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**Women and Occupational Achievement  
in the Professional World**

L. R. Clarke

A Thesis  
in  
The Department  
of  
Sociology

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## ABSTRACT

### Women and Occupational Achievement in the Professional World

L. R. Clarke

Canadian women presently comprise a third to a half of the paid labour force. However, eighty-one percent of them are concentrated in the lower-level, lower-paying jobs. In effect, the majority of women have remained occupational low-achievers in the professional world.

Negative social-structural and psychological elements in the life styles and life experiences of women seem to be contributing to their lack of achievement in the professional and occupational world. However, some women have been able to break through these negative conditions and become high occupational achievers. It therefore became important to study some of these women's case histories in order to understand what helped these women towards occupational achievement in the professional world.

In this study, a sample of twelve occupationally successful and twelve occupationally unsuccessful women in the professional world was chosen. The data was collected using a relatively extensive interview-questionnaire.

It was found in this study that several factors do, in fact, help or undermine women towards occupational achievement in the professional world.

The following factors were found to contribute to these subjects' high occupational achievement: the development (by parents) of early achievement patterns in childhood and adolescence; the presence of positive parent-child relationships; the presence of a positive home environment; the presence of parental achievement expectations, encouragement, reinforcement, and role modelling; and lastly, the presence of support systems, whether familial or societal.

The following factors were found to undermine women's occupational achievement: the presence of a negative father-daughter relationship and father-absent home; cultural sex-role expectations; sexual discrimination and stereotyping; the absence of female role models in educational and occupational structures; reference group identification; the white male power structure; and discriminatory practices and policies in the educational and occupational world.

The factors found to have little or no effect on female occupational achievement were the following: parental independence training; family ties or connections; "androgynous" sex-role socialization; and the presence of an adolescent occupational dream.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This study concerns itself with Canadian women's occupational achievement in the professional world. Although Canadian women now have had opportunities<sup>I</sup> to enter the professional world, the majority of them are concentrated in the lower-level, lower-paying jobs. According to Statistics Canada (1980), Canadian women presently comprise a third to a half of the paid labour force. However, eighty-one percent of them are clustered in service-producing industries (i.e. office clerks, secretaries, bank tellers, cashiers, telephone operators, mail handlers, etc...). In effect, most Canadian women have remained occupational low-achievers in business, law, medicine, education, the arts, and the sciences (Mednick, Tangri and Hoffman, 1975). It seems that "women like sediment in a wine bottle settle to the bottom" (Epstein, 1971:2). This might be the result of a long chain of complex, interconnecting factors.

This long, complex chain might have first originated with the structure of sexual inequality. Walum has indicated that sexual inequality might be "the result of and perpetuated through the unequal opportunity to control the extra-

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I Opportunities such as the advancement of technology giving women as caretaker of the home more freedom; the introduction of the Birth Control Pill; programs in occupational structures encouraging the hiring of minorities.

domestic distribution and exchange of valued goods and services" (1977:139-140). In most societies, males have been the controllers and distributors of the most valued goods and services (for example, protein in hunting and gathering societies, and money, in post-industrial societies). This control might have initially been caused by the division of labour, but nevertheless resulted in giving males power, property, and prestige (Friedl,1975). A social stratification system then evolved which entrenched and perpetuated sexual inequality. This, in turn, might have led to a belief system whereby women and their work were considered to be inferior to that of men.

These belief and stratification systems might have also helped contribute to the development of negative sex-role socialization, in which a female is brought up to be passive, emotional, and dependent. This type of sexual socialization has probably acted as a psychological deterrent to achievement motivation in females:

The findings show that girls are more likely to underestimate their abilities and are more apt to lack confidence in their own judgement (Hoffman,1972:140).

In addition to leading to negative sex-role socialization, the sexual power system might have also helped develop other negative social structures. Examples are the following: a) marriage in which women have had to surrender their rights to control their children, property, and salaries; b) colleges and universities where women have not been accepted into



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some of the faculties; a) companies, corporations, and industries, in which discriminatory practices and policies are still being used in the hiring and promotion of women (Tavris and Offir, 1977; Walum, 1977). It is therefore not surprising to find that a large percentage of women are not strongly motivated towards occupational achievement in the professional world- are not allowing themselves to be human beings first, females second.

Something therefore exists in the life styles and life experiences of women which undermines their motivation towards professional achievement (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Since, "there is nothing in the biological evidence to prevent women from taking a role of equality in civilized society" (Sherman, 1971:II), social-structural and psychological barriers obviously do exist. By understanding what these are, perhaps one can then proceed to alleviate the tremendous social loss of human resources and contribution of women who constitute fifty-one percent of our population.

This study will therefore attempt to find out what factors have encouraged or discouraged women towards professional achievement.

Chapter one of this thesis will give the introduction. Chapter two will attempt a review and critique of the existing literature. It will also look at the effects of family socialization, cultural socialization, and the objective conditions of social structure on female achievement.

Following this, Chapter three will deal with the methodology of the study, discussing the theoretical rationale, the definitions of the main concepts, the research design, and the schema.

The fourth part of this thesis will explain and analyze the results of this study. It will describe the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, and evaluate the effects of family socialization, cultural socialization, and the objective conditions of social structure on the respondents' occupational achievement motivation. This same chapter will also look at any underlying achievement patterns in the subjects' life structures.

In chapter five, profiles of a high and low achiever will be given. Chapter six will contain the summary and conclusions of this study and its implications for future research.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW AND CRITIQUE OF THE LITERATURE

Social-structural and psychological barriers to female achievement have been found to come from three main sources: family socialization; cultural socialization; and objective conditions of social structure.

Beginning with family socialization, several variables were found in childhood and adolescence to strongly affect achievement. One such factor is the parental implanting of a basic belief and trust in the child (Elkins, 1977; Berger and Luckman, 1966):

The most essential ingredient for starting a child on the road to self-actualization is the parental presence of unconditional positive regard (Olin, 1968:145).

This unconditional positive regard is completely accepting and respecting the child as a human being. He/she then has self-acceptance and views him/herself as basically competent, useful, and lovable. The child then is more apt to grow up into a person who has the courage and confidence to actualize his/her occupational goals in the professional world.

In addition to parent-child acceptance, the following parent-child interactions have also been found to affect achievement positively: clearly defined and consistent discipline; good communication; and the stressing of self-reliance (Walters and Stinnett, 1971; Heckhausen, 1967; Dreyer and Wells, 1966).

Self-reliance seems to be a particularly important variable in determining general personal achievement throughout the individual's life (McClelland, 1953, 1955, 1961). Studies focusing on the attitudes of mothers of high-achieving and low-achieving sons have indicated strong correlations between early parental independence training and achievement motivation. The mothers were asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding how many independence demands were met early in the life (eight years old) of their sons. Examples of these independence demands are the following: 1) to know his way around the city; 2) to try hard things for himself; 3) to do well in competition; and 4) to make his own friends. The mothers of high-achieving sons expected over sixty percent of the independence demands to be met. The mothers of low-achieving sons expected only thirty-three percent of the demands to be met. Therefore, according to these studies, independence training did seem to correlate with achievement motivation in males.<sup>1</sup> It may be that the more a child is socialized to be autonomous, the greater advantage that child will have in adult life to stand up for his/her beliefs, be assertive, and self-confident. He/she will probably be better able to defy pressure towards conformity, to deal with challenges, and to be motivated

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<sup>1</sup> In these studies, no research was done on females. McClelland (1953, 1955, 1961), as well as Atkinson and Feather (1966), Heckhausen (1967), and Atkinson and Raynor (1978) did extensive studies on male achievement motivation. However, very little mention was made of females' achievement drives.

towards achievement in the occupational world.

However, this autonomy training seems to be directed more towards males than females:

It is our theory that the female child is given inadequate parental encouragement in early independence strivings. Males receive more effective independence training and encouragement (Hoffman, 1972: 136, 139).

This results in an inadequate sense of self and of personal competence in the female child which will have an effect on her adult occupational achievement orientation.

This independence training discrepancy between sexes might be the result of differential parental sex role expectations. In North American society, females are not expected to achieve in the occupational world. They are expected, however, to eventually marry and have children. This is a role in which females need not be particularly independent and assertive. Subsequently, some parents do socialize their daughters to be dependent, passive, and submissive adults.

North American parents also seem to have a "laissez faire" attitude towards their daughters' attending college, pursuing intellectual interests, and having careers. On the other hand, they show much concern over their sons' academic performance, initiative, and plans for the future. These parental occupational achievement expectations have been found to strongly influence both male and female adult professional achievement:

If the child perceives the parents as encouraging or even pressuring her to have high occupational or educational goals- this is related to achievement motivation (Jacobsen, 1971:174).

People usually tend to do what is expected of them (Merton's Self-Fulfilling Prophecy, i.e. "beliefs or expectations that operate to bring about their own fulfillment").<sup>1</sup> The child especially tends to internalize parental expectations in primary socialization, the first and most powerful socialization a person experiences:

The child internalizes the world of her significant others (parents) as the world. She takes on the significant others' roles and attitudes, and makes them her own (Berger and Luckman, 1966:121, 124).

The child takes on the parents' expectations and makes them her own. She incorporates them into her lifestyle.

In addition to internalizing parental expectations (in primary socialization), the child will also be apt to internalize parental values. It was found that parents who believed in achievement (i.e. doing something well for its own sake) tended to integrate this value into their children. These children were found to take a special pleasure in "winning". They were not influenced by extrinsic rewards (i.e. money, public recognition). Their main interest was in the satisfaction of accomplishment.

Therefore, parents who have the achievement ethic, and who expect, support, and encourage their child to achieve, will tend to produce children who will want to do well, and

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<sup>1</sup> Stark, R., "Social Problems", Random House, Toronto, Canada, 1975.

who will be achievement motivated (Gellerman, 1963).

However, it seems important that these above variables (i.e. parental expectations, support, and encouragement) be accompanied by positive reinforcement. According to McClelland's theory, some children will have been positively reinforced by parents for successful achievement. As a result, they tend to perceive their probability of success as relatively high, and they will have an achievement motive characterized by a "hope for success". These subjects tended to also have had parents who not only concentrated on the child's successes, but also encouraged her to aim for realistic, moderately high aspirations, and to enter competitive and skillful activities. The parents generally had a confident and positive attitude towards their child's performance. This helped build a pattern where the successes outweighed the failures, thus developing a positive feeling towards achievement.

On the other hand, some other children will have been negatively reinforced by the parents, i.e. primarily punished for failure. They will have an achievement motive characterized by a "fear of failure". These female subjects have had parents who, in addition to focusing on the child's failures, encouraged her to aim for unrealistic goals, not to enter skillful and competitive activities, and generally had an anxious attitude towards their child's ability. This helped contribute to the child's lacking self-confidence.

and developing a negative attitude towards achieving (Atkinson and Feather, 1966). It was therefore not surprising to find that "fear of failure" subjects were moderate to low achievers; "hope for success" subjects, high achievers. Thus, positive parental achievement reinforcement seems important for the child's development of a healthy, strong, and positive attitude towards her ability to achieve.

However, parental achievement reinforcement, other than through verbal interaction, can also be given through parental role modelling. For example, if the parents themselves have a positive self-concept, and/or are well-educated, and/or are generally high achievers, this seems to be related to their child's achievement motivation. The parents set an example and give the child confidence in their ability to do the same (McDonald, 1979; Angrist, 1972; Luepton, 1980). Male achievers, however, usually identify with their fathers; female achievers, with their mothers (Walters and Stinnett, 1971). Therefore, for the daughter, a mother who is working (Almgvist and Angrist, 1970), and/or who has a career (Parsons, Frieze and Ruble, 1978), and/or who is well-educated (Marini, 1978), seems to act as a reinforcer for the daughter having high occupational and atypical achievement aspirations in adulthood (Baruch, 1976; Tangri, 1975; Haber, 1980). Nevertheless, research has indicated that a process of father-daughter identification can also affect occupational achievement. This might be because in cases



where the mother is primarily a housewife and caretaker, she serves as an inadequate role model. The father represents the outside world of professional achievement (Barnett and Baruch, 1978). Subsequently, the more identified the daughter is with the father, the more likely she will probably tend to be career-oriented in the professional world.

However, in order for all these variables (i.e. father-daughter identification, parental role modelling, achievement expectations, support, and positive reinforcement) to take effect, it is important that harmonious family relations exist within the home. Divorce, separation, or death of one of the parents seems to help contribute to the loss of self-esteem in the children. This loss of self-esteem seems especially predominant for the female child in a father-absent home. Perhaps this is because the father is an important source of affectual response, without which the female child might come to devalue her self-worth and potential (Kaplan and Pokorny, 1971). This, in turn, will tend to affect her occupational achievement orientation in adult life.

Therefore, a home in which the family is a strong, cohesive unit, has good communication, is autonomy-granting, has positive parent-child achievement expectations, support, and reinforcement, positive parental role modelling, and unconditional positive regard for the child, seems to be positively related to adult occupational achievement, for

both males and females.

Males' and females' occupational achievement has been found to be affected also by cultural socialization, the second main source of barriers discussed. Cultural socialization is constituted by the social processes in which females learn to behave in ways which harmonize with the values of their society and/or social group (Stark, 1975). One example of cultural socialization is cultural sex-role expectations.

Traditionally, North American women are not expected to achieve in the professional world, but are expected to become wives and mothers. These sex-role expectations have been found to negatively affect female occupational achievement:

There now is evidence to indicate that the levels of aspirations and of achievement of boys and girls are influenced by their perceptions of the roles of the sexes (Federal Communications Minister, David MacDonald, The Gazette, May 29, 1982).

Subsequently, some females, rather than having an orientation to achieve outside the home, might adjust their behaviours to their internalized, sex-role stereotypical expectations (Horner, 1970; Weitzman, 1975). And this might explain why some "women have been choosing not to develop their potential or their individuality, but rather to live through and for others" (Horner, 1970:107). Some women have a tendency to live vicariously through their husbands and/or children.

