Judgements of Career Success, Relative Amount of Child-Rearing and Full-Time Employment Involvement, and Attitudes Toward Women: An Exploratory Study

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ABSTRACT

Judgements of Career Success: Relative Amount of Child-Rearing and Full-Time Employment Involvement, and Attitudes Toward Women: An Exploratory Study

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The purpose of the present study was to explore (1) women's judgements of career success, (2) the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement women expect, and women prefer, for the future, (3) women's attitudes toward the societal rights and roles of women, and (4) the relationship of the three to each other. One hundred and eleven female students (1) assessed the success of hypothetical females who differed in professional status, occupations and familial status, (2) chose from among 13 situations of relative amounts of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement the one they expected, and independently, the one they preferred, for their future, (3) completed a short form of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence, Helmreich, & Strapp, 1973), and (4) indicated their work orientation and demographic information. In general, the participants were career-oriented and held relatively nontraditional attitudes toward women. Women of higher professional status were judged to be currently more successful, which was more deserved, than women of lower professional status. Success at the higher status was judged to be more personally satisfying to the participants. Women in a

traditional occupation who did not have a family were judged to rate themselves as more successful, than those who did. For their first expectation, and for their first preference, more career-oriented women than expected chose to interrupt full-time employment before young children start school. Career-oriented women more frequently expressed an expectation, and more frequently expressed a preference, for more full-time employment involvement, than job-oriented women. There was no relationship between (1) attitudes toward women and career success, (2) attitudes and relative amount of full-time employment involvement or (3) relative amount of full-time employment involvement expressed as a first expectation and success. However, university women who expressed a preference for relatively more full-time employment involvement did judge the target female to be currently more successful.

Introduction

White (1979) has argued for a new career model for women. She has suggested that research has attempted to fit women's career patterns into those of most men without great success. Some women who are in professional careers seem to be developing a new concept of professional career which is neither upward-moving or success oriented. Rather, this alternate model seems to recognize the importance of commitment to family responsibilities to the choices women make. The goal of career then becomes deeper knowledge, more varied experience, and greater esteem and intrinsic satisfaction, as opposed to greater status or extrinsic rewards (White, 1979).

However, it may be a bit premature to begin developing a new career model for women without a better understanding of some of the basic concepts that would make up such a model. For example, Shann (1983) has suggested that to understand the plans and career aspirations of women "a new definition of success should be considered, one which is not rooted in the "male" values of competition and power" (p. 354). One step in developing a new definition of career success would be to explore variables that influence women's evaluations of success.

As well, the increasing number of women with children who are participating in employment has contributed greatly to the growing number of women in the paid labour force (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). Meanwhile, regardless of their employment status, women, more than men, spend a disproportionate amount of time on childcare and household responsibilities (Blau & Ferber, 1985; Nieva, 1985; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). Tittle (1983) has emphasized the need to explore parental roles, as

well as vocational roles, in studies of women's career development. She has proposed that women's career psychology must take into account the context of women's roles as workers and mothers

One possibile starting point for exploring the context of women's roles would be to investigate the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement university women anticipate for their future. To date, studies tend not to investigate the latter, although the literature does address women's plans for a family and/or a career.

As well, in light of the suggestion that it may be appropriate to develop a new career model for women (e.g., Tittle, 1983; White, 1979), research that ties together issues that influence both women's career, and women's family, development may be needed. For example, is career success related to the relative amount of full-time employment involvement that women anticipate for their futures?

Thus, the present study was designed to explore several issues believed to be important to women's career development. More specifically, the focus was on university women's (1) judgements of career success, (2) the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement university women express as a first expectation, and express as a first preference, for their futures, and (3) the relationship between judgements of success and relative amount of full-time employment involvement. As well, these issues were explored in relation to women's attitudes toward the societal rights and roles of women.

In examining career success, the focus was on university women's evaluations of how successful they judged a hypothetical individual. This included their evaluations of

the deservedness of the success and the target's self-rating of he r own success. The evaluations of success were in relation to familial and professional status, both in traditional (nursing) and in nontraditional (physics) occupations for women. As well, university women indicated their own personal satisfaction with achieving success comparable to that which they judged the target had attained.

Two aspects pertaining to relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement were explored. First choice situations that the participants expected to be in in the future were assessed. Also explored were situations women expressed as their first preference for their future. Finally, attitudes toward women involved the attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society, as measured by the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence, H elmreich & Stapp, 1973).

As well as investigating separately university women's evaluations of success, the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement which they expressed as their first expectation, and which they expressed as their first preference, and their attitudes toward women, this study explored the possible relationship between each of the three.

CAREER SUCCESS

The number of women entering into paid employment has greatly increased in recent years (Blau & Ferber, 1985; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). Although the relatively recent movement of women into the labour force represents a major social trend,

many young women are left without available role models of career success (Foss & Slaney, 1986). However, to date it is not clear what contributes to evaluations of success for women. For example, Foss & Slaney (1986) have suggested that role models who successfully pursue nontraditional careers for women, i.e., careers that have been traditionally pursued by men (e.g., engineering), would encourage other women to consider such choices. As yet there is no evidence to suggest that women in nontraditional occupations would be considered any more successful than women in traditional occupations, i.e., occupations that have traditionally been pursued by women (e.g., nursing).

Much of the research addressing women's success, or aspects of success, has been concerned with the evaluation of women's performance relative to that of men. Although, some researchers have introduced other dimensions, (e.g., professional, parental and/or marital status), these have essentially all been discussed in terms of the effect of gender in the possible devaluation of women's work or women's success. It appears that very little research has attempted to identify variables specifically important to women's success, independent of whether that success is devalued or overvalued. One of the purposes of the present study was to investigate variables that contribute to women's evaluations of female career success, independent of its relationship to male success.

Since many of the studies that tap women's judgements of success, or aspects of success, have been derived from the landmark study of Goldberg (1968), a brief description of this study is essential.

Role of Gender

Goldberg (1968) explored the prejudice of women toward women's intellectual and professional competence. Using a paradigm which assessed the effect a stimulus person's gender had on the evaluation she or he received on a specified dimension, Goldberg found that college women rated identical journal articles more favourably when the article was supposedly written by a man, as opposed to a woman. Thus, female participants devalued the work of other women solely on the basis of gender.

Although several studies have offered some support for Goldberg's finding (e.g., Heneman, 1977; Paludi & Strayer, 1985), others have failed to replicate the "devaluation" effect (e.g., Kaufman & Shikiar, 1985).

Role of Status and Attitudes Toward Women

Interestingly, a study by Pheterson, Kiesler & Goldberg (1971) is generally included with those findings offering support for Goldberg's (1968) results. However, some qualification seems necessary. Pheterson et al. asked college women to evaluate paintings which were either contest entries or winners, and painted by either a woman or man. When the paintings were presented as entries, women judged male artists to be more technically competent than female artists. They also evaluated the future of the male artists more favourably. However, when female artists were acknowledged as successful winners, women no longer devalued the competency or the future success of the female artists.

Of greater concern to the present study was that the women did not base the competency or artistic future of the female artists on the status of the painting. When women were entrants, neither their technical competency nor their futures were judged differently from when they were winners.

Thus, although higher status (winner versus entry) had a differential effect on college women's evaluations of women and men, it did not appear to influence their evaluations of the female artists only. This suggests that variables contributing to women's recognition of success for women, when compared to the success of men, may differ from variables contributing to women's recognition of success for women only.

Abramson et al. (1977) also investigated the effect of status, but the focus was on the status of the individual, as opposed to a sample of work. Female and male undergraduates assessed the vocational success of a hypothetical woman or man whose professional status was either high (attorney) or low (paralegal worker). Female participants rated the female attorney as the most successful, i.e., significantly more successful than the female or male paralegal worker or male attorney. Thus, women evaluated other women who had achieved professional status as more successful than women who had not achieved professional status. Abramson et al. (1977) have suggested that women's increased evaluations of success for the high status professional women reflected their recognition of the obstacles women may have had to overcome to achieve their success in a male-dominated occupation.

However, the lack of separate analyses for the individual evaluations of success in the Abramson et al. study is problematic. Five separate evaluations of vocational

success were made, with each evaluation appearing to tap different aspects of success. For example, one judgement assessed the deservedness of the success, while another assessed the participant's own personal satisfaction with the success achieved. It seems possible that judgements of success may have varied depending upon the question asked. Summing the evaluations together does not necessarily produce an overall vocational success score. Analyzing each evaluation separately might have been more meaningful, and more accurate.

Thus, higher recognized status seemed to counter the effect of gender on the evaluations of success for women. Women did not evaluate the future success of women whose work had achieved a higher status more favourably (Pheterson et al., 1971). As well, although college women evaluated other women of higher professional status as more successful (Abramson et al., 1977), the use of an overall success score in the analyses is questionable.

One variable not previously considered was attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. Isaacs (1981) investigated whether undergraduate students with more nontraditional attitudes were more egalitarian when judging articles written by women in traditional and nontraditional fields. Attitudes toward women were assessed using the AWS (Spence & Helmreich, 1972). Isaacs also added a professional status dimension to determine whether status overrode predjudice against women's work. Authors of low professional status articles were labelled Mr. or Miss; those of high professional status articles were labelled "Dr.".

Isaac's found that male participants did not devalue the work of women in a

nontraditional field (city planning) once they had achieved professional status. On the other hand, regardless of the field in which the article was written, in general women did not evaluate professional women more favourably than nonprofessional women. Although there was a tendency for women's average overall evaluations to increase with higher professional status, this was true only for the field of city planning.

Isaacs did not find a relationship between the participants' attitudes toward women in contemporary society and their evaluations of the female authors. However, there was not much variability among the AWS scores, with most of the group holding nontraditional attitudes. This lack of variablility may reflect the impact of the women's movement. As Isaacs points out, her study was carried out on the Berkley campus, a place where the movement has obtained a great deal of support and strength. Although, as Isaacs suggests, it is possible that those with more nontraditional attitudes did not tend to devalue women's work, the absence of a relationship in this study cannot be used to offer support for this.

The lack of effect of professional status on women's evaluations of the female lawyers (Isaacs, 1981) seems contrary to the effect of professional status in the Abramson et al. (1977) study. However, there is a major methodological difference between the two studies. Abramson et al. provided personal information in the biographies and the participants evaluated the individual, not simply her work. The university women in Isaacs' study were given only a sample of work, with no other information except the author's name. It is possible that professional status may only play a salient role in women's evaluations of success under certain conditions. For example, women may use professional status as a basis for evaluating other women's

success in general, but not as a basis for evaluating the success or merits of a sample of her work.

