

FEMININE IDENTITY AND THE EDUCATIONAL-
VOCATIONAL PLANS AND PREFERENCES OF
ADOLESCENT GIRLS ATTENDING PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS:
A PILOT STUDY

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This is to certify that the

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Margaret Mary Bott

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Buford Steffler
Major professor

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ABSTRACT

FEMININE IDENTITY AND THE EDUCATIONAL- VOCATIONAL PLANS AND PREFERENCES OF ADOLESCENT GIRLS ATTENDING PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS: A PILOT STUDY

by

Margaret Mary Bott

The Problem

The study was concerned with (1) the criterion of feminine identity in relation to the educational-vocational plans and preferences of early adolescent girls, (2) validation of instruments to measure attitude toward marriage and educational-vocational plans and preferences.

Rationale

A framework of self-concept theory, learning theory and elements of vocational choice were used to place feminine identity in a context of educational-vocational expression. Mothers' attitudes toward marriage were viewed as a basis of the daughters' learning of feminine role.

Design and Methodology

The sample used was 138 parochial school girls in grades 6 through 9 and their mothers. This sub-sample was chosen because of the stereotype of feminine role which is part of the socialization of Catholic school girls. It was

assumed that role-conflict with mothers would express itself in divergent attitudes and rejection of the maternal feminine stereotype.

Feminine identity was measured in three ways: (1) attitude toward marriage and career, (2) age, (3) similarity or dissimilarity to mother in attitude toward marriage and career. The instruments measured (1) attitude toward marriage and career (Marriage-Career Scale), (2) Educational Plans, (3) Marriage-Career Patterns, (4) Subject Matter Preferences, (5) Career Preferences. Using analysis of variance technique, an internal consistency reliability estimate of .77 was obtained for mothers and .76 for daughters on the Marriage-Career Scale.

Results

It was hypothesized that an attitude favoring marriage would relate to plans for marriage, limited education, and preference for feminine subjects and feminine careers. This hypothesis was partially supported. Attitude toward marriage related significantly to plans for marriage versus non-marriage. There were significant differences in attitude toward marriage between girls planning high school only and girls planning college. Other significant differences were observed between girls planning college and those contemplating graduate school. In both comparisons, the most favorable attitude toward marriage coincided with plans for college. Marriage attitudes did not relate to subject-matter preferences or career preferences.

A second hypothesis was that age was related to differences in educational-vocational plans and preferences. It was hypothesized that younger girls would make fewer plans for marriage and more choices of higher education than older girls. Younger girls were also expected to be less feminine than older girls in preference for subject-matter and careers. No differences were observed between the higher and lower age groups except in subject-matter preferences.

The third hypothesis was that girls who resembled mothers in marriage-career attitudes would make plans for marriage that correspond with mothers' attitudes toward marriage and mothers' background and that they would make plans for education that correspond with mothers' background. It was predicted that girls similar to mothers would resemble mothers in subject-matter preferences and career preferences. No significant relationships were found in the directions predicted.

Chi-square tests and t-tests were used in the analysis.

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Chapter I

THE PROBLEM

We have only described women in so far as their natures are determined by their sexual function. We must remember that an individual woman may be a human being apart from this. If you want to know more about femininity, you must interrogate your own experience or turn to the poets or else wait until Science can give you more coherent information.

Sigmund Freud,

The concept of feminine identity is proposed as a valid criterion for examining the vocational choice of females. Feminine identity is the concomitant of a process of normal growth and psychosexual development from infancy through girlhood to mature womanhood.

It has been said that the child is father to the man (or mother to the woman). Psychoanalytic theory postulates that the mature woman still retains aspects of her childhood and girlhood experiences. That a mature woman keeps something of her childish characteristics is plausible. Therefore, it is equally plausible that the young girl, in many ways, presents some features of mature womanhood.

1. Sigmund Freud, New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis (New York: Norton and Co., 1943) 185.

The biological development in this process is not the essence of feminine identity. Rather, femininity is psychological, and it can be identified at various points along the continuum.

How she views herself as a female is part of the basic orientation of a girl and has both internal and external meaning for her. If her own subjective state is one of satisfaction, she has assurance about her identity and she can enjoy self-confident relaxation in her role. She can face other people secure in the possession of her own identity and confident about how to present herself. To an observer, her dress, mannerisms, and body image, her attitudes and interests, her ways of relating to males and to females will convey the subtle assurance that this is a girl happy to be a girl. Good adjustment in this role also brings with it an accepting attitude toward men and toward marriage. The well-adjusted girl asserts her feminine image by her pleasurable anticipation of marriage as a way to complete herself.

In addition to modes of expression which directly reveal femininity, the young girl also makes choices in regard to leisure time activities, homemaking functions, preferences for companions and types of play which permit her to satisfy her urges both to be a child and a mature woman. Jumping rope and playing house are illustrations of the contrast. An increasing number of writers are maintaining that woman's biological and social nature - warmth

and nurturance directed toward motherhood - have to be taken into account in evaluating her choices regarding education and identification in careers.^{2,3,4}

✓ Statement of the Problem

This study is an investigation of three aspects of feminine identity (1) attitudes toward marriage, (2) mother-daughter similarity, and (3) age - in relation to the educational-vocational plans of early adolescent girls attending parochial schools.

✓ Purpose of the Study

The selection of the problem and design of the experiment are intended to contribute to existing knowledge about factors which influence the vocational choice of young women.

Specifically, the study will focus upon two main themes:

- (a) exploration of the usefulness of the theoretical model of feminine identity as a criterion from which to investigate educational and vocational plans of early adolescent girls;

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- 2. Donald E. Super, The Psychology of Careers (New York: Harper and Bros., 1957) 76, 274.
 - 3. David V. Tiedeman, "Position Choices and Careers; Elements of a Theory", Cambridge Studies in Career Development, No. 8 (Duplicated, Cambridge, Mass., 1958) 36-42.
 - 4. Esther E. Matthews, "The Marriage-Career Conflict in the Career-Development of Girls and Young Women" (Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1960) 38-54.

- (b) validation of separate instruments to measure aspects of girls' educational and vocational plans and the marriage-career attitudes of girls and of their mothers.

Importance of the Study

Three areas of sociological significance are cited to support this study. The first is the departure of women from traditional homemaking activities to new horizons in education and jobs. The second is the ambivalent attitudes of adolescent girls to the possibilities before them. The third is the occurrence of a new theme in vocational literature, i.e., the career development of women.

Sociological changes affecting women: The status of women in our society has undergone vast change within the last forty years. As reported by the U.S. Department of Labor⁵ and the National Manpower Council⁶, women composed 20% of the labor force in 1920, 33 1/3 % in 1960. The average woman worker in 1920 was single and twenty-eight years old. Today she is married and just over forty. At present two-fifths of the twenty-three million working women are age forty-five or over. More than half of this number are married and living with their husbands. Five million have children between the ages of six and seventeen,

5. What's New About Women Workers?, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Leaflet 18 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960).

6. National Manpower Council, Womanpower (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1957) 57-85.

while about three million are mothers of children under six. Their job titles are to be found within nearly all the occupations listed by the Bureau of the Census.

When one out of every three adult women is committed to a job, the meaning of work is brought close to the consciousness of girls viewing the labor market. The interrupted marriage-career pattern for women is neither the exception nor the rule, but its frequency affects the future outlook of girls who are still in school. They receive assurance that the more education they receive, the more years of paid employment are likely to be theirs. It is estimated that within ten years, two out of every five women will be employed. This puts added dimensions upon the possible ways in which girls can plan for the future. It also poses questions about the usefulness of work to confirm a woman's identity and add to her basic satisfactions.⁷

Not only has the occupational setting for woman shifted dramatically, but new patterns of education also determine her position. Academies and seminaries which first assumed the task of girls' education were devoted to domestic and social skills in preparation for homemaking. Since the late 1800's, however, girls have not only been admitted to public schools but have outnumbered boys in graduating

7. Esther M. Westervelt, "Womanpower - Wanton Waste or Wishful Thinking," Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 10 (Winter 62) 78-84.

classes. This does not mean, however, that girls have been following the same educational pattern as boys. The attitude and preferences of girls have not been in keeping with broadened opportunities. Despite the available academic programs, girls have still tended to favor vocational curricula leading to immediate job preparation.⁸ The most prevalent explanation for this has been that girls will get married anyway and that longer education might interfere with chances to marry and may be viewed as a waste of effort.⁹ At times parental attitudes are such as to reinforce such thinking with the net result that girls' desires for marriage are used to limit their own intellectual fulfillment.

Ambivalent Attitudes of Adolescent Girls: What kinds of subjects do girls study? Two recent reports ^{10, 11} show preference among girls for foreign language and avoidance of mathematics and science. Sputnik has been the occasion for causing more pressure to be applied to girls to enroll in mathematics and science and to plan for careers which are not traditionally feminine. While it is true that

8. Ibid., 167-174.

9. Kate Mueller, "The Cultural Pressures on Women", The Education of Women - Signs for the Future, ed. Opal D. David (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education 1957) 49-56.

10. Educational Testing Service, National College Testing Program. Final Report 1954 (Princeton, 1954).

11. James B. Conant, The American High School Today (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc.) 113-130.

the number of women enrolling in college is on the increase, what has not been recognized is that pressure alone does not produce changes in educational patterns which are dictated by long-standing attitudes.

A positive approach in the direction of influencing girls' choices is specific study of women's programs being made by groups of educators, particularly women.^{12, 13} A philosophy of education geared to women in the present culture is the desired outcome of such study. Currently, the baccalaureate degree is being recognized not primarily for career preparation but as basic education for marriage and family life. It is evident that inter-relations between marriage, education, and careers have to be considered.

In reality, women's higher education is frequently combined with marriage or with work. Early marriages and the lengthening vocational preparation for men often cause a woman to continue working in order to contribute to a husband's support. In this case, the woman's education may be interrupted or resumed at a later date. This variety of factors recommends that flexibility be a keynote in the educational planning for women.)

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12. The Education of Women - Signs for the Future. ed. Opal David (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1957) 83-129.
 13. Mabel Newcomer, "Women's Education: Facts, Findings and Apparent Trends", Journal of the National Assoc. of Women's Deans and Counselors (Oct. 1960) 35-38.

What are flexible educational plans? For one thing, the junior college is receiving attention for girls who desire some further education but whose achievement level or degree of commitment is limited. Educational institutions are being encouraged to introduce programs which will serve to refresh skills acquired at an earlier date, e.g., for teaching. Other kinds of special programs are envisioned to up-date the education of women who wish to return to work after some years of full-time homemaking. Currently, highly specialized training is being delayed until the time of re-entry into the labor force. This occurs for many married women when the last child enters school.

While these plans have to do with the structure of educational programs, what can be said of the attitudes of girls who are making decisions for higher education? It is no mere conjecture that awareness of their feminine identity and desires influences achievement at an early age. In studying the motivation of high school girls, the National Manpower Council reported that high achievement cannot be tolerated by some girls because they perceive it as displeasing to boys.¹⁴ College girls also concluded that "playing dumb" was more likely to be approved by male colleagues than was high achievement.¹⁵ Many girls were willing to play the part in order to receive recognition in ways

14. National Manpower Council, Womanpower, 183-190.

15. Paul Wallin, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles", American Sociological Review, 15 (1950) 288-293.

that would not threaten males. They found themselves facing a choice between the traditional "feminine" role of submission and a more equalitarian status of a "modern" role. The latter allowed them to be more readily accepted by men on an equal status.¹⁶

This note of inconsistency between intellectual competence and femininity has been well-aired in popular literature. While it is based upon attitudes of both males and females and their perceptions of each other, it is difficult to know its real impact upon the motivation and achievement of girls. It is likely that girls who are secure in their femininity do not have to perceive themselves as threatening to men, whatever their performance record may be. It is also likely that secure males can tolerate bright females and not have their own prestige suffer by comparison. There has been some speculation that educated women are not achieving up to their capacity for this same reason,^{17, 18} a conflict between the need to be feminine and the opportunity to contribute productively in professional fields. Whether the conflict is real or presumed, it is apparently based upon cultural factors which fall outside the dimensions of femininity itself.

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16. Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles", American Journal of Sociology, 52 (1946) 184-189.
 17. Mary I. Bunting, "A Huge Waste: Educated Womanpower", New York Times (May 7, 1961)
 18. Radcliffe Committee on Graduate Education for Women. Graduate Education for Women, The Radcliffe Ph.D. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1956).

Vocational Theory: The present study is also motivated by recent attempts to develop a theory of vocational choice specifically for women. Most vocational theories grew out of the need to explain vocational behavior in men. These theories have not held for women unless a uniquely feminine dimension was added. Super was one of the first to add this dimension to his vocational theory.¹⁹ More recently, Tiedeman²⁰ and Matthews,²¹ in studying the implications of vocational choice for women, have derived elements distinctive to women. Sources which they observed were: (1) biological sex differences causing differences in career development, (2) empirical evidence of sex differences in interests, curricular and occupational choices, career motivation, (3) cultural expectations regarding the role of women in marriage and/or work, (4) the attitudes of both sexes toward the use of feminine intellectuality, (5) personality theory relevant to the basic "core" of femininity.

In summary, the need for this study is supported by (1) the rapidly changing status of women educationally and occupationally, (2) conflicts in women's motivation for marriage, education, and careers, (3) developing theories of vocational choice for women.

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19. Donald E. Super, "A Theory of Vocational Development", American Psychologist, VIII (1953) 125-190.
 20. David V. Tiedeman, Harvard Studies in Career Development, No. 8, 36-42.
 21. Matthews, "The Marriage-Career Conflict....", 131, 144.

Theoretical Background

Several sources have been used to develop the theoretical framework for this study, i.e., self-concept theory, learning theory and Tiedeman's research on career development. Each will be traced briefly.

The framework which seems best suited to incorporate the motif of feminine identity into women's career development can be found in self-concept theory. Super used this when he proposed that "the choice of an occupation is one of the points in life at which a young person is called upon to state rather explicitly his concept of himself, to say definitely, 'I am this or that kind of person'."²² When a girl identifies herself as this or that kind of person, she focuses upon some concerns which are uniquely feminine. Her educational aspirations and career-image are conditioned by the way she perceives her sex role.²³ Are girls permitted to achieve well in school and still be popular with boys? What is a typically feminine level of achievement? What courses do girls take? What recreations and avocations can they pursue? Is cheer-leader or drum-majorette the highest feminine symbol in the school? How much femininity can be emphasized in dress and make-up? What feelings and emotions are girls allowed to show? Must they quiver at the sight of blood and shudder at the

22. Super, The Psychology of Careers, 191.

23. Kate H. Mueller, "The Marriage Trap," reprint, Madoiselle (Sept. 1955).

dissection of a frog? Must girls expect to play second-fiddle in extra curricular activities, or can they take the leads in plays and offices in student activities? How do they measure short term and long-range educational goals? What fields can safely be pursued without departing from the hidden career of preparation to be wife and mother?

Just as her personality and behavior reveals the way she sees herself, so too a girl is able to view her role from the way others see her. If her mother's image of femininity constrains her, will she oppose it by pursuing a physical education major? What support would she receive if she wished to study art or music for her own enjoyment and paid little attention to demands for earning a living? How far can she depart from familial expectations of what is proper for a girl to do, or what an older sister's record might have been? In what programs and courses can she meet men? Must the goal of earning a living be part of her academic orientation or can she expect to be married by the time of graduation, either from high school or from college? What kind of woman does her father expect her to be? Will he approve her most highly if she selects a typically feminine career? Can she be closer to him by imitating his own field of interest? Can she venture into masculine courses and careers, still comfortable as a female and find acceptance by males? If so, how well must she perform?

At some subtle level, the expectations of others and the girl's own inner needs remind her that educational and

vocational considerations have special meaning for her as a woman. Her commitment retains something conditional about it, i.e., "I will pursue this plan, knowing that it can only partially fulfill me", or "This type of work will make me better prepared for marriage and family life."

The mere biological concomitants of femininity are not its main criterion. Another approach to feminine identity is through learning theory.²⁴ Learning a feminine identity is explained as adopting the appropriate (i.e., the feminine) model of the cultural pattern. For most girls, the most available feminine model is the mother. The mother's own attitude toward her femininity will be an important aspect of the way the girl perceives the feminine role. If the mother is comfortable and happy with herself as a woman, she presents an attractive role to the girl. If, on the other hand, the mother is confused in her own sex-role identity, it would be expected that the daughter may have difficulties. A girl's view of woman's role in marriage and the family is derived largely from the manner in which she perceives her mother. Girls who want to be like their mothers should have little difficulty accepting such a role for themselves. Girls who have learned from a confused mother or had difficulties in the learning process may face conflict in projecting themselves into a marriage role.

24. S. M. Stoke, "An Inquiry into the Concept of Identification," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 30 (1950) 199-227.

Similarity to mother is proposed as an expected outcome in the process of learning feminine identity. The girl who behaves as if she were her mother is attempting to be mature and to obtain gratification of her needs for love and security. She tries to reduce the difference between her mother and herself so that she no longer has to be dependent for her wants. She also tries to acquire the kinds of affective rewards enjoyed by the mother, i.e., independence, approval of the father. The girl's object is to duplicate the personal characteristics, attitudes and behavior which the mother represents to her. Her reward is two-fold. First, she perceives similarities (real or assumed) between herself and the mother which cause her to conclude, "I am like mother." This is sometimes noticed in the direct imitation of hairstyle, manner of dress, gestures or tone of voice. A second reward is the approval given by significant persons in the environment. The little girl playing mother or cleaning the house illustrates this when she seeks applause for her actions from the adults.