It is therefore not surprising to find that women are generally seen as passive and dependent adults. In the

professional world, women tend to be viewed as less competent and intelligent than men: in comparison to males, female productive work tends to be evaluated as inferior (Frieze, 1975). Negative stereotypes have therefore undermined women's credibility and authority in the occupational world (Smith, 1975). Whatever women say or do tends to be devalued and not taken seriously (Millman and Kanter, 1975). Subsequently, the female professional feels she not only has to excel, but be far superior to her male colleagues to get the same recognition.

Negative sexual stereotypes also lead some women to believe that this is the way females actually are, and then act accordingly:

Much sex-role behaviour may be the product of other people's stereotyped and often erroneous beliefs- the self-fulfilling nature of stereotypes (Snyder, 1982:65).

And although some women might not believe these stereotypes, they might compare themselves to other women. They will tend to shape their behaviour, attitudes, and self-appraisals according to how members of society generally view and treat females, and how they generally view and treat males as a group (Merton, 1968). Subsequently, some women will devalue their potential and scale down their ambitions. They will impose restrictions on their abilities and accept discriminatory practices and policies:

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Given the evidence of objective discrimination against about 95% of women workers, the critical question is why only 7.9% reported discrimination on their jobs. Many factors may contribute to this inconsistency. One such factor is that women may compare themselves to other women rather than to men (Levitin, Quinn and Staines, 1975:337).

Not surprisingly then, women tend to have low evaluations and negative attitudes towards each other. They tend to have minority group self-hatred (i.e. contempt for their sexual social group). Thus, some women will be professionally non-supportive (i.e. critical, harsh, competitive, jealous) towards each other.

In any case, all these factors (i.e. minority group self-hatred, self-fulfilling prophecy, and negative stereotypes) tend to perpetuate and reinforce each other. However, through effective institutional and political changes, this vicious circle can be broken:<sup>I</sup>

The initial definition of the situation which has set the circle in motion must be abandoned. Only when the original assumption is questioned and a new definition of the situation is introduced, does the consequent flow of events give the lie to the assumption (Merton, 1968:478).

When the original assumption is questioned, new institutional norms can then be slowly introduced that will be used as a different basis for social group evaluation. Subsequently, new occupational opportunities could then slowly start to

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I Changes such as: the "Equal Opportunity Development Programs" in occupational structures, encouraging the hiring of minorities for the better positions; laws prohibiting discriminatory practices and policies in occupational structures against minorities.

be provided for women, thus helping to expose negative sexual stereotypes as a myth.

Positive cultural role models can also help to expose negative stereotypes as a myth. If some women have the courage and vision to break into non-traditional occupations and become successful, this sets an example. It will give other females confidence in their ability to do the same.

It will also give men more confidence in women. Because so few female role models exist presently in the professional world (i.e. of business, law, engineering, etc...), men are reluctant to hire women for traditionally "male" occupations (i.e. engineer, lawyer, doctor, etc...). They might feel that women are better qualified for the people-oriented "female" professions (i.e. social worker, nurse, elementary school teacher, etc...).

In addition, because of this occupational sex-labelling, perhaps women suffer from role conflict in traditionally "male" occupations. For example, a female lawyer: her one status, that of being a female, has for its appropriate behaviour gentleness and passivity; her other status, that of being a lawyer, has for its appropriate behaviour aggressiveness and activity. Subsequently, some females will feel they are being "deviant", "abnormal", or "unfeminine" in certain "male" occupations. They will thus have an approach-avoidance conflict towards their professional achievement (Horner, 1970; Freeman, 1975; Atkinson and Raynor, 1978).

With all these negative factors, it is not surprising to find that women are discriminated against by a mostly white male hierarchy in the educational and occupational structures (Helson, 1975). Most women are discriminated against in relation to their income (unequal pay for equal work), the quality of their jobs (the majority of women are in low-level, low-paying jobs) and promotion and hiring (qualified men will be picked over qualified women for the better jobs) (Levitin, Quinn and Staines, 1975). Females are also discriminated on the admission to undergraduate and graduate programs in universities and colleges, and in the academic rewards systems in medical and law schools (Astin and Bayer, 1975). Therefore, sexual discrimination does exist in the professional world, perpetuated by a white male power structure.

This discrimination, in turn, has contributed to the development of discriminatory social structures, the third main source of barriers to female occupational achievement in the professional world. One example of a discriminatory social structure is discriminatory laws, practices, and policies- with the intent of excluding women from the educational and occupational worlds. Examples of discriminatory laws, practices, and policies are the following: In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women were barred from admission to universities. They simply were not accepted

into some or all of the faculties (Flexner, 1959). Up to late twentieth century, women still tend to be kept out of the informal "old-boys" network, i.e. male clubs and associations; informal contacts; and the protégé-sponsor systems (Walum, 1977; Tavis and Offir, 1977).

Men might be reluctant to enter protégé-sponsor relationships with women because they feel that the average female professional has weak career commitments (secondary bread winners) or lacks career continuity (childbirth and childrearing) (Oppenheimer, 1975). Subsequently, males might decline giving women professional encouragement or support within these structures.

However, support in the form of family ties or connections has helped some women gain entry into top positions:

In a report on the ten highest-ranking women in big business in 1973, Fortune magazine observed that eight of the ten made it to the top because of family connections or marriage (Tavis and Offir, 1977:209).

These statistics reflect the fact that women might have difficulty getting into top-ranking positions on ability alone. This is because women do not seem to be given the structural opportunities to break into the upper-echelon positions.

In addition to family ties/connections, family social class has also been found to affect female occupational achievement. It is the middle class that has most positively influenced female (and male) professional achievement (Gelas

and Nye, 1974). This is probably because middle-class parents have tended to be more supportive, verbal in discipline, and more likely to stress self-reliance. On the other hand, lower-class parents were found to be authoritarian and restrictive, more likely to use physical punishment, and were generally less supportive of their children's endeavors.

Parent-child support, or lack of support, was also found in another type of social structure, i.e. the birth order. It was found that if the female is the eldest and has no brothers, or is the only child, she might be "selected as the son- the vehicle for parents' achievement drives and goals" (Barnett and Baruch, 1978:27). As a result, the parents might expect and support the daughter to achieve occupationally in the professional world. These expectations and support would also tend to help prevent traditional cultural sex-role expectations (i.e. being exclusively housewife and mother) from completely taking effect.

One family structure, however, that seems to have been a deterrent to female occupational achievement in the professional world is marriage. Whether or not the wife works in North American society, the husband does not seem to generally help much with the responsibilities of household chores and childcare. Subsequently, between work outside and inside the home, marriage for the woman might become demanding and burdensome. And if the woman isn't working, the relationship within marriage tends to place her in a



subordinate, economically dependent position on the husband.

Female subordination within marriage has also been reinforced by religious ideology. Many religions have supported the doctrine of male dominance/female submissiveness (Millet, 1969): "Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands...for the husband is the head of the wife" (Ephesians, 5:23-24), or "I suffer not a woman to usurp authority over men, but to be in silence" (St. Paul). It seems that in most organized religions, even God is deeply entrenched in sexual prejudice: "I thank Thee, O Lord, Thou has not made me a woman" (Orthodox Jewish Prayer). This sexual prejudice is also reflected in religious organizations. For example, most religions do not accept women into the priesthood. The most elite and powerful positions are held by men.

In any case, these negative ideologies have affected the attitudes, norms, and beliefs of the different societies, which in turn have been projected into the various channels of communication (i.e. books, newspapers, advertising, movies, plays, televisions, etc...). The media still tends to portray females as brainless sex objects or housewives- as immature, incompetent, and frivolous adults who serve as appendages to men (Astin and Bayer, 1975; Oakley, 1975):

The problem with sex-stereotyping in today's advertising is that it is not projecting an accurate image of women, and yet the image that is projected is one that is believed by many people, and one on which they base their decisions and their actions (David MacDonald, 1979 Federal Communications Minister).

Therefore, many erroneous beliefs tend to be perpetuated through the media, which activates the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy (Snyder, 1982). Discriminatory conditions of social structure tend to affect negatively the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour of how women generally view each other, and how men generally view women, and the roles they are expected to fill, now, or in the future. These beliefs and attitudes in turn reinforce discriminatory objective conditions of social structure. It becomes a vicious cycle, which might help explain why the majority of North American women have remained occupational underachievers in the professional world (Myrdal, 1962).

#### Critique

Present research on female achievement in comparison to males' has been scarce. McClelland (1953, 1955, 1961), as well as Atkinson and Feather (1966), Heckhausen (1967), and Atkinson and Raynor (1978) did extensive studies on men's achievement motivation. However, mention was rarely made of women's achievement drives. Perhaps this is because women, traditionally have not been expected to achieve in the professional world. They have been expected however to achieve through the roles of wife, mother, and homemaker. However, this tends to be achievement defined in female terms. The various researchers, mentioned above, seemed to be concerned with achievement defined primarily in male


terms, i.e. the realization of success in the professional world. As a result, they might have felt it unnecessary or unimportant to explore female achievement.

Nevertheless, during World War II and since the sixties, women have been entering the labour force at an accelerated pace. But the majority of them are concentrated in the lower-level, lower-paying jobs. This ghettoization results in a major drain of resources and potential of women who are unable to explore their full human development.

In addition, McClelland might have exaggerated the role of early, parental independence training in leading to high achievement motivation. DeVos (1973) found that Japanese children who were high in need for nurturance and dependence were also high in need for achievement. This is contrary to McClelland's findings. This discrepancy might be because of differential cultural values and socialization in Japan and the United States.

In Japan, the family is a strong socializing unit where there exists harmonious family relations and strong, internalized sanctions to familial obligations. Japanese parents, in addition, work very hard to provide their children with a better life and education. Subsequently, the Japanese child has an incredibly strong sense of guilt unless she repays back her parents. She thus "learns to aim at high standards of performance in the pursuit of goals to benefit one's family" (DeVos, 1973:181).

The American child, however, want to achieve for herself. This is probably because the American value system stresses individuality, competition (with others), self-reliance, and independence. The American child is socialized to have a sense of obligation to herself, rather than to her family or community. It is not therefore surprising to find in North American society, early parental independence training correlating with high achievement motivation. However, because this factor, i.e. independence training, does not extend to the Japanese culture, McClelland might have "overgeneralized Western European and American psychological patterns (i.e. independence training) as the only possible ones expressing need achievement" (DeVos, 1973:181). In other words, in some societies, just because a child is trained to be highly independent, does not necessarily mean that he or she will also be highly achievement motivated. Therefore, McClelland tended to be narrow in his research perspective on achievement motivation.



## Chapter III

### METHODOLOGY

#### I. Theoretical Rationale

A review of the research on female achievement has provided an inductive basis for the following assertions:

- 1) Certain conditions exist in the life styles and life experiences of women that act as barriers to their becoming high occupational achievers in the professional world;
- 2) The barriers are social-structural and social-psychological. Nothing exists in the biological evidence to prevent women from occupational achievement;
- 3) Patterns of achievement are developed through family socialization in childhood and adolescence;
- 4) High achievers tend to form life structures and gravitate towards people (i.e. mates, friends, colleagues, etc...) who or which will be conducive to their success.

The following questions have subsequently been developed from the above assertions:

- 1) Does family socialization affect female occupational achievement?
- 2) Does cultural socialization affect female occupational achievement?

- 3) Do objective conditions of social structure affect female occupational achievement?
- 4) Do adult occupational achievers start developing "success patterns" in childhood and adolescence?
- 5) Do adult occupational achievers tend to be mentally geared towards achievement throughout their lives? If so, in what ways?

These variables- socialization, social structure, and achievement patterns- interconnect and affect each other. Socialization deals with the self; social structure, with the world; and achievement patterns with the subsequent human development of the self interacting with the world. As Levinson (1978) stated, the self and the world are not mutually exclusive of one another- "each is inside the other" (1978:47). The adolescent and adult development that therefore takes place is the result of the interpenetration of the self and the world.

## 2. Definitions of the Concepts

The dependent variable was occupational achievement in the professional world; this is any highly socially-ranked successful endeavor in the occupational and professional world, where a social standard of excellence exists. However, this is achievement defined primarily in male terms, i.e. the realization of success in the professional world. Women are probably highly achievement-oriented-

however channeled through their traditional roles of wife, mother, and homemaker (DeVos, 1973).

This dependent variable, i.e. occupational achievement in the professional world, seemed to be affected by the following independent variables: a) early parental autonomy training: this is training a child to be self-sufficient and independent. The parents insist that the child be able to perform well certain tasks by herself. Examples of these tasks are the following; to know her way around the city; to be willing to try new things on her own; to earn her own spending money; and to make responsible decisions, like choosing her own clothes.

b) Parental achievement expectations: This is the standard of excellence in all activities that parents will impose on their children. This is not training a child to think and act for herself. This is expecting a child to do well in whatever she sets out to do.

c) Cultural sex-role expectations: Traditionally, females are not expected to achieve in the occupational world. In North American society, women are generally expected to become wives and mothers; males to excel in the professional world and to become good providers (Millet, 1969). These are traditional North American sex-role expectations that probably affect female occupational achievement.

d) Power structure: Males have been, in most societies, the main controllers and administrators in the educational and occupational structures. They tend to hold the highest and most responsible positions, and also tend to be in charge of determining policies. One example of this is who gets hired and promoted for certain jobs. Subsequently women, who are a minority, have tended to be discriminated against by the mostly white male hierarchy in the educational and occupational structures.

e) Support systems: This is the presence of people (i.e. family, friends, mate, teachers, employers, colleagues, mentors) who give strength, encouragement, and assistance in order to help that individual reach her professional goals.