Role of Occupation

As stated previously, Foss & Slaney (1986) have suggested that women who successfully pursue nontraditional careers for women might encourage other women to consider these occupations. However, it is not clear whether the type of occupation, i.e., traditional (female-dominated) or nontraditional (male-dominated) for women, actually contributes to judgements of female career success. For example, Isaacs (1981) does not report whether women judged the work of other women in traditional fields differently from the work of women in nontraditional fields. Paludi & Strayer (1985) did find that university women did not evaluate the value, or quality, of articles written by women in a masculine field (politics) differently than articles written in a feminine field (psychology of women). Also, the participants did not rate the professional competence or status of the female authors differently in the two fields. It appears that women's evaluations were not affected by the traditionality of the field.

On the other hand, Paludi (1984) found that ability was perceived as a more important cause of success for individuals in occupations considered nontraditional for their gender, i.e., for women in medicine and men in nursing. This suggests that explanations of success in nontraditional occupations may differ from those in traditional occupations. In addition, Strange & Rea (1983) found that the importance of considerations in choosing university majors differed depending upon the type of

major. Interpersonal skills, i.e.; skills for working and communicating with people, and service values, i.e., the opportunity to help others and pursue general humanitarian concerns, were considered less important by women in nontraditional majors (e.g., design technology), than women in traditional majors (e.g., elementary education). The former assigned greater importance to material status and job opportunities. Material status described the money and resulting status of the career which the major would lead to. The least important consideration for both women and men was the sex-appropriateness of the major.

Strange & Rea have suggested that women and men were choosing their majors for very traditional reasons associated with the career. Male-dominated careers were selected for their status and material gain; female-dominated careers were selected for their potential to help others and for their interpersonal skills.

It is interesting that the sex-appropriateness of the major was not an important consideration in women's choices. It appears that women choosing traditional occupations were not doing so because the career was considered more appropriate for women. By the same token, status and money, which are sometimes considered indications of success in today's society, were only associated with nontraditional occupations for women. This suggests that the type of occupation, i.e., how traditional or nontraditional it is, could affect judgements of success, especially if success is viewed in terms of material status.

Role of Family

Tittle (1983) has pointed out that the major roles for women today are those of worker, marriage partner and parent, and the model is that of employment plus homemaking and motherhood. As mentioned, to understand the vocational behaviour of women, Tittle has emphasized the need to add the exploration of marital and parental roles, as well as vocational roles, to studies of women's career development.

Etaugh & Kasley (1981) had male and female college students evaluate job applicants who were either married or single and with or without children. The women rated other women without children as significantly more dedicated than women with children. As well, childless, married applicants were given higher grades than married applicants who were parents. However, the future job success of women with and without children was not rated differently. Although parental status did not effect evaluations of future success, the presence of a family did have a negative impact on evaluations of the quality of women's work and their professional dedication.

Summary

One of the purposes of the present study was to identify variables that influence women's evaluations of female career success. Participants judged the success of hypothetical individuals who were described using a methodology similar to that of Abramson et al. (1977), i.e., biographical information, as opposed to a sample of 'work'. As well, evaluations directly addressed success, as opposed to competency or

dedication

The biographies of the hypothetical individuals differed along several dimensions. More specifically, the focus was on the effects of (1) professional status (high or low), (2) the presence or absence of a family, and (3) the type of occupation (traditional or nontraditional) on women's evaluations of success for others, and on their own satisfaction with achieving comparable success. To a large extent the present study was exploratory in nature. It was hypothesized th at women who had achieved professional status would be considered more successful than those who had not achieved professional status (see Abramson et al., 1977). The effects of (1) family, (2) the traditionality of the occupation, and (3) women's attitudes toward women on the participant's evaluations of success were explored.

CHILD-REARING and FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT INVOLVEMENT

Women's attitudes toward women who choose to work outside the home, regardless of whether or not they have children, have changed over the last few years (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). Moreover, most women no longer feel that they must choose either a career or a family (Weitzman, 1979). However, many women do interrupt their careers, especially when their children are young (Nieva & Gutek 1981; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). Women attempting both a career and a family are often faced with juggling, and compromising, responsibilities and satisfaction in their daily lives. These women often have an increased work load, as they retain the responsibilities of housework and child care (Blau & Ferber, 1985; Nieva, 1985; Nieva & Gutek, 1981).

Women who decide to work part-time may experience role overload and a low sense of satisfaction in what they are doing (Hall & Gordon, 1973). Thus, career interruption, work overload, or working on a part-time basis can have far-reaching effects on a woman's career.

Recently, some researchers (e.g., Fassinger, 1985; Tittle, 1983) have focused on the need to include women's life experiences in studies concerning women's career development. With a disproportionate amount of the responsibilities of homemaking and childcare still being placed on women, regardless of their employment status, many may choose more flexible work hours over more money or more demanding work settings (Blau & Ferber, 1985; Nieva, 1985; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986 ; Tittle, 1983). Lack of affordable and adequate childcare facilities may prevent some women from working outside the home, while others may be limited to jobs that can accommodate childcare responsibilities (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). As Ridgeway (1978) points out, young women today are faced with the adult roles of both the traditional homemaker role and the increasingly salient work role. Both roles must be evaluated and incorporated, or not, into women's daily lives.

To date, much of the research focusing on women's career and family plans tends to be conducted under the umbrella terms career 'orientation' or 'choice'. Often the latter two are poorly defined (e.g., Perrucci & Targ, 1978; Ridgeway, 1978). The concern of the present study was to explore both (1) university women's work orientation and (2) the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement women expressed as their first expectation, and independently, their first preference, for their future.

Gender Differences

In an extensive investigation, Farmer (1983) assessed several aspects of adolescents' future family and career plans. Adolescent women placed more value on family and home-related activities, while also perceiving the career role as more central to their adult role, compared to adolescent men. As well, Farmer suggests that the young men endorsed a plan to share career and family roles to a greater extent than did the young women. However, the items used to assess the latter were different for male and female participants. The responses more accurately suggest that the young men claimed that they were more ready to equally share parenting than the young women were to equally share financial support.

Shann (1983) also investigated the career and family plans of women and men. Female and male graduate students enrolled in male-dominated and female-dominated professions (e.g., medicine and nursing respectively) indicated what they expected to be doing in the future. The points at which women's plans became less specific and/or less ambitious were congruent with the points at which they expressed more consideration toward marital and parental plans. Compared to men, women more frequently expressed plans to combine work and childcare, with family often combined with part-time employment. Very few of the women indicated plans to interrupt their careers for child-rearing. However, it should be noted that the majority of the women did not indicate plans to combine work and childcare at any point in time.

Both Farmer (1983) and Shann (1983) investigated gender differences in future career and family plans. Adolescent women placed more value on family activities, while being more commited to their careers, than adolescent men (Farmer, 1983). As well, female graduate students planned to combine family and work more frequently than male graduate students (Shann, 1983). Although these gender differences are interesting, with the change in women's roles over the past years, it is important to explore women's future career and family plans, independent of those of men.

Family Involvement

Jensen, Christensen & Wilson (1985) investigated predictors for university women's preference for the traditional and nontraditional sex role. An increased preference for parenting was associated with parenting being viewed as rewarding, while working was viewed as unrewarding. Preference for working full-time and not being a parent was associated with a perception that parenting was costly and less rewarding.

However, the young women were given only two options which represented the extremes of possible options for parenting and employment, i.e., be a parent and not work full-time; work full-time and not be a parent. It seems plausible that these young women saw neither as an option for them, but responded as best they could to the choices that they were given. The average rating for each option seems to offer support for this. The women indicated that the desire to be a parent was somewhat like them, while the desire not to have children but work full-time was not very like

them. In other words, the women believed neither statement was really very much like them, but of the two, having children and not working was closer.

Granrose (1984), examined women's intention to return to work during the three years following childbirth. Thirty-nine percent believed they would work, 39% believed they wouldn't, 20% indicated there was a 50/50 chance of either, and 2% didn't know. Granrose has suggested that most of the women were unrealistically optimistic about their futures. Those who intended to work following childbirth saw work as an overwhelming pleasure, providing accomplishment, yet leaving plenty of time to spend with their child and spouse. Those who intended to remain at home believed they would still maintain their career skills and contacts, despite being out of the labour force.

However, Granrose did not assess the relative amount of employment involvement women intended during the first three years. It is possible that many of the women who intended to work, intended to do so part-time. This might enable them to participate in the labour force, yet still spend some time with their children.

The effects of age and the stage of life-cycle on the congruence of women's intention to pursue a career and their participation in the paid work force were examined by Faver (1983). Although more younger women were career-oriented, they were not employed full-time. The greatest discrepancy between career orientation and employment occurred among married women with preschoolers. Compared to mothers whose youngest child was an adolescent, more mothers with preschoolers were career-oriented, but less were employed full-time.

As Faver has suggested, women may be putting their career plans on hold until children reach school age. However, this does not mean that women are interrupting their careers out of personal choice. Rather, some may be pressured into withdrawal from the work force due to economic and/or social constraints. For example, adequate child care facilities may not be available and since men rarely, if ever, interrupt their careers to assume childcare responsibilities, women almost universally perform the task. Also, many women who do enter the paid labour force still assume a disproportionate amount of childcare and household responsibilities (Blau & Ferber, 1985; Nieva, 1985; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). This may be particularly difficult for women with small children.

Career-orientation in Faver's study was a dichotomous variable, based on whether or not women described themselves as having long-range career goals. However, the question was worded in such a way that there appears to have been a bias towards a career-oriented response. Thus, the high percentage of career-oriented women, especially in the younger women, may reflect a tendency to provide a desirable response.

Employment status in Faver's study was also a dichotomous variable, i.e., either (1) employed full-time or (2) employed part-time/not employed. As mentioned, women may have been putting their career plans on hold during early motherhood. The relationship between full-time employment and the age of the youngest child seems to suggest this may be the case. However, the inclusion of only two employment status categories somewhat limits the strength of this suggestion. For example, it is not clear whether women who had preschoolers and who had withdrawn from full-time

employment were not participating in the labor force at all, or were continuing to work on a part-time basis. In addition, whether the women planned to return to full-time employment at a later date was not explored.

There appears to be a lack of research investigating the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement university women expect for their future. Although Shann (1983) alluded to the possibility that university women were not planning to interrupt their careers, but combine family with part-time work, this was not specifically investigated. Moreover, the majority of women in Shann's study did not indicate plans to combine child-rearing with employment. Furthermore, studies have tended to provide women with limited choices (e.g., Granrose, 1984; Jensen et al., 1985).