The extent of similarity depends upon a number of factors, such as the depth of the girl's needs, warmth of the parents, and the kind of relationship between them. For example, if the parents are continually present to gratify the child's needs, she has little motivation to strive for an adult identity. Her childish dependency will continue so long as the parents are there to meet her needs. The father's attitude, both in regard to mother and daughter,

is of extreme importance. If he reacts negatively to the girl's attempts to adopt mature behavior, he impedes her progress toward feminine identity. If he shows positive approval for the mother, he enhances the desirability of the feminine model for the girl. Similarly, a moderate degree of affective nurturance from the mother strengthens the girl's desire to become like her. Excesses of coldness or warmth shown by the mother decrease the attractiveness of the female model, since the girl is smothered or deprived as a result of such fluctuations.

It is in this context of a process of imitation of mother based on the need to become an autonomous woman like mother that similarity is proposed as a measurement of feminine identity. Lynn has postulated in a study based on learning theory that the early closeness of the girl with the parent of the same sex is an initial advantage in acquiring appropriate sexual identity.²⁵ What the girl observes is the model of primary role as woman in the family. What effect will her reaction to this role have upon the choices of subjects and careers which precede a marriage role for her? According to self-concept theory, there should be consistency among the various expressions of self. If the model of feminine identity is sound, she may be inclined

25. David B. Lynn, "A Note on Sexual Differences in the Development of Masculine and Feminine Identification," Psychological Review, 66 (1959) 126-135.

to project it into subjects and contemplated careers which she views as most appropriate to a feminine model. A girl who is pleased with her feminine identity may be expected to choose those areas which allow her to be most feminine. Conversely, the girl who has observed a confused model or learned her role with difficulty would be expected to make choices which are not typically feminine. For example, she might reject home economics and choose physics.

A third way of approaching feminine identity is through stage of development, one of the elements proposed by Tiedeman in studying career planning.²⁶ He predicts that in relation to every choice there will be stages of exploration, crystallization, and specification. Since at early stages, fantasy productions constitute the bulk of choices, it may be conceived that a ten-year old girl will explore in play and role-projections such glamorous choices as the model or the actress. At a later date she may find her needs for recognition satisfied through a variety of extra-curricular activities and personal satisfactions enjoyed during adolescence. This choice does not crystallize, but gives way to the exploration of new possibilities. At age eighteen, broadened curricular experiences and closer contacts with adults in careers enable her to use a new vantage point in making plans which are consistent with her feminine needs. For example, she can maintain an image of a future goal as

26. David V. Tiedeman, Harvard Studies in Career Development, No. 8, 31.

wife and mother and still invest herself emotionally in a nurturant profession such as nursing. Matthews' study showed the increasing frequency of marriage plans in the life goals of high school and college girls as compared with those in junior high.

In the case of females, psychoanalytic theory used by Tiedeman and Matthews postulates differences in femininity at various stages of development.²⁷ The period preceding puberty is characterized by reduced sexual interest and increased preoccupation with the external environment: learning new skills, competing in athletics, thinking about the future. Though they are less aggressive than boys, girls at this age show a great deal of activity in seeking adventure, satisfying curiosity, and testing the limits of parental and other authorities. This is the stage at which girls frequently turn from the model of the mother to experiment with roles based on other models, real or fictitious. The teacher, the Scout leader, the movie star, or some other girl's mother may provide a role to imitate. An impetus to career orientation is provided by such activity.

It is only later, after pubescence, that the girl's energy is less diffused and she is more willing to direct her aspirations to typically feminine goals of marriage and sexual fulfillment. Here the model of womanhood provides a functional definition rather than an occupational image.

27. Helene Deutsch, Psychology of Women (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1944) 91-148.

By the time of early adolescence, one would expect fairly strong involvement in feminine identity. The girl who has passed the tomboy stage and faced the initial adjustment of biological differences through menstruation becomes conscious of herself as a female. The attitudes which she develops during this period, her initial reactions to her sexual urges, to dating, her success in achieving independence from her mother, combine to make this a crucial time in feminine development. The integration or lack of integration accomplished in adolescence follows her to womanhood.

The model of feminine role presented to Catholic girls carries sanctions which transcend the behavior of any particular mother. Since the Church maintains a specific view of womanhood, the girl learns expectations which are associated with her sex. In the first place, hers is a position of dignity and respect. She has a responsibility to nurture life of body and soul alike. The traditional setting of wife and mother of the family places her in a position subordinate to men, but complementary in role. According to the teaching of the Church, the woman is to function as help-mate, guiding and inspiring in a womanly way. Her unique influence is in the home, the care of children, the cultivation of virtue.

The Church also approves alternate roles for women which fall short of sexual expression. One of these is consecrated religious service whereby a woman devotes herself exclusively to the Church in works of charity. She does

not marry, but assumes a function of spiritual motherhood in combination with her life of prayer and good works. This is portrayed not as a denial of womanliness but as a higher calling of service in the Church.

The third possible expression of feminine role is the model of the single woman engaged in some positive form of service in an occupational setting other than the convent. Her motivation is viewed as essentially the same as that of the other roles, to provide positive service to others based on ideals of the Church.

It is expected that repudiation of feminine role for Catholic girls would manifest itself in denial of nurturance and feminine activity. The girl least satisfied with her role might be expected to decline opportunities for service and prefer a competitive status.

In summary, it is proposed that a girl's definition of what kind of person she is has a distinctive meaning related to the way she perceives her own femininity. If she has a positive view of herself and of the feminine role in which she perceives her mother, it is expected that she will project herself into the role of wife and mother. Her educational and career plans should be consistent with this image. Girls in early adolescence and post-puberty are considered a likely group to observe, since their initial response to changes in themselves will determine to a considerable extent their later acceptance or rejection of marriage. These attitudes will also condition their educational planning and career

development. Catholic girls were considered to be particularly appropriate subjects because of the clear-cut image of feminine role which is part of their socialization.

Statement of the Hypotheses

The study was designed to examine the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. The attitudes of early adolescent girls toward marriage are consistent with their educational-vocational plans and their educational-vocational preferences.

Rationale: A correlate of feminine identity is an accepting attitude toward marriage. It is expected that educational-vocational plans and preferences will be congruent with this attitude. This would mean life plans which include marriage, limited education and feminine subject and career preferences.

Hypothesis 2. Mother-daughter similarity will be reflected in educational-vocational plans and preferences which resemble those of their mothers.

Rationale: It is assumed that feminine identity is derived largely from relationships with the mother. Daughters who resemble mothers in attitude toward marriage are expected to have good feminine role identification and to imitate other aspects of their mothers' background.

Hypothesis 3. Older girls will show preference for marriage in attitudes and plans and will be more feminine in educational-vocational preference than younger girls.

Rationale: Change from pre-puberty to adolescence is an important stage in feminine development. It is expected that increased sexual drive will be reflected in attitudes and plans favoring marriage and in feminine subject and career preferences.

In Chapter III these operational hypotheses will be converted into testable form and stated as null and alternate hypotheses.

Definition of Terms

1. Attitude toward marriage: the degree to which a respondent accepts opinions which express preference for marriage and marriage-orientation in girls and women. A low score on the Marriage-Career Scale represents a high degree of acceptance of marriage and homemaking. A high score represents a rejection of marriage and homemaking in favor of career. Marriage-Career Scale is an instrument derived from Matthews' tentative theory of girls' career development.
2. Educational-vocational plans: respondent's choice of (1) level of educational aspiration, and (2) marriage-career pattern.

3. Educational-vocational background: (1) level of education completed by the mother, and (2) mother's marriage-career pattern.
4. Educational-vocational preferences: (1) subject-matter preferences and (2) career preferences of respondent scored on masculine-feminine dimension.
5. Mother-daughter similarity: agreement of mothers and daughters in T-score normalized from total score on Marriage-Career Scale. Similarity has three possible meanings. Both mother and daughter favor (1) marriage, (2) career, or (3) marriage-career.

Summary

The problem stated in this chapter is to investigate differences in the educational-vocational plans of early adolescent girls in relation to their attitudes toward marriage. The need for the study was justified by (1) the rapid changes in women's educational and vocational status, (2) conflicting motivation of women for marriage, education and careers, (3) the proposal of new elements upon which to build a theory of vocational choice for women. A theoretical formulation based on self-concept theory, learning theory and Tiedeman's elements was presented to support the use of the concept of feminine identity in relation to career development. A basis was stated for the learning of sexual identity in the female, and hypotheses were derived from this source. The hypotheses center about (1) attitudes toward marriage, (2) mother-daughter similarity, and (3) age.

A more comprehensive account of research pertinent to the study will be presented in Chapter II. In Chapter III the design of the study will be described, with reference to instrumentation, type of analyses, sampling procedure, and the null hypotheses. In Chapter IV results will be presented and conclusions stated. Chapter V will deal with interpretations of results and implications for future research.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In this chapter literature related to the present study has been reviewed. The research seems to center on four areas. First is the development of vocational theory for women, which has been traced to the present and includes elements suggested for research. The second area is literature concerning adolescence which relates to identity. Its particular meaning for the female is discussed. A third area of related research is provided by status studies which report the attitudes of adolescent girls toward education, marriage, and occupational choice. The fourth source pertinent to the study concerns the implications arising out of Catholic attitudes toward women.

Vocational Theories Related to Women

The study of woman's vocational choice is a relatively new area. Only recently has woman's career development been studied in a context separate from men. The development of the literature in the past ten years reflects this emphasis.

One of the earliest studies of women and occupational choice was reported by Ginzberg in 1951.¹ He observed

1. Eli Ginzberg, Sol W. Ginzburg, Sidney Axelrod, John L. Herma, Occupational Choice, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951) 13.

haphazard planning for careers and inadequate knowledge of occupations available to women college graduates. Although eighty per cent of the women in his sample were employed, only one-third of them were in fields directly related to their college majors.

Ginzberg tested a "process" concept of choice based upon factors of the self, reality, and key persons. He studied his theory in relation to males, assuming that marriage took first place in the planning of females. Later he interviewed a small sample of girls to observe possible differences in their career planning. Choice process in girls appeared to him to parallel that of boys until the end of high school when the transition between two stages, the tentative and the reality, took place. At this time marriage and family life tended to overshadow work goals for girls. Their educational plans were short-range, and they based choice of major upon personal goals rather than career interests.²

Ginzberg's results have to be interpreted with caution, since they are derived from retrospective interview material obtained from ten girls. The sample of girls was limited to those of upper socio-economic background. This bias may partially account for the predominance of marriage goals over occupational interests.

2. Ibid., 163.

McKenzie conducted a follow-up of Ginzberg's study in 1957.³ She reported that intellectually superior twelfth grade girls emerged through fantasy, tentative, and realistic stages of choice as described by Ginzberg. Their life-plans were oriented toward marriage rather than toward work.

The impact of Ginzberg's and McKenzie's research upon the present study is that marriage planning seems to be more pertinent an index of vocational aspiration for girls than curricular choices or projection into occupations. If marriage and family life are the primary concerns for girls, it would seem that other goals are subservient to these.

Caplow reported trends in the occupations of women from 1900 to 1950 and credited occupational inequality between the sexes to customs and folkways.⁴ He examined special conditions of female employment: the intermittent career patterns, status as secondary breadwinner, relation of residence to husband's occupation, reserve of employable women, special statutes. Caplow reported that attitudes on the part of both sexes account for women's occupational status as well as do structural elements. He noted, for example, that men are reluctant to be directly subordinated to women except in family or sexual relationships. He also observed

3. Francis W. McKenzie, "Life Plans of Intellectually Superior Twelfth Grade Girls", (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1957).

4. Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 1954) 230-247.

that a bias exists in the direction of conditioning intimate groups, except those based on family or sexual ties, to be composed of one sex alone, but never both.

Cultural conditioning for sex role was reported by Caplow. He noted that males are trained to derive satisfaction from competition, for example, while women learn to value personal characteristics and affective relationships. This difference gives rise to differential expectations of what constitutes job satisfaction. As concluded by Caplow, flexibility in the system permits occupational choice for women. Yet occupation is rarely pursued by women in the same terms as by men.

The effect of Caplow's report is that from both the masculine and feminine points of view, employment for both sexes is not expected to be on an equalitarian basis. Woman's position in the family seems to determine her status in the occupational field. If Caplow is right, women would not expect to find their primary fulfillment in work. Neither would they anticipate acceptance in all occupational fields.

One of the most interesting recent theories of vocational choice is that proposed by Roe.⁵ She emphasizes early determinants of vocational choice, a theory which is applicable to women as well as to men. Roe proposes that

5. Anne Roe, "Early Determinants of Vocational Choice", Journal of Counseling Psychology, 4, (1957) 212.

the quality of early relationships with parents and the fulfillment of unconscious needs help to determine occupational choice. Although these hypotheses have not been tested separately on women, the same elements are specified as will be discussed in relation to the learning of feminine identity.

According to Roe,⁶ variations due to genetic factors also play a part in vocational choice. Job restrictions for the female are cited in relation to physical strength and biological role rather than to sex alone. Limited occupational participation for women is seen as the result of social and psychological expectations, not primary or secondary sex differences themselves. Apparently women are inclined to accept these social and psychological attitudes and to participate in careers which allow them to continue to maintain their expectations of which roles are appropriate for them as women.

In his book on The Psychology of Careers, Super⁷ stressed the need to investigate women's careers with the same intensity as those of men. He accounted for differences in women's careers, career orientation, and career motivation based on sex role. Differential career patterns for women were classified by Super:

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6. Roe, The Psychology of Occupations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956) 58-62.
 7. Super, Psychology of Careers, 76-77.

1. The stable homemaking career pattern: marriage with no significant work experience.
2. The conventional career pattern: marriage and full-time homemaking after a relatively brief work experience.
3. The stable working pattern: entrance into the work force to embark upon a career which becomes the woman's life work. It may or may not be perceived from the start as a life career.
4. The double-track pattern: dual career of working and homemaking after graduation, with occasional time taken out for childbearing.
5. The interrupted career pattern: sequence of working, homemaking and working, while or instead of homemaking.
6. The unstable career pattern: working, homemaking, working again, return to full-time homemaking, etc.
7. The multiple-trial career pattern: a succession of unrelated jobs, with stability in none.⁸

Super observed that women tend to stabilize occupationally earlier than men, due in part to the fewer types of employment open to them. He viewed the attitude of women themselves as limiting their career potential. "Women tend to see themselves as helpers - wives, nurses, secretaries, administrative assistants - rather than as leaders and

8. Super, Psychology of Careers, 77-78.

creators."⁹ Super and Ginzberg seem in basic agreement (1) that occupational planning for girls is short-circuited in comparison with boys, (2) that limited types of opportunities are accepted by girls in an occupational context. This would suggest a more limited range of choices made by girls as well as lesser involvement in career planning as such. Of particular interest to this study is Super's emphasis on a variety of marriage-career patterns which take into account current opportunities for working wives. While Super's patterns are not used in this study, the concept of marriage-career patterns is the basis for one of the instruments.

The theory most closely related to this study is that of Tiedeman. In speculating about career development of women, Tiedeman emphasized the formation of identity. Empirical data used in a study of choice of curriculum by the two sexes caused him to emphasize the need for a separate study of each sex. Tiedeman's rationale is an empirical one, rather than one based upon the postulation of inherent differences due to sex. He observed "the world as it is rather than as we presumed it might be. . . It appears to us that the context of choice considered by the two sexes is different; whether it need be or not, we cannot say."¹⁰ Tiedeman noted sex role choices and position choices peculiar

9. Ibid., 294.

10. Tiedeman, Harvard Studies, 36-37.

to women, and explained them on the basis of modal expectations resident in the culture. He states the following propositions:

1. Men and women differ biologically and these biological differences give rise to differentiated qualifications for employment.
2. Women are taught to be women; men are taught to be men.
3. Women are expected to live with their parents as long as necessary, but in this case, must provide their clothes and satisfy their special wants by themselves provided the family income is modest or less.
4. Women are expected to marry.
5. Education is frequently considered of questionable value to a woman; education is the road to professional employment for men.
6. The husband is the "breadwinner"; the wife is the "homemaker."
7. There are women's jobs and there are men's jobs. ||

Tiedeman's research interest is in the development of models to predict careers. When discussing identity and its expression in choice of position, Tiedeman uses a framework of self-concept theory. His central focus is the way in which a person perceives himself in relation to work, to other people, and other aspects of living. For the female, this

would also include her expectations of sex role. Tiedeman suggests that current concepts of ideal femininity merit study, since ideal femininity provides clues as to the perception which females have of themselves and which they attribute to others, particularly to males. It seems logical that concepts of ideal femininity vary among the age levels, and also that they are closely related to expectations of behavior in terms of men, of marriage, and of children.

