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A Study of the Relationship Between Maternal Employment History and a Woman's Sex Role Orientation and Career Development

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A Study of the Relationship Between Maternal Employment History and a Woman's Sex Role Orientation and Career Development

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF APPENDICES

ABSTRACT

Much of the research reviewed suggests that there is some relationship between a woman's mother's employment history, a woman's sex role orientation, and a woman's commitment to a career. In this study, the sex role orientation, career commitment, and career decision making of college women were examined in relation to length of maternal employment history. It was found that the longer a mother worked during the daughter's lifetime, the greater was the daughter's own desire to work. The length of maternal employment history was not found to significantly influence the daughter's sex role orientation or career decision making process. It was also found that the more feminine a woman's sex role orientation, the less she desired to work. Also, the more feminine a woman saw herself, the less she tended to rely on the planning style, the most effective style of decision making, and the more she tended to rely on the intuitive style, which is more effective than the dependent style of decision making, but less effective than the planning style. The more feminine a woman saw her role, the less advanced she was in her decision making about an occupation. Sex role orientation was not found to significantly influence the dependent style of decision making or the decision making tasks of choice of college or major. These findings support the conclusions that the concepts of work and decision making about such work, are not typically part of a feminine sex role orientation. One factor which seems to influence whether a woman includes work in her life plans is the extent of her mother's employment.

INTRODUCTION

With the increasing proportion of American women participating in the labor force, it is hard to ignore the area of women's career development. One of the major concerns within this area is whether the existing theories of career development are adequate for an understanding of the work patterns of women. Numerous differences have been pointed out between the career patterns of men and women, in relation to vocational interests, field and level of occupational choice, vocational aspirations, and the extent of work in life plans.

One important difference is the degree of choice that exists for men and women in choosing a career. Traditionally it has been assumed that the man was to be the breadwinner, while the woman assumed the role of homemaker. Choice for most of the adult male population involved deciding on a particular occupation. Choice for a woman was not just a matter of deciding on a particular occupation. First of all she must decide whether or not to work. If a woman did opt for a career, she did so at the expense of her homemaker role, according to the traditional view. This conflict was evident in an early study by Matthews and Tiedeman (1964), leading the authors to conclude that there were two distinct orientations, that of homemaking and that of career.

The fact that so many married women, both with and without children, are participating in employment outside the home, is a good indicator that a woman's choice now is not as restricted as it once was. However, several recent studies have

shown that many women still experience some degree of conflict when they try to combine the dual roles of homemaker and career woman. (Farmer & Bohn, 1970; Tomlinson-Keasey, 1974). Part of this conflict is apparently due to the attitude still held by society that the primary responsibility of a woman is the home and family role, and that a career is only secondary. Many women feel the pressure of trying to keep their job from interfering with their 'primary' responsibilities of husband and children, and may end up feeling guilty if things go wrong or may not become as involved in their career as they would like.

What is it that causes some women to be more committed to their careers than others? One important factor seems to be a woman's perception of her own sex role. If a woman sees her primary role as homemaker she is less likely to engage in a career. If she sees her role as more flexible, she is more inclined to involve herself in additional activites, one of these being a career. The relationship between a woman's sex role perception and a career has been the subject of several recent studies. (Almquist & Angrist, 1970; Almquist & Angrist, 1971; Putnam & Hansen, 1972). This research indicates that a woman having a less stereotyped, broader conception of her sex role is more likely to be committed to a career.

Of primary importance in determining how a woman perceives her own sex role is exposure to various role models. Traditionally, females have been exposed to the stereotypic female model of homemaker and to relatively few alternatives. If a woman is to acquire a broader conception of her own sex role, it is essential that she is exposed to women particip-

ing in activities outside the home and family role. One hypothesis about the women who do become committed to a career is that they have been exposed to additional alternative experiences which lead to a less restricted perception of their sex roles. These women do not reject the traditionally female responsibilities of home and family, but consider work as an additional possibility for self fulfillment. (Almquist & Angrist, 1970).

Various possibilities exist for potential role models. However, one of the most logical is a woman's own mother. In most situations she is the female who is most prevalent during the woman's formative years and through adolescence. A working mother should provide a particularly good model of a woman who has combined both the homemaking and career roles. A woman who experiences her own mother in both of these roles should have a broader conception of the female role than the daughters of mothers who never worked outside the home, and a more flexible perception of what her own sex role can be.

The purpose of this investigation is to examine the relationship between the sex role orientation of college women and their mothers' employment history. The relationship between sex role orientation, the college woman's maturity in deciding on a career, and her level of interest in becoming involved in a career will also be investigated. It is expected that the greater the degree of exposure to the working mother role model, the greater the tendency for the daughter to have a more nontraditional sex role orientation. It is

also expected that the more non-traditional the sex role orientation, the more involvement there will be with a career.

The investigation of these relationships is an attempt to understand some of the factors which interact in the career development of women. It is hoped that an understanding of these factors will contribute to a more adequate vocational theory for women.

One implication if such relationships exist is that a woman who has been exposed to various female roles may feel freer to pursue options more in keeping with her own interests than with societal expectations. The awareness of more options could eliminate some of the conflict experienced by women who have chosen a non-traditional role, and may act as a preventive measure, possibly reducing the need for counseling to help resolve the conflict.

Another implication is the importance of recognizing alternatives in the counseling process. If a woman has not been provided with flexible role models and is experiencing conflict as a result, it is the counselor's responsibility to encourage and provide exposure to various role models so that the woman perceives more options from which to choose.

The research indicates that existing theories of career development may be adequate for men but not for women. It is essential that the nature of women's career development be investigated if more adequate theories for women are to be formulated. This study is an attempt to investigate the nature of women's career development through the assessment of the relationships between the career commitment, career decision making, sex role orientation, and maternal employment history of college women.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I. Career Development of Women

There is much evidence which suggests that the career development of women is basically different from the career development of men. Zytowski (1969) describes various differences in the work life of men and women, in their patterns of vocational participation, in the determinants of these patterns, and the developmental stages which are unique to women. Levitt (1971) also suggests that the vocational life stages, recognized by Super's vocational development theory, are not the same for men and women. A woman's vocational life stages reflect differences in her degree of commitment to work and family at different times in her life. These stages may also vary from woman to woman.

Other studies have pointed to personality differences as they affect the career development of men and women. Rose and Elton (1971), using the Omnibus Personality Inventory, found that not only are the personality patterns of men and women different, but that they are differentially different between occupational categories. These findings led to their conclusion that separate vocational theories are needed for men and women, at least for those theories based on personality development. In a study using the Vocational Preference Inventory (Holland, 1965) and the California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1957), Walsh and Barrow (1971) found that females tend to be more industrious, conscientious, planful, dependable, helpful, appreciative, feminine, cautious, sociable, and enthusiastic. The implications of this descrip-

tion are that females tend to be more concerned with status and prestige than males. Ace, Graen, and Dawis (1972) found that women tended to be more 'people-oriented' and less 'work-oriented' than men.

Both Osipow and Gold (1968) and Watley (1971) found that women experienced an internal struggle centered around their feminine role in relation to their career plans. The concept of career saliency has been shown to be an important difference between the career development of men and women, with men exhibiting significantly greater career salience than women. (Greenhaus, 1971; Masih, 1967). This difference in career saliency between men and women appears to be highly related to society's traditional beliefs about the roles of men and women. Matthews and Tiedeman (1964) found that the actual life style of a young woman was definitely related to her attitudes about career and marriage. The results of a study by Kriger (1972) indicate that while occupational choice for a man involves choosing a specific occupation, the main vocational choice for a woman is the choice between working and not working. Hawley (1971, 1972) found that women, to a greater degree than men, take into consideration potential mates and the effect work will have on their marriage in the process of career selection. Empey (1958) found that high school girls and college women planned for a career in terms of finding some traditional female occupation which would provide them with a career if such became a necessity. In this study, a career was shown to be a second choice to marriage.

II. Career Commitment

Several attempts have been made to investigate career commitment in women. One of the problems, as Safilios-Rothschild (1971) points out, is that the conception of work commitment is different from study to study. Some of the criteria which have been used for measurement are a woman's attitude toward work, the length or continuity of her employment, her intentions to work at different stages of the family cycle, and her intentions to work under different financial conditions.

Eyde (1962) measured work motivation in two groups of college women in terms of desire to work under specific conditions. Results indicated the lowest desire to work occurred when a woman had young children and a husband who was able to support her. High work motivation appears to exist when children are young and the husband's salary is inadequate, and when children are of high school or college age.

Schissel (1968) defines a career oriented woman as one who has spent a minimum of five consecutive years in her work, immediately returning to work after marriage, sickness, or pregnancy had intervened.

Richardson (1974) measured fourteen possible related variables in an attempt to clarify the meaning of the term career orientation. She concluded that career-oriented women were highly career motivated and perceived the career role as primary in their life. Work-oriented women had well defined occupational aspirations, but also placed a high value on the marriage and family role.

