "an organized, fluid, but consistent conceptual pattern of perceptions of characteristics and relationships of the 'I' or the 'me,' together with the values attached to these concepts." Rogers stated that the self-concept includes only those characteristics of the individual that he is aware of and over which he believes he exercises control. There is a basic need to maintain and enhance the self. Threat to the organization of the self-concept produces anxiety. If the threat cannot be defended against, catastrophic disorganization follows.

In summary, the self-concept (1) is a subsystem of internally consistent, hierarchically organized concepts contained within a broader conceptual system; (2) contains several selves—a body self, spiritual self, and social self; and (3) is a dynamic organization that changes with experience. It appears to seek out change and has a tendency to assimilate increasing amounts of information, thereby manifesting something like a growth principle. It is more integrative than integrated (Hilgard, 1949). The self-concept develops out of experience, particularly out of social interaction with significant others. It is essential that the organization of the self-concept be maintained. When it is threatened, the person experiences anxiety, which attempts to defend the threat. If the defense is unsuccessful, stress mounts and is followed ultimately by total disorganization. There is a basic need for self-esteem. Almost all other needs (other than physical needs) are subordinate. The self-concept has two basic functions: (1) it organizes the data of experience, especially that from social interaction, into
predictable sequences of action and reaction; (2) it facilitates attempts to fulfill needs while avoiding disapproval and anxiety.

Epstein (1973) suggested the existence of an inferred inner self. People have a personality identity just as they have a body identity. Other sources for inferring an inner self include a feeling of continuity of experience, ego involvement, awareness of the need to defend some inner part of one's being against threat, awareness of a tendency to automatically evaluate oneself, and awareness of emotions associated with self-esteem. All of these imply the existence of an inner self that is different from the body self, invisible to the perception of others, yet very real. Epstein stated that when one considers the experience of an individual whose self-esteem is severely injured—such as being humiliated in the presence of people he wishes to impress—such an experience can be extremely distressing. It can prevent the person from sleeping nights and bother him for months, years, and possibly a lifetime. Where in the body does the hurt reside? Since it cannot be found in the body self, such experiences suggest the existence of some non-physical part of the self that is more significant than the body self. The same could be said for positive experiences when an individual has a feeling of joy because he has accomplished something important to him. Where in the body self does the pleasurable feeling reside? Unlike pleasant physical stimulation, this feeling cannot be attributed to the body self. Epstein suggested the existence of a non-physical self and saw the self-concept as essentially a self theory. "The relationship of emotion to the self-system, identified as a cognitive structure, is
elucidated when it is recognized that the self theory is a working theory whose most general function is to make life livable, meaning emotionally satisfied. The self theory does not exist apart from the emotions."\(^9\) Epstein believed that the need for people to defend desperately certain concepts or values, no matter how unrealistic they are, can be comprehended readily once it is recognized that a self theory is necessary in order to function and that any theory is better than none.

Relative to inventories which attempt to identify and measure self-concept, Wylie (1974) said that constructs and hypotheses could be improved, that more "molecular" inferred variables may have greater research utility—that is, such characteristics as self-actualization, self-differentiation, and self-consistency have not led to enlightening research. By contrast, constructs such as self-acceptance or self-esteem have yielded more manageable and fruitful research procedures. Wylie claimed that we should either abandon theorizing and research involving self-referent constructs or make whatever theoretical and methodological improvements are necessary in order to put such work on a more respectable scientific basis.\(^10\)

There is a basic question as to why it has been difficult to conceptualize and measure broad constructs as "global" self-esteem and to relate these broad constructs to theoretically relevant behavior. Have we proposed constructs too inclusive for manageable verbal and empirical definition? Or are people not characterized by such broad range behavior, determining inferred states as "global" self-esteem? Is it possible that a larger number of more restricted inferred states play a part in determining behavior? It seems logical that the more delimited self-evaluative aspects may be theoretically appropriate and easier to define verbally and operationally.\(^11\)
Self-concept Studies

In their book *Four Stages of Life*, Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga (1975) studied the relationship between the self-concept and age. Their samples included high school girls, young college women, middle-aged women, and women approaching the retirement years. Other studies pursued by the authors also included samples of both men and women.

On measures of femininity, the authors found that older women in the later stages of life (pre-retirement and actual retirement) appeared less feminine in their self-conceptions than the younger women. The authors also found the ideal of newlywed women matched what Epstein (1973) described as the image of the "new" woman, "the perfectly balanced person who does a little of everything." The middle-aged women felt that they should be more introspective and persevering, more poised and reserved. They expressed the need to be more imaginative. About to enter the post-parental phase, these women appeared to be shifting their attention away from the family members onto themselves and the wider social milieu. However, the sample of middle-aged women displayed greater absentmindedness and unhappiness when compared to other female samples. There were hints of a greater situational distress. Within most of the psychological and sociological domains examined, this group tended to emerge more negatively than the others. "They were not, as one might conjecture, distressed by the pending departure of their last child, and few seemed disturbed about menopause. Their reasons for their diminished sense of well-being are complex but often center on relations with their spouse."
Themes that recurred in the sample of high school girls questioned their ability to lead an independent life. These students saw themselves as helpless and dependent. They perceived themselves as less intelligent (than other older groups of women) and lazy. Through this description a picture emerged of a helpless female. The high school girls felt powerless and held the belief that direct action and independent achievement were not within reach and that the only way to obtain gratification would be through "trickery and guile." There is a sense of frustrated achievement and a lack of idealism.

Assertiveness and competitiveness, the two ideal traits with different evaluations, seem to pinpoint conflict-laden issues in the female self-concept (Lowenthal, et al., 1975). These concepts evoked considerable ambivalence among the female subjects. Neugarten and Gutmann (1964) suggested that aggression and self-assertion are viewed as "inimical to the central function of motherhood." Miller (1973) and Moulton (1973) found that self-assertion and achievement invoke self-doubt in women. Back (1971) reported that controlling for the presence or absence of children virtually eliminated age differences in the self-concepts of women. He concluded,

> During the aging process, women tend to shift their self-image from their relationships to others, and the social characteristics, to their own abilities and feelings; the separation from children can be viewed this way. Freed from daily obligations, they may feel they can be much more easily accepted for what they are.¹⁵

Lowenthal, et al. stated that it is in the pre-retirement stage that women seem finally to hit their stride. The problems with
competence, independence, and interpersonal relations appear resolved. They appear less dependent and helpless and more assertive.

Results from Lowenthal's research suggest that the developmental pattern of self-concept formation differs for men and women. Role expectations appear to influence the content of self-criticality and may also account for its greater intensity among women than in men. "Adequate role performance among women, indeed, seems to be more closely linked to a wider range of personality characteristics than among men, whose evaluations are generally restricted to instrumental performance." Women's self-acceptance may also be viewed as more reactive to and dependent on the assessment of significant others (Mendelsohn and Gall, 1970; Garai, 1970). There is also the suggestion that women are more willing to recognize their shortcomings, and men are more controlled to deny them. Lowenthal, et al., found that the self-concept of middle-aged women stands in sharp contrast to the generally positive attributes espoused by middle-aged men. Moreover, these women apparently feel deficient in the very areas where men regard themselves as strong (or in which they are compelled to deny deficits). For example, the heightened sense of orderliness among men contrasts with the heightened sense of absentmindedness among women; the rejection of self-pity among men contrasts with the open admission of unhappiness among women.

In summary, there appears a developmental sequence in the female self-concept. This sequence is an integral part of the maturation process. From feelings of self-doubt and low self-worth to a heightened sense of self-confidence, the self-concept changes as the individual matures and ages chronologically. In this study, young women in their
twenties and retirement-age women appeared to have the most positive self-concept; high school girls and middle-aged women, the most negative. One of the hypotheses in this study is based on the question raised by these findings: Do the traditional-age students report a more positive self-concept than the nontraditional-age group?

**Achievement Motivation**

**Definition**

The best known theory of achievement motivation was proposed by McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell in their 1953 book *The Achievement Motive*. These authors saw achievement motivation as a relatively stable, generalized personality disposition to strive for success in any situation in which standards of excellence are applicable. This conceptualization, measured mainly by projective methods such as the thematic apperception test, was fairly well supported for males but not for females. These authors claimed that for women the achievement motive is less central than the affiliative motive, while the reverse is true for men. Atkinson (1964) stated that achievement motivation as a disposition to seek success is not the only motivation affecting achievement behavior. There exists a second, equally important motive: the motive to avoid failure. In order for achievement motivation to be aroused, Atkinson believes,

The individual must consider himself responsible for the outcome (success or failure); there must be explicit knowledge of results so that the individual knows when he has succeeded, and there must be some degree of risk concerning the possibility of success.
Veroff (1969) distinguished between autonomous achievement motivation and social achievement motivation. The chief argument seems to be that, for females, achievement motivation and behavior may be more dependent on external social cues than the achievement behavior of males. Garai and Scheinfeld (1968) claimed that females are perhaps seeking affiliation rather than autonomy in their achievement behavior.

Stein and Bailey (1973) refuted all theories which stated that female achievement behavior is caused mainly by affiliation motives and that social skills represent purely affiliative needs. Their hypothesis was that social skills are a central area of achievement concern for many females, not that female achievement efforts are instigated primarily by affiliation motives or desire for social approval per se. "The goal is attainment of a standard of excellence, but the areas in which such attainment is most important are somewhat different from males." 19

Alper (1974) found in her research in achievement motivation an inconsistency of findings across sexes and a paucity of studies based on females. Field's (1951) early findings claimed that achievement motivation in women, but not in men, is linked to the need for social acceptability, the need to be liked. Women, according to Horner (1969), do not really want to be achievers; they want to be liked. On a projective level, Horner claimed that women still perceive female achievement to be incompatible with the values of our culture.

In the 1950's, evidence was beginning to accumulate which demonstrated that personality factors could affect the achievement motivation
scores of women (Alper, 1974). French and Lesser (1964), using a specially designed role orientation value measure, found that with college students traditional orientations toward women's roles scored higher on need for achievement when responding to statements about women engaged in domestic and social activities. Intellectually oriented college women scored higher when the activities involved intellectual pursuits. Alper claimed that these results suggest that the values of the culture can transcend personal values. Alper further stated that the "now you see it, now you don't" phenomenon in the female achievement motivation literature appears to be more a function of wide methodological differences from study to study than of basic instability of the motive. Alper stated that the more important variables to be considered in analyzing achievement research include (1) personality factors, specifically differences in the sex-role orientation of the subjects; (2) sampling differences, i.e., age-psychological sophistication, degree of ego involvement in the task, and qualities intrinsic in the settings from which samples are drawn, for example the more social, affiliative, emphasis of coeducational institutions versus the more academically competitive emphasis of the non-coeducational form; and (3) differences in the procedures used in scoring the resulting protocols. Alper stated that in our culture men are not only expected to achieve, they are also expected to want to achieve. Women, on the other hand, have neither been expected to achieve, nor to want to do so. It appears, however, that both generalizations may be too broad, that a reversal of attitudes may be taking place, with men now less interested in being achievers and
women more willing to recognize that achievement may be female appropriate as well as male appropriate (Hoffman, 1972).

Achievement Behavior Studies

There are numerous studies relating to the achievement motive. Those that pertain specifically to women are reviewed in this section. Because of greater accessibility, most of these studies used women college students and employed women as their subjects.

Trigg and Perlman (1976) studied the factors encouraging women to pursue nontraditional health science careers. Their hypothesis involved several statements:

(1) Women applying to nontraditional careers should have lower affiliative needs than women applying to traditional careers.