O'Hara further developed Tiedeman's theory when he translated Rogers' theory of personality to propositions relating to career development.¹² O'Hara presents concepts of (1) a continually changing phenomenological world which gives rise to a vocational self-image, (2) a hierarchy of work values, (3) a system of needs satisfied through work. In order to achieve vocational satisfaction, he insists that there be consistency between self-concept and vocational self-image. In the case of females, a self-concept which is essentially feminine would have to be mirrored in a vocational self-image which is also perceived as feminine. Thus, it could be predicted that a girl who views herself as non-feminine might be most satisfied in a position which is also non-feminine, e.g., engineering, veterinary medicine. This raises the issue of how valid it is to categorize careers

12. Robert P. O'Hara, "On the Importance of the Self Concept to a General Theory of Occupational Choice", (Unpublished paper, Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1957).

as feminine or non-feminine and on what basis such perceptions are built. It would seem that variation in concepts of ideal femininity could extend not only to persons but to occupations as well.

Matthews was the first to build Tiedeman's elements into a tentative theory of career development based upon the psychology of women.¹³ She selected from Tiedeman's elements the proposition that cultural attitudes influence women's career development. She drew from psychoanalytic theory to propose a sequence of life stages which were subjectively verified in her counseling experiences with girls. Matthews' stages are these:

1. Girls leave the dependency of boyhood and resolve the Oedipal phase by age five or six. Their childhood is occupied by early learning tasks. Feminine identification is an inherent part of personality development, despite the quiescence of sexual strivings.
2. Adolescence conveys the physiological and psychological meaning of femininity. Its impact may cause a temporary retreat from the feminine sex role to career interests.
3. In late adolescence, marriage interests predominate over career interests.
4. Most girls by the middle twenties are married and raising children.
5. Reduced family responsibilities lead many women in the

13. Matthews, "The Marriage-Career Conflict...", 38.

middle years to seek employment outside the home.¹⁴

Matthews tested hypotheses derived from this theory and concluded that developmental stage and life plans were more useful predictors of vocational choice than was curriculum. Four major themes emerged from her discriminant analysis: (1) women's perception of other women's attitudes toward the use and implications of women's intelligence versus women's perception of boys' and men's attitudes toward the use and implications of women's intelligence; (2) women's attitudes toward homemaking versus women's feelings of inferiority to men; (3) women's preference for a feminine career versus women's acceptance of the role of wife and mother and rejection of career; (4) women's attitude toward the time of dating and marriage (parent focus) versus women's attitude toward purpose of college, time of dating and marriage (peer focus).

Matthews' four themes were the source of seventeen theoretical elements suggested for further study of women's career development. In order to accept all of her elements, one must also accept the assumption of "feminine core" as proposed by Helene Deutsch.¹⁵ According to this point of view, ideal femininity consists of a balance of trends of passivity, masochism and narcissism which express themselves

14. Ibid., 132.

15. Deutsch. 219-273.

in the mental functioning of women as well as in sexual activity. According to Deutsch, an excess of intellectual activity offsets the harmonious balance of these feminine elements. Since there is no universal agreement or empirical proof to substantiate this viewpoint of Deutsch, this part of Matthews' elements has to be accepted with caution. Other writers have interpreted femininity in terms of the estrual cycle (Benedek) or of shifts in dominance-submission (Maslow).

Despite Matthews' carefully formulated theoretical background, one of the notes which predominates throughout her study is the assumption of a marriage-career conflict. One wonders why she posits this conflict, since her own theory of girls' personality development offers explanations for the career emphasis at various stages. As expressed by Matthews, it would appear that shifting marriage-career emphasis is expected as the normal phenomenon of development from girlhood through maturity. If mother-daughter identification is adequate and mother is perceived in a homemaking role, there should be no conflict in the daughter's final acceptance of marriage.

A comprehensive look at the literature from Ginzberg through Matthews indicates that women's vocational behavior has been studied but briefly. The approach in the past has been a comparative one which emphasizes the ways in which women's occupational process and patterns differ from those of men. Ginzberg, Caplow, and Super have contributed

insights about sociological conditions, cultural biases and attitudes of both sexes toward the woman's working role. Tiedeman subsumed a number of elements of career development from other theories and addressed himself particularly to women. He made inferences about woman's vocational status from the background of psychological and vocational theory. He emphasized the need to study feminine identity in order to understand woman's vocational choice. Matthews investigated several of Tiedeman's elements in support of a marriage-career conflict in young women at different stages of development.

[Currently the outstanding limitation about theories of women's career development is their lack of empirical test. The direction of theory has moved from a comparison with men to a newer focus on the basic needs of women. The nature of these needs, however, is still open to question. At a particular stage it is conceivable that one may predominate over another and that marriage or career emphasis may be foremost.]

Adolescent Development and the Task of Identity

Since this study is focused upon the early and middle adolescent years, it is necessary to specify which particular needs and processes of adolescence are being investigated. The concept of developmental tasks is used because this is a familiar one which appears frequently in psychological literature. In first using the term, Erikson₁₆ worked from

16. Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York, W.W. Norton and Co., 1950) 219-233.

the classical stages of psychoanalytic development to construct a series of ego-tasks which related to social modalities and extended through the ages from infancy to psychosexual maturity. These range from trust at an infantile level to integration at the stage of greatest maturity. Havighurst,¹⁷ later applied the concept of developmental tasks to education, assigning different socialization tasks to particular age levels.

The importance of the developmental tasks for adolescence is that the emergence of self-concept during this period calls for the integration of a sense of identity. According to the theory, this occurs only after a succession of earlier processes has been adequately completed. Thus, trust, autonomy, initiative, and accomplishment are designated as childhood tasks which need to be concluded before the patterns for the next task, i.e., identity can be established.

The primary basis for identity, the crucial task of adolescence, is traced back to successful or unsuccessful learning at these earlier developmental levels. Currently in the literature the term identification has a variety of meanings. Sanford concludes that "a term that can be employed in so many different ways....and that has been accepted by most psychologists and sociologists, could hardly mean anything very precise."¹⁸ He prefers the term "acquired

17. Robert J. Havighurst, Developmental Tasks of Education, (New York: Longmans Green, 1952).

18. Neville Sanford, "The Dynamics of Identification" Psychological Review, 62 (1955) 107.

similarity". While measurement in this study focuses upon similarity, the latter is considered an outcome of the process of identification. The term is retained as a meaningful concept.

Although identity formation is crystallized in adolescence partially because of the social realities occurring at that age, its earliest phases take place during infancy. Despite different theories which are used to explain the primary identification process, there is basic agreement that its source is an early emotional tie with the parents.¹⁹ According to Freud, dependency has different motivation for boys and for girls. The objective danger situation for girls is fear of loss of love. For boys it is castration fear. The girl's model imitation of the mother was interpreted by Freud as an object choice motivated by dependency. In psychoanalytic literature, this is viewed as pre-sexual behavior based upon infantile helplessness and conditions of dependency. It is in overcoming such dependency that adult modes of behavior are acquired.

Continuing stages in identification have been recognized by social scientists who state that identity has its counterparts in the social structure. For example, Parsons²⁰ relates Freud's stages of development to specific changing

19. Bronfenbrenner, Child Development, "Freudian Theories of Identification and their Derivations", 31 (1960) 18-20.

20. Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1955) 20-100.

roles which the parents present to the child at each successive stage. As the needs of the child undergo change, the parents represent new roles to him, e.g., source of physical nurturance, obstacle to aggression, sexual object. Learning of identification is explained in terms of reciprocal role relationships between parents and child. In this sense, sex role can be regarded as one type of differential behavior learned in relation to both parents. While the father responds to the sexual behavior of the young girl, by way of approval, the mother's role is to reinforce the girl's behavior by expressing her own femininity. In the process of growing up, a sex role becomes internalized as part of the self-image. Adolescence is particularly important for this phenomenon, due to the changing aspects of sex role at that time and the need to adjust to the expression of new impulses.

Sex-role for the girl has certain contradictory aspects. On the one hand, she is favored in observing a role-stereotype of mother which is less diffuse than the boy's occupational model of father. Her frequent contact with the mother provides an opportunity to observe her expressive behavior and interpersonal relationships as well as her primary function as wife and mother. However, the girl has less assistance from the culture than the boy in regard to achieving final independence from parents. The boy is expected to establish independence by earning his own living. The girl may continue to live at home and is often not independent of the

family until the time of marriage.}

In a study of first-grade children, Tyler observed differences between the sexes inasmuch as the girl's role was derived from a sex-model, while the boy's shifted into a differentiated occupational model.²¹ Girls continued to perceive a mother, while boys came to identify with their fathers as businessmen, lawyers, doctors and engineers. It might be expected, then, that girls' attitudes toward marriage would be directly related to their perception of their mothers in a marriage-role.

Why is adolescence regarded as the crucial time for identity-formation? It is at this time that intense demands are placed upon the ego. To maintain and carry-over the sameness of self from childhood identifications is not sufficient. Equilibrium is required in order to take in new aspects of the self as an emerging adult. When this equilibrium cannot be maintained, Erikson calls the crisis one of role-diffusion.²² The integration of the self of childhood with newly-faced libidinal urges must be fitted into the framework of a new social-role which is considered appropriate for adolescence. Vocational theorists have recognized that career choices at this time often represent

21. Leona E. Tyler, "The Role of Interests to Abilities and Reputation Among First Grade Children", Educational and Psychological Measurement, XI (1951) 255-264.

22. Erikson, 228.

attempts to integrate adult expectations with newly-tasted independence. It provides an opportunity to "try out" new forms in the process of establishing a positive ego-identity. New responsibilities as well as new societal expectations give the adolescent an opportunity to make decisions which verify his new identity and allow him to trust himself in the process of becoming a mature adult.

Career-development is less useful for the girl than for the boy at this phase of development. If the girl's learning of sex-role has been achieved through affective relations with her mother, she realizes that her own fulfillment in the role of mother will be delayed until after marriage. Her immediate task is to express femininity at her own level not that of her mother. The pattern is worked out and accomplished primarily in relation to other girls in the peer group, since the girl does not know what her mother was like during this period. If the mother can communicate some of this to her, the girl's task is considerably lightened. For example, the girl may face adult femininity with mixed emotions which accompany the onset of menstruation. If the mother is able to reassure her and communicate a positive reaction to her own role, the girl is likely to accept a positive concept of femininity. Lynn noted that ambivalence in the mother toward her own sex role had the effect of complicating the girl's socialization process.²³

²³. David B. Lynn, "Sex Differences in Identification Development", Sociometry, ²⁴ (Dec. 1961) 275.

If the mother is herself confused or unhappy about being a woman, she puts blocks in the girl's path. Hartley also observed that the crisis in feminine identity-formation is relatively long, since its final resolution occurs at motherhood.²⁴ It would seem useful to observe girls at various levels of development to note the manner in which they accept or reject their own femininity.

The support of the culture to continuity in sex-role identity has been considered in both a positive and a negative light. On the one hand, some sociologists maintain that the early school years provide girls with a more supportive framework than boys.²⁵ Girls can use the same means for gaining approval which they learned at home. Elementary teachers are, for the most part, women, and they represent role-models which girls can continue to imitate. Mead observed that the pace in junior high school is set by girls, who tend to be more docile and verbal than boys and are anxious to please.²⁶ Thus, it would appear that the setting of elementary and junior high school helps girls to be girls. Support for career identification is also

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24. Ruth Hartley, "Some Implications of Current Changes in Sex Role Patterns", 6 (1959-60) Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development, 163.
 25. Bernice L. Neugarte, "Women's Changing Role through the Life Cycle", J. of National Association of Women's Deans and Counselors, 24 (June 1961) 165
 26. Margaret Mead, "Are We Squeezing Out Adolescence?", National Parent-Teacher, Sept. 1960

provided in the alternate feminine role of the teacher. Here the model is still feminine but the function is an occupational one, in contrast to the mothering function observed in the family.

Other data suggests that the young woman faces real contradiction in sex-role because of the cultural bias which rewards masculinity. Lynn reports that girls encounter real difficulty in the shift from a world of mother-care to a man's world. "The girl upon leaving infancy does not receive adequate reinforcement through distinct awards for adopting the feminine role and definite punishment for adopting the masculine one. On the contrary, she is, in a sense, punished simply for being born female, whereas the boy is rewarded simply for being born male."²⁷ Empirical evidence of preference for masculine role by girls is associated with the differential attitudes of parents toward the two sexes. Generally, stricter regulation of girls is contrasted with a more permissive attitude in dealing with boys.^{28, 29, 30}

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27. Lynn, "A Note on Sex Differences in the Development of Masculine and Feminine Identification", Psychological Review, 66 (1959) 126-135.
 28. S. Smith, "Age and Sex Differences in Children's Opinions Concerning Sex Differences", Journal of Genetic Psychology, 54, (1939) 17-25.
 29. P. M. Kitay, "A Comparison of the Sexes in their Attitudes and Beliefs about Women, A Study of Prestige Groups", Sociometry, 3 (1940) 399-407.
 30. D. B. Brown, "Sex Roles Preference in Young Children", Psychological Monograph, 70, No. 14.

The change to masculine preference on the part of girls was noted by Pishkin.³¹ He observed an age differential by which girls shifted from mother-object and mother-role preference to a neutral category and later to father-preference. Colley uses a psychoanalytic framework as the basis for successful sexual identity: a certain optimum of seductive behavior on the part of the opposite-sex parent and an optimum of rivalrous behavior on the part of the parent of the same sex.³² In this context, it is the outcome of the mother-daughter rivalry which assures the girl's positive identification in a feminine role.

Hartley's data at different age levels supports the hypothesis that adjustment to sex roles is most critical for girls during and after adolescence.³³ It is this time that presents the crucial test of responding to biological changes as well as to the sometimes stringent demands of the female peer group. At the same time, newly-experienced sexual urges impel the girl to think of herself as feminine and to evaluate her behavior from such a standard.

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- 31. V. Pishkin, "Psychosexual Development in Terms of Object and Role Preference", Journal of Clinical Psychology, 16 (1960) 238-240.
 - 32. T. Colley, "The Nature and Origins of Psychosexual Identity", Psychological Review, 66 (1949) 165-177.
 - 33. Hartley, "Children's Concepts of Male and Female Roles", An address delivered at the Biennial Meeting of the New York-New Jersey Regional Committee of the American Association of Psychiatric Clinics for Children", June, 1959.

Learning of sex-roles, achieving independence from parents and developing conscience were observed among adolescents by Schoeene and Havighurst.³⁴ They found a lower correlation among developmental tasks between ages 10-13 as compared with ages 13-16. This study suggested early adolescence as the critical period in stabilizing these sub-tasks of identity formation. The greatest variation among the age levels was in impulse expression associated with sex role. The most constant task at the various age levels was satisfactory relationships with peers. The data of this study supported a relationship between adjustment, mastery of developmental tasks, and success in later stages of development.

Another investigation by Douvan³⁵ evaluated the progress made in developmental tasks through interviews with adolescent girls. Douvan evaluated identification with feminine role as positive on the basis of the choice of feminine adult models, most frequently the mother. The most common reason cited for choice of the mother was her personal characteristics. This finding supports Parsons' view that feminine

34. Schoepppe and Havighurst, Journal of Educational Psychology, 237-248.

35. Elizabeth M. Douvan and Carol Kaye, Adolescent Girls, (Mimeographed paper, Univ. of Michigan, 1954)

role is perceived by girls in terms of interpersonal relationships rather than in functional terms of tasks performed. Girls wanted to be like mother because of what she is, not what she does.

As already mentioned, a comprehensive theoretical account of life-stages in the female appears in Deutsch's work³⁶ which is based upon psychoanalytic theory as well as clinical experiences with females. Pre-puberty is represented as a time of intense ego development and weak libidinal strivings. Expressions of independence and intellectual aspirations characterize the "thrust of activity" at this time. The particular mode of adjustment adopted by the individual girl is determined by her psychological and physiological past as well as by her present cultural and social milieu. Here again the continuity of psychic life is emphasized.

Deutsch interprets identification activities at adolescence as severance actions used to loosen infantile ties. New ideals are substituted for the parents who have served as early models of identification. At this time girls may reach out toward feminine models other than the mother, e.g., teachers, older women, other girls. This is also a time when peer-group secrets are shared which often center about bodily changes and the new womanly roles which are

36. Deutsch, The Psychology of Women. 1-148.

being faced. From adolescence on, Deutsch notes intense fantasy life and increased passivity as keynotes of growing feminine identification. One way to guard against increasing instinctual needs is through the defense of increased intellectuality. The adolescent girl who appears perfectly satisfied with an exclusively intellectual life is, in the eyes of Deutsch, sublimating more fundamental drives and endangering her own feminine identity.

Adolescence ends, according to Havighurst,³⁷ when the transition to self-support has been accomplished. Cultural patterns vary for this. In the case of girls, independence from parents often occurs through marriage rather than self-support. With pregnancy, the culmination of sex-role identity in the female is reached, assuming mature feminine identification. For the first time, the woman's own biological and social processes coincide with cultural expectations of her role. Neugarten observed that among unmarried women, there was less anxiety about sex-role in those pursuing feminine professions than among women engaged in non-feminine pursuits.³⁸ This would suggest that sex-role identity is closely related to external expression.

37. Robert J. Havighurst, "Adolescence and the Postponement of Adulthood", The School Review, 68 (Spring 1960) 52-62.

38. Neugarten, Journal of National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, 24 (June 1961) 170.

On the basis of the literature reviewed here, several concepts are of importance to this study. The task of identity during adolescence has been traced from its conceptualization by Erikson and Havighurst through the process of early identification and familial interaction to mature femininity. Special circumstances regarding sex-role learning for girls have been discussed. Finally, the psychological meaning of adolescence for girls has been presented from the viewpoint of Deutsch. It is noted that attitudes toward the self as female and toward marriage are inherent in the process of integrating a new stage of identity for the adolescent girl.