Oliver (1974) found an interaction between achievement and affiliation motivation in career oriented and homemaking oriented women, with the tendency for those with high need for achievement and low need for affiliation to be career oriented, and for those with high need for affiliation and low need for achievement to be homemaker oriented.

Angrist (1972a), in a study of college women, assumed that career commitment is tied to a woman's intense desire to prepare for and work in one's chosen occupation. Her findings confirmed that the conceptual distinction between career salient women and homemaker oriented women is a valid one.

Almquist and Angrist (1970) measured career salience, or the extent to which a woman actually plans to participate in the labor force. Results indicated that career salient women expect to work even when they have schoolage children, and even if the husband's salary is adequate.

Assessment

Richardson (1974) used a questionnaire to measure fourteen variables possibly related to career orientation. These variables are extent of work in life plans, role values, desire to work, educational aspiration, field of occupational choice, level of occupational choice, occupational information, satisfaction with information possessed, occupational planning, and work values. Seven of the fourteen variables are continuous, with scores representing points on a continuum, and the test-retest reliability coefficients (av r= .81) are satisfactory. The other seven variables yield discrete

scores, with stability quotients for these variables (av quotient = .87) satisfactory. The pattern of relationships among the variables, determined by Pearson product-moment correlation, one-way analysis of variance, and chi square analysis, formed two major clusters. The first cluster included extent of work in life plans, importance of career and marriage, marriage value, career value, desire to work, occupational field, level of occupational choice, educational aspiration, and certainty of graduate school plans. The second cluster included: occupational information, satisfaction with information possessed, occupational planning, certainty of occupational choice, and certainty of graduate school major.

To measure career orientation, Oliver (1974) used a checklist containing the following options for lifestyles related to career and marriage:

1. I intend to be a career woman; I would not consider giving up a career for marriage.

2. I may get married eventually, especially if I don't have to give up my professional career.

3. I plan to have a career, but I also plan to marry and have children while working in my chosen field.

4. I am completely undecided about whether I want a career or marriage or both.

5. I plan to prepare myself for a career and will probably work in my chosen field after I am married. However, I expect to interrupt my career when children arrive although I may return to my career after they are grown or at least in school.

6. I expect to get married and do not plan on

working in a career at all; but I hope to be qualified, through my studies, for a job in case my marriage plans don't work out.

7. I definitely do not expect to work in any professional job (one that requires college training) after my college studies are completed.

Subjects choosing options 1, 2, or 3 were placed in the career oriented category, while those choosing options 5, 6, or 7 were placed in the homemaking category, and those checking option 4 not included in the analysis.

Almquist and Angrist (1970) used three questions to form an index of career salience, with various choices related to motivation to work under specific family conditions, adult role aspirations, and preferred adult role alternative. The first question asked whether a woman would want to work under each of the following conditions:

1. one child of school age, husband's salary adequate
2. two or more children of school age, husband's salary adequate.

Responses of "probably would" and "definitely would" were taken as high work orientation. The second question asks what a woman would like to be fifteen years from now, with responses of:

3. an unmarried career woman
4. a married career woman without children
5. a married career woman with children
6. other: what?

considered to reflect career orientation. The last question asks a woman what she would want to do assuming that she is

trained for the occupation of her choice, that she will marry and have children, and that her husband will earn enough so that she will never have to work unless she has to. Responses of "work part time" or "work full time" were considered career oriented responses.

Angrist (1972a) developed the Life Style Index to measure career salience in college women. Angrist initially tested specific hypotheses contrasting the career salient and the noncareer salient woman in five areas: educational values and aspirations, occupational aspirations, work values, work motivation, and familial aspirations. The eleven relationships which emerged as consistently related to a career salient life style as reflected in the total score provided the basis for the eleven items in the Life Style Index. Scores may range from 1 to 11 with higher scores indicating a greater degree of career salience. Angrist reports that the internal consistency and reliability for the sample studied suggests both the construct validity and utility of the Life Style Index as a measure of college women's interests in pursuing careers.

Eyde (1962) developed the Desire to Work Scale as a criterion measure in her study of work values. The scale measures motivation to work under various conditions reflecting combinations of variables which have been found to be closely related to women's work patterns. These variables are marital status, presence and age of children, number of children, and adequacy of husband's salary. Each of the 17 conditions were initially rated to determine criterion weights, since some of

the conditions reveal stronger desire to work than others. A subject's rating on a 5-point scale is multiplied by the appropriate criterion weight and the products added together to form the Desire to Work Scale. High scores indicate a high desire to work.

Because of societal pressure for a woman to maintain the homemaker role, the choice to work outside the home is indicative of high commitment to a career, particularly when there is an absence of financial pressure and when children are young. A married woman's work involvement when she does not desperately need the money and/or when the children are young constitutes a socially deviant choice and activity. As such, this is considered to represent a strong work involvement. (Safilios-Rothschild, 1971). An equally, if not more socially deviant choice for a woman, is to remain single to pursue a career. This choice should indicate as strong or stronger work involvement.

The decision to use Eyde's (1962) Desire to Work Scale as a measure of career commitment in college women, is based on this rationale. The Desire to Work Scale is the most comprehensive of the instruments reviewed in terms of identifying specific conditions relating to marital status, family size, and income, and therefore should provide the best measure of a woman's commitment to a career under these conditions.

III. Career Decision Making

In a study of high school seniors and college women, Empey (1958) found that most of the females studied had made

specific occupational plans, and that the high school girls were significantly further advanced in their planning than high school boys. However, results of a study by Putnam and Hansen (1972) indicate that young women tend to be somewhat vocationally immature in comparison with their male classmates.

Astin (1971) studied the career development of women during the five years after high school graduation. Results indicated that the single best predictor was the B.A. degree, with those women having a degree more likely to pursue careers in the natural sciences/ social service/ social sciences and teaching. Lack of a degree tended to predict more often choices of office work and housewife. Other factors which emerged as orientations to career outcomes were a marital status or home commitment dimension, an early career commitment dimension, and a masculinity-femininity dimension.

Harmon (1970) found that women who become committed to a career do not have different plans at age 18 than those who do not become committed to a career. Women who become committed to a career as well as those who did not, reported that they were less inclined towards work at age 18 than at the present time.

In another study Angrist (1972b) investigated the development of career aspirations during a woman's college years. Results indicated that 18% of those interviewed planned consistently over the college years to pursue a career in addition to marriage and family, and 33% consistently planned to pursue primarily family roles. Of the remaining 49% who changed

their plans during the college years, the largest change category, representing 22%, consisted of those who began college without any career orientation, but who developed career interests by their sophomore, junior, or senior years.

Assessment

To measure the career development of high school seniors and college women, Empey (1958) used a series of questions regarding occupational preferences. Based on their responses to these questions, subjects were placed in one of three stages of occupational choice--Exploratory, considering more than one occupational field; Crystallized, considering only one occupational field; and Specified, considering one specific occupation within an occupational field.

The Crites (1965) Vocational Development Inventory consists of an attitude scale, and a competence test. The attitude scale, which focuses on dispositional response tendencies, consists of the following concepts: involvement in the choice process, orientation toward work, independence in decision making, preference for vocational choice factors, and conceptions of the choice process. The competence test focuses on comprehension and problem solving abilities and includes the following areas: problems in vocational choice, planning, occupational information, knowledge of vocational self, and goal selection.

The Assessment of Career Decision Making (ACDM) developed by Harren(1976a) measures an individual's style of decision making and stage of development in the tasks of choos-

ing a college, major, and occupation. Scale I measures the degree of progress in adjusting to college according to the three stages of the Action Phase: Induction, Reformation, and Integration. Scale II measures the degree of progress in choosing a major according to the four stages of the Planning Phase: Exploration, Crystallization, Choice, and Clarification. Scale III measures the degree of progress in making a decision about an occupation according to the same stages in Scale II: Exploration, Crystallization, Choice, and Clarification.

The ACDM has recently been used in a study investigating the influence of sex roles and cognitive styles on the career decision making of college men and women. (Harren, 1976b). Assuming that a woman's attitude about her own sex role will influence her decision about a career, it is likely that these different attitudes will be reflected in the woman's stage of career development. The ACDM is comprehensive in that it provides measures of the stages of decision making with respect to three tasks, decision about college, major, and occupation, as well as the overall style of decision making. The use of the ACDM in this study should provide an effective means of measuring college women's career development as a basis for determining its relation to sex role orientation.

IV. Sex Role Orientation

Role differentiation is apparently a gradual process, which begins in the second year of life and becomes fairly well established by the age of three. Most preschool children

are probably aware that the world is divided into two groups of people, and that different behaviors are expected of each group. (Brown, 1958). Hartley (1964) points out that concentrated exposure to women's traditional activities and positive reinforcement given to a female child for imitating those activities are responsible for the solidity of this traditional definition of the female role.