(2) As compared with women entering a traditional female career field, the nontraditional student will consider being married and having children less important and will be more likely to perceive nontraditional careers as compatible with the satisfaction of social and marital needs.

(3) As compared with women entering traditional fields, women entering nontraditional fields will be more likely to perceive the attitudes of significant others as favorable toward nontraditional careers. They will be more likely to have a boyfriend or husband who is supportive and tolerant of a nontraditional career.

Trigg and Perlman found that women pursuing nontraditional careers expressed low needs for affiliation and high needs for achievement. The women in their sample expressed low needs to have children, but perceived marriage and family as being compatible with a nontraditional career. They perceived attitudes of significant others as favorable to their choice of career.
Kaley (1971) studied the motivation of modern women with professional aspirations. She hypothesized that since liberal viewpoints are frequently associated with high levels of education and professional experience, professional men, more than any other male group, would have favorable attitudes toward the married, professional woman's dual role. Kaley's findings did not support her hypothesis. She found married, professional men expressed a negative attitude toward the professional, married woman's ability to cope adequately with home and work roles. Kaley concluded that negative attitudes toward the professional woman's dual role, both outside the professional community and within it, are an indication of why few women prepare themselves for and pursue professional careers.

Siegel and Haas (1963) found that employed mothers encounter frequent but not total disapproval for combining maternal and work roles. They found that disapproval of maternal employment was more consistent in men. In contrast to Kaley's findings, they found that higher levels of education were associated with positive attitudes toward maternal employment.

Farley (1970) suggested that the importance a woman attaches to her career may affect other plans and aspirations considerably. Specifically, family size was most affected. Results from a survey conducted by Farley showed that the career women in her sample did not plan large families.

A study of vocational interests of women psychologists by Campbell and Soliman (1968) suggested that psychology as a career attracts women
who have more intellectual, scientific, and verbal-linguistic interests than the average women and fewer interests in the traditional feminine role. Bachtold and Werner (1970) sought to identify those personality factors that enable women to succeed in the sciences and in academics, in spite of powerful sex-role expectations to the contrary. The authors studied successful and productive adult women in the social and natural sciences, arts, and humanities. They found that as a group, women psychologists tended to be more intelligent, socially aloof, dominant, serious, adventuresome, sensitive, flexible, imaginative, insightful, unconventional, secure, self-sufficient, and less anxiety-prone than adult women in the general population and women in college.

TenElshof and Mehl (1976) found in their research that both men and women are more highly achievement motivated when they do not aspire to roles usual for their sex.

Horner's studies (1972) on role perception and achievement suggested that some kinds of achievement which were relatively unambivalently valued by male college students were perceived as dangerous or conflictual for college women. She postulated a fear of success among bright women. Success motivation for competitive tasks in men tends to disappear in the absence of an audience, while the opposite appears to be true for women. This observation suggests that achieving women have learned to fear that society might punish them for achievement, particularly if it is perceived as deviant, while achieving men have learned to expect societal reward to maintain their behavior.

Strommer (1976) studied the reasons why, along the road to the doctoral degree, women drop off in greater percentages than do men.
She found that factors contributing to attrition are societal pressures, admissions policies, lack of financial aid and fellowships, lack of female role models to emulate, and a lack of recognition and support from faculty. Strommer claimed that the critical period of decision for the woman graduate student comes between the Master's degree and the beginning of doctoral work. Those choosing not to pursue further study felt their career aspirations were not taken seriously.

Phillips (1974) investigated achievement motivation in women involved in a typically feminine occupation—nursing. The variables studied in relation to achievement motivation were the motive to affiliate and perception of sex role. Her subjects consisted of 159 graduating nursing students, ranging in age from 20 to 41 years. The motive to achieve and the motive to affiliate of those who had interrupted their schooling for marriage or professional work were compared with the motives of those who continued their schooling through college. It was concluded that for women in typically feminine occupations (such as nursing), nontraditional attitudes toward sex role increase the level of aspiration which is associated with the expressed need for self-fulfillment, as well as a need for financial independence. Age and experience were more significant factors in differentiating women on achievement needs and affiliative needs in the sample. Phillip's study also revealed additional factors:

(1) Achievement motivation is greater for women between the ages of 23 and 41 and was related, in the [Phillips] study, to whether the woman had interrupted her education or not.
(2) Women between the ages of 20 and 22 tended to be more traditional in sex role orientation and appeared relatively lower in the motive to achieve than the older women.

(3) Women between the ages of 23 and 28 were more achievement minded than either the younger group or the older group. This finding may be related to current interest in greater freedom for women in the realization of career potential.

Phillips summed up her findings with the following statement:

Nontraditionality is related to age and experience also, with the older women expressing more liberal attitudes toward sex-role than women of college age. Affiliation appears to be related to traditionality as the younger women differ from the older ones in expressing greater affiliative needs. The older women tend to choose achievement needs over affiliative needs.

Cassidy (1976) hypothesized that women who chose nontraditional careers would score higher in self-esteem and would be more internally controlled than women who chose traditional careers. It was further hypothesized that there would be a correlation between self-esteem and locus of control and that these variables could be predictive of career choice. The results indicated that there were no significant differences between traditional and nontraditional women on the variable of self-esteem. The hypothesis of a difference between the two groups on the locus of control variable was not confirmed. There was, however, some indication that nontraditional subjects were more internal in locus of control than traditionals.

Parental Influcences

Research concerning parental influences in the development of achievement motivation in women often presents conflicting findings.
Some authors claim that the mother is the most important person in developing achievement motivation in her daughter, while others cite the father as the most significant person in this process. Studies about both parents and their influence are presented in this section.

Kagan and Moss (1962) found that early maternal protectiveness related to a later lack of achievement motivation. In general, an environment neither extremely warm and protective nor extremely hostile produces the highest achievement motivation (Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Bronfenbrenner, 1961). Among young females, parental restrictiveness is positively related to low achievement behavior (Hetherington, 1967). This practice would seem to lead to the feminine role trait of dependency, while more permissiveness allows greater exploration of situations and roles. Parental protectiveness often leads to parental restrictiveness as the child grows older, leading to low achievement behavior. On the other hand, independence training by the parent has been shown to be a positive relation to achievement behavior (Baumerind, 1971). Encouragement from parents and high expectations relate to female achievement in both childhood and adulthood (Kagan and Moss, 1962; Crandall and Battle, 1970). In essence, the more the woman college student is able to be free of sex role stereotyping, the better she achieves academically.

Siegelman (1973) found a significant relationship between independence and the avoiding and accepting modes of parent-child relations. In a discussion of research relating to sex differences in independence and achievement training, Hoffman (1972) concluded that the overprotection
and "over-help" which girls typically receive may inhibit the development of independence and achievement in females. Hence, the results of the Siegelman study can be interpreted as suggesting that avoiding parental behaviors are positively correlated with achievement, while the accepting mode of interaction is negatively associated with this need. Kriger (1972) found that a mature woman's choice between working and not working was a function of the childrearing mode of her parents. Kriger concluded that more overprotective or restrictive parental attitudes and behavior result in a greater commitment to homemaking.

In terms of the influence of mothers' work status (employed or not employed) and occupational status (traditional or nontraditional), the results of this study suggested that a mother's work is not enough in itself to influence her daughter to aspire to a moderate or to an innovative occupation. What appears to be crucial to a daughter's aspiration to an occupation in which 50 percent or fewer of the workers are women is whether her mother is currently employed in this occupational category. These findings lend support to the importance for girls of mothers as role models in the development of their career goals. Yet, it appears that this is only one of a cluster of variables that exert influence on the occupational aspirations of young women.

In a focused study of 25 married women Ph.D.'s, Walum (1974) found that her subjects, all of whom were managing to integrate professional activities with traditional family roles, had strong positive identifications with their fathers as well as with some female model. This female was not necessarily the mother; in some cases it was a grandmother,
teacher, or aunt. Douvan (1976) expressed strong beliefs concerning the importance of role modeling for young women.

Familiarity with adult women who have integrated achievement into gratifying lives and who have a stake in encouraging intellectual excellence in younger women must ease some of the anxieties that so commonly accomplish and inhibit success in women. Being in daily close touch with working intellectual women (who integrate their own work and achievement with feminine fulfillment) must for many students open and facilitate the development of new conceptions of what is possible in their own lives.22

Grace Baruch investigated the development of achievement motivation using a sample of fifth and tenth grade girls and their mothers (1976). All were measured on self-perceptions of competence. Baruch found that those girls who had high self-perceptions of competence had mothers whose own self-perceptions were high; their mothers placed significantly more value on traits related to independence, assertiveness, and achievement. These findings suggest that girls with higher self-perceptions of their competence have received both support for and modeling of such self-images from their mothers. Baruch stated that during adolescence, girls' concerns with femininity increase, and, thus, a girl's perception of femininity in relation to competence is affected by her mother's self-image and values and in turn affects her own self-image. Baruch had also tested her sample of young high school girls on career aspirations and desired future family size. Her findings suggested that girls who feel competent have high career aspirations and desire small families. Their future identity seemed anchored in work as well as in motherhood. These findings are consistent with similar studies involving college
women students. They, too, desired a career and a small family size (Wilson, 1975). This dual focus (career and marriage) seems adaptive in a society in which problems of long life span and over-population make it no longer viable to devote one's whole life to child rearing (Baruch, 1976).

There is evidence that traditional femininity is negatively associated with self-esteem (Connell and Johnson, 1971; Flammer, 1971) and that high self-esteem is positively related to a sense of competence (Baruch, 1973). In a study of middle-aged women, Birnbaum (1975) compared married professional women who had children with equally gifted homemakers who had not worked since the birth of their first child. Homemakers felt less competent and less attractive than did professional women, and their self-esteem and overall satisfaction were also lower. Despite the inevitable difficulties of their chosen life style, the professional women, thus, had very positive self-images and experienced a high level of satisfaction.

Studies which focussed on the role of the father in child rearing claimed him to be much more influential than the mother. Oliver (1975) compared career-oriented college women with homemaking-oriented college women on the variables of parental attitudes (father and mother acceptance, concentration, and avoidance) and parental identification (mother or father). Oliver's findings suggested that a woman's father is more important than her mother in determining the degree of her career commitment as an undergraduate. Oliver also found that a young woman's levels of achievement and affiliation are tied with her identification
with her parents. Daughters who identify with their fathers develop different motivational patterns than daughters who identify with their mothers. Heilbrun (1965) wrote that achievement was an instrumental need and that affiliation was an expressive trait. Oliver claimed that since fathers tend to be instrumental in orientation and mothers more likely to be expressive, girls who identify with fathers might demonstrate relatively higher levels of achievement. Likewise, girls who identify with mothers might be expected to develop relatively higher levels of need for affiliation. Research supporting this reasoning has been reported by Roe and Siegelman (1964), who found that their women engineer subjects identified much more frequently with their fathers than with their mothers. Oliver concluded that homemaking-oriented women exhibited greater mother identification; whereas, career-oriented women identified more often with their fathers.

Burlin (1976) investigated the relationship of parental education and maternal work and occupational status to the occupational aspirations of adolescent females. A significant association was found between occupational aspiration and father's education and between occupational aspiration and mother's occupational status. Austin (1968) found higher socioeconomic status to be one of the factors that differentiated between twelfth grade girls who planned careers either in the sciences or in teaching and twelfth grade girls who planned to become housewives or to do office work. In Burlin's study, the fact that father's education, but not mother's education, was found to be significantly related to occupational aspiration lends further support to the assumption that it
is socioeconomic status, rather than educational level, which is associated with career aspirations in these adolescent girls.