The point is that focusing on family and work variables may be a bit premature without a clearer indication of the amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement women expect. In addition, with the expansion of women's societal roles and labour force participation, it may no longer be enough to ask women if they plan to work when they have a family. Finer distinctions have to be made regarding the relative amount of child-rearing and employment involvement women anticipate for their futures. For example, a bias in many of the studies seems to be the assumption that women will have children (e.g., Granrose, 1984; Ridgeway, 1978). However, it is no longer clear that the latter can be assumed. As well, some women may plan to combine child-rearing with continuous full-time employment, while others may plan to interrupt full-time employment when children are preschoolers.

Expectation/Preference and Attitudes Toward Women

Turner & McCaffery (1974) found a certain incongruency between the amount of career involvement women expected and the amount they preferred. In a more recent study, Stafford (1984) recognized that when studying women's occupational behaviour, what women feel they have to do and what they want to do may be quite different. In her study, the majority of women were involved in the occupation they preferred to be in, i.e., career, job, or homemaking. The women who were doing what they wanted to be doing had higher levels of self-esteem than those who were doing something other than what they preferred.

Stafford also found that attitudes toward the societal rights and roles of women, assessed using the AWS, were related to women's present occupations. Women who were homemakers held the most traditional attitudes towards women, while those who were careerists held the most nontraditional attitudes. In addition, the more traditional women had low labour force attachment (amount and continuity of labour force participation), while more nontraditional women had stronger labour force attachment.

Fassinger (1985), testing a model of career choice in university women, assessed women's attitudes toward women, as well as career salience (the importance of work and career in women's lives) and intent to pursue a career and a family in the future. Overall, the university women held relatively nontraditional attitudes toward women and planned to pursue both family and careers, especially careers that were highly prestigious and nontraditional for women. Fassinger proposed that high ability women

who were feminists and achievement oriented appeared to be strongly career and family oriented. This strong career and family orientation seemed to lead to highly prestigious and nontraditional career choices.

Fassinger identified some of the problems and limitations of her study. For example, virtually all of the women in her study were career-oriented and held relatively nontraditional attitudes toward women. Possibly this lack of variability indicates that the measures used may have lost their discriminative ability (Fassinger, 1985). Despite the weaknesses, Fassinger does point out that the study was important in its attempt to integrate the literature in this area into a causal structure. However, research directed towards simpler concepts (e.g., the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement university women expect) may be needed before more complex models can, or should, be developed.

Summary

Overall, studies investigating women's plans for family and employment have neglected the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement women expect. This has resulted in a poor understanding of the extent university women expect to incorporate family and employment, or even if they do so at all. Although, women no longer feel they must choose either a career or a family (Weitzman, 1979), there is little evidence to suggest what women, and in the present instance, university women, are choosing.

In addition, Ridgeway (1978) has argued that education and commitment to a

career are generally prerequisites to high status jobs. Thus, the decisions that young women currently make not only affect their own standing in society, but also will perpetuate, or change, the position of women in general.

A second purpose of the present study was to explore the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement university women express as their first choice. Participants indicated which one of 13 situations they expected, and which one they preferred, for their future. The situations varied in relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement.

The university women also indicated whether they were career- or job-oriented. A combination of Faver's (1983) and Stafford's (1984) questions distinguishing the pursuit of a career versus a job was used. Women who were career-oriented were those who described themselves as having long-range employment goals that involve a career, i.e., working in a specific field or type of work, developing and using skills necessary for that field and possibly working extra hours with out pay and be away from the home evenings and weekends. Women who were job-oriented were those who described themselves as having long-range employment goals that involve a job, i.e., working a set number of hours a day and allows them to go home after work and forget about it.

In many respects, this research was exploratory in nature. However, it was hypothesized that the university women would be career-oriented, as opposed to job-oriented. The first expectation and the first preference of the majority of women would be congruent (see Stafford, 1984). In addition, women who held more

nontraditional attitudes toward women would expect more full-time employment involvement (Stafford, 1984). This would also be true for their first preference.

The final purpose of the present study was to explore the relationship between the relative amount of full-time employment involvement women expressed as a first expectation and, independently, expressed as a first preference, and their evaluations of career success.

CONCLUSION

This study was designed to investigate (a) university women's evaluations of career success, (b) expected, and preferred, relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement in the future, and (c) the relationship between the two. As well, the relationship between participant's attitudes toward women and (a) evaluations of success and (b) relative amount of full-time employment involvement was explored.

The hypotheses were as follows:

(1) University women would have nontraditional attitudes towards the societal rights and roles of women (Fassinger, 1985; Isaacs, 1981).

(2) Women who had achieved professional status would be judged to be more

successful than those who had not achieved professional status (Abramson et al., 1977).

(3) Women would be career-oriented, as opposed to job-oriented Farmer, 1983; Fassinger, 1985; Faver, 1983).

(4) The first expectation and the first preference of the majority of women would be congruent (Stafford, 1984).

(5) The relative amount of full-time employment involvement women expressed as their first expectation, and expressed as their first preference, would vary according to women's attitudes toward women, with more nontraditional women expecti ng, and preferring, more full-time employment involvement (Stafford, 1984).

Method

Subjects

One hundred and eleven undergraduate women taking Introductory Pschology at Saint Mary's University participated in the study. Participants ranged in age from 18 - 38 years (M=.20.409; SD = 4.215). The majority of the women were not married (91.7%) and were in their first year of university (75.7%). Over 50% of the women did

not indicate their major field of study. However, 65.7% indicated plans to pursue their education beyond the undergraduate level, with 17.1% planning to complete a Master's degree and 21.6% planning to complete a Doctoral or other professional degree. Table A-1 in Appendix A provides a summary of the description of the sample (Note: Tables in the Appendixes will be identified accord ing to APA criteria, i.e., with capital letters and arabic numbers). Approximately 70 of the students received partial course credit for their participation.

Measures

Success: The methodolgy used to assess evaluations of success was derived from Abramson et al. (1977). One-paged, single-spaced biographies described a hypothetical individual named Anne. The biographies included information on Anne's academic history, extracurricular interests, university performance, and present position. The biographies discriminated along dimensions of family, professional status, and occupation (see Appendix B). Family was either present or absent: Professional status was either high or low (professor or laboratory technologist/research assistant): Occupations were either traditional (nursing) or nontraditional (physics) for women.

A pilot study predetermined that the type of biography differentially affected evaluations of success. Women judged the biographies containing higher professional status to be more successful than those with lower status, $F(1, 29) = 3.910$, $p = .058$. In addition, the type of occupation had an effect on evaluations of how traditional they

were for women, $F(1, 29) = 4.104$, $p = .008$. The nursing biographies were judged to be more traditional, i.e., held by a higher proportion of women than men, than the physics biographies. Finally, women judged nursing to be extremely traditional for women, $\chi^2(5, N = 33) = 37.758$, $p = .000$ and physics to be extremely nontraditional for women, $\chi^2(5, N = 33) = 29.364$, $p = .000$.

Accompanying the biographies were 4 questions assessing university women's evaluations of the success of the hypothetical individual and their own personal satisfaction with achieving comparable success (see Appendix B). Participants placed their evaluations on 10 cm. lines which were anchored at the ends with 1 = "not very" and 10 = "extremely so". Success was the distance of the participants' responses from the anchor point of 1 = "not very". The first 2 questions were taken directly from the Abramson et al. (1977) study (p. 115). The last 2 questions were adaptations of 2 others included in their study. In addition, the biographies which included a family scenario were followed by 2 questions assessing the importance of family to evaluations of success (see Appendix B).

Child-Rearing and Employment Involvement: This was a 2-part measure. First of all, women's work-orientation was assessed by adapting questions used by Faver (1983; p. 194) and Stafford (1984; p. 334). A question focusing on long-range employment goals which were described in terms of a job or a career distinguished women who were job-oriented from those who were career-oriented (see Appendix C).

Secondly, 13 situations described relative amounts of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement (e.g., employed only before children are born and then stay

at home; work full-time before children start school; no children and work full-time) (see Appendix C). Participants indicated which one of the situations they expected to be doing in 15 years. Women also chose which situation they preferred to be doing, independent of what they expected to be doing. To ensure they considered all the situations, participants were asked to rank their first five choices, with number 1 being their top choice. However, all analyses were conducted only on the first choice. The assessment of women's first expectation and the assessment of women's first preference was counterbalanced for presentation.

Attitudes Toward Women: The 25-item short form version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1973) assessed women's attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society in such areas as vocational, educational, and intellectual activities; dating and sexual behaviour; and marital relationships. Each item is a declarative statement with 4 possible responses; Agree Strongly, Agree Mildly, Disagree Mildly or Disagree Strongly. Each item is scored from 0 to 3. A final score is obtained by summing the scores for individual items, with the possible scores ranging from 0 to 75. High scores reflect more nontraditional attitudes; low scores more traditional attitudes.

The short form was derived from a longer 55-item original scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972). The two correlate .969 for 241 female undergraduates (Spence et al., 1973). Validity studies have shown that (1) college women scored significantly higher than college men, and (2) mothers of students scored significantly higher than fathers (Spence et al., 1973). In addition, the attitudes of National Organization of

Women members were significantly more nontraditional than those of the female normative data (Kilpatrick & Dell, 1974).

Demographics: Participants indicated their age, marital status, year of university and their area of concentrated study. In addition, women indicated the level of education they planned to obtain (Ridgeway, 1978) (see Appendix D).

Procedure

Participants were group tested in classroom settings. They were told the following:

> My thesis focuses on university students' perceptions of career success, their future family and work plans, and attitudes toward women. It is a 2-part study and will take approximately 30 minutes. The first part concerns success and future plans; the second, attitudes. When you have completed part 1 raise your hand and you will be given part 2. To ensure your anonymity please do not write your name or student number on any of the forms. Keeping this in mind I ask you to respond as honestly as you can. Please read the instructions carefully. There is no deception involved and no obligation to participate. Results from the study will be available around the end of April and may be obtained from me in the

Psychology Department here at the University. Again, please read the instructions carefully and let me know when you have completed part 1.

In part 1 the participants received the form requesting demographic information, 1 of 8 biographies with 4 or 6 questions assessing success, the work-orientation question and the two forms containing the 13 situations which described relative amounts of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement women might expect and prefer. All instructions were included with each measure. Using a table of random numbers, the biographies and their relative position with the expected, and the preferred, child-rearing and employment situations were distributed to the participants in random order. The demographic information was always presented first. The work-orientation measure always preceded the expected and the preferred child-rearing and employment situations.

