A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT ON 'FEAR OF SUCCESS' IN HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE WOMEN

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by

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ABSTRACT

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A series of three projective cues, designed to measure fear of success, were administered to fifty women with coeducational backgrounds (twenty-eight from grade 11 and twenty-two from first year university) and forty-eight women from single-sex schools (thirty from grade 11 and eighteen from first year university). The groups were matched for socioeconomic status and intellectual ability. Following the administration of the verbal cues, subjects were tested in competitive and non-competitive conditions on two performance tasks. before which they were asked to estimate their performance. They also completed a Sex-Role Differentiation (SRD) questionnaire and a general information sheet. The results indicated that the level of fear of success was the same for public and private school women in Grade 11 but increased significantly for private school women in university. Women evidencing high fear of success gave lower expectancy estimates of their performance while those low in fear of success made significantly more accurate estimates of their performance on the tasks. Women with high fear of success also held more traditional views of male and female roles as evidence by their higher scores on the SRD scales. However, no significant relationship between fear of success and performance was The implications of a private school environment revealed. for the future education of women were discussed.

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Much research has been carried out to understand the determinants of achievement-oriented behaviour. A theoretically consistent body of data exists which enables one to predict achievement behaviour as a function of the strength of the achievement motive. According to Atkinson, 1966.

> The strength of motivation to achieve at a particular task in a particular situation must be viewed as jointly determined by general disposition to achieve (achievement motive) and an expectancy concerning the consequences of the action defined by situational cues.¹

The tendency to approach a task, then, is a multiplicative function of the motive to achieve success (Ms), the strength of expectancy (subjective probability) that success will be the consequence of the activity (Ps) and the incentive value of that particular activity (Is): Ts=Ms x Ps x Is. Similarly, the tendency to avoid failure is determined by an individual's motive to avoid failure (Maf), the perceived probability of failure (Pf), and the perceived value of the conseuqences of that failure (If): Taf=Maf x Pf x If. Therefore, the resultant achievement-oriented tendency is dependent on an individual's tendency to succeed, tendency to avoid failure, and on other tendencies aroused by environmental cues (Atkinson, 1966); then Ta=(Ts-Taf)+Text.

Studies have shown an increase in achievement motivation in response to experimental achievement conditions

¹J.W. Atkinson, <u>A Theory of Achievement Motivation</u>, Atkinson, J.W. and Feather, N.F. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 1966, p. 52.

stressing intellectual and leadership capabilities and have described significant relationships between achievement motivation and risk-taking behaviour, work partner selection, problem-solving effectiveness and academic performance.

For example, Litwin (1958) has reported that risktaking behaviour and expectancy of success differed for students high in achievement motivation as compared with students low in achievement motivation. Several weeks before the experimental session, Litwin instructed 78 male college students to write stories to four thematic apperception pictures. These pictures were presented as a test of creative imagination. The stories were then scored for need achievement imagery according to the manual by McClelland et al. (1953). Subjects were also given the first section of the Test Anxiety Questionnaire (TAQ). Twenty subjects were selected with need achievement scores above the group median and TAQ scores below the group median. These were considered to be achievement-oriented subjects. Twenty other subjects, who were named failure-oriented subjects, received need achievement scores below the group median and TAQ scores above the group median. All forty Ss played a series of games in which they had to choose one from a set of tasks varying in difficulty. There were two experimental conditions, one in which Ss estimated probability of success before playing the games, and the other in which no probability estimate was obtained. Achievement-oriented Ss selected tasks of

intermediate difficulty significantly more often than failure-oriented <u>Ss</u> who chose tasks of higher difficulty. Achievement-oriented <u>Ss</u> also gave higher and more accurate probability estimates of success than failure-oriented <u>Ss</u>, but not in games where objective cues were present.

Although the expectancy-value theory of motivation has been largely supported by experimental data, its predictive power falls down when achievement motivation in women is concerned. Relatively few studies have dealt with the motive to achieve in women and those that have been done show neither consistency with male data, nor any internal consistency among themselves.

Veroff, Wilcox and Atkinson (1953) found that when confronted with an achievement-oriented condition, American high school and college women did not respond with the predicted increase in need achievement (nAch) imagery on the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). In the first part of the experiment, male and female high school students were divided into two conditions, a Relaxed condition in which achievementarousing cues were intended to be minimized, and an Achievement condition where motivation was experimentally increased by increasing achievement-arousing cues. After administration of the thematic stories to both groups, a significant increase in the mean nAch scores from the Relaxed to the Achievement condition was found for male subjects. No such increase was found for females. Even when effects were made

to ensure a relaxed, informal atmosphere in the second part of the experiment, female \underline{Ss} (in this case, college women) still did not show an increase in nAch over the two conditions. The failure to demonstrate an increment in nAch imagery did not imply a lack of achievement motivation, because under relaxed conditions, the nAch scores for women were higher than for the men.

During the second part of the study, an anagrams task was used as both a vehicle for experimentally increasing achievement motivation prior to administration of the stories and as a fairly reliable performance measure of achievement motivation. Clark and McClelland (1950) reported that for males the number of anagrams correct increased as nAch in-Veroff <u>et al</u>. found that for both male and female creased. pictures, the high nAch group produced more anagrams than the low nAch group. Therefore, despite the failure to show an experimentally produced difference in nAch for women over the two conditions, the relationship of nAch to performance on an anagrams task is the same for women as for men. It was also found that pictures containing male and female figures elicited different responses in terms of need achievement. Male cues produced significantly more achievement imagery in both sexes.

Angelini (1955) attempted to replicate Veroff <u>et al</u>.'s findings and discovered that nAch scores of both male and female subjects increased significantly after experimental

arousal. For certain female samples, then, experimental instructions which appeal to leadership and academic ability produce an increase in achievement motivation scores. Angelini was dealing with a highly select sample of the female population of Brazil. Only few Brazilian women receive the opportunity to attend university. The women who participated in the study, then, were highly competitive persons who placed high value on academic accomplishment.

Lesser, Kravitz and Packard (1963) chose a group of American women who, they assumed, were comparable to These women the Brazilian sample Angelini had used. attended Hunter High School, a highly competitive school in New York. The subjects were divided into two groups: achievers and underachievers. Both groups were matched for IQ. However, women whose grade averages fell in the first quartile of the class for five-sixths of the preceding semesters were called achievers. Underachievers described a group of women whose grade averages fell in the fourth quartile of the class for the last five-sixth semesters. No differences in response to the experimental arousal condi-Nevertheless, an important second order tions were found. effect was discovered. The achievement motivation scores of the achievers increased in response to female pictures but not to male pictures. Similarly, the underachievers'scores increased when they produced stories to male versus female

figures. Thus, achievement imagery was engaged and attached to figures whom the subjects viewed as proper agents for it. For the achievers, the female figures' activities were directly related to their own strivings; the underachievers perceived male figures as more appropriate agents for achievement imagery.

Achievement in intellectual endeavours for males is quite consistent with achievement in other areas such as social adeptness and athletics. For women, though, social adeptness is considered to be a primary goal (Bardwick, 1970). Under experimental conditions which aroused concern for social acceptance, Feld (1955) found that need achievement imagery increased for female subjects. Morrison (1955) reports that women's scores based on material containing male and female figures in non-achievement situations were related to performance. Need achievement scores based on male pictures in achievement situations also predicted performance on an anagrams task. However, women's nAch scores which were derived from stories written to pictures of career women were not related to performance. If the scores were to be valid indicators of performance, the picture cues had to be of men only or of females in non-achievement situations.

Veroff (1959) was interested in the relationship of women's attitudes to housework and their achievement scores on TAT figures that showed women in both career situations and domestic scenes. If attitudes change as women pass

through different periods in their lives, then more informetion can be gathered about the determinants of achievement motivation in females. A measure of women's attitudes toward housework was obtained by a questionnaire which all subjects filled out. Veroff found that elementary school and high school girls responded positively to all TAT figures; that is, their attitudes toward housework were positively correlated with their achievement scores on the TAT figures that showed women in either domestic scenes or career situations. For college women, however, the attitude to housework measure was negatively related to their achievement scores on the career pictures, but positively related to the scores for the domestic TAT scenes. Thus, unlike the consistent responses of the other two groups, the responses of the college women reflected a conflict these women experience with regard to fulfilling the expectations of both a family and a career. For these women, positive attitudes toward household duties are not psychologically compatible with a career. This incompatibility between housework and career does not develop until women reach college, or are of an age where the consequence of the choices they make in life are much more immediate.

From the results of these studies, French and Lesser (1964) concluded that value orientation was an important factor in determining an increase in achievement motivation imagery. They hypothesized that female subjects would respond to arousal cues with increased achievement motivation scores

and high performance relationships when the cues were related to a goal that was relevant to them. The results were disappointing; irrespective of motivational profile, motivation scores were always higher under intellectual arousal when male figures were used, and higher under women's role arousal when female figures were used.

It is evident that results obtained for women in relation to achievement motivation are conflicting and unclear. Sampling differences and methodological problems still account for many of the difficulties in this area of research. Recently, though, Horner (1968) introduced a concept, Fear of Success, which seems to clarify some of the contradictions about females in the achievement motivation literature. Like the tendency to approach success, and the tendency to avoid failure, the tendency to avoid success is dependent on an individual's motive to avoid success (M-s), the perceived probability of the success (Ps), and the perceived value of avoiding the success (I-s), such that

T-s=M-s x I-s x Ps.