### 3. Research Design

In order to understand women's lack of occupational achievement in the professional world, it was important to enter women's world, and to understand reality as they see it. The Symbolic Interactionist Framework, using introspective, qualitative techniques to collect data seemed appropriate for this research (Ritzer, 1980).

This framework takes into account the symbolic world in which women live (i.e. meanings conferred upon objects, events, and situations); the meanings which result from interaction with others; and the subsequent relationships



between self and others (Manis and Meltzer, 1967; Meltzer, Petras and Reynolds, 1975).

The biographical interview seemed a good research tool for collecting the data. This is a mixture of a detailed clinical and research interview, and a discussion between friends (Levinson, 1978:15). It focused on the following: 1) the subject's self (values, aspirations, dreams, conflicts, desires); 2) subject's sociocultural world (family, friends, teachers, employers, social class, religion, education, ethnicity, occupation, workplace); 3) subject's interaction and subsequent interpenetration of the world (major decisions, turning points, important relationships) (Levinson, 1978).

The interview-questionnaire was structured to look at any underlying patterns of developmental periods in the respondent's life: childhood (1-13); adolescence (13-18); early adult transition (18-22); entering the adult world (22-28); age thirty transition (28-33); and settling down (33-40) (Levinson, 1978).

These different age periods are based on Levinson's theory of adult male development. Levinson (1978) believes that women go through the same developmental periods of stability and transition as men, however the contexts or specific issues of the various life structures will differ.

In any case, the developmental periods of stability, lasting approximately six years, are marked by the formation of a life structure (i.e. making and forming a life's patterns around major decisions). The transitional periods, lasting approximately four years, are marked by a change of life structure (i.e. reassessing existing structure- either improving it or changing it)(Levinson,1978).

Looking at the subject's life structure gave the researcher an organized way of studying the respondent's self, the society in which she lives, subsequent relationships, and how these components helped shape and determine any underlying order to their lives (Levinson,1978).

To obtain this information, the interviews had to be relatively detailed. Because of the case-study nature of the research, a limited sample of twenty-four women was chosen. Because the sample was so small, no conclusive hypotheses could be derived from this data. However, some ideas or more hypotheses could be generated for future testing. In addition, some underlying patterns, regarding women's life structures and occupational achievement patterns might be detected.

The sample consisted of twelve occupationally successful and twelve occupationally unsuccessful women in the professional world. Note however, that this is success defined

primarily in male terms, i.e. the realization of occupational achievement in the professional world. In other words, some women might be highly achievement oriented, but channeled through their traditional role of wife, mother, and homemaker (DeVos, 1973; Stein and Bailey, 1975). However, this study concerned itself with female occupational achievement in the professional world.

It might also be added that being a highly successful woman does not necessarily indicate a strong disposition towards achievement. Some women might have their successful positions because of family ties, connections, politics, wealth, etc... Nevertheless, the studies have indicated that people found in the upper echelons of the professional world usually tend to be high achievers (Gellerman, 1963). Therefore, a strong likelihood exists that successful women are highly achievement oriented.

These successful women were chosen from the upper ranks of corporations, companies, banks, and universities, with the exception of two, who were in the fields of arts and sports. Their ages varied from twenty-eight to sixty-eight, their social class backgrounds from lower to upper-middle. They also tended to come from various ethnic and religious backgrounds.

After having obtained their names (through professional women's groups, executive fellow employees at the workplace, the newspaper, etc...), they were contacted by telephone.

The nature and significance of the research was then discussed. It was also stressed that the interview and their name would be confidential, that the interview's duration would be approximately thirty to forty minutes long, and to be held at a time and place of their convenience. All these women were very co-operative and helpful in granting the interview.

The twelve professionally unsuccessful women were chosen from the lower strata jobs in companies, offices, restaurants, and bars. Their ages varied from twenty-one to sixty-nine, their social class, from lower to upper-middle, and their religious backgrounds, Catholic and Protestant. They also tended to come from various ethnic backgrounds.

The researcher contacted them in person, introducing herself as a Concordia sociology student doing a study on women's occupations. She told them she was looking for females to partake in a thirty-minute research interview, at a time and place of their convenience. She also emphasized that the interview and their name would be kept confidential. All the women contacted gave the researcher the interview.

The respondents were interviewed in a relatively quiet environment, whether it was an office, conference room, restaurant, or home. The tape-recorded interviews were of thirty to sixty minutes duration, depending on the

respondent's willingness to communicate additional information. In addition, the interviewer made notes, using a life chart as a guideline.

With the questionnaire,<sup>1</sup> the subjects were probed and encouraged to talk about key issues (i.e. important relationships, major decisions, etc...), starting with childhood, and extending up to their present age. The basic idea was to obtain a brief portrayal of the subject's life, in order to identify what factors affected these women's achievement patterns. It was therefore important that a comfortable atmosphere be established so that the subjects talked freely and openly about themselves.

And even if a relaxed rapport were present between interviewer and interviewee, some of the respondents (consciously or unconsciously) omitted and/or distorted information.<sup>2</sup> The researcher had relatively little control over this. However, probing and checking for distortions were an important part of the interviewing process.

Having collected the data, the following method of analysis was used: a) a folder was made for each subject's case study; b) a typed transcript was made of each tape; c) a life chart was made of each respondent's life, including all the major developmental periods (i.e. childhood,

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A for sample of questionnaire

<sup>2</sup> People sometimes remember or communicate only what they want to in order to protect their pride or feelings.

adolescence, early adult transition, etc...). These charts contained key issues the researcher was looking at (i.e. important relationships, major decisions, socialization, etc...); d) a write-up was made of each subject, discussing charts and interview.

Following this, an assessment was made of all major variables dealt with in the interview. This was determined in the following way: a) if the subjects responded positively to a question regarding a certain variable, a positive tabulation was indicated; b) if the subjects responded negatively, a negative tabulation was indicated; c) and lastly, if the subjects responded ambivalently, a moderate tabulation was indicated. However, in some cases, although the subjects answered ambivalently, they tended to reveal during the interview that in fact, the variable had affected them either positively or negatively; or contrarily, in some cases, the subjects answered either positively or negatively, but tended to reveal during the interview that the variables had in fact affected them moderately. As a result, the tabulation was changed.<sup>I</sup>

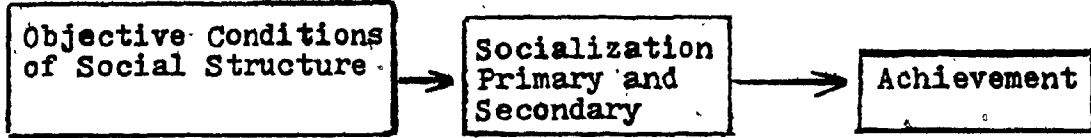
The data was organized in this way so that patterns might be detected and subsequent hypotheses generated regarding female occupational achievement patterns.

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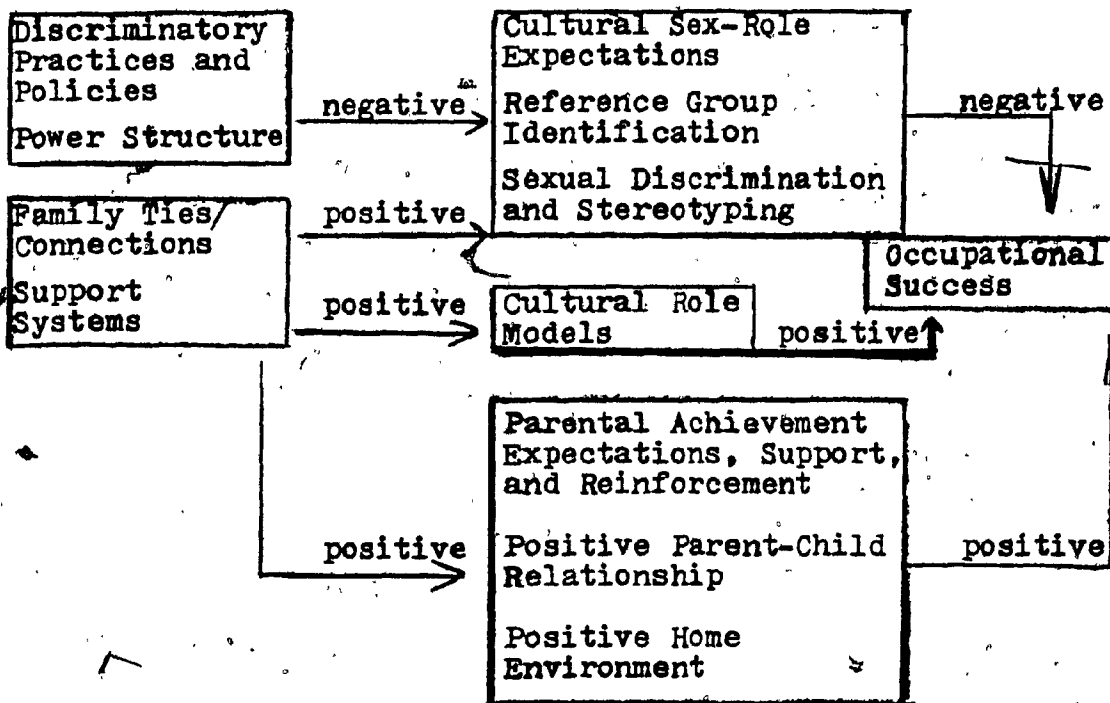
I See Appendix B for more detailed explanation of tabulations.

4. Schema

General Causal Sequence Among Analytical Units:



Specific Causal Links Among Analytical Units:



The above specific causal links interconnect and influence each other in the following way: upon entering the occupational and professional world, a woman will likely encounter "discriminatory practices and policies" and the "white male power structure". These variables will

tend to act as barriers to occupational success. These two variables will also help reinforce the following secondary socialization variables: "cultural sex-role expectations"; "reference group identification"; and "sexual discrimination and stereotyping". The negative factors found in social structure will reinforce the negative variables found in secondary socialization which, in turn, will help prevent females from occupational success.

Two variables in social structure, however, that are conducive to occupational success are "family ties/connections" and "support systems". These factors will help counteract any negative variables and reinforce any positive variables found in primary and secondary socialization. For example, the presence of "support systems" will help counteract "sexual discrimination and stereotyping"; and "family ties/connections" will help reinforce "parental achievement expectations, support, and reinforcement".

In other words, if the variables found in social structure are positive, they will reinforce the positive variables and help counteract the negative variables found in primary and secondary socialization. However, if the factors in social structure are negative, they will reinforce the negative variables and help counteract the positive variables found in primary and secondary socialization.



## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter will describe the socio-economic characteristics of the twenty-four subjects. It will also present an analysis of the effects of family socialization, cultural socialization, and social-structural conditions on the respondents' occupational achievement motivation. Lastly, it will examine the underlying developmental achievement patterns in the respondents' different life structures.

#### I. Some Socio-Economic Characteristics

This section will describe the twenty-four respondents' characteristics, divided into the following categories:

I) personal, (2) occupational, and (3) financial situation.

##### (I) Personal Characteristics:

Age: The twenty-four respondents' ages ranged from twenty-one to seventy years. Eleven were in the 21-33 bracket; seven, in the 34-44; and six, in the 45-70. The average age was in the 28-34 range. The Highs (high achievers) tended to be slightly older (early to middle thirties); the Lows (low achievers), slightly younger (middle twenties to early thirties). Perhaps the sample of Highs was slightly older because women tend to reach the pinnacle of their careers (or high occupational achievement) in their thirties.

Place of Birth: Ten Highs and eleven Lows were Canadian-born, with two Highs and one Low, being foreign-born. This data did not correlate with the present literature which stated that occupationally successful women tend to be foreign-born (Barnett and Baruch, 1978).

Ethnic Origin: Five Highs and seven Lows were of French origin; six Highs and two Lows, Anglo-Saxon; one High, Jewish; one Low, Greek; and two Lows, Italian. The Highs thus tended to be more Anglo-Saxon, and the Lows, French. These findings correlated with the present literature which stated that Anglo-Saxon (Protestants) tend to be more occupationally achievement-oriented than the French (Catholics).<sup>I</sup>

Religion: The majority of the Lows (10) and nearly half the Highs (5) were Catholic. A third of the Highs (4) and one Low were Protestant. One High was Jewish, with the rest of the respondents (3) claiming no religion. The Highs thus tended to be more Protestant; the Lows, Catholic. This corresponded with the present literature which stated that it is the Protestant religion which tends more to foster the spirit of Capitalism and high achievement in the occupational world (Weber, 1930; McClelland, 1961).

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I. In this sample, the French respondents were Catholic; and the Anglo-Saxon respondents, Protestant.

Education: Four Highs and no Lows had 17-22 years (graduate) years of formal education; five Highs and no Lows had fifteen years (undergraduate, obtaining a degree); two Highs and seven Lows had 12-14 years (some college); one High and three Lows had 11 years (High School Leaving); with no Highs and two Lows, having seven years or less. The Highs thus tended to have more years of formal education than the Lows. This is logical since formal education is a preparation for the professional world. And as has been indicated in the literature, high occupational achievers, upon entering the Early Adult Transition (17-18 years), seem to be already "programmed" for occupational achievement (Gellerman, 1963).

Birth Order: Five Highs and six Lows were first-born; four Highs and one Low, second-born; one High and five Lows, third-born; and two Highs, fourth-born. Therefore, nearly fifty percent Highs and fifty percent Lows were first-born, with the other half being second, third, and fourth-born. This data did not correspond with the present literature which stated that high female occupational achievers tend to be first-born (Pfious, 1980; Heckhausen, 1967). The literature has also indicated that these female first-borns tended to have no brothers or were the only child (Barnett and Baruch, 1978). However, in this study, all the Highs and Lows (with the exception of one Low) had younger brothers and none was an only child. Therefore, no correlation existed between present literature on birth order and the sample in this study.