Parsons et al.(1976) point out that given a thorough socialization experience, a woman may never consider roles other than the traditional one of wife and mother. Socializing agents may not present alternative attitudinal-behavioral models or require a child to question the validity of the role she is exposed to. A woman may internalize an ideology as fact rather than opinion, and any restrictions this ideology places on her self development may be seen as normal and irrefutable. According to Angrist (1969) the learning of adult sex roles is seen primarily as occupation directed for males and family directed for females. Girls learn to be feminine with beliefs and expectations about suitable behaviors dwelling primarily on the domestic realm of adult women's roles.

Investigating role concepts in the career orientation of college women, Richardson (1975) found support for the hypothesis that women who perceive themselves as similar to their picture of a homemaker would not be career oriented. The hypothesis that a high degree of similarity between self and career role concepts would be associated with a high level of career orientation was not supported. One reason for this

lack of relationship might be that the development of an integrated personality incorporating career role aspirations consistent with self and role concepts is not yet complete by a woman's senior year in college.

Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1972) assessed individual perceptions of 'typical' masculine and feminine behavior in an attempt to determine the definitions of sex roles. Items typically viewed as masculine reflected a 'competency' cluster and included such attributes as being independent, objective, active, competitive, logical, skilled in business, worldly, adventurous, able to make decisions easily, self-confident, always acting as a leader, and ambitious. Women on the other hand were viewed as being dependent, subjective, passive, noncompetitive, and illogical. Evidence from this study and elsewhere suggests that the existing stereotypic differences between men and women are approved of and even idealized by society.

Butler (1976) also points out that the traditional qualities and characteristics considered desirable for women are not those considered important for the competent professional. The conflict between the professional role and the feminine role is one which is experienced by many women who choose not to conform to the traditional role.

In another study (Broverman, Broverman, & Clarkson, 1970) findings indicated that clinicians were less likely to attribute traits which characterize healthy adults to a woman than they are to attribute them to a healthy man. From an adjust-

ment viewpoint, for a woman to be healthy she must adjust to and even accept the behavioral norms for her sex, even though these behaviors are generally considered less socially desirable and less healthy for the generalized competent mature adult. Because of these societal pressures toward conformity to sex role stereotypes, the career choices open to women, and to a lesser extent men, are restricted.

The findings of a study by Bloomberg (1974) indicated that even children four and five years old employ a high level of sex role stereotyping of occupations. This sex role stereotyping is resistant to change and causes, particularly in the female, a constricted view of occupational choice.

Alper (1973) found support for the prediction that achievement motivation in women is significantly related to sex role orientation. Lipman-Blumen (1972) found a strong interaction between a woman's concept of the female role and her educational aspirations.

Putnam and Hansen (1972) found that the more a girl viewed her role as being liberal, the higher her level of vocational maturity. The more she strives to fulfill herself directly by achieving her own potentialities and accomplishments the better able she is to cope with the developmental task of formulating ideas about an appropriate occupation.

Assessment

Richardson (1973) developed a set of 58 adjectives used to describe women in different roles. Subjects were asked to rate each adjective on a 7-point scale in terms of its appli-

cability to themselves, to the ideal woman, the career woman, and the homemaker. These ratings were used to obtain discrepancy scores for four sets of concept comparisons.

The Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS) developed by Spence and Helmreich (1972) measures a person's conservative or liberal views about appropriate roles for women. The AWS contains 55 items related to the vocational, educational, and intellectual roles of women, freedom and independence, dating, courtship and etiquette, sexual behavior, and marital relationships and obligations. The four response alternatives vary from agree strongly to disagree strongly. Possible scores range from 0 to 165, with higher scores reflecting the most liberal, profeminist attitude. The raw score mean for the 247 females in the original normative sample was 102.349.

The Wellesley Role-Orientation Scale (WROS) developed by Alper (1973) is a 24-item paper and pencil self rating scale consisting of three, 7 item subscales and three filler items. The subtests assess: traits college women generally regard as 'feminine' rather than 'masculine,' role activities college women find acceptable for themselves, and career and/or career oriented activities they consider more appropriate for men than for women. Each item is rated on a 7-point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

The Sex-Role Orientation Scale (SRO) developed by Brogan and Kutner (1976) was designed to focus exclusively on sex role orientation, defined as normative conceptions of appropriate behavior for males and females. The objective was to reflect present options available to males and females in

American Society, within the following content areas: attitudes toward the traditional sex-based division of labor in marriage, attitudes toward the traditional sex-based power structure, attitudes toward traditional and nontraditional employment of women and men, attitudes toward traditional and nontraditional political status of women, attitudes toward appropriate sex role socialization of male and female children, and attitudes toward miscellaneous existing stereotypes of appropriate sex role behavior. The SRO consists of 53 items to be rated on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Scores may range from 36 to 216. The higher scores indicate a more nontraditional sex role orientation.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) developed by Bem (1974) measures the degree to which persons see themselves as masculine, feminine, or androgynous. The BSRI consists of 60 personality characteristics to be rated on a 7-point Likert scale in terms of how true each characteristic is of the individual. Mean masculine and mean feminine scores are obtained, as well as an overall sex role identity score which is classified as feminine, near-feminine, androgynous, near-masculine, or masculine.

There are two reasons for the decision to use the BSRI as the measure of sex role orientation. First, a self rated measure of sex role orientation, rather than an attitudinal measure is needed for the purpose of this study. Second, the BSRI provides the strictest measure of sex role orientation

in terms of traditionally masculine and feminine qualities, without being contaminated by other variables.

V. Maternal Employment History

There is much evidence to suggest that exposure to additional role models may be instrumental in providing more flexible attitudes about the role of women in society. According to Condrey (1976), one way to change ideas about sex role deviancy is to reduce the meaning of deviancy for both sexes by providing additional role models and changing role specific norms and expectations. Simpson and Simpson (1961) report that career oriented women are more influenced in their occupational choice by role models who embody values related to occupations, and less influenced by people who embody more generalized and less occupationally specific values. In a study to evaluate the effect of career role models on occupational aspirations, Elliott (1972) presented videotaped interviews with female career role models to college freshmen women. Findings indicated that the treatment method had the effect of significantly increasing the occupational aspiration levels of college freshmen women.

Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1972) reasoned that a person's perception of societal sex roles and of his/her own sex role may be influenced by the degree of actual role differentiation that one experiences in his/her own family. One factor which appears to be central to this role differentiation is maternal employment status. If both parents work outside the home, their roles are more likely to be perceived as similar. In an earlier study examining the rela-

tionship between mother's employment status and sex role perceptions of college students (Vogel et al., 1970) it was found that daughters of employed mothers perceived significantly smaller differences between men and women than did daughters of homemaker mothers, on both a competency and warmth expressive cluster of variables. Daughters of working mothers also perceived women as more competent than did daughters of homemaker mothers. One important implication of this study is that stereotypic conceptions of sex roles are not immutable. If perceptions of sex roles are subject to variation as a function of an individual's experience, societal perceptions of sex roles may also be subject to change.

Almquist and Angrist (1970), in a study of college women, found support for the hypothesis that women who become committed to a career are more likely to have been exposed to additional enriching experiences leading to a less stereotyped and broader conception of the female role. In particular, a viable role model may be afforded for a girl by her mother's work experience, since she will probably learn a less stereotyped version of the female role where work plays an important part. A strong association exists between maternal employment and college women's choice of life style, with nearly two-thirds of the career salientand only one-fifth of non-career oriented women having mothers currently employed.

Findings of a study by Meier (1972) indicate that the mother role is of considerable significance in shaping the sex role attitudes of today's youth, particularly to the extent that she exhibits attributes of social achievement in her own

right and to the extent that she predominates in the attitudinal socialization of the child. Mothers possessing attributes of achieved status most likely present to their children distinctive images of what women can be and can do.

Evidence from a study by Miller (1975) supports the conclusion that parental roles are less traditional in families where the mother is employed outside the home, leading to less traditional sex role stereotypes on the part of the daughter. In that study, daughters of working mothers more often than daughters of nonworking mothers indicated their mothers as the person they would most want to be like. This suggests that the modeling influence may be greater for daughters of working mothers when compared to daughters of nonworking mothers.

Peterson (1959) and Altman (1975) both found a tendency for daughters of working mothers to be more career oriented than daughters of nonworking mothers and to display broader conceptions of the female role. Riley (1963) found that daughters of working mothers are more likely to accept career orientation as a desirable norm for mothers as well as themselves. In a study of college women, Tangri (1972) found that the best predictors of occupational role innovation are the mother's present employment and the innovativeness of her occupation. Other studies support the positive relationship between maternal employment and educational aspirations, motivation, and self-esteem (Banducci, 1967; Baruch, 1972; & Eyde, 1962).

In a study of women's persistence in educational plans, Harmon (1972) found that neither the work status of the mother nor her reason for working differentiated 'Persisters' from 'Nonpersisters' during their college years. Burlin (1976) found no relationship between mother's work status (employed or not employed) and daughter's real occupational aspirations, but did find a significant relationship between the mother's occupational status (categorized as either traditional or nontraditional) and the daughter's real choice.