Motivation of Adolescent Girls for Education, Marriage, and Career:

Adolescent girls have been surveyed in relation to (1) aspirations and plans, (2) attitudes toward marriage, and (3) occupational choice.

Education: A national study conducted by the Girl Scouts of America³⁹ showed that ninety-six per cent of adolescent girls planned to finish high school and that the proportion aspiring to higher education was greatest at the junior high ages. Level of aspiration remained constant among age groups, with college the most popular choice, followed by nurses' training, then vocational and secretarial

39. Douvan and Kaye, 26-31.

school. Academic motivation varied according to career commitment. Girls aspiring to the professions, the arts and the sciences expressed interest in academic achievement per se. Those choosing feminine professions looked to college for interpersonal and social-service rewards. Girls who emphasized marriage and family goals appeared to have little concern for academic achievement.

In a study of women in the beginning years of college, Newcomer reported that aspiration for higher education was based upon job motives in about half the cases studied.⁴⁰ Other goals of college women were establishing social contacts, keeping up with future husbands, and pursuing intellectual curiosity. Hopwood confirmed the same type of motivation.⁴¹ She reported that girls entering college seek fuller personal living and preparation for marriage and vocation. Comparing the sexes in plans for college made at the high school level, it was observed that more females than males plan to start college, but fewer expect to graduate.⁴² Again, marriage is the immediate goal to which many

40. Mable Newcomer, "Women's Education: Facts, Findings and Apparent Trends", Journal of National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, 24 (1960) 35-39.

41. Kathryn Hopwood, "Expectations of University Freshmen Women", Personnel and Guidance Journal, 32 (1954) 464-469.

42. Harold T. Christensen, "Lifetime Family and Occupational Role Projections of High School Students", Marriage and Family Living, 23 (May 1961) 181-183.

girls aspire. Current educational trends confirm the fact that more females than males enter college, even though fewer graduate.

Havighurst related educational patterns of high school seniors to social class.⁴³ He identified patterns for both sexes. Among girls, 12% expressed long-term educational goals as preparation for the professions. Seventy per cent preferred immediate job preparation, and the remainder either terminated education with high school or dropped out of school for early marriage. Strivers, in studying social class in relation to the academic motivation of tenth grade girls, found it less significant than other influences.⁴⁴ College aspiration in this study was seen to be more significantly related to the approval of college by significant social agencies than it was to social class or need to achieve. Hawkes observed financial need, age, and attitude toward education to be variables in girls' decisions about higher education.⁴⁵ He found that father's occupation was also related to daughter's attendance or non-attendance at college. Douvan reported a discrepancy between desire for college and later enrollment.⁴⁶ The difference may be accounted

43. Havighurst, The School Review, 52-62.

44. Eugene H. Strivers, "Motivation for College in High School Girls", The School Review, 67 (1959) 320-334.

45. Anna L. Hawkes, "Factors Affecting College Attendance", The Education of Women - Signs for the Future, 29-34.

46. Douvan, "Adolescent Girls: Their Attitude toward Education", The Education of Women - Signs for the Future, 23-29.

for by the varied meanings, primarily non-academic, which high school girls associate with college. These include the opportunity to try out new identities, to find a vehicle for social mobility, or to realize rewarding fantasy. It appears that college-planning for girls may supply some of the adolescent role-playing which boys find in preliminary occupational choices. This would account both for the frequency of girls' educational plans and for their high marriage-orientation.

Marriage: Ninety per cent of the girls interviewed by Douvan expressed the desire to marry, although few listed life plans of marriage alone. Older adolescent girls showed more concern with marriage than did younger girls. Older girls also tended to combine marriage with occupational or educational plans. Empey's study presented a similar picture of the desires of adolescent girls.⁴⁷ Their long-range choice was for marriage over career. Matthews noted a decline in career commitment from junior high school through young adulthood.⁴⁸ This was interpreted in support of the psychological theory that there is less need for intellectual controls with greater maturity. In Matthews' study,

47. L. T. Empey, "Role Expectations of Young Women Regarding Marriage and A Career", Marriage and Family Living, 20 (1958) 152-155.

48. Matthews, "The Marriage-Career Conflict..." 91-96.

life plans of "feminine career only" or "worker only" occurred more frequently in the early than the later age range. The proportion of girls planning marriage with no career likewise increased with age.

In role projections reported by adolescent girls, the majority of subjects expected to marry at age 21, one year past the average marrying age for women.⁴⁹ The proportion of girls who saw themselves in full-time or part-time jobs fell below the Census expectations for the number of working women in the population. Nearly all girls saw homemaking as their future goal. As reported by Dunn, high school girls held more traditional conceptions of a dichotomy between homemaking and work roles than did high school boys.⁵⁰ Both sexes expressed a negative attitude toward working wives. Education was viewed as valuable for the woman irrespective of a working status. To continue college after marriage was perceived by both sexes as an acceptable pattern.

The findings which have been reported suggest that girls idealize feminine identity and look primarily to marriage for fulfillment of their needs. It may be that this is a developmental phase in feminine identification in which a stereotyped feminine role is most commonly perceived. Perhaps this viewpoint is realistic during

49. Christensen, Marriage and Family Living, 181-183.

50. Douvan, Adolescent Girls, 32-43.

adolescence and it is only at a later stage that multiple roles can be considered.

Occupational Choice: As reported in the Girl Scout Survey, younger girls dichotomized life plans and projected solely occupational pursuits more often than did older girls. Most girls conceived occupational role as a corollary of adult independence. For girls under age sixteen, immediate choices were expected to center about education and occupation rather than marriage. This is consistent with psychoanalytic theory which states that girls accept marriage more readily as they adjust to increased sexual strivings in later adolescence. The types of occupational choice which girls under sixteen expressed could be classified in three main categories: (1) professional, arts, or sciences, (2) feminine-nurturant professions, (3) jobs which require little or no preparation. The most frequently reported motives for work were "nice people to work with", "interesting work", or "steady job". Singer and Steffire studied the vocational values of high school students and found that girls' choices were significantly related to "helping people" and desiring "a very interesting job."⁵¹

Empey rated high school senior girls as further advanced than boys in occupational planning.⁵² This finding

51. Stanley L. Singer and Buford Steffire, "Sex Differences in Job Values and Desires", Personnel and Guidance Journal, 32 (1954) 483-484.

52. Empey, Marriage and Family Living, 152-155.

confirms both Super's and Ginzberg's viewpoints of earlier occupational maturity in girls due to the limited nature of their plans. Empey also noted a preference among girls for jobs which are traditionally feminine. As in previous studies, a strong preference for marriage over career was noted among girls.

Realism of occupational choice was investigated in two studies dealing with girls. Milliken⁵³ found that girls at the high and low levels of job aspiration made choices which were appropriate to their academic potential. Girls planning professional careers were realistic about their ability, as were girls entering lower-skilled occupations. The most popular occupational choice was in the clerical area. The feminine professions drew the widest range of ability. This would suggest that the need for feminine expression in occupations tended to overshadow differences in ability. In an earlier study by Skodak and Crissy,⁵⁴ office work was the most frequent choice of girls and represented the widest range of ability. The criterion in this early investigation, however, was the vocational interest pattern on the Strong,

53. Robert Milliken, "Post-High School Plans of Senior Girls in Relation to School Aptitude", Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 19 (1961) 49-52.

54. Marie Skodak and Orio Crissy, "Stated Vocational Aims and Strong Interest Scores of High School Senior Girls", Journal of Applied Psychology, 26 (1942) 64-74.

rather than specific life plans. It is possible that interest patterns generalized to a variety of life plans.

A mother-daughter comparison in level of occupational aspiration for the daughters was made by Steinke and Kackowski.⁵⁵ Girls tended to aspire higher for themselves than did their mothers. They outranked the occupations held by their mothers and tended to prefer professional and service areas, with little interest in unskilled or sales occupations. The one effect of grandmother's occupation upon granddaughter's aspiration was that stability persisted in those cases where the grandmothers' background was professional. This study is most relevant to the present one, since mother-daughter comparisons are made from the criteria of marriage patterns and educational plans.

The commentary of several women sociologists upon the exclusive marriage orientation in girls' attitudes is noteworthy. Greater vocational commitment and social participation are urged as themes in counseling girls for today's world. Commitment to marriage alone cannot satisfy girls' needs or serve society adequately, according to Westervelt,⁵⁶

55. Betty K. Steinke and Henry R. Kackowski, "Parents Influence the Occupational Choice of Ninth Grade Girls", Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 9 (60-61) 101-103.

56. Esther M. Westervelt, "Womanpower - Nanton Waste or Wishful Thinking", Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 10, (1962) 78-84.

Useem,⁵⁷ and Mead.⁵⁸ All three maintain that traditionally womanly functions have been dispersed into a technological society, and that women must participate in all spheres of that society, home, community, and work. While these authorities are most concerned with the sociological setting in which girls live, the question is still unanswered to what extent the need for feminine expression predominates over the realities of the social setting.

Studies of adolescent girls have been surveyed in relation to education, attitude toward marriage, and occupational choice. There is general agreement that educational aspiration is high among adolescent girls and that they look to college mainly for personal and social fulfillment. The majority of girls aspire to short-range vocational plans, seeking primarily the feminine professions for social service rewards. Marriage is the expressed goal of most girls, although their attitude toward a working role with marriage is not congruent with the current occupational perspective. The latter has been the cause of alarm for sociologists who place the married woman in a new role consistent with changed conditions. In relation to the present study, it is desired to learn whether variation in feminine identity has an effect upon the choice of marriage over marriage-career goals.

57. Ruth Useem, "Changing Cultural Concepts in Woman's Lives", Journal of National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, 24 (Oct. 1960) 29-34.

58. Margaret Mead, "The Return of the Cave Woman", Saturday Evening Post (Mar. 2, 1962) 6-8.

Catholic Attitude toward Women: Catholic girls are used in this study as a specific sub-group with a well-defined stereotype of feminine role. While attention in the literature has been given to parochial school girls in reference to interests, problems, ideals, and home attitudes, the area of this investigation, attitudes toward marriage, has not been studied.

The tradition of Catholic educators has been to prepare girls for specific ideals of womanhood which are taught theoretically and encouraged in practice. These ideals have to do with a vocation to motherhood, physical or spiritual, and a commitment to service as the role of woman. Traditional Catholic teaching represents a hierarchy of value attached to consecrated virginity in the convent, marriage, and the single lay life for women. Recently an attempt has been made to define all three functions anew in the light of the contemporary culture.^{59, 60, 61} The Catholic educational system stresses a two-fold end: achievement of current life goals and preparation for an eternal destiny.

59. Dorothy Dohen, Woman in Wonderland (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1960)

60. Lydwine van Kersbergen, Woman (Loveland, Ohio: Grailville Press, 1960).

61. Monks of Solesmes, The Woman in the Modern World, (Boston, Daughters of St. Paul, 1959).

Girls are taught responsibility in this direction and reinforcement is provided both through curriculum and school climate. Girls will have learned both philosophically and through models that woman's vocation has several expressions but is basically oriented to service founded on love. Feminine qualities and the primacy of the mothering role are emphasized in this point of view.

The relevance of the literature to the problem under consideration is that speculation about women's vocational development has grown out of observation of her vocational behavior. The latter appears to be motivated by a variety of needs, including specific aspects of feminine identity. The adolescent stage for girls is observed to be a critical period for sex-role identification. Response to instinctual strivings, interpersonal demands and cultural pressures make identity the foremost task in adolescence. Role projection into the future is a valuable adjunct to this process. For girls, roles relating to education and marriage seem to have particular pertinence, with occupational aspiration less important. The socialization of parochial school girls produces a positive bias toward feminine role, expressed in marriage, single life or convent. It would appear that mothers play an important part in feminine-role perception of their daughters, and that their own attitudes and behavior have bearing upon the daughters' plans for the future.

Summary

Major studies of women's vocational development, the identity task of adolescence, girls' attitudes toward education, marriage, and career were presented in this chapter. Catholic attitudes toward women were brought to bear upon the current problem. Chapter III will be devoted to the design of the experiment, with reference to instrumentation, sampling procedure, null hypotheses and methods of analysis.

Chapter III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The present investigation used a revised form of Matthews' questionnaire. The background of her study and its instrumentation are reviewed in order to describe the current instrument. Scoring procedure, method of sampling, null hypotheses, and methods of analyses are then presented.

Background of Matthews' Study: In an attempt to formulate an objectively validated description of marriage and career motivation in young women, Matthews scrutinized the existing literature on girls' career development, sex differences, and concepts of femininity. To these she added her own observations from ten years of counseling experience with girls. She conducted a pilot study consisting of structured interviews with sixteen girls, ages fourteen to twenty-three. Respondents answered a series of questions regarding earlier vocational plans and ideas about marriage, current subject preferences, future aspirations for marriage and career, plans for work, and attitudes toward children and homemaking. Their responses were ranked on a continuum from highly marriage-directed to highly career-directed and a pattern of divergent attitudes emerged.

Table 3.1. DIVERGENT ATTITUDES TOWARD MARRIAGE AND CAREER

<u>SUMMARY OF ATTITUDES EXPRESSED IN PILOT STUDY</u>	
Marriage-Directed	Career-Directed
Career Interests	
Feminine-nurturant (mother fantasy) Glamorous-social (wife fantasy)	Masculine-Competitive Adventurous
Subject Interests	
English, languages Home Economics	Mathematics, science Physical Education
Curriculum Choice	
Classical (college) Commercial Household arts	College (technical) College (classical)
Desire for Education	
Declining interest in prolonged education	Definite plans for prolonged education

Drawing upon these results, counseling observations and the psychological literature in regard to femininity, Matthews developed a theoretical pattern of girls' career development from which central attitudes were selected. She devised a scale of seventy-one items logically developed from the original attitudes. Items were randomized to offset possible response set. With the exception of obverse items included for consistency check, all other items were phrased to produce a marriage-directed response.

In responding to each item, the subject chooses to agree on a three-point scale of intensity, or to disagree

on a three-point scale. Responses of agreement were weighted 1, 2, 3. In the original instrument, a weight of 4 was assigned to "no response". Disagreement was weighted 5, 6, 7.

Intercorrelations among the seventy-one items were computed for total sample and each of three age groups. Fourteen items were eliminated which fell below the level required for significance. From this technique of item selection based on a sample of 1,237, it is reasonable to assume a highly homogeneous instrument with items showing a high degree of internal consistency.

Through analysis of the intrascale correlations and the rejected items, a final set of eighteen variables was determined. These were analyzed in relation to age, curriculum, and life plans through a multiple discriminant analysis. The major themes which emerged from the discriminant functions became the basis of a marriage-career dichotomy.

Description and Scoring of Instruments

Data for this study was collected in the form of five separate instruments dealing with educational and career preferences and three items pertaining to background data of subjects. Briefly described, these are as follows:

Instrument 1 - Education: Mothers and daughters responded to the same choices. Mothers indicated highest grade level completed. Daughters indicated level of aspiration. Seventeen possible choices were presented within four educational levels: (1) junior-senior high school, (2) technical school, (3) college, (4) graduate

school. For scoring purposes, categories were grouped into lesser education (junior-senior high school and technical school) and higher education (college and graduate school). For descriptive data dealing with mothers, the average number of years of education was computed.

Instrument 2 - Marriage-Career Pattern: Directions for responding to these items were the same as those used for Instrument 1. Mothers determined which of three patterns was descriptive of their own background:

Pattern 1: Early marriage with full-time homemaking and no further work plans; Pattern 2: A short work period followed by marriage and full-time homemaking with no further work plans; Pattern 5: Work before marriage, interruptions in work to raise a family, continued homemaking and work combination.

Daughters indicated future plans and two additional patterns were presented to them: Pattern 3: Entering the convent after completing school, career plans in some type of religious service; Pattern 4: Further education for full-time career with no expectation of marriage.

The above items were scored in separate categories corresponding to the five patterns. For purposes of analysis, patterns were grouped into categories: marriage with or without career (patterns 1, 2, 5) and career (patterns 3, 4), or marriage (patterns 1

and 2), career (patterns 3 and 4) and marriage-career.

Instrument 3 - Subject Matter Preferences: Respondents are asked to choose three subjects most preferred and three least preferred from eight possible choices. Four of these are keyed as feminine and four masculine. These categories were designated by Matthews on the basis of preferences expressed by girls in her pilot study (see table 3.1). Scores are determined by assigning a weight of 1 to each feminine subject preferred and subtracting 1 for each feminine choice rejected. Twelve combinations of choices are possible with weights ranging from 3 through 0 to -3. High feminine preference is rated in positive values 1 through 3, while 0 through -3 represents low feminine preference. The total pattern of responses to feminine subjects is the basis of scoring.

Instrument 4: Sixteen career choices are presented to subjects with directions to choose three careers preferred and three least preferred. Half the careers are keyed as feminine and half masculine. The same scoring procedure is used as described for instrument 3.

Instrument 5 - Questionnaire: This 57-item instrument is Matthews revised scale, designated throughout this study as the Marriage-Career Scale. Three categories of agreement and disagreement are presented for each item. If the subject chooses to agree, the response is rated as +1, +2, +3 in favor of marriage.

Disagreement is scaled 5, 6, 7 in favor of career. Total scores have been computed and used as a basis for selecting girls oriented toward marriage or career. Low scores represent marriage preference and high scores represent career preference. For comparison with mothers, direction response is compared by T-score. Mother-daughter agreement is expressed in terms of over-all preference for career or for marriage.