Marital Status: Three Highs and three Lows were single; five Highs and five Lows were married; two Highs and three Lows were divorced; with two Highs and one Low, widowed. This data did not correspond with the present literature which stated that occupationally successful women tend to be single with no children.

Number of Children: Six Highs and four Lows had between one and three children. This did not correspond with the literature which stated that high female occupational achievers tend to be single with no children. Note however, that this pattern is changing. More career women are now having one or two children and are still able to successfully manage their professions.

(2) Occupational Situation: This will include the respondents' education and to what extent they are presently working. All twelve Highs were professionals in varying fields. Seven were business executives; two were university professors; one, an actress; one, in communications (television); and lastly, one in sports (long-distance running). On the other hand, all twelve Lows were semi-skilled and unskilled workers in varying fields. Four Lows were clerical and general office workers; five were waitresses, and the remaining three, bartenders. Twenty-two of the respondents were presently working full-time, with one High, part-time. One Low was retired.

(3) Financial Situation: This will include the respondents' income per annum. The Highs' income ranged from \$28-\$50,000 plus and the Lows' income from \$8-\$24,000 per annum. Four Highs made \$50,000 plus; one High, \$45-\$49,999; four Highs, \$40-\$44,999; one High, \$36-\$39,999; one High, \$32-\$35,999; and the last High, \$28-\$31,999. Two Lows made \$8-\$11,999; three Lows, \$12-\$15,999; six Lows, \$16-\$19,999; and one Low from \$20-\$23,999. Therefore, the Highs had much higher salaries than the Lows. This is understandable, since the Highs have much better positions than the Lows.

To summarize,<sup>I</sup> the twenty-four respondents, in general, were young (28-34 years), Canadian-born (21), of French (12), and Anglo-Saxon (8) extract, and having Catholic (15) and Protestant (5) faiths. However, more Highs were Anglo-Saxon and Protestant (4), and more Lows were French (7) and Catholic (10). The subjects tended to be married (10) with no children (14), with no strong distinction between the Highs and Lows. Practically all had a High School Leaving certificate (20), with the Highs having, on the average, four more years of formal education (undergraduate). All the Highs were professionals and making good incomes (\$28-\$50,000 plus); while all the Lows were semi-skilled and unskilled workers, making relatively low salaries (\$8-\$24,000) per annum. Nearly all the respondents (22) were presently working full-time.

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I See Appendix C for table summary of findings.

## 2. Family Socialization

As was indicated in the review of the literature, "parental influence" (i.e. parent-child socialization effects) and "familial climate" (i.e. emotional atmosphere in the home) have been found to significantly affect adult female occupational achievement. Subsequently, it became important to look at the family backgrounds of the high and low achievers. The following variables were probed: the quality of the parent-child relationship; the quality of the home environment; parental achievement expectations; parental sex-role expectations; the parental implanting of the achievement ethic; parental support of achievement; parental positive achievement reinforcement; parental role modelling; and parental autonomy training.

Beginning with "the quality of the parent-child relationship", present literature has indicated that children who have had warm, communicative, and loving relationships to both parents will tend to have a higher achievement orientation throughout life. Perhaps this is because parents are an important source of affectual response without which children will tend to lack self-esteem and self-confidence. This, in turn, will tend to affect their adult occupational achievement drives.

In comparison to the Lows, the Highs were found to have closer, more communicative relationships to both parents. Seven Highs and three Lows had a close mother-

daughter relationship; four Highs and one Low, a close father-daughter relationship. Examples of close and distant parent-child relationships are shown in the following High's and Low's statements:

I was close to both my parents. They were both very good friends of mine. This relationship has always remained the same throughout the years. (High)

I wasn't close to anybody as I was growing up. I really never had any family life. My parents were very cold, especially my father. (Low)

These relationships seemed to affect their emotional lives and how they felt about themselves, i.e. their self-esteem and self-confidence.

Besides these close parent-child relationships, the Highs were also found to have warmer, more affectionate mothers and fathers. Seven Highs and six Lows stated they had warm, affectionate mothers; six Highs and three Lows, affectionate fathers. Therefore the Highs were more likely to have had closer, warmer, more communicative, and more loving relationships to both parents.

However, what was interesting to find is that seven Lows and no Highs had negative father-daughter relationships. The relationship was negative in the sense that the father had been either cold and/or rejecting, and/or "distant" (emotionally and/or physically), and/or "never around" (the father was never home because of parental separation or divorce). There was not such a strong

discrepancy between the Highs' and Lows' negative relationship to their mothers. Only one High and two Lows reported having "negative mother-daughter relationships"<sup>I</sup> (the relationship was negative in the sense that the mother was either mentally and/or physically abusive, and/or cold and unloving, and/or absent from the home). What this data suggests is that the quality of the father-daughter relationship, in terms of its being negative, might have some bearing on the daughter's occupational achievement orientation in adult life. In other words, practically all the Highs and Lows had positive mother-daughter relationships, with all the Highs having positive father-daughter relationships. The discrepancy arose between the Highs' and Lows' negative relationship to their fathers. Seven Lows and no Highs had negative father-daughter relationships. For example, consider the following:

I liked my father. He was a nice guy. I admired him very much. I always felt close to him. He was kind, intelligent, good-humoured, and poised. Other than him, I can't really remember admiring anybody else. (High)

My father was cold and strict. My father never came through for me (emotionally). My father was a doctor and he wanted me to go into medicine or go to university. I ran away from home when I was fifteen. I never went back. (Low)

The father-daughter relationship in both cases not only marked their emotional lives, but also their professional

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I See Appendix C for table: "the quality of the parent-child relationship".



ones. The above High is now thirty-one and is a successful television journalist and host; the above Low is twenty-eight and is working as a cocktail waitress and bartender. Thus, the quality of the father-daughter relationship might be important.

The reasons the father's influence (in these two cases and in general) might have some bearing on female occupational achievement are the following: the father has been the traditional representative of the professional world of occupational achievement. Subsequently, his warm and positive attitude towards his daughter helps implant the necessary self-esteem and initiative for her adult occupational achievement. In other words, because the father accepts and loves his daughter, and supports and encourages her human development (i.e. developing her potential as a human being), she will probably start having in childhood and adolescence a belief in herself and in her abilities. She will thus develop the required self-confidence necessary to become highly achievement oriented in the professional world. On the other hand, if the father is cold and rejecting, the female child might come to evaluate herself negatively.

However, the mother-daughter influence in this study was also relevant. Eight Highs and three Lows did have mothers who expected, supported, and who positively

reinforced achievement. Three of these Highs especially had mothers who acted as powerful role models. For example, consider the following High's statements:

I always felt especially close to my mother. I thought she was so beautiful and she knew everything. I always thought she was so extraordinary. As I was growing up, my mother would help me in my studies. She kept on like that for many, many years. If I came back from school with bad notes that wouldn't do. I had to be the first. In my career, my mother supported and helped me all the time. She always sustained me in my career.

Not surprisingly, with this kind of mother-daughter relationship, this High went on to become one of the top actresses in Canada.

With the other two Highs, the mothers also served as occupational role models (i.e. both mothers worked). In fact, both Highs entered occupations similar to their mothers. Consider the following statements:

I was close to both my parents. They were both very good friends. My mother expected me to perform well. She had very high expectations. Both my parents did. My mother and father were both teachers, and I used to play teacher alot. Ever since I can remember, I've wanted to be a teacher.

I was always close to my mother. She expected me to perform well in everything I did. My mother worked. She was an office manager. At age nineteen, what I wanted to do was become a personnel manager. Out of all my friends (from high school), I was the only one who achieved anything. I was the only one who had a working mother.

The first High went on to become a university professor, with tenure, at a leading Canadian university. The second

High is personnel manager at a leading banking institution.

In these two cases, the mothers, through their warm loving support, encouragement, and high expectations, and through positive role modelling, seemed to have strongly influenced these Highs' occupational achievement orientation. The mother can therefore serve as a powerful role model, with an ability to fuel and inspire high occupational achievement in the professional world.

However, in this study, it was the father on whom the respondents tended to focus their responses on. The reasons for this focus might be due to the generation (ages twenty-seven to thirty-five) from which these women came. Most of these respondents had mothers who did not work. The mothers did not serve as occupational role models in the professional world. And if the mothers did work, they had low-level, low-paying jobs. Subsequently, the Highs and Lows tended to discuss their fathers, because they were the real representatives of the outside world of professional achievement. Under these circumstances, the fathers also tended to be more influential in confirming these respondents' self-worth and their ability to achieve in the professional and occupational world.

In addition to the influence of the father and mother on the daughter's achievement, the quality of the home environment (i.e. the emotional atmosphere in the home; the degree of harmony between parents, and between parents

and children) was important. In this study, five Lows had father-absent homes (a home where the father was absent because of death, divorce, or separation), with two of these homes being very unstable (a home where there was disharmony between parents and between parents and children). On the other hand, all twelve Highs had father-present homes, with only one of these homes being very unstable.<sup>I</sup> Concerning the presence of the mother in the home, only one High and no Lows reported a mother-absent home. There was thus a much stronger difference between the Highs' and Lows' home environment in relation to the father's absence or presence. The father's absence might have a negative effect on the female child because she might tend to hold herself responsible for the father's absence. She will subsequently derogate herself and will suffer a major loss of self-esteem. Such an occurrence would undoubtedly have an effect on one's ability to achieve in the occupational and professional world. Thus, the variables "the quality of the parent-child relationship" and "the quality of the home environment" seemed to influence both the Highs' and Lows' occupational achievement.

Parental achievement expectations (i.e. the parents expecting the child to do her best in whatever she sets out to do) seemed important as well. People tend to do what is expected of them. These expectations are

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<sup>I</sup> This one High had a mentally ill mother who was subsequently hospitalized.

particularly powerful if they derive from one's parents in the process of primary socialization, the first and most significant socialization a person experiences.

Nine Highs and four Lows had parental achievement expectations (i.e. the parents expecting their daughter to do well in whatever she sets out to do). However, it was eight Highs and four Lows who had parental achievement expectations, which included occupational achievement expectations in the professional world (i.e. the parents, in addition to the above, expecting their daughter to do well in the professional and occupational world).

The exception was the following High:

I was always close to my mother. She thought I was just wonderful. She always expected me to perform well in everything I did. But she did eventually want me to get married, have children, and not have to work the way she did. At nineteen, I decided not to go to university. My marks were good, and I wanted to go, but I felt that I wouldn't excel. I felt this because of my mother's influence, not encouraging me. I went to secretarial school instead.

She felt that she would not excel because of her mother's influence- not encouraging her. It seemed that this High's beliefs and confidence in her own abilities came from her mother's attitudes and feelings toward her. She just did not seem to have the psychological strength to go against her mother's wishes and expectations.

In any case, this High did start working as a general office secretary at a leading banking institution. During the course of ten years, she not only married and had a child, but she also worked her way up to executive manager of personnel. This is an accomplishment for a woman starting as a general office secretary, with only a High School Leaving certificate. The need to excel which had been implanted by her mother throughout childhood and adolescence, carried her through into the adult occupational and professional world:

As I was growing up, my mother expected me to perform well in everything that I did. It's a real discipline to try to perform well in everything that you do.

Not only did she perform well in everything she did at her job, but she also wanted to continually challenge herself. She kept asking for promotions to better positions:

I came to the bank as a secretary. I was in a secretarial pool and I was not happy. It was boring and awful. I asked for a transfer and they let me work for a manager. Within a year, I moved to two positions, by proving myself, and then asking for transfers. I worked hard- over and above the call of duty. You have to really excel if you want to get ahead- that is for a woman going up through the ranks.

However, although she was professionally successful, she did express some regret regarding her life's occupational achievements:

I really wish my parents had pushed me more. I wanted to go to university. I wanted to become a surgeon. My mother was never enthusiastic. I think if they had pushed me more, I would have achieved alot more.

Part of the problem is "parental sex-role expectations", i.e. the parents expecting the respondent to follow the traditional route of getting married and having children- not occupationally achieving in the professional world. However, the remaining eight Highs and four Lows did have parental occupational achievement expectations. For example, one High stated:

When I decided to go into engineering, some friends of the family would say: "Why are you going into engineering-thats not for a girl. You're going to get married and you're wasting your time going into a profession like that". My father would answer: "Why shouldn't she become a professional?" I remember always wanting to be an outstanding person-because of my father's expectations. He pushed me to become successful in the male-dominated world.

This High is now Chief Executive Officer at a large Québec company. Contrasting this High's experiences is the following Low's statements:

I've always wanted to become a lawyer. After CGEP, I was really thinking and wanting to become a lawyer. My parents discouraged me. They felt that it was too much of a commitment. They didn't expect me to have a career- just to get married. They never had high expectations of me. They treated my brothers differently. They expected them to have a career. I really wish I had gone to law school after CGEP, but everybody discouraged me, and I couldn't stand the pressure.

This Low couldn't stand the pressure- meaning she lacked

the confidence and belief in her own abilities to pursue her most deeply felt ambitions and drives. Her parents not only did not expect her to achieve occupationally in the professional world, but they also discouraged her. She was getting no parental support.

Parental support seems to have been an important variable in determining these Highs' and Lows' occupational achievement. This is any kind (emotional, financial, etc..) of encouragement, aid, or guidance which helps the subject reach her occupational goals and achievement. It tends to project the following message to the child: "Do the best you can. You can do it. We know you can do it". These messages from "significant others" (i.e. parents) in primary socialization implant in the child a tremendous belief in herself and in her abilities. These positive messages will also help counteract any negative messages she might later receive in the occupational and professional world.

Seven Highs and four Lows mentioned their parents had been supportive. Examples of parental support are shown in the following High's statements:

Basically, my parents brought me up with the philosophy that you can do anything that you want to do. This very definitely gave me a belief in myself. My parents were very supportive.

Contrasting this is the following Low's statements:

I really always wanted to be a teacher. I wanted to go to university. My father was never around. My mother didn't really care. I had no support at all.