The tendency to avoid success (T-s) can have a positive value for many women but takes on a negative value for most men. Therefore, the tendency to achieve is hampered by T-s for some women but not for men. Now T-s can be included in Atkinson's theoretical formulation; thus,

Ta=(Ts - Taf - T-s)+Text.

One consistent finding for females has been the attainment of higher anxiety measures for females than for males in a testing situation. Feld and Lewis (1969) stated that girls have higher scores than boys on the Test Anxiety Scale for Children (TASC), and that these differences become greater with increased time at school or with increased age. This achievement-related anxiety has generally been considered to be a result of the motivation to avoid failure; that is, performance in a task may lead to negative consequences. However, women may be just as threatened by the consequences of success as those of failure. Successful achievement may be perceived to lead to rejection or loss of femininity. On the other hand, males are not likely to encounter both sources of anxiety. Their anxiety stems from the expectancy or negative consequences, for example, shame, if they fail the task. Achievement motivation in women, however, may be inhibited by the arousal of both the fear of success and the fear of failure.

For men, academic or intellectual success is consistent with success in other areas such as attractiveness and social adeptness, and primarily holds positive gain. On the other hand, such success has both positive and negative consequences for women. Throughout her education, a girl is faced with a dilemma; she is told to learn the same things as boys and is encouraged to do well by her parents. However, when she reaches adolescence, a change in emphasis concerning achievement

occurs where competition with males is ultimately unrewarding (Mead, 1949). Success is no longer compatible with femininity. A girl can display enough of her abilities to be considered moderately successful, but not too successful. The female role, then, becomes more clearly defined as non-competitive and achievement is assigned almost exclusively to the male role (Mead, 1949). It is quite evident, therefore, to see why gifted girls do not fulfill their potential as adults as often as gifted boys (Terman and Oden, 1947).

In an attempt to measure fear of success, Horner gave 90 first-year college women the cue. "At the end of firstterm finals Ann stood at the top of her medical school class," and asked them to write a story in response to certain question guidelines. While 59 of the 90 women (65 per cent) wrote stories containing fear of success themes, only 8 of the 88 males tested (9 per cent) evidenced any fear of success. (For the men, the name, John, was substituted for Ann in the Horner also found that the presence of the motive story). to avoid success negatively affected the women's performance in a competitive situation. Women low in fear of success performed in the same way in a competitive situation as the male subjects, and did better in this condition than in the non-competitive condition. In contrast, 77 per cent of the women, who scored high in the fear of success measure, performed better in agnon-competitive situation than during a competitive one.

It is quite apparent from the data that, for some women, fear of success presents a barrier to the achievement of certain goals. "When highly competent women are faced with a conflict between their feminine image and developing their abilities, they adjust their behaviour to their internalized sex-role stereotype (Horner, 1972).² In a study concerning women's vocational preferences. Farmer and Bohn (1971) removed fear of success when they told a group of high school women to pretend that men liked intelligent women and that a woman could successfully combine both career and family responsibilities. After these instructions, career interest, as measured by the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (Women's form), increased for six fields: artist, author, lawyer, lifeinsurance saleswoman, physician and psychologist, and decreased for the following eight: business, education, teacher, secretary, office worker, elementary school teacher, home-economics teacher, dictition, and housewife. This study suggested that when freed from the fear of social rejection women, who are fearful of entering occupations traditionally viewed as masculine, change their vocational interests in terms of more demanding careers.

If something is to be done to break the psychological barrier that fear of success creates, one must determine when the anxieties concerning achievement develop, and what the precipitating factors are surrounding this occurrence. One area of research involves the study of the relationship

²M.S. Horner, Towards an understanding of achievementrelated conflicts in women, <u>Journal of Social Issues</u>, 1972, <u>28</u>(2), p. 173.

of parents' behaviour to their children's achievement behaviour. Katkovsky <u>et al.</u> (1964) found sex differences between parents' attitudes toward their own personal achievements and toward the achievement behaviour of their children. The importance parents placed on intellectual competence for their daughters was closely tied to the values they held for themselves. However, the importance they placed on intellectual achievement for their sons was more independent of the values they held for themselves. The findings were different for minimal standards of performance. Parents set standards for their sons more similar to their own standards for intellectual performance than for their daughters. Fathers, especially, wanted their sons to perform as well as they would like to themselves.

These differences in parents' attitudes towards children's achievement and performance may reflect a cultural stereotype regarding children's achievement activities. It is quite acceptable for young girls to emphasize intellectual achievement and to do well in school. Yet, it is not as appropriate for boys to do so well as to be labelled a bookworm. Therefore, parents may consider it more important for girls than for boys to do well at this age; but, in setting similar minimal standards of performance for boys as for themselves, parents show that their sons must meet certain standards of achievement. They are willing to accept less from girls, but boys must achieve a particular standard of

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performance in order to ensure future vocational success. Katkovsky <u>et al</u>. show that parents emphasize intellectual achievement for girls to a certain extent, but do not follow through or encourage them as much as boys. If girls know that less will be accepted from them and that achievement for them is not that important, they may not put forward the effort to perform as well as they could.

Crandall <u>et al.</u> (1964) found more significant correlations between parents' attitudes and behaviour and their daughters' academic achievement than for their sons' performance. For girls, the amount of achievement and amount of approval-seeking behaviour was positively related, but for boys, this relationship did not hold. Furthermore, while maternal nurturance and affection was negatively related to girls' achievement, the results for boys were largely inconsistent. Crandall interpreted these findings as evidence for the independent character of achievement in boys. Achievement behaviour in boys is autonomous of adult or other external influences; boys take responsibility for themselves. On the other hand, girls' achievement behaviour is tied to the reactions of others and is dependent on the approval it can win from others.

Bardwick argues that for women, the need to affiliate is often fused with the need to achieve. Women use achievement as a way of securing love and approval, whereas, for men, successful achievement has positive merit in its own right.

Therefore, women value success when it brings positive reinforcement from others; however, if it brings negative reactions from others, then it may acquire a negative value.

From a study of 42 mother-child pairs, Berens (1973) concluded that a pattern of experiences exists which is associated with high achievement motivation in both boys and These experiences include a strong encouragement of girls. achievement by the mother and expectations for achievement and independence from her child. For boys, the most important single variable that discriminated high achievers from low achievers was a warm supportive relationship with the mother. As all girls reported warm mother-daughter interactions, this variable did not separate high and low achievers for females. However, maternal demands made for independence were related to the development of achievement motivation in girls. Berens emphasized that "for both boys and girls some elements of parental training inconsistent with traditional sex-role stereotypes seem to contribute to producing high levels of achievement motivation."³ A warm mother-child relationship is more typical of girls; but, all of the other factors related to the development of achievement motivation, such as early demands for independence and high verbal interference, are more characteristic of the socialization process The pattern of experiences associated with the of boys. development of achievement motivation seems to be incompatible with the sex-role socialization pattern for girls. It is.

³A. Berens, Sex-role stereotypes and the development of achievement motivation, <u>Ontario Psychologist</u>, <u>5</u>, 1973, p. 33.

therefore, more likely for boys to develop high achievement motivation and to sustain it throughout their lives.

Veroff (1969) put forward the hypothesis that, in order to have a mature orientation to achievement, one must master the three developmental stages of achievement motivation. The three stages are: (1) autonomous competence, (2) social comparison about achievement, and (3) autonomous achievement motivation integrated with social comparison strivings. For mastery of stage one, demands and opportunities for independence must be appropriately timed and support for autonomous activity must be given. Stage two requires that the child feel adequate in comparison with the significant others in his peer group. Finally, stage three demands a sense of independence and effectiveness on the part of the person apart from his or her social group.

One type of orientation, Veroff discussed, was fear of success. A person high in fear of success has mastered social comparison in spite of earlier inconsistent experiences with successful autonomy strivings. This person is successful in competition with others, but fears the consequences of success. Boys generally perceive fewer conflicts and ambivalent feelings regarding autonomy than girls. If girls are not allowed the early experiences required for the development of autonomous competence, then they will not reach a complete development of achievement motivation.

Hoffman (1972) is generally in agreement with Veroff. Between one and three years of age, timing of independent experiences is critical; the child must not be thrown to the outside world too early. Hegor she needs a secure base from which to explore; but if the parent waits too long and does not give adequate encouragement for independent strivings, then autonomy will not be fostered. Kagan and Moss (1962) reported that maternal protectiveness in the first three years of life was negatively related to achievement behaviour as an adult. Because of differential parental attitudes and behaviour toward male and female infants, girls are more protected and soon learn that they can depend on mother for comfort and consolation without being rejected. The achievement of male children draws clearcut sanctions from parents, but the ambivalent feelings they have about girls' achievements are conveyed to the girls and may lead them to doubt their own competence. Since a girl has less parental encouragement for independence, more parental protectiveness, and less pressure for establishing a separate identity from the mother, she is likely to engage in less independent exploration of her environment than a boy her age.

Bardwick proposes that academic and professional achievement does not present a conflict for middle-class girls until it begins to threaten social achievement during adolescence. Several studies have supported this statement (Horner, 1972; Kimball, 1972). Horner found an increase in

fear of success imagery in girls between junior and senior high school and between the first and last years of college. In a study of grade 8 and grade 12 students at private schools, Kimball found an increase in fear of success imagery for girls between grades 8 and 12, but no comparable increment for boys.

