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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WOMEN'S SELF-ESTEEM AND THEIR AFFILIATION NEED

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by

Sister M. Judith Ann Schaeffer

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May

1982

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Finally, I wish to thank God, Whose love and life have continually flowed through my being, strengthening me and calming all my fears.

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Sister M. Judith was elected a member of Delta Epsilon Sigma in May, 1971. She was awarded a Newspaper Fund Fellowship grant in 1964.

LIFE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Chapter I provides background for the problem under investigation: women's attainment of self-esteem in spite of the social devaluation they experience. It also focuses on the fivefold purpose of the study, the hypotheses being tested, and a definition of key terms used throughout the study. It concludes with an acknowledgement of the limitations of the study.

Background of the Problem

Though difficult to define and still more difficult to achieve or nurture in another, self-esteem is nevertheless essential to emotional and psychological maturity, personal happiness, satisfaction with life, and fruitful interpersonal relationships. It is the bedrock on which all self-actualizing and creative processes rest; it is a positive correlate of effective human performance;¹ it is a prerequisite for esteem of others, which, in turn, is necessary for relationships to be mutually growth-producing. Without self-esteem, esteem of others degenerates into envy, feelings of inferiority, and either dependency that impoverishes or independency that alienates and precludes interpersonal enrichment.

¹William H. Fitts, <u>The Self Concept and Performance</u>, Dede Wallace Center Research Monograph, no. 5 (Nashville, TN: The Dede Wallace Center, 1972), p. 8.

For many, however, self-esteem is not easy to achieve. Neither is it easy, even for professional counselors, to engender self-esteem in another, even though the subjective discomfort that accompanies it is perhaps the most common reason clients initiate psychotherapy.² It is recognized when seen; it is celebrated when achieved. Its actualization in another brings a sense of significant accomplishment to the counselor. But effective means of bringing it forth within a clientcounselor relationship remain, for the most part, a mystery. What works for one client seldom works for another; what is effective at one time is ineffective at another; what appears to be facilitative during counseling sessions produces only temporary results. Consequently, even though increasing self-esteem is regarded as a function of therapy, 3 helping a client actually achieve an optimal level of self-esteem is a rare, rather than common, professional accomplishment. Being assured that the client has retained that level of self-esteem some time after the professional working relationship has ended is a still rarer experience. Hence the need for more knowledge about how people, and women in particular, attain satisfactory self-esteem.

Women are being studied, not because their mean self-esteem is lower than that of men, for indeed it is not, but because social devaluation of women seems to force them to achieve self-esteem in ways different from those of men, who, in general, are valued. In a society

²Ruth C. Wylie et al., <u>The Self-Concept: Theory and Research</u> <u>on Selected Topics</u>, revised ed., vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), p. 661.

³Ibid., p. 620.

which values achievement in realms which, for the most part and until recently, are accessible only to men, a significant number of women have somehow found alternate ways of experiencing their own self-worth and perhaps even of gaining social approval. They are generally thought to have done so in the affective domain and, in particular, by gratifying their need to create and maintain satisfying affiliative relationships: lasting functional relationships in which they can love and be loved. Indeed, research findings reveal a low but positive correlation between women's level of self-esteem and their need to affiliate. Questions remain, however, regarding the exact nature of these affiliative relationships and, in particular, the persons whose love and reception of love are most likely to facilitate women's self-esteem.

Questions also remain about the necessity of distinguishing between the need to affiliate and the gratification of that need. If the need to affiliate is generally gratified, it is not necessary to investigate its gratification. If, on the other hand, the need to affiliate is frequently not gratified; if, indeed, it becomes a more powerful need by the very fact that it is not being gratified, it is necessary to treat it as a distinct and active variable. Finally, questions still remain about the effect age and marital-maternal status might have on level of self-esteem in women.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research, then, is fivefold: while controlling for age and intelligence, (1) to verify previous findings of a correlation between women's level of self-esteem and the level of their

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need to affiliate; (2) to investigate Judith Bardwick's theoretical distinction between the need to affiliate and gratification of that need in terms of the latter, and not the former, being a correlate of optimal self-esteem in women; (3) to lend empirical support to select theories that value certain affiliative relationships over others in terms of their contribution to the attainment and retention of self-esteem in women and the gratification of their need to affiliate; (4) to discover whether age and marital-maternal status affect the level of self-esteem in women; and (5) to discover whether age and marital-maternal status affect the level of need to affiliate in women. With regard to point (3), this study is specifically designed to test Judith Bardwick's theory of the primacy of women's heterosexual and filial relationships against Nancy Chodorow's theory of the primacy of women's relationships with other women and, in particular, with their own mothers. Previous research has not been concerned with assessing the relevance of these specific relationships to the attainment of self-esteem or the gratification of need affiliation. Neither has previous research, in general, controlled for age and intelligence, two variables that should be controlled in self-concept research.⁴

It is hoped that findings from this study will enable American women to further their understanding of the processes whereby some among them have attained high self-esteem. It is hoped that these findings will provide counselors and other professionals with additional data on which to base their therapeutic interventions.

⁴Ibid., pp. 271-272.

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Research Hypotheses

Five major hypotheses will be tested to determine possible statistical significance.

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant correlation between women's level of self-esteem and the level of their need to affiliate when age and marital-maternal status are controlled.

Minor Hypotheses:

1.1 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the young neither-married-nor-mothers (nMnM) subgroup.

1.2 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the young married mothers (MM) subgroup.

1.3 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the older neither-married-nor-mothers (nMnM) subgroup.

1.4 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the older married mothers (MM) subgroup.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in women when age and marital-maternal status are controlled.

Minor Hypotheses:

2.1 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the young nMnM subgroup.

2.2 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the young MM subgroup.

2.3 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the older nMnM subgroup.

2.4 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the older MM subgroup.

Hypothesis 3: There are no significant differences in level of self-esteem in women or level of gratification of need affiliation in women, or both, based on their satisfying primary relationships with either one or two select persons.

Minor Hypotheses:

3.1 There are no significant differences in level of self-esteem in women based on their having a satisfying primary relationship with their own mothers rather than with their husbands or men other than their fathers; children and/or adolescents; or other women, exclusive of the women's mothers.

3.2 There are no significant differences in level of gratification of need affiliation in women based on their having a satisfying primary relationship with their own mothers rather than with their husbands or men other than their fathers; children and/or adolescents; or other women, exclusive of the women's mothers.

3.3 There are no significant differences in level of self-esteem in women based on their having satisfying primary relationships with their own mothers and children and/or adolescents rather than with their own mothers and their husbands or men other than their fathers; their own mothers and women other than their mothers; children and/ or adolescents and husbands or men other than the women's fathers; children and/or adolescents and other women, exclusive of the women's own mothers; or their husbands or men other than the women's fathers and women other than the women's mothers.

3.4 There are no significant differences in level of gratification of need affiliation in women based on their having satisfying primary relationships with their own mothers and children and/or adolescents rather than with their own mothers and their husbands or men other than their fathers; their own mothers and women other than their mothers; children and/or adolescents and husbands or men other than the women's fathers; children and/or adolescents and other women, exclusive of the women's mothers; or husbands or men other than the women's fathers and women other than the women's mothers.

3.5 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation, taken together, based on the relationships outlined in 3.1. 3.6 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation, taken together, based on the relationships outlined in 3.3.

Hypothesis 4: There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age and marital-maternal status, taken separately or together.

Minor Hypotheses:

4.1 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age.

4.2 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their marital-maternal status.

4.3 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age and marital-maternal status taken together.

Hypothesis 5: There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age and marital-maternal status, taken separately or together.

Minor Hypotheses:

5.1 There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age.

5.2 There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their marital-maternal status.

5.3 There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age and marital-maternal

status taken together.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study:

1. <u>Self-esteem</u> is defined as self-evaluation, self-affection, or a combination of these phenomena that, if adequate, co-occurs with a sense of adequacy, competence, personal efficacy, satisfaction and self-worth. Self-esteem is distinguishable from other self-concept variables, as well as from other personality variables, by the experience of self-regard it affords.⁵ It is "the evaluative component of self-conception."⁶

2. <u>Level of self-esteem</u> is defined as the degree to which selfesteem is positive or negative in nature. High self-esteem cooccurs with perceiving oneself as valuable and, as a consequence, reacting to self in an approving, respectful way. Low selfesteem co-occurs with perceiving oneself as worthless and, as a consequence, reacting to self in a rejecting, contemptuous way.⁷ High self-esteem occasions an experience of little or no discrepancy between what one is and what one ought to be or would like to be. Low self-esteem occasions an experience of a significant

⁵Ibid., p. 4.

⁶Kenneth Gergen, <u>The Concept of Self</u> (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1971), p. 14.

⁷Morris Rosenberg, <u>Society and the Adolescent Self Image</u> (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 5. discrepancy between the ideal self and the real self.⁸ Both high and low self-esteem may be thought of in an infinite number of gradations.

3. <u>Need affiliation</u> or <u>need to affiliate</u> is defined as the need to establish and maintain a positive affective relationship with another person or other persons. It is tantamount to the need for warm, close relationships with others: the need for loving and being loved. Need affiliation implies the need to experience interpersonal affect as well as to participate in some form of social interaction.

> 3a. <u>Interpersonal affect</u> is defined as close identification with other people and their problems, concern about others, kindness, tenderness, affection, and emotional involvement in general with others.