It seems as if these respondents are looking for some kind of reassurance, acknowledgement, or reinforcement that they are competent and productive people, and that what they are doing is the right thing.

Reinforcement, in the form of recognition, seemed especially to be a powerful catalyst for achievement. Three Highs and no Lows mentioned specifically having received parental recognition for achievement. For example, consider the following High's comments:

My father was so proud of me whenever I did anything well. He would tell and show everybody. It was stimulating. My success would be his success. I got used to being outstanding. I was always recognized one way or another in my class or in society.

This High found her father's recognition stimulating. It made her feel valued, important, and worthwhile. It validated her potential as a human being. It's only natural that this High would want to keep perpetuating this experience, right on into adulthood. Therefore, parental reinforcement (especially recognition) seems to help contribute to adult occupational achievement in the professional world.

Parental reinforcement becomes even more powerful if the parents themselves exemplify achievement. If the parents are positive role models for achievement, it sets an example. It gives the female child confidence in her ability to do the same. For example, one High stated:

My father was a successful businessman. I remember, ever since I was a teenager, always admiring success in the professional world. What probably has helped me achieve in life is having parents who had high expectations and who themselves had the achievement ethic.

Eight Highs and three Lows specifically mentioned having had parents who modelled achievement. These parents also tended to implant the achievement ethic (i.e. the value of doing whatever you do, the best you can) into their children. They did this either verbally, or through role modelling.

Therefore, all these variables: the parental implanting of the achievement ethic, parental role modelling, parental achievement reinforcement, support, and expectations, seemed to influence these Highs' and Lows' occupational achievement in the professional world.

Four Lows, however, also had parental achievement expectations, support, and the parental implanting of the achievement ethic. But, they never "made it" in the occupational world. The explanation might be that they had counteracting variables in their environmental backgrounds.

For example, one of them stated:

My mother was a successful businesswoman and wanted me to be successful in a career as well. She really resented it when I quit school. I quit because there was so much turmoil at home. My parents were never getting along. My home life was always chaotic. I think this affected me a lot. I really haven't been able to get it together.

Although her parents own successful restaurants and a

golf course, this respondent (who is now twenty-seven) has been working as a waitress since she quit school. In this case, an upsetting home environment (i.e. a home broken by divorce and general disharmony between parents) seemed to be the counteracting variable. This type of environment contributed to the child's not developing the sufficient self-esteem and self-confidence for adult professional achievement.

With still another Low, the counteracting variable seemed to be her father's death:

My father wanted me to be like him- a professional. He died when I was seventeen. I was really lost for a couple of years. I also lost my confidence because my father was so encouraging in everything I did. If he saw me now as a waitress, he wouldn't accept that. If he had lived, he would have pushed me to go into something else.

Her father's death seemed to be a negative turning point in her life. He died at a vulnerable time- the beginning of her Early Adult Transition (i.e. a time of important decisions and transformations when an individual begins to enter adulthood) (Levinson, 1978). Without her father, she seemed to lack a sense of herself- of where she was going. Maybe this is because her father had been such an important source of affectual response and support that without him she felt lost, confused, and defeated.

With the remaining two Lows, a cold and rejecting father seemed to be the counteracting variable. For example, one Low stated:

My father was cold and strict. He was a doctor and he wanted me to go to university or go into medicine. He had high expectations. It seemed like he was always giving me another chance to do well. I would be okay for awhile, but then I would slip back and not do so well.

Her father might as well have been saying: "I don't love you, but I expect you to do well". Thus, not surprisingly, the respondent's feelings were: "He doesn't care about me. Why should I bother pushing myself?"

Obviously, a positive parent-child relationship and home environment seem to be necessary for parental achievement expectations, reinforcement, support, encouragement, and role modelling to take affect.

However, what surprisingly showed little effect was the presence (or absence) of early, parental independence training (i.e. training a child to be self-sufficient and autonomous). The studies have indicated that if a child is raised to stand on her own two feet and to think for herself, her development will reflect this independence positively. She would be more apt to develop her human potential, and to become achievement-oriented in the occupational and professional world.

In all five Highs and five Lows had parents who encouraged strong independence; two Highs and one Low, moderate independence; with five Highs and six Lows, weak independence. Because very few differences existed between the Highs and the Lows, it may be that early, parental

autonomy training contributes to achievement- but it does not determine it. In other words, a person might be highly independent, but this does not mean she will necessarily be highly achievement-oriented. Early parental autonomy training will probably help her reach her occupational goals, but it will not necessarily give her the required self-confidence and initiative for occupational achievement in the professional world.

### 3. Cultural Socialization

Cultural socialization has also been found to affect female occupational achievement. Subsequently, the following variables were looked at: cultural sex-role expectations; sexual stereotypes; sexual discrimination in the educational and occupational world; cultural role modelling; and reference group identification.

Beginning with the variable, cultural sex-role expectations (i.e. traditional social roles males and females are expected to fill now or in the future), five Highs and three Lows mentioned this had negatively affected them.

These cultural sex-role expectations have some influence because people usually tend to do what is expected of them (Merton, 1967). Subsequently, some women will adjust their behaviours according to other people's stereotypical and traditional sex-role expectations (i.e. getting married and having children). For example, consider the following

Low's statements:

I really wanted to go to law school and become a lawyer. But everybody discouraged me, and I couldn't stand the pressure. They felt that I should just get married- not have a career. All I want now is to get married. If a girl isn't married by twenty-five, thats really bad. But I really wish I had gone to law school.

It seems that this respondent allowed other people's sex-role expectations of her to determine her life choices. In other words, she was not allowing herself to do what she really wanted (i.e. attending law school and becoming a lawyer). This negatively affected her occupational goals.

With the Highs, however, the effect was only partial.

For example, one High stated:

Some of my professors felt that because I got married, I shouldn't pursue an academic career. Also, my dissertation advisor discouraged me. She felt that if you wanted to make a career of teaching in a university, a woman didn't get married and have children. She had remained single. But my family had been very supportive. My father was himself a university professor and always gave me advice. Both my parents, my husband, and my grandmother were very supportive that I finish my education.

Her family's strong support system helped counteract the negative feedback she was getting in the university.

What also did not seem to help much in reassuring women towards professional achievement was sexual stereotyping (i.e. labelling women negatively, individually and as a group), and sexual discrimination in the educational and occupational structures. Six Highs and one Low complained of sexual stereotyping and discrimination in the educational

and occupational structures. These factors tended to act as psychological and social-structural barriers preventing women's careers from advancing. If people have a fixed, biased, and negative attitude towards females and their abilities, they are not likely to give them opportunities for advancement in their jobs. For example, consider the following High's statements:

I really wish I had been less naive about my colleagues' discrimination towards me. They would always give me the small projects to work on. This prevented my career from really advancing. I also began to think that maybe I wasn't worth it, to have the big projects, when in fact, it was discrimination.

This High started believing the discrimination and, not surprisingly, scaled down her potential and ambitions. However, by getting involved with other groups and networks, she finally realized her colleagues' biased behaviour:

This discrimination went on for five years. At the time, I didn't realize what was going on. Had I known, I would have been much more vigilant, and it wouldn't have happened as much. Finally, a colleague pushed me to get involved with other professional groups and associations other than my own. This was the beginning of my success, because then I realized I had much more potential than I thought. It enlarged my perspective and problems, getting involved with other networks. Because for five years, I never had the interesting projects, and had always assumed that it was my fault- not the fault of the others. This hurt my chances for promotion.

Possibly, if professional women were to get involved with professional women's groups, clubs, and associations, and other outside networks and organizations, they would realize and subsequently become more aware of problems

they are likely to encounter, as women, in their occupations.

One example of a problem peculiar to women is that men have very few female role models in the occupational structures (women who are occupationally successful in the labour force). Men are not used to seeing women in non-traditional capacities, and might therefore doubt women's capabilities to perform well in these areas. For example, one High stated:

Initially, one of my bosses held me back in my career. He didn't feel that I, as a woman, could interview corporate planners. One day, I went to lunch with him and a corporate planner and during that lunch, my boss realized that I didn't have any trouble communicating with the banker. From that day on, my boss allowed me to interview corporate planners. He told me that I was the first women to work with him on this basis. So, he felt comfortable working with the guys, but he didn't feel comfortable working with me.

In all, four Highs and no Lows mentioned men's not having occupational female role models as being a problem. For example, another High stated:

I worked hard- over and above the call of duty. You have to really excel if you want to get ahead. That is for me, as a woman, going up through the ranks. You have to do three times better than any man in your department. It will change, but right now, women are not as well-accepted, and they have to work harder to prove themselves. Another thing is that men are comfortable dealing with other men, but not so much with women, simply because they're not used to working with women in managerial positions. They have no role models.

Because men have no female role models, they are not used to dealing with women in executive positions, and will also probably doubt women's abilities to perform well. But women also doubt their own performance abilities. For example,



one High stated:

When I decided to go into journalism, I was a bit insecure about going into this field because there were no role models at the time. Hardly any women were in this field and I was afraid that maybe I wouldn't make it.

Three Highs and no Lows mentioned the lack of female role models as being a negative factor towards their occupational achievement. It seemed to negatively affect their confidence levels.

And although some positive female role models (in society or at the workplace) did exist and inspired confidence, the average Canadian woman tended to perceive them as the exception. She did not tend to shape her behaviour and values around them. The average Canadian woman will tend to identify herself with other women (i.e. her sexual social group). She will usually tend to determine her attitudes, behaviour, and self-appraisals according to how members of society generally view and treat females, and how they generally view and treat males- as a group. In other words, she will tend to have reference group identification (Merton, 1968). Because of this "identification", the average female might devalue her merit and potential and scale down her professional ambitions.

Three Highs and three Lows mentioned patterning some of their behaviour according to their sexual social group. As one High, an Equal Opportunity Co-ordinator at a leading banking institution succinctly put it:

The strongest factors holding women back today (occupationally) are the following: how women view themselves; how men view women; how society views women; and how society views the roles of men and women together. Women have to begin to recognize that they have talents and skills and are able to enrich and influence other people. The one issue that comes up over and over again is the lack of self-confidence that women have in themselves.

Part of the problem is that women tend to appraise themselves (i.e. who they are and what they can do) by what other women have done in the past, or are doing in the present. They are determining their occupational abilities, potential, and life choices by comparing themselves to other women. Subsequently, some women might believe they would not be able to perform well occupationally in non-traditional areas.

#### 4. Objective Conditions of Social Structure

Research has indicated that some objective conditions of social structure have affected female occupational achievement. Subsequently, the following variables were looked at: the power structure; discriminatory practices and policies in the educational and occupational structures; support systems; and family ties or connections.

Beginning with the variable, the power structure (i.e. the main controllers and administrators in educational and occupational structures are male), four Highs and no Lows mentioned that their female status tended to

be a handicap in the male-dominated educational and occupational worlds. This might be because men are used to seeing and dealing with other men in the upper-echelon positions within these structures. Subsequently, senior men will be more comfortable working with other men within executive and managerial positions. They might also doubt women's capabilities to perform well in these areas. As a result, these senior men will only want to hire and promote women for the low-level, low-paying jobs, i.e. secretary, office clerk, etc. As one High stated:

As a woman, you have to really excel if you want to get ahead. Women are not as well-accepted and they have to work harder to prove themselves. You have to do three times better than any man in your department. I worked hard, over and above the call of duty. It took me about three years of being a secretary before I got into a position of being a manager in administration.

Therefore, it seems that women have to work harder than men in order to get promoted to the better jobs.

Four Highs and no Lows also complained of discriminatory practices and policies in occupational and educational structures (i.e. dealings or situations that do not give women equal parity to men). The reason some of the Highs and none of the Lows were adversely affected is because the Highs are much more apt to encounter negative situations as they try to enter occupational areas where few women exist. For example, consider the following

High's statements:

I really wanted to be an electrical engineer like my father when I was younger. But McGill in those days didn't accept women into their engineering faculty. So instead, I took a secretarial course.

These discriminatory practices, and policies acted as social-structural barriers, preventing some females from their occupational goals and achievement.

Because of these discriminatory objective conditions of social structure, the presence of support systems (i.e. family, friends, teachers, colleagues, etc..., who aid the respondent towards professional achievement) became important. Supportive people tend to act as a psychological leverage for the negative conditions directed towards women in the educational and occupational structures. In other words, support systems will psychologically help counteract the negative messages the respondent might receive in the educational and occupational worlds. For example, one High mentioned:

Some of my professors really discouraged me from finishing my education. But my parents, husband, and grandmother had always been very supportive that I finish my education.

Her family's strong support support helped counteract the negative feedback she was getting in the university.

Supportive people also tend to reassure the individual that they are competent, worthwhile, and useful, and that what they are doing is the right thing. For example, one High stated:

My mother always supported me. Between my husband and my mother, I was always sustained in my career.

In other words, her mother and husband supplied her with the emotional nourishment to keep striving in her career. This is in sharp contrast to the following Low's statements:

I really wanted to be a teacher because it's something that I really enjoyed doing. Then, I met my husband, and he didn't approve of my going to university. And then my mother never really cared. I had no support at all. I stopped going.

Women (generally) seem to lack self-confidence to occupationally achieve in the professional world. In addition to this, they also encounter negative messages and social structures in the professional world, blocking them from achievement. Subsequently, the presence of support systems becomes very important. These support systems help give women the courage to fight the negative psychological and social-structural barriers in the educational and occupational worlds.

In all, ten Highs and no Lows mentioned having had support systems. Therefore, this variable was very significant in helping the Highs towards occupational achievement. Thus, the aspect of psychological reinforcement and reassurance is something that females might really need in helping them to achieve in the occupational world.

One variable, however, that was of little significance was family ties or connections (i.e. family or

friends that help the subject gain entry into top positions). Only two Highs mentioned this had helped them. Perhaps this is because "connections" tends to be part of the "old boy's network" which still excludes women.