In part 2, the participants received the AWS and a separate answer sheet on which to place their responses. Measures were coded so that a participant's response on the AWS was matched with her measures in part 1.

Experimental Design and Analytical Techniques

The present study incorporated several designs. First of all, for the assessment of success there were 3 experimental manipulations consituting a 2 X 2 X 2 (Professional Status X Family X Occupation) factorial design. The dependent

variables were the 4 evaluations of success, while the independent variables were (1) high or low professional status, (2) the presence or absence of a family and (3) traditional or nontraditional occupations for women. Instead of doing separate 3-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) on the measures of success, one multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was chosen to decrease the possibility of Type I error.

The relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement women expected, and women preferred, for their first choice, and their work orientation, were explored using nonparametric statistics, i.e., chi-squares. As well , the possibility that university women's expected, and their preferred, amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement varied according to women's attitudes toward women was investigated using nonparametric techniques. Finally, a correlational design was employed to investigate the relationship between evaluations of success and (1) attitudes toward women and (2) the relative amount of full-time employment involvement women expected, and women preferred. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed on the above mentioned relationships.

All analyses were conducted using the extended version of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS^X; SPSS, 1983). A Box's M test for homogeneity of variance was computed on the original data set using the MANOVA program. The original data set exceeded the stringent alpha level of .001 (Spinner, 1986), Box's M, $F(70, 14905) = 2.014$, $p = .000$ (approximately), indicating a violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance.

To correct for heterogeneity, outliers were detected, and their influence assessed,

using the residuals command of the multiple regression program (SPSS, 1985). Several MANOVAs were computed on revised data sets, which resulted from the sequential removal of cases with the largest Mahalanobis' and Cook's distances (see Table E-1). Based on the results of the test for homogeneity of variance, all analyses were conducted on the data set which yielded the most stringent alpha level for the Box's M test. This resulted in an N = 111, as opposed to the original N = 115. Thus, the final data set was corrected for outliers to preserve homogeneity and normality.

There were 11-16 participants/cell for the evaluations of career success. The demographic characteristics of the female participants did not differ across experimental conditions. Three 1-way ANOVAs showed no significant differences for (1) age, $F(7, 102) = 1.1384$, $p = .3452$, (2) year of university, $F(7, 103) = .8207$, $p = .5723$, or (3) planned educational level, $F(7, 103) = .4779$, $p = .8487$, across the cells. As well, 2 Kruskal-Wallis' 1-way ANOVAs showed no significant differences for marital status, $\chi^2(N = 109) = 2.4119$, $p = .9336$, or major, $\chi^2(N = 111) = 6.8608$, $p = .4435$. Cell means can be found in Table F-1.

For the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement women expressed as their first expectation, and expressed as their first preference, only the data from women who had correctly completed the measure were included (N = 80).

Results

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

As was expected, the participants held relatively nontraditional attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society ($M = 63.364$). As well, there were no significant differences in women's attitudes across experimental conditions, $F(7,102) = 1.4574$, $p = .1910$ (see Table G-1 for cell means and standard deviations).

For the purposes of examining the possibility of variation in the relative amount of full-time employment involvement according to women's attitudes toward women, the participants were divided into two extreme groups, based on their distribution of scores on the AWS. Women who scored 61 or lower (33.3 percentile) were considered more traditional. Women who scored 67 or above (67.7 percentile) were considered more nontraditional. Out of the 56 women who scored within these upper and lower percentile groups, 50% ($n = 28$) held more traditional attitudes and 50% held more nontraditional attitudes.

SUCCESS

A three-way MANOVA (Status X Family X Occupation) was computed on the 4 evaluations of success. Professional Status had a significant multivariate effect on evaluations of success, $F(4, 99) = 3.93137$, Pillais trace criterion = .13707, $p = .005$. As shown in Figure 1, women of higher professional status were judged as having

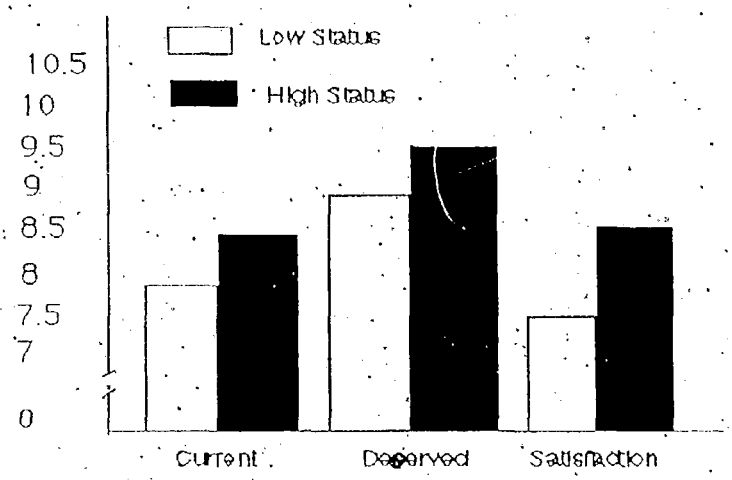

Figure 1 Effect of status on evaluations of success

significantly more current success, $F(1, 102) = 4.33963$, $p = .040$, which was more deserved, $F(1,102) = 10.22815$, $p = .002$, than women of lower status. In addition, success at the higher status was judged to be of greater personal satisfaction to the students, $F(1,102) = 11.32945$, $p = .001$. Participants did not indicate that the target's self-rating of her own success would be significantly different at the two levels of professional status, $F(1, 102) = 1.23618$, $p = .269$. Cell means and standard deviations can be found in Table H-1.

The presence of a family did not affect evaluations of success, $F(4,99) = .84440$, Pillais trace criterion = .03299, $p = .500$ (see Table H-2). Similarly, the success of women in a traditional occupation was not evaluated differently from that of women in

a nontraditional occupation, $F(4, 99) = .25583$, Pillais trace criterion = .01023, $p = .905$ (see Table H-3).

There was a signficant multivariate interaction of Family and Occupation on evaluations of success, $F(4; 99) = 2.99242$, Pillais trace criterion = .10786, $p = .022$. A significant univariate Family and Occupation interaction was found for the evaluation of the target's self-rating of her own success $F(1,102) = 5.35880$, $p = .023$. As shown in Table 1, participants indicated that, in a traditional occupation, other women would rate their own success significantly higher when they did not have a family ($M = 8.185$) as opposed to when they did ($M = 7.262$). However, when the hypothetical women were in a nontraditional occupation, the presence or absence of a family did not make a significant difference to participant's judgements of her rating of her own success. There were no other significant interactions between presence or absence of a family and the type of occupation for the remaining three evaluations of success (see Table H-3).

There was no significant multivariate interaction of Status X Occupation on evaluations of success, $F(4, 99) = 1.99128$, Pillais trace criterion = .07446, $p = .102$, even though professional status and the type of occupation did interact to affect participant's evaluations of current level of success, $F(1, 102) = 7.01707$, $p = .009$. The interaction of Status and Occupation did not affect evaluations of (1) how well-deserved the success was, (2) the target's rating of her own success, or (3) the participant's personal satisfaction with achieving comparable success (see Table H-3).

Table 1

Simple Effects of Family and Occupation on Judgements of Targets' Self-ratings of Success

	Family				
Occupation	Absent	Present	*F*	*df*	*p*
Traditional					
M	8.185	7.262	4.714	1, 102	*
Nontraditional					
M	7.367	7.761	0.844	1, 102	ns

* $p < .05$.

Evaluations of success at the higher or lower professional status were not significantly affected by the presence or absence of a family, $F(4, 99) = .17821$; Pillais trace criterion = .00715, $p = .949$ (see Table H-4). Finally, there was no significant multivariate effect of Family X Status X Occupation on evaluations of success, $F(4, 99) = .40345$; Pillais trace criterion = .01604; $p = .806$ (see Table H-3).

Two 2-way ANOVAs (Status X Occupation) were computed on the importance of family to evaluations of success. The importance of having a family to university women's evaluations of the target's success, or to their evaluations of their own success, were not affected by professional status and/or the type of occupation (see

Table H-5).

ATTITUDES and SUCCESS

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed on the AWS scores and the 4 evaluations of success. As shown in Table 2, university women's attitudes toward women were not significantly related to (1) their evaluations of current success, (2) how well-deserved that success was, (3) their judgements of the target's rating of her own success, or (4) their own satisfaction with achieving comparable success (Note: Table 2 also indicates the relationship between the 4 evalautions of success to each other).

Table 2
Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients Between Attitudes and Success

	Satisfaction	Other's Rating	Deserve	Success Now
Attitudes	.1025 (N=110)	.0544 (N=110)	.1836 (N=109)	.1287 (N=110)
Success Now	.4987** (N=111)	.3166* (N=111)	.5107** (N=110)	
Well-Deserved	.4927** (N=110)	.0757 (N=110)		
Other's Rating	.1175 (N=111)			

*p= .001. **p= .000.

CHILD-REARING AND FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT INVOLVEMENT

Table 3 shows the first 5 situations of child-rearing and employment involvement women expressed as their first expectation for their futures. These accounted for the relative amount of child-rearing and employment involvement expected by 75% of the women. The number of women who expected any one of these situations was not significantly different between options, $\chi^2(4, N = 60) = 2.667$, $p = .615$. Table I-1 shows the distribution of women for their first expectation across all 13 situations.

As well, Table 3 shows the first 5 situations that women reported as their first preference. These 5 situations accounted for the first preference of 78.75% of the women. The number of women preferring any one of these situations was not significantly different between options, $\chi^2(4, n = 63) = 2.317$, $p = .678$. Table I-1 also shows the distribution of women for their first preference across all 13 situations.

To further investigate the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement women expected, and the amount women preferred, for their first choice, the original 13 situations were collapsed on a priori grounds into 4 categories based on the relative amount of full-time employment involvement for each one. Situations involving little or no full-time employment were labelled "Child-Rearing Only". These were the first six of the original 13. Two situations (number 7 and 8) that combined child-rearing with full-time employment only after children started school

Table 3
Five Most Frequently Reported Situations for Women's First Expectation and First Preference

Options	Number	Percent (N=80)
Expectation		
(A) Combine Marriage and Child-Rearing with		
1. FT Work Only Once Children Start School	15	18.75
2. Steady PT Work Before Children Start School, Then Work FT	14	17.50
3. Steady FT Work Before Children Start School	13	16.25
(B) Married Without Children, Work FT	9	11.25
(C) Work Before Children Born and Only After Children Grown	9	11.25
Total	60	75
Preference		
(A) Combine Marriage and Child-Rearing with		
1. Steady PT Work Before Children Start School, Then Work FT	17	21.25
2. FT Work Only Once Children Start School	13	16.25
3. Steady FT Work Before Children Start School	10	12.50
(B) Married Without Children, Work FT	11	13.75
(C) Work Before Children Born and Only After Children Grown	12	15.00
Total	63	78.75

Note. FT = Full-time; PT = Part-time

were labelled "Interruption". Combining marriage and child-rearing with full-time employment before young children started school was labelled "No Interruption". Finally, the two (number 11 and 13) that consisted of full-time employment but not child-rearing were labelled "Employment Only".