> 3b. <u>Social participation</u> is defined as sociability, friendliness, conviviality, and congeniality; as eagerness to value interpersonal relationships, to join a variety of social groups, and to establish both formal and informal associations with others.

4. <u>Gratification of need affiliation</u> is defined as fulfillment of the need to love and be loved by means of establishing and maintaining positive affective relationships with others.

5. Age is defined as chronological age, with young referring to

⁸A. R. Cohen, "Some Implications of Self-Esteem and Social Influence," in <u>Personality and Persuasibility</u>, ed. C. I. Hovland and I. L. Janis (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 103.

women between the ages of 18 and 27 and <u>older</u> referring to women between the ages of 32 and 62.

6. <u>Marital-maternal status</u> is defined as a state of (a) being legally married, that is, either married for the first time or remarried if previously divorced; and (b) being the natural mother of at least one child.

7. <u>Intelligence</u> is defined as the capacity to acquire and apply knowledge. Intelligence is being controlled in this study by all subjects having that level of intelligence required to meet admission standards at a four-year college or university.

8. <u>Satisfying primary relationships</u> are defined as those the subjects list either first or first and second when rank ordering the interpersonal relationships that have contributed to their loving and feeling loved.

<u>Methodology</u>

Subjects in the study are 167 women in four categories: young married mothers, young women neither married nor mothers, older married mothers, and older women neither married nor mothers. One-half of the women in each category were invited to participate in the study by this investigator; the other half were invited by a male of the same age, lifestyle, and educational background.

The 167 women who chose to participate in the study responded to four self-report instruments: the Jackson Personality Inventory, the Need Satisfaction Schedule--II, the Rank Order Form, and the Demographic-Biographic Data Sheet. Data gathered from these instruments were analyzed by means of Pearson product-moment coefficients of correlation, multivariate analyses, 2 x 2 factorial analyses, and \underline{t} tests.

Limitations of the Study

The qualifications and restrictions which limit application of the results of the study are as follows:

1. The women who participate in the study may or may not be representative of all women or even of all college-educated women. Neither may the subgroups be truly representative of all young women neither married nor mothers, all young married mothers, all older women neither married nor mothers, or all older married mothers.

2. The use of only college-educated women and women who, in general, were or are being educated at a small college in the Midwest is a limitation.

3. The use of only those women who participate voluntarily may constitute a limitation.

4. Reliance on self-report inventories is a limitation in that subjects may not report accurately their feelings, attitudes, and behaviors. They might be unaware of them, predisposed to response sets, or reluctant to engage in self-disclosure.

5. The Need Satisfaction Schedule--II has been validated only for adolescent students, ages 14 through 19. It is necessary to use the instrument, however, because no other validated instrument measuring need gratification, except in a work setting, can be found. 6. Similarly, a rank order form developed by this investigator is being used because no other instrument asking for the same information can be found. The fact that it was pilot-tested until its directions were clear and unambiguous to respondents reduces, but does not resolve, its questionable validity and reliability. 7. The Jackson Personality Inventory measures self-esteem in an interpersonal context. Though it seems appropriate in this study, there are other equally valid and reliable instruments that measure slightly different aspects of self-esteem.

8. The need for affiliation, as defined by Bardwick, is measured by two scales of the Jackson Personality Inventory: one focusing on interpersonal affect and the other, on social participation. There are other ways of measuring need affiliation that stress one of these aspects rather than the other or stress yet other aspects of the need to affiliate.

9. Self-esteem is based on objective reality, but this reality is filtered through several subjective processes before it is crystallized. Thus it is questionable whether any man-made instrument of a self-report nature can measure it accurately.

10. Self-report instruments, such as the JPI, NSS--II, and Rank Order Form, might well be measuring motivational values, in contrast to motivational needs. The latter are thought by some to be measured better by projective tests.⁹ A diverse and geographically widespread population such as the one used in this

⁹D. E. Clarke, "Measures of Achievement and Affiliation Motivation," <u>Review of Educational Research</u> 43 (1973):45.

study, however, would be difficult to test with projective instruments.

11. This study carries the limitation common to all research done on groups: its findings cannot be validly applied to particular individuals.

External applications of the results of this research to other populations should be made with the first three limitations in mind. Furthermore, external applications should be made cautiously, especially when different definitions of the need to affiliate are being used or different aspects of either self-esteem or the need to affiliate are being investigated.

Summary

For many American women, attaining optimal self-esteem presents a serious challenge. For many professional counselors, facilitating that process in women clients becomes a primary goal in the therapeutic process. Questions remain regarding the bases of self-esteem in women, and in particular, the contribution to self-esteem made by the need to affiliate. The overall purpose of the present study, therefore, is to explore the relationships among self-esteem, the need to affiliate, gratification of the need to affiliate, and the specific relationships whereby the need to affiliate might be gratified; and to examine the effect age and marital-maternal status might have on levels of selfesteem and need to affiliate.

The following serve as null hypotheses:

1. There is no significant correlation between level of selfesteem in women and level of need to affiliate when age and marital-maternal status are controlled.

 There is no significant correlation between level of selfesteem in women and level of gratification of their need to affiliate when age and marital-maternal status are controlled.
 There are no significant differences in level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation, taken singly or together, based on women's satisfying primary relationships with the following persons: their mothers, children and/or adolescents, their husbands or men other than their fathers, and women other than their mothers.

4. There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age and maternal status, taken separately or together.

5. There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age and maternal status, taken separately or together.

Chapter II is devoted to the review of literature pertinent to this study: social devaluation of women, a possible correlation between the female sex and low self-esteem, women's need to affiliate, gratification of affiliation need as distinct from the need itself, and possible correlations between women's self-esteem and the relationships whereby they attempt to gratify need affiliation.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In view of women's need to attain self-esteem in a society that devalues them, as well as theories about how women meet this need, the review of the literature focuses on the following: social devaluation of women in the light of the theory of reflected appraisal; a possible correlation between the female sex and low self-esteem; women's need to affiliate as a basis for their self-esteem; gratification of affiliation need as distinct from the need itself; and possible correlations between women's self-esteem and the specific relationships whereby they attempt to gratify their need to affiliate.

The Reflected Appraisal Theory and Devaluation of Women

One could certainly hypothesize a correlation between low selfesteem and the female sex by pondering the widely accepted theory of reflected appraisal and Western society's traditional attitude toward women. On the one hand, people's evaluation of themselves is based on their perception of other people's evaluations of them.¹ On the other hand, society in general has regarded women as inferior to men. Though it is true that research findings do not support a sound causal

¹William James, <u>Principles of Psychology</u> (New York: Holt, (1890), pp. 291-294; C. H. Cooley, <u>Human Nature and the Social Order</u> (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), pp. 151-152; George H. Mead, <u>Mind, Self</u>, <u>and Society</u>, ed. C. W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 156.

relationship between others' expressed views toward the self and the self-concept, they do reveal that the two are correlated, at least until self-esteem has stabilized.²

Evidence of social and cultual devaluation of women has been long-lived as well as pervasive. Until recently, written and unwritten laws have barred women from meaningful participation in virtually every aspect of societal decision-making, governance, control over economic resources, and the prestigious professions. Though, as exceptions, individual women have been permitted to cross the traditional sexual barriers, as late as 1979 women made up only 12.4% of the lawyers and judges, 18.9% of the life and physical scientists, and 10.7% of the medical and osteopathic physicians in the United States. Yet women made up 51% of the population; 49% of all women were working; and women made up 41.3% of the work force. Moreover, as late as 1980 women made up only 26.5% of the medical school enrollment though they made up 50.7% of the total college and university enrollment in 1978-79 and received nearly half of all master's degrees granted that year.³ Ironically, 40% of the women in this country's work force are clustered in ten out of a

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²Kenneth Gergen, <u>The Concept of Self</u> (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971), p. 41; Morris Rosenberg, <u>Conceiving the Self</u> (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979), p. 86; Morris Rosenberg and L. I. Pearlin, "Social Class and Self-Esteem Among Children and Adults," <u>American</u> <u>Journal of Sociology</u> 84-1 (1978):53.

³U.S. Department of Commerce, <u>Statistical Abstracts of the</u> <u>United States</u>, 101st annual ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980), pp. 418ff.

possible 23,000 occupations.⁴ They make up 70.7% of the sales clerks, 70.8% of the teachers, 93.2% of the nurses, and 99.1% of the secretaries. Furthermore, these ten occupations are not, in general, highly valued.⁵

In addition, in 1978 median earnings of women in the United States were only \$7,464, compared to \$13,588 for men; and in 1979 median earnings of women who maintained families in the United States were only \$9,880, compared to \$15,652 for their male counterparts.⁶

One can only agree with Doudna that "women have been moving into the work force in significant numbers in the last 10 years, but the real accommodation is only just beginning."⁷

Furthermore, women are still being paid less than men for the same kind of work.⁸ They are less often promoted to the higher ranks in colleges and universities;⁹ they are less likely to be hired in

⁵A. J. Clark and J. M. Seals, "Students' Perceptions of Social Status of Careers of College Graduates," <u>Journal of College Student</u> <u>Personnel</u> 16 (1975):293-298.

⁶<u>Statistical Abstracts</u>, p. 424.

⁷Christine Doudna, "Female Execs Find Doors Open, Attitudes Only Ajar," <u>Chicago Tribune</u>, 28 December 1980, sec. 12, p. 1.

⁸Jack Magarrell, "Colleges Give Bigger Raises to Women But Men's Average Pay Is Still Higher," <u>Chronicle of Higher Education</u>, 17 November 1980, p. 1.