Background Data requested of subjects consists of age and place of birth for mothers and daughters. Mother's occupational status, major previous occupation and job satisfaction are included for descriptive purposes. Marital status, age at time of marriage, number of children and their ages are also indicated.

Instruments 3, 4, and 5 were developed by Matthews but submitted to different scoring procedures. Other instruments and background data are used for the first time in this study.

Reliability of the revised instrument for the current sample was investigated through analysis of variance technique for reliability as described by Hoyt. This method attempts to find the average reliability of all individuals when between-item variance is removed.

The procedure for selecting individuals was carried out twice, once for mothers and once for daughters. Each subsample was arranged in alphabetical order. Every third individual was selected for analysis. From the total

remaining sample every sixth individual was chosen. Protocols with omitted items were excluded, leaving a total of 50 for mothers and 49 for daughters. In drawing individuals from the daughter sample, the same procedure was followed as for mothers except that the alphabetical order was reversed.

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 show the results of the analysis of variance. The .77 and .76 reliability estimates indicate difference in scores to be due to variation among individuals rather than items.

Table 3.2. ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE FOR MOTHERS' RESPONSES TO ITEMS ON MARRIAGE-CAREER SCALE.

Source	d.f.	Sums of squares	Means square	F
Individuals	49	567.8324	11.5884	4.4036
Items	56	5626.9874	100.4819	38.1833
Error	<u>2744</u>	<u>8114.6276</u>	2.63156	
Total	2849	14309.4474		
r_{tt} .7729				

Table 3.3. ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE FOR DAUGHTERS' RESPONSES TO ITEMS ON MARRIAGE-CAREER SCALE.

Source	d.f.	Sums of squares	Means square	F
Individuals	48	691.3971	14.4041	4.2056
Items	56	4862.5485	86.8312	25.3529
Error	<u>2688</u>	<u>9206.3989</u>	3.4249	
Total	2792	14760.3445		
r_{tt} .7622				

Mother-Daughter Similarity represents a comparison of mothers' and daughters' T-scores, a normalization of total raw scores on Marriage-Career Scale. The exact method of determining similarity and dissimilarity is described in Chapter 4.

Sampling Procedure

Cooperation of supervising clergy was elicited to obtain a sample of parochial school mothers and daughters for the study. Schools were designated on an individual basis, and cooperation of subjects was completely voluntary. The following procedure was observed in each case. First, an interview was arranged with the principal. The investigator then met with the entire population of girls grade 6 through 9 to request participation in the study and to distribute a letter to be taken home to mothers. (See Appendix).

In every school except one, two times were scheduled for mothers and daughters to come to school to fill out questionnaires. This method was used in order to prevent interaction between the mothers and daughters while responding to the questionnaires.

Group instructions were given and all questionnaires filled out in the presence of the examiner. Two sets of questionnaires were invalidated because daughters were observed filling out the mothers' forms as well as their own. Five questionnaires were taken home for a mother or daughter who was absent.

Data was collected in four schools. Three are located in the Lansing-East Lansing area of Michigan and one in

Peekskill, New York. Due to the sampling procedure, a possible bias may exist. It can be expected, for example, that mothers who were willing to participate have a fairly positive attitude toward their daughters. It appears from one analysis that these mothers are fairly representative of the total group. For one sub-sample, the entire population of mothers of girls grade 6 through 9 was sampled in regard to age, number of children, years of education and working status. The background of mothers in school 1 was median age 40, average number of children 5.0, average years education 11.97 and 27.4 per cent currently employed. In comparison with the sample from school 1, it can be noted in table 3.4 that the age and average number of children are identical. Mothers in the sample from school 1 has 12.1 years education and 24 per cent were working.

This comparison suggests that the mothers sampled tend to be representative of the total school population.

Descriptive Data Obtained from Samples

Questionnaire data which provides pertinent descriptive information about the sub-samples used in the study are reported in the tables which follow. Total sample consisted of 138 mothers and daughters. All mothers originated in the United States except one, who was born in Germany.

Mothers' current age, age at time of marriage, average number of children, and marital status are summarized in Table 3.4. This data is included to estimate what external factors about the mothers may play a part in influencing

their attitude toward marriage. For example, nearly all mothers in the sample were married after age 21. This may bias daughter's plans in the direction of later marriage and some career commitment. The number of children adds a bias to the daughter's attitude since the pattern of family life most familiar to them is that which includes several children. The most variation is noted between mothers in school 2 and other mothers in current age, with median age two years higher in school 2. The range of ages at time of marriage is 2.5 years. Average number of children converges about a mean of 4.7.

Table 3.4. DESCRIPTION OF MOTHERS BY AGE, AGE AT TIME OF MARRIAGE, NUMBER OF CHILDREN, AND MARITAL STATUS.

School	N	Median Age	Median Age at time of marriage	Average Number of Children	Number Widowed or Divorced	Number Remarried
1	34	40	21.5	5.4	4	4
2	39	42	24.0	4.8	2	-
3	31	40	23.0	4.5	-	-
4	34	40	22.5	4.1	4	1

Educational background of mothers is reported in Table 3.5. The average number of years for mothers is equivalent to high school for mothers from schools 1 and 4, with one to two years additional education noted among mothers from schools 2 and 3. A percentage distribution by level of school attended is included in Table 3.5 This information

about the mothers can be expected to influence their own job participation as well as the daughter's level of educational planning.

Table 3.5. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MOTHERS

School	1	2	3	4
Average number of years in school	12.1	13.0	13.7	11.9
Did not graduate from high school	8 (24%)	2 (05%)	1 (03%)	6 (18%)
Graduated from high school	15 (44%)	20 (51%)	9 (29%)	18 (53%)
Attended technical school	7 (20%)	11 (28%)	11 (35%)	9 (26%)
Attended college	4 (12%)	5 (13%)	8 (26%)	0
Attended graduate school	0	1 (03%)	2 (07%)	1 (03%)

Marriage-career patterns are reported in Table 3.6.

It is noted that approximately a quarter to a third of mothers in each sub-sample have combined a working role with marriage. The highest proportion is in school 2. Again, this places a marriage-career role within a context of familiarity for the daughters.

Table 3.6. MARRIAGE-CAREER PATTERNS OF MOTHERS

School	1 (N 34)	2 (N 39)	3 (N 31)	4 (N 34)
Early marriage with no further work plan	7 (21%)	6 (15%)	2 (06%)	2 (06%)
Short work exper- ience, marriage, no further work plans	19 (56%)	20 (54%)	21 (68%)	24 (70%)
Dual career of home- making and job	8 (23%)	12 (31%)	8 (26%)	8 (24%)

Table 3.7 contains data regarding occupational status of mothers. The number currently employed is compared on a percentage basis. Previous occupations of mothers were classified according to U.S. Census categories, 1960 edition. Job satisfaction was reported in relation to major previous occupations. Data in these two classifications are incomplete, due to the number of mothers who did not respond to these two items. It can be noted from table 3.7 that the majority of mothers were found in traditional feminine pursuits at the clerical and professional levels. The latter included nursing, teaching, social work.

TABLE 3.7. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MOTHERS

School	Number Current- ly Em- ployed	Previous Major Occupation					Service Opera-except times house- hold			Job Satisfaction				
		Prof.	Mgr.	Cler.	Sales	Crafts	Oper-	times	house-	No Response	High	Sat.	Low	No Response
1 (N 34)	9 (24%)	3 (08%)	1 (03%)	17 (50%)	3 (08%)	3 (08%)	2 (06%)	-	3 (08%)	12 (35%)	18 (53%)	2 (06%)	2 (06%)	
2 (N 39)	9 (23%)	10 (26%)	-	14 (36%)	-	-	-	2 (05%)	13 (33%)	14 (35%)	11 (28%)	1 (03%)	-	
3 (N 31)	7 (26%)	13 (42%)	-	12 (39%)	1 (03%)	-	1 (03%)	-	4 (13%)	12 (39%)	15 (48%)	1 (03%)	3 (10%)	
4 (N 34)	10 (33%)	3 (08%)	-	23 (67%)	2 (05%)	1 (02%)	1 (02%)	4 (11%)	-	11 (32%)	18 (53%)	4 (12%)	1 (03%)	

Daughters are described by age in Table 3.8. Range of ages was from 10 to 15. The oldest girls were obtained from school 3. Seventeen pairs of sisters were represented in the sample. In two cases, three girls from the same family participated.

Table 3.8. DAUGHTERS DESCRIBED BY AGE

School	Median Age
1 (N 34)	12.5
2 (N 39)	12.0
3 (N 31)	13.0
4 (N 34)	12.0

Hypotheses

The major null hypothesis to be tested centers around differences due to attitudes toward marriage. The two supporting hypotheses are concerned with differences in attitudes accountable to maturity and mother-daughter relationships. Each is stated in its null and alternate form with specific sub-hypotheses to be tested.

Null Hypothesis 1. Educational-vocational plans and preferences of early adolescent girls are independent of attitude toward marriage.

Null Hypothesis 2. Educational-vocational plans and preferences of early adolescent girls are independent of age.

Null Hypothesis 3. Educational-vocational plans and preferences of early adolescent girls are independent of

similarity to mother.

Alternate Hypothesis 1. Girls who are oriented toward marriage will choose feminine educational-vocational plans and preferences more often than girls oriented toward careers.

Sub-hypotheses:

- 1a. Girls with low scores on Marriage-Career Scale will plan less education than girls with high scores on Marriage-Career Scale.
- 1b. Girls with low scores on Marriage-Career Scale will plan marriage more often than girls with high scores on Marriage-Career Scale.
- 1c. Girls with low scores on Marriage-Career Scale will prefer feminine subjects more often than girls with high scores on Marriage-Career Scale.
- 1d. Girls with low scores on Marriage-Career Scale will prefer feminine careers more often than girls with high scores on Marriage-Career Scale.

Alternate Hypothesis 2. Older girls will tend toward feminine educational-vocational plans and preferences more often than younger girls.

Sub-hypotheses:

- 2a. Older girls will score lower on Marriage-Career Scale than younger girls.
- 2b. Older girls will plan less education than younger girls.
- 2c. Older girls will plan marriage more often than younger girls.

2d. Older girls will prefer feminine subjects more often than younger girls.

2e. Older girls will prefer feminine careers more often than younger girls.

Alternate Hypothesis 3. Girls who are similar to mothers in marriage-career attitude will make plans consistent with mothers' attitudes and mothers' background. They will resemble mothers in subject-matter preference and career preference.

Sub-hypotheses:

3a. Girls similar to mothers in attitude will make marriage-career plans consistent with mothers' attitudes more often than girls not similar to mothers.

3b. Girls similar to mothers will make marriage-career plans consistent with mothers' marriage-career background more often than girls not similar to mothers.

3c. Girls similar to mothers will make educational plans resembling mothers' educational background more often than girls not similar to mothers.

3d. Girls similar to mothers will resemble mothers in subject-matter preferences more often than girls not similar to mothers.

3e. Girls similar to mothers will resemble mothers in career preferences more often than girls not similar to mothers.

Method of Analysis

The chi-square tests and t-tests have been chosen as appropriate for the analysis in this study. Each will be described briefly.

The chi-square test is used to determine significance of difference between two independent groups. This is appropriate when the data of research consists of frequencies in discrete categories. The hypothesis under test is that the two groups differ with respect to some characteristic. One of the conditions of the chi-square is that the expected frequencies within a cell are sufficiently large. Cochran recommends a minimum expected frequency of 5 when the N is between 20 and 40. This criterion has been met in the contingency tables to which the data has been assigned.

The use of chi-square also assumes that observations be independent of each other. In the current samples, the total of observed frequencies coincides with the total number of persons in each sample.

The assumptions underlying the t-test are as follows. The observations must be independent and must be drawn from normally distributed populations. These populations must have the same variance. The variances must have been measured in at least an interval scale.

Limitations

It is recognized that the criterion used in this study, feminine identity and feminine role perception, is a complex phenomenon which does not lend itself easily to measurement.

The instruments used in this study are concerned with attitudes, preferences, and plans but do not approach unconscious aspects of identity. Hence, there can be no expectation of arriving at a complete measurement of the variable under study. One purpose of the study is to test the correlation among the instruments currently used.

It is also realized that many factors besides mother-daughter similarity enter into feminine identification. This study is limited, however, to this one aspect in an exploratory attempt to investigate more carefully one of the many variables involved in identification.

No attempt has been made to control for other variables which influence educational and vocational plans, such as aptitude, social class, father's educational level. It is assumed that the sample represents a range of these factors.

The major limitations regarding this study are believed to be due to sampling and instrumentation. It is not known how adequate the sampling procedure was due to the voluntary condition of participation. No attempt is made to generalize results beyond parochial school populations.

A second limitation concerns the type of instrument used. Items were found predictive for three age groups in Matthews' study. The current age groups extend both higher and lower than the original groups and it is not known how appropriate the questionnaire is for these ages. Some reading difficulties were noted among the younger girls and these were clarified by the examiner in response

to individual questions. The comprehension of terms describing subject-matter and curricular choices may also be questioned. In many cases, girls were responding to items which were not familiar to them.

Cross-validation was not carried out with independent samples from each of the populations due to the difficulty in obtaining additional mothers for the study. The present experiment is in the nature of a pilot study.

Summary

In this chapter the rationale and construction of the instruments are discussed. Matthews' questionnaire was used to measure attitudes toward marriage. Other items in the questionnaire included age, education, subject-matter and career-preferences as originally used by Matthews. Additional items were added regarding marriage-career patterns and mothers' marital and occupational status. Scoring methods were discussed.

The sampling procedure and population was described. Descriptive data was provided concerning mothers' age, age at time of marriage, marital status, and average number of children. Educational background, marriage-career patterns, and occupational status of mothers was described. Information regarding age of daughters and average number of siblings was given. A total of 138 mothers and daughters from four schools constitutes the sample upon which the study is based.

The major hypotheses to be tested were stated. The statistical model of chi-square and t-test were discussed. Finally, several limitations regarding the design of the study were presented.

In the next chapter, the data collected will be described and analyzed. The final chapter will contain a summary and discussion of results.

Chapter IV

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

A questionnaire composed of five independent instruments was administered to a sample of 138 parochial school girls (grades 6 through 9) and their mothers. The instruments were the following: (1) Marriage-Career Scale, (2) Education, (3) Marriage-Career Pattern, (4) Subject Matter Preferences, and (5) Career Preferences. The instruments labelled Education and Marriage-Career Pattern related to future plans of girls and past history of mothers in these two areas. The results obtained from the instruments are presented in this chapter and an analysis of the data is reported.

The procedure used to report results is as follows. First, each hypothesis is repeated in its null and alternate form. The specific sub-hypotheses to be tested (research hypotheses) are also presented. The method of analysis is described and results are indicated. Findings are discussed in relation to each hypothesis.

HYPOTHESIS I

General Null: Educational-vocational plans and preferences of early adolescent girls are independent of attitude toward marriage.

General Alternate: Girls who are oriented toward marriage will choose feminine educational-vocational plans and

preferences more often than girls oriented toward careers.

Specific sub-hypotheses:

- 1a. Girls with low scores on Marriage-Career Scale will plan less education than girls with high scores on Marriage-Career Scale.
- 1b. Girls with low scores on Marriage-Career Scale will plan marriage more often than girls with high scores on Marriage-Career Scale.
- 1c. Girls with low scores on Marriage-Career Scale will prefer feminine subjects more often than girls with high scores on Marriage-Career Scale.
- 1d. Girls with low scores on Marriage-Career Scale will prefer feminine careers more often than girls with high scores on Marriage-Career Scale.

Methods of Analysis:

The criterion for the above tests was score on Marriage-Career Scale. Extreme scores were identified by dividing the distribution of scores at the upper and lower third. The upper third was the career group and the lower third the marriage group. In each case, a chi-square test was used to determine whether scores representing marriage versus career attitude were related to the dependent variables: educational plans, marriage plans, subject-matter preferences, career preferences. If the chi-square obtained was non-significant, attitude toward marriage was considered independent of the other variable. A significant chi-square

confirmed a relationship between them. The level chosen for acceptability was .05. This level was chosen so that the risk of accepting a false research hypothesis as true would be minimized. A balance between Type 1 and Type 2 error is sought through this method.

The results of the chi-square test for each of the four hypotheses are indicated in Tables 4.1 through 4.4.

Results:

Table 4.1. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR MARRIAGE-CAREER SCORES AND EDUCATIONAL PLANS

Marriage-Career Scores	Lesser Education	Higher Education	Totals
Top 1/3 (46 cases)	21 (18.5)*	25 (27.5)	46
Bottom 1/3 (46 cases)	16 (18.5)	30 (27.5)	46
	37	55	92
χ^2 1.13 not significant			

*expected number of cases

Table 4.2. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR MARRIAGE-CAREER SCORES AND MARRIAGE PLANS.