As boys move through high school, academic values become more important, but for girls, they begin to take second seat to social leadership. After experiencing reward for achievement, on previous occasions, girls begin to find achievement threatening to their affiliative needs and to their femininity and, therefore, concentrate less on academic achievement. However, after the affiliative needs have been satisfied through marriage and child rearing, the need to achieve returns. Baruch (1967) reported that in a study of Radcliffe alumnae, achievement motivation dropped 5 to 10 years after college, but increased after 15 years after graduation and remained stable thereafter.

Women are supposed to perform well, but are not supposed to publicly say they are competent. Viriginia Crandall (1969) reports that girls give expectancy estimates of their performance that are consistently lower than boys' estimates. Males appear relatively more optimistic about their performance than females. In an experiment where feedback about performance given to subjects was either neutral or contradictory, Crandall found that the two sexes resolved

the conflicts they experienced about the reports in different ways. Boys' expectations about their achievements increased, whereas girls suffered a decrement. Even with a basis for prediction such as past grades in a course, boys overestimated their performance on a test while girls' estimates were lower than their grades warranted.

Several studies have shown that height of expectancy of success, whether it be on novel tasks or future grades, does predict performance at approximately equal levels for both sexes. Battle (1965) and Feather (1963) demonstrated that height of expectancy predicted the amount of goal approach behaviour that occurred. Both male and female junior high school students, who reported high expectation of success in their mathematics courses, spent more time on a difficult mathematics problem than students with low expectation of success.(Battle, 1965). Similarly, college subjects, who had high initial expectations of success on a difficult reasoning problem, persisted longer in an attempt to solve it than subjects with low initial expectancies (Feather, 1963).

In a study where expectancies were experimentally controlled, Tyler (1958) found that subjects, who were given high expectancies of success through encouraging remarks from the examiner during pretest trials, reached the solution of a novel pattern--learning problem more frequently than <u>Ss</u> who were given low expectancies through discouraging comments.

Furthermore, significantly fewer <u>Ss</u> with low expectancies conceptualized the logical steps involved in the solution of the problem. They used rote memorization to give the proper series of responses.

Feather (1966) reported that <u>Ss</u>, who were given high expectancies by previous success trials, performed better on an anagrams task than those who were given low expectancies with previous failure trials. Finally, in a series of experiments with different tasks and age groups, Crandall et al. (1965) found that the height of expectancy was a good predictor of academic competence. Correlations of expectancy estimates from the studies averaged .53 with grades and .50 with achievement test scores.

Undoubtedly, low expectancies have a deleterious effect on performance and can prevent one from being too successful. Whether a woman internally believes that she will perform poorly on a task, or whether fear of social rejection leads her to deliberately give an erroneous estimate of performance, low expectancies are not beneficial for one's self-esteem or for freedom from anxieties. Since a person high in fear of success is more anxious about the consequences of success, he or she would tend to play down his/her capabilities and would underestimate his/her performance on a task to a greater extent than would a person who did not fear success. Given these low expectancies, low performance and thus a lack of success would almost be guaranteed.

In a study of attitudes to sex roles, Lambert (1967) gave a large sample (7500) of ten to sixteen year old boys and girls across Canada, a questionnaire which was designed to measure differences in attitudes and behaviour toward the sexes with respect to personality traits, behaviour, jobs, parental power and discipline, parental caring, authority relations and peer relations. Other items were included in the questionnaire which tapped variables that were hypothesized to be related to the Sex Role Differentiation (SRD) measures. Some of these variables were: birth order, number of siblings, amount of power the child has in determining what the family does, and amount and kind of feeling expressed in the family. Questionnaires were also distributed to parents (a majority of whom were mothers) and teachers. The parent questionnaires attempted to measure traditionalism and the mother's concept of the female role. The teacher's questionnaire gathered more information about the pupil's behaviour and attitudes towards the opposite sex, personal background and attitudes toward traditional institutions.

Lambert reported three major findings:

- a positive relationship between parental role differentiation and sex-role differentiation existed;
- 2) boys who shared in the distribution of power within their families tended to sex-type more than boys who had little power; the relationship was reversed for girls, and
- 3) subjects who interacted differently with the sexes thought in segregated ways about the sexes.

Lambert also found relationships between sex-role imagery and other behaviours. Children who dated were somewhat more prone to sex-type. In addition, girls who sex-typed were less likely to do well academically than those who did not sex-type.

Wren's study (1972) of the effects which the motive to avoid success have on college women's attitudes to marriage, careers, and vocational choices concluded that those women, high in fear of success, held negative attittudes toward careers, and defined success in terms of marriage and a family. It follows that these preferences of women high in the motive to avoid success for traditional female activities would be reflected by Lambert's SRD scales. In contrast, women, low in fear of success, would be expected to show a less stereotyped view of the female role than women high in fear of success.

Although Lambert studied children from urban and rural schools, he did not take into consideration whether sex-role differentiation would be affected by coeducational versus single-sex schools. One of the questions which Horner has raised about the development and arousal of the motive to avoid success deals with the influence of the educational environment on the arousal of this motive. Does attendance at a non-educational school reduce the impact of the motive to avoid success so that women can develop their interests and potential more fully? If these women are not afraid of success, as evidenced by their choice of career and desire

for further education, will this influence and support continue after they leave this kind of academic atmosphere? This thesis is an investigation of these issues which Homer has raised.

Private, non-coeducational schools usually have traditions of high academic standards and encourage their students to do well. Students are often faced with vigorous competition in order to attain high academic success, and the desire for further education and interest in careers is quite strong. While girls who attend co-educational institutions may be just as achievement-oriented as the private school girls, in a private school, academic life is independent of social life simply because of the absence of male students. In a co-educational school, the two cannot be separated and, consequently, may provide a conflict situation for the girls who attend. Those girls who are intellectually capable of doing a task may not perform well when faced with mixed-sex competition. Private school girls do not meet this situation, and are not given the opportunity to resolve any conflict that may occur: but when they reach university; these women will be confronted with male competitors immediately. For the co-ed, the experience will not be a new one and, therefore, not as shocking. Then, for the private school girls, it is possible for an academic-social conflict to appear, resulting in a decrement in performance because of the arousal of the motive to avoid success.

Therefore, on the basis of the above assumptions, the hypotheses of the thesis are as follows:

- Women from non-coeducational high schools (grade 11) will show fewer fear of success responses to projective stories than women from coeducational high schools (grade 11);
- 2) Women in first year college who spent their high school years in non-coeducational institutions will show more fear of success responses to projective stories than their counterparts from coeducational high schools and than women in attendance at private schools;
- 3) Women with high motive to avoid success will demonstrate a higher level of performance in a non-competitive situation than in a competitive one, whereas women with low motive to avoid success will show better performance on a task in a competitive situation than in a noncompetitive one;
- 4) Women with high motive to avoid success will underestimate their test score results; that is, their expectation of their performance on the tasks will be lower than the actual level of performance. However, women with low motive to avoid success will make significantly more accurate predictions of their performance than women high in fear of success;
- 5) Women high in fear of success will have a more traditional view of male and female roles than women low in fear of success, as evidenced by their high scores on the Sex Role Differentiation measures in the attitude questionnaire.

METHOD

<u>Subjects</u>

Four groups of middle-class females were selected for this study. One group of 28 girls was chosen from the grade 11 class of Sentinel Secondary School in West Vancouver, a coeducational high school. A second group of 30 girls was selected from Crofton House School for Girls, Grade 11, a private non-coeducational school. The third group consisted of 20 first year university students who attended non-coeducational high schools and the fourth group included 22 freshmen women from coeducational high schools in West Vancouver. The high school and college groups were matched for socioeconomic status and intellectual ability in order to prevent confounding of the experimental results of these variables.

Procedure

Socioeconomic status was determined by father's occupation and educational background. A questionnaire concerning family background was distributed to all subjects in order to gather this information (see Appendix A). A measure of intellectual ability was obtained from the Vocabulary subtest of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (see Appendix B). The Vocabulary subtest of the WAIS has been shown to correlate highly (.87) with the total IQ score over the entire test (Wechsler, 1958). The questionnaire was administered in a group setting, but because of the nature of the WAIS, the vocabulary test was given individually.

Once the groups were matched, the administration of the fear of success measures began. Each subject was given a booklet containing instructions and four specific situations about which she must write a store (see Appendix C).

The order of the four stories were counterbalanced across subjects. One story was taken directly from Horner:

> After first term finals Ann finds herself at the top of her medical school class.

> > (Horner, 1968, p. 59)

Certain questions were asked to guide the reader:

- 1) What has led up to the situation? What has happened in the past?
- 2) How does Ann feel? What is she thinking?
- 3) What will happen in the future? What will Ann do?

The second story involved a different setting:

For the past year Phyllis has been working on a new television station. Finally, CITY-TV is scheduled to start broadcasting next month. Phyllis is named as one of the executive producers.

The third story was concerned with a supposedly less threatening situation than the others:

> For a number of months Mary has been chief fund raiser at the university for the Hospital Fund. This year, a new record was set for the amount of money collected. As a result, the organization has called a special meeting of all its members to honour Mary and to present her with an award.

The job of fund raiser is a more typical feminine activity and was included in order to provide some information regarding the conditions which arouse the motive to avoid success.

The fourth story was designed as a control. The content had no relationship to achievement motivation:

Margaret and Ken have been going steady for a few months. Now it seems as if they are going to break up.

Since the sex of the character does not affect the content of the stories written (Kimball, 1972), only female names were used in the achievement-oriented stories. All subjects were given six minutes to write as complete a story as possible.