Several studies support the conclusion that it is not so much the specific role of the mother, but rather the mother's satisfaction with her chosen role which influences a daughter. In a study by Lipman-Blumen (1972), one important predictor of a woman's female role ideology was her perception of her mother's overall satisfaction with her life. Dissatisfied mothers were more likely than satisfied ones to have daughters with a more contemporary view of the role of women.

Results of a study by Baruch (1974) indicated that daughters of working mothers preferred the mother rather than the father for pattern preference significantly more often than did daughters of nonworking mothers. However, maternal role satisfaction was also important in determining daughter's identification choices, with daughters rarely choosing to emulate a mother who is dissatisfied with her role.

Yarrow (1961) found in particular that while there is no difference between satisfied and dissatisfied working mo-

thers in terms of 'good mothering,' there is a difference between satisfied and dissatisfied nonworking mothers, with the dissatisfied nonworking mothers predominantly at the lower end of the scale on 'good mothering.'

Assessment

Most of the studies reviewed determined the extent of maternal employment history from responses to questions of the daughters' perceptions of tneir mothers' employment. Some of the factors considered were current employment status of the mother, preference for work, occupational field and level, number of years employed, consistency of employment and extent of employment during specific periods of the daughter's life.

Siegel and Curtis (1963) used replies to a series of questions about the mother's work history and attitudes toward working for an index of mother's work orientation. Specific areas questioned included tne mother's current work status, preference for work, details of the mother's work history, tne nature of the mother's work, and tne mother's attitude toward work. The index of the mother's work orientation was the sum of the scores on tnese five codes.

Miller (1975) categorized mother's employment as full time or part time, and examined the length of time employed and the age of the daughter when the mother started working. In Baruch's (1972) study, only those mothers who had worked in paid employment at least one quarter time for at least two years of the subject's life, were classified as employed.

In the present study the variable of maternal employment history will be examined in terms of length of employment, measured specifically by the total number of months/years which the subject's mother worked during her lifetime. The number of months/years will be determined by subjects' responses to an open ended question requesting the amount of time the mother worked during specific times during the subject's life. Responses to other questions related to mother's satisfaction with work, type of occupation, and employment preference will be examined for trends to be investigated in a possible follow up study.

VI. Summary

Much of the research reviewed suggests that there is some relationship between a woman's mother's employment history, a woman's sex role orientation, and a woman's commitment to a career. The purpose of this study is to examine whether such relationships do or do not exist. If they do exist, clarification of the nature of the relationships will be valuable. Specifically, this study will attempt to assess the concepts of career commitment, career decision making, and sex role orientation in college women in relation to mother's employment history. The assessment of these concepts and clarification of any existing relationships among them has potential implications for a more adequate understanding of the nature of vocational theory and counseling for women.

METHOD

Subjects

One hundred female students enrolled in the freshman class at Virginia Commonwealth University during the spring, summer, and fall of 1978 were the subjects of this study. Subjects were volunteers recruited from individual classes and from registration at freshman orientation. The mean age of subjects was 18.81 with a range of 17 to 25 years.

Instruments

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1974) was used to measure sex role orientation, specifically the degree to which the subject sees herself as masculine and/or feminine. The instrument consists of a list of 60 personality characteristics, 20 of which are designated as feminine items, 20 as masculine, and 20 as neutral. A 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 ("Never or almost never true") to 7 ("Always or almost always true") is used to rate the degree to which each characteristic is true of an individual. From these ratings a mean masculine (M) and a mean feminine (F) score is obtained. These scores are converted by the formula (F-M) X 2.3222 to yield an overall sex role identity score (Bem, 1974). From this score an individual is classified as feminine, near-feminine, androgynous, near-masculine, or masculine. A copy of this instrument is found in Appendix A.

To measure the career decision making process the Assessment of Career Decision Making (ACDM) (Harren, 1976a) was used. The ACDM consists of 131 true-false statements and measures an individual's style of career decision making as well as progress in decision making on three specific tasks, choice of college,

choice of major, and choice of occupation. Style of decision making for an individual is classified as either Planning, Intuitive, or Dependent. For the college decision making task, an individual may score from 10 to 30, and on the basis of this score is categorized as in either the Induction (10-15), Reformation (16-25), or Integration (26-30) stage of development. Scores on both the major and occupational decision making tasks range from 10 to 40. An individual's stage of development is categorized as either Exploration (10-20), Crystallization (21-25), Choice (26-30), or Clarification (31-40). A copy of this instrument is found in Appendix B.

Eyde's (1962) Desire to Work Scale was used to measure work motivation. The instrument contains 17 items which describe various circumstances in which a woman might work. These circumstances reflect various combinations of four variables which have been shown to closely relate to women's work patterns. These variables are: marital status, presence and age of children, number of children, and adequacy of husband's salary. Subjects will be asked to rate on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ("I would not want to work under this condition") to 5 ("I would very much want to work under this condition") how much they would want to work under each of the 17 conditions. The rating for each condition is multiplied by its appropriate criterion weight, which is based on the degree of desire to work which the condition indicates relative to the other conditions, and the products are added together. The sum yields a Desire to Work score, with low scores indicating low

desire to work and high scores indicating high desire to work. A copy of this instrument is found in Appendix C.

Several open ended questions were used to determine the nature and extent of maternal employment history. The critical variable was the length of the mother's employment in months and years. Additional data obtained from the questions was used for informational purposes only. A list of the questions is found in Appendix D.

Procedure

Each subject was given a packet containing an informed consent form, the BSRI, the Desire to Work Scale, the questions about maternal employment history, and the ACDM, in that order. The informed consent form explained that volunteers would be participating in a study investigating the relationship between career development and sex role orientation. The instruments and questions were answered on a take home basis and returned.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to examine the various relationships among a woman's mother's employment history, her own sex role orientation, and her commitment to a career. The following specific research questions will be investigated.

A. Maternal Employment History

1. What is the relationship between maternal employment history and a woman's sex role orientation? It was predicted that there will be a significant inverse relationship between the length of maternal employment

history and a feminine sex role orientation.

Analysis

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (r) was computed using the number of months/years of the subject's mother's employment and the subject's score on the BSRI.

2. What is the relationship between maternal employment history and a woman's career decision making process?

   a. Decision making style

      1) It was predicted that there would be a significant direct relationship between the length of maternal employment history and the subject's reliance on the planning style of decision making.

      2) It was predicted that there would be a significant inverse relationship between the length of maternal employment history and the subject's reliance on the intuitive style of decision making.

      3) It was predicted that there would be a significant inverse relationship between the length of maternal employment history and the subject's reliance on the dependent style of decision making.

   b. Decision making tasks

      1) It was predicted that there would be a significant direct relationship between the length of

maternal employment history and the subject's development on the decision making tasks of college, major, and occupation.

Analysis

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (r) was computed using the number of months/years of the subject's mother's employment and the subject's scores on all the scales of the ACDM.

3. What is the relationship between maternal employment history and a woman's desire to work? It was predicted that there would be a significant direct relationship between the length of maternal employment history and the subject's desire to work.

Analysis

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (r) was computed using the number of months/years of the subject's mother's employment and the subject's score on the Desire to Work Scale.

B. Sex Role Orientation

1. What is the relationship between a woman's sex role orientation and her career decision making process?

a. Decision making style

1) It was predicted that there would be a significant inverse relationship between a feminine sex role orientation and the planning style of decision making.

2) It was predicted that there would be a signif-

icant direct relationship between a feminine sex role orientation and the intuitive style of decision making.

3) It was predicted that there would be a significant direct relationship between a feminine sex role orientation and the dependent style of decision making.

b. Decision making tasks

It was predicted that there would be a significant inverse relationship between a feminine sex role orientation and development on the tasks of college, major, and occupation.

Analysis

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (r) was computed using the subject's score on the BSRI and her scores on all the scales of the ACDM.

2. What is the relationship between a woman's sex role orientation and her desire to work? It was predicted that there would be a significant inverse relationship between a feminine sex role orientation and desire to work.

Analysis

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (r) was computed using the subject's score on the BSRI and her score on the Desire to Work Scale.

RESULTS

Table 1 presents a summary of the means and standard deviations for all variables.

The mean score for lengtn of maternal employment history reported by subjects indicates that mothers of women in this sample worked an average of seven years and six months during the lifetime of the subjects. When compared to the mean age of subjects (M=18.81), the mean lengtn of maternal employment history represents approximately 40% of the subjects' lifetime.

Table 2 presents the frequency of subjects' scores in each category of the BSRI. The scores for 91% of the subjects were in the feminine to androgynous range, with 39% in the feminine category, 29% in the androgynous category, and 23% in the near-feminine category. Only 9% of the subjects' scores were within the masculine to near-masculine range, with 3% in the near-masculine category, and 6% in the masculine category. A feminine sex role represents the endorsement of feminine attributes and the rejection of masculine attributes. A masculine sex role represents the endorsement of masculine attributes and the rejection of feminine attributes. An androgynous sex role represents the equal endorsement of both masculine and feminine attributes. When the mean BSRI score (M=1.41) is considered, subjects would be most described as "near-feminine". Near-feminine individuals are those who endorse feminine attributes, and also endorse masculine attributes, but to a lesser extent, when describing themselves.