In any case, two Highs did mention the importance of developing contacts afterwards at the workplace. For example, one of them stated:

Within a year, I moved to two positions by proving myself and asking for transfers. If people like you, that makes a big difference in order to get into the door. If you prove yourself and people like you, this is very, very important-especially for a woman moving up through the ranks in an organization. At twenty-six, I had a boss who gave me opportunities. And then I had a friend who was a vice-president, who recommended me for a position. So positions did come open and I was considered a candidate.

Therefore, by working well with others and by performing excellent work, important contacts with senior men can develop. These men realize you're a valuable employee with a good-working personality, and might thus recommend you for the better positions. Therefore, important connections can be developed, by occupationally proving oneself afterwards at the workplace.

##### 5. "Success Patterns" Development

Present literature had indicated that adult occupational achievers tend to start developing "success

patterns" (i.e. patterns or habits of achieving) in childhood and adolescence (Gellerman, 1963; Levinson, 1978). The desire to excel gets implanted early in life and then perpetuates itself into adulthood. As a result, it became important to look at the following variables: childhood and adolescent achievements; adolescent occupational dream; and sex-role socialization.

It was interesting to find that eight Highs and no Lows had developed strong patterns of early achievement which "snowballed" into the Early Adult Transition. Achieving for these Highs was a pleasurable experience which they wanted to keep perpetuating into adulthood. For example, one of them stated:

I remember always wanting to be an outstanding person. I was always recognized one way or another in my class or in society. I was getting exceptionally good grades and I was a leader. I got used to being outstanding.

This High got used to being outstanding. She got used to the habit of achieving and of getting recognition- of feeling important, worthwhile, and competent. It was therefore not surprising that these early "success patterns" were positive experiences- giving tremendous self-esteem and self-confidence. For example, consider the following Highs' statements:

You know, when you're the first in something, you're very confident. Like myself, in high school, I was the first of my class for four years. And then, I also won at eleven, the Medal of Conservatory LaSalle.

As I was growing up, I was performing well enough in areas to be confident. I was tops academically and I also was president of my class in high school for two years. I think I was quite confident.

I would say that I developed confidence in high school. I was active in sports and school politics. I was successful in skiing and sailing. I was also Vice-President of the Students Council and head of the school charities program.

In childhood and adolescence, these Highs tested themselves (their abilities) against their environment (school, peer groups) and had small successes. This subsequently helped give them the self-confidence that they could later handle themselves equally well in the larger adult world. In other words, these patterns of early achievement helped prepare them psychologically for adult occupational achievement in the professional world. Therefore, the development of early "success patterns" seemed to strongly lead to these Highs' adult professional achievement.

However, what only seemed to mildly affect these Highs' occupational achievement was the presence of a specific adolescent occupational dream (i.e. an occupation the respondent desired, as a teenager, for her adult life). In this study, adolescent occupational dream and adult occupational achievement showed very little correlation. In all, nine Highs and seven Lows had teenage visions of what they wanted to do, occupationally, in adulthood. But only three Highs and one Low ever materialized



their adolescent occupational dream. Examples of these adolescent occupational dreams are shown in the following Highs' and Lows' similar statements:

All I ever wanted to be was an electrical engineer or a fashion designer. But circumstances prevented me from going into these fields. It was the Depression- it was a question of money (High).

My dream, as a teenager, was to become a professional dancer. But there was no money for lessons. It was the Depression. At thirteen, I had to go to work to bring money home (Low).

Ever since I was a teenager, I wanted to be a brain surgeon. But my mother was never enthusiastic. She always discouraged me. She wanted me to eventually get married and have children, and not have to work the way she did (High).

I've always wanted to be a lawyer. But everybody discouraged me. I couldn't stand the pressure. My parents didn't expect me to have a career- just to get married (Low).

It seemed that these respondents did not materialize their teenage occupational dreams because of a lack of financial or emotional support, opportunity, or confidence. A large part of the problem seemed to be that these subjects were not expected to achieve in the occupational and professional world. They subsequently did not have the emotional and mental strength to go against social, parental, and peer pressure and to actualize their adolescent occupational

dream.

In any case, these adolescent occupational dreams seemed to be only an indication of what the respondent wanted to achieve in adult life. They were not sufficient to lead to adult professional achievement.

Another variable that did not lead to adult professional achievement was sex-role socialization (i.e. whether a female is socialized to be "feminine" or "androgynous"). Research has indicated that the more a female is socialized to be androgynous (i.e. having both male and female characteristics), the more likely she will tend to be analytical, creative, and high-achieving. In this study, however, there was very little correlation. Five Highs and seven Lows were brought up to be "feminine"; with seven Highs and five Lows "tomboys". An example of a "feminine" High is the following:

I enjoyed playing with dolls and the usual little girl things. I was always very feminine as I was growing up. I was coquette. My mother influenced this alot. She would make me alot of pretty dresses, and I was a real little girl. But at home, there was never any incompatibility with being feminine, which was pushed by my mother, and being successful in the male-dominated world, which was pushed by my father.

And successful in the male-dominated world, she was. At twenty-two, this High graduated with her Masters in Electrical Engineering. At thirty-four, she was Chief Executive Officer at a leading Québec company. Although this High was socialized towards high femininity, she received

non-traditional parental sex-role expectations. Therefore, it might be a certain context of sex-role socialization which determines (or deters) female occupational achievement in the professional world. For example, consider the following Low's statements:

Between the ages of eight and twelve, I played baseball alot. I was a real tomboy when I was growing up. I even used to get into fights. But ever since I can remember, I've always wanted to be a teacher. My mother (and father) didn't really care if I went to university and become a teacher. I had no support at all. My mother just wanted me to get a job and go to work. She really never had any expectations.

Her mother and father never had any expectations of her to occupationally achieve in the professional world. This Low got married at twenty and has been a secretary up to the age of thirty-four. This Low was socialized towards androgyny, but she received traditional, parental, occupational, sex-role expectations. Therefore, it might be the type of sex-role socialization a female receives that is crucial. It might be the non-traditional, parental, occupational, sex-role expectations that will most influence the daughter towards professional achievement.

#### 6. Life Patterns of High and Low Achievers:

Adult occupational achievers do seem to form early patterns of achievement in childhood and adolescence. These early "success patterns" tend to get established and

perpetuate themselves into adulthood. Subsequently, the Highs and Lows might tend to make life choices and gravitate towards people (in the "Early Adult Transition" and "Entering the Adult World" life structures) which will be conducive, or not conducive, to their adult professional achievement. And this is what was found for the Highs and the Lows. The Highs tended to choose mates, friends, colleagues, etc..., who were highly supportive of their professional endeavors. For example, one High stated:

I met my husband at the age of twenty-four. He sustained me all the time in my career.

The contrary was found for the Lows:

I really wanted to be a teacher. Then I met my husband. He didn't approve of my going to university. So, I stopped going.

The Highs also tended to make positive decisions regarding their future occupational orientation; the Lows, negative ones. For example, one Low stated:

The major decision I made at eighteen was not going to law school. I really wish I had gone. I really wanted to be a lawyer. I went to secretarial school instead. All I want now, I guess, is to get married.

This contrasts sharply with the following High:

At seventeen, I received a scholarship for engineering school. When I graduated, I decided I wasn't going to get married. I wasn't going to give up my profession for any reason.

It seemed that these Highs and Lows, upon entering the Early Adult Transition (i.e. seventeen to eighteen years of age), had already mentally formulated what course their professional lives would take. In other words, the Highs had already decided they were going to "win" in the occupational world (i.e. to be occupationally successful); with the Lows, deciding to "lose" (i.e. to be occupationally unsuccessful). It was as if the Highs and Lows were living out a "self-fulfilling prophecy". The Highs believed themselves able to "win" in the professional world; the Lows, to "lose".

The Highs and Lows made crucial decisions, developed important relationships, and formulated life structures at significant times in their lives (the "Early Adult Transition" and "Entering the Adult World") which harmonized or did not harmonize with future occupational achievement in the professional world. These periods: "The Early Adult Transition" and "Entering the Adult World" are significant, crucial times of important decision-making, transformations, and adjustments, as an individual begins to enter adulthood. "Success" and "failure" achievement patterns seemed therefore to be running through the lives of these High and Low achievers.

## Chapter V

### Profiles of a High and Low Achiever

According to Levinson's theory of adult development, men and women go through similar developmental life periods of stability and transition. The periods of stability, lasting approximately six years, are marked by the formation of a life structure (i.e. making and forming a life's pattern around major decisions). The transitional periods, lasting approximately four years, are marked by a change of life structure (i.e. reassessing existing structure, either improving it or changing it). Looking at these various structures helped give the researcher an organized way of studying the respondent's self, the society in which she lives, subsequent relationships, and how these components helped shape and determine any underlying order to her life. Subsequently, the following profiles were subdivided into the following life structures: childhood and adolescence (1-18 years); early adult transition (18-22); entering the adult world (22-28, a period of stability); and the age thirty transition (28-33)(Levinson, 1978).

## Profile of a High Achiever:

### Childhood and Adolescence

Adrienne was born in 1947 to French-Canadian, Catholic, and lower-class parents. Her home was and was to always remain Montreal, Québec.

As Adrienne grew up, she had a positive and harmonious relationship to both parents. She was especially close to her mother. It was her father, however, who would have the more powerful influence on the development of her self-confidence and capabilities:

I was close to my mother. She was very affectionate. My father was more reserved. But I was very encouraged professionally by my father. He was excessively proud of me. If I did anything well, he would tell and show everybody. He was so proud of me whenever I did anything well- it was stimulating.

Her father's recognition and approval was stimulating. It made her feel valued, important, and worthwhile. It seemed to implant a strong sense of herself- of whom she was (i.e. her identity), and of what she was capable:

I remember always wanting to be an outstanding person. I wanted to be outstanding because of my father's expectations. He gave me those values. He had a lot of ambition which got transferred to me. I was getting exceptionally good marks in school and I was a leader. I was always recognized one way or the other in my class or in society. I got used to being outstanding.

The pattern of achievement seemed to already be set in motion, triggered by her father's warm, communicative response, and his high expectations, approval, and recognition. However, Adrienne's mother was also a positive influence. She also had high expectations, and also gave support, approval, and recognition for achievement:

Both my parents were very supportive in what I did. My mother wanted me to be economically independent- to have a profession that would support me well, and that I could take care of myself. Both my parents always had high expectations of me.

But it was her father who had the more intense influence on her achievement orientation. He seemed to be the bright spot in her life (i.e. a very strong, positive source of affectual response). During the interview, Adrienne repeatedly focused her conversation on him, all the time talking animatedly.

But what also seemed relevant was that Adrienne's father made her feel she should never limit her potential, drives, ambitions, or abilities because she was a female:

I was brought up to be very feminine. But at home, there was never any incompatibility with being feminine and being successful in the male-dominated world. When I decided to go into engineering, some friends of the family would say: "Why are you going into engineering? That's not for a girl. You're going to get married and you're wasting your time going into a profession like that". My father would answer: "Why shouldn't she become a professional?"



Therefore, under positive and supportive conditions, a female can be socialized to be "feminine", without the incongruence of being simultaneously "feminine" and being successful in the professional world.

In any case, Adrienne's father's positive occupational achievement attitude towards her, not only gave her self-confidence, but also a strong desire to excel in the male-dominated occupational world. Her father believed in her capabilities so much that Adrienne decided she was going to prove him right.

But what was particularly relevant and interesting to find was that a completely contrary achievement pattern had developed in her younger brother:

My brother never made it. He had bad luck after bad luck. He felt himself rejected because of all my father's enthusiasm towards me and my success in school. He became as a result introverted. He got high marks in school, but my parents didn't have as high expectations of him, and they forgot to give him as high a profile as I got. It had adverse effects. He decided to give up and not try any longer. He didn't get the same recognition as I did.

Perhaps children, in primary socialization, tend to equate parental achievement expectations, support, reinforcement, and recognition with an acknowledgement of their capabilities and potential. When Adrienne's brother did not receive this parental achievement support, recognition, and high expectations, he might have felt somehow that he did not

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"measure up", or did not have what it takes to be successful. Subsequently, he did not bother trying anymore. What usually happens in family socialization is that it is the daughter's abilities and potential that are overlooked rather than the son's. It is usually the son who becomes achievement-oriented in the professional world. However, in this family, the pattern was reversed.

In any case, Adrienne's brother did receive early, parental independence training. But this seemed to have no effect in positively influencing him towards achievement.

My brother was given a lot of autonomy like myself. They let us make our own decisions at a very young age. In terms of autonomy, my parents treated my brother the same as myself. In terms of expectations, no.

Her brother had been trained to be autonomous, but he never received parental achievement expectations, recognition, and encouragement. Both parents had ignored his abilities and achievements. He subsequently never developed a strong sense of himself. He never came to terms with who he really was- with what his capabilities and potential were. He never seemed to know where he was going.

Adrienne, on the other hand, always knew what she wanted. At fourteen, she had already formulated her dream-her vision of what she wanted to occupationally achieve

in her adult life:

As a teenager, I was very assertive, affirmative, and positive. I remember always wanting to be an outstanding person. At fourteen, I organized a team of classmates to visit an engineering school. I fell in love with the whole atmosphere. I made up my mind then that I wanted to seriously consider engineering later on.

Adrienne had enough self-esteem and self-confidence to go after what she wanted. She always knew what direction she was going in. She was strongly anchored in who she was.

#### Early Adult Transition

At seventeen, Adrienne received a university scholarship. At twenty-two, she graduated with her Masters in Electrical Engineering. She then went to work for a large Québec company. It was at this time that she made up her mind to remain single:

At twenty-two, I decided not to get married. I thought it would be impossible to have a career and a family. I thought it would hurt my career if I married. I wasn't going to give up my profession for any reason. What was important for me at this time was to be an achiever. I wanted not only to practice my profession, but I also wanted to be very successful.