Marriage-Career Scores	Marriage Plans	Other Plans	Totals
Top 1/3 (46 cases)	32 (36)*	14 (10)	46
Bottom 1/3 (46 cases)	40 (36)	6 (10)	46
	72	20	92
χ^2 4.0 p < .05			

*expected number of cases

Table 4.3. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR MARRIAGE-CAREER SCORES AND SUBJECT MATTER PREFERENCES

Marriage-Career Scores	Feminine Subjects high preference	Feminine Subjects low preference	Totals
Top 1/3 (46 cases)	33 (30)*	13 (16)	46
Bottom 1/3 (46 cases)	27 (30)	19 (16)	46
	60	32	92
χ^2 1.73 not significant			

*expected number of cases

Table 4.4. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLES FOR MARRIAGE-CAREER SCORES AND CAREER PREFERENCES

Marriage-Career Scores	Career Preference High Feminine	Career Preference Low Feminine	Totals
Top 1/3 (46 cases)	37 (39.5)*	9 (6.5)	46
Bottom 1/3 (46 cases)	42 (39.5)	4 (6.5)	46
	79	13	92
χ^2 2.23 not significant			

*expected number of cases

From the tables it can be seen that attitude toward marriage discriminated in the case of only one variable, plans for marriage versus other plans (Table 4.2). Attitude toward marriage did not discriminate among educational plans (Table 4.1), preference for feminine subjects (Table 4.3) or preference for feminine careers (Table 4.4).

In order to determine whether lack of significant results might have been due to grouping of educational plans, it was decided to compare attitude scores by the separate educational plans. The total sample was categorized by plans for high school, technical school, college, or graduate school. Significant differences in sets of means were determined by a t-test (Table 4.5). In two instances, between subjects planning high school and subjects planning college, significant differences in attitude scores were found. Significant differences in attitude scores were also

found between subjects planning college and those planning graduate school. One-tailed t-tests were used and the level of acceptability was .05. Other values of t were such that no significance could be attached to them.

Table 4.5. ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN SCORES ON MARRIAGE-CAREER SCALE FOR DIVERSE EDUCATIONAL PLANS.

Educational Plans	Mean	N	Variance	F	t
High School	245.0	15	716.352	1.9	Between high school and college 1.82*
Technical School	232.9	36	1139.939	1.1	Between college and graduate school 1.69*
College	226.4	55	1364.050		
Graduate School	240.0	32	1203.773		

*significant at .05 level

A similar analysis, carried out for Marriage-Career Patterns, is shown in Table 4.6. The sample was divided on the basis of five patterns: Marriage₁ (early marriage without work experience), Marriage₂ (marriage after some work experience), Convent, Career and Marriage-Career. Two patterns were eliminated from the analysis because of the small number of cases. These were Marriage₁ (early marriage with no work experience) and Career. For the three patterns that remained, Marriage₂ (marriage after some work experience), Convent and Marriage-Career, t-test

analysis showed no significant difference in mean scores on the Marriage-Career Scale. Heterogeneity of variance is noted in Table 4.6. For this reason, t-test analysis appropriate to the individual comparisons was used.

Table 4.6. ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN SCORES ON MARRIAGE-CAREER SCALE FOR DIVERSE MARRIAGE-CAREER PATTERNS.

Marriage-Career Pattern	Mean	N	Variance	F	t
Marriage ₁	230.3	3	809.333	.98	Between Marriage ₂ -Convent 1.51
Marriage ₂	228.9	62	1342.075	1.76	Between Convent-Marriage-Career 1.25
Convent	241.2	30	1359.633		
Career	277.3	3	2508.333	1.74*	Between Marriage ₂ -Marriage-Career .33
Marriage-Career	231.0	40	769.641		

*significant at .05

The results of the analysis support the concurrent validity of the Marriage-Career Scale to predict marriage plans at the extreme ends of the scale (upper third and lower third) as well as to confirm a relationship between scores on Marriage-Career Scale and educational plans. Girls choosing high school only were significantly more career oriented than girls planning college. This

direction was contrary to the hypothesized one. Girls planning graduate school were also significantly more career-oriented than girls planning to attend college.

Because subject-matter preferences and career preferences were unrelated to attitude toward marriage (Tables 4.3 and 4.4), it was desired to learn whether they might be related to marriage patterns. For this analysis, girls scoring high and low in preference for feminine subjects were separated. Marriage-Career patterns were handled in the following manner. Patterns 1 and 2 were grouped as marriage plans. These are early marriage with no work experience and marriage after some work experience. Marriage-Career was kept as a separate category. Convent and career were grouped together. Table 4.7 shows preference for feminine subjects to be independent of marriage patterns.

Table 4.7. THREE-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR MARRIAGE PLANS AND PREFERENCE FOR FEMININE SUBJECTS

Feminine Subjects	Marriage	Marriage-Career	Convent Career	Totals
Low preference (N 48)	38 (41.6)*	29 (26)	22 (21.4)	48
High preference (N 89)	26 (22.4)	11 (14)	11 (11.6)	89
	64	40	33	137
x ² 1.9 not significant				

*expected number of cases

From Tables 4.3 and 4.7 it can be concluded that preference for feminine subjects is independent of both attitudes and plans for marriage and career.

Career preferences were analyzed in relation to marriage plans. (Table 4.8) As described in relation to Table 4.7, girls were divided on the basis of high and low preference for feminine careers. Marriage-career patterns were used according to the three categories: marriage, marriage-career, and convent-career. A chi-square test was applied.

It was found that no relationship existed between career preference and marriage plans. It is interesting to note that preferences for feminine careers was also unrelated to attitudes toward marriage and career (Table 4.4)

Table 4.8. THREE-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR MARRIAGE PLANS AND PREFERENCE FOR FEMININE CAREERS.

Feminine Careers	Marriage	Marriage-Career	Convent-Career	Totals
Low preference (N 25)	52 (52.2)*	32 (31.7)	27 (26.9)	111
High preference (N 11)	12 (11.8)	7 (7.1)	6 (6.1)	25
	64	39	33	136
χ^2	.21			

*expected number of cases

Use of Marriage-Career Scale is validated for predicting marriage or non-marriage plans but not for the separate

marriage patterns. It appears that differences among the marriage-patterns are less meaningful than the plan to marry or not to marry. This finding tends to support the usefulness of the Marriage-Career Scale as a criterion of willingness to marry without positive or negative occupational commitment within marriage.

Discrimination among educational plans was observed at several levels, although not consistently in the direction predicted. Thus, short-range educational planning (for high school only) was associated with high career scores. This would suggest that one group of career-oriented girls is planning immediate work. High career scores were also obtained by girls who aspired to graduate school. The most marriage-oriented scores were obtained by girls planning college. This would suggest that college is regarded as an appropriate educational plan for the most feminine girls. This throws some doubt upon the original assumption that a feminine educational pattern would be technical school or less.

Discussion:

Lack of relationship between the Marriage-Career Scale and the other two variables, subject-matter preference and career preference may be accounted for by a combination of factors involving subject bias, instrument limitation or faulty application of theory.

Subjects.

In regard to the subjects, age level has to be taken into account in interpreting results. Comprehension of actual differences in educational plans may be obscure for girls in grades 6 through 9 due to lack of knowledge as well as the remoteness of the plans. A number of the subjects which were presented fall outside the range of experience of junior high school girls. Mechanical drawing and home economics, for example, are not included in their curriculum. Some of the career choices such as chemist and physicist may also have been obscure. It is likely that subjects would tend to respond to known options more favorably than to unknown ones, thus obscuring possible differences between masculine and feminine preferences.

In filling out questionnaires, girls had some difficulty in understanding directions for the instruments dealing with Subject-Matter Preferences and Career Preferences. The forced choice nature of these two instruments may have led to some careless choices in order to fill the spaces. The number of items in the separate instruments and the frequent sets of directions may also have added to the difficulty level. It is not known what effect the presence of mothers in the same testing situation had upon daughters.

Results indicate that girls in this study did not view education primarily for long-range career planning. Some girls high in career attitude planned high school only, while others high in marriage attitude planned graduate

school. Social class may be an influence here, since aspiration for immediate or long-range jobs varies with class background and opportunity for higher education. Research studies support this possibility. Failure to control for this factor may partially account for unexpected results.

Both the validity and reliability of educational and marriage plans for junior high girls must also come into question. The Girl Scout Survey reported that the highest proportion of adolescent girls planning college were junior high girls. When questioned about the meaning of education, girls talked about fantasy choices of self-fulfillment, satisfying relationships with people, and attainment of glamorous roles. Their perception of marriage was also idealized. This type of motivation is subject to fluctuation.

Vocational studies of girls at this age suggests also that education is sought primarily for fuller personal growth rather than for career planning. Girls look to college for satisfying social and personal experiences. Recent cultural trends also encourage the perception of college as suitable preparation for marriage and family living. Thus, it is not surprising that high educational plans coincided with a variety of marriage-career plans. It appears from the results that college plans represent the most feminine pattern.

1 - H. W. Sewell, A. O. Haller, and M.A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration", American Sociological Review (Feb. 1957) 67-73.

Subject bias in this particular sample may be due in part to the stress of the parochial school climate for achievement and for traditional roles of convent and marriage for women. In the Girl Scout Survey 60% of girls at this age level expressed a desire for education beyond high school, as compared with 90% in the current study. While 90% of girls in the nation-wide Girl Scout Survey aspired to marriage, only 77% of this sample did primarily because of the number selecting a convent career. It is noteworthy that only three of the 138 subjects chose careers not including marriage or convent. This may be due in part to the feminine models who are present to these girls. About one-quarter of the mothers in the sample are currently working as compared with the general population norm of 39.3% of urban white women of the same age range currently employed in Michigan. The model of the traditional homemaking role is most apparent to these girls. The influence of the teaching Sister has also to be considered. She combines the roles of higher education, career, and non-marriage in a different pattern than would be presented by the single teacher in non-parochial schools.

In interpreting negative results, it is suggested that the age of the subjects, difficulties encountered in the testing situation and environmental influences may have contributed to unexpected results. Failure to account for social class makes distinctions among educational plans less precise.

Instrumentation.

Instrumentation may also be a factor accounting for negative results. At a time when girls are encouraged toward higher education, distinctions between masculine and feminine subjects are perhaps not meaningful. College-level subjects appeared in both categories. Foreign language and English literature were scored as feminine while mathematics and science were designated masculine. The basis for the selection of subjects as masculine and feminine subjects was Matthews' pilot study in which girls planning marriage and career expressed divergent attitudes toward these subjects. High school girls who were interviewed stated subject preferences as well as their bias toward marriage or career. The clustering of their subject preferences was the basis for this instrument. Subjects preferred by marriage-oriented girls were designated feminine and those preferred by career-oriented girls were designated masculine. It is possible that such a dichotomy may not hold for younger girls who are less familiar with the subject differentiation and less definite as to their marriage-career commitment.

Career designation of masculine and feminine was based on 1950 Census data regarding the number of women in the various careers. Careers with the greatest proportion of women were designated feminine and those with the greatest number of men, masculine. Current emphasis on a wide variety of career choices for women may make these categories less

discriminating. Girls in junior high school may be impressed with the possibility of entrance into a number of occupational roles which were formerly less accessible to women, e.g., doctor, lawyer, mathematician.

Theory:

One of the purposes of the study was to establish concurrent validity of the separate instruments which were used by Matthews as factors in a multiple discriminant analysis. Because results do not support validation of the separate instruments as currently scored with the Marriage-Career Scale, it is not known whether there is a lack of relationship between the variables tested or whether the instruments are not sensitive enough to measure it. Changes in scoring procedure might also be recommended. Given valid instruments, another purpose of the study was to verify the theory. Validity was not confirmed in all cases. Hence, no conclusion can be reached regarding the application of the theory. For example, it is not known whether girls with a high marriage attitude do not in fact prefer feminine careers or whether the measuring device for career preference is invalid. Results, however, do indicate that marriage plans and certain educational patterns are related to Marriage-Career scores.

Null hypothesis I cannot be clearly rejected because only one of the alternate hypotheses was supported by the data and another received partial support. There was no significant relationship observed between attitude and

subject preferences, attitude and career preferences; these two sub-hypotheses were not supported.

The only confirmation of validity of the Marriage-Career Scale is in relation to plans for marriage and partial validity in relation to educational plans. Lack of relationship to subject preferences and career preferences may be due to subject bias or to instrumentation. From the present study it can only be concluded that attitude toward marriage is independent of the other three variables as currently measured.

HYPOTHESIS 2

General Null: Educational-vocational plans and preferences of early adolescent girls are independent of age.

General Alternate: Older girls will select feminine educational-vocational plans and preferences more often than younger girls.

Specific Sub-hypotheses:

- 2a. Older girls will make more plans for marriage than younger girls.
- 2b. Older girls will plan less education than younger girls.
- 2c. Older girls will prefer feminine subjects more than younger girls.
- 2d. Older girls will prefer feminine careers more than younger girls.

Methods of Analysis:

Mean scores were computed for each of the five ages

represented and trend analysis was used to determine whether a significant relationship existed. Significant trends would indicate either a linear or curvilinear relationship between age and mean attitude scores. Results are presented in Table 4.9.

Chi-square tests were used to compare girls at the lowest ages (10 and 11) with girls at the highest ages (14 and 15). The results of these analyses are reported in Tables 4.10 through 4.14.

Results:

Table 4.9. TEST FOR SIGNIFICANT TREND AMONG MEAN SCORES ON MARRIAGE-CAREER SCALE FOR THE VARIOUS AGES.

Age	Mean	N	
15	263.38	8	
14	234.29	24	
13	226.61	31	s^2 233.1732
12	232.08	40	∇^2 235.8108
11	233.18	33	\bar{x} 233.28
10	230.0	2	

$$\nabla^2/s^2 \quad 1.01 \quad \text{not significant}$$

The value obtained through a comparison of means in Table 4.9 was not large enough to be a critical value representing a significant trend among the means. Although they tend to be curvilinear, no significant direction can be shown from the results. It is concluded that age is independent of attitude scores.

Discussion

The results presented in Table 4.9 are interpreted as indicating that mean attitude scores on Marriage-Career Scale increase slightly through the ages in the direction of career orientation. This result did not corroborate Matthews' findings nor confirm the psychoanalytic theory from which the hypotheses were derived. Because girls in the latency stage are characterized as being highly ego-oriented, and relatively unaware of feminine strivings, they were expected to be more interested in achievement and independence than in marriage. After pubescence it was predicted that girls would have a more positive attitude toward marriage due to their own awareness of femininity and increased heterosexual interest. Results show that attitude scores in this study tended in the opposite direction although no significant trend was noted. It appears that attitude scores among the sample do not differ on the basis of chronological age. If the sample had been divided into pre- and post-puberty or by some measure of emotional adjustment, perhaps the criterion of maturity would have been meaningful. Psychological literature has shown that pubescence overlaps both psychological and physiological changes. The meaning of the results tends to confirm the fact that within the age-range 10 to 15, distinctive developmental stages are not evident. No one age stands out as dramatically different from the others in attitude toward marriage.

Table 4.10. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANS AND AGE.

Age	Lesser Education	Higher Education	Totals
10-11 (N 35)	11 (13.6)*	24 (21.4)	35
14-15 (N 32)	15 (12.4)	17 (19.6)	32
	26	41	67
χ^2 1.78 not significant			

*expected number of cases

Table 4.11. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR MARRIAGE PLANS AND AGE.

Age	Marriage	Other Plans	Totals
10-11 (N 35)	28 (25.6)*	7 (9.4)	35
14-15 (N 32)	21 (23.4)	11 (8.6)	32
	49	18	67
χ^2 1.75 not significant			

*expected number of cases

Table 4.12. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR SUBJECT PREFERENCES AND AGE.

Age	Low Feminine Subject Preference	High Feminine Subject Preference	Totals
10-11 (N 35)	17 (13.4)*	16 (19.6)	33
14-15 (N 32)	9 (12.6)	22 (18.4)	31
χ^2 3.36, p < .05 for one-tailed test			

*expected number of cases

Table 4.13. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR CAREER PREFERENCES AND AGE

Age	Low Feminine Career Preference	High Feminine Career Preference	Totals
10-11 (N 35)	8 (6.2)*	25 (26.8)	33
14-15 (N 32)	4 (5.8)	27 (25.2)	31
	12	52	64
χ^2 1.33 not significant			

*expected number of cases

The chi-square tests showed no differences in marriage plans, educational plans or career preferences between the two ages. In the case of subject preferences, a significant relationship was noted with older girls preferring more feminine subjects. While data obtained in the Girl Scout Survey indicated that younger girls have higher educational aspirations than older girls, in this study both responded to plans for higher education. This can be interpreted as a reflection of the cultural bias for higher education, which extends down through the age levels sampled. Apparently the ages in this sample represent no real difference in types of educational planning. This may be due to limited experience with other educational programs or to a global desire for higher education for motives of self-fulfillment.

Homogeneity within the two age levels is shown in the feminine careers. The structure of the schools used in the sample may be partially responsible for this. Since these were parochial elementary schools, all grades were taught by one teacher rather than on a departmental basis. Similar classroom environments and common school experiences might tend to produce greater similarity than would exist with a variety of teachers and curricular choices.

The second null hypothesis cannot be rejected on the basis of these results. Age was significantly related to preference for feminine subjects. However, age was not related to marriage plans, educational plans or career preferences. The use of exact chronological age was

considered a limitation. The questions regarding the validity of the instruments which were raised in relation to hypothesis 1 are also applicable. Results indicate that differences in chronological age are related to only one of the four dependent variables, subject-matter preferences.

HYPOTHESIS 3

General Null: Educational-vocational plans and preferences of early adolescent girls are independent of girls' similarity to mothers in scores on Marriage-Career Scale.