Table 1

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR ALL VARIABLES

Variables	Mean	S.D.
Months worked	89.31	77.59
Sex role orientation	1.41	2.06
Desire to work	155.59	41.01
Planning style	4.59	1.52
Intuitive style	2.76	1.09
Dependent style	1.92	1.59
Decision making task-college	20.52	2.83
Decision making task-major	26.05	3.84
Decision making task-occupation	26.81	3.37

Note. N = 100.

Table 2

FREQUENCY OF SCORES IN BSRI CATEGORIES

Category	Number
Feminine	39
Near-feminine	23
Androgynous	29
Near-masculine	3
Masculine	6

Note. N = 100.

The mean Desire to Work score (M=155.59) suggests that women in this sample have a moderate desire to work. Desire to work represents the extent to which an individual would want to work under various conditions which have been shown to closely relate to women's work patterns. These conditions are marital status, presence and age of children, number of children, and adequacy of husband's salary.

For the ACDM scales which measured the three styles of decision making, the mean score for the planning style (M=4.59) was higher than for both the intuitive (M=2.76) and dependent (M=1.92) styles. This suggests that women in this sample tend to rely more on a rational or planning style rather than either an intuitive or dependent style of decision making. An individual with a planning style takes responsibility for decision making by a logical analysis of the self and the anticipated situation. In contrast, an intuitive individual takes responsibility for decision making, but relies more heavily on feelings and emotions. An individual with a dependent style does not take personal responsibility for decision making and relies most heavily on the environment and people within it. The planning style is most effective, the intuitive style sometimes effective, and the dependent style is least effective (Lunneborg, 1978).

The ACDM scales on the three decision making tasks, choice of college, major, and occupation, yield a total score which can then be placed on a continuum of development. The mean score on the ACDM-college for subjects in this study was 20.52.

This represents the score of an individual who is in the reformation stage of decision making. In this stage, individuals become more actively involved in college life, and may try to modify some aspects of the college environment to fit with their own needs.

The mean scores for subjects in this study on the ACDM-major (M=26.05), and the ACDM-occupation (M=26.81), are representative of individuals who are in the choice stage of decision making. Individuals in this stage are relatively satisfied and confident with their choices, and optimistic about the future.

Pearson product moment correlational analysis was used to assess the relationships between maternal employment history and sex role orientation, career decision making, and desire to work, and between sex role orientation and career decision making and desire to work. Results of the correlational analyses are presented in Table 3.

It was hypothesized that there would be negative relationships between maternal employment history and sex role orientation, the intuitive style of decision making, and the dependent style. Positive relationships were hypothesized between maternal employment history and the desire to work, the planning style of decision making, and the decision making tasks of college, major, and occupation.

A significant correlation was found between maternal employment history and desire to work. As the reported length of a mother's work history increased for women in this sample,

Table 3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES

Variables	Months worked	Sex role
Sex role orientation	0.01	-
Desire to work	0.23*	-0.21*
Planning style	0.13	-0.27**
Intuitive style	-0.10	0.20*
Dependent style	0.04	0.14
Decision making task-college	0.04	-0.14
Decision making task-major	0.09	-0.15
Decision making task-occupation	0.05	-0.21*

Note. N = 100.
* p < .05
** p < .01

so did scores on the Desire to Work Scale ($r=0.23$, $p < .01$). This would indicate that for women in this sample, the longer their mothers worked, the greater was their own expressed desire to work. None of the other relationships with maternal employment history were found to be significant.

Negative relationships were hypothesized between sex role orientation and the planning style of career decision making, the decision making tasks for college, major, and occupation, and the desire to work. A positive relationship was hypothesized between sex role orientation and the intuitive and dependent styles of career decision making.

There was a significant relationship between sex role orientation and both the planning and intuitive styles of career decision making. For women in this sample, as scores on the BSRI increased, that is, became more "feminine", scores on the planning style of decision making decreased ($r=0.27$, $p < .003$). In contrast, as BSRI scores increased, the subjects' scores on the intuitive style also increased ($r=0.20$, $p < .02$). These results suggest that as a woman sees her role as more feminine, her career decision making tends to be more intuitive and less rational. The relationship between sex role orientation and the dependent style of decision making was not significant.

The relationship between sex role orientation and the decision making task of college was not found to be significant, nor was the relationship between sex role orientation and the decision making task of major.

A significant relationship was found between sex role orientation and the decision making task of occupation. For wo-

men in this sample, as scores on the BSRI increased, or became more feminine, scores on the decision making task-occupation decreased (r=-0.21, $p < .02$). This suggests that for women in this sample, as a woman sees her role as more feminine, the more she tends to be at an earlier stage of decision making about an occupation.

A significant relationship was also found between sex role orientation and desire to work. For women in this sample, as scores on the BSRI increased, scores on the Desire to Work scale decreased (r=-0.21, $p < .01$). This would suggest that for women in this sample, as a woman sees her role as more feminine, her desire to be employed would decrease.

One other significant relationship was found between the planning style of decision making and the desire to work. As scores on the planning style increased, so did scores on the Desire to Work scale (r=0.21, $p < .01$). For women in this sample, those who had a greater desire to work tended to have a planning style of career decision making rather than an intuitive or dependent style.

POST HOC ANALYSIS

In order to more clearly identify the nature of the relationships among the variables in this study, post hoc multiple regression analyses were performed. The designated criterion variables were desire to work, sex role orientation, and the three decision making tasks for college, major, and occupation. A stepwise regression analysis was performed for each criterion variable, with independent variables entering the analysis in the order of their respective contribution to the explained variance.

Table 4 presents the results of the stepwise regression analysis using desire to work as the criterion variable. 15% of the variance is accounted for by the independent variables maternal employment history, sex role orientation, the planning intuitive, and dependent styles of decision making, and the decision making tasks of college and major. The variable, maternal employment history, entered the regression equation first and accounted for 5% of the variance in the criterion variable. Adding sex role to the analysis accounted for an additional 4% of the variance, and the addition of the decision making task-major accounted for another 2% of the variance. The addition of the planning, intuitive, and dependent styles of decision making accounted for an additional 3% of variance, with each style contributing approximately 1%.

The results of the stepwise regression analysis with the criterion variable sex role orientation are reported in Table 5. 13% of the variance was accounted for by all the other

Table 4

STEPWISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS
WITH DESIRE TO WORK AS THE CRITERION VARIABLE

Analysis	R Square	RSQ Change
Maternal employment history	0.052	0.052
Sex role orientation	0.096	0.044
Decision making task-college	0.120	0.024
Planning style	0.133	0.013
Intuitive style	0.146	0.013
Dependent style	0.155	0.009
Decision making task-major	0.156	0.001

Table 5

STEPWISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS
WITH SEX ROLE ORIENTATION AS THE CRITERION VARIABLE

Analysis	R Square	RSQ Change
Planning style	0.075	0.075
Desire to work	0.098	0.023
Intuitive style	0.116	0.018
Maternal employment history	0.124	0.008
Decision making task-occupation	0.129	0.005
Decision making task-college	0.131	0.002
Decision making task-major	0.133	0.002
Dependent style	0.135	0.002

variables in the study. The planning style of decision making alone accounts for 7.5% of the variance. Adding desire to work to the regression equation accounted for an additional 2% of the variance, and the further addition of the intuitive style of decision making accounted for an additional 1.5% of the variance.

Table 6 reports the results of the stepwise regression analysis using the decision making task-college as the criterion variable. 9% of the variance in decision making task-college was accounted for by maternal employment history, sex role orientation, desire to work, and the planning, intuitive, and dependent styles of decision making. When examined by itself in relation to the criterion variable, the intuitive style explains 5% of the variance. An additional 3.5% of the variance was accounted for by adding desire to work to the regression equation.

The results of the stepwise regression analysis with the criterion variable decision making task-major are presented in Table 7. It can be seen that the variables maternal employment history, sex role orientation, desire to work, and the planning, intuitive, and dependent decision making styles account for 18% of the variance. 12% of this variance is accounted for by the planning style. When the intuitive style is added to the analysis, an additional 4.5% of the variance is accounted for.