⁹W. Trombley, <u>Los Angeles Times</u>, 10 May 1973, part 2, p. 1, cited by Clare Rose, "Women's Sex-Role Attitudes: A Historical Perspective," <u>Meeting Women's New Education Needs</u>, ed. Clare Rose (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1975), p. 1: and Karen Winkler, "Women Historians Have Greater Access to Some Jobs but Remain Concentrated in 'Underpaid Ranks,'" <u>The Chronicle of Higher Education</u>, 12 January 1981, p. 8.

⁴Sunny L. Sundal-Hanson and Mary Ann Watt, "Counselor Renewal--Sex Equality," <u>Counselor Education and Supervision</u> 18 (June 1979):275.

fields traditionally occupied by men,¹⁰ they fill only middle-level positions in management even with master's degrees in business administration;¹¹ and they fill the lowest positions in almost every occupation in which they are employed.¹² "Though legal barriers to women's progress have fallen in the last decade, compliance with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission guidelines is not by any means well-established."¹³

Undoubtedly, within the last ten years the situation has improved in terms of numbers of women earning first professional degrees in such fields as medicine, law, and dentistry¹⁴ and then being admitted to prestigious decision-making positions in society.¹⁵ But for the most part the basic derogatory attitude of the past toward women still prevails. They are still not acceptable as policemen, doctors, lawyers, dentists, and bankers by two-thirds of the population of the United

¹⁰Elizabeth Wolgast, <u>Equality and the Rights of Women</u> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), pp. 79-91.

¹¹Doudna; and B. W. Tyron, "Beliefs about Male and Female Competence Held by Kindergarteners and Second Graders," <u>Sex Roles</u> 6-1 (1980): 85.

¹²Though women made up 64.4% of the white-collar workers in 1979, for example, they made up only 6.4% of the managers and administrators, compared to men's making up 14% of the latter select group. <u>Statisti-</u> <u>cal Abstracts</u>, p. 418.

¹³Doudna.

¹⁴"Women Register 10-Fold Increase in First Professional Degrees," <u>Higher Education and National Affairs</u> 29 (November 7, 1980): 4-5.

¹⁵Doudna.

States.¹⁶ Furthermore, even if they manage to hold responsible positions, they are generally regarded as inferior to men, their rising to the top frequently attributed to the use of sexuality rather than to real ability or demonstrated skill.¹⁷ Consequently, if as businesswomen they try to explain complicated policies to their subordinates, they are not as likely to be believed as men are.¹⁸ If they author, they are judged, at least by men, to be less effective writers than men,¹⁹ even in fields predominantly occupied by women.²⁰

So deep, in fact, is the cultural prejudice against women, that 90% of unmarried college males, 83% of the married college males, and 90% of the non-college males questioned by Hammer said that, if they could have only one child, they wanted a son. Seventy-eight per cent of the unmarried college females and 73% of the married college females answered the same, leaving only 70% of the non-college females preferring

¹⁶"Americans' Attitudes Vary Regarding Women's Role," Fort Wayne <u>News-Sentinel</u>, 7 January 1981, p. 1.

¹⁷Doudna.

¹⁸D. L. Schaeffer and J. Eisenberg, "Cognitive Conflict and Compromise between Males and Females," <u>Sex Differences in Personality</u>: <u>Readings</u>, ed. D. L. Schaeffer (Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1971), p. 104.

¹⁹In at least one recent study, however, these findings were not supported, which seems to indicate increasing awareness of sexual equality. Debbie Soto and Claudia Cole, "Prejudice Against Women: A New Perspective," <u>Sex Roles</u> 1-4 (1975):392.

²⁰P. Goldberg, "Are Women Prejudiced About Women?" <u>Trans-action</u> 5 (May 1968):28-30; M. B. Morris, "Anti-feminism: Some Discordant Data," paper presented at the Pacific Sociological Association Meetings, Anaheim, August 1970; C. Ward, "Prejudice Against Women: Who, When, and Why?" <u>Sex Roles</u> 7-2 (1981):164-169.

Devaluation of Role as Wife and Mother

In the last couple of decades even the traditional roles of women as wives and mothers have undergone devaluation. Being married, in contrast to being unmarried, has diminished in social importance,²² and simply being a housewife both merits low status²³ and earns no pay. Neither does the added role of motherhood, in itself, significantly increase a woman's prestige. People in general either give less importance to others' children than they did in the past or outright blame their parents for contributing to the nation's economic problems and the world's population problems.²⁴ Indeed, on the familial level a woman's dropping out of the workforce to bear children not only lowers the family's income but also increases the cost of living to a greater extent than many other items in the family budget.²⁵ It is not surprising

²⁵Ibid., p. 58.

²¹Max Hammer, "Preference for a Male Child: Cultural Factor," Journal of Individual Psychology 26 (May 1970):54-56. A more recent study shows some improvement: 47% of the college women preferred a girl. Wayne Smith, "Changing Preference for a Female Child," Journal of Individual Psychology 32 (May 1976):107.

²²Roxanne Van Dusen and E. B. Shelden, "The Changing Status of American Women: A Life Cycle Perspective," <u>American Psychologist</u> 31-2 (1976):115.

²³Judith Bardwick, <u>In Transition</u> (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979), pp. 32-33; and Rebecca Glenn and Karen Osterman, <u>A Re-examination of Female Sex-role Orientation</u> (Bethesda, MD: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 159 510, 1979).

²⁴David Herr and Amyra Grossbard-Schechtman, "The Impact of the Female Marriage Squeeze and the Contraceptive Revolution in Sex Roles and the Women's Liberation Movement in the U.S.," <u>Journal of Marriage</u> and the Family 43 (February 1981):57.

then that women have succumbed to the economic pressures for additional family income by both postponing marriage and having fewer children in order to benefit from fulltime employment.²⁶ Neither is it surprising that they have reacted to the likelihood of divorce and single parent-hood by remaining childless or limiting the number of their children.²⁷

Furthermore, a certain percentage of women not only see the advantage of enjoying social life as a child-free adult but also fear the role of a mother in the light of the accountability to which modern child development theorists hold the primary caretaker.²⁸ Education has given women the alternatives to marriage and motherhood;²⁹ personal growth and economic advancement outside the family are possible now as they never were before;³⁰ and easily obtainable contraceptives have enabled women to pursue extrafamilial sources of self-esteem more effectively than in the past.³¹ Indeed, younger women give the position of

²⁶Meda Chesney-Lind, <u>Protest Motherhood: Pregnancy Decision-</u> <u>Making Behavior and Attitudes Toward Abortion</u> (Bethesda, MD: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 183 433, 1979).

²⁷K. O. Mason et al., "Change in U.S. Women's Sex-Role Attitudes, 1964-74," <u>American Sociological Review</u> 41 (August 1976):574.

²⁸P. K. Knaub and others, <u>Contemporary Women and Their Attitudes</u> (Bethesda, MD: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 184 023, 1980).

²⁹Van Dusen and Shelden 109; and Jacqueline Voss and Denise A. Skinner, "Concepts of Self and Ideal Women Held by College Students," Journal of Counseling and Student Personnel 16 (May 1975):210-213.

³⁰Voss and Skinner, p. 212.

³¹Andrew Cherlin, "Postponing Marriage: The Influence of Schooling, Working, and Work Plans for Young Women," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August 1978. housewife significantly lower prestige than do older women;³² and younger college women in the 1970's whether married or single, appear less influenced by traditional female stereotypes than their predecessors in the 1960's and more concerned with their personal growth and development outside the family context.³³

The Female Sex and Self-Esteem

In spite of this devaluation, however, and numerous biological and cultural theories that lead one to expect low self-esteem in women, adult women do not differ statistically from adult men in levels of global self-esteem.³⁴ "The most impressive thing which emerges from an overview of research is that null or weak findings have been obtained many times in an area in which theory and conventional wisdom very confidently predicted strong trends.³⁵ Age might indeed make a difference if the very young and the very old are compared to persons between 18 and 62, but provided the subjects are adults, there is no significant difference in global self-esteem between young and older women, at least

³²Linda B. Nilson, "The Social Standing of a Housewife," <u>Journal</u> of Marriage and the Family, 40 (August 1978):546.

³³Voss and Skinner, p. 212.

³⁴W. E. Hulbary, "Race, Deprivation, and Adolescent Self Images," <u>Social Science Quarterly</u> 56 (1975):105; G. W. Wise and J. E. Davis, "The Personal Orientation Inventory: Internal Consistency, Stability, and Sex Differences," <u>Psychological Reports</u> 36 (1975):847; and Ruth C. Wylie et al., <u>The Self-Concept</u>: Theory and Research on Selected Topics, revised ed., vol. 2 (Lincoln:University of Nebraska Press, 1979), p. 273.

³⁵Wylie, 1979, p. 690.

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up to the age of 50. 36

Several theories attempt to explain this phenomenon. In summarizing them, Wylie has postulated that social pressures might greatly handicap men in their attempts to develop high self-esteem in spite of social glorification of their sex. They might not have a high need to achieve, which is probably the most important basis for self-esteem in men in Western society; or they might find it exceedingly difficult to achieve in a highly competitive culture. On the other hand, women might focus on various aspects of themselves, such as their motherhood, that compensate for the devaluation they experience and thereby attain levels of self-esteem comparable to those of men. It is also possible that they might not find salient those aspects of femininity that society devaluates.³⁷

Women's Need to Affiliate

Judith Barwick, among others, has theorized that women's high need for affiliation not only compensates for their low need for achievement but also serves as the basis of self-esteem in women as does the need for achievement in men.³⁸ Indeed, numerous earlier theorists distinguished the female personality from the male personality by the

³⁶Ibid., p. 33. One recent study, however, revealed a marked increase in self-esteem for women between 35 and 55. Grace Baruch, Rosalind Barnett, and Caryl Rivers, "A New Lease on (Mid) Life," <u>Chicago Tribune</u>, 28 December 1980, sec. 12, p. 1.