For their first expectation, women were not randomly distributed across the 4 categories, $\chi^2(3, N = 79) = 31.139$, $p = .000$ (see Table 4). It appears more women than expected chose to interrupt full-time employment before their children start

Table 4
Amount of Child-Rearing and Full-Time Employment Involvement For First Expectation and First Preference

Involvement	Number of Women	Percent
Expectation		
Child-Rearing Only	21	26.58
Interruption	29	36.71
No Interruption	13	16.46
Employment Only	16	20.25
Total	79	100
Preference		
Child-Rearing Only	21	26.25
Interruption	30	37.50
No Interruption	10	12.50
Employment Only	19	23.75
Total	80	100

Note. Child-Rearing Only = Little or No Full-time Work; Interruption = Full-time Work Only After Children Start School; No Interruption = Work Full-time Before Children Start School; Employment Only = Work Full-time Without Children.

school, while fewer women chose little or no full-time employment involvement. This was also true for the distribution of women on their first preference, $\chi^2(3, N = 80) = 30.550$, $p = .000$.

Participants' self-reported work orientation indicated that significantly more women were career-oriented, as opposed to job-oriented (71.25% vs. 28.75%), $\chi^2(1, N = 80) = 14.450$, $p = .000$. On their first expectation, there was a significant difference in the number of career-oriented women across the 4 categories of relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement, $\chi^2(3, N = 57) = 32.190$, $p = .000$ (see Table 5). It seems fewer career-oriented women than expected indicated a choice involving little or no full-time employment involvement. More career-oriented women than expected appear to expect to interrupt full-time employment before young children start school, or work full-time while their children are preschoolers.

For their first preference, there was also a significant difference in the distribution of the number of career-oriented women across the 4 categories, $\chi^2(3, N = 80) = 29.006$ $p = .000$ (see Table 5). Again, it seems fewer career-oriented women than expected preferred little or no full-time employment involvement, while more preferred to interrupt full-time employment before their children start school. As well, more career-oriented women than expected expressed a preference full-time employment and not have children.

Table 5
Amount of Child-Rearing and Full-Time Employment Involvement For Career-Oriented Women's First Expectation and First Preference

Involvement	Number of Women	Percent
Expectation		
Child-Rearing Only	11	19.3
Interruption	20	35.0
No Interruption	12	21.1
Employment Only	14	24.6
Total	57	100
Preference		
Child-Rearing Only	11	19.3
Interruption	20	35.1
No Interruption	9	15.8
Employment Only	17	29.8
Total	57	100

Note. Child-Rearing Only = Little or No Full-time Work; Interruption = Part-time or No Work Before Children Start School; No Interruption = Work Full-time Before Children Start School; Employment Only = Work Full-time Without Children.

Of the women who were job-oriented, on their first expectation it seems more than expected chose to interrupt full-time employment when they had small children, $\chi^2(3, N = 22) = 8.083$, $p = .044$ (see Table 6). This was also the case for job-oriented women's first preference, $\chi^2(3, N = 23) = 10.319$, $p = .016$ (see Table 6). However, the chi-square statistic is questionable here since 3 of the 4 cells had an expected frequency of less than 5 (minimum expected cell frequency = 2).

Table 6
Amount of Child-Rearing and Full-Time Employment Involvement For Job-Oriented Women's First Expectation and First Preference

Involvement	Number of Women	Percent
Expectation		
Child-Rearing Only	10	45.5
Interruption	9	40.9
No Interruption	1	4.5
Employment Only	2	9.1
Total	22	100
Preference		
Child-Rearing Only	10	43.5
Interruption	10	43.5
No Interruption	1	4.3
Employment Only	2	8.7
Total	23	100

Note: Child-Rearing Only = Little or No Full-time Work; Interruption = Part-time or No Work Before Children Start School; No Interruption = Work Full-time Before Children Start School; Employment Only = Work Full-time Without Children.

There was a relationship between work orientation and relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement. Women who were career-oriented expected, $\chi^2(3, N = 79) = 8.543$, $p = .033$, and preferred, $\chi^2(3, N = 80) = 8.754$, $p = .033$, more full-time employment involvement than women who were job-oriented. However, it should be noted that, for the first expectation, 25% of the cells had an expected frequency of less than 5.

Finally, for their first choice, most of the women expected to be engaged in the amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement they preferred, $\chi^2(1, N = 80) = 4.050$, $p < .05$. However, as shown in Table 7, 38.75% of the women expected not to be engaged in the amount of child-rearing and full-time employment they preferred.

Table 7
Concordance Rate Between First Expectation and First Preference

	Number	Percent
Concordance	49	61.25
Disconcordance	31	38.75

ATTITUDES and FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT INVOLVEMENT

Chi-square analyses were conducted using the scores on the AWS of the more traditional and more nontraditional women, i.e., the upper and lower thirds of the sample ($N = 56$). There was no significant variation in the relative amount of full-time employment involvement women expressed as their first expectation according to women's attitudes toward women, $\chi^2(3, N = 55) = 2.7997$, $p < .05$. As well, the relative amount of full-time employment involvement women expressed as their first preference did not vary according to the traditionality of women's attitudes, $\chi^2(3, N =$

56) = 3.26050, $p < .05$. However, again 25% of the cells had an expected frequency of less than 5.

In an attempt to correct for the latter, the participants' scores on the AWS were divided into those scoring above the mean and those scoring below the mean on the AWS. Women who scored 63 or lower were considered more traditional. Women who scored 64 or above were considered more nontraditional. Out of the total number of women, 37 held more traditional attitudes and 43 held more nontraditional attitudes. Chi-square analyses were then conducted using the latter groups, i.e., those scoring above and below the mean. Consistent with the analyses on the upper and lower thirds, the relative amount of full-time employment involvement women expected, $\chi^2(3, N = 79) = 0.6854$, $p < .05$, or the amount women preferred, $\chi^2(3, N = 80) = 5.62475$, $p < .05$, did not vary according to the traditionality of women's attitudes.

SUCCESS and FULL-TIME EMPOYMENT INVOLVEMENT

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients revealed no significant relationships between the 4 evaluations of career success and the relative amount of full-time employment involvement women expressed as their first expectation (see Table 8). However, as shown in Table 8, for their first choice, the relative amount of full-time employment involvement university women preferred was significantly relatec to their evaluations of current success, $r(80) = .2238$, $p = .046$. University women who preferred more full-time employment involvement evaluated the hypothetical women as being currently more successful. No other significant relationships were found.

Table 8
Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients Between Success and Relative Amount of Full-Time Employment Involvement

Evaluations	Involvement
Expectation	
Success Now	.1265
Well-Deserved	-.0202
Other's Rating	.1222
Own Satisfaction	.0879
Preference	
Success Now	.2238*
Well-Deserved	.0908
Other's Rating	.0397
Own Satisfaction	-.0256

*$p < .05$.

SUMMARY

In summary, as was hypothesized, the participants held relatively nontraditional attitudes toward women and were career-oriented, as opposed to job-oriented. Also as predicted, the participants judged other women of higher professional status to be currently more successful, which was more deserved, than women of lower status. Success at the higher professional status was judged to be more personally satisfying

to the students. In addition, women in traditional occupations who did not have a family were thought to rate themselves as more successful than those who had a family.

For their first expectation, fewer career-oriented women than expected chose relatively little or no full-time employment involvement, while more indicated they expect to combine child-rearing with full-time employment, either before or after young children begin school. In addition, for their first preference, more career-oriented women than expected preferred to work full-time and not have children. Career-oriented women more frequently expressed an expectation, and expressed a preference, for more full-time employment involvement, than job-oriented women.

Opposite to what was predicted, women who held more nontraditional attitudes toward women did not expect relatively more full-time employment involvement: Nor did they express a preference for the latter. There was no relationship between attitudes toward women and evaluations of career success.

Finally, there was no relationship between evaluations of success and the relative amount of full-time employment involvement women expressed as their first expectation. However, women who expressed a preference for more full-time employment involvement did evaluate the hypothetical women to be currently more successful.

Discussion

SUCCESS

Status

In general, the participants were career-oriented and relatively nontraditional in their attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. This nontraditional, career-oriented group of university women indicate th at professional status had an influence on their judgements of women's career success. With the attainment of professional status women are judged to be currently more successful and more deserving of their success. Moreover, the participants indicate they would be more personally satisfied with success achieved at the higher status.

Considering the effect professional status had on women's evaluations of career success, it may be important to look at the level of education women in the present study plan to attain. Approximately 65% of the women indicate plans to continue on to do some graduate work, with 17.1% indicating specifically that they plan to complete a Master's degree and 21.6% planning to complete a Ph.D. or other professional degree. Admittedly, most of the women in the present study are in their first year of university and over 50% do not indicate their majors . To some extent, they may not as yet have developed a clear idea of what they plan to do educationally or occupationally.

Despite the latter, 65% do indicate plans to continue their education beyond the undergraduate level. With more education these university women may attain professional status suggesting that, in the future, they may consider themselves

relatively successful in their careers. They may also feel relatively satisfied with, and deserving of, the success they achieve. In addition, the large number of women who indicate plans to pursue their education beyond the undergraduate level offers some support for their reports of being career-oriented.

That higher professional status was considered more successful is consistent with the effects of professional status in Abramson et al.'s (1977) study. On the other hand, the effect appears to be inconsistent with Pheterson et al's. (1971) finding that women did not evaluate the future success of female winners more favourably than that of female entrants. However, in the latter study it was the status of the work that was manipulated, while in the present study it was the status the individual had attained. University women may not evaluate the future of those whose works have and have not achieved a higher status differently. They do appear to evaluate the current success of individuals who themselves have attained higher status differently from those who have not.