The second part of the experiment investigated the effect of competitive conditions on performance in various tasks. Under the assumption that the motive to avoid success is more strongly aroused in competitive conditions than in non-competitive ones, Hörner found that women high in fear of success would perform more poorly in a competitive than in a non-competitive achievement situation.

In order to compare the performance of each person in a competitive and non-competitive situation, all subjects were tested in both a group setting and an individual setting. The competitive performance task was an anagram test taken in a group setting. The instructions were worded in such a way as to emphasize the competitive nature of the condition. Subjects were told that the test was a measure of "general intelligence" and were given ten minutes (two minutes per page) to do the test. The words for all four groups of subjects were the same as those used by Horner (1968). The test and instructions are given in Appendix D.

The non-competitive task was a word generation test. Subjects were told that the purpose of this part of the study was to find out how many shorter words could be made from a longer word. All subjects responded to three words: generation, transcience and degradation, and were given five minutes per word. The nonecompetitive task condition was structured such that anxiety and competitiveness were minimized. (See Appendix E for the instructions and the test). Students were called out individually for this test and examined alone. Since the presence of the examiner could have introduced variables that could alter the nature of the condition, she was present just long enough to greet the subject and present her with the written instructions. The examiner would then turn on a tape recorder which gave more detailed instructions and timed the subject's performance.

Included in the instructions for both tests was the question: "How well do you expect to do on this test?" This question attempted to evaluate how accurately subjects assess their own performance. The subjects were given six choices and were expected to check one of the six. The choices available were: very well, well, fair, not too well, poorly, and very poorly.

The final part of the study consisted of an attitude questionnaire for which most of the items were taken from Lambert's Sex Role Differentiation Questionnaire (see Appendix E). All subjects filled out the questionnaire

during class time. The SRD Questionnaire consisted of two major parts. The first part contained three groups of items (out of a total of five) which measured how the subject perceived sex roles. These groups were jobs, peer relations, and authority relations. The second part consisted of four groups of items which measured how the subject perceived her parents' dividing of family responsibilities: household activities, discipline, power in making decisions, and support of the children. Each SRD item consisted of a verbal description, for example, "does the shopping," which the subject rated on both of two seven point scales. One scale was entitled "Girls Your Age or Mother" and the other was labelled "Boys Your Age or Father." The suma of the scores for all individual items was the score for that group. Therefore, if a subject perceived no differences between boys and girls or mother and father on these activities, the SRD score would approach zero.

Several other items were included in the questionnaire. These questions dealt with the educational background and work status of the subjects' mothers and the educational and occupational goals of the subjects themselves. Another item was concerned with the importance of achieving these goals to the subject. Subjects were also asked which factors, they felt, were most important in making a job choice and which attributes they considered most helpful in getting along in the world. A copy of the questionnaire is included in Appendix A.

RESULTS

The high school and university groups were matched for socioeconomic status and intellectual ability. All subjects fell within Social Class I and Social Class II as defined by Hollingshead and Redlich (1958). A X^2 test of differences in social class for public and private school subjects wase not significant: $(X_1^2=.018, \tilde{p} > .05)$ for the grade 11 group and $X^2=.005$, p>.05 for the university group). Application of $\tilde{e}:X^2$ analysis to the scores obtained from the Vocabulary subtest of the WAIS showed no differences in intellectual ability between the groups $(X_1^2=.004, p>.05)$ for the grade 11 group and $X_1^2=.046, p>.05$ for the university group).

All three projective cues were scored 0,1,or 2 according to the degree of fear of success present in the protocols. The fourth story, which had no relationship to achievement motivation, was included as a control and was not scored. A score of 0 was assigned if fear of success was absent and a score of 1 or 2 was given if the motive to avoid success (M-s) was present. Following Horner's scoring technique, M-s in the stories were given 2 points if the subject expressed concern about the following:

- a) negative consequences because of the success;
- b) anticipation of negative consequences because of the success;

- c) instrumental activity away from present or future success including leaving the field for more traditional female work such as teaching, nursing, or social work;
- d) any direct conflict about success;
- e) denial of the situation described by the cue;
- f) bizarre, inappropriate, unrealistic or nonadaptive responses to the situation described by the cue.

A score of 1 was assigned if the story was largely positive except for mention of negative effect, negative social consequences because of the success, or some mild form of denial of effort. For example, if the subject expressed some anxiety over disapproval of her activities by her friends, or stated that she had not worked that hard to achieve first-class standing, then the story was considered. mild in fear of success. On the other hand, if cheating had been mentioned as the reason for success, then this story was classified as strong in fear of success. Each subject, then, received a score for each story and a total fear of success score which was the sum of the three individual scores. A11 of the stories were scored by two independent raters with 90 per cent agreement. The other 10 per cent of the stories were included with the other data. In this case, the least extreme scores were selected for analysis.

The results were analyzed in a 2x2x3 analysis of variance with type of school background (public and private) and grade level (high school and university) treated as between-subjects variables, and the projective cues (Phyllis, Ann and Mary stories) treated as a within-subjects variable. Women with private school backgrounds had significantly higher fear of success scores (based on all three cues) than women with a coeducational background, $F_{(1,94)}=7.42$, p<.001. The main effects for grade level did not reach statistical significance $F_{(1,94)}=.87$, p>.05.

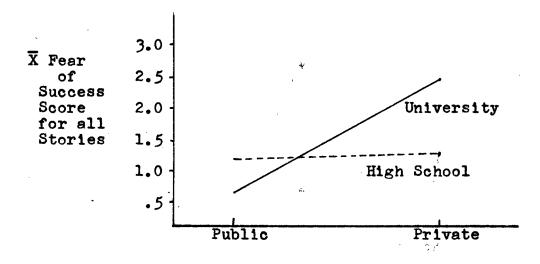
TABLE I

SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FEAR OF SUCCESS AS RELATED TO WMEN WITH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOL BACKGROUNDS IN GRADE 11 AND UNIVERSITY

SOURCE	SS	df	MS	F	Р
Between Subjects	114.8333				
School Grade School x Grade	8.05037 .92841 5.87894	1 1 1		7.569 .873 5.527	.007* .0198*
Subjects within groups	99.97558	94	10.6357		
Within Subjects					
Story School x Story Grade x Story	1.81796 .02841 .11427	2 2 2	.90898 .014205 .057135	2.395 .037 .151	.09
School x Grade x Story	.74423	2	. 372115	•999	
Story by Subj. Within groups	71.34167	188	• 379477		
Within Cell	171.31725	282			

Figure 1 shows the significant interaction of type of school x grade level, $F_{(1,94)}=5.42$, p<.019. For public school women, fear of success decreased somewhat from high school to university; on the other hand, for private school women, fear of success increased greatly from high school to university.

Figure 1. Means for Fear of Success of Public and Private School Groups in High School and University.



The within-subjects factor, story, failed to reach the generally accepted statistical level of significance, F(2,188)=2.39, p < .09. However, comparisons between means show that Ss wrote fewer fear of success stories to story three (Mary) than to the Ann story, p < .08.

A X^2 analysis demonstrated that there was no difference in the number of fear of success stories told in high school between public and private school students. Twenty per cent of the public school students told at least one fear of success story compared to 25 per cent of the private school subjects. University women from private schools, however, told significantly more fear of success stories than women with public school backgrounds. In this group, 46.6 per cent of the women who attended private schools wrote at least one fear of success story compared with 13.6 per cent of the women with coeducational backgrounds $(X_1^2=16.58, p<.001)$.

Significant differences between university students from public schools and university students from private schools were found for two cues individually. Fifty-five per cent of the private school university students wrote fear of success stories to the Ann cue compared with 18 per cent of the women from public schools $(X_1^2=4.52, p<.05)$. Similarly, 40 per cent of the private school Ss wrote fear of success stories to the Mary cue whereas only 9 per cent of the women from public institutions responded with fear of success imagery $(X_1^2=4.75, p<.05)$. Although the data for the Phyllis cue failed to reach the conventionally accepted level of significance, there was evidence for a strong trend $(X_1^2=3.66)$, p < .06), which supports the hypothesis that university students with non-coeducational backgrounds show more fear of success on projective measures than their counterparts from coeducational high schools.

It was found that in an analysis of the three fear of success cues across all subjects, significantly more fear of success stories were told to the Ann cue than to the Mary

cue $(X_1^2=5.58, p<.05)$. Out of the total number of fear of success stories written, 43 per cent were told to the Ann cue while only 25 per cent of them were told to the Mary cue. Yet, there were no differences between responses to the Phyllis and Mary cues $(X_1^2=1.15, p>.05)$. Thirty-three per cent of the fear of success stories were told to the Phyllis cue compared with 25 per cent told to the Mary cue.

A comparison of fear of success imagery in high school and university showed that an increase occurred for private school women between grade 11 and first year university; 46.6 per cent of the college students responded with fear of success imagery as compared with 25.5 per cent of the women in high school $(X_1^2=7.21, p <.01)$. There was no such increment for public school women over the same period of time $(X_1^2=1.01, p >.05)$. For this group 20 per cent of the university women told fear of success stories compared with 13.6 per cent of the high school women.

It was hypothesized that women high in fear of success would perform better in a non-competitive situation, whereas those low in fear of success would show better performance in a competitive situation. For each subject, the number of items attempted and the number of items completed correctly on both the competitive and non-competitive tasks were changed to standard scores. Then, a comparison between the two tasks was made for both the number of items attempted and the number of items correct. This comparison was made for each subject.