³⁷Wylie, 1979, p. 33.

³⁸Judith M. Bardwick, <u>Psychology of Women: A Study of Bio-</u> <u>Cultural Conflicts</u> (Evanston, IL: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), pp. 156-157.

former's social orientation, social skills, and interest in persons rather than things. They contrasted women's need to love and be loved with men's needs to excel in performance. Klein wrote of women's intense personal relationships; ³⁹ Cooley, of women's impressible social sensibility; ⁴⁰ and Lynn of women's need for affiliation, ⁴¹ all of which exceed their need for achievement in impersonal realms.

Furthermore, in general, literature on psychological sex differences reveals empirical support for these theories of women's greater social orientation. While it is true that Lunneborg and Rosenwood found college women to be far more oriented toward achievement than Bardwick theorized, with no significant difference existent between college men and women in their needs to affiliate and to achieve;⁴² Bedian and Touliatos found women with good or high self-esteem needing both to achieve and to affiliate;⁴³ and Stein and Bailey found social arousal leading to achievement imagery rather than affiliation imagery in women;⁴⁴ it is also true that most reviewers have concluded that research

³⁹V. Klein, <u>The Feminine Character: Histology of an Ideology</u>. 2nd ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 164.

⁴¹D. B. Lynn, "Sex-Role and Parental Identification," <u>Child De-velopment</u> 33 (1962):555.

⁴²P. W. Lunneborg and L. M. Rosenwood, "Need Affiliation and Achievement: Declining Sex Difference," <u>Psychological Reports</u> 31 (1972): 795-798.

⁴³A. G. Bedian and J. Touliatos, "Work-Related Motives and Self-Esteem in American Women," <u>Journal of Psychology</u> 99 (May 1978):65.

⁴⁴Aletha Stein and M. M. Bailey, "The Socialization of Achievement Orientation in Females," <u>Psychology</u> Bulletin 30 (1973):347.

⁴⁰Cooley, p. 171.

supports women's higher need for affiliation, greater interest in people and personal relationships, and tendency to want to love and be loved.⁴⁵ By contrast, men were found to be statistically more agentic: they acted for themselves, existed as individuals, prioritized selfprotestation, self-assertion, and self-expansion. Women were found to be statistically more communal: they participated in some larger organism of which they, as individuals, were a part and prioritized being "at one with others."⁴⁶

Similarly, though identity development for men was found to focus on individual competence and knowledge, for women it was found to center in various aspects of relating to others.⁴⁷ Men strove for excellence in the achievement domain; women did so in the affective domain.⁴⁸ Young female adolescents experienced a sharper increase in selfconsciousness than did their male counterparts, It continued to rise, causing older female adolescents to be more desirous of being well-liked

⁴⁶David Bakan, <u>The Duality of Human Existence</u> (Boston: Rand McNally, 1966), p. 15.

⁴⁷James W. Hodgson and Judith L. Fischer, "Sex Differences in Identity and Intimacy Development in College Youth," <u>Journal of Youth</u> <u>and Adolescence</u> 8 (March 1979):37-38.

⁴⁸D. E. Suddick and E. R. Strauss, "The Crystal-Bolles Hypothesis: A First Testing," <u>Psychological Reports</u> 39-2 (1976):514.

 ⁴⁵L. M. Terman and L. E. Tyler, "Psychological Sex Differences,"
 <u>Manual of Child Psychology</u>, 2nd ed., ed. L. Carmichael (New York: Wiley, 1954), p. 1095; J. E. Garai and A. Scheinfeld, "Sex Differences in
 Mental and Behavioral Traits," <u>Genetic Psychology Monographs</u>, 77 (1968):
 169; R. M. Oetzel, "Annotated Bibliography," <u>The Development of Sex</u>
 <u>Differences</u>, ed. E. E. Maccoby (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 224-321.

and more sensitive to the opinions of others than were adolescent boys.⁴⁹ Women were found to be significantly higher than men in affiliation, nurturance, and succorance needs.⁵⁰ Female doctoral students with high affiliative needs engaged in more school-related social interaction than did comparable male doctoral students.⁵¹ Finally, a positive correlation was found between self-esteem, affiliative need, and nurturance.⁵²

At the end of her extensive review of the literature, Wylie concluded that a low but positive correlation exists between the female sex and self-reported affiliation need. 53

While not speaking directly to the question of whether age and marital-maternal status affect the need to affiliate, Bardwick suggested that once a woman stabilized her affiliative relationships, she could seriously attend to gratifying her need to achieve. The level of need affiliation in older women, therefore, might be lower than that in

⁴⁹Florence Rosenberg and Roberta Simmons, "Sex Differences in the Self-Concept in Adolescence," <u>Sex Roles</u> 1-2 (1975)150-157.

⁵⁰D. P. Sprangler and C. W. Thomas, "The Effects of Age, Sex, and Physical Disability upon Manifest Needs," <u>Journal of Counseling Psychol-</u> ogy 9 (1962):313.

⁵¹C. A. Holahan, "Relationship Between Stress in Female Doctoral Students and Need for Affiliation and Support Across Academic Departments Varying in Female Representation," (Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 37-8 (1976):4986A.

⁵²John Lewis et al., "The Relationship Between Selected Personality Traits and Self-Esteem Among Female Nursing Students," <u>Educational</u> <u>and Psychological Measurement 40</u> (Spring 1980):259.

⁵³Wylie, 1979, p. 328.

younger women.⁵⁴ In fact, Neugarten found women between 45 and 65 to be somewhat willing to give up gratification of some of their affiliative needs for the sake of gratifying their needs for power and achievement.⁵⁵ Carder, however, found that need affiliation levels for women over 28 were not significantly different from those of women under 22.⁵⁶

Gratification of Affiliation Need

Though recognizing the potency of women's need to affiliate, Bardwick also theorized that it is an insufficient cause of high selfesteem. In order to achieve high self-esteem, she postulated, a woman must not only conceive of her ideal self as a person securing and dispensing love but must also realize those motives in her daily life. She must not only desire or need affiliation; she must also achieve it or at least be certain that she can. "Girls perceive . . . affiliation as the critical achievement for self-esteem."⁵⁷ So suggested Mead almost 40 years earlier: ". . . self-evaluation depends on our abilities and capacities as they are realized in the performance of definitive functions.⁵⁸

⁵⁶C. E. Carder, "Needs for Achievement and Affiliation as a Function of Age and Career Salience in Women College Students," (Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 38-5 (1978):2337B.

⁵⁷Bardwick, 1971, p. 156. ⁵⁸Mead, p. 208.

⁵⁴Bardwick, 1971, pp. 157-158.

⁵⁵Bernice Neugarten, "Kansas City Study of Adult Life," <u>Potenti-alities of Women in Middle Years</u>, ed. Irma H. Gross (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1956), pp. 33-45.

Some research findings seem to support Bardwick's theory. Successful or optimal performance, not simply the need to perform, was found to increase self-esteem.⁵⁹ Persons with high self-esteem actually made more friends than those with low self-esteem. They actually experienced the acceptance, attention, and affection of others. Their counterparts with low self-esteem attached the same importance to social success and therefore seemed to have the same level of need to affiliate, but they did not perceive themselves as actually successful. Furthermore, they professed difficulty in forming friendships.⁶⁰ It is generally agreed upon by theorists and researchers, Diggory concluded, that "we value ourselves because of the part we play in accomplishing our goals," and we value our abilities "of which our achievements and accomplishments bear witness."⁶¹

Indeed, Friedman found that persons with low self-esteem did not differ from those with high self-esteem in their need for affiliation; in fact, they might have had an even higher need.⁶² But, perhaps because it was not consistent with the self-concept, that need was never

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⁵⁹William H. Fitts, <u>The Self-Concept and Performance</u>, Dede Wallace Center Research Monograph, no. 5 (Nashville, TN: The Dede Wallace Center, 1972), p. 73.

⁶⁰Stanley Coopersmith, <u>The Antecedents of Self-Esteem</u> (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1967), pp. 49-53.

⁶¹James C. Diggory, <u>Self-Evaluation: Concepts and Studies</u> (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 94.

⁶²H. S. Friedman, "Effects of Self-Esteem and Expected Duration of Interaction on Liking for a Highly Rewarding Partner," <u>Journal of</u> <u>Personality and Social Psychology</u> 33-6 (1976):686.

gratified. A need must be consistent with the self-concept, McClelland and others found, in order for it to motivate those behaviors through which it can be gratified. 63

Furthermore, research findings seem to indicate that once the need to affiliate has been fulfilled, subsequent behaviors must be in accordance with the expectations of those in affiliative relationships in order for high self-esteem to be maintained. Fischer and Bersani found that adolescent delinquents who fulfilled their need to affiliate in terms of establishing strong ties with family and friends had lower self-esteem than those without strong ties. Gratifying their need to affiliate and then failing to measure up to the standards of those with whom they affiliated thwarted their efforts to maintain their self-esteem. Adolescents who did not gratify their affiliative needs, by contrast, were less vulnerable to loss of self-esteem.