The lack of a professional status effect in Isaacs' (1981) study also seems contrary to the present finding. However, again, evaluations were based on a sample of work, rather than on information about the individual herself. Furthermore, evaluations in Isaacs' study concerned the value of the work and the professional competence and status of the individual, as opposed to the success achieved by an individual who had attained professional status.

Occupation

In general, the university women judged traditional occupations to be as successful as nontraditional occupations. This suggests that nontraditional university women continue to view female-dominated occupations as viable options for achieving career success. The deservedness and personal satisfaction with the success depends upon the status obtained within the occupation, as opposed to the occupation itself. As well, while male-dominated careers may be associated with more prestige (Paludi & Strayer, 1985) and material status (Strange & Rea, 1983), they are not judged to be more successful than female-dominated occupations. The latter are typically associated with humanistic concerns (Strange & Rea, 1983). It appears that the pursuit of humanistic concerns is considered to be as successful as the pursuit of prestige and material status.

One thing that should be pointed out is that female-dominated occupations tend to offer relatively few positions that involve high professional status or require professional degrees. For example, the majority of women in nursing do not have university degrees, although this trend seems to be rapidly changing. Even though the participants indicate that professional status influenced their evaluations of success, it is unlikely that such status would be required, or attained, when entering traditional female occupations.

The lack of effect for nontraditional occupations is inconsistent with the suggestion that women's evaluations reflect the recognition that women overcome greater obstacles and constraints when achieving success in male-dominated occupations

(Abramson et al., 1977; Pheterson et al., 1974). For the university women in the present study, women in a traditional career were judged to be as successful as those in a nontraditional career. It is possible the present women's relatively nontraditional attitudes toward women, their youth, and/or their exposure to high status women, e.g., university professors, result in a rather optimistic view of women's progress in achieving their success.

Another possibility is that the students associate any constraints with the attainment of professional status, not the type of occupation. In other words, possibly the participants recognize that women overcome obstacles when achieving success, but that this is true for traditional, as well as nontraditional, occupations for women. By the same token, any constraints women may have to overcome, if they exist at all, may be irrelevant to judgements of success.

Family

The finding that family generally had little influence on women's evaluations of success may not be surprising in a relatively nontraditional, career-oriented group of university women. These women are not endorsing the more stereotypical descriptions of women's position in contemporary society and recognize the right of women to pursue careers. As well, their work orientation suggests that their careers will occupy a salient place in their lives. Although family may play a role in their lives in general, it does not appear to contribute to judgements of career success. This finding is consistent with Etaugh & Kasley's (1981) finding that family had no influence on the evaluations of future job success (Etaugh & Kasley, 1981).

On the other hand, when university women judged the target's self-rating of her own success, the absence of a family did affect evaluations of success in traditional occupations. The participants seem to believe that a woman in a traditional occupation would evaluate herself as more successful when she does not have a family.

Why this effect occurred is open for speculation. Possibly, the absence of a family is more salient in a traditional occupation. For example, Reskin & Hartmann (1986) have suggested that nursing is an acceptable occupation for women because it is defined as an extension of women's domestic roles. Stereotypes about appropriate occupations for women affects self-image and identity. In addition, when a woman deviates from the female stereotype, she may be explained as an exception (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). A woman who enters a traditional female occupation, e.g., nursing, may be presumed to fulfill the stereotypic role of women as mothers. When she does not have a family, university women might believe that she views herself as different: She is in a traditional occupation, but does not have a family. Since she is thought to view herself as different from most women in traditional occupations, others may believe that she would rate herself as more successful within this occupation.

The effect of family on evaluations of another's self-rating in a traditional occupation argues against summing evaluations into one overall success score, as was done in the Abramson et al. (1977) study. In the present study different findings obtained for one judgement of success than for the other three judgements. This information would have been missed if the evaluations had been summed together. Moreover, it can be argued that, given the difference in the responses depending upon the question,

adding them together would be meaningless.

CHILD-REARING AND FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT INVOLVEMENT

Career-Oriented Women

In general, these career-oriented university women appear to indicate that child-rearing will play an important part in their lives. This seems evident by the number of career-oriented women who indicate motherhood roles as a first expectation (approximately 75%), and the number who indicate it as a first preference (approximately 70%), for their futures. By the same token, the relative involvement with full-time employment, as well as their career-orientation, suggests that careers are also important to them.

It appears that for their first choice, more career-oriented women than expected expect, and prefer, to interrupt full-time employment while their children are preschoolers. The integration of future careers with child-rearing responsibilities does not appear to follow the expectation traditionally associated with men, i.e., the pursuit of full-time employment, along with fatherhood. One could speculate that university women who indicate they may withdraw from full-time employment while their children are preschoolers may be acknowledging the difficulties women often face when attempting to combine motherhood with full-time careers, e.g., shortage of proper childcare facilities; increased work load (Blau & Ferber, 1985; Nieva, 1985; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986).

There are several possible implications these interruptions have for the future

careers of women. For example, it may be difficult to re-enter the work force after a delay and women may lose some of their career skills (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). Contact with colleagues and potential employers will probably be minimized without some participation in paid employment. For the women who work on a part-time basis, there may be fewer opportunities for promotion; they may be restricted to jobs they are overqualified for and/or that pay less (Blau & Ferber, 1985; Nieva & Gutek, 1981; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986).

On the other hand, lessening involvement with continuous full-time employment may make it possible for women to puruse other areas of interests which are more important to them, e.g., more involvement with their children. However, as Reskin & Hartmann (1986) point out "Whenever women's choices and opportunities are constrained, however, as they most certainly are by familial responsibilities and the lack of alternative social arrangements for family care, we must be concerned" (p. 75).

About 44% of the careerists in the present study do not expect, and 49% do not prefer, to incorporate child-rearing and full-time employment, but opt for one or the other. This suggests that women are not endorsing the Superwoman image (i.e., careerist and mother) often presented through the media to women and men today (Nieva, 1985).

On the surface this possible choice between either a career or motherhood appears to be inconsistent with Weitzman's (1979) suggestion, and more common belief, that women no longer feel they must choose between a career and a family. However, the present study did not specifically address the issue of whether women

felt they had to make a choice. Perhaps the career-oriented women who expect, or prefer, a full-time career and no children are not choosing one over the other. Rather, they are expressing a choice for an alternate lifestyle, one that does not involve child-rearing responsibilities, which would support Weitzman's suggestion. Whether women are choosing between having children and a career, or whether this is a consideration at all, is an area requiring further investigation.

Moreover, the common theme that runs through many of the studies is that the choice for women is whether or not to enter the labour force, not whether or not to have a family (e.g., Farmer, 1983; Faver, 1983; Granrose, 1984; Ridgeway, 1978). However, for their first choice, approximately 25% of the career-oriented women in the present study do not expect to become mothers (30% do not prefer to be parents). Since 1/4 of the present sample do not expect to be mothers, it is recommended that the option of not having children be included in further studies investigating women's plans for their futures.

For their first expectation, career-oriented women seem to expect little or no full-time employment involvement for an extended period of time. This may not be very surprising since the group is career-oriented. However, this may also be a reflection of one of the weaknesses of the present study. In an attempt to provide as many options as possible, too many responses appear to have been made available. When collapsed into categories based on the relative amount of full-time employment involvement, a higher proportion of responses fell within the first category than the other 3. In retrospect, it might have been more appropriate to provide fewer options in

the beginning, e.g., employment only after children are grown; part-time employment during child-rearing; 2 categories for interrupting full-time employment; no interruption with child-rearing; full-time employment only with no children.

Research with Career-Oriented Women

The relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement the career-oriented university women express as their first expectation argues for the inclusion of such categories in studies focusing on women's career development. For example, results from the present study may help explain why female adolescents, compared to adolescent men, had higher career commitment but less intention to share family and career roles with their future spouses (Farmer, 198 3). Despite their career orientation, 35% of the career-oriented university women in the present study do not expect to work full-time while their children are preschoolers. During this time it would be virtually impossible to equally share financial responsibility with their partners. In addition, about 1/5 of those who are career-oriented do not expect to pursue a full-time career while their children remain at home. As well, for about 1/4 of the women, their first expectation did not involve children at all. Either of the latter two options preclude the possibility of equally sharing parenting and financial responsibility with spouses.

The relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement women expect seems to support the discrepancy Faver (1983) found between career orientation and full-time employment in relation to the age of the youngest child . In the

present study, although about 54% (31/57) of the career-oriented women are not expecting to be employed full-time when children are preschoolers, once children reach school age, 35% of the women expect to return to full-time employment. It seems that as children get older, the first expectation of many university women is to return to full-time employment.

Moreover, although Faver's population consisted mostly of career-oriented women who were parents, her suggestion that women may be deferring their career plans during early motherhood needs to be addressed. Does what university women indicate as their first expectation for their future suggest that they expect to put their careers on hold while their children are young? Of the career-oriented women who expect to have children ($n = 43$), the first expectation of approximately 28% (12/43) is to maintain continuous full-time employment which suggests they do not plan to put their careers on hold. Another 25% (11/43) indicate they expect little or no full-time employment involvement for an extended period of time. These women seem to be putting their career plans on hold indefinitly, i.e., not only during early motherhood.

Finally, over 46% (20/43) of the career-oriented women who expect to engage in child-rearing indicate they do not expect to participate in full-time employment during the preschool years. However, 27.9% (12/43) expect to participate on a part-time basis during that time and then return to full-time employment. Only 18.6% (8/43) expect to withdraw from the labour force completely. The latter 18.6% who will withdraw completely when their children are preschoolers may be said to be deferring their career plans during early motherhood. This does not appear to offer strong support for Faver's suggestion that career plans may be deferred during early

motherhood.

Career- and Job-Oriented Women

More job-oriented university women than expected appear to express an expectation, and express a preference, for no full-time employment involvement while children are preschoolers. However, 3/4 of the cells had an expected frequency of less than five. Some statisticians discourage using χ^2 with expected frequencies less than 5 (McCall, 1980; Siegel, 1956). On the other hand, Rosenthal & Rosnow (1984) suggest usable χ^2 can be obtained with expected frequencies as low as 1, as long as the total *N* is not too small (total *N* can be less than 20).

The finding that career-oriented university women expect relatively more full-time employment involvement than job-oriented women is not surprising. The former endorsed a description which suggests that their careers will be a salient part of their lives (e.g., working extra hours, being away from home, developing skills). The job-oriented women endorsed a description that involved working a set number of hours and which could be left behind once one left work. In addition, career-oriented student's expectation for more full-time employment involvement agrees with Stafford's (1984) finding that women's present occupation (career, job, or homemaker) was positively related to the amount and continuity of labour force participation.