Table 8 presents the results of the stepwise regression analysis using the decision making task-occupation as the criterion variable. 20% of the variance is accounted for by maternal employment history, sex role orientation, desire to work, and

Table 6

STEPWISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS
WITH DECISION MAKING TASK-COLLEGE AS THE CRITERION VARIABLE

Analysis	R Square	RSQ Change
Intuitive style	0.049	0.049
Desire to work	0.085	0.036
Sex role orientation	0.089	0.004
Dependent style	0.090	0.001
Planning style	0.091	0.001
Maternal employment history	0.091	0.000

Table 7

STEPWISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS
WITH DECISION MAKING TASK-MAJOR AS THE CRITERION VARIABLE

Analysis	R Square	RSQ Change
Planning style	0.127	0.127
Intuitive style	0.174	0.047
Desire to work	0.179	0.005
Dependent style	0.180	0.001
Maternal employment history	0.181	0.001
Sex role orientation	0.181	0.000

Table 8

STEPWISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS
WITH DECISION MAKING TASK-OCCUPATION AS THE CRITERION VARIABLE

Analysis	R Square	RSq Change
Planning style	0.151	0.151
Intuitive style	0.196	0.045
Sex role orientation	0.202	0.006
Desire to work	0.204	0.002
Maternal employment history	0.204	0.000
Dependent style	0.204	0.000

the planning, intuitive, and dependent styles of decision making. The planning style by itself accounts for 15% of the variance, and an additional 4.5% can be accounted for by adding the intuitive style to the regression equation.

When examining the results of the multiple regression analyses, it appears that the planning style of decision making is more important than any other variable in this study in predicting the decision making task-major, decision making task-occupation, and sex role orientation. When the planning style is entered first into the regression equations it accounts for a significant portion of the variance in each of the criterion variables, decision making task-major (R^2=.127), decision making task-occupation (R^2=.15), and sex role orientation (R^2=.075). The predictive power of both the planning and intuitive styles together is even greater, since adding the intuitive style to the equations accounts for an even larger portion of the variance in both the decision making task-major (R^2=.174), and the decision making task-occupation (R^2=.196).

DISCUSSION

Results supported the hypothesis that there would be a significant positive relationship between the length of maternal employment history and the subject's desire to work. The greater the daughter's exposure to a working mother, the greater was the daughter's own desire to work. This finding is consistent with the results of earlier studies which indicate that women who became committed to a career were more likely to have been exposed to a variety of individuals and experiences. These provided her with a broader conception of the female role. In particular, a working mother may provide her daughter with a less stereotyped version of the female role--one in which work may play an important part.

However, maternal employment history was not found to be significantly related to sex role orientation, as hypothesized. While the work history of a mother seemed to influence the daughter's desire to work, it did not seem to significantly influence the daughter's sex role orientation. Apparently there are other factors which are more important in determining a woman's sex role orientation. Several factors are plausible in light of Krumboltz's (1978) social learning theory. According to his theory, an individual is more likely to express a preference for certain activities if he or she has observed a valued model being positively reinforced for engaging in those activities, or if he or she has been consistently positively reinforced by a valued person who models and/or advocates engaging in those activities.

A woman's perception of her mother's satisfaction with her lifestyle, rather than whether the mother works or not, may influence the daughter's sex role orientation. If a woman perceives that her mother is dissatisfied in the traditional role of a homemaker, she may tend to choose a more liberal role for herself. On the other hand, if a mother seems unhappy working outside the home, the daughter may be more inclined to choose a tradtional role for herself. It is the observation of the valued role model being positively or negatively reinforced which is the crucial factor. If the daughter observes the mother, a valued role model, being positively reinforced for her lifestyle, the daughter may be more likely to express a preference for that lifestyle. If, however, the daughter observes the mother being negatively reinforced, she may be more likely not to express a preference for the same lifestyle.

The type of work the mother does may also have a significant influence on the role the daughter chooses for herself. If the mother's work seems to be boring or ungratifying to the daughter, a more traditional lifestyle may seem more appealing. Thus the daughter may see herself in a more traditional sex role orientation. However if the daughter sees the mother's work as glamorous and exciting, she may tend to choose the more liberal lifestyle, thus seeing herself in a less traditional orientation. Again, it is the observation of the valued model, the mother, and the daughter's perception of whether the model was positively or negatively reinforced, which influences the daughter's own sex role orientation.

It is possible that a mother may never be a significant role model for a daughter. If the daughter perceives her mother as being neither positively or negatively reinforced for certain activities, or if the daughter is neither positively or negatively reinforced by the mother, then the mother may lose her value as a role model, thereby having little influence on the daughter. Even if the mother has been a valued role model to the daughter, she may either lose this value, or become only one of several valued role models, for example when the daughter goes away to college. According to Krumboltz (1978), it is the sequential cumulative effects of learning experiences and the individual's reactions to such experiences which cause a person to make certain decisions. While a woman's early experiences with her mother may be reinforcing, later experiences with other role models may come to be more reinforcing. In this way the mother's influence may be superceded by the influence of new role models, and the daughter may see herself differently than before, possibly in a different role orientation that that influenced by the mother.

For some women, the father may be a more important role model than the mother. If a father encourages the daughter to participate in more traditionally masculine activities, she may tend to see herself in a less traditional sex role. If the father discourages or criticizes the daughter from participating in such activities, she may see her role as more traditional. The important factor here is the reinforcement received from a valued model.

Length of maternal employment history was not found to be significantly related to either the styles of career decision making or to the career decision making tasks. It seems likely that the factors mentioned as possible influences on sex role orientation could also be more important than length of maternal history in predicting a woman's decision making styles and her development in decision making on the tasks of college, major, and occupation.

Moreover, to understand the lack of relationship between maternal employment history and the decision making tasks of college, major, and occupation, it is possible to hypothesize that many woman's reasons for going to college are unrelated to preparation for a career. If a woman goes to college because it is what her family expects of her, or if she goes with the goal of finding a husband, then it seems understandable that whether her mother worked or not is an irrelevant variable in this situation. The possible reasons why a woman might not want to work or prepare for a career even if her mother did work have already been stated.

Levitt (1971) points out that several studies have shown that the consideration of perceived career orientation while in college as a valid index of future work behavior may be questionable. Harmon (1970) found that women who became committed to a career reported having no different plans at age 18 than those women who did not become committed to a career. While the influence of maternal employment history may not be evident in college women's assessment of career decision making, it may be evident in these women's actual work behavior later on.

Results supported the hypothesis that there is a negative relationship between sex role orientation and desire to work. The more feminine a woman saw her sex role, the more her desire to work decreased. The more masculine a woman saw her her role, the more her desire to work increased. A feminine sex role represents the endorsement of attributes judged to be more appropriate for females, and the simultaneous rejection of attributes judged to be more sppropriate for males. A masculine sex role represents the endorsement of appropriate male attributes and the simultaneous rejection of appropriate female attributes. Apparently work does not fit into the concept of a feminine sex role as well as it does into the concept of a masculine sex role. This is consistent with earlier research which indicates that the traditional qualities and characteristics considered desirable for women are not those considered important for the competent professional (Butler, 1976). It is apparent that a conflict exists between what is considered to be a feminine sex role and a professional role.

Sex role orientation was found to be significantly related to both the planning and intuitive styles of career decision making. The more feminine a woman saw her role, the more she relied on an intuitive style of decision making, and the less she relied on a planning style. This seems plausible in the light of earlier findings that 'typical' feminine behavior is viewed as being dependent, subjective, passive, noncompetitive, and illogical; while 'typical' masculine behavior is viewed as independent, objective, active, competitive, and logical (Broverman, et. al.,

1972). The planning style, which is logical and the most effective style, and in which an individual takes responsibility for decision making, seems least consistent with the feminine role orientation, and most consistent with the masculine role orientation. The intuitive style, which is sometimes effective and which also involves personal responsibility but with the use of fantasy, feelings, and emotions, seems most consistent with the feminine sex role orientation.

No relationship was found between sex role orientation and the dependent style of decision making. This was surprising in light of the description of typical feminine behavior. A dependent style, in which the individual takes no personal responsibility for decision making, would seem to be consistent with the feminine role orientation. However it is possible that there is a difference between a dependent personality and a dependent style of decision making. Moreover, a woman may be considered dependent, but because she is not interested in pursuing a career, does not reflect a dependent style of career decision making.

No relationship was found between sex role orientation and the decision making tasks of college and major. Again, the reasons a woman chooses to go to college may be unrelated to factors surrounding her sex role orientation. If a woman does not go to college to prepare for a career, then her decisions about college and major are likely to reflect these other reasons rather than her sex role orientation.

Sex role orientation was found to be significantly related to the decision making task of occupation. The more feminine a

woman saw her role, the more she tended to be at an earlier stage of decision making about an occupation. The more masculine a woman saw her role, the more she tended to be at an advanced stage. This finding parallels that of the relationship between sex role orientation and desire to work. If a woman sees herself in a less traditional role, that is, more masculine, the more likely she is to want to include work in her life plans. It makes intuitive sense that if a woman planned to work, she would be more likely to have thought more about work and to have made more decisions about work, than a woman who did not see work as part of her life plan.

FUTURE RESEARCH ISSUES

Additional Variables

Based on the results of this study, it is evident that further research is needed in order to investigate what variables influence a woman's sex role orientation. While length of maternal employment history does not seem to influence a woman's sex role orientation, other variables related to maternal employment history may be important. One such factor is the daughter's perception of how satisfied her mother is in her role. It is also possible that the type of work the mother does may be important. There is also the possibility that other role models besides the mother may be crucial variables. Studies which assess these other variables may help to better clarify the nature of a woman's sex role orientation.