General Alternate: Girls who are similar to mothers in marriage-career attitude will make plans consistent with mothers' attitudes and mothers' background. They will resemble mothers in subject-matter preference and career preference.

Specific Sub-hypotheses:

- 3a. Girls similar to mothers in attitude will make marriage-career plans consistent with mothers' attitudes more often than girls not similar to mothers.
- 3b. Girls similar to mothers will make marriage-career plans consistent with mothers' marriage-career background more often than girls not similar to mothers.
- 3c. Girls similar to mothers will make educational plans resembling mothers' educational background more often than girls not similar to mothers.

- 3d. Girls similar to mothers will resemble mothers in subject-matter preferences more often than girls not similar to mothers.
- 3e. Girls similar to mothers will resemble mothers in career preferences more often than girls not similar to mothers.

Methods of Analysis

Since the range of Marriage-Career Scores differed for mothers and for daughters, (Table 4.14) raw scores were normalized by conversion into T-scores using area transformation.

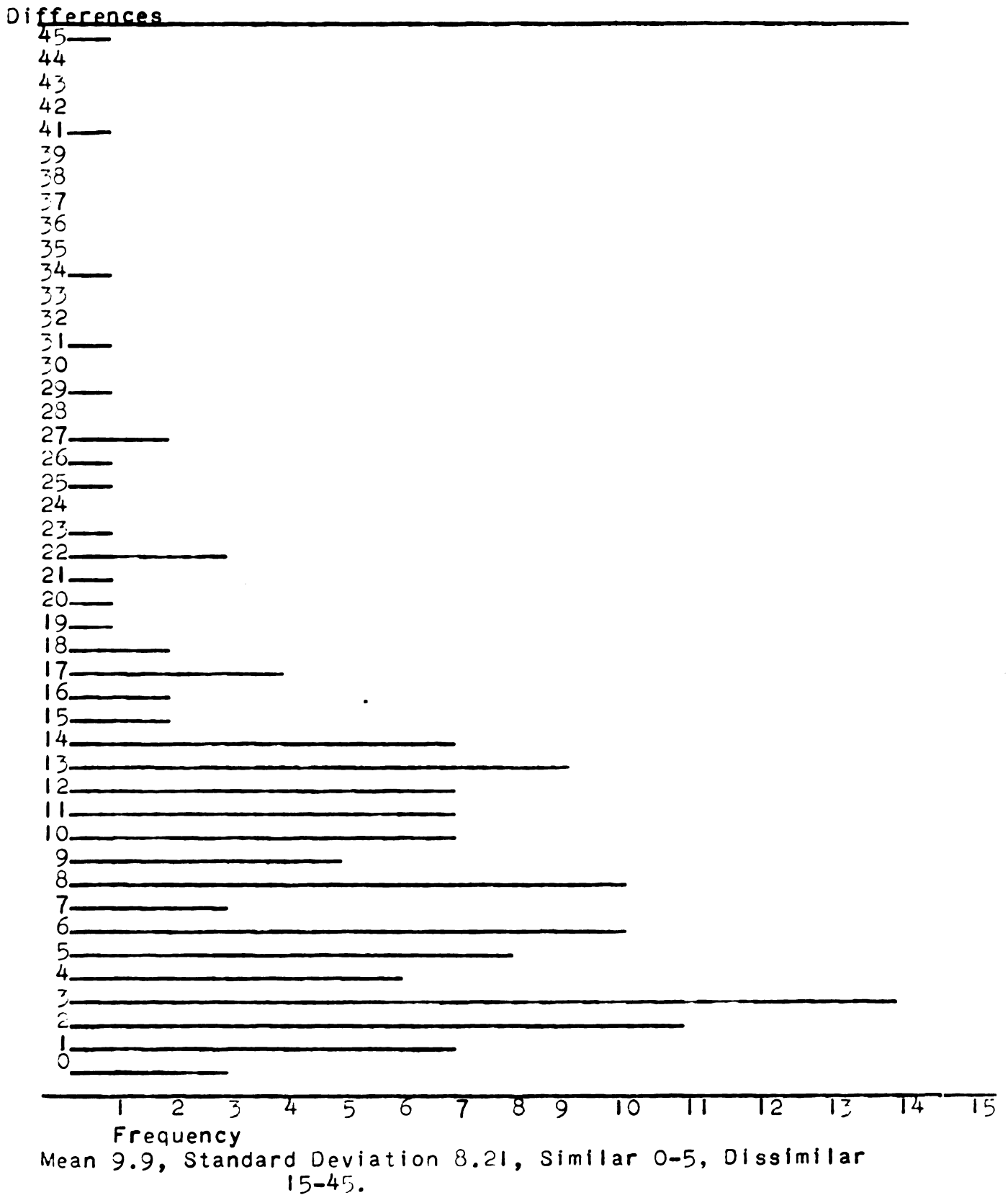
Table 4.14. RAW SCORES OBTAINED BY MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS ON MARRIAGE-CAREER SCALE

	Mothers (N 138)	Daughters (N 138)
Range	115-407	117-370
Mean	214.14	233.28
Standard deviation	38.38	34.92

T-scores ranging from 20 to 77 were assigned to each of the distributions. The criterion of similarity was established after making a distribution of T-score differences between mothers and daughters and computing the mean and standard deviation of the differences. Cut-off points for similarity and dissimilarity were arbitrarily established at .5 standard deviations either side of the mean. By this method, differences of 0 to 5 T-scores were designated similar in

attitude. Differences from 15 to 45 T-scores were designated dissimilar in attitude. The middle group was not used for this analysis (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15. T-SCORE DIFFERENCES IN MOTHERS' AND DAUGHTERS' SCORES ON MARRIAGE-CAREER SCALE.



Since hypothesis 3a uses mothers' attitudes as the dependent variable, these were classified in the following manner. The lowest quarter of mothers' T-scores (20 to 43) were designated as marriage attitude and the top quarter (57-77) as career attitude. Scores between these two points were considered mixed or marriage-career. To test hypothesis 3a daughters' plans for marriage were compared as agreeing or disagreeing with mothers' attitudes. That is, a daughter is in agreement with her mother if the daughter plans marriage and the mother favors a marriage attitude, if the daughter plans marriage-career and the mother's attitude is marriage-career, or if the daughter plans convent or career and the mothers' attitude is toward career. When plans and attitudes were not alike, this was recorded as disagreement. For example, a daughter plans marriage although her mother's attitude is for career; a daughter plans career although her mother's attitude is for marriage; a daughter plans convent although her mother's attitude is for marriage-career. A chi-square test was used and results are presented in Table 4.16. The chi-square test obtained is not significant.

Results:

Table 4.16. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE OF MARRIAGE-CAREER PLANS OF DAUGHTERS AND MARRIAGE-CAREER ATTITUDES OF MOTHERS.

Similarity Rating	Agreement Plans and Attitudes	Disagreement Plans and Attitudes	Total
Like Mother (N 49)	23 (24.2)*	26 (24.8)	49
Unlike Mother (N 28)	15 (13.8)	13 (14.2)	28
	38	39	77
χ^2 .32			

* expected number of cases

The criterion used to test hypothesis 3b was agreement of daughters' marriage-career plans with mothers' marriage-career pattern. The two possible agreements in these categories were daughters' plan for marriage and mothers' background of marriage without career, or daughter's plan for marriage-career and mother's background of marriage-career. Possible disagreements were (1) daughter's plan for marriage and mother's marriage-career background; (2) daughter's plan for marriage-career and mother's background of marriage without career; (3) daughter's plan for convent or career and mother's background of marriage; (4) daughter's plan for convent or career and mother's background of marriage-career. The chi-square analysis is shown in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE OF MARRIAGE-CAREER PLANS OF DAUGHTERS AND MOTHERS' MARRIAGE-CAREER PATTERNS.

Similarity Rating	Agreement of Plans and Patterns	Disagreement of Plans and Patterns	Totals
Like Mothers (N 49)	21 (24.2)*	28 (24.8)	49
Unlike Mothers (N 28)	17 (13.8)	11 (14.2)	28
	38	39	77
χ^2	2.29		

*expected number of cases

In comparing educational plans of daughters with mothers' educational history, the criterion for agreement was the same level of education or one level higher than mothers'. For example, a daughter planning technical school was considered in agreement with a mother's educational background of high school or technical school. A daughter planning college was considered in agreement with a mother who attended college or technical school. A daughter planning graduate school was considered in agreement with a mother who attended college or graduate school. This range of agreement was established because of the greater frequency of higher education for girls today than was characteristic of their mothers a generation ago. These results of the test of hypothesis 3b are shown in Table 4.18 as non-significant.

Table 4.18. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE OF EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF DAUGHTERS AND MOTHERS' EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND.

Similarity	Agreement	Disagreement	Totals
Like Mothers (N 49)	29 (29.9)*	20 (19.1)	49
Unlike Mothers (N 28)	18 (17.1)	10 (10.9)	28
	47	30	77
χ^2 .19 not significant			

*expected number of cases

When comparing subject-matter preferences and career preferences, high and low feminine preference was compared for mother and daughter. Preferences were classified as agreement with mother or disagreement with mother, regardless of the direction of the preferences. For example, mother's high preference for feminine subjects and daughter's high preference for feminine subjects were rated as agreement. Mother's low preference for feminine subjects and daughter's low preference for feminine subjects were also considered agreement. Disagreement meant that one of the pair had high feminine preference and one had low feminine preference. Sample size is reduced in these two analyses due to several unscorable protocols.

Table 4.19. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE OF SUBJECT MATTER PREFERENCE BETWEEN MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS.

Similarity Rating	Resemble Mothers	Do Not Resemble Mothers	Totals
Like Mother (N 48)	26 (30.1)*	22 (17.9)	48
Unlike Mother (N 27)	21 (16.9)	6 (10.1)	27
	47	28	75
χ^2 4.17 not significant			

*expected number of cases

Table 4.20. TWO-WAY CONTINGENCY TABLE OF CAREER PREFERENCE BETWEEN MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

Similarity Rating	Resemble Mothers	Do Not Resemble Mothers	Totals
Like Mother (N 47)	29 (27.9)*	18 (19.1)	47
Unlike Mother (N 27)	15 (16.1)	12 (10.9)	27
	44	30	74
χ^2 .78 not significant			

*expected number of cases

Results reported in Table 4.19 indicate a significant relationship between mother-daughter similarity-dissimilarity and subject-matter preferences. It was found that the greater the dissimilarity between mothers' and daughters' attitudes, the more agreement there was in subject-matter preference. This finding was contradictory to the direction

hypothesized. The results presented in Table 4.20 indicate no significant relationships between similarity-dissimilarity and agreement with mother's career preferences.

Discussion

In making comparisons based on similarity of attitude between mothers and daughters, all five hypotheses were rejected (3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e.). In the case of hypotheses 3a, 3b, 3c, 3e there were no significant findings. Hypothesis 3d was rejected because the directional relationship was contrary to that hypothesized. The indication is that daughters do not make marriage plans consistent with mothers' attitude or mothers' marriage pattern regardless of similarity or dissimilarity in attitude toward marriage. Neither do they make educational plans like mothers' educational background. Contrary to expectation, daughters who are dissimilar to mothers agree with mothers' subject preferences.

Results show that mothers' attitude toward marriage did not influence the daughter's plans in any significant direction whether the daughter agreed with her mother's attitude or disagreed. It may be that the bias for marriage found among parochial school girls (72% of the sample) tends to outweigh any negative influence arising out of a poor mother-daughter relationship. It is also possible that the mother is less influential than certain other sources, such as the peer group, when planning in terms of future realities. Since the girls do not know their mothers primarily in an

educational or career role, it is conceivable that they are less likely to involve mothers in their responses than they would other girls or teachers. If the comparison was made in terms of attitude toward children, family relationships, dress, or some other home-oriented function, mothers' influence might be more significant.

It must also be observed that there was no control for mother-daughter relationship. Mere agreement with mother's attitude gives no indication of whether a girl actually wants to be like her mother. Perception of mother as feminine or non-feminine may be a more meaningful index than agreement on the Marriage-Career Scale. It is also possible that the attitude of the teaching Sisters toward marriage and career has considerable impact upon girls of this age. It seems likely that the Sisters would encourage girls to follow traditional patterns of marriage or the convent rather than careers. This is substantiated by evidence that the majority of the non-marriage choices were for convent rather than career.

Cultural attitudes also come into play when comparing plans of mothers and daughters. The current emphasis upon a combined marriage-career role imposes a bias in that direction for daughters, while mothers' marriage-career background was determined at a time when the role of working wife was less familiar. As was previously indicated, only a quarter of these mothers have combined a working role with homemaking.

Daughters are also influenced by pressures for higher education. There exist at least two possible sources of bias which might significantly affect the degree of mother-daughter similarity found in the present study. These are (1) the predominance of a traditional homemaking role among the mothers and their prominent emphasis on child-rearing, (2) pressures of contemporary society upon the female to seek higher education.

While there was not sufficient evidence to reject the third null hypothesis, it warrants retesting after revision of instruments or further investigation of variables which influence mother-daughter similarity.

Summary

In this chapter, each of the hypothesis has been restated. The method of analysis applied in each case was explained and results were presented. Discussion of findings centered around biases in the sample, instrumentation, and applicability of theory. None of the null hypotheses was rejected.

In Chapter V, a summary of the experiment will be given. Results will be discussed with suggestions for further research.

Chapter V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Summary

I. The Problem: The purpose of the study was to investigate the usefulness of the concept of feminine identity to account for differences in the educational-vocational plans of early adolescent girls. Career development of girls was considered a pertinent area of study for several reasons. First, cultural trends have broadened the traditional roles assigned to women into a variety of patterns which include higher education and some career commitment. It was desired to learn whether these influences had meaning for junior high school girls or whether girls limit their choices to marriage versus career. A second reason for investigating the problem was the evidence of role conflict which appears to affect the choices of adolescent girls. The desire for marriage and the approval of men have been cited as limitations to girls' aspirations for academic achievement and career planning. In the third place, the problem was suggested because of the recent focus in vocational theory upon women's career development. It was desired to learn whether differences in feminine role perception at this age would influence choices to any significant extent.

The basic theoretical position underlying the study is that educational-vocational choice represents expression of the self, and that the acceptance of a feminine marriage-oriented role will be reflected in feminine choices. It was anticipated from a basis of learning theory that feminine role acceptance would be reflected in similarity to mother. Dissimilarity between mother and daughter would be an expression of conflict. Differences in educational-vocational choice were expected as a result of acceptance or conflict with feminine role. Differences in educational-vocational plans and preferences were hypothesized in relation to attitude toward marriage, age, and similarity to mothers.

2. Methodology and Procedure: The sample consisted of 138 parochial school girls in grades 6 through 9 and their mothers. It was assumed that these girls share a stereotype of feminine role based upon Catholic traditions of woman's vocation in the home and that they are also influenced by the attitude of the teaching Sisters who present a model of religious life in the convent. Role conflict with mothers was expected to produce divergent attitudes and rejection of the maternal feminine stereotype.

The instruments administered to the subjects were revised from a questionnaire used by Matthews to study marriage-career conflict in girls and young women. These instruments measured (1) Educational Plans, (2) Marriage-

Career Patterns, (3) Subject Matter Preferences, (4) Career Preferences and (5) Marriage-Career Attitudes. The same data were collected from mothers who also supplied background information relevant to occupational and marital status.

The Marriage-Career Scale was keyed in a direction of low scores representing marriage and high scores representing careers. Similarity of mothers and daughters in attitude was based upon agreement or disagreement of total score response in a marriage or career direction.

3. Results: It was hypothesized that a marriage attitude would directly relate to plans for marriage, limited education and preference for feminine subjects and feminine careers. This hypothesis was not supported. Using chi-square tests, it was found that marriage attitude did relate to plans for marriage but was independent of subject preferences or career preferences. Marriage attitude related to educational plans when contrasting plans for high school and college and college and graduate school.

The second hypothesis was that age would be related to differences in educational-vocational plans and preferences. The hypothesized direction of differences was that younger girls would be more career oriented than older girls, make fewer plans for marriage, and show more commitment to education. No differences in marriage plans, educational plans or career preferences were indicated when contrasted by age. A significant relationship was found between age and subject-matter preferences. A chi-square test was used in this analysis.

The third hypothesis was that girls who resembled mothers in marriage-career attitudes would make marriage plans which corresponded with mothers' attitude. It was predicted that their plans would also correspond with mothers' marriage-career pattern and that their educational plans would correspond with mothers' educational background. None of these hypotheses was supported. Further predictions were that agreement of mother and daughter in attitude would be related to agreement in subject-matter preference and career preference. The one significant result in the chi-square tests indicated that girls with attitudes dissimilar to mothers agreed with mothers' subject preferences.

Table 5.1. SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES TESTED.