Research in General

Regardless of women's work orientation, women's relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement has implications for other research in this area. For example, the first expectation, and the first preference, of approximately 50% of the women in the present study is to combine child-rearing with continuous full-time employment, either before or after young children start school. The options presented to the participants in the Jensen et al. (1985) study were either parenting or participation in paid labour. Presumably the present women would have had difficulty describing themselves in the terms provided in the latter study.

As well, the present results extend the work of Granrose (1984) who focused on intentions to work during the first 3 years following childbirth. In the present study, about 16% of the women expect to work full-time when their children are preschoolers, while 17.5% (14/80) expect to work part-time during early motherhood. In addition, about 20% of the women do not expect, and about 24% do not prefer, to have children at all. In Granrose's study the latter would have been forced to respond inaccurately, since Granrose appears to have assumed that women would have children in that the question was would they work or not.

The Relationship Between Expectations & Preferences

As hypothesized, for their first choice, the majority of women expect the relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement they prefer. However, for approximately 38% of the women the relative amount they expect is something other than what they prefer. It is not clear what the implications are for university

women's future happiness when they prefer one scenario for their future but expect another. It is also not clear what the consequences are for either their careers or their families. Possibly a longitudinal study focusing on university women's personal, work, and family development would address these issues. For example, Stafford (1984) found that women who were doing something other than what they preferred had lower self-esteem than those who were doing what they preferred.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

As predicted, in general the university women held nontraditional attitudes toward the societal rights and roles of women, which agrees with the findings of other studies (e.g., Fassinger, 1985; Isaacs, 1981). Attitudes toward women were not related to any of the 4 evaluations of career success.

As well, the university women with more nontraditional attitudes did not express an expectation, or a preference, for more full-time employment involvement than women with more traditional attitudes. This disagrees with Stafford's (1984) finding that women with more nontraditional attitudes participated more, and longer, in the labour force, than women with more traditional attitudes. However, Stafford sampled women who had been enrolled in university between 1950 and 1980. At the time of the study they were currently engaged in an occupation. The present women were enrolled in university at the time of the study. The discrepancy may reflect a difference between university women and women who work, either in paid labour or at home.

Moreover, Stafford did not provide the mean or range of scores obtained on the

AWS. There is no way to compare how nontraditional her group was in relation to the present group. Since Stafford's study contained older, as well as younger, women it seems possible she may have found a wider range of scores on the AWS.

Indeed, a closer look at the measure used to assess nontraditional attitudes is warranted. The AWS was standardized on a sample of women and men enrolled in university in the fall of 1971 and spring of 1972. The scores on the 25-item version of the AWS for the Spence et al's. (1973) female university sample ranged from 20-75 with a mean of 50.26. The range in the present study is 42-75 with a mean of 63.36, which falls just below the 90th percentile score on the normative data.

Since the development of the AWS the women's movement has grown into a political force, gaining both prominence, popularity and strength. In addition, the once accepted doctrines within specific disciplines are now being questioned, as witnessed by Carol Gilligan's work in the area of moral development, especially as it relates to women. There can be little doubt that the consciousness of a great many women has been raised over the last 10-15 years. The AWS may now be an outdated measure which no longer discriminates traditional and nontraditional attitudes toward women in university women (e.g., Fassinger, 1985; Isaacs, 1981). In the future it may be more appropriate to use measures similar to Fassinger 's (1985) Feminist Orientation measure, as opposed to the AWS, with university women.

SUCCESS and FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT INVOLVEMENT

Finally, the university women who expect relatively more full-time employment

involvement do not judge (1) current success, (2) the deservedness of the success, (3) another's self-rating of her own success, or (4) their own personal satisfaction with achieving comparable success any differently from women who expect relatively less full-time employment involvement. This lack of a relationship suggests that judgements of career success are independent of the relative amount of full-time employment involvement the participants expect. This may reflect a relatively healthy view of success, especially for those women who are career-oriented but expect to interrupt full-time employment when their children are preschoolers. It seems they could be as personally satisfied with the success they achieve in their careers as those who pursue continuous full-time employment.

On the other hand, women in the present study who prefer relatively more full-time employment involvement do judge other women to be currently more successful, than those who prefer relatively less involvement. However, what must be kept in mind is that, although this relationship is significant, it is weak ($r = .2238$; $r^2 = .0501$). They do not judge the success to be more deserved or more personally satisfying than those who express a preference for relatively less involvement.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Many of the studies dealing with issues concerning women and their careers employ university students as their participants (e.g., Abramson et al., 1977; Foss & Slaney, 1986; Granrose, 1984; Issacs, 1981; Ridgeway, 1978). This brings into

question whether the findings from studies using university women generalize to other women. Further research is needed using students enrolled in other institutions such as those that focus on more traditional occupations for women, e.g., nursing or secretarial students. In addition, the strength of women's commitment to their choices along with their plans for the future, should be investigated.

Moreover, the utility of "pencil-and- paper" people may be limited . The present study employed biographical individuals as a starting point for investigating variables specific to female career success. However, more research is needed using women who are directly involved in the paid labour force and child-rearing. Issues such as (a) what variables influence working women's judgements of career success and (b) how they feel about their career success, both alone and in relation to the other aspects of their lives, could be explored.

CONCLUSION

To a certain extent the present study may be said to offer some support to White's (1979) suggestion that professional women seem to be developing a new concept of careers. Many of the university women in the present study do indicate plans to pursue higher levels of education suggesting that it is possible they will attain professional status in the future. One could speculate that career-oriented nontraditional university women, who may one day attain professional status, do not associate career success with relatively more full-time employment involvement. Professional women who interrupt their careers for child-rearing may be as satisfied

with the success they achieve in their careers, as those who engage in continuous full-time employment. In other words, career success may not be measured solely in the active pursuit of a career. Rather, women may consider themselves, or other women, successful in their careers, even when the career is pursued on a part-time basis, or completely interrupted for a number of years.

Finally, the present findings may have some practical application for those in career counseling centres. Since many of the career-oriented women in the present study expect to incorporate child-rearing with full-time employment, counselors may wish to address women's family plans in combination with their career plans. Along with assessing young women's career interests, skills, and knowledge, it may be important to get a sense of their expectations and knowledge of some of the difficulties that can be encountered when attempting to combine a career with family responsibilities. Counselors could explore the timimg of education, careers and child-bearing/child-rearing with both female amd male students.

In addition, given that professional status appeared to influence judgements of female career success, counselors could help students set realistic plans to achieve the success they desire. Early in their academic careers, women who are interested in attaining professional status could be given information that would enable them to make plans for attaining that status.

In summary, overall, the women in the present study were career-oriented and held

relatively nontraditional attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. The women judged other women to be more successful, and the success was more deserved, when they had attained a higher professional status. In addition, the participants expressed more personal satisfaction with success achieved at the higher status. Also, they believed women in traditional occupations would rate themselves more successful when they did not have a family, as opposed to when they did.

For their first choice, more career-oriented women than expected appear to expect to interrupt full-time employment when their children are preschoolers. Career-oriented women expected relatively more full-time employment involvement than job-oriented women. The relative amount of child-rearing and full-time employment involvement the majority of women expected was what they preferred.

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Appendixes

Appendix A

Table A-1

Background Information on the Participants

	N	%
Marital Status		
Single	100	91.7
Married	4	3.7
Divorced	4	3.7
Common Law	1	0.9
Total	109	100
Year of University		
1	84	75.7
2	13	11.7
3	8	7.2
4	5	4.5
7	1	0.9
Total	111	100
Major		
Psychology	13	11.7
Biology	11	9.9
Sociology	9	8.1
Business	9	8.1
Other	11	9.9
Not Stated or Declared	58	52.3
Total	111	100
Future Educational Plans		
Year or 2 of University	5	4.5
Undergraduate degree	33	29.7
Some graduate work	30	27.0
Master's degree	19	17.1
Ph.D or professional degree	24	21.6
Total	111	100

Appendix B

Anne is a research assistant for a Nursing professor in a large university. She was raised in a middle-class family in a small Canadian city. As a child she had many friends and in elementary school she was at the top of her class. She showed early promise for a career in the Health professions.

Anne completed her Senior Matriculation in the top 10% of her class. In high school she was president of the yearbook committee and a member of the girl's volleyball team. As well she took piano lessons. For two summers she worked on a student grant supervising young children at the local playground.

After four years Anne obtained a B.N. degree. She was an A student with no mark below 85. She worked as a teaching assistant for a professor's introductory Nursing class. Her duties consisted of marking exams and, because of her knowledge of the subject, giving an occasional lecture. For two summers she worked on research grants one of the Nursing professors had been given.

Currently, Anne lives by herself near the university. She collects and analyzes data, carries out literature searches, and organizes the details for the studies conducted under her employer. She has been co-author on a number of articles published and/or presented by the professor. She also sits on two committees in the community: the fund raising committee for the United Way and the planning committee for the local children's hospital. She is respected by both her employer and the other committee members.

Appendix B

Anne is a laboratory technologist for a Physics professor in a large university. She was raised in a middle-class family in a small Canadian city. As a child she had many friends and in elementary school she was at the top of her class. She showed early promise for a career in the Sciences.

Anne completed her Senior Matriculation in the top 10% of her class. In high school she was president of the yearbook committee and a member of the girl's volleyball team. As well she took piano lessons. For two summers she worked on a student grant supervising young children at the local playground.

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Currently, Anne lives with her husband and two children near the university. She collects and analyzes data, carries out literature searches, and organizes the details for the studies conducted under her employer. She has been co-author on a number of articles published and/or presented by the professor. She also sits on two committees in the community: the fund raising committee for the United Way and the planning committee for the local children's hospital. She is respected by both her employer and the other committee members.

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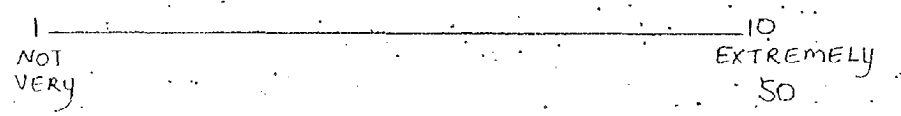
Appendix B

On a scale of 1-10 with 1 = "not very" and 10 = "extremely so", please indicate your response to the following question by drawing a perpendicular line corresponding to your answer on the scale.

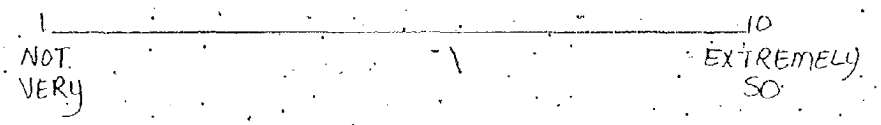
How successful do you think Anne is now?