Burlin suggested some of the reasons why socioeconomic status appears to be related to a young woman's career aspirations (both real and ideal):

1. The economic realities of availability or unavailability for higher education;
2. The degree of opportunity for role models in the nuclear family;
3. The degree of personal contact with people in various occupations, through neighbors, family, friends, and travel.

Working Women -- Achievement in Practice

More women today are putting their motives to achieve into practice and entering the labor market. U. S. Department of Labor statistics show that in 1974 nearly 36 million women were in the labor force, representing 46 percent of all women 16 years of age and over. Women accounted for 39 percent of the civilian labor force. Married women (husband present) accounted for nearly 58 percent of all women workers. Of all married women (husband present), 43 percent were in the labor force. These figures provoke a need to further investigate the motivation for women working and the effects on their families.

Hoffman and Nye, in their book Working Mothers (1974), extensively interviewed working mothers and their commitment toward work. These researchers found that the relationship between reasons for work and future work plans were rather complicated. Most of the women surveyed initially offered financial reasons for working. Yet well over one-third of the women did advance reasons other than financial. Hoffman and Nye
claimed that those women who offered only nonfinancial reasons for work were more likely to plan extended work careers than the women who worked for a combination of financial and nonfinancial reasons.

Sobol (1974) found that for women not working at the time of the interview, the most important variable relating to future work commitment was work experience since marriage. She theorized that job contacts and recent experience would facilitate future employment and that work experience since marriage might indicate a husband's approval of such work. Moreover, she found the influence of a wife's educational level to be overshadowed by work experience since marriage in the determination of commitment to work.²⁵ Safilios-Rothschild (1971) studied family relationship in relation to maternal work commitment. Perhaps her most striking finding was that women with a high level of work commitment were more likely to report a high degree of marital satisfaction that nonworking women and women with low work commitment. Work commitment was measured by future plans and long-term work histories. Caution was given to distinguish between plans and wishes. Safilios-Rothschild (1970) felt that a meaningful definition of work commitment should be "based upon the relative distribution of interest, time, energy and emotional investment in work in relation to other life sectors and notably to family life."²⁶

Hoffman and Nye found in their research that working women have small families. This finding also supports research which states that college women preparing for careers desire small families. The authors claimed some evidence supporting the hypothesis that the more gratifying jobs, even in the short run, were more closely associated with low
fertility. Women who worked because they wanted to do so expected fewer children than did women who had to work (Whelpton, Campbell, and Patterson, 1966; Ryder and Westoff, 1971). Hoffman and Nye summarized their findings of the characteristics of working compared to nonworking mothers:

1. Working mothers have fewer children and older children;
2. They have husbands who are more active in household and childcare tasks;
3. They have adult relatives living with the family;
4. Their families have attitudes favorable to employment;
5. They reside in communities where jobs for women are more available;
6. They have a higher level of education (beyond high school).27

Feminine Role Perception

Definition

This section presents the material which formed the basis of the third hypothesis of this study. The perception of the female role, as perceived by women themselves, is a crucial factor in both self-concept and achievement motivation. None of these three variables are isolated concepts; rather, they are intricately related to and influenced by each other.

What is the relationship between self-concept and a woman’s attitude toward the female role? How does the female role relate to school and work? How much is the traditional female role accepted? Psychological femininity (the level of acceptance or rejection of the traditional
female role) is a major factor in any research concerning female behavior. Before one can investigate career and life choices of women, one must study the underlying dimension of their orientation toward the role of work in their lives.

Female Role Studies

Richardson (1975) examined the relationship of college women's self- and role concepts to their orientation toward future roles. The study represented an extension of Super's (1963) self-concept theory of career development. Richardson claimed that the processes are unclear which lead some women to develop a strong and stable interest in fulfilling themselves through work, and other women to view work as secondary and relatively unimportant in their lives. Possibly women implement role concepts rather than self-concepts. Super stated that individuals choose occupations perceived as congruent with their self-concepts, that their careers are natural extensions of their personalities. In investigating female role orientation, one can posit that women possess more or less specific role concepts. A role concept is defined as comprising the characteristics associated with women enacting particular adult roles. Role concepts can be considered analogous to occupational concepts. Women are, then, oriented to that role which they perceive as requiring characteristics most similar to those which they ascribe to themselves.

"I see myself as a homemaker." "I see myself as a doctor."

role concept role concept
homemaking role ————self-concept———career role
Richardson raised two important questions concerning the relationship between female role concept to the self-concept: (1) What is the relationship of self-career congruence to career orientation? and (2) What is the relationship of self-homemaker congruence to career orientation? Richardson stated that role differentiation is an important part of life choices. Role differentiation is defined as the extent to which different characteristics are ascribed to women engaged in career and homemaking roles. A woman's motivation to implement her self-concept in role orientation is more likely to be expressed in the presence of clearly differentiated role concepts. Richardson hypothesized that the degree of congruence between self-concept and chosen or preferred occupational concepts is greater for high self-esteem subjects. Women might be oriented toward the role they perceive as most similar to themselves if they are also characterized by a high level of self-esteem. Richardson found that the moderating effects of self-esteem show that women whose self- and role concepts and role aspirations are oriented consistently toward the homemaking role have medium to low levels of self-esteem.

Richardson's results support the research of Bardwick and Douvan (1971) on the ambivalence experienced by women who pursue a traditional course of development in a society which devalues this feminine role. Richardson found a lack of relationship between self-career congruence and career orientation which suggests that the development of an integrated personality which incorporates career role aspirations consistent with self- and role concepts is incomplete in the senior year of college or for women 22 years of age. Richardson stated that a high level of
self-esteem is likely to facilitate a woman's ability to deviate from a traditional role. In addition, college women who have confidence in themselves probably do not reject as readily the possibility of working or using their education, even though they are drawn to the homemaking role.

Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1968) investigated family interaction effects on feminine and masculine roles. They sought to discover whether or not sex-role attributes were influenced by the interactional structure within the family, rather than total identification with the same sex parent. They found that there were interrelationships within the family structure which were reflected in the measure of psychological femininity (measured on the Gough Scale of Psychological Femininity). The results support research which claims that the father plays a more critical role in the development of the children's sex role preferences than does the mother. The fathers' scores rose systematically, depending upon the sex of the child; while the mothers' did not. The authors claimed that sex-role learning involved sibling-sibling and child-parent effects as well as parent-child effects. They found that in a girl-girl family the scores of the females intercorrelated, but the father is a relative isolate and has lowered feminine scores. In the girl-boy family, the scores of the boy, mother, and father intercorrelate, but the girl is the isolate and heightens her identification with her mother. Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith claimed that the complexity of these interaction effects is contrasted with the traditional sex-role theory which suggests that sex-role characteristics are acquired only from the same sex parent.
In terms of achievement relative to role perception, Tangri (1972) claimed that achievement needs in females are expressed in the success of the husband. Baruch (1967) claimed that achievement occurs in cycles for women. These studies alluded to a conflict between the roles that society expects females to fulfill and the personal goals and aspirations of females. Understanding this conflict between role expectations and aspirations may be the key to understanding motivation constructs in women.

Among several hypotheses concerning role conflict in women which were proposed by Tomlinson-Keasey (1974) were the following: (1) Women who are performing as mothers and wives experience less conflict as measured by fear of success than do those who are not performing in these roles; (2) fear of success is greater in role-inappropriate situations than in role-appropriate situations. Tomlinson-Keasey found in her sample that the older, married group had less anxiety about success and achievement than women not identifying as mother and wife. The author suggested that the change in roles is the critical factor and that marriage has the specific effect of reducing anxiety about success. This interpretation is supported by a nation-wide study of motivation conducted by Veroff and Veroff (1972), who found that single women were more likely to give negative imagery to motivational cues. Hoffman (1972) commented on the conflict between affiliation and achievement which occurs in women. This conflict is heightened in the college years when marriage (affiliation-intimacy) and career (achievement) conflicts are at their peak.
Some women may experience role conflict when threatened by high levels of achievement of other women. Goldberg (1968) claimed that women very often report a negative evaluation of other competent women. Hall (1976) found that the married woman's stage in life was strongly related to her experiences of role conflict and pressure; whereas, age was not. These results support Lansing and Kish's (1957) suggestion that life stage affects one's behavior more than chronological age. Since life stages were measured in their study and are defined popularly in terms of the ages and number of children in the family, these results suggest that children are a major factor and influence on a married woman's perceived role pressures.

Fear of success, investigated by Horner (1969), appears regularly in studies concerning female role conflict. Horner (1972) stated that when groups younger than college age have been investigated, fear of success has been significantly reduced. When an older population was investigated, fear of success was reduced again, even though the older women were also students. Some of the choices and pressures that single women face during college lend credence to the view that this period is an extreme point for anxiety about success. It must be noted that despite the popularity of Horner's success avoidance concept, her conclusions have not been fully supported by subsequent research (Tresmer, 1973). Alper (1974) pointed out that one of the significant variables associated with fear of success imagery was the woman's sex-role ideology. Those women who held traditional sex-role ideologies were more likely to
exhibit fear of success imagery than women with contemporary or liberated ideologies.

Houts and Entwistle (1968) referred to results of their study indicating that "secondary" goals (academic achievement) may become dominant when "primary" goals (i.e., marriage) are satisfied. Maccoby and Jacklin (1973) suggested that a major effect of differences in aggressiveness on vocational choice (between men and women) may come about by default because "women, being slower to anger, are less likely to protest onerous assignments . . . to be blunt, they are easier to exploit and, therefore, may accept less desirable vocational options."28

A study of femininity and creativity by Walberg (1969) raised the question of whether the very factors which correspond to the successful feminine and student roles may penalize the young woman's chances for later eminence in science.

Lott (1973) claimed that a change in our attitudes toward the female role must occur. She claimed that what must also be a part of the post-liberation future is the recognition that one does not have to be a woman to be a nurturant rearer of children. "All the known needs of human infants can in the modern world be as easily satisfied by a father as by a mother or by any involved and caring adult."29 Lott claimed that nursing mothers satisfy their own needs primarily. And there is Mead's lyrical insistence that for "the child whose mother has succeeded in giving it a sense of being valued as a unique individual, entirely for itself . . . is prepared to meet the challenges of living [the nurturance] would be just as valid if the word 'father' was substituted for 'mother.'"30
Maccoby and Jacklin (1971) claimed that there is very good evidence that the major stimulus for nurturant behavior on the part of mammalian mothers is the presence of the infant. Men who are given the opportunity to interact with neonates, which is so rarely the case, might well respond similarly and become deeply involved in the interplay of attachment behaviors which characterize the best relationship between mother and child. Lott stated that the prenatal tie of a child to its mother is a biological given, but after its birth the tie is social and is culturally prescribed. Lott claimed that we provide little real recognition of the worth of parenthood, possibly because it is defined as the relationship between two low status groups, women and children, rather than the involvement of caring adults in the nurturance and growth of society's most important resource.

Seiden (1976) conducted research about current trends in women's roles, for the American Journal of Psychiatry, and cited several conclusions:

1. Research done on women by women will often ask different questions and yield different data than research conducted from male points of view on women, construed as "the other";

2. Women will continue to have considerable individual differences from each other, as well as similarities;

3. Conscious choices about how to live as a woman will continue to be modified by economic condition, culture lag in assimilating changes in the realities of women's lives, and by a host of unconscious factors as well. Intergenerational envy and related conflicts, as well as the conscious and unconscious fears and hopes of men toward women and women's sexuality, will continue to color women's sexual lives.
In terms of the female role, Seiden cited other problems. The "trapped young mother" syndrome has received extensive attention in the public media, and a number of studies have found that children add stress to parents' individual or marital lives in this culture. Psychological stress appears the greatest for both men and women during the early parental life stage. Seiden states that there is a striking contrast between the traditional belief that women require marriage and children for psychological fulfillment more than men do.