Further research is also needed to explore the nature of a woman's career decision making process. While certain aspects of this process were found to be related to sex role orientation, other variables may help to more fully explain the process as a whole. The variables associated with maternal employment history which were mentioned as possible variables to be investigated in relation to sex role orientation should also be examined in relation to career decision making. In addition, other variables which may be important are age, race, socioeconomic status and personality style.

Better Measures

It is possible that better measures are needed to accurately assess the relationships between variables in this study.

All the questionnaires used in the study were self report measures, which are subject to inaccuracy. The ratings of maternal employment history were based on subjects' recall, which is also subject to inaccuracy.

Moreover, the type of measure used to assess sex role orientation may not be adequate in reflecting all the factors surrounding sex role orientation and its influence of desire to work and the decision making process. According to Harren et. al. (1978), over and above their attributed sex role orientation, women may be influenced by attitudes about what is or is not appropriate for women. In addition to a self report measure of sex role orientation, it may be appropriate to include an attitudinal measure about the roles of women in order to more completely identify the total effects of sex role related factors.

As noted earlier, the idea of predicting future work behavior from perceived career orientation while in college has been questioned. Perhaps a more accurate measure of career development and career commitment in relation to the other variables would be obtained by studying an older population of women.

It is also possible that the measure used to assess career commitment may reflect social desirability rather than the individual's true feelings about desire to work in certain situations. Again, actual work behavior would be a more accurate measure.

Theoretical Alternatives

The variables used in this study would tend to suggest a classic trait approach, in which behavior is a function of inherent tendencies within the individual. A woman's sex role orientation and her style of decision making could be thought of as relatively enduring characteristics which distinguish her from other individuals, and which are the prime determinants in her work related behavior- desire to work, and development in career decision making. However, as Bem (1974) points out, an individual's sex role behavior can change, adapting itself to the situation. This would tend to suggest an interactionist model, in which both the situation and the individual are important.

However, the variables and ideas which are the subject of this study can best be understood in terms of social learning theory. Rather than being relatively enduring traits, a woman's sex role orientation and style of decision making tend to be influenced by various learning experiences in which some type of reinforcement occurs. Likewise, a woman's desire to work may be influenced by the learning experience of a working mother, and the daughter's reactions to this experience. The sex role a woman chooses, and her work behavior can be described as the result of being reinforced for these choices, or as the result of observing a valued model being reinforced for similar choices. It is the sequential cumulative effects of learning experiences, along with various environmental circumstances, and the individual's cognitive and emotional reactions which cause a per-

son to make certain decisions (Krumboltz, 1978). Therefore, what is crucial if a woman is to choose a satisfying lifestyle, is the ability to evaluate the personal consequences of various learning experiences, and to make decisions based on these evaluations.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELING/EDUCATION

The results of this study suggest that there is a difference between feminine sex role orientation and the role of a working woman. A woman who sees herself as having a more feminine sex role orientation tends to have a lesser desire to work outside the home than a woman who sees herself as having a more masculine sex role orientation. Further evidence suggests that those traditional qualities and characteristics considered desirable for women are not those considered important for the competent professional. It has been shown that women who choose not to conform to the traditional role do feel the conflict between their feminine role and their professional role. It also seems possible that many women may limit themselves to a more traditional role because they fear the potential conflict between these roles.

Findings in this study also suggest that the problem is further compounded by the influence of a feminine sex role orientation on the development in career decision making. Women who see their sex role as more feminine tend to rely the least on the planning style, which is the most effective style of decision making. The more feminine a woman sees her role, the more she tends to rely on an intuitive style of decision making, which is more effective than the dependent style, but still less effective than the planning style. Furthermore, the more feminine a woman sees her role, the less advanced she tends to be in her decision making about an occupation.

While results of this study do not support a relationship between maternal employment history and a woman's sex role or-

ientation, results do support a relationship between maternal employment history and a woman's desire to work. Apparently exposure to a working mother provides a daughter with a broader conception of the female role, in which both family and work play important parts.

These findings suggest several implications for the counseling and education of women. One of the problems many women experience today is the conflict between their own desired role and the role expected of them by society. Woman in all age groups may seek counseling or other professional help in dealing with the conflicting roles, from the woman who is criticized for being 'just a housewife', to the reentry woman who is criticized for neglecting her family. If women are to have the freedom to choose their own role without guilt, the conflict between the desired role and the societal role will have to be reduced. The task of counselors and educators should be to provide women with flexibility of choice, and with the skills that will make the chosen role less difficult.

Such flexibility is demonstrated by the finding that a woman's desire to work may be influenced by her mother's work history. Apparently a working mother provides her daughter with a variety of options, since the mother is managing at least two roles, that of mother and working woman, simultaneously. Similar flexibility may be provided by counselors and educators by exposing women to various types of role models. If a woman sees other women participating in and enjoying a variety of roles and lifestyles, she will at least have an awareness of the possible choices for herself.

After being exposed to various role models a woman may still feel uncomfortable in her chosen role, particularly if she lacks the characteristics or skills necessary for success in that role. According to Bem (1974), strongly sex typed individuals may be seriously limited in the range of behaviors available to them as they move from situation to situation. For example, a woman who endorses feminine attributes to the exclusion of male attributes is likely to have serious trouble in the professional world. Likewise, a woman who endorses masculine attributes to the exclusion of feminine attributes is likely to have some trouble in the homemaker and caretaker role. In such situations it is the counselor's responsibility to show the individual that it is possible to be both masculine and feminine, both yielding and forceful, both independent and sensitive to the needs of others, depending on the appropriateness of the behavior to the specific situation. In other words, it may be helpful to teach both women and men about the concept of androgyny, or the equal endorsement of both masculine and feminine attributes.

Another implication of the results of this study for counseling and education is the need for training in career decision making skills. Women with a more feminine sex role orientation tend to rely least on the most effective style of decision making, and to be less advanced in their decision making about an occupation than those with a more masculine role orientation. Again, these women who are strongly sex typed as feminine may be limited in their ability to plan for a career even when they

want one. Education about the concepts of androgyny, as well as about the effectiveness of career decision making styles should help women to have more control over the decision making process.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

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

Example: sly

Mark a 1 if it is NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE that you are sly.
Mark a 2 if it is USUALLY NOT TRUE that you are sly.
Mark a 3 if it is SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE that you are sly.
Mark a 4 if it is OCCASIONALLY TRUE that you are sly.
Mark a 5 if it is OFTEN TRUE that you are sly.
Mark a 6 if it is USUALLY TRUE that you are sly.
Mark a 7 if it is ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE that you are sly.

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

sly	3
malicious	1

irresponsible	7
carefree	5

DESCRIBE YOURSELF

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX B

This questionnaire is concerned with college students' progress toward making and carrying out decisions affecting their career. It is a way of finding out where a person is in his or her career planning, and what a person's present attitudes, feelings, needs, or concerns are.

Since this is the purpose, there are no right or wrong answers to the statements. On the red answer sheet, mark A (True) or B (False) for each statement, depending on whether or not it applies to you; that is, something you could or would say about yourself.

There are three separate parts to this questionnaire: Part I has to do with your decision to go to college and how you feel about being in college; Part II deals with your decision or plans about your major field of study in college; and Part III assesses your decision or plans about your occupation. Treat each part separately. Don't worry about being consistent from one part to another, since each part assesses a different decision-making task: college, major, and occupation.

PART I DECISION-MAKING: COLLEGE

This part has two sections. For Section A, My Decision to Go to College, think back to before you came to college and how you made your decision, as you remember it or think about it now. Mark an A (True) or B (False) on the RED answer sheet for each item.

Section A My Decision to Go to College

1. I came to college because my parents expected me to.
2. I decided to go to college when I realized that the careers I was interested in required college degrees.
3. I made my decision to go to college pretty much on the spur of the moment, without thinking much about it.
4. My high school teachers kept encouraging me to go to college.
5. Before coming to college, I studied the college catalogues carefully.
6. My reasons for going to college weren't very clear.
7. I really didn't have much choice; going to college was just the thing to do in my high school.
8. My friends who were going to college had a lot to do with my decision to go.
9. I talked with my guidance counselor (or teachers) in high school about going to college.
10. When I decided to go to college, I just listened to my feelings; it was what I wanted to do.

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE AND CONTINUE

11. I came to college because I felt that having a college degree was important in order to be accepted.

12. Getting good grades in high school was important to me because it would increase my chances of getting to go to college.