Appendix B

On a scale of 1-10 with 1 = "not very" and 10 = "extremely so", please indicate your response to the following question by drawing a perpendicular line corresponding to your answer on the scale.

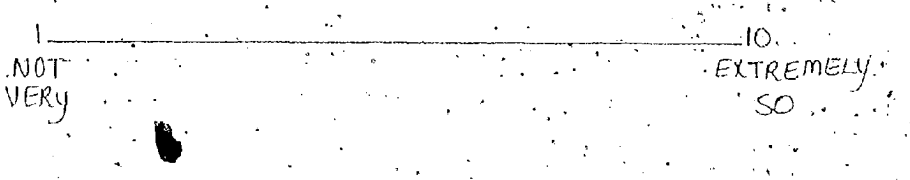
Do you think her success is well-deserved?



Appendix B

On a scale of 1-10 with 1 = "not very" and 10 = "extremely so", please indicate your response to the following question by drawing a perpendicular line corresponding to your answer on the scale.

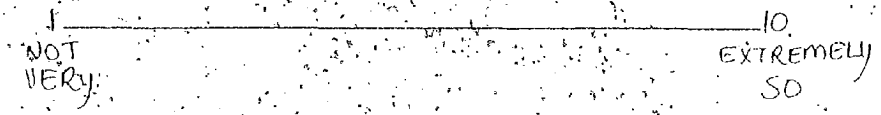
How successful do you think Anne would rate herself?



Appendix B

On a scale of 1-10 with 1 = "not very" and 10 = "extremely so", please indicate your response to the following question by drawing a perpendicular line corresponding to your answer on the scale.

How satisfied would you be to achieve success comparable to Anne's?



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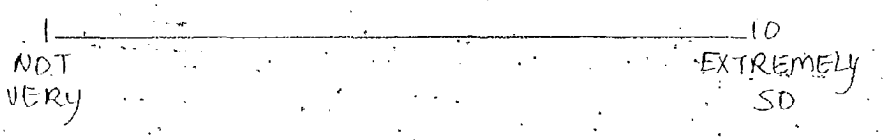
How important was Anne's having a family to your evaluation of her success?



Appendix B

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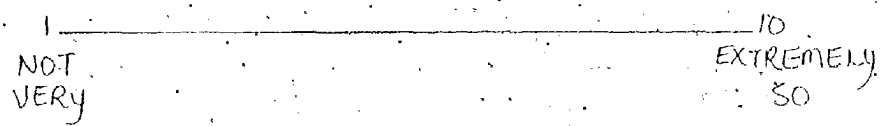
How important is having a family to your evaluation of your own success?



Appendix C

Please choose one of the following:

Would you describe yourself as having long-range employment goals that involve a job: working a set number of hours a day and allows you to go home after work and forget about it.

_____ Yes, I would describe myself in this way.

OR

Would you describe yourself as having long-range employment goals that involve a career: working in a specific field or type of work, developing and using skills necessary for that field and possibly working extra hours without pay and be away from home evenings and weekends.

_____ Yes, I would describe myself in this way.

Appendix C

Please rank in order of importance from 1 to 5 the following situations, with 1 being your top choice and 5 being your fifth choice.

In 15 years I realistically expect to be:

_____ at home without children

_____ employed only before children are born and then stay at home

_____ employed before children are born and only after children are grown

_____ occasionally employed (every now and then) throughout marriage and child-rearing

_____ combining marriage and child-rearing with steady part-time work only after young children start school

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_____ married without children and working at part-time employment

_____ married without children and working at full-time employment

_____ not married and working at part-time employment

_____ not married and working at full-time employment

Appendix C

Please rank in order of importance from 1 to 5 the following situations, with 1 being your top choice and 5 being your fifth choice.

Independent of what I realistically expect, in 15 years I would really prefer to be:

_____ at home without children

_____ employed only before children are born and then stay at home

_____ employed before children are born and only after children are grown

_____ occasionally employed (every now and then) throughout marriage and child-rearing

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Appendix D

Please answer the following:

Year of university _____

Age _____

Marital status _____

Major _____

What level of education do you plan to complete:

A year or two of university _____

An undergraduate degree _____

Some graduate work _____

Master's degree _____

Ph.D. or other professional degree _____

Appendix E

Table E-1

Tests for Homogeneity of Variance for Removal of Cases

Cases Removed	Box's M	*F*	*df*	*p* (approx)
59	134.82916	1.67812	70, 14348	.000
59 113	131.52379	1.63477	70, 14142	.001
59 113 106	130.39904	1.61817	70, 13831	.001
59 113 106 17	127.41196	1.57855	70, 13541	.002
59 113 106 23	125.72474	1.55765	70, 13541	.002
59 113 106 69	127.77675	1.58178	70, 13138	.001
59 113 23 69	123.74654	1.53189	70, 13138	.003

Appendix F

Table F-1

Cell Means for Demographic Characteristics

	Variables		
Cells	Age	YoU	Educ
1	20.29	1.14	3.07
2	20.92	1.77	3.15
3	18.85	1.38	3.54
4	20.50	1.12	3.25
5	19.83	1.50	3.17
6	19.08	1.64	2.79
7	22.67	1.47	3.40
8	20.71	1.64	3.36

Note. YoU = Year of University; Educ = Future Educational Level

Appendix G

Table G-1

Descriptive Statistics for Scores on the AWS for Each Cell

Cells	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	64.43	5.76
2	66.31	4.96
3	61.00	6.52
4	66.00	6.41
5	64.00	6.78
6	62.36	7.03
7	60.33	7.79
8	62.29	8.72

Appendix H

Table H-1

Cell Means and Standard Deviations for Success

	Mean	*S.D.*	*n*
Success Now			
Family Absent			
Trad'nal Occ			
Status Low	7.743	1.687	14
Status High	8.985	1.110	13
Nontrad'nal Occ			
Status Low	8.573	.702	11
Status High	8.167	1.136	15
Family Present			
Trad'nal Occ			
Status Low	7.508	2.022	13
Status High	8.706	1.006	16
Nontrad'nal Occ			
Status Low	8.321	1.263	14
Status High	8.436	1.379	14
For Sample	8.305	1.378	110
Well-deserved			
Family Absent			
Trad'nal Occ			
Status Low	9.121	.990	14
Status High	9.762	.272	13
Nontrad'nal Occ			
Status Low	9.118	.611	11
Status High	9.407	.624	15
Family Present			
Trad'nal Occ			
Status Low	8.792	1.072	13
Status High	9.300	.719	16
Nontrad Occ			
Status Low	9.236	.781	14
Status High	9.593	.414	14
For Sample	9.297	.760	110

Continued

Appendix H

Cont'd

Table H-1

Cell Means and Standard Deviations for Success

	Mean	*S.D.*	*n*
Other's Self-Rating			
Family Absent			
Trad'nal Occ			
Status Low	7.857	1.209	14
Status High	8.538	.995	13
Nontrad'nal Occ			
Status Low	7.264	1.949	11
Status High	7.393	2.178	15
Family Present			
Trad'nal Occ			
Status Low	6.800	1.567	13
Status High	7.638	1.657	16
Nontrad'nal Occ			
Status Low	7.907	1.364	14
Status High	7.614	1.461	14
For Sample	7.634	1.607	110
Own Satisfaction			
Family Absent			
Trad'nal Occ			
Status Low	7.436	2.263	14
Status High	8.969	1.566	13
Nontrad Occ			
Status Low	7.536	2.261	11
Status High	8.147	1.959	15
Family Present			
Trad'nal Occ			
Status Low	6.738	3.030	13
Status High	9.044	.890	16
Nontrad Occ			
Status Low	8.464	1.960	14
Status High	9.057	1.120	14
For Sample	8.213	2.055	110

Appendix H

Table H-2

Nonsignificant Univariate Effects of Family on Success

Success	*F*	*df*	*p*
Success Now	.23107	1, 102	.632
Well-deserved	.75400	1, 102	.387
Other's Rating	.80451	1, 102	.372
Satisfaction	.65862	1, 102	.419

Appendix H

Table H-3

Nonsignificant Univariate Effects on Success

Success	*F*	*df*	*p*
Occupation			
Success Now	.28970	1, 102	.592
Well-deserved	.45472	1, 102	.502
Other's Rating	.28832	1, 102	.592
Satisfaction	.46122	1, 102	.499
Family X Occupation			
Success Now	.26535	1, 102	.608
Well-deserved	3.80861	1, 102	.054
Satisfaction	2.69947	1, 102	.103
Status X Occupation			
Well-deserved	.80193	1, 102	.373
Other's Rating	1.90292	1, 102	.171
Satisfaction	3.09587	1, 102	.081
Family X Status X Occupation			
Success Now	.29856	1, 102	.586
Well-deserved	.12857	1, 102	.721
Other's Rating	.22529	1, 102	.636
Satisfaction	.27759	1, 102	.599

Appendix H

Table H-4

Nonsignificant Univariate Effects of Family X Status on Success

Success	*F*	*df*	*p*
Success Now	.21403	1, 102	.645
Well-deserved	.01293	1, 102	.910
Other's Rating	.04773	1, 102	.828
Satisfaction	.25359	1, 102	.616

Appendix H

Table H-5

Nonsignificant Effects of Importance of Family on Success

Effect	*F*	*df*	*p*
Other's Family			
Status	2.123	1, 53	.151
Occupation	.264	1, 53	.610
Status X Occupation	.594	1, 53	.444
Own Family			
Status	1.647	1, 53	.205
Occupation	.289	1, 53	.593
Status X Occupation	1.310	1, 53	.258

Appendix I

Table I-1
Number of Women Expecting and Preferring Each Situation

Option	Expectation	Preference
At home without children	1	1
Employed only before children are born and then stay at home	2	1
Employed before children are born and only after children are grown	9	12
Occasionally employed (every now and then) throughout marriage and child-rearing	1	2
Combining marriage and child-rearing with steady PT work only after young children start school	5	4
Combining marriage and child-rearing with steady PT work before young children start school	3	1
Combining marriage and child-rearing with steady PT work before young children start school and then begin working FT	14	17
Combining marriage and child-rearing with FT work only after young children start school	15	13
Combining marriage and child-rearing with FT work before young children start school	13	10
Married without children and working at PT employment	1	0
Married without children and working at FT employment	9	11
Not married and working at PT employment	0	0
Not married and working at FT employment	7	8