Seiden claimed that the evidence shows that marriage, and especially the child-raising period, is associated for women with less happiness, more stress, and more overt mental illness. Have women, asked Seiden, thus been raised without accurate information about the toll that marriage and child rearing may take on their lives? Hoffman (1976) claimed that the role of housewife and mother, however it may be perceived by society, carries with it little opportunity for a sense of achievement, competence, and contribution. Our education system and cultural values have tied feelings of achievement to success in the intellectual or business world. Such satisfactions are intimately linked to monetary gain.

The housewife does not find her work explicitly defined and totaled, either as an hour product or a dollar product, in the national census or in people's minds. Because of the lack of significance attached to her work, the housewife feels she is incompetent and that her contribution is a small one. No one expresses this more clearly than housewives themselves when they answer the inquiry about their occupation with the poignant phrase, 'just a housewife.' Bringing home a paycheck, whether it is added to the family budget, saved for a rainy day or
used only as pin money, seems, in contrast, to be a sign of competence and a tangible contribution to the family.31

Barwick (1972) summarized evidence showing that the present cohort of middle-aged women begin to show signs of increased dissatisfaction with a housewife-only role after about 10 or 15 years. Whether this length of time will continue to be salient is a matter of speculation, but current data suggest a sharp increase in the number of college women with plans for little, if any, interruption of careers.

Research trends cited by Seiden appear to indicate that children do best overall when mothers who prefer to be housewives can be housewives and when mothers who prefer employment can have it (emphasis added).

Altman and Grossman (1971) studied the development of attitudes toward sex roles. The role of the parent suggests a crucial factor in this development. Altman and Grossman found that daughters of working mothers scored higher on measures of career orientation than did daughters of nonworking mothers. The authors also found that a high degree of maternal satisfaction and "maternal goodness" correlated with low career orientation for the sample of nonworking mothers. For the sample of working mothers (those employed outside the home), maternal dissatisfaction with feminine role values correlated significantly with higher career orientation. Daughters of working mothers displayed broader sex role conceptualizations.

Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) found that daughters of contented housewives and daughters of dissatisfied career women were least likely to have careers or continuous work patterns. Women most likely to work
continuously and have career commitments were daughters of satisfied working mothers or of dissatisfied housewives. Altman and Grossman suggested, with regard to influence on the daughter's life plans, that perception of the mother's satisfaction with her status might be as important, if not more so.

Hawley (1969) investigated the relationship between women's career styles and their perception of the feminine ideal: married women and women with careers tended to view the feminine ideal as flexible and androgynous; unmarried and less career-oriented women saw behavior in a highly sex-linked manner. Altman and Grossman stated:

From their comment, daughters of nonworking mothers neither seemed to desire as much nor have as clear a life style in which career is a top priority. One subject from this group commented, 'I'm really confused about my plans. I don't want to give up interests, but I really want children and don't feel a daycare center is right.'

Because of this kind of statement, possibly it is working mothers and not homemaking women who give their daughters the ability to imagine a comfortable accommodation between the demands of family and career.

The authors noted that the more a woman emphasizes home and family in her value system, the less likely she is to be career-oriented. Likewise, the less a woman sees "other-oriented" values of home and family as part of her female role concept, the more career-oriented she is likely to be. In sum, the literature suggests that parents' expectations and behaviors in regard to sex-role influence their children's perception of these roles, and these perceptions relate to the role choices the children make.
Rogers (1951) stated that conflicts between personal goals and social norms are least likely to occur for flexible individuals who can find a variety of ways to integrate personal needs and social demands. Bem's concept of androgyny (1975), the presence of both feminine and masculine traits, appears highly analogous to Rogerian flexibility. According to Bem, androgynous individuals have a wide range of characteristics (i.e., feminine and masculine) from which to draw in dealing with problems. These individuals, then, would be more adaptable, or flexible, than highly sex-typed persons, whose exclusive masculinity or femininity would limit skills and behavior. Bem further stated that androgynous individuals would be expected to experience less Rogerian-type conflict and to be better adjusted than inflexible, highly sex-typed persons. Lewis' research (1974) also relates to the concept of androgyny. Lewis suggested that women who perceive males as having non-traditional views of femininity may be more interested in scientific fields as possible career areas, may possess greater self-esteem and self-confidence, may have a stronger desire to use their intellectual potential, and may be better personally adjusted than women who perceive males as being traditional in their conception of femininity.

Summary

This chapter has dealt extensively with defining and interpreting the three variables of self-concept, achievement motivation, and feminine role perception. Characteristics of the traditional and non-traditional woman student were also presented. The nontraditional woman student is one who has returned to the campus after an extended period
of time, typically having filled her early adult years with the tasks related to marriage and child rearing. The traditional student (18-23 years) is one who pursues a college education immediately upon graduating from high school. This student typically is not married.

Explored, as it relates to women, was the self-concept, a subsystem of internally consistent, hierarchically organized concepts contained within a broader conceptual system. It contains several selves—a physical self, a moral-ethical self, a social self, and a family self. The self-concept changes with the input of new experiences. It seeks out change and has a tendency to assimilate increasing amounts of information, thereby manifesting something like a growth principle. There appears a developmental sequence in the female self-concept. The self-concept does not appear to be "fixed" throughout one's life. It continues to change with one's experience and age.

According to Alper (1974), achievement motivation in women is a now-you-see-it/now-you-don't phenomenon. Like the self-concept, achievement motives appear developmentally in varying degrees of intensity. The literature reviewed stated that achievement motivation is greater for women between the ages of 23 and 31. For women younger than 23, the affiliative motive is much stronger than a need to achieve. Women with a nontraditional perception of sex-role orientation have greater motives to achieve than those who view the traditional female role as also appropriate. The research dealing with parental influences upon the development of achievement motivation suggested that the father is more influential in the life of his daughter than the mother.
Oliver concluded that homemaking-oriented women exhibited greater mother identification; whereas, career-oriented women identified more often with their fathers.

The perception of the female role and its development was also explored and interpreted in this chapter. Richardson suggested that perhaps women implement role concepts rather than self-concepts. For example, a woman may be attracted to the roles of wife and mother, feeling those roles create an identity for her. She, then, defines herself as a wife and mother. Richardson would claim that the woman seeks to implement a role concept. However, a role concept is not a self-concept, but is analogous to an occupational concept. It comprises the characteristics associated with women enacting particular adult roles (i.e., wife, mother, teacher, student). A role concept is "outer directed" and defined externally by the environment. The self-concept is inner-directed and developed and defined internally by the individual.

It was also concluded that androgyny, the presence of both feminine and masculine traits, facilitates a much more healthy personality. Androgynous individuals have a wide range of characteristics from which to draw in dealing with problems. These individuals are more adaptable, or flexible, that highly sex-typed persons, whose exclusive masculinity or femininity would limit skills and behavior.

The studies reviewed in this chapter generated a number of questions: What kind of information about the self-concept can be elicited from two groups of women students—traditional and nontraditional? Do these groups differ relative to achievement motivation? Do these groups
differ relative to their perception of the female role? These ques-
tions, in turn, led to formulation of the three hypotheses investigated
in this study, which are outlined in the chapter which follows.
CHAPTER III
DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This study compared the self-concept, the strength of achievement motivation, and degree of psychological femininity between two independent samples of college women students. The total sample was composed of 54 undergraduate women enrolled during the spring semester, 1977, at a small, four-year, Catholic, coeducational, liberal arts college, Holy Names College. Letters were sent and phone calls were made to a random sample of 70 women students from the records of the Registrar. After one follow-up letter, 54 agreed to participate. The two independent samples, then, consisted of 25 nontraditional-age students and 29 traditional-age college students. Each subject was asked to complete and return four personality inventories: The Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI), The California Psychological Inventory (CPI), The Adjective Check List (ACL), and The Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). The total time required for taking the four inventories ranged from four to four and one-half hours. The inventories were sent through campus mail for those in the residence halls and regular mail for those living off-campus.

Subjects

The 25 nontraditional-age women students ranged in age from 32 to 52 years. The mean age was 41.9. Their studies represented various
majors offered by the College: nursing (15 subjects; 60% of the non-traditional group), art (2; 8%), theology (1; 4%), Spanish (1; 4%), business administration (2; 8%), political science (1; 4%), history (1; 4%), special education (1; 4%). There was one subject undecided about her major (4%). Nineteen were married (76%); 18 (72%) were part-time students, with 7 (28%) attending full-time. All had had some college experience before re-entering, 9 (36%) as juniors and 9 (36%) as seniors. Seven (28%) were special status students, and 14 (56%) were employed in addition to attending school.

The 29 traditional students who participated ranged in age from 18 to 23 years. Their mean age was 20.3. A wider range of majors was represented in this group than among the nontraditional group: social work (1; 3.4%), Spanish/business administration (1; 3.4%), speech correction (5; 17.2%), music/recreation (2; 6.8%), music education (2; 6.8%), theology (1; 3.4%), English (1; 3.4%), history (2; 6.8%), Latin American studies (1; 3.4%), mathematics (2; 6.8%), biological science (3; 10.3%), chemistry (1; 3.4%), sociology (1; 3.4%), psychology (1; 3.4%), art (1; 3.4%), and dance (1; 3.4%). None of these students was married. Twenty-eight (96%) were full-time students, and one (3.4%) was part-time. Eleven (37%) were employed either on- or off-campus. Five (17%) were freshmen; 7 (24%), sophomores; 7 (24%), juniors; 9 (31%), seniors; and 1 (3.4%) was on special student status.

Instrumentation

After a careful and extensive investigation, four inventories were selected for this study because it was felt that they would best give
information about college students of varying ages relative to their self-concept, achievement motivation, and feminine role perception.

In order to test self-concept and compare the responses from the two samples, The Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS)--Counseling Form was used. Of primary importance was the total positive score which elicited information about overall self-esteem. Other scales from the TSCS were also used:

- Self Criticism
- Moral-Ethical Self
- Identity
- Personal Self
- Self Satisfaction
- Family Self
- Behavior
- Social Self
- Physical Self

In order to test achievement motivation and orientation, the following scales from several inventories were used:

- Autonomy (OPI)
- Achievement via Conformance (CPI)
- Achievement via Independence (CPI)
- Intellectual Efficiency (CPI)
- Achievement (ACL)
- Autonomy (ACL)

The following scales were important in testing for differences between the two samples relative to feminine role perception:

- Femininity (CPI)
- Masculinity-Femininity (OPI)

The choice of the four inventories used was based on the rationale that the selected scales from each would provide valuable data for the total analysis. The next section provides information about each instrument's origins, reliability, and validity.
The Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS)—Counseling Form

William Fitts began the developmental work on this scale with the Tennessee Department of Mental Health in 1955. The original purpose was to develop a research instrument that might contribute to the difficult criterion problem in mental health research. Fitts stated that the individual's concept of himself has been demonstrated to be highly influential in much of his behavior and also to be directly related to his general personality and state of mental health. Those who see themselves as worthless or undesirable tend to act accordingly. Those who feel self-confident and have an overall sense of well-being tend also to act accordingly.