#### Entering the Adult World

However, for the first five years, her career stagnated at her company. Her colleagues sexually discriminated

against her by making sure she was not involved with the more complex and interesting projects. As a result, she did not have the opportunity to prove herself and to move up the corporate ladder:

I wish I had been less naive about my colleagues' discrimination towards me. They would always give me the small projects to work on, and this prevented my career from really advancing. This discrimination went on for five years. I began to think that maybe I wasn't worth it, to have the big projects when, in fact, it was discrimination. At the time, I didn't realize what was going on. This hurt my chances for promotion because I lacked the experience, because I never had the more complex projects.

The disastrous effects of this discrimination was that Adrienne began to question her potential and merit. As a result, she scaled down her ambitions and drives towards occupational achievement. However, by getting involved with other networks and organizations, she finally started realizing her colleagues' biased behaviour:

Getting involved with other professional groups and associations other than my own enlarged my perspective and problems. It was the beginning of my success, because I then realized I had more potential than I thought. Because for the first five years, I never had the more interesting projects, and I had assumed that it was not the fault of the others-that it was my fault. At the time, I didn't realize what was going on. Had I known, I would have been much more vigilant. But I did get some breaks, and was finally able to prove myself.

These outside networks and associations acted as a support system. They also gave her the opportunities to test and prove herself. This made her realize there was nothing

wrong with her abilities- but something was wrong with her work environment. It was then she started suspecting she was being discriminated against. This awareness made her become watchful and assertive. She fully made use of the few opportunities that did present themselves and slowly began to prove her professional merit. But it was only after she became involved with other networks and associations that she became aware of this discrimination. She then slowly tried to overcome the lack of structural opportunities at the workplace. /Therefore, networks, associations, clubs, etc... are important support systems for the professional woman. They act as psychological leverages for discrimination and discriminatory practices and policies in the professional and occupational world.

#### Age Thrity Transition

At twenty-seven, Adrienne met her husband. In the following years, she married him and had two children. Contrary to her expectations, having a family did not prevent her career from progressing. In fact, her husband was to be a very strong support system- being somewhat of a psychological extension of her father: "My husband was similar to my father. My husband was supportive of my career". Her husband was similar to her father in the sense that he also gave her encouragement, approval, and recognition for professional achievement.

In any case, Adrienne, now thirty-four, married, and the mother of two children, is Chief Executive Officer at one of Québec's largest companies.

Profile of a Low Achiever:

Childhood and Adolescence

Suzanne was born in 1951 in Québec City, Québec to French-Canadian, Catholic, and middle-class parents. Her father was a journalist for a Québec newspaper. As a result, her family travelled constantly while she was growing up throughout Québec:

Between the ages of one and twenty, my family travelled throughout Québec. My father was a journalist. I hardly ever saw him because he was always working. I really loved my father alot. I admired him alot and still do. He was alot of fun and he was intelligent. But I was never close to him.

Suzanne seems to have regreted this lack of closeness. She seemed to be sad as she spoke of him. It was as if she had missed out on something. It may be that her father (and mother) had neglected certain aspects of her development:

My parents never bothered us. They left us on our own. They really never expected anything from us. They never pushed me to be first in anything. When I decided to go into waitressing, my father didn't care one way or the other- as long as I was okay.

Neither parents seemed to take much interest in her endeavours, activities, or the development of her abilities. This explains why Suzanne never seemed to have a sense of herself and of personal direction throughout life:

I never had any goals. I never had any particular dream of what I wanted to do as I was growing up. I really never knew what I wanted to do. I still don't know what I want.

Suzanne never developed a clear sense of her identity nor her capabilities. She lacked self-confidence. Perhaps this is because her parents never expected anything from her in terms of achievement. Suzanne interpreted this to mean that she was somehow not a capable and worthwhile person, who could achieve occupationally and otherwise.

However, her parents did give her a great deal of autonomy training as she was growing up:

My parents trained us to be independent. They left us on our own. They weren't protective. As soon as we were ready to do something, they would let us do it. What my father wanted, and still does, was for us to be independent and self-sufficient. He had a certain admiration for that. He also never made us feel that we couldn't do anything because we were girls. There was never any discrimination in my family between my sisters and my brother.

Suzanne was therefore trained to stand on her own two feet and to be independent and self-sufficient. However, she never had any parental achievement expectations, encouragement, support, or recognition. It was therefore interesting to find that from the age of twenty-four (after her divorce), Suzanne was and remains a very independent and self-sufficient female. However, she has no sense of occupational direction. She has never known what she wanted to do.



## Early Adult Transition

After high school, Suzanne attended college. But she disliked it and quit. It was then she decided to stay home for a year:

At eighteen, I took a year off, and stayed home, and did nothing. I thought alot about what direction to take in my life. I really had no idea what I wanted to do. I didn't know if I should go to school. I was a bit mixed-up. I still don't know what I want, and I'm thirty-two.

It was as if she was afraid at the time to come to terms with herself and her occupational potential. Something seemed to be lacking in her human development.

In any case, for the next three years from the ages eighteen to twenty-one, Suzanne continued living at home, not working, and not attending college. She lived a sheltered existence, her parents supporting her completely. She failed to take any responsibility for herself as an adult.

At twenty, she met her husband, and at twenty-one, married him. While she was married, she continued the same type of existence as when she was living at home. She had no occupational drives or ambitions, and was still confused as to where to channel her energies. She did not work, did not educate herself, and had no children. She was living in a vacuum. Three years later, Suzanne divorced her

husband. She found herself with no job skills, no job experience, and with only a High School Leaving certificate. This is when she decided to go into waitressing, one of the better-paid, low-skilled jobs.

### Entering the Adult World

Suzanne enjoyed the restaurant business. It gave her money and the opportunity to meet people:

The only things that were important to me at that time, in my twenties, were socializing and having a good time.

Her life, however, seemed to have a floating quality. She never questioned things. She just took one day at a time. It was as if she was afraid to go deeper.

### Age Thirty Transition

Suzanne is now thirty-two. She still has not yet formulated a new life structure. However, she has questioned her existing structure somewhat:

I ask myself what I could do other than waitressing and I really don't know. So, I continue in this occupation. All I do know is that I don't want to be doing this when I'm forty.

Suzanne claims she has no idea of what she wants to do, occupationally. However, after the interview-questionnaire was completed, she contradicted this assertion. We were discussing someone we both knew who had once worked as a fashion buyer. Immediately, she mentioned that this was a

field in which she would enjoy working. However earlier, she had stated she had no occupational preferences. In fact, there appeared to be several fields that interested her professionally. Suzanne seems to be afraid that she will not "make it" in these occupations. She is afraid to take a chance and fail. At the age of thirty-two, she lacks belief in herself, in her occupational potential, and subsequently wanders aimlessly.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Canadian women presently comprise a third to a half of the paid labour force. However, eighty-one percent of them are concentrated in low-level, low-paying jobs. In effect, the majority of women have remained occupational low-achievers in the professional world.

Present literature however, has indicated that the causes might be social-structural and/or psychological. Nothing exists in the biological make-up of women to prevent them from occupational achievement in the professional world. There seem therefore to be elements in the life styles and life experiences of women which undermine their motivation towards professional achievement. Nevertheless, some women have been able to break through these barriers. As a result, it became important to study women's case histories- i.e. to enter their subjective and objective realities and to understand the world as they see it. The present study explored the social-psychological conditions which helped these particular women towards occupational achievement in the professional world.

This study consisted of interviewing twelve occupationally successful and twelve occupationally

unsuccessful women in the professional world. The data was collected using a relatively detailed interview-questionnaire.<sup>1</sup> With the questionnaire, the subjects were encouraged to discuss key issues (i.e. important relationships, major decisions, etc...), starting with childhood and extending up to their present age. The basic idea was to obtain a brief portrayal of the subject's life in order to identify the factors which affected the Highs' and Lows' achievement patterns. This study attempted to bring together the relationship between the social-psychological variables, the structural barriers, and the patterns of exclusion which negatively or positively affected these Highs' and Lows' occupational achievement in the professional world.

What Are the Effects of Family Socialization  
Patterns on Female Occupational Achievement?

It was found that the Highs had closer, warmer, more communicative, and more loving relationships to both parents. What was also interesting to find is that seven Lows and no Highs had negative father-daughter relationships.<sup>2</sup> The relationship was negative in the sense that the father had been either cold and/or rejecting, and/or "distant" (emotionally and/or physically), and/or "never around" (the father was never home because of parental separation

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1 See Appendix A for sample of interview-questionnaire.

2 See Appendix C for tables.

or divorce). There was not such a strong discrepancy between the 'Highs' and the 'Lows' negative relationship to their mothers. Only one High and two 'Lows' reported having "negative mother-daughter relationships". What this data therefore suggests is that the quality of the father-daughter relationship, in terms of its being negative, might have some bearing on the daughter's adult occupational achievement orientation in the professional world.

In addition to this, five 'Lows' had father-absent homes ( a home where the father was absent because of death, divorce, or separation), with two of these homes being very unstable ( a home where there was disharmony between parents and between parents and children). On the other hand, all twelve 'Highs' had father-present homes, with only one of these homes being unstable. Concerning the presence of the mother in the home, only one High and no 'Lows' reported a mother-absent home. There was thus a much stronger difference between the 'Highs' and 'Lows' home environment- in relation to the father's absence or presence.

However, the variables with the strongest effects were parental achievement expectations, support, positive reinforcement, the implanting of the achievement ethic, and role modelling. Practically all the 'Highs' reflected the powerful influence of these factors on their occupational achievement. Parental support was especially significant in determining these 'Highs' achievement orientations. It helped implant in the female child a tremendous belief in

herself and in her abilities. These parental support systems also helped to psychologically counteract any negative, discriminatory messages she might later encounter in the occupational and professional world.

However, although both parents are important, the Highs did tend to focus more on their fathers as being the more influential factor in determining their occupational achievement orientation. Perhaps the reason for this focus is generational. Most of these respondents had mothers who did not work and who therefore did not serve as occupational role models in the professional world. Subsequently, the Highs and Lows would tend to discuss their fathers more, because they were the ones who were the real representatives of the professional and occupational world.

In addition to this, it was found that if the father-daughter relationship was poor, and/or if the home environment was unstable (i.e. a home broken by divorce, separation, or general disharmony between parents, and/or between parents and offspring), the following factors tended to be negated: parental achievement expectations, support, positive reinforcement, the implanting of the achievement ethic, and role modelling. Such was the case for four of the Lows. Perhaps this was because these latter two variables (i.e. the quality of the father-daughter relationship and home environment

are important building blocks for the development of a healthy self-concept, which is necessary for female occupational achievement in the professional world.

To summarize, the implications of this study's findings suggest that it is a certain combination of variables that was most effective in determining these Highs' and Lows' occupational achievement. For example, ten Highs and no Lows had the following mixture of variables present in their environmental backgrounds: (a) parents who expected, supported, and who positively reinforced achievement; (b) parents who themselves had the achievement ethic, thus acting as positive role models; (c) a harmonious home environment; (d) a father-present home; and (e) a positive father-daughter relationship. However, it seemed that the first two variables (a) and (b) were counteracted if the last three variables were absent.

Surprisingly, early parental independence training showed little effect on these females' occupational achievement. The Lows had nearly similar autonomy training as the Highs. Perhaps early parental autonomy training contributes to occupational achievement, but does not determine it. In other words, a person might be highly independent, but not necessarily highly occupationally achievement-oriented in the professional and occupational world. Early parental autonomy training will probably



help her reach her professional goals, but it will not necessarily give her the required self-confidence and initiative (associated with parental approval and support) for occupational achievement in the professional world.

What Are the Effects of Cultural Socialization Factors on Female Occupational Achievement?

Five Highs and three Lows seemed to be adversely affected by cultural sex-role expectations. In addition to this, six Highs and one Low complained of the debilitating effects of sexual stereotyping and discrimination in the educational and occupational worlds. These factors tended to act as psychological and social-structural barriers which partially or fully influenced these women's professional drives and goals in a negative direction.

The absence of female role models also constituted a problem, affecting three Highs and no Lows. It seemed to adversely affect these women's confidence levels.

And although some female role models do exist in the occupational world, the average Canadian female tends to perceive them as exceptional. The average Canadian woman will rather tend to identify herself with other women (i.e. her sexual social group). She will tend to have reference group identification. Three Highs and three Lows mentioned patterning some of their behaviour according to their sexual social group. As a result, these women

subsequently tended to devalue their occupational merit and potential and scale down their professional ambitions.

Present literature has well indicated the relevance of these above variables. However, some new information has been uncovered from this study. For example, one High stated that through her involvement with outside networks and associations (away from the workplace), she realized she was being discriminated against at her job. In other words, these outside networks helped act as a psychological support system. It helped her to psychologically counteract the negative messages she was encountering at the workplace. Thus, the aspect of psychological reassurance and reinforcement is something that can be very important in facilitating female occupational achievement in the professional world. Possibly, if professional women were to get involved with professional women's groups, clubs, associations, and other networks and organizations, they would realize and subsequently become more aware of problems they are likely to encounter, as women, in their occupations.

What Are the Effects of the Objective Conditions  
of Social Structure On Female Occupational  
Achievement?

A quarter of the Highs and none of the Lows complained of the male power structure and of discriminatory practices and policies in the professional world. These variables tended to act as psychological and social-structural

barriers, preventing these women from professional achievement. A variable however, which greatly helped these females' reach their professional goals was the presence of support systems. In all, ten Highs and no Lows mentioned having had support systems. These systems not only gave courage and inspired confidence, but also helped to psychologically counteract negative conditions of social structure, directed towards women in the professional world.