Establishing and maintaining affiliative relationships, however, seems to be a difficult and complex challenge. In particular, Mehrabian found that persons with a high need to affiliate actually gratified that need through affiliative relationships only if they were relatively insensitive to rejection. If not, even if they performed affiliative behaviors, they had feelings of inadequacy, lacked confidence, suffered from high anxiety, and gave evidence of greater postural tension. This,

⁶³David C. McClelland et al., <u>Power: The Inner Experience</u> (New York: Irvington Publishers, distributed by Halsted Press, 1975), p. 328.

⁶⁴B. J. Fischer and C. A. Bersani, "Self-Esteem and Institutionalized Delinquent Offenders: The Role of Background Characteristics," <u>Adolescence</u> 14 (Spring 1979):197.

in turn, induced discomfort in those with whom they were attempting to affiliate and elicited from them less positive attitudes. Feeling rejected, Mehrabian's subjects repeated those behaviors that made them feel inadequate in social situations, which, in turn, caused them to maintain their low self-esteem.⁶⁵

As predicted by many, Wood found loneliness resulting from failure to establish and maintain affiliative relationships a correlate of low self-esteem.⁶⁶

Relationships Whereby Affiliation Need is Gratified

Judith Bardwick and Nancy Chodorow, among others, have addressed themselves to the specific relationships whereby women gratify their need to affiliate. Bardwick stressed in 1971 that women "perceive heterosexual affiliation as the critical achievement for self-esteem."⁶⁷ When pre-adolescents, females are emotionally dependent on their fathers; when they reach adolescence, they shift their dependence to other males.⁶⁸ Though admitting that both mother and father together serve as the most important source of self-esteem for pre-adolescents, Bardwick stressed that adolescent and post-adolescent feminine selfesteem is based on the relationship of the woman with her heterosexual

⁶⁵A. Mehrabian, "Questionnaire Measures of Affiliative Tendency and Sensitivity to Rejection," <u>Psychological Reports</u> 38 (1976):199-209.

⁶⁶L. A. Wood, "Loneliness and Social Structure," (Doctoral dissertation, York University, Canada), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 37-12, Pt. 1 (1976):6414B.

⁶⁷Bardwick, p. 157.
⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 118-120.

partner.⁶⁹ She also posited that, later, for most adult women, the relationship of a woman to her child or children, whether physical or spiritual, becomes a second source of self-esteem.⁷⁰

According to Bardwick, the most common, direct, and satisfying means of gratifying maternal needs for most women is physical motherhood⁷¹ because it allows a woman to fuse affiliative and achievement needs. More so than such indirect means as teaching or nursing, motherhood allows a woman to gratify her affiliative needs in that she has in her child someone whom she can love, someone who will love her,⁷² and someone whose existence will increase the likelihood that her marital relationship will be permanent.⁷³ In addition, the woman gratifies her achievement needs in that she performs an act that brings with it some of the most profound positive emotions one can ever experience: she creates a human being.⁷⁴ Furthermore, in the course of fulfilling the child's needs and taking responsibility for its psychological and social development, the woman can use her creativity, inventiveness, and

⁷⁰Bardwick, 1971, pp. 158-159.

⁷¹Judith M. Bardwick, <u>In Transition</u> (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979), p. 211.

⁷²Bardwick, 1971, p. 159.
⁷³Ibid., p. 212.
⁷⁴Ibid., p. 211.

⁶⁹Judith M. Bardwick and Elizabeth Douvan, "Ambivalence: The Socialization of Women," <u>Women in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and</u> <u>Powerlessness</u>, ed. V. Gornick and B. K. Moran (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), pp. 230-231.

originality⁷⁵ At least in the women Bardwick was seeing in 1971, those who had voluntarily limited the number of their children had the lowest self-esteem.⁷⁶ Considering all of this, Bardwick predicted that, for some women, "the loss of identity as a mother . . . [would be] the loss of self."⁷⁷

Bardwick was not oblivious, however, of the potential of physical motherhood to lower, rather than maintain or increase, self-esteem, especially when the woman was expected to assume well-nigh full responsibility for the social and psychological development of the child. What was originally an experience of profound joy would in time become a terrible burden, she theorized, if to be a good mother meant total devotion and utterly selfless love, 78 precluding other achievements, especially those outside the home, and alienating the mothering woman from other adults, including, perhaps, her own husband. Bardwick even admitted that certain styles of Western society demanded of women this devotion and love. But in her theoretical writings she devoted much more attention to the ways in which a woman could solve the problem, such as procuring satisfying part-time employment, than to the problem itself. In the end she distinguished women with a high need to achieve outside the home, that is, professionally or occupationally, from those with a lower need and wrote that the former would probably not find in

⁷⁵Bardwick, 1979, p. 31.
⁷⁶Ibid., p. 68.
⁷⁷Bardwick, 1971, p. 216.
⁷⁸Bardwick, 1979, p. 69.



maternity a complete solution. For them gratification of maternal needs would be a necessary, but not sufficient, cause of high self-esteem.⁷⁹

At the same time, Bardwick maintained that, for most women, who had a need to affiliate higher than or equal to their need to achieve, maternity would be a crucial means of attaining high self-esteem, provided society valued it as it rightfully should: as women's special privilege and responsibility, the essence of what is uniquely feminine, an awesome creative act, and an extraordinary experience of selfaffirmation.⁸⁰

Research findings lend some empirical support to Bardwick's theory of the importance of heterosexual and filial affiliation. Fatherloss either through death or divorce, Young and Parish found, had definite detrimental effects on personality development for college women. They had lower self-esteem and were more insecure than those who had not lost their fathers. They sometimes stated their willingness to associate with the opposite sex, but they had not actually done so.⁸¹

In addition, women's first-ranked need, according to their daydreams, was found to be not only that of affiliation but specifically affiliation with men and children in the traditional context of marriage and family life.⁸² Similarly, women's self-esteem was found to

⁷⁹Bardwick, 1971, pp. 159-162.
⁸⁰Bardwick, 1979, p. 80.

⁸¹Early R. Young and Thomas S. Parrish, "Impact of Father Absence During Childhood on the Psychological Adjustment of College Females," <u>Sex Roles</u> 3-2 (1977):273.

⁸²C. W. Lagrone, "Sex and Personality Differences in Relation to Fantasy," Journal of Consulting Psychology 27 (1963):270-272.

correlate with marital adjustment⁸³ and with marital satisfaction. Barnette and Nietzel's findings not only confirmed a positive correlation between self-esteem and marital satisfaction in women but also revealed that both husband's and wife's, that is, couple's evaluation of their marital satisfaction correlated with the wife's self-esteem.⁸⁴ Finally, Schofield and Caple found that both mature and younger women rated their self-concept relative to their family as the most positive of all external forms of reference.⁸⁵

Though not dealing with the marital relationship as such, Dion found that women's self-esteem was more vulnerable to rejection from men than from women unless the men seemed prejudiced against women and therefore biased in their appraisals.⁸⁶ Similarly, Tangri found relationships with men to be a critical part of female college seniors' self-esteem, whether they were the romantic relationships of traditional

⁸³L. B. Kizirian, "Remarriage: A Study of the Factors Leading to Success or Failure in Remarriage," (Doctoral dissertation, The Florida State University), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 38-12 (1977):7596A.

⁸⁴L. R. Barnett and M. T. Nietzel, "Relationship of Instrumental and Affectional Behaviors and Self-Esteem to Marital Satisfaction in Distressed and Non-distressed Couples," <u>Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology</u> 47 (October 1979):946.

⁸⁵L. F. Schofield and R. B. Caple, "Self-concepts of Mature and Young Women Students," <u>Journal of College Student Personnel</u> 12 (1971): 301.

⁸⁶Kenneth L. Dion, "Women's Reactions to Discrimination from Members of the Same or Opposite Sex," <u>Journal of Research in Personality</u> 9 (1975):303-305.

students or the non-romantic relationships of role-innovators.⁸⁷

Disagreeing with Bardwick, Chodorow claimed that the basis for high self-esteem in women is their satisfying relationships with other women, including their own mothers, rather than with men and children. Basing her theory on that of Freud, Horney, Deutsch, and Brunswick, Chodorow explained that though a girl tries to transfer her love from its first recipient, her mother, to her father, she finds it difficult to accomplish the transference because of her father's relative remoteness and inaccessability most of her waking hours and her tenacious memories of her mother, from whom she has received considerable love and nurturance.⁸⁸ As a consequence, a girl's relationship with her father never supplants her attachment to her mother, with its implications "for the nature of her definition of self."⁸⁹

Because of this difficulty with transferring her love for the first time, Chodorow explained, when a young woman tries to effect a second transference of her love, that is, from her father to her potential or actual husband, she is less than successful. "It might . . . be said that partial success is the rule rather than the exception, so great is the proportion of women whose libido has remained fixed to the

⁸⁷S. S. Tangri, "Determinants of Occupational Role Innovation Among College Women," <u>Women and Achievement: Social and Motivational</u> <u>Analyses</u>, ed. M. Mednick, S. Tangri, and L. Hoffman (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), p. 268.

⁸⁸Nancy Chodorow, "Oedipal Asymmetries and Heterosexual Knots," <u>Social Problems</u> 23 (October-January 1975-76):458.