The TSCS consists of 100 self-descriptive statements which the subject uses to portray his own picture of himself. The scale is self-administering for either individuals or groups, applicable to the whole range of psychological adjustment from healthy, well-adjusted people to psychotic patients.

The standardization group from which the norms were developed was a broad sample of 626 people. The sample included individuals from various parts of the country, and the ages ranged from 12 to 68 years. There were approximately equal numbers of both sexes, both black and white subjects, representatives of all social, economic, and intellectual levels, and educational levels from 6th grade through the Ph.D. degree. Subjects were obtained from high school and college classes and employees at state institutions. In later validation studies, data came from an Ohio State University student group and from three patient
groups: an Ohio State hospital group, a community mental health center group, and a VA psychiatric hospital group.

**California Psychological Inventory (CPI)**

The goal of the CPI, by Harrison Gough, is to measure those traits of character which arise directly and necessarily from interpersonal life and which should be relevant to the understanding and prediction of social behavior in any and all situations and in any culture (Goldberg, in Buros, 1972). Specifically, the Inventory seeks to assess "folkconcepts" which are culturally universal. Crites (1964) stated that the CPI's strongest point is the very sizeable norm group available. Standard scores for males were derived from a sample of 6,200 Ss, and for females, on a sample of 7,150. These totals appear reasonably large and include a wide range of ages, socioeconomic groups, and geographical areas. Norm groups include high school students, college students, psychology and social work graduate students, nurses, unmarried mothers, airline hostesses, prison inmates, and medical school applicants, among others. The CPI has been used in research testing with groups whose ages ranged from 12 and 13 through 65 and 70 years.

The CPI measures "non test" criteria of academic and vocational performance, effectiveness in interpersonal relationships, and adjustment to periods of stress and strain. The CPI should not be perceived as a needs theory. Crites's main criticism of the CPI was that either the 16 Personality-Factor or Edwards Personal Preference Schedule would probably serve as well as the CPI in prediction situations. However, strengths of the CPI cited by Crites included its utility for research,
its economical assessment of general adjustment, and its potential for development in line with any user's special needs or theoretical preferences.

**Adjective Check List (ACL)**

The List used in this study was developed in 1952 by Harrison Gough at the Institute of Personality Assessment and Research of the University of California, Berkeley. Gough determined that the particular value of the check list approach is that it offers words and ideas commonly used for description in everyday life in a format which is systematic and standardized. In 1958, Alfred Heilbrun developed a series of experimental scales for the ACL, based on Murray's need-trait system. The ACL consists of 300 adjectives commonly used to describe attributes of a person; it is used to elicit a self-evaluation.

For this particular study, the ACL was used to elicit information about the achievement motivation and orientation of the students in the samples. Gough stated that the tendency to check more or fewer words reflects certain personological dispositions. Checking many adjectives appears to reflect surgency and drive, with a relative absence of repressive tendencies. Gough's test also revealed which adjectives were consistently chosen by maladjusted college students, whose self-descriptions coincided with their level of adjustment, and which were most frequently chosen by similar college students whose self-descriptions were unduly favorable. Norm groups used in the original sampling included a variety of age and occupational groups. Included in these groups were
college males and females, medical students, engineering students, archi-
tects, and research scientists.

The Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI)

The OPI was evolved by Heist and Yonge through a long process of
test development, beginning in 1957, and includes a wide variety of
research on earlier forms. It is an established inventory, which was
designed primarily to test college students and was developed at the
Center for the Study of Higher Education at the University of California,
Berkeley (Buros, 1972). This test, which assesses a given domain for a
given population, can do so more adequately than an instrument which
attempts to assess the entire personality for a wide range of adults.
In the original testing of the norm sample, Holy Names College, site of
the present study, was included.

When the OPI was developed, emphasis was placed on the assessment
of intellectual vs. nonintellectual values and interests, liberal vs.
conservative attitudes, and social-emotional adjustment characteristics.

The OPI represents the interaction of ideas from a number of psy-
chologists concerned with individual differences and personality devel-
opment in college populations. It reflects bits of theorizing from
several sources. As a result, it taps a mixture of variables that are
valuable for understanding college students and for helping them to
understand themselves better. "In view of the overall content of the
OPI and its demonstrated ability to make some appropriate discrimina-
tions, we may view it as an effective instrument for assessing the
intellectual orientation and adjustment of college students. It is probably as good as any alternative instrument that might be used for such a purpose.\textsuperscript{34}

The test is not, however, the product of an organized systematic personality theory. The purpose of the OPI is research on problems of adaptation of young people to the college environment. The OPI seems to be especially useful with respect to the important intellectual attitudes and values and probably handles this area better than any other current inventory; its strength is its attention to intrinsic motivational factors in learning.\textsuperscript{35}

The scales chosen from the four inventories used in this study were selected because of the types of data they would provide. The section which follows deals in depth with the characteristics, reliability, and validity of the scales. Test and re-test correlations will be discussed relative to the reliability of the numerical scores obtained from the subjects' responses on the inventories. The problem of scale reliability, difficult as it is to estimate, still retains the simplicity of a single numerical index for use in its representation (Gough, 1975). The validity of a scale is ordinarily more difficult to establish. For a scale which tests, for example, responsibility, one can estimate its validity by correlating it with subjective ratings of responsibility, but the ratings are themselves inexact and fallible. Nevertheless, they do represent to some degree the "truth" about social responsibility, and so a valid scale must correlate with such ratings.

\textbf{Self-Concept}

The self-concept was operationally defined as the subjects' raw scores on selected scales of the \textit{Tennessee Self-Concept Scale} (TSCS), of
which most categories are important to this study. As much information about the self-concept as could be obtained would definitely lead to a greater understanding of the raw and standard scores obtained. On the Counseling Form of the TSCS (there is also a Research and Clinical Form), the scales described below were used.

**Self Criticism Score.** This scale is composed of 10 items which have been taken from the L-scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and reproduced by special arrangements. These items are all mildly derogatory statements that most people admit as being true for them. Individuals who deny most of these statements are being defensive and are making a deliberate effort to present a favorable picture of themselves. High scores generally indicate a normal, healthy openness and capacity for self-criticism. Extremely high scores (about the 99th percentile) indicate that the individual may be lacking in defenses and may, in fact, be pathologically undefended. Low scores indicate defensiveness and suggest that any positive scores in the TSCS are probably artificially elevated by this defensiveness.\(^{36}\)

**Total Positive Score.** This score is the most important single score on the Counseling Form. It reflects the overall level of self-esteem. Persons with high scores tend to like themselves, feel that they are persons of value and worth, have confidence in themselves, and act accordingly. People with low scores are doubtful about their own worth; see themselves as undesirable; often feel anxious, depressed, and unhappy; and have little faith or confidence in themselves.
Positive - Identity. These are the "what I am" items. Here the individual is describing his/her basic identity—what one is as perceived by oneself.

Positive - Self-Satisfaction. This scale comes from those items where the individual describes how he/she feels about the self perceived. In general, this score reflects the individual's level of self-satisfaction or self-acceptance. These subscores (Identity, Self-Satisfaction, and Behavior) are best interpreted in comparison with each other and the total positive score.

Positive - Behavior. This score comes from those items that say "this is what I do, or this is the way I act." This score measures the individual's perception of his/her own behavior or the way he/she functions.

Positive - Physical Self. Here the individual is presenting his/her self-perception of body, state of health, physical appearance, skills, and sexuality.

Positive - Moral-Ethical Self. This score describes the self from a moral-ethical frame of reference—moral worth, feelings of being a "good" or "bad" person, and satisfaction with one's religion or lack of it.

Positive - Personal Self. This score reflects the individual's sense of personal worth, feelings of adequacy as a person, and self-evaluation of personality apart from one's body or relationships to others.

Positive - Family Self. This scale reflects one's feelings of adequacy, worth, and value as a family member. It refers to the
individual's perception of self in reference to his/her closest and most immediate circle of associates.

**Positive - Social Self.** This is another "self as perceived in relation to others" category, but pertains to "others" in a more general way. It reflects the person's sense of adequacy and worth in social interaction with other people in general.

**Total Variability Score.** This score represents the total amount of variability for the entire record. High scores mean that the person's self-concept is so variable from one area to another as to reflect little unity or integration. High scorers tend to compartmentalize certain areas of self and view these areas quite apart from the remainder of self. Well-integrated people generally score below the mean on these scores, but above the first percentile.

Test-retest reliabilities on the above scales were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Reliability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self Criticism</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Positive Score</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Satisfaction</td>
<td>.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td>.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Self</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral-Ethical Self</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Self</td>
<td>.85</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family Self</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Self</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Variability</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In further reliability studies of the TSCS, Wayne (1963) reported a correlation of .63 between the total positive score and Izard's **Self Rating Positive Affect Scale**. Wehmer and Izard (1962) had indicated a similar correlation between these two measures.
It is logical to expect that certain life experiences would have consequences for the way in which a person sees him/herself. Psychotherapy or other positive experiences would be expected to result in enhancement of the self-concept, while stress or failure would be expected to result in lowered self-esteem. A study by Ashcraft and Fitts (1964) is the most thorough work yet completed with the TSCS on changes through psychotherapy. The design included an experimental group consisting of 30 patients who had been in therapy for an average of six months and a no-therapy control group of 24 patients who had been waiting for therapy for an average of 6.7 months. All subjects were measured on a test-retest basis with the scale. The therapy group changed significantly and in the expected direction on 18 of the 22 variables studied, while the control group changed in two variables.\textsuperscript{37}

In the original development of the TSCS, the first step was to compile a large pool of self-descriptive items derived from a number of other self-concept measures including those developed by Balester (1956), Engel (1956), and Taylor (1953). Items were derived also from written self-descriptions of patients and nonpatients. After considerable study, Fitts developed a phenomenological system for classifying items on the basis of what they themselves were saying. This system evolved into the two-dimensional, $3 \times 5$ scheme employed on the score sheet of both the Counseling and the Research and Clinical Forms. Ninety items were equally divided as to positive and negative qualities. Ten items comprise the Self-Criticism scale. After the items were edited, seven clinical psychologists were employed as judges to classify the items
according to the 3 x 5 scheme already indicated. They also judged each item as to whether it was positive or negative in content. The final 90 items used in the TSCS are those where there was perfect agreement by the judges.

Achievement Motivation

Achievement motivation was operationally defined as the subject's raw scores on the following scales: Achievement via Conformance, Achievement via Independence, and Intellectual Efficiency, of the California Psychology Inventory (CPI); Autonomy of the Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI); and the Achievement and Autonomy scales on the Adjective Check List (ACL).

Achievement via Conformance (CPI) seeks to identify those factors of interest and motivation which facilitate achievement in any setting where conformance is a positive behavior. High scorers tend to be seen as capable, cooperative, efficient, responsible, and as valuing intellectual activity and intellectual achievement. Low scorers tend to be seen as coarse, stubborn, aloof, awkward, insecure, easily disorganized under stress or pressure to conform, and pessimistic about their occupational futures.38

Achievement via Independence (CPI) seeks to identify those factors of interest and motivation which facilitate achievement in any setting where autonomy and independence are positive behaviors. Individuals with high scores tend to be seen as mature, forceful, dominant, demanding, and foresighted, as being independent and self-reliant, and having
superior intellectual ability and judgment. Low scorers tend to be seen as inhibited, anxious, cautious, dissatisfied, and lacking in self-insight and self-understanding.

**Intellectual Efficiency (CPI).** This scale specifically seeks to indicate the degree of personal and intellectual efficiency which the individual has attained. High scorers tend to be seen as efficient, intelligent, progressive, resourceful, alert and well-informed, and as placing a high value on cognitive and intellectual matters. Low scorers tend to be seen as cautious, confused, defensive, shallow and unambitious, as being conventional and stereotyped in thinking, and lacking in self-direction and self-discipline.