A variable showing very weak effect in professional achievement was the presence of family ties or connections. Only two Highs stated this had helped them gain entry into their careers. Two Highs however did mention the importance of developing contacts, after they were in the company, corporation, or business. These women stated that if a woman proved herself through hard work and ability at the workplace, she might come to the attention of senior men. These men might then realize that she is a valuable employee and possibly recommend her for the better positions.

Do Adult Occupational Achievers Start Developing "Success Patterns" in Childhood and Adolescence?

It was found that eight Highs and no Lows had developed achievement patterns in childhood and adolescence which "snowballed" into adulthood. These patterns of achievement were established early in life and then perpetuated themselves into adult life.

Although strong effect was indicated for early "success patterns" leading to adult occupational achievement, only mild effect was shown for adolescent occupational dreams. In all, nine Highs and seven Lows had teenage visions of what they wanted to do occupationally in adulthood. But only three Highs and one Low ever materialized their adolescent occupational dreams. It seems that these adolescent occupational dreams are only an indication of what the respondent wanted to do in adult life. They were not sufficient to lead to adult occupational achievement in the professional world.

Another variable that did not lead to adult occupational achievement was sex-role socialization (i.e. whether a female is socialized to be "feminine" or "androgynous"). According to this study, being socialized to be "feminine" (i.e. having many female characteristics) or "androgynous" (i.e. having both male and female characteristics) was irrelevant to female occupational achievement in the professional world. Rather, it seemed more to be a certain context of sex-role socialization which determined female occupational achievement. It was the parental, non-traditional, occupational sex-role expectations, support, and encouragement (i.e. expecting, supporting, and encouraging the female child towards non-traditional, occupational achievement in the professional world) that most influenced and determined female occupational achievement in this study.

The implications of this study's findings suggest that the development of early achievement patterns is a strong indicator of future occupational achievement orientation. Therefore, parents might be made more aware of the importance of developing and reinforcing this pattern in their children. Performing well, or putting one's optimum effort in everything that one does creates a genuine discipline which is better cultivated at a young age. These patterns of early successes also give the female child self-confidence that she can later handle herself equally well in the larger adult world.

Are Adult Occupational Achievers Mentally Geared  
Towards Achievement Throughout Their Lives? If  
So, in What Ways?

It was interesting to find that the Highs were mentally geared towards achievement throughout their lives. They tended to choose mates, friends, and colleagues who were highly supportive of their professional endeavors. The Highs tended also to make positive life choices regarding their future professional goals. The contrary was found for the Lows. These Highs and Lows, upon entering the Early Adult Transition (i.e. seventeen to eighteen years of age), had already mentally formulated what course their professional and occupational lives would take. In other words, the Highs had already decided that they were going to "win" in the occupational world (i.e. to be occupationally

successful); with the Lows, deciding to "lose" (i.e. to be occupationally unsuccessful). This was probably an extension of the development, or lack of development, of early success patterns in childhood and adolescence.

To finally conclude, the implications of this study's findings suggest that much more extensive research is needed on female occupational achievement in the professional world. For example, most research writers have hardly mentioned the effects of the home environment and the quality of the father-daughter relationship on female professional achievement. These areas would thus be interesting to explore for subsequent research.

Overall, many social-structural and psychological barriers exist, preventing females from developing their full human self and potential. Therefore, much more research is needed to understand why women are still not allowing themselves to be human beings first, and females second.

### Recommendations

The following are some recommendations that have been generated as a result of this study's findings.

It seems that women have to learn how to better operate formally and informally within educational and occupational structures. Through involvement with professional women's groups, clubs, associations, and seminars, this type of information could be exchanged. These different networks could also act as crucial psychological support systems in helping women reach their professional goals.

In addition, because a white male power structure does exist in the professional world, more programs should be developed to facilitate women's entry into the better positions. More training courses could be provided for women so that they would have more structural opportunities to test their capabilities and potential in the occupational and professional world.

To conclude, the implications of this study's findings suggest the following recommendations: (1) professional women might try becoming involved with other networks (women's and otherwise), away from the workplace; (2) more associations, clubs, groups, etc... be organized for professional women to act as a leverage for the problems that they are likely to encounter as women at the workplace; (3) more laws and better enforcement required to protect

women in the hiring and promotion policies of companies, corporations, businesses, etc...; (4) more programs and training courses be developed in occupational structures to facilitate women's entry into the better positions; (5) the media portray women in more positive images (i.e. assertive, independent, rational, intelligent, and active), and in more non-traditional occupations in the professional world; and lastly (5) that female role models, in educational and occupational structures, be increased in number and exposure.

/L



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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW-QUESTIONNAIRE

- I) Code Name:
- 2) In what area of the city do you live in?
- 3) Are you a tenant, roomer, or do you own your own home?
- 4) In what year were you born?
- 5) Were you born in Québec?  
Elsewhere in Canada?  
Outside of Canada?
- 6) Was your father born in Canada? If not, where?
- 7) What is the ethnic origin of your father?
- 8) Was your mother born in Canada? If not, where?
- 9) What is the ethnic origin of your mother?
- 10) To what national or ethnic group do you consider yourself to belong?
- II) What is your religious preference?
- 12) How frequently do you attend church?  
once a week?  
two or three times a week?  
once a month?  
less than once a month?  
rarely?  
never?
- 13) What is your marital status?  
single?  
married?  
divorced?  
separated?  
widowed?
- I4) Do you have any children? If so, how many?



15) Are any of your children dependent on you for financial support?

16) What level of education have you completed?

elementary?  
high school?  
CGEP?  
university?  
technical?  
other?

17) Are you presently working?

full-time?  
part-time?  
not in labour force?  
unemployed?  
retired?

18) What is your occupation?

19) What is (was) your father's occupation?

20) What is the marital status of your parents?

21) How many brothers do you have?

22) How many sisters do you have?

23) Are you the first born? Second born? Third? Fourth? etc.

24) Were there any other adults living in your family?

grandmother?  
grandfather?  
aunt?  
uncle?  
other relative?  
friend of family?  
boarder?  
maid?

25) Did you receive any awards, trophies, or particular achievements as a teenager? In your twenties? In your thirties?

26) If so, what kind of award was it?

27) Did you belong to any clubs as a teenager? In your twenties? In your thirties? In your forties?

28) If so, what kinds of clubs were they?

29) In what category does your main income fall into?

\$2,000-\$4,999?

\$5,000-\$7,999?

\$8,000-\$11,999?

\$12,000-\$15,999?

\$16,000-\$19,999?

\$20,000-\$23,999?

\$24,000-\$27,999?

\$28,000-\$31,999?

\$32,000-\$35,999?

\$36,000-\$39,999?

\$40,000-\$44,999?

\$45,000-\$49,999?

\$50,000 plus?

## PART II

1) Early in life, we sometimes feel especially close to some other member of the family. As a child, did you feel especially close to any particular person? If so, why? Did this relationship change over the years? If so, why?

2) Some parents are very demonstrative of their affectionate feelings towards their children. Other parents, however, although they love their children, do not show it as much. What were your parents like towards you? Were

both your parents like this? Always? Sometimes?

3) What we enjoyed playing at as a child is sometimes a reflection of how we wanted to be as we grew up. What did you enjoy playing at as a child?(give examples)

4) Some parents expect their children to perform well in everything they set out to do. Other parents don't think it's that important. What were your parents like towards you? Always? Sometimes?

5) Some parents are very protective of their children and do almost everything for them. Other parents expect their children to do things on their own.(give examples) What were your parents like towards you? Always? Sometimes?

6) Whom we admired as a child is again a projection of maybe how we wanted to be as we grew up. Did you admire anybody as a child? Why? Do you remember wanting to be like anybody as a child? Why? Which people did you like the best? Why?

7) Sometimes as we grow up, some females feel it is important to be feminine, while others do not care. What were you like? Why?

8) As a teenager, we sometimes have an interest that is very meaningful and enjoyable. Was there anything that you really enjoyed doing as a teenager? Why?

8a) Was there anybody or any situation that encouraged you or supported you in this interest?

8b) Was there anybody or any situation that discouraged you in this interest?

9) Our major decisions not only influence our lives but, as well, reveal something about ourselves. For example, the kind of occupation we choose to go into, or whether we decide to marry early and have children. At this time, between the ages of eighteen to twenty-two (and twenty-eight to thirty-three), do you remember making any major decisions regarding your life course? Why did you make these particular decisions? Is that what you really wanted? Did you ever have a dream of what you wanted to be in your teens? Late teens? Early twenties? Did you ever feel anybody or anything was ever preventing you from doing what you really wanted?

10) Did family ties or connections ever facilitate your entry into your field?

11) Was there ever any person who helped or guided you within your field? Any mentors? Support systems?

12) What we feel is important for us in life is sometimes a reflection of our values. Between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two (and twenty-eight to thirty-three) what

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is/was important for you? Why? Was there anything in particular that you wanted to accomplish? Why?

I3) Sometimes we visualize or subconsciously decide the kind of future we want. Have you ever thought where you want to be ten years from now? Why?

I4) Looking back on our lives, we sometimes would have liked things to be different. Is there anything that you would like to have changed about your life up to now? Why? Is there any person or situation that influenced the way things turned out?

I5) Again looking back, is there anything that you are particularly satisfied with regarding your life? Why?

APPENDIX B

The following is a more detailed explanation of how some of the tabulations were determined.

a) If the subjects answered affirmatively "yes" or "no" to a question and did not contradict that answer in the course of the interview- than a "yes" or "no" was tabulated. However, in some cases, the respondent would answer affirmatively or negatively but later revealed in the interview that the variable had in fact affected her differently.

For example, one subject was asked if her parents expected her to do things on her own. She answered: "Well, I don't know if they expected it. They expected us to stand on our own two feet". However, in the latter part of the interview, she mentioned that her parents would not let her go to Paris by herself in her late teens to do theatre. Thus, in actuality, her parents really did not expect her to do things on her own. Subsequently, a "no" answer was tabulated.

b) In some other cases, the respondent would answer ambivalently, but would later reveal in the interview that the variable had in fact affected them either positively or negatively. For example, one respondent was asked: "What is important for you right now? What is it you want to do?" She answered: "I don't know. I want to get married and settle down". Although she stated she wanted marriage and children, this respondent kept repeating during the interview how she had wished she had gone to law school and

became a lawyer. She was contradicting herself. As a result, a different answer was tabulated.



APPENDIX C

Distribution of Social Characteristics  
of High and Low Respondents

<u>Social Characteristics</u>	<u>Highs</u>	<u>Lows</u>
<u>Age:</u>		
21-33	4	7
34-44	5	2
45-70	3	3
	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Birthplace:</u>		
Canadian	10	11
Other	2	1
	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Ethnic Origin:</u>		
French	5	7
Anglo-Saxon	6	2
Other	1	3
	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Religion:</u>		
Catholic	5	10
Protestant	4	1
Other	3	1
	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Education:</u>		
University	9	0
CGEP	2	7
HSL or less	1	5
	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Birth Order:</u>		
First Born	5	6
Second, Third, and Fourth Born	7	6
	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Marital Status:</u>		
Single	3	3
Married	5	5
Divorced	2	3
Widowed	2	1
	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>

Distribution of Social Characteristics  
of High and Low Respondents

<u>Social Characteristics</u>	<u>Highs</u>	<u>Lows</u>
<u>Number of Children:</u>		
None	6	8
One child	3	3
Two or more	3	1
	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Financial Situation:</u>		
\$50,000 plus	4	0
\$32,000-\$49,999	8	0
Less than \$32,000	0	12
	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>

**Classification of the Respondents'  
Answers to Key Variables**

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Highs</u>		<u>Lows</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
<b><u>Quality of Parent-Child Relationship:</u></b>				
Close Mother-Daughter Relationship	7	5 (I2)	3	9 (I2)
Close Father-Daughter Relationship	4	8 (I2)	1	11 (I2)
Warm, Affectionate Mothers	7	5 (I2)	6	6 (I2)
Warm, Affectionate Fathers	6	6 (I2)	3	9 (I2)
Negative Mother-Daughter Relations	1	11 (I2)	2	10 (I2)
Negative Father-Daughter Relations	0	12 (I2)	7	5 (I2)
<b><u>Quality of Home Environment:</u></b>				
Mother-Absent Homes	1	11 (I2)	0	12 (I2)
Father-Absent Homes	0	12 (I2)	5	7 (I2)
<b><u>Parental Achievement Socialization:</u></b>				
Parental Achievement Expectations	9	3 (I2)	4	8 (I2)
Parental Support of Achievement	7	5 (I2)	4	8 (I2)
Parental Modelling of Achievement	8	4 (I2)	3	9 (I2)
Parental Independence Training	7	5 (I2)	6	6 (I2)
<b><u>Cultural Socialization:</u></b>				
Cultural Sex-Role Expectations	5	7 (I2)	3	9 (I2)
Sexual Discrimination and Stereotyping	6	6 (I2)	1	11 (I2)
Absence of Female Role Models	3	9 (I2)	0	12 (I2)
Reference Group Identification	3	9 (I2)	3	9 (I2)
<b><u>Positive Social-Structural Conditions:</u></b>				
Support Systems	10	2 (I2)	0	12 (I2)
Family Ties/Connections	2	10 (I2)	0	12 (I2)
<b><u>Negative Social-Structural Conditions:</u></b>				
Power Structure	4	8 (I2)	0	12 (I2)
Discriminatory Practices and Policies	4	8 (I2)	0	12 (I2)
<b><u>"Success Patterns" Development:</u></b>				
Patterns of Early Achievement	8	4 (I2)	0	12 (I2)
Adolescent Occupational Dream	9	3 (I2)	7	5 (I2)
Materialized Occupational Dream	3	9 (I2)	1	11 (I2)
Sex-Role Socialization: Androgynous	7	5 (I2)	5	7 (I2)
Feminine	5	7 (I2)	7	5 (I2)