Hypotheses	Significant in predicted direction	Not Significant in opposite direction	Significant in opposite direction	Table	Test
1. Low Marriage-Career scores, less education.		X	4.1	chi-square	
2. Low marriage-career scores, more marriage plans	X		4.2	chi-square	
3. Low marriage-career scores, high preference for feminine subjects		X	4.3	chi-square	
4. Low marriage-career scores, high preference for feminine careers		X	4.4	chi-square	
5. Mean marriage-career score lower for high school than for technical school plans		X	4.5	t-test	

Table 5.1 Continued

Hypotheses	Significant in pre- dicted direction	Not Significant in predicted direction	Significant in opposite direction	Not Significant in opposite direction	Table	Test
6. Mean marriage-career score lower for technical school than for college plans			X		4.5	t-test
7. Mean marriage-career score lower for college than for graduate school plans	X				4.5	t-test
8. Mean marriage-career score lower for high school than for college plans		X			4.5	t-test
9. Mean marriage-career score lower for high school than for graduate school plans			X		4.5	t-test
10. Mean marriage-career score lower for marriage plans than for convent plans		X			4.6	t-test

Table 5.1 Continued

Hypotheses	Significant in predicted direction	Not Significant in predicted direction	Significant in opposite direction	Not Significant in opposite direction	Table	Test
11. Mean marriage-career score lower for marriage plans than for marriage-career plans		X			4.6	t-test
12. Mean marriage-career lower for marriage-career plans than for convent plans		X			4.6	t-test
13. Low preference for feminine subjects, high career plans		X			4.7	chi-square
14. Low preference for feminine careers, high career plans		X			4.8	chi-square
15. Mean marriage-career scores increasing with age			X		4.9	trend analysis

Table 5.1 Continued

Hypotheses	Significant in pre- dicted direction	Not Significant in predicted direction	Significant in opposite direction	Not Significant in opposite direction	Table	Test
16. Higher age level, more marriage plans		X			4.10	chi-square
17. Higher age level, less education		X			4.11	chi-square
18. Higher age level, high preference for feminine subjects	X				4.12	chi-square
19. Higher age level, high preference for feminine careers		X			4.13	chi-square
20. Similarity to mother, marriage plans correspond with mother's marriage-career score			X		4.16	chi-square
21. Similarity to mother, marriage plans correspond with mother's marriage-career pattern			X		4.17	chi-square

Table 5.1 Continued

Hypotheses	Significant in predicted direction	Not Significant in predicted direction	Significant in opposite direction	Not Significant in opposite direction	Table Test
22. Similarity to mother, educational plans correspond with mother's educational history			X	4.18	chi-square
23. Similarity to mother, subject preferences correspond with mother's subject preferences		X	.	4.19	chi-square
24. Similarity to mother, career preferences correspond with mother's career preferences	X			4.20	chi-square

A final summary of hypotheses tested, results and methods of analysis is presented in Table 5.1. It can be noted that three significant findings were obtained out of 24 tests. Since one test out of twenty might have reached significant results by chance alone, it is concluded that at least two of these significant results are not the result of chance.

Conclusions

1. The experiment did not result in sufficient evidence to reject any of the three null hypotheses. Although most of the girls in the sample chose plans for marriage, the attitude scale separated those planning marriage and those planning convent or career. Differences in attitudes related to differences in educational plans although not completely in the direction predicted. It was speculated that social class might be a significant factor obscuring a possible relationship between attitudes and educational plans. The bias for higher education at this age level was interpreted as a result of cultural attitudes, school climate and the influence of feminine models in the environment.

The use of the instruments for this age level was questioned, particularly in the light of comprehension of differences among educational plans and lack of familiarity with subject and career choices.

2. Age did not hold as a criterion for predicting differences except in preference for feminine subjects.

The narrowness of the age range was considered a limitation. Chronological age alone did not indicate an index of feminine identity. The similarity of school experiences throughout the four grades may also have contributed to homogeneity of preferences for subjects and careers.

3. Similarity of mothers and daughters in marriage-career attitude could not account for differences in plans and preferences. Again, this may have been due to the bias for marriage and higher education in the sample. It was speculated that the attitude of the Sisters and the Catholic bias for marriage or the convent may have overshadowed acceptance or rejection of choices based on similarity of attitudes between mothers and daughters. A measure of mother-daughter relationship might have provided more information as to identification of girls with the feminine role model.

Cultural differences in the historical setting of mothers and daughters were used to explain lack of agreement between mothers' background and daughters' plans. Similarity in attitude scores was found to be inversely related to subject preferences. Thus, no support was given for the influence of mother-daughter similarity upon daughter's educational and vocational expression.

Implications

Since feminine identity and its developmental implications were the basis of theory used in this study, it is well to reconsider the concept of femininity in regard to the total study. In the first place, there is no external criterion

against which a measure of femininity may be validated. Aside from evidence of physical motherhood, the only index applied to mothers was their responses on an attitude scale. Items dealt with social roles of women in marriage and marriage-related activities. There was no way of learning whether the mother herself was satisfied in her role. The only meaning that can be attached to a mother's high marriage score is , that she prefers to see women occupying the traditionally feminine positions. Whether she is accepting of such a position for herself or for her daughter is not known. It is the external aspect of feminine role which was measured rather than the more subtle manifestations of an impulsive or emotional nature. Some projective device might have been more useful.

It was also assumed that girls are most influenced by their mothers in their perception of feminine role. Relationship with mother was not taken into account nor were the expectations of significant others, such as the father, peers of both sexes, and the teaching Sisters with whom the girls are in close contact. The influence of mass media may also contribute to images of femininity which detract from the maternal one. In the case of girls who are rejecting of their mothers, it is possible that they act out their differences by adopting specific characteristics of behavior rather than rejecting a total marriage role. A girl might oppose her mother's standards of dress, manners or other overt behavior but still maintain a feminine orientation toward marriage.

Theories of identification give important place to the role of the father in a girl's development of femininity. The early feminine expression of the girl is reinforced by her father's masculine response and she is encouraged to accept a feminine role. Father's influence was not accounted for in the measures used in this study.

Suggestions for Further Research

Since the study did not furnish substantial evidence to support a relationship among the variables, no conclusive stand can be taken as to the applicability of theory. It is suggested that the study bears repetition with certain revisions of instruments and changes in design. It is possible that inappropriate variables were included or that the measures used were not sensitive enough to detect differentiation.

External validation of the Marriage-Career Scale itself might be explored by comparing responses of mothers, single career women, and Sisters to determine whether attitude scores actually correlate with differences in plans. If evidence for such differentiation was found, the scale might be readministered to girls and scores compared on the basis of life plans.

A more extensive study of attitude toward marriage could be made by administering the scale to mothers, fathers, and teaching Sisters and comparing the differences of these scores to those of the girls. Perhaps a prediction of daughters' plans by mother and father would make a

meaningful criterion when compared with the daughter's actual plans.

It is possible that the long-range nature of educational and marriage plans for junior high girls complicated measurement. One alternative is to repeat the study with senior high girls or adult women and look for differences in results. Another is to substitute a criterion which related to current expression of occupational interest, such as Kuder Preference Record or some other interest inventory. In this manner, present attitudes would be measured rather than projections for the future.

Preference for present school subjects might be substituted in the instrument dealing with subject-matter preference. An instrument could be devised by which boys and girls in another parochial school might rate subject choices in their current curriculum. Those subjects which differentiated between the sexes would be scored as masculine and feminine. The same technique might be applied to career choices, discarding those which are unfamiliar and substituting careers known to pupils in these grades.

Sampling on a basis of socio-economic background would add to the precision of interpreting results. One method would be to stratify the sample on the basis of father's occupation and include in the final sample an equal number of subjects at each of the various occupational levels.

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APPENDIX

LETTER TO MOTHERS
QUESTIONNAIRE

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
East Lansing, Michigan

College of Education - Puoil Personnel Services

March 7, 1962

To mothers of 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th grade girls:

I would like to invite you, as the mother of a daughter in parochial school, to take part in a study which I am conducting for my doctoral research at Michigan State University. The study deals with attitudes of Catholic girls and their mothers toward marriage and careers.

Approval for the study in your school has been obtained from the _____.

In reporting the findings of the study, group results will be described, but no names of individuals will appear.

The procedure for participating in the study is as follows:

Mothers of girls in grades 6 through 9 are asked to come to the auditorium of St. _____ Church at 3 p.m. on _____.

A brief explanation will be given at that time. Mothers and daughters will then be asked to fill out two short questionnaires. One questionnaire deals with personal opinions regarding marriage and careers. The other asks for general information such as age, education, occupation, subject matter and career preferences.

To accommodate mothers who cannot come in the afternoon, the same procedure will be repeated at 8 o'clock that evening in the auditorium of St. _____ Church. As in the afternoon, mothers who wish to take part in the study must be accompanied by their daughters of grade 6, 7, 8, or 9.

The nature of this study is such that attitudes of mothers and daughters are of equal importance. For this reason, a girl will not be permitted to take part in the study unless her mother (or female guardian if mother is dead) also agrees to do so.

It is my hope that you and your daughter will want to take part in this study. I look forward to seeing both of you on _____ at 3 or 8 o'clock.

Sincerely,

Margaret Bott

Margaret Bott
Assistant Instructor

MB/jw

NAME _____

GRADE _____

GENERAL INFORMATION

I. AGE at last birthday _____. Place of birth _____

II. EDUCATION

Girls: Mark with an X the last grade you plan to complete.
Mothers: Mark with an X the last grade you completed.

7 _____ 8 _____ 9 _____ 10 _____ 11 _____ 12 _____.

Technical school (e.g. nursing, business, laboratory, medical technology)

1 year _____ 2 years _____ 3 years _____ 4 years _____

College freshman _____ sophomore _____ junior _____ senior _____.

Graduate school: 1 year _____ 2 years _____ more than 2 years _____.

III. MARRIAGE - CAREER PATTERN

*In items 1, 2, 5, the first set of parentheses refers to girls. Second set of parentheses refers to mothers.

Girls: Mark an X before the one description which is closest to your future plans.
Mothers: Mark an X before the description (1, 2, or 5) of your own status.

1. _____ I (would like to marry) (married) while in school or shortly after graduation to become a full-time wife and mother with no further work plans or career ambitions.
2. _____ I (would like to work) (worked) for a period following graduation. After a work experience of a few months to a few years, I (would like to marry) (I married) to become a full-time wife and mother with no further work plans or career ambitions.
3. _____ I would like to enter the convent after graduation from high school or college. My career plans will take the form of some type of religious service.
4. _____ I want to undertake further education after graduation from high school in order to prepare for a lifetime career as a single lay women who does not marry.
5. _____ (I would like to embark) (I embarked) on a career after graduation and further education. (I would like to marry) (I married) with the possibility of interrupting my career plans long enough to raise a family. While married (I expect to continue) (I am continuing) with a double career, i.e. working and homemaking.

Sections IV and V are to be answered by MOTHERS ONLY!

IV. OCCUPATION

Mark an X in the space which describes what you are now doing; also, if working, please specify occupation, such as stenographer, etc.

Housewife _____ Housewife and worker _____ (list occupation) _____

Housewife and student _____

Major previous occupation _____

How would you rate your job satisfaction in major previous occupation?

Highly satisfied _____ Satisfied _____ Dissatisfied _____

V. MARITAL STATUS

Married _____ Widowed _____ Divorced _____ Widowed and remarried _____ Divorced and remarried _____.

Age at time of first marriage _____ Number of children you now have _____

Ages of children _____

GENERAL INFORMATION (continued)

VII. SUBJECT MATTER PREFERENCES

If you had the ability and the marks, which three subjects would you most prefer to study (or have preferred to study) during high school? Which three subjects would you least prefer (or have preferred) to study during high school?

Mark an X in the box of your choice. Remember that you will have only one most preferred subject and only one least preferred subject, etc.

	PREFERRED			LEAST PREFERRED		
	Most Preferred	Next Preferred	Next Preferred	Least Preferred	Next least Preferred	Next least Preferred
1. English Literature F	1. ()	()	()	()	()	()
2. Mathematics M	2. ()	()	()	()	()	()
3. Home Economics F	3. ()	()	()	()	()	()
4. Mechanical Drawing M	4. ()	()	()	()	()	()
5. Physical Education M	5. ()	()	()	()	()	()
6. Foreign Languages F	6. ()	()	()	()	()	()
7. Science M	7. ()	()	()	()	()	()
8. Art or Music F	8. ()	()	()	()	()	()

VIII. CAREER PREFERENCES

Mark an X in the box of your choice. Remember that you will have only one most preferred career and only one least preferred career, etc.

1. Nurse F	1. ()	()	()	()	()	()
2. Chemist M	2. ()	()	()	()	()	()
3. Engineer M	3. ()	()	()	()	()	()
4. Social Worker F	4. ()	()	()	()	()	()
5. Teacher F	5. ()	()	()	()	()	()
6. Mathematician M	6. ()	()	()	()	()	()
7. Biologist M	7. ()	()	()	()	()	()
8. Air Hostess F	8. ()	()	()	()	()	()
9. Surgeon M	9. ()	()	()	()	()	()
10. Home Economist F	10. ()	()	()	()	()	()
11. Actress F	11. ()	()	()	()	()	()
12. Farm Owner M	12. ()	()	()	()	()	()
13. Secretary F	13. ()	()	()	()	()	()
14. Business Owner M	14. ()	()	()	()	()	()
15. Physicist M	15. ()	()	()	()	()	()
16. Model F	16. ()	()	()	()	()	()

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is concerned with a great many different attitudes. You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some statements or disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many other people feel the same way that you do. There is no one right answer to any statement. What is needed is your personal opinion about each statement.

Mark an X in the box of your choice.

	AGREE			DISAGREE		
	Agree very much	Agree pretty much	Agree a little	Disagree a little	Disagree pretty much	Disagree very much
1. It is fun to take care of children	()	()	()	()	()	()
2. All girls should take home economics in junior and senior high.	()	()	()	()	()	()
3. Most women think it's hard to get married if they have a career.	()	()	()	()	()	()
4. Boys don't like smart girls.	()	()	()	()	()	()
5. Most parents feel that a son's education is more important than a daughter's.	()	()	()	()	()	()
6. Girls should have as many chances in life as boys.	()	()	()	()	()	()
7. A woman's true happiness lies in her home and family.	()	()	()	()	()	()
8. A woman with a successful career ought to delay marriage.	()	()	()	()	()	()
9. Women should seek feminine jobs (for example, nurse, teacher, secretary).	()	()	()	()	()	()
10. Parents should let their children decide when to marry.	()	()	()	()	()	()
11. Girls should go to college mainly to prepare for a profession.	()	()	()	()	()	()
12. Most young children are lovable and interesting.	()	()	()	()	()	()
13. There is no real social position for an unmarried woman.	()	()	()	()	()	()
14. Men have a more exciting life than women do.	()	()	()	()	()	()
15. Hardly any man would want to be a bachelor.	()	()	()	()	()	()
16. Parents should encourage the idea of marriage from childhood.	()	()	()	()	()	()
17. Large families are best.	()	()	()	()	()	()
18. A woman should be gentle and quiet.	()	()	()	()	()	()
19. Woman's place is in the home.	()	()	()	()	()	()
20. Women are less competitive than men.	()	()	()	()	()	()
21. Women should be encouraged to go into any occupation they want to.	()	()	()	()	()	()
22. Most girls go to college to find a husband.	()	()	()	()	()	()

	Agree () very much	Agree () pretty much	Agree () a little	Disagree () a little	Disagree () pretty much	Disagree () very much
23. Women should be willing to give up their career for marriage.	()	()	()	()	()	()
24. Parents should encourage their daughters to date during high school.	()	()	()	()	()	()
25. Little girls ought to play with dolls.	()	()	()	()	()	()
26. Most mothers usually prefer to have their daughters marry early.	()	()	()	()	()	()
27. Colleges should prepare girls for homemaking more than they do.	()	()	()	()	()	()
28. A girl should be married before she is 25 years old.	()	()	()	()	()	()
29. Most fathers usually prefer to have their daughters marry early.	()	()	()	()	()	()
30. Little girls ought to be encouraged to play house.	()	()	()	()	()	()
31. Most women feel that other women should get married.	()	()	()	()	()	()
32. Girls' mothers should teach them to be good housekeepers.	()	()	()	()	()	()
33. Girls should work a little while and then get married.	()	()	()	()	()	()
34. Most women dislike smart women.	()	()	()	()	()	()
35. Men think women should settle down and get married.	()	()	()	()	()	()
36. If couples do not have children, they should adopt some.	()	()	()	()	()	()
37. Men and women are equal in every way.	()	()	()	()	()	()
38. Women were intended to be wives and mothers, not career women.	()	()	()	()	()	()
39. Men and women think differently.	()	()	()	()	()	()
40. Most parents would rather have a son than a daughter.	()	()	()	()	()	()
41. Most women envy unmarried women who have careers.	()	()	()	()	()	()
42. Career women are not really happy.	()	()	()	()	()	()
43. Most women think that men dislike career women.	()	()	()	()	()	()
44. Men should never have to compete with their wives in work.	()	()	()	()	()	()
45. There is no real social position for an unmarried man.	()	()	()	()	()	()
46. Women are too independent today.	()	()	()	()	()	()
47. No marriage is complete without children.	()	()	()	()	()	()
48. Most women think that men feel other men should be married.	()	()	()	()	()	()
49. Men think a woman can't manage a home and a career.	()	()	()	()	()	()
50. Women should stop trying to imitate men.	()	()	()	()	()	()
51. Men avoid "brainy" women.	()	()	()	()	()	()
52. There will always be wide differences between men and women.	()	()	()	()	()	()
53. Women should accept their role in life as wives and mothers.	()	()	()	()	()	()
54. Education stands in the way of a girl getting married.	()	()	()	()	()	()
55. Boys like dumb girls who are pretty.	()	()	()	()	()	()
56. Hardly any woman would want to stay single.	()	()	()	()	()	()
57. Boys like quiet, meek little girls.	()	()	()	()	()	()

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