All <u>Ss</u> were divided into two groups, High and Low Fear of Success, based on the degree of M-s present in the responses to the 3 projective cues. Subjects who received a score of 2 on at least one of the 3 stories were classified as High M-s; subjects with scores of 0 on all 3 stories were included in the Low group. Subjects with scores of 1 on any of the 3 stories were eliminated from the comparisons. Performance on the competitive and non-competitive tests was then compared to the degree of fear of success present. The percentages of the <u>Ss</u> in each grade and school group who performed as expected are given in Table II. Performance in noncompetitive and competitive conditions was not related to the degree of fear of success imagery expressed in the stories $(X_1^2=.09, p>.05).$

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF SUBJECTS AT EACH GRADE LEVEL AND SCHOOL BACKGROUND WHO PERFORMED AS EXPECTED ON THE COMPETITIVE AND NON-COMPETITIVE TASKS

Grade Level

School Background	<u>Grade 11</u>	University
Public	61	50
Private	43	47

A comparison of strong and mild fear of success stories was also made. A story was considered strong if it had been assigned a score of 2 and mild if it had received a score of 1. Mild stories were largely positive in tone except for some anxiety or concern over the success. No differences in the number of strong and mild fear of success stories were present between public and private school women in grade 11. However, in the university group, 85 per cent of the private school women, who told fear of success stories, told at least one strong story as compared with 37.5 per cent of the women from coeducational schools $(X_1^2=9.44, p<.005)$. In addition, women from public school wrote significantly fewer strong stories in university than in high school $(X_1^2=9.93, p<.005)$. Twenty-seven per cent of university women, who wrote fear of success stories, told at least one strong story compared with 94 per cent of the high school women. Performance on the competitive and noncompetitive tasks was compared to the kind of fear of success stories told, but no significant relationship was found between performance and the type of story written.

No relationship was found between presence or absence of fear of success and the scales of the SRD questionnaire. The correlations between the SRD measures and performance on the competitive and non-competitive tests were also insignificant. A consistent finding, though, was the positive relationship of the expectancy estimates to performance on the Word Generation and Scrambled Words tasks (r_{93} =.21, p<.05, and r_{93} =.25, p<.02, respectively). Correlations also demonstrated that performance on the Scrambled Words task was positively related with performance on the Word Generation test (r_{93} =.69, p<.001), results which were reported in Horner (1968).

When correlations were performed on particular groups for all the variables, certain trends emerged from the data. A greater number of significant relationships between SRD measures and expectancy, SRD and performance, and SRD and fear of success was found for College Ss than for high school Ss $(X_1^2=3.93, p<.05)$. Expectancy estimates on the Word Generation task were negatively related to the job and parental power scales of the SRD measure (r39= -.36, p <.05, and r39= -.39, p <.05, respectively). This expectancy estimate was also related to the total SRD measure for university students private school backgrounds (r_{18} = -.50, p<.05). Therefore, university students with low expectations of their performance are likely to score high on the sex-role differentiation measure; that is, these students are more likely to sex-type than are students with high expectations of performance.

Another interesting relationship involved fear of success and the SRD scales. It was hypothesized that women high in fear of success would sex-type to a greater degree than women low in fear of success as measured by the SRD scales. The hypothesis was supported in part. College women's fear of success scores on the Ann story were significantly related to the parental lower scale of the SRD

measure $(r_{39}=.35, p<.05)$. For college students from coeducational high schools, the total fear of success score was correlated with the parental authority scale $(r_{21}=.52, p<.02)$, and reflected a definite trend towards a relationship with the total SRD measure $(r_{21}=.39, p<.07)$. The data from this group also showed a relationship between fear of success scores on the Mary cue and parental discipline scale of the SRD $(r_{21}=.44, p<.05)$. In addition, a relationship between the fear of success scores on the Phyllis story and the peer relations scale was found for college women with private school backgrounds, $(r_{18}=.45, p<.05)$.

Some evidence was provided for a relationship between fear of success and expectancy estimates of performance. College students' fear of success stories to the Ann cue for both public and private school university students were negatively related to expectancy estimates on the Scrambled Words test (r_{39} = -.37, p<.05). Subjects with low performance estimates told stories high in fear of success, while <u>Ss</u> with high estimates told stories with little or no fear of success imagery. Finally, performance on the Scrambled Words test was associated with the SRD score for university students. Subjects with high scores on the Scrambled Words test obtained a low total SRD score, whereas <u>Ss</u> with low performance scores obtained a high SRD measure (r_{39} = -.31, p<.05).

Several other items in the questionnaire which dealt with mother's occupation and daughter's vocational goals, and

the importance of attaining these goals to the satisfaction of the subject in later life were investigated. Since most of the mothers were housewives, it was difficult to assess whether a relationship existed between a woman's desire for further education or responsible vocation and the fact that her mother worked outside the home. Therefore, a comparison was made between the mother's educational level and her daughter's goals, but no relationship was found.

From the findings of Farmer and Bohn (1970), it seemed possible that women with high M-s would be less likely to choose an occupation that was traditionally viewed as maledominated than if these women were low M-s. Although the results did not reach statistical significance, there was a small degree of evidence for some trend in that direction $(X_1^2=1.82, p < .15)$. The relationship of fear of success to factors most important in selecting a job and to attributes necessary in getting along in the world was looked at but no trends emerged. Most Ss, regardless of level of M-s, indicated that their goals were important, at least, but that they still could be happy if they did not reach them. The two primary factors in job selection were enjoyment in doing the type of work and financial security, respectively. Good character was chosen as being the most important attribute in getting along in the world; the second choice was friends.

Subjects high in fear of success were expected to underestimate their scores on the performance tasks, while those

low in fear of success were expected to make significantly more accurate estimations of performance. Since the estimates of performance tended to cluster around values 3 and 4 (fair and not too well) of the 6 available categories, only the data of the Ss who made extreme estimates were included in an analysis. Data from Ss whose responses clumped in the middle range had been tested but did not yield any significant findings., Given the extreme estimates, a high estimate was defined as choices of 1 or 2 (very well and well); low estimates were defined as choices of 5 or 6 (poorly and very poorly). $A X^2$ analysis demonstrated that for scores above the mean, Ss high in fear of success made a significantly greater number of lower expectancy estimates than Ss low in fear of success on both performance tasks combined $(X_1^2=6.52, p < .05)$. Application of the Fisher Exact Test to the estimates for each test separately showed significantly lower expectancy estimates of performance made by Ss high in fear of success on both the Scrambled Words test and the Word Generation test, p < .003 and p < .026, respectively. Because the relationship of fear of success to the expectancy estimates for Ss' scores below the means could be confounded by the tendency to make lower estimates for lower scores. only scores above the mean were selected for analysis.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF HIGH AND LOW ESTIMATES OF PERFORMANCE ON SCRAMBLED WORDS AND WORD GENERATION TASKS FOR SUBJECTS HIGH AND LOW IN FEAR OF SUCCESS

_	Estimates c	of Performance
Fear of Success Imagery	High	Low
High Low	2 12	5 1

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF HIGH AND LOW ESTIMATES ON SCRAMBLED WORDS TASK FOR SUBJECTS HIGH AND LOW IN FEAR OF SUCCESS

	Estimates of	Performance
Fear of Success Imagery	High	Low
High Low	1 9	3 1

TABLE V

NUMBER OF HIGH AND LOW ESTIMATES OF PERFORMANCE ON THE WORD GENERATION TASK FOR SUBJECTS HIGH AND LOW IN FEAR OF SUCCESS

	<u>Estimates o</u>	f Performance
Fear of Success Imagery	High	Low
High Low	1	2

In order to test the second part of the expectancyperformance hypothesis, <u>Ss</u>¹ performance scores were compared to their expectancy estimates--high, medium and low, and then divided into two groups, accurate or inaccurate estimations of performance. A medium expectancy (3 and 4) was considered

an accurate estimate of performance if the test score fell within one standard deviation (SD) above or below the mean score of the group. A high expectancy (1 and 2) was regarded as an accurate performance estimate if the score fell above one SD above the mean. Low expectancies (5 and 6) were considered accurate if the score fell below one SD below the The performance estimates of the groups were then commean. pared with fear of success and $a_{11} X^2$ analysis performed on the Sixty-three per cent of the Ss with low M-s accurately data. estimated their performance as compared with 44 per cent of Ss with high M-s $(X_1^2 = 5.16, p < .05)$. When an analysis was done with scores above the means only, the relationship of fear of success to accuracy of performance estimates held firm $(X_1^2 = 10.05, p < .005).$

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF ACCURATE AND INACCURATE ESTIMATES OF PERFORMANCE MADE BY SUBJECTS WITH HIGH AND LOW FEAR OF SUCCESS

-	<u>Type of Performance Estimates</u>		
Fear of Success Imagery	Accurate	Inaccurate	
High Low	3 1 63	38 37	

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF ACCURATE AND INACCURATE ESTIMATES OF PERFORMANCE MADE BY SUBJECTS WITH HIGH AND LOW FEAR OF SUCCESS FOR SCORES, ABOVE THE MEAN

Been of Success	Type of Performance Estimates		
Fear of Success Imagery	Accurate	Inaccurate	
High Low	13 30	20 14	

DISCUSSION

Significant differences between college women with high and low M-s were found in relation to their high school background. University women with private (non-coeducational) backgrounds wrote significantly more fear of success stories than women with public (coeducational) backgrounds. Women with high M-s tended to underestimate their performance on certain tasks, whereas women with low M-s made significantly more accurate estimations of their performance on the same tasks. In addition, women of college age with high fear of success sex-typed more frequently than their counterparts in high school or than women low in fear of success assevidenced by their high scores on the Sex-Role Differentiation measure. Finally, there was no significant relationship between the degree of fear of success and performance in competitive and non-competitive conditions.