**Achievement (ACL).** This scale is described as an indicator of striving to be outstanding in pursuits of socially recognized significance. Typical indicative adjectives include aggressiveness, ambitious, capable, conscientious, energetic, industrious, opportunistic, and planful. Adjectives such as apathetic, easy-going, irresponsible, leisurely, and shiftless are contraindicative. The high scoring subject on Achievement usually is seen as intelligent and hard-working, but also as involved in intellectual and other endeavors. The individual is determined to do well and usually succeeds. His/her motives are internal and goal-centered rather than competitive, and in dealings with others, he/she may be unduly trusting and optimistic. The low scoring subject on Achievement is more skeptical, more dubious about the rewards which might come from effort and involvement, and uncertain about risking his/her labors. This individual tends also to be somewhat withdrawn and dissatisfied with his/her current status.
Autonomy (ACL) is defined as acting independently of others or of social values and expectations. Indicative adjectives include adventurous, aggressive, aloof, autocratic, cynical, hard-headed, individualistic, opinionated, self-confident, independent. Contra-indicative adjectives are cautious, conventional, dependent, obliging, spineless, suggestible, and timid. The high scorer on Autonomy is independent and autonomous, but also assertive and self-willed. Such a person tends to be indifferent to the feelings of others and heedless of their preferences when he/she wishes to act. The low scorer is of a moderate and even subdued position, hesitating to take the initiative, preferring to wait and follow the dictates of others.

For the scales on the CPI, test-retest reliabilities were .73 for Achievement via Conformance, .57 for Achievement via Independence, and .77 for Intellectual Efficiency (Gough, 1975). On the OPI, test-retest reliabilities were .88 for Autonomy and .74 for Achievement, and .81 for Autonomy on the ACL.

Gough presented cross-validation studies in establishing the validity of the CPI scales. For Achievement via Conformance, he cited a combined sample of 1,235 females and 946 males from eight high school senior classes in which correlations of .41 for the females and .41 for the males were obtained between this scale and high school grade average.

In a sample of 40 University of California medical school seniors, Achievement via Independence correlated +.31 with faculty ratings of "potential success as a physician and surgeon." In seven psychology classes totalling 917 students, a mean correlation between Achievement via Independence and course grades of +.38 was obtained.
For 70 University of California graduate students in psychology, a correlation of +.44 between Intellectual Efficiency and the Miller Analogies Test was found. In another study, a sample of 100 military officers at the University of California had a correlation of +.41 between Intellectual Efficiency and the staff's rating of "intellectual competence."40

Heist and Yonge (1968) stated that the evidence bearing on the Autonomy scale (OPI) as a measure of "independence from authority as traditionally imposed through social institutions" is not as clear-cut as one would like. Nonetheless, the validation information available is in line with the nonauthoritarian, intellectually liberal aspect of this dimension. Heist and Yonge correlated this scale with the Economic (-.29), Aesthetic (.44), and Religious (-.23) scales of the Study of Values. They also found Strong Vocational Interest Blank correlates of Autonomy to be supportive of the general nonauthoritarian aspects of this dimension. Along the lines of the brief definition of Autonomy (a nonauthoritarian, intellectually liberal interpretation), this measure correlates for both men and women with CPI measures of Capacity for Status (.38), Social Presence (.35), Socialization (-.30), Achievement via Independence (.46), and Flexibility (.45). Among the correlations between the OPI measure of Autonomy and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS) variables, the highest coefficient (.37) is with the EPPS Need for Autonomy.41

The Achievement scale of the ACL has its highest correlation with the CPI Dominance scale (.49). However, a more interesting finding is
that it correlates positively with Achievement via Conformance (CPI; .30), but negatively with Achievement via Independence (-.01).

The Autonomy scale of the ACL correlates +.33 with CPI Dominance and -.32 with CPI Self-Control.42

Feminine Role Perception

Feminine Role Perception, the subjects' degree of psychological femininity, was operationally defined as their raw scores on the Masculinity-Femininity scale of the OPI and the Femininity scale of the CPI.

The Masculinity-Femininity scale of the OPI assesses some of the differences in attitudes and interests between college men and women. High scorers (masculine) deny interests in esthetic matters, and they admit to few adjustment problems, feelings of anxiety, or personal inadequacies. They also tend to be somewhat less socially inclined than low scorers and more interested in scientific matters. Low scorers (feminine), besides having stronger esthetic and social inclinations, also admit to great sensitivity and emotionality.43

The Femininity scale of the CPI seeks to assess masculinity or femininity of interests. High scores indicate more feminine interests; low scores, more masculine. High scorers tend to be seen as appreciative, patient, helpful, gentle, moderate, persevering, sincere, respectful, and accepting of others, and behaving in a conscientious and sympathetic way. Low scorers tend to be seen as outgoing; hard-headed; ambitious; masculine; active; robust and restless; manipulative and opportunistic in dealing with others; blunt and direct in thinking and action; and impatient with delay, indecision, and reflection.
Test-retest reliability for Masculinity-Femininity (M-F) was .87. The patterns of correlations between this scale and the six Study of Values scales is consistent with the derived social interests and the cultural stereotypes of masculine and feminine sex roles. That is, there are positive correlations between M-F and scientific, practical, and power orientations, as indicated by the Theoretical (.55), Economic (.45), and Political (.32) scales, respectively, and negative correlations with the more feminine traits as shown by the Aesthetic (-.46), Social (-.45), and Religious (-.29) values. The M-F scale correlates substantially (-.51) with the Masculinity-Femininity measure on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. That particular measure on the MMPI suggests that individuals with interests and attitudes more congruent with those held by men tend to say favorable things about their mental health and deny emotional difficulties and weaknesses of various kinds.\(^4\)

For the Femininity scale of the CPI, test-retest reliability was .65. In establishing validity for this scale, Gough cited further cross-validation studies. In a sample of 152 adult males, Femininity correlated -.41 with the Masculinity scale of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank. In this same sample, Femininity correlated +.43 with the M-F (feminine interests) scale of the MMPI.

In a sample of 45 college females, scores on Femininity correlated +.38 with peer nominations on "femininity." For 41 college males, Femininity scores correlated -.48 with peer nominations on "masculinity."
The Statistical Hypotheses

Three hypotheses were developed for the study. For each a null hypothesis was also derived. The three working concepts throughout this study are presented below.

Self-Concept

**Hypothesis.** The scores on measures of self-concept of the traditional-age students will be significantly greater than the scores of the nontraditional-age students. A more positive self-concept will be shown by the younger students.

**Null hypothesis.** No difference will be found in the self-concept scores between the traditional-age students and the nontraditional-age students.

Achievement Motivation

**Hypothesis.** On measures of achievement motivation, the scores of the nontraditional-age students will be significantly greater than the scores of the traditional-age students.

**Null hypothesis.** No difference will be found on measures of achievement motivation between the nontraditional-age students and the traditional-age students.

Feminine Role Perception

**Hypothesis.** On measures of feminine role perception, the scores of the traditional-age students will differ significantly from the scores of the nontraditional-age students. The younger students will
show less concern with fulfilling with culturally stereotyped female role and more concern with fulfilling their own individual expectations.

**Null hypothesis.** No difference will be found on measures of feminine role perception between the nontraditional-age and the traditional-age students.

**Statistical Analysis**

Because the scores obtained from the inventories would constitute interval data, the *t* test was used for analysis. The data obtained from the selected scales satisfied the criteria needed to meet the assumptions governing the use of the *t* test: The observations were independent of each other; the scores formed an interval scale of measurement; the observations were drawn from a normally distributed population; the two samples did not have markedly differing variances. The *t* test was appropriate for this study's sample size, being the appropriate statistical tool to determine whether the sample means differed significantly from each other. Thus, comparisons of mean scores were used to establish significance, which was set at the .05 level (p = .05). The formula used in the computations follows:

\[ t = \frac{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{s_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{s_2^2}{n_2}}} \]

\[ df = n_1 + n_2 - 2 \]

**Summary**

Fifty-four undergraduate women students from Holy Names College in Oakland, California, participated in this research. These students were
randomly selected from the campus women student population. Twenty-nine students were traditional college age (18-23 years), and 25 were non-traditional college age (30 years and above). Two independent samples were thus formed, and each subject was asked to complete and return four personality inventories, the TSCS, CPI, OPI, and ACL. The two samples were to be compared on selected scales based on three variables: self-concept, achievement motivation, and feminine role perception—which provided the basis for formulation of three different hypotheses. A t test for independent groups was used to compare mean scores on all scales measuring achievement motivation, self-concept, and all scales selected for feminine role perception. Significance level was established at the .05 level.
Hypothesis I

The first hypothesis was concerned with a comparison of the self-concept between the two samples. It was hypothesized that the measures of selected scales on the TSCS—Counseling Form would be significantly greater for the traditional-age students than the scores for the non-traditional group. A more positive self-concept would be shown by the younger students. Of primary importance was the total positive score designed to measure overall self-esteem.

The data from this test were quite surprising because they showed results which were the reverse of those hypothesized. Significant differences did exist between the scores of older and younger women students on four scales, but all showed differences in the direction of higher scores for older women. The nontraditional group showed a higher total positive score which was significantly greater than the mean score of the younger students. (Significance was set at the .05 level.) The results are summarized in Tables 1 and 2.

The results showed higher mean scores for the nontraditional students and significant differences in four of the scales: Total Positive, Behavior, Physical Self, and Moral-Ethical Self. The total variability mean score for the older group was lower than that of the younger group, indicating slightly less variation among their responses on all the scales.
Table 1. Mean Scores, SD's, and t Tests on Selected Scales of the TSCS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nontraditional (N = 24)</th>
<th>Traditional (N = 27)</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Positive</td>
<td>358.88</td>
<td>30.08</td>
<td>341.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Criticism</td>
<td>35.04</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>34.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Identity</td>
<td>127.67</td>
<td>8.07</td>
<td>126.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Self Satisfaction</td>
<td>112.33</td>
<td>14.45</td>
<td>105.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Behavior</td>
<td>118.88</td>
<td>11.35</td>
<td>109.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Physical Self</td>
<td>71.54</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>66.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Moral-Ethical Self</td>
<td>75.79</td>
<td>6.86</td>
<td>70.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Personal Self</td>
<td>67.50</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>66.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Family Self</td>
<td>72.58</td>
<td>7.51</td>
<td>69.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Social Self</td>
<td>71.46</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>69.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Variabilitya</td>
<td>41.33</td>
<td>14.88</td>
<td>46.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05
** p < .01

aLow variability equals greater consistency of responses.
Table 2. Standard Scores on the Selected Scales of the TSCS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nontraditional (N = 24)</th>
<th>Traditional (N = 27)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Positive</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Criticism</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Identity</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Self Satisfaction</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Behavior</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Physical Self</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Moral-Ethical Self</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Personal Self</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Family Self</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Social Self</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Variability</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis II

The second hypothesis was concerned with differences in the achievement motivation between the nontraditional group and the traditional group. Specifically, it was hypothesized that on selected measures of achievement motivation, the scores of the nontraditional students would be significantly greater than the scores of the traditional students. The nontraditional sample would appear more achievement motivated and oriented than the traditional students. Three scales from the CPI were used to test for differences: Achievement via Conformance, Achievement
via Independence, and Intellectual Efficiency. The Autonomy scale from the OPI and the Achievement and Autonomy scales from the ACL were also used. For each scale t tests were calculated. With significance at the .05 level, the results are summarized in Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6.