⁸⁹Nancy Chodorow, <u>The Reproduction of Mothering</u> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 193.

mother."⁹⁰ Her husband, in turn, tends to use his masculinity for his own benefit: to use his relationship with a woman for narcissisticphallic reassurance rather than for mutual affirmation and love. He continues to hold a woman in contempt, on an unconscious level, because he has never been able to free himself completely from a sense of maternal omnipotence.⁹¹

As a consequence, according to Chodorow, though a woman becomes erotically heterosexual, she does not find her complete emotional fulfillment in relationship with the opposite sex. In fact, she experiences herself as part of a relationship triangle, with her father and men being of secondary importance, or at most of equal importance, to her mother and other women.⁹² Her mother remains her primary internal object, as Freud explained;⁹³ her model, as Kagan expounded;⁹⁴ the person whose attributes, motives, characteristics, and affective states become part of the woman's psychological organization. Her relationships with men might be seen originally as means of gratifying those

⁹²Chodorow, 1975-1976, p. 465.

⁹⁰Ruth Mack Brunswick, "The Preoedipal Phase of the Libido Development," <u>The Psychoanalytic Reader: An Anthology of Essential Papers</u> <u>with Critical Introductions</u>, ed. Robert Fliess (New York: Holt, 1969), pp. 250-251.

⁹¹Nancy Chodorow, "Family Structure and Feminine Personality," <u>Women, Culture and Society</u>, ed. M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), p. 50.

⁹³Sigmund Freud, "Female Sexuality" 1931, <u>The Standard Edition</u> of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. 21 (London: Hogarth Press and Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1945), p. 223.

⁹⁴J. Kagan, "The Concept of Identification," <u>Psychological Review</u> 65 (1958):258.

needs unmet by her mother or as opportunities for dealing with issues preoccupying her in her internal relation to her mother, but because men have "become intolerant and disparaging of those who can express needs for love," in the end they are unable to fulfill those needs.⁹⁵ Thus the woman turns to other women to gratify her need to affiliate. "Cross-culturally, social sex segregation is the rule: women tend to have closer personal ties with each other than men have and to spend more time in the company of women than they do with men."⁹⁶ Indeed, Booth found there is sociological evidence that women's friendships are affectively richer than those of men.⁹⁷

According to Chodorow, the crucial same-sex relationship is that which a woman enjoys with her own mother. A girl is not prone to reject her mother as does a boy in order to establish sexual identity. On the contrary, she tends to identify with her mother's general traits and habits, remaining dependent upon and attached to her, while at the same time admitting into her life a relationship with her father. There exists a bisexual triangle that binds a girl to both her mother and her father throughout childhood and into puberty. Even when in adolescence the girl resolves this sexual conflict in favor of her father and other men, she retains an internal emotional relationship with her mother.⁹⁸

⁹⁵Chodorow, 1978, p. 196.

⁹⁶Chodorow, 1975-76, p. 465.

⁹⁷Alan Booth, "Sex and Social Participation," <u>American Sociolo-</u> <u>gical Review</u> 37 (1972):183.

⁹⁸Chodorow, 1978, p. 140.

Though Chodorow admitted that the mother-daughter relationship could lead to problems of dependency and boundary confusion and that in fact it frequently did so in Western societies, she insisted that this relationship is central to the establishment of high self-esteem by the very fact that it never ceases to be a primary relationship. Even if the girl achieves emotional independence from her mother, she never ceases to identify with her, never completely loses a sense of oneness with her, a union she, as well as the male, experienced in infancy.⁹⁹

It is erroneous to say that the little girl gives up her first mother relation in favor of the father. She only gradually draws him into the alliance, develops from the mother-child exclusive-ness toward the triangular parent-child relation and continues the latter, just as she does the former, although in a weaker and less elemental form, all her life.100

Chodorow admitted, however, that the maternal function, as natural and socially encouraged as it is, can be problematic. It is undoubtedly a function through which the woman can express her love and empathy, her ego capacity and sense of responsibility, and her desire to make reparation to her mother. But it is also a function through which preoccupation with issues of separation and primary identification can surface, resulting in "overidentification and pseudoempathy based on maternal projection rather than any real perception or understanding" of the child's needs. Furthermore, it can serve as a function through which the woman fulfills her urge to get back at her mother.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹Chodorow, 1978, pp. 204-205.

⁹⁹Chodorow, 1975-76, p. 464.

¹⁰⁰Helene Deutsch, <u>Psychology of Women</u>, vol. 1 (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1944), p. 205.

This, in turn, can lead to inappropriate caretaking behaviors and dissatisfaction on the part of her child, causing the mother to feel inadequate as a caretaker and consequently to hold herself in low self-Moreover, if mothering is the only source of self-esteem, the esteem. woman not only invests considerable energy in her concern for her child but also begins to look to the child for her own self-affirmation. How the child turns out becomes the basis for the woman's self-esteem. As a consequence, a difficult child lowers the woman's self-esteem and a periodically misbehaving child renders it unstable.¹⁰² Furthermore, even if self-esteem is relatively high when the child is needful of its mother, when this situation changes in the ordinary course of adolescence or post-adolescence, it becomes exceedingly difficult for the woman to maintain it. If, on the other hand, the woman has easy access to other women, Chodorow stressed, it is unlikely that she will invest all her energy in her child. As she becomes attracted to and identified with other adult women, her relationships with them will become the primary means by which she gratifies her need to affiliate.¹⁰³

Research findings lend some empirical support to Chodorow's theory. Trilling found that low self-esteem in women correlated with lack of identification with other women.¹⁰⁴ Maltos discovered that seventh-grade, middle-class girls with high self-esteem had close

¹⁰⁴B. H. Trilling, "Factors Related to Women's Prejudice Against Women," (Doctoral dissertation, Fordham University). <u>Dissertation</u> <u>Abstracts</u> 36-8 (1975):4183B.

¹⁰²Chodorow, 1974, p. 64.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 65.

relationships with their mothers but not with their fathers.¹⁰⁵ Monroe-Cook found a significant correlation between college women's self-esteem and the warmth-versus-rejection and cognitive involvement of their mothers but not of their fathers.¹⁰⁶ Wylie concluded that there was some evidence that children's self-concepts and their self-evaluations are generally close to what they think their parents, but especially their same-sexed parents, think of them.¹⁰⁷ Lundgren and Schwab discovered that females' self-esteem was directly influenced, not by their perceived reactions of their peers, but by their perceived reactions of authority figures, especially their mothers.¹⁰⁸ It is no wonder, then, that Loeb judged the quality of mothering one experiences to be one of the most important factors in the building of sexual, as well as other, forms of self-confidence.¹⁰⁹

With regard to women's heterosexual relationships, Illfelder

¹⁰⁵C. P. Maltos, "Feminine Self-Concepts and Self-Esteem in the Transition to Adolescence," (Doctoral dissertation, Boston University Graduate School), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 36-3 (1975):1444B.

¹⁰⁶E. Monroe-Cook, "The Relationship Between College Women's Sex Role Identities and Self-Esteem and Their Perceptions of Their Parents' Sex Role Identities, Self-Esteem and the Quality of the Parent-Daughter Relationship," (Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 40-7 (1980):3488B.

¹⁰⁷Ruth C. Wylie, <u>The Self Concept: A Critical Survey of Pertinent Research Literature</u> (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), pp. 135-136.

¹⁰⁸D. C. Lundgren and M. R. Schwab, <u>Sex Differences in the Social</u> <u>Bases of Self-Esteem</u> (Bethesda, MD: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 113 669, 1974).

¹⁰⁹Dorothy Loeb, "Building Sexual Confidence," <u>Medical Aspects of</u> <u>Human Sexuality</u> 7 (May 1974):107. found no significant relationship between marital status and selfesteem.¹¹⁰ Kagan found that dyadic relationships, but not heterosexual relationships as such, correlated with women's self-esteem.¹¹¹ Macke, Bohrnstedt, and Berstein discovered even stronger evidence for women's heterosexual relationships not being positively correlated with high self-esteem: if a husband was successful other than in simply earning a high income, his wife's self-esteem decreased; his success reduced her feelings of personal competence.¹¹²

Similarly, Rapaport found that when women competed with other women, they drew strength from both their motive to affiliate and their motive to achieve; the two were additive, resulting in optimal performance without fear of loss of affiliation and hence high self-esteem. If, on the other hand, women competed with men, their motives to affiliate and to achieve seemed to come into conflict, detracting from their performance.¹¹³

Baruch, Barnett, and Rivers discovered that single women between

¹¹⁰J. K. Illfelder, "Career Decisions, Self-Esteem and Achievement Styles of Returning Women Students," (Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 41-10 (1980):3892B.

¹¹¹L. Kagan, "The Relationship of Achievement Success, Heterosexual Relationship Satisfaction, Sex-Role Orientation, and Self-Esteem in Male and Female Law School Students," (Doctoral dissertation, New York University), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 37-9 (1976):4641B.

¹¹²A. S. Macke, G. W. Bohrnstedt, and I. N. Berstein, "Housewives' Self-Esteem and Their Husbands' Success: The Myth of Vicarious Involvement," <u>Journal of Marriage and the Family</u> 41 (February 1979): 51-57.

¹¹³I. Rapaport, "An Investigation of the Interactive Effects of Need Achievement and Need Affiliation and Task Cues as an Interpretation of Horner's 'Motive to Avoid Success' Construct," (Doctoral dissertation, Ohio University), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 38-5 (1977):2404B.