The five hypotheses put forward in this thesis will be considered in order followed by a discussion of some additional findings that pertain to the study.

The hypothesis that women from non-coeducational high schools (grade 11) would give fewer fear of success responses to projective cues than women from coeducational high schools was not confirmed. Both groups told approximately the same number of fear of success stories to the cues. However, the data strongly supported the second hypothesis; women in first year college with a private school background told significantly

more fear of success stories to projective cues than both their counterparts from coeducational schools and girls in attendance at private schools. Fear of success also increased significantly from high school to university for women from single-sex schools. Yet it remained unchanged over the same period of time for women from public schools.

What distinctive features about the university environment would lead to the arousal of the motive to avoid success in private school women but not in public school women? Women from private schools are not accustomed to competing with males in an academic solutation and have had relatively little experience in interaction with males in an academic atmosphere. In high school, academic life had been independent of social life. The fact that they cannot be separate now may provide a conflict situation for these women. Therefore, women who would ordinarily perform very well without any second thoughts may now hesitate to demonstrate their ability in the new academic situation.

Some private schools foster a rather traditional view of male and female roles and although academic success is encouraged, these schools may simultaneously impress society's expectations upon their students and reinforce a traditional role model. University life involves change for both private and public school women. However, the transition from a private school to college probably demands a greater adjustment from a student than does a public school. Much more emphasis

is placed upon discipline and rules in private schools: some rules must be followed in coeducational institutions as well, but the atmosphere is generally more relaxed. Given the more strict environment of a private school, women who are outspoken may be discouraged and negatively reinforced for displaying this kind of behaviour trait. Frankness, especially with regard to academics. is accepted in college but these women may not be prepared for 1t once they reach university. In this study, the public and private schools were quite different from each other. The private school was more structured and disciplined; students wore uniforms and were encouraged to show respect to their teachers. On the other hand, a wider range of behaviours was accepted for public school students and a more lenient approach taken toward these students.

The arousal of the motive to avoid success in private school women may be a result of several factors, only one of which is the introduction of mixed-sex competition to academic life. It would be most interesting to compare a private coeducational institution as well as other private schools with various philosophies of education to the schools in this study with regard to fear of success.

Women in coeducational high schools did not tell significantly more fear of success stories than women in private high schools. The fact that these women have been confronted

with male competitors since elementary school may have given them an opportunity to accept this and to resolve any conflict that may have developed as a result of mixed-sex competition so that it is no longer a contributing factor to the arousal of M-s. Furthermore, almost all of the women from this secondary school go on to university as a matter of course; thus, very few would face the decision to marry or choose a career in the near future. Therefore, it may be that for these grade 11 girls, conflicting decisions are far enough in the future that anxiety about success and M-s are not yet aroused. Certainly, some of these women are already aware of and may have experienced the conflicts which exist between academic success and popularity. However, as the negative consequences of these conflicts are not immediate, M-s is not yet strongly aroused.

Another factor that may account for the low incidence in fear of success among the public school women is the nature of the cue itself. Whereas most of the private school women appeared to take the cue seriously, some of the grade 11 public school girls asked if this were a project for women's liberation. It is quite easy for a subject to give a socially acceptable response to any of the cues even if anxiety about the situation is aroused. In order to ensure the validity of the data, a measure of fear of success and a scoring system must be developed so that subject could not easily predict the purpose of the measure.

The inclusion of a projective cue (Mary) which described a more typical feminine activity (fund-raising for charity) was an attempt at obtaining some further information regarding the conditions which arouse M-s. Significantly, more fear of success stories were told to the Ann cue than to the Mary cue, but no differences were found in a comparison of Mary and Phyllis stories. A greater number of fear of success stories were told to the Ann cue than to the Phyllis cue, though the differences were small.

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Presumably, asfund-raising position is accepted as a feminine undertaking and should evoke less fear of success than a situation involving a male-dominated occupation like a physician. This presumption was supported with regard to the Ann cue but not to the Phyllis cue. At the same time, the fact that the fund-raising situation included public recognition of the achievement could be sufficient cause for M-s to have been aroused as much as it was.

Scoring the Mary stories for fear of success was somewhat complicated by the nature of the cue. In a situation describing charitable work, the idea of accepting help from others is implied in the story itself. The fact that <u>Ss</u> wrote stories in which success was achieved with the help of others could not be taken as evidence for fear of success. These stories were not scored as showing fear of success. Therefore, in this case, fear of success was confounded by the nature of the situation, described in the cue.

Clearly, the Ann cue evoked the greatest number of fear of success stories. High school and especially university students can easily identify with or imagine a character such as Ann and thus find it simple to write a story about her. These students are probably acquainted with doctors, either through friends of the family or through their own contacts. Similarly, many of their mothers have most likely engaged in fund-raising activities. Some of the students have raised money themselves such that Mary as well is the familiar type of person to them. On the other hand, Phyllis, a television producer, is a more distant, less accessible figure who is probably not as familiar to the SS as Ann and Mary are. Therefore, it is easier for Ss to raise Phyllis up on a pedestal and to think of her occupation as an ideal or as a dream in which many Ss would like to share, but have not thought about it realistically. The motive to avoid success would not be aroused in someone who regarded Phyllis in this way.

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In an examination of the kind of stories written by <u>SS</u>, some of the results were similar to Kimball's findings (1972). No differences in the number of strong and mild stories were found between public and private school groups, although private university women told a greater number of strong stories than college women from public schools. This pattern followed the number of fear of success stories told altogether. The mild-strong distinction seems to share many of the characteristics of Luce's (1973) realistic-unrealistic categories.

From grade 11 to college, there was an increase in the number of activity away stories for public school <u>Ss</u> (60 per cent to 95 per cent) and an increase in the number of denial stories for private school women over the same period of time (12 per cent to 26 per cent). Activity away stories described women who engaged in certain kinds of activities other than those pertaining to their field. However, as Kimball found, very few activity away stories fell into a mild-realistic category, where the successful woman does not leave the field but makes time for other activities and does not work as hard at her job or at school. Most activity away stories involved leaving the entirely.

The absence of any relationship between fear of success and performance in competitive and non-competitive situations represents a failure to replicate Horner's (1968) findings with college women. The findings of this present study are similar to Kimball's (1972) results which also failed to find that fear of success related to performance. One of the factors, which Kimball attributed to the failure to replicate Horner's results, was the necessary division of subjects on the basis of presence or absence of fear of success instead of more extreme scores. Even though extreme scores were used in the present study (subjects with scores of 2 on at least one story and 0 on all three stories), no fear of success-performance relationship was found.

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Perhaps, the competitive condition was not perceived as being very different from the non-competitive condition. In the high school groups, the Scrambled Words test was administered in class, with at least 12 students in each group. Because of the difficulty in obtaining subjects at a certain time slot, the groups at the university level tended to be much smaller. An average number of students who wrote the Scrembled Words test was 3 compared to 12 in high school. The instructions for the Scrambled Words test also appeared to create a greater impact on the subjects than the instructions for the Word Generation task. Upon hearing that the first task was a test of general intelligence, many subjects reacted with "oh" and "ah." Their attitudes toward this test could have been transferred to the Word Generation test, especially since the exercise was difficult and timed.

Although none of the subjects expressed any negative reaction in the non-competitive condition, many of them inquired whether their responses to the Word Generation test needed to be given orally and recorded on tape. The presence of the tape recorder may have created some anxiety which countered the non-competitive nature of the task.

The hypothesis which purported that women high in fear of success would make a significantly greater number of lower expectancy estimates than women low in fear of success was confirmed such that 71 per cent of women with high M-s made low estimates of performance compared with 8 per cent of women

with low M-s. In addition, women low in fear of success gave significantly more accurate estimations of performance than <u>Ss</u> high in fear of success. As expectancy estimates are good predictors of performance (Tyler, 1958; Battle, 1965; Crandall, 1965), those persons who report low expectancies tend to perform more poorly than persons who give high estimates. Because a person is afraid of success, he or she is concerned about the consequences of success and is likely to assume a strategy of behaviour that will ensure a secure position for this person. By playing his or her abilities down and by expecting little, a lack of success is almost guaranteed.

It appears that women with low M-s base their expectancy estimates on internal cues on their own knowledge of their ability, as evidenced by their accurate performance estimates. On the other hand, Ss high in fear of success are more likely to utilize external cues, to depend on the reactions of others or on the environmental situation rather than trusting their own judgment of their abilities in order to evaluate their performance. As Verofif? (1969) hypothesized, people high in fear of success have mastered social comparison but not autonomous competence and are likely to doubt their own competence in achievement situations. Therefore, their estimates tend to be inconsistent, as they are based on more fluctuating stan-This often leads to a discrepancy between actual perdards. formance and expectancy estimates. In this study, the performance scores of Ss high in fear of success were above the mean

for all groups. Yet, their expectancy estimates did underestimate their performance and did not accurately reflect their scores.