Table 3. Mean Scores, SD's, and t Tests on Selected CPI Scales for Achievement Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nontraditional (N = 23)</th>
<th>Traditional (N = 26)</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achievement via Conformance</td>
<td>29.08 4.07</td>
<td>27.07 4.18</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement via Independence</td>
<td>22.30 3.94</td>
<td>19.77 4.75</td>
<td>2.04*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Efficiency</td>
<td>40.30 4.86</td>
<td>36.69 5.70</td>
<td>2.41**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05

Table 4. Mean Scores, SD's, and t Tests on the Selected OPI Scale for Achievement Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nontraditional (N = 24)</th>
<th>Traditional (N = 29)</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>29.46 7.06</td>
<td>24.86 6.94</td>
<td>2.38*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05
Table 5. Mean Scores, SD's, and t Tests on Selected ACL Scales for Achievement Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nontraditional (N = 24)</th>
<th>Traditional (N = 27)</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>14.92</td>
<td>6.19</td>
<td>11.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Standard Scores on all Scales for Achievement Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nontraditional</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achievement via Conformance (CPI)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement via Independence (CPI)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Efficiency (CPI)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy (OPI)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement (ACL)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy (ACL)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all but one category, the nontraditional-age group showed higher mean scores than the traditional-age students. Significant differences between the mean scores were found in three of the six scales: Achievement via Independence (CPI), Intellectual Efficiency (CPI), and Autonomy (OPI).
Hypothesis III

The third hypothesis focused on the differences in attitudes toward the female role. Specifically, the study wanted to measure differences (if any existed) in degrees of psychological femininity. It was hypothesized that the mean scores on two selected scales of psychological femininity would differ significantly between the traditional students and the nontraditional students. The younger students would show less concern with the traditional female role and society's expectations and more concern with their own expectations. The Femininity scale (CPI) and the Masculinity-Femininity scale (OPI) were selected to provide data to test this hypothesis. (The significant level was again set at .05.) Mean scores, standard deviations, and t ratios were computed for each scale. The results are summarized in Tables 7, 8, and 9.

Table 7. Mean Scores, SD's, and t Test on the Selected CPI Scale for Feminine Role Perception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nontraditional (N = 23)</th>
<th>Traditional (N = 26)</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femininity</td>
<td>24.04</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>23.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Mean Scores, SD's, and t Test on the Selected OPI Scale for Feminine Role Perception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nontraditional (N = 24)</th>
<th>Traditional (N = 29)</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity-Femininity</td>
<td>24.79</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>24.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9. Standard Scores on Selected Scales for Feminine Role Perception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nontraditional</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Femininity (CPI)(^a)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity-Femininity (OPI)(^b)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Scores above 50 indicate greater masculine interests.
\(^b\)Scores below 50 indicate greater masculine interests.

No significant differences were found between the two samples on both scales. Table 9 also shows that the standard scores for both groups are similar in range, indicating no important variations.

**Discussion**

The results provide some rather interesting insights about the two groups of women students. The focus of the first hypothesis was the total positive score on the TSCS, which sought to measure the total overall self-esteem between the two groups of women students. The results were the opposite of those hypothesized. It was the older students who showed a more positive self-concept. Their self-evaluations apparently were more positive than those of the younger students. This particular sample of nontraditional students did not appear to suffer from problems of dependency or a lack of self-confidence. They did not appear to be in the midst of an identity crisis. Perhaps they had already weathered such a crisis, as Sheehy (1976) indicates is inevitable in adult life. Perhaps they had resolved such questions as
"Who am I?" and "What do I do with the rest of my life?" The results for the self-concept in this study do not agree with Manis' (1976) "disengagement theory" of middle-aged, married women. The women in this study appeared active, involved, and enthused about their academic studies and future life plans.

The greatest difference between the two samples was on the Positive-Behavior scale \( t(49) = 2.93, p < .01 \), which describes how one acts and feels about one's displayed behavior. Also, perceptions of the Physical Self \( t(49) = 2.47, p < .05 \) and the Moral-Ethical Self \( t(49) = 2.54, p < .05 \) showed greater, significant mean scores in favor of the older students.

As shown in Table 10, the younger students did score in the normative range when compared with the original norm sample of the TSCS. Their mean scores were below the norms on Self-Criticism, Identity, Behavior, Physical Self, Personal Self, Family Self. They were above the norm on Self-Satisfaction, Moral-Ethical Self, and Social Self. They also displayed a greater consistency in responses than the norm mean scores, with a lower total variability score.

The older students had higher mean scores than the norm sample on all scales except Self-Criticism and Physical Self, where the numerical differences are minute. The younger students do not appear as self-confident when one analyzes their responses on the TSCS. Correspondingly, the older students do not appear as indecisive nor ambiguous about their life goals as the literature would have one believe. Nonetheless, study of Tables 1 and 10 shows the responses of the younger
students to be within the normative range, with the older group 13 points higher (95th percentile).

Table 10. Means, SD's of the Standardization Group of the TSCS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Positive</td>
<td>345.57</td>
<td>30.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Criticism</td>
<td>35.54</td>
<td>6.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>127.10</td>
<td>9.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Satisfaction</td>
<td>103.67</td>
<td>13.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td>115.01</td>
<td>11.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Self</td>
<td>71.78</td>
<td>7.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral-Ethical Self</td>
<td>70.33</td>
<td>8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Self</td>
<td>64.55</td>
<td>7.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Self</td>
<td>70.83</td>
<td>8.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Self</td>
<td>68.14</td>
<td>7.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Variability</td>
<td>48.53</td>
<td>12.42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The second hypothesis was concerned with comparing Achievement Motivation between the two samples. The nontraditional-age group showed greater mean scores on the selected scales than the traditional-age group. These higher scores indicated an increased orientation toward both personal and academic achievement. The standard scores on all scales for both groups were within the normative range. However, the older group did show higher standard scores than the younger...
students (see Table 6). This particular sample of nontraditional-age students at Holy Names College appeared to take themselves and their studies seriously. These findings, however tentative, do seem to agree with previous research conducted by Plotsky and Ohm (1976) and Roelf (1975). Both studies found re-entry students to be academically serious students, well-motivated to achieve their goals. Davis (1973) found mature women students, when compared with younger college women, more focussed on their work and education, less concerned with peers and parents, and more productive as evidenced by higher academic performance. These findings directly contradict Manis' (1976) research in which subjects (re-entry students) indicated poor self-concepts of ability with accompanying low aspirations and low motivation for achievement.

The present study's findings for Achievement Motivation appear congruent with those of the first hypothesis for this particular sample of nontraditional-age students: a positive self-concept and the motive to achieve appear quite important.

Relative to the third hypothesis, dealing with Feminine Role Perception, no significant differences were found between the two groups on both the Masculinity-Femininity scale and the Femininity scale. The scores, although rather moderate and not tending toward either extreme, were a bit closer to masculine interests rather than traditional female role attitudes.

The older group appeared to have no conflict with their scores in relation to their responses for Self-Concept and Achievement Motivation. A picture emerges of these students as academically goal-oriented,
having a positive overall self-esteem, with moderate attitudes toward their role as women in society. Their interests are neither extremely masculine nor excessively feminine.

The younger group, although their standard scores on all scales for all three variables were in a normative range, did not appear as decisive as the older group. This characteristic cannot be attributed simply to chronological age. Rather, the important factor is one’s experience in life thus far, or how one feels. Feelings, attitudes, and life experiences distinguish the two samples from each other, not chronological age. The older students perceive their lives in terms of longevity. They are by no means preparing for retirement and a gradual winding down of activities. Rather, they are actively preparing for the second half of their lives. In view of the fact that the American woman’s life span is 82 years, this life planning appears to be a wise choice. On the other hand, the younger students perceive their lives as just beginning.

Meeting new people, particularly of the opposite sex; traveling, pursuing an education; establishing an identity are all very important developmental tasks. Neither group seemed to be attracted to traditional female behavior, as amply demonstrated by their standard scores, shown in Table 9.

Summary

The first hypothesis stated that on measures of self-concept, the younger college students would display a more positive level of self-esteem than the older students. This hypothesis was rejected because the exact reverse resulted. The total positive mean score on the TSCS
was significantly greater in favor of the older students ($t(49) = 2.11$, $p < .05$). Three of the remaining scales proved again to be significant for the older students when $t$ tests were calculated: **Behavior** ($t(49) = 2.93$, $p < .01$), **Physical Self** ($t(49) = 2.47$, $p < .05$), and **Moral-Ethical Self** ($t(49) = 2.54$, $p < .05$). In all scales, the older group had higher mean scores than the traditional-age students. This sample of older students displayed a more positive self-concept than the younger students.

It was hypothesized that on measures of **Achievement Motivation**, the nontraditional-age students would show higher mean scores than the traditional-age subjects and that these differences would be significant. This hypothesis was partially supported. Three of the six scales proved to be significant when $t$ tests were calculated: **Achievement via Independence** ($t(47) = 2.04$, $p < .05$), **Intellectual Efficiency** ($t(47) = 2.41$, $p < .05$), and **Autonomy** ($t(51) = 2.38$, $p < .05$). For five of the six scales, the mean scores were higher for the older group.

The third hypothesis was rejected because no significant differences were found between the two samples on measures of **Feminine Role Perception**. It had been predicted that on measures of femininity, the younger students would show less concern with traditional female behavior than the older students. The concept of psychological femininity was operationally defined as the mean scores on the **Masculinity-Femininity** scale (OPI) and the **Femininity** scale (CPI). Both groups did score in a moderate range, indicating neither extremes of masculine or feminine traits and interests. The results of the testing for the three hypotheses are summarized in Table 11.
Table 11. Summary Table of Significant Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nontraditional Mean</th>
<th>Traditional Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achievement via Independence (CPI)</td>
<td>22.30</td>
<td>19.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Efficiency (CPI)</td>
<td>40.30</td>
<td>36.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy (OPI)</td>
<td>29.46</td>
<td>24.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Positive (TSCS)</td>
<td>358.88</td>
<td>341.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Behavior (TSCS)</td>
<td>118.88</td>
<td>109.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Physical Self (TSCS)</td>
<td>71.54</td>
<td>66.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Moral-Ethical Self (TSCS)</td>
<td>75.79</td>
<td>70.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The motivation for doing this particular study sprang from a profound interest in and concern with the changing roles and developmental tasks of American women. Because, according to Cross (1974), women's roles are changing more rapidly than those of men, honest, truthful, and scholarly research about women's psychological needs must be available to the general public. All too often, existing material is superficial and hastily written, put out in popular news magazines to provide a large reading audience with their only source of information about people's lives, activities, and feelings. When women's roles are the subject, we need only carefully researched, quality material.

This study sought to examine reasons why some women strive to achieve, while others do not, and to uncover the feelings of women students as related to self-concept and achievement. Moreover, since women have begun, during the past two decades, to think seriously and diligently about their goals in life, changes in attitude toward the traditional female role were explored.