13. Before deciding to go to college, I carefully considered other alternatives.

14. When I made up my mind to go to college, it just felt right inside.

15. Before deciding to go to college, I visited the campus to find out more about it.

16. When I was in high school, I can remember daydreaming about how great it would be to be a college student.

17. My decision to go to college was pretty much an intuitive one, not carefully planned out.

18. I came to college to please other people, not because I really wanted to.

19. I chose my electives in high school on the basis of what would help me most in college.

20. Everybody in my family went to college; I just never questioned it.

21. I don't think I had a reason for going to college; I just did it.

Section B How I Feel About Being in College

For the rest of the questionnaire, all of the statements are in the present tense. Mark the statement True (A) only if you feel this way right now. You may have felt this way in the past, or you could conceivably feel this way in the future, but if you aren't concerned about this right now, or if this is not relevant to you right now, mark it False (B).

22. I don't know what the instructors in my courses expect.

23. I believe I've been pretty successful in adjusting to college.

24. People are starting to listen to some of my ideas around here.

25. I've been talking some of my friends back home into going to college.

26. I'm trying to find out what the people I live with want of me.

27. People here seem to respect me and value my ideas.

28. I'm just beginning to feel a part of things around here.

29. I feel like we are all helping each other to accomplish our goals.

30. This college seems to be meeting my expectations and needs pretty well.

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE AND CONTINUE

31. It's hard to know how to act at this school.

32. I don't feel that I really belong here yet.

33. Some of my instructors seem open to suggestions for improving their course.

34. I'm trying to get other students involved in things, instead of just sitting around.

35. I often talk to my instructors outside of class.

36. The encouragement and support I've gotten has helped me to try harder to do well.

37. I've been getting a lot of positive feedback from my instructors.

38. I'm less afraid to speak up in class when I don't agree with the instructor.

39. Most of the students here seem to have attitudes and values like mine.

40. I like to hang around on campus during my free hours.

41. Some of my instructors have helped me to get a more objective picture of myself.

42. I've had to change in some ways in order to get along with people here.

43. I'm learning to be more assertive to get what I want.

44. I wonder if further education is worthwhile for me.

45. I'm pretty satisfied with the way things are working out for me here.

46. I feel a sense of working together or team effort here.

47. Some of the instructors here are pretty hard to satisfy.

48. I've been asking other students how they like it here.

49. I really enjoy getting involved in group projects with other students.

50. Some of the advanced students have helped me become more realistic.

51. I've been telling my friends at other colleges what a great place this is.

PART II DECISION-MAKING TASK: MAJOR

What I Want to Study

52. I have a wide range of course interests.

53. I need to take a lot of different courses to see what I like.

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE AND CONTINUE

54. I like most of the teachers and students in my major.

55. I'm pretty certain about my choice of major.

56. It would take a lot to make me change my mind about my major.

57. If I choose the wrong major, it could slow me down in getting through college.

58. I need to consider my interests in choosing a major.

59. I don't know how to go about choosing a major.

60. There just isn't anything else that I'd rather major in.

61. My past experiences in school should help me decide on a major.

62. The more I think about a major, the more confused I get.

63. It's a relief to have decided on my major.

64. I realize my major limits the kinds of future goals I can set for myself.

65. Some of the advanced courses in my major look pretty hard.

66. I enjoy telling people what I'm majoring in.

67. I need to decide on a major.

68. I've changed my mind about my major because of some of the courses I've taken.

69. I haven't definitely decided against any major.

70. I've decided what I will major in.

71. I wonder how I will fit in with other students in my major.

72. My major gives me a sense of purpose and direction.

73. I know what major I want, but I don't know what I could do with it after I graduate.

74. I get pretty wrapped up in discussions about things in my major.

75. I wish I knew what I wanted to study.

76. I don't know if I'm capable enough for the majors I'm considering.

77. I don't know what courses to take next semester.

78. Most of my friends are either in my major or a closely related one.

79. My interests and attitudes are like most of the students in my major.

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE AND CONTINUE

80. I'm looking forward to getting into the advanced courses in my major.

81. I need to choose my courses more wisely than I have in the past.

82. When people know what your major is, they expect you to act in a certain way.

83. I need several electives that can't be in my major.

84. I see some disadvantages to the major I am considering.

85. I need to see an advisor in my major to plan the rest of my program.

86. There are just so many different kinds of courses I would like to take.

87. There are a number of majors which I have decided against.

88. I've looked into several programs, but I don't know what I'm really looking for.

89. I need a program that is broad and flexible.

90. Since choosing a major, my personality seems to be changing.

91. I really get involved in courses in my major.

PART III DECISION-MAKING TASK: OCCUPATION

Where I am Heading After College

92. What I used to think I wanted to become doesn't seem practical anymore.

93. Almost any career seems appealing to me.

94. I think I'll be happy with the career I have chosen.

95. I wonder what kind of job I'll be able to get in my field.

96. My attitudes and outlook are becoming more like the people I know in my field.

97. I'm trying to decide between two or three possible careers.

98. My plans for the future are too indefinite.

99. I'm pretty certain about the occupation I will enter.

100. The occupation I have chosen will affect the kinds of friends I will have in the future.

101. I want to know what field of work I'm best suited for.

102. There are several careers which I have already decided against.

103. I don't know what I really want out of life.

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE AND CONTINUE

104. I'm a lot happier now that my future career is clear to me.

105. I won't let anything get in the way to my reaching my goal.

106. I don't have enough experience for a job in my field.

107. I need information about occupations.

108. The more I learn about things in my field, the more involved I become.

109. I need to find out what jobs are available in my field.

110. I've decided on the field I am going into.

111. I'm interested in too many fields.

112. I've become more realistic in my thinking about possible careers.

113. I've changed my mind about what I wanted to become, now that I've learned more about the field.

114. I hope the people in my field will accept me.

115. I'm more certain of the fields I don't want than what I do want.

116. I need to decide on an occupation.

117. I know what's important to me, but I don't know what kind of career would meet most of my needs.

118. It's hard to know what to look for in a career.

119. I need to start thinking about job interviews.

120. The career I have chosen fits in with my personality.

121. I need to know more about the training required for some of the occupations I am considering.

122. I will probably have to move away from here to get a job in my field.

123. I don't know if I have the right kind of personality for the work I'm considering.

124. I feel I can overcome any obstacles in the way of my goal.

125. I can't decide on a career because my interests keep changing.

126. The people in my field have certain expectations of me.

127. It's unlikely that I will change my mind about my career plans.

128. I don't know how to go about deciding on a career.

129. There are not many job opportunities in the field that I really like.

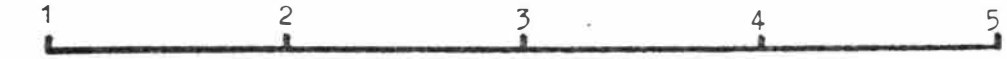
130. I'm looking forward to getting out of school and getting started in my career.

131. I think I'm ready to choose a specialty within my chosen field.

STOP

APPENDIX C

Below are some conditions under which women work. Rate yourself on the 17 conditions considering the way you feel about working after your graduation from college. Consider how much you would want to work under each condition and rate your answer according to the following scale:



1	2	3	4	5
I would not want to work under this condition	I would hardly want to work under this condition	I would somewhat want to work under this condition	I would want to work under this condition	I would very much want to work under this condition

Circle the number of the description which is closest to the way you feel about working in each condition.

1.	Single	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Married; no children; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Married; no children; husband's salary not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Married; one child between 1 month & 2 years; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Married; 2 or more children between 1 month & 2 years; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Married; one child between 1 month & 2 years; salary of husband not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Married; 2 or more children between 1 month & 2 years; salary of husband not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Married; one child between 2 & 4 years; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5

9.	Married; 2 or more children between 2 & 4 years; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	Married; one child between 2 & 4 years; salary of husband not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Married; 2 or more children between 2 & 4 years; husband's salary not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Married; one child between 4 & 6 years; salary of husband adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	Married; 2 or more children between 4 & 6 years; salary of husband adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	Married; one child between 4 & 6 years; salary of husband not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
15.	Married; 2 or more children between 4 & 6 years; salary of husband not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	Married, child(ren) between age 6 & 12.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	Married; child(ren) between age 13 & 19.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX D

Below are some questions concerning the work history of your mother. Answer the questions in terms of what you remember about your mother's work history.

1. Is your mother employed now? _____

   If so, in what occupation? _____

2. Would your mother prefer to work or not to work now?

   _____

3. How many months and years has your mother worked during the following time periods of your life?

Pre-school	Elementary School	Junior High School	High School	College

4. In what occupations has your mother been employed during your life? _____

   _____

5. In general, how would you rate your mother's degree of satisfaction during the times when she was employed?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NOT SATISFIED	SLIGHTLY SATISFIED	SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	FAIRLY SATISFIED	QUITE SATISFIED	VERY SATISFIED	EXTREMELY SATISFIED

6. In general, how would you rate your mother's degree of satisfaction during the times she was in the role of homemaker and not employed?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NOT SATISFIED	SLIGHTLY SATISFIED	SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	FAIRLY SATISFIED	QUITE SATISFIED	VERY SATISFIED	EXTREMELY SATISFIED

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