Although the expectancy-performance hypothesis was supported by the data, some caution must be taken in interpreting the results. The power of the expectancy measure was seriously limited by some methodological difficulties present in the study. First, since the responses of an unusually large percentage of the <u>Ss</u> tended to clump in the middle range (3 and 4) with expectancy estimates of fair performance mostly, these responses could not be included in an analysis. Therefore, only the estimate reports of <u>Ss</u> who fell into the two extreme categories were used (1 and 2; 5 and 6). These <u>Ss</u>, however, represented merely 22 per cent of the total sample.

The expectancy estimate categories were initially designed to meet the requirements of an ordinal scale. Yet, in order to be able to test the second part of the expectancyperformance hypothesis, these categories had to be considered as representing a rough interval scale. Certainly, the development of a more precise expectancy measure which has taken these and other problems into consideration would be a valuable aid to future research of this kind.

The high correlations for university subjects between some of the SRD scales and performance, SRD and fear of success and SRD and expectancy estimates supports the idea that these women are at a stage of life where sex-role demands concern

them. They are beginning a period in their lives where they will be expected to make decisions about such important events as marriage, career and graduate school, which will certainly have greater bearing upon their lifestyles in the long run than any decisions they had made beforehand. They are concerned about what society expects from them and how they should meet these expectations.

Of all the SRD scales, high scores on the parental power, parental authority, and parental discipline scales were more often related to low expectancy estimates on the Word Generation test, high fear of success scores on all cues, specifically the Ann cue, and low performance on the Scrambled Words test. It appears that <u>Ss</u> who perceived differences in the roles of their parents, especially with respect to power, are most likely to give low expectancy estimates and to score high on the fear of success cues.

The positive relationship of expectancy estimates to performance on both Scrambled Words and Word Generation tests provided additional evidence for the predictive power of expectancy estimates. As in Battle's (1965), Feather's (1963) and Tyler's (1958) experiments, the height of expectancy of success was related to performance in this study. Therefore, those who report low expectancies would tend to perform more poorly than <u>Ss</u> who give high estimates of success. Lambert found that girls who sex-typed were less likely to do well academically than girls who did not. Given the relationship

of high SRD to low expectancy estimates, and the expectancyperformance relationship, his conclusions are supported in this study.

An association that was found for private school women between the peer relations SED scale and the fear of success score on the Phyllis cue suggests that women who have different attitudes toward their male and female peers may wish to avoid success if they find themselves in competition with male peers. It is interesting that this relationship involved university subjects with private school backgrounds who, not having been given a chance to interact with men in academic situations in the past, have had comparatively little opportunity to learn how they behave in such situations and, consequently, perceive them as being different.

Although the SRD-performance and SRD-fear of success correlations were more frequent among university women than high school women, the generalizability of these results to other populations must be carefully considered. Thirty-two (19.6 per cent) of a total of a possible 163 correlations were significant. The interpretation of these relationships is somewhat limited by the fact that 5 per cent of the correlations can be significant by chance. However, the correlational patterns do indicate that relationships exist which are not determined by chance alone; but without replication of these results in a further study, one cannot generalize from the outcome of these correlations to other populations.

One other factor which may have prevented a more definite SRD@fear of success relationship from emerging was the nature of the questionnaire itself. Since Lambert's SRD measure was initially constructed for and administered to children 10 to 16 years of age, many of the items on the questionnaire were inappropriate for Ss who participated in the present study, especially the college women. Several of the items were also ambiguous and led to differing interpretations on the part of the subjects. Because they did not relate to the items, some Ss did not treat the questionnaire seriously, especially in the grade 11 public school group. Other Ss found it difficult to respond accurately to items that were designed for younger age groups. The development of an appropriate questionnaire that directly measures the attitudes of Ss of these age groups would be a useful tool for any future research in the area of attitudes toward sexrole.

The other items in the questionnaire did not reveal any relationship between mother's occupation and daughter's vocational goals, or between fear of success and factors in job selection. However, the responses to these items proved quite interesting.

Because of the very small number of reported working mothers in the sample, the relationship between a daughter's desire for further education and the fact that her mother worked outside the home was impossible to assess. Since

most high school and university <u>Ss</u> in the study stated that they wished to go on to university or to complete their degree, it was also difficult to determine whether their motherŝ' educational level was related to their goals. Furthermore, most of the mothers were reported to have completed high school or, at least, some years of college. The mothers in this sample are a comparatively well-educated group. The fact that most of the women in the study indicated that they would go to university or pursue a degree is influenced by more than their mothers' educational status. These women have grown up in an upper-middle class environment where education is highly valued and children are encouraged and expected to continue their schooling.

Regardless of the level of M-s, most women felt that their goals were quite important, but that they could be reasonably happy if they did not reach them. Most women chose enjoyment in the type of work and financial security as most important factors in job selection, and good character and friends as the two most essential qualities in getting along in the world. The responses of women with high and low M-s were first analyzed with regard to the nature of the factors they selected as most important in job choice or in living, whether these factors reflected internal capabilities or external sources of reinforcement. Certain categories in both items were designated as external factors, such as encouragement of parents and friends, people your family

knows, money, in contrast to internal factors such as type of abilities or aptitudes, brains, hard work and education. Initially, it was presumed that women high in fear of success would choose a job because of the external influences from parents or friends rather than because she had the ability for it and that external rewards, such as money and friends, were more important for getting along in the world than her own talents and achievements through hard work. No such relationship emerged. Yet, the fact that most women felt good character, friends and security more important than brains and education, and that the failure to reach their goals would not affect their happiness, is consistent with the stereotype of a woman as being concerned with social adeptness rather than with achievement. It would be interesting to compare the responses of men on the same questions to the answers of the women in this sample.

In the present study, the motive to avoid success was aroused in first year university women who had been educated at private, non-coeducational institutions during their high school years. M-s was not related to performance in competitive and non-competitive conditions, but it did show definite association with expectancy estimates of performance and with scores on several of the SRD scales. As M-s was not aroused in college women who had attended public high schools, one of the factors that may account for the difference in M-s is the educational environment and educational philosophy of the

private school. M-s is most likely aroused when a woman is confronted by conflicting decisions, e.g., marriage and career. For first year college students these decisions are not immediate. If the private school environment accelerates the arousal of M-s in women who have attended them such that anxiety about the consequences of success is a concern to them before it is to other women, then this finding will have broad implications for the future education of women.

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APPENDIX A

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GENERAL INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

INS	TRUCTIONS: Please answer the following questions to the best of your knowledge.
1.	Name1. Age
3.	Birth date4. Sex: MF
5.	How many children are there in your family? BrothersSisters
	How many children are older than you? BrothersSisters
	How many children are younger than you? BrothersSisters
6.	Are you living at home with your family? YesNo
	Are you boarding at school? YesNo
	Other (please specify)
7.	Marital Status: SingleUnattachedGoing Steady
	Other (please specify)
8.	What is your father's occupation? (If your father is retired or deceased, what was his most recent full-time occupation?)
9.	What was the highest level of schooling that your father attained?(Indicate degrees or diplomas earned if appropriate)
10.	What is your mother's occupation?
11.	Is she paid for her work?
12.	If she is employed, what percentage of her time does she devote to it? Full timePart-timeIrregular
13.	What was the highest level of schooling that your mother attained?(Indicate degrees or diplomas if appropriate)
14.	What was your grade average last term?
15.	What is your major interest in school? (What subject interests you most?)
16.	Do you enjoy school?

17. What are your present educational goals? How far do you intend to continue your education?

How long have you had this desire?

- 18. What would you like to do (e.g., job) after finishing your education?
- 19. How certain are you now that you will be able to attain this goal if you are still interested in it?_____
- 20. How many times in the past two years have you changed your mind about your job choice?
- 21. How important do you think the attainment of your job goals will be to your satisfaction in later life? (Check the one that fits best).
 - (1) the most important thing _____
 - (2) next in important only to my family_____
 - (3) pretty important, but I still could be reasonably happy if I did not reach them _____
 - (4) my goals are secondary to other interests in life
 - (5) not important at all _____
 - (6) other _____
- 22. Which two of the following factors were most important in your choice of a job goal? (Place a "1" beside the most important and a "2" beside the second).
 - (1) financial security _____
 - (2) enjoyment in doing the type of work _____
 - (3) special aptitudes for the job _____
 - (4) encouragement of friends _____
 - (5) encouragement of parents _____
 - (6) other (specify) _____

- 23. Indicate which two of the following things you think are most important in getting along in the world. (Place a "l" beside the most important and a "2" beside the second).
 - (1) good character _____
 - (2) people your family knows _____
 - (3) brains _____
 - (4) money _____

 - (5) hard work _____
 - (6) good luck _____
 - (7) appearance _____
 - (8) friends
 - (9) education _____
 - (10) not being afraid _____
 - (11) other (specify) _____

APPENDIX B

VOCABULARY TEST FROM THE WECHSLER ADULT INTELLIGENCE SCALE

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INSTRUCTIONS: Examiner says, "I want you to tell me the meaning of some words. Let us start with "winter;" What does "winter" mean? This same method of presentation is used for all words. The examiner always begins with the word "winter" unless the subject appears to be much below in verbal ability. After five consecutive failures the test is discontinued.