More and more women of nontraditional college age are returning to the college campuses (Cross, 1974). Sheehy claimed that this return coincides with periods in their lives marking states of transition—passages as one ages into one's thirties, forties, fifties, sixties,
and into periods for renewal of self and identity. The essential concerns for college counselors and student personnel workers should be how these students fare both academically and emotionally when compared with the traditional-age college student whose eminent domain has been the college campus. The purpose of this investigation was to compare two groups of students, traditional and nontraditional, on three personality variables: **Self-Concept, Achievement Motivation, and Feminine Role Perception.**

Fifty-four undergraduate women students from Holy Names College, Oakland, California, participated in this research. These students were randomly selected, with 29 of traditional college age (18-23 years) and 25 of nontraditional college age (30 years and above). Two independent samples were thus formed, and each subject was asked to complete and return four personality inventories: **The Tennessee Self Concept Scale, The California Psychological Inventory, The Adjective Check List, and the Omnibus Personality Inventory.** The two samples were compared, using a t test for independent groups, on selected scales taken from these four inventories on the basis of the three variables of **Self-Concept, Achievement Motivation, and Feminine Role Perception.** Significance level was established at the .05 level. Three different hypotheses were formulated on the basis of the three variables.

**Conclusions**

**Hypothesis I**

On measures of **Self-Concept**, the younger students would display a more positive level of self-esteem than the nontraditional-age students.
More specifically, the measures of Self-Concept on the TSCS of the traditional-age sample would be significantly greater than the scores of the older students.

This hypothesis was rejected because exactly the reverse occurred. It was the older students who showed a more positive concept of themselves. The total positive mean score on the TSCS was significantly greater in favor of the older students ($t(49) = 2.11, p < .05$), and in all scales the older group had higher mean scores than the traditional-age students.

**Hypothesis II**

On measures of Achievement Motivation, the nontraditional-age students would show higher mean scores than the traditional-age students, and these differences would be significant.

This hypothesis was partially supported. Three of the six scales selected proved to be significant when $t$ tests were calculated: Achievement via Independence ($t(47) = 2.04, p < .05$), Intellectual Efficiency ($t(47) = 2.41, p < .05$), and Autonomy ($t(51) = 2.38, p < .05$). In five of the six scales the mean scores were higher for the older group.

**Hypothesis III**

On measures of Feminine Role Perception (Femininity), the younger students would show less concern with traditional female behavior than the older students.

This hypothesis was rejected because no significant differences were found between the two samples:
Masculinity-Femininity (CPI) (t(47) = .32, p < .05),
Femininity (OPI) (t(51) = .05, p < .05)

This concept of psychological femininity was operationally defined as the mean scores on the Masculinity-Femininity scale (OPI) and the Femininity scale (CPI). Both groups scored in a moderate range, indicating neither extremes of masculine or feminine traits and interests.

The results of this study are necessarily limited by the sample size and by the population from which the subjects were drawn: undergraduate women from a small, Catholic, liberal arts college on the west coast. The fact that the college is a liberal arts institution means that it attracts those students interested in studying the humanities as opposed, for example, to engineering or computer science. The students themselves speak of this small college as attractive because of its size; specifically, the older students perceive it as a less threatening environment than a large state university. With these limitations in mind, certain conclusions, though tentative, may be drawn from the results of this investigation.

Implications for Counseling

This research has obvious implications for counseling women students of varying ages. In agreement with Roelfs (1975), there is an increasing need for counseling expertise to deal with problems arising out of combining college, work, and family life. Aguren's (1974) recommendations for facilitating the education of mature women included informing counselors, administrators, and faculty of the characteristics, needs, and problems of mature women; publicizing counseling services; special
orientation; programs to enhance physical self-concepts; time management programs; self-paced instruction; and use of mature women students as recruiters.

Just as there are orientation programs for the new, 18-year-old freshmen, there should be orientation programs tailored to fit the needs of adult students returning to the campus. To meet this need, Holy Names College has recently introduced into its regular curriculum a re-entry course designed to aid the adult woman student who is in a tremendous state of transition. Her goals in life are changing toward new and different dimensions; her children are growing up, moving away, and probably attending college themselves. The increased free time in her life is perhaps something she has not experienced for many years. Even though the decision to return to the campus is an exciting one, it is also filled with anxiety which stems from the risk involved in moving out of a safe, comfortable environment (the home) into an unknown one (the campus). Nevertheless, this anxiety need not be completely overwhelming. The results of this study showed a particular sample of older students highly motivated to achieve academically.

The achievement-affiliation conflict may have influenced the scores of the younger students. Results of previous research (Oliver, 1974) have indicated that the interaction of achievement and affiliation is a more potent determinant of career or homemaking orientation than a need for either achievement or affiliation alone. Perhaps the younger students' lower achievement scores were due to stronger affiliative needs at this point in their lives. It is unclear, however, just why this achievement-affiliation interaction occurs. It may be as Bardwick
(1971) suggested, that the development of need for achievement and need for affiliation is related to experiences and relationships which women have had in their families during childhood and adolescence. These antecedent family conditions, then, may influence the relative levels of achievement and affiliative motivation a young girl acquires and, thereby, affect her subsequent career or homemaking orientation.

Manis (1976) firmly stated that counselors who work with young, unmarried women in high schools and colleges, and who are involved in career or marriage counseling, need to make these women aware of the consequences of social withdrawal. Life planning must go beyond the first 25 years of life. Programs which examine the changing roles of women must be developed for young students who still have unrealistic expectations of life and marriage.

The results of the Self-Concept scores in this study showed the older students to be more self-confident than the younger students. These results are tentative and cautiously interpreted in the context from which they were derived. However, a major factor which distinguished the two groups from each other was an overall greater orientation on the part of the older students to accomplish set goals. The older students appeared more goal-oriented, which Gail Sheehy (1976) would say is the result of the mind's perception that only a limited number of years remain in one's life. Consequently, there is a greater sense of urgency to earn the college degree, enter the work world, and live a more enriched life.
It is no easy task for the adult woman to return to college and make an immediate transition from homemaker to student without some degree of internal preparation. This preparation should include self-analysis, attitude changes, and a defining of personal goals. Without such preparation, any changes in daily tasks become superficial.

The nontraditional-age students in this study obviously had set personal and academic goals, or they would not have enrolled in college. Essentially, their continued learning meant continued growth.

Implications of Future Research

In agreement with Marple's work (1974, 1976), there seems to be some need for recognition of the differences between older women students and younger women students, beyond the very obvious fact that older students tend to have personal, domestic, or marital responsibilities not shared by their younger, female classmates. Additional and more sophisticated research is needed on the nature of differences between younger and older students, and the implications of future research should be made available to administrators, faculty, and staff in colleges and universities. This kind of information is essential to those judging female applicants for any program in higher education.

It would also seem imperative that faculty members, particularly, be aware of such research so that they may do appropriate academic advising and/or career counseling of older women students, many of whom are assumed to be like younger students except for a few gray hairs. If this research were done with larger groups of students in different academic settings, and if it were shown that older women were, for
example, autonomous and oriented toward achievement via independence, such findings might change the attitudes of faculty members and administrators toward such students. Marple (1976) suggested that the day may even come when the number of part-time and older students exceeds the number of full-time and younger students, when part-time study by older students becomes the norm, and when admission to college immediately after high school becomes the exception for an unusually motivated and directed young woman or man.

In conclusion, the ultimate concern of this study has been the education of women and its subsequent effects on women of varying ages. There is, however, a need for much more research on this broad topic. We need more data on what happens to adult women when they complete their studies. We need to find out from younger women students about their experiences with placement for jobs and admissions into graduate and professional schools. We need to be consistently sensitive and perceptive to the specific needs of women students regardless of age. We, as counselors and student personnel workers, have a responsibility to these students whose affective development is as important as their intellectual growth. Strommer (1976) stated quite eloquently this urgency for further study:

We need studies; we need research. We need to analyze enrollment trends, attrition data, . . . [we need] to survey the continuing education needs of [all] women, to study the needs of middle-age women who have never gone to college. And this is just a beginning. A large charge? Of course. But whither thou goest will in large measure determine where and how far the next generation can go.45
FOOTNOTES


11. Ibid., p. 320.


13. Ibid., p. 73.


15. Ibid., p. 76.

16. Ibid., p. 83.


19. Ibid., p. 234.

20. Wilma E. Phillips, "The Motive to Achieve in Women as Related to Per-
ception of Sex Role in Society." (Doctoral dissertation, Univ. of
Maryland, 1974), Dissertation Abstracts International, 1975, 35,
p. 5934A.

21. Ibid.

22. Elizabeth Douvan, "The Role of Models in Women's Professional Devel-

23. Frances Burlin, "The Relationship of Parental Education and Maternal
Work and Occupational Status to Occupational Aspiration in Adoles-

24. Handbook on Women Workers. U. S. Dept. of Labor—Employment Stan-
ards Administration—Women's Bureau, 1975, p. 3.


26. Ibid., p. 65.

27. Ibid., p. 60.


29. Bernice E. Lott, "Who Wants the Children: Some Relationships among
Attitudes toward Children, Parents and the Liberation of Women,"

30. Ibid., p. 581.


32. Sydney L. Altman & Frances K. Grossman, "Women's Career Plans and

33. Ibid., p. 374.

34. Oscar K. Buros (Ed.), Tests in Print (New Jersey: Gryphon Press,

35. Ibid., p. 116.

36. William Fitts, Tennesse Self-Concept Scale Manual (Nashville:


44. Ibid., p. 32.

APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

April, 1977

This semester the Career Planning and Placement Office is conducting a research study on the personality characteristics of our women students on campus. The information gathered will be used for several purposes—research for a doctoral dissertation, to strengthen existing career counseling programs, and to gather ideas for new programs.

A random sample of students has been selected for the study, and you are among those selected. The study involves taking several personality inventories which can be taken at home or school, whichever is convenient for you.

Please stop by Room 55, Brennan Hall, as soon as possible to pick up the inventories. Any questions you may have, call me at 436-1580 or stop by the office. Your help is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Marie M. Schrader
Director, Career Planning and Placement

(Return to Rm. 55) PERSONAL DATA SHEET

Name _____________________________ Birthdate _____________
Address & Phone ________________________________

Major _____________________________ Marital Status ________
Full-time Student ___________________ Employed ______________
Part-time Student ____________________

Thanks; your help is really appreciated !!!!!!!!!!!
APPENDIX B

Scales on the OPI

Thinking Introversion
Theoretical Orientation
Estheticism
Complexity
*Autonomy (Achievement)
Religious Orientation
Social Extroversion
Impulse Expression
Personal Integration
Anxiety Level
Altruism
Practical Outlook
*Masculinity-Femininity (Attitude toward Female Role)
Response Bias
Intellectual Disposition

*CPI
Dominance
Capacity for Status
Sociability
Social Presence
Self-Acceptance
Sense of Well-Being
Responsibility
Socialization
Self-Control
Tolerance
Good Impression
Communality
*Achievement via Conformance (Achievement)
*Achievement via Independence (Achievement)
*Intellectual Efficiency (Achievement)
Psychological-mindedness
Flexibility
*Masculinity (Attitude toward Female Role)

*TSCS (All scales will be used.)

Identity
Self Satisfaction
Behavior
Self Criticism
Physical Self
Moral-Ethical Self
Personal Self
Family Self
Social Self
Total Variability Score

*ACL
Self-Confidence
Self-Control
Liability
Personal Adjustment
*Achievement (Achievement)
Dominance
Endurance
Order
Intraception
Nurturance
Affiliation
Heterosexuality
Exhibitionism
*Autonomy (Achievement)
Aggression
Change
Succorance
Abasement
Deference
Counseling Readiness
Total Number of Adjectives Checked
Defensiveness
Number of Favorable Adjectives Checked
Number of Unfavorable Adjectives Checked

*Scales whose scores will be statistically analyzed.


Kriger, S. F. Need achievement and perceived parental child-rearing attitudes of career women and homemakers. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1972, 2*, 419-432.


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