35 and 55 had lower self-esteem than the same-aged married women, but it was only slightly lower; it was not being single that lowered selfesteem, but "the combination of being single and having a low-level job."¹¹⁴

With regard to motherhood, Baruch, Barnett, and Rivers found that self-esteem was not correlated with being a mother in and of itself. The self-esteem of mothers between 35 and 55 was not higher than that of the same-aged childless women.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, Gibaud-Wallston found that mothers with babies they perceived as difficult, rather than easy, revealed a significantly lower parenting sense of competence and hence lower self-esteem than mothers with easy babies. This was especially true of women who perceived their social network support as low.¹¹⁶

Similarly, O'Connell discovered that a woman's sense of identity shifted from a personal to a reflected one when she bore and cared for her first child, whether the woman was a fulltime homemaker or returned to her career after childbearing. Only by combining marriage, childbearing, and a career could she retain her personal sense of identity.¹¹⁷

Finally, Rubin found that a pregnant woman's relationship to her

¹¹⁴Grace Baruch, Rosalind Barnett, and Caryl Rivers, p. 4.

¹¹⁶J. Gibaud-Wallston, "Self-Esteem and Situational Stress: Factors Related to Sense of Competence in New Parents," (Doctoral dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 38-1 (1977):379B.

¹¹⁷Agnes A. O'Connell, "Determinants of Women's Life Styles and Sense of Identity, Personality Attitudes, Significant Others, and Demographic Characteristics," (Doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 35-6 (1975): 2996B.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 1.

own mother became extremely important to her. She seemed to need her mother for nurturance; she made attempts to contact her often and even to eat the foods her mother had served her as a child. In fact, the bonding became so strong as the birth of the child approached that the young mother suffered considerable grief when the child's demands compelled her to give up her close relationship to her mother.¹¹⁸

Taking a different position, Bardwick took to task theorists who spoke glibly of a daughter's uncomplicated identification with her mother. She stressed not only the complexity of the process but also its pitfalls, explaining that it is not easy for the mother to avoid incorporating her culture's devaluation of women and consequently to prefer her son to her daughter. Furthermore, Bardwick wrote, on her part the daughter tends to reject her mother as the model of what she would like to become, not because her mother denied her a penis but because she never really loved her.¹¹⁹

Some empirical data, indeed, support Bardwick's position. Rothbart and Maccoby found that women seemed to prefer their sons to their daughters; they tended to be more permissive toward their sons' voices and to show them more positive attention. Furthermore, mothers allowed more aggression toward themselves from their sons and were more accepting of comfort-seeking in their sons, in comparison with their

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¹¹⁸Reva Rubin, "Attainment of the Maternal Role: Models and Referrents," <u>Nursing Research 16 (1967):237-245</u>.

¹¹⁹Bardwick, 1979, pp. 33-35.

daughters.¹²⁰ Indeed, Lamb found mother-daughter bonds to be less important for girls than father-son bonds for boys.¹²¹

Haber found that women did not take their mothers as models in that there was no correlation between maternal employment patterns and career aspirations of college women.¹²² In fact, Blum found, females were less sure than males of the parent with whom they identified, the process whereby females identified with their mothers being considerably less clear-cut than that whereby males identified with their fathers.¹²³ Girls were less likely to identify with their mothers if the latter were not working, Baruch found;¹²⁴ and they were less likely to prefer their mothers over their fathers if the former were dissatisfied with their roles in life. Furthermore, Klecka and Hiller discovered that girls with innovative career expectations tended not to esteem their mothers.¹²⁵ In fact, according to many research studies, either androgynous or masculine, but not feminine, identification correlates with optimal

¹²⁰M. K. Rothbart and E. E. Maccoby, "Parents' Differential Reaction to Sons and Daughters," <u>Journal of Personality and Social Psycho-</u> <u>logy</u> 4 (March 1966):237.

¹²¹Michael Lamb, "Development of Parental Preferences," <u>Sex Roles</u> 3-5 (1977):496.

¹²²S. Haber, "Cognitive Support for the Career Choices of College Women," <u>Sex Roles</u> 6-1 (1980):129.

¹²³G. S. Blum, "A Study of the Psychoanalytic Theory of Psychosexual Development," <u>Sex Differences in Personality: Readings</u>, ed. D. L. Schaeffer (Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 32-33.

¹²⁴Grace Baruch, "Sex-Role Stereotyping, the Motive to Avoid Success, and Parental Identification," <u>Sex Roles</u> 1-4 (1975)):308.

¹²⁵Carol Klecka and Dana Hiller, "Impact of Mothers' Life Style on Adolescent Gender Role Socialization," <u>Sex Roles</u> 3-3 (1977):241.

levels of self-esteem in women.¹²⁶

In addition, Benedek found that, though motherhood might bring about a complete and thorough resolution of old conflicts in women, it might also lead to unwarranted projection of women's conflicts onto their children, making them feel unloved and unvalued and depriving them of the healthy narcissism Freud identified as a major source of selfesteem.¹²⁷

Finally, Neugarten discovered that women between 45 and 65 had dependency needs being met, if met at all, by their children, especially their daughters. They were not met by their husbands, however, as Bardwick's theory would dictate.¹²⁸

Summary

In summary, the review of the literature reveals that although devaluation of women in the United States has been long-lived and

¹²⁷Therese Benedek, "Parenthood as a Developmental Phase," <u>Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association</u> 7 (1977):389-417.

¹²⁸Neugarten, pp. 33-45.

¹²⁶Anne B. Stericker and James E. Johnson, "Sex-Role Identification and Self-Esteem in College Students: Do Men and Women Differ?" <u>Sex Roles</u> 3-1 (1977):24; D. Allen-Kee, "The Relationship of Psychological Androgyny to Self-Esteem and Life Satisfaction in Career-Oriented and Home-Oriented Women," (Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 41-4 (1980):1479A; J. K. Antill and John Cunningham, "Self-Esteem as a Function of Masculinity in Both Sexes," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 47 (August 1979): 783; M. E. Colten, "A Reconsideration of Psychological Androgyny: Self-Esteem, Social Skills and Expectations Rather Than Sex Role Identification," (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Michigan), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 39-6 (1978):295B; J. T. Puglisi, "Sex Role Identity and Self-Esteem Through Adulthood," (Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 39-8 (1978):4013B.

pervasive, and self-esteem is based on the opinion of others; American women do not significantly differ from American men in level of global self-esteem. Most common theories account for this unexpected phenomenon by attributing to women both a greater need for affiliation than for achievement and a strong tendency to base their self-esteem on the success with which they establish and maintain affiliative relationships.

Empirical support exists for women's greater social orientation as well as their significant need to love and be loved. Empirical support also exists for Bardwick's theory of the importance of gratification of need to affiliate, in contrast to mere need to affiliate. In addition, empirical support exists for and against Bardwick's theory of the importance of heterosexual and filial affiliative relationships and Chodorow's theory of the importance of interfeminine, and especially maternal, relationships.

Most studies do not reveal a significant effect of age on the level of self-esteem of active adults. Research on age and the need to affiliate as well as on marital-maternal status and self-esteem is inconclusive.

Chapter III describes the methodology of the study: the statistical hypotheses, the subjects, data collection procedures, and instruments used. It also describes the statistical analyses to which the data is subjected.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The review of the literature explains why it is worthwhile to test hypothetical correlations between women's level of self-esteem and their level of need affiliation; between women's level of self-esteem and their level of gratification of need affiliation; and between satisfying relationships with other select persons and both women's level of self-esteem and their level of gratification of need affiliation. The literature also suggests that a study be made of differences in women's level of self-esteem due to their age and marital-maternal status, taken separately and together; and the effect of age and maritalmaternal status, taken separately and together, on women's level of need to affiliate.

The following research is described in terms of its statistical hypotheses, subjects, data gathering procedures and instruments, and the statistical tests to which the data were subjected.

Statistical Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 considers the relation of women's level of selfesteem to their level of need affiliation. This hypothesis is based on the rationale presented in the review of the literature: women base their self-esteem on an affiliative motive rather than an achievement motive.

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant correlation between

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women's level of self-esteem and the level of their need to affiliate when age and marital-maternal status are controlled.

Minor Hypotheses:

1.1 There is no significant correlation between level of of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the young neither-married-nor-mothers (nMnM) subgroup.

1.2 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the young married mothers (MM) subgroup.

1.3 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the older neither-married-nor-mothers (nMnM) subgroup.

1.4 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the older married mothers (MM) subgroup.

Hypothesis 2 considers the relation of women's level of selfesteem to their level of gratification of need affiliation. This hypothesis is based on Bardwick's rationale, as presented in the review of the literature: it is not enough that a woman have a high need to affiliate in order to enjoy high self-esteem; she must also gratify that need.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in women when age and marital-maternal status are controlled.

Minor Hypotheses:

2.1 There is no significant correlation between level of

self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the young nMnM subgroup.

2.2 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the young MM subgroup.

2.3 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the older nMnM subgroup.

2.4 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the older MM subgroup.

Hypothesis 3 considers the effect of satisfying relationships with other select persons on level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in women. Select persons include the woman's mother; husband or men other than the woman's father; children and/or adolescents; and other women, exclusive of the woman's mother. This hypothesis is based on Bardwick's theory that satisfying primary relationships with husband and child are crucial to optimal self-esteem in women and Chodorow's theory that satisfying primary relationships with other women, especially the woman's mother, are crucial to optimal self-esteem.