WORD LIST

1.	Bed	21.	Terminate
2.	Ship	22.	Obstruct
3.	Penny	23.	Remorse
4.	Winter	24.	Sanctuary
5.	Repair	25.	Matchless
6.	Breakfast	26.	Reluctant
7.	Fabric	27.	Calamity
8.	Slice	28.	Fortitude
9.	Assemble	29.	Tranquil
10.	Conceal	30.	Edifice
11.	Enormous	31.	Compassion
12.	Hasten	32.	Tangible
13.	Sentence	33.	Perimeter
14.	Regulate	34.	Audacious
15.	Commence	35.	Ominous
16.	Ponder	36.	Tirade
17.	Cavern	37.	Encumber
18.	Designate	38.	Plagiarize
19.	Domestic	39.	Impale
20.	Consume	40.	Travesty

APPENDIX C

THEMATIC APPERCEPTIVE TEST FOR FEAR OF SUCCESS IMAGERY

INSTRUCTIONS

You are going to see a series of sentences and your task is to tell a story that is suggested to you by each sentence. Try to imagine what is going on in each situation. Then tell what the situation is, what led up to the situation, what the people are thinking and feeling and what they will do. Write as complete a story as you can--a story with plot and characters.

You will have twenty seconds to look at a sentence and then six minutes to write your story about it. From experience with other students, we know that this is plenty of time to write your story. Write your first impressions and work quickly. I will keep time and tell you when to finish your story and to get ready for the maxt sentence.

There are no right or wrong stories or kinds of stories, so you may feel free to write whatever story is suggested to you when you look at a sentence. Spelling, punctuation and grammar are not important. What is important is to write out as fully and as quickly as possible what is going on in each situation.

Notice that there will be one page for writing each story which follows the page on which the sentence is written. I will tell you when to turn again to start writing. After six minutes, I will tell you turn to the next sentence. I will use this procedure for all of the sentences. If you need more space for writing any story, use the reverse side of the previous page-the one on which the sentence was written. Do not turn to the next page until I tell you to do so.

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1) After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class.

- 2) For the past year, Phyllis has been working on a new television station. Finally, CITY-TV is scheduled to start broadcasting next month. Phyllis is named as one of the executive producers of the station.
- 3) For a number of months, Mary has been chief fund raiser at the University for the Hospital Fund. This year, a new record was set for the amount of money collected. As a result, the organization has called a special meeting of all its members to honor Mary and to present her with an award.

4) Margaret and Ken have been goind steady for a few months. Now it seems as if they are going to break up.

Each cue was presented separately during the actual experiment and the order of presentation was counterbalanced across subjects.

CUES

A page like this followed each of the three cues.

1. What has led up to the situation? What happened in the past?

2. How does _____feel? What is she thinking?

3. What will happen in the future? What will ______do?

NOTE: This page was 14" in length for the experiment.

APPENDIX D

SCRAMBLED WORDS TEST

INSTRUCTIONS

Your performance on the following task will be a measure of general intelligence. This particular task is a test of your facility with words. We have an idea of how well people at your school level should do on this kind of test and would like to see how you do in comparison with them.

On the following pages are a number of common words with the letters scrambled. Try to make words (no plurals or proper nouns) and write them in the blanks. For example:

YOB boy

ESY yes

We are also interested in how you think you will do. Before beginning the test, answer the question:

How weld do you think you will do on this test? very a) <u>very well</u> b) <u>well</u> c) <u>fair</u> d)<u>not too well</u> e)<u>poorly</u> f)<u>poorly</u>

You will have two minutes for each page. If you find some words difficult, go on to the next. You are not expected to complete all the words, but do the very best you can. <u>Do</u> <u>not start</u> until given the signal to do so, and go on to the next page when and <u>only when</u> you are told to do so.

MIND TC		LPAPE
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OLOSCH	· **	РУРНА
		DIBR
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LGNO ADLG SIRTF REVSE WEHER TASE NIGAA HPIS ADKR -----LIVSER RIGNSP _____ SEHUO LOYN YHTE GILTH FENTO NWOKN HWNE ROME RYTSO WGRO NUDARO TRELTE HEFSR

APPENDIX E

WORD GENERATION TEST

PROCEDURE

The experimenter greeted the subject, told her to have a seat and to turn to the first page of the booklet on the desk, and follow the instructions given. The experimenter then left the room and returned about twenty-five minutes later. The first page of the booklet instructed the subject to turn on the tape recorder in front of her. On the tape recorder were the following instructions:

> Read along silently as the instructions are read aloud. We are interested in how longer words are associated with shorter words that are contained in them and would like to find out to what extent this phenomenon occurs. Three words will be presented one at a time. Try to make as many words using the master word. For example:

If the master word were WASHINGTON, possible smaller words would be WING, TIN, AS, WASH. The word, NOON, is not acceptable because there is only one "o" in the master word. Any words except proper nouns are acceptable.

We are also interested in how you think you will do. Before beginning, please answer the following question: "How well do you think you will do on the following words:

a)very well b)well c)fair d)not too well e)poorly f)very poorly

Please leave the tape recorder running. Now turn to the first page and begin. Do not turn to the second page until the recorder tells you to do so.

At the end of five minutes the voice on the tape recorder interrupted and said, "Stop; please turn to the next page and begin." After five more minutes the tape recorder again instructed the subject to turn to the next word. After another five minutes the recorder instructed the subject to stop and leave the booklet on the desk. MASTER WORDS

1. <u>GENERATION</u>

(+ 22 more spaces)

2. <u>TRANSIENCE</u>

3. <u>DEGRADATION</u>

(+ 22 more spaces)

Each master word appeared on a separate page during the actual experiment.

QUESTIONNAIRE

SEX-ROLE DIFFERENTIATION

APPENDIX F

PART II

We would like to know how suitable certain jobs are for boys and girls when they become adults. Circle '7' if you think the job is quite suitable, circle '1' if it is not suitable, and a number between '1' and '7' if it is only partly suitable. The higher the number you circle the more suitable the job seems to you. Do this for boys and girls without missing any scales.

	JOBS BOYS WHEN THEY									GIRLS WHEN THEY ARE ADULTS										
1.	medical doctor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
2.	cashier in a restaurant	.1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
3.	bus driver	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
4.	librarian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
5.	elementary school teacher	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
6.	cook	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
7.	clerk in a store	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
8.	scientist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
9.	prime minister of Canada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	l	2	3	4	5	6	7					
10.	usher in a movie theatre	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
11.	principal of a school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	l	2	3	4	5	6	7					
12.	a judge	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					

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PART III

This part of the questionnaire deals with the kinds of things your mother and father do around the house. If your father <u>often</u> does the shopping, for example, then circle '7' on the father's scale. If he <u>never</u> does the shopping, then circle '1'. If he shops some of the time, circle a number between '1' and '7' depending on <u>how often</u> he shops. Then tell us about your mother for this item. Do not miss any items or scales.

		FATHER	MOTHER
1.	does the shopping	1234567	1234567
2.	gets father's breakfast on work days	1234567	1234567
3.	repairs things around the house	1234567	1234567
4. **	cleans up the house after visitors leave	1234567	1234567
5.	does the evening dishes	1234567	1234567
6.	moves heavy furniture	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7.	looks after the children in the evening and on		
	weekends	1234567	1234567
8.	does the family laundry	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1234567
9.	drives the family car	1234567	1234567
10.	helps the children with their school work	1234567	1234567
11.	writes excuse notes when children are absent from school	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1234567
12.	visits relatives	1234567	1234567
13.	talks with the neighbors	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1234567

]	FA'	ГH	ER				MOTHER
14.	goes to meetings and clubs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
15.	goes out with his or her friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
16.	answers the telephone when both are at home	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
17.	scolds and punishes the children when they do not behave	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
18.	threatens or warns the children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
19.	sees to it that the children do their homework	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
20. -`>	tells the children what they can and cannot do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
21.	explains to the children what is expected of them and why	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
22.	finds out when you do something you should not have done	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
23.	sees to it that the children do their errands	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
24.	makes you feel guilty or bad when you do something you should not have done	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
25.	whose punishment or dis- approval you dislike or fear the most	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
26.	takes the children places	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
27.	enjoys and takes time to talk with the children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
28.	notices when the children are unhappy and tries to cheer them up	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567
29.	does things with the children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1234567

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		FATHER								MOTHER							
30.	makes you feel that what you do is important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
31.	helps you with things when you are having trouble with it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
32.	has the most to say about how the children are to be punished	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
33.	has the most to say about where to go on family outings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
34.	has the most to say about what jobs are to be done around the house and who is to do them	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
35.	has the most to say about how much allowance the children will get	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
36.	has the most to say about whom to have into the house	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
37.	has the most to say about what you will wear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

PART IV

We are interested in how boys and girls your age behave with other people. Circle one number on each scale. Number '7' means <u>often</u>. '1' means <u>never</u>, and numbers between '1' and '?' mean <u>sometimes</u>. The higher the number your circle, the more often boys or girls do what you are describing.

		B	OY	<u>s</u>	YO	UR	A	GE	G	IR	LS	Y	JU	R .	AGE
1.	do what their parents say	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	try hard to please the teacher	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	help parents with household chores	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	tell parents where they are going	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
≝5∙	come home when they are supposed to	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	ask their parents for money	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	wear what they want to school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	tell their parents when they think the parents are wrong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	pick their own friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	decide for themselves what they want to be when they become adults	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	stick up for their brothers and sisters	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	obey older sisters	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	help younger brothers and sisters	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	keep secrets which their friends tell them	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

		<u>B0</u>	YS	3]	201	UR	A	<u>;</u> E	G	IRI	S	YC	U	3 /	AGE
15.	share things with boys and girls their age	ı	2	3	4	5	6	7	l	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	tell younger brothers and sisters what to do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	tell off girls your age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	swear in front of boys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	tell girls your age what to do	ı	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	tell boys your age what to do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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