Hypothesis 3: There are no significant differences in level of self-esteem in women or in level of gratification of need affiliation in women, or both, based on their satisfying primary relationships with either one or two select persons.

Minor Hypotheses:

3.1 There are no significant differences in level of

self-esteem in women based on their having a satisfying primary relationship with their own mothers rather than with their husbands or men other than their fathers; children and/or adolescents; or other women, exclusive of the women's mothers.

3.2 There are no significant differences in level of gratification of need affiliation in women based on their having a satisfying primary relationship with their own mothers rather than with their husbands or men other than their fathers; children and/or adolescents; or other women, exclusive of the women's mothers.

3.3 There are no significant differences in level of self-esteem in women based on their having satisfying primary relationships with their own mothers and children and/or adolescents rather than with their own mothers and their husbands or men other than their fathers; their own mothers and women other than their mothers; children and/ or adolescents and husbands or men other than the women's fathers; children and/or adolescents and other women, exclusive of the women's own mothers; or husbands and men other than the women's fathers and women other than the women's own mothers.

3.4 There are no significant differences in level of gratification of need affiliation in women based on their having satisfying primary relationships with their own

mothers and children and/or adolescents rather than with their own mothers and their husbands or men other than their fathers; their own mothers and women other than their mothers; children and/or adolescents and husbands or men other than the women's fathers; children and/or adolescents and other women, exclusive of the women's own mothers; or husbands or men other than the women's fathers and women other than the women's mothers.

3.5 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation, taken together, based on the relationships outlined in 3.1.

3.6 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation, taken together, based on the relationships outlined in 3.3.

Hypothesis 4 considers the effect age and marital-maternal status might have on level of self-esteem in women, whether they be taken separately or together. As indicated in the review of the literature, though age seems to have no significant effect on self-esteem when subjects are between the ages of 18 and 50, marital-maternal status seems to, according to both Bardwick and Chodorow. According to Bardwick, married mothers will have significantly higher self-esteem than women who are neither married nor mothers, unless, of course, neither husband nor child is gratifying the woman's need to affiliate. According to Chodorow, by contrast, married mothers will have significantly lower self-esteem unless they also enjoy a matrifocal society in which their bonds with other women are strong and meaningful and they have economic and decision-making power in significant matters.

Hypothesis 4: There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age and marital-maternal status, taken separately or together.

Minor Hypotheses:

4.1 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age.

4.2 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their marital-maternal status.

4.3 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age and marital-maternal status taken together.

Hypothesis 5 considers the effect age and marital-maternal status might have on women's need to affiliate, whether they be taken separately or together. It is possible, as Bardwick theorized, that older women might have lower levels of need affiliation than younger women because gratification of their need affiliation as young women has freed them to gratify their needs for achievement and power.

Hypothesis 5: There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age and marital-maternal status, taken separately or together.

Minor Hypotheses:

5.1 There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age.

5.2 There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their marital-maternal status. 5.3 There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age and maritalmaternal status taken together.

<u>Subjects</u>

The subjects (N = 167) in this study were women who either graduated from four-year Midwestern colleges and universities or were students enrolled in them, either presently or in the past. Some had gone on to earn advanced degrees; some had not. By using only college students or alumnae, intelligence was controlled for, as it should be in self-concept research.¹

Approximately one-half (n = 78) of the women participating in the study were both married and mothers; approximately one-half (n = 89) were neither married nor mothers. By using both kinds of women, the researcher hoped to control for selection of specific persons with whom women affiliate. It was thought that married mothers (MM) would be prone to identify the male and child as primary affiliators; women neither married nor mothers (nMnM) would not be. Furthermore, this distinction permitted the researcher to use marital-maternal status as an active variable in testing Hypotheses 4 and 5.

Approximately one-half (n = 80) of both groups of participants

¹Ruth C. Wylie et al., <u>The Self-Concept: Theory and Research on</u> <u>Selected Topics</u>, revised ed., vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), pp. 271.

were between the ages of 18 and 27, with a mean age of 25 in the MM subgroups and 20 in the nMnM subgroups. Approximately one-half (n = 87) of the subjects were between 32 and 62, with a mean age of 43 in the MM subgroups and 42 in the nMnM subgroups.² Using age groups that could be defined as relatively young and relatively older enabled the researcher to control for age as well as to use age as an active variable in testing Hypotheses 4 and 5.

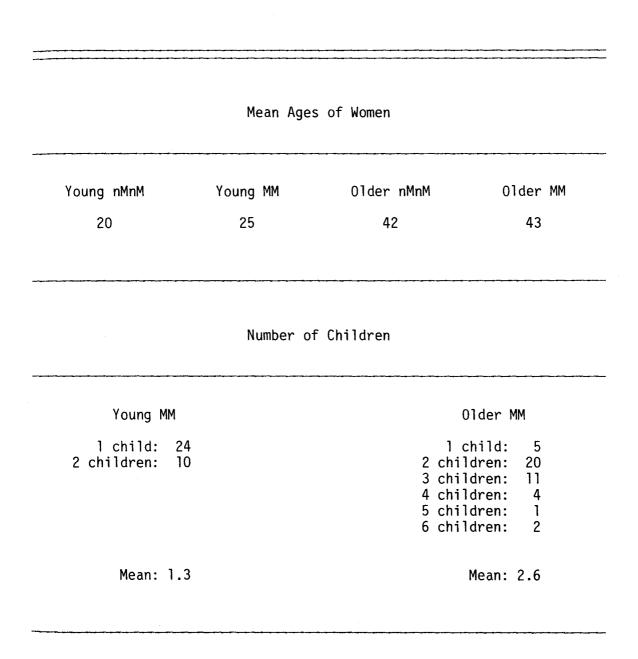
The subgroup characterized by being between 32 and 62 years of age and neither married nor mothers were Religious women, Sisters who belonged to an Order engaged in both teaching and health care. The majority of the participants were actively engaged in teaching in a grade school, high school, college, or religious education program. Using a group such as this insured the inclusion of professional women in the sample. It also increased the likelihood that the sample would include women who had experienced a society which Chodorow described as ideal: a matrifocal society in which women have exceptionally close ties with their mothers and other adult women, ties that are marked by companionship and mutual cooperation; a society in which the work the women do has important economic implications and consequently allows them to have financial and decision-making control; a society in which women gain status and prestige as they get older; and a society in which childcare is not the women's crucially important responsibility and

²See Table 1, p. 56.

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TABLE 1

DATA FROM DEMOGRAPHIC-BIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET



therefore not the main source of her self-esteem.³

The subgroup characterized by being between 18 and 27 years of age and neither married nor mothers were all presently enrolled in a small Midwestern college in the teacher-education and liberal arts traditions. Using such a subgroup increased the likelihood that a certain percentage of the sample would be in the process of stabilizing their heterosexual relationships and not yet experienced in maternal roles.

The subgroup characterized by being between 32 and 62 years of age and married mothers were all alumnae of the same small Midwestern college. Some had earned their bachelor's degree; some, their master's degree; and some, both degrees from the college. Because all had had at least one child and were married at the time of the study, their inclusion guaranteed that a certain percentage of the sample would be both experienced in various maternal roles and in relatively stable heterosexual relationships.

The subgroup characterized by being between 18 and 27 years of age and married mothers had been, or still were, students in either the small college referred to above or in another four-year college or university. All had had at least one child and were married at the time of the study and thus insured inclusion of women who had experienced at least minimal maternal roles and at least minimally stable heterosexual relationships.

One-half of the women in each of the four subgroups were invited

³Nancy Chodorow, "Family Structure and Feminine Personality," <u>Women, Culture and Society</u>, ed. M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (Stanford, CA: Standord University Press, 1974), pp. 60-64.

to participate by this investigator; the other half were invited to participate by a male counterpart: a male Religious of approximately the same age and educational background and employed at the same small college as this investigator. The investigators were assigned their potential participants randomly in order to control for investigator sex bias.

Data Collection and Instruments

The following methods were used by this investigator and her male co-investigator to invite the women to participate:

 With the consent of randomly selected professors, college classrooms were visited; the general nature of the study, individuals' participation, and confidentiality were explained; appropriate questions were answered; and students who wished to participate were asked to sign a formal consent form.
 Alumnae lists were reviewed; women who had maintained some contact with the college at which the investigators worked were randomly selected; a letter explaining the general nature of the study, individuals' participation, and confidentiality was sent; and those contacted were asked to sign and return a formal consent form if they wished to participate. They were also told how to get further information if they needed it.

3. A notice was posted in a nearby university childcare center, explaining the general nature of the study and inviting those who were interested to sign their names if they wished further information. Those who signed were sent the same letter and consent form as were sent the alumnae.

All women who signed and returned their consent forms within a reasonable length of time were accepted as participants provided they met the qualifications of one of the four subgroups and indicated that their health was not extremely poor. Women were eliminated for the following reasons: they were married but had no child; they had a child but were either divorced and not remarried or had never been married; they had an adopted child rather than a natural child; they were either too old or too young.

Each participant was then mailed the following: a copy of her consent form signed by the investigator to whom she had been randomly assigned; the following instruments: the Jackson Personality Inventory, the Need Satisfaction Schedule--II, the Rank Order Form, and the Demographic-Biographic Data Sheet; a letter instructing the participant how to complete the instruments within two weeks and return them to the investigator; and a return envelope.

In order to encourage honest self-disclosure, the instruments did not bear the participants' names. They were simply coded for age, marital-maternal status, investigator assignment, and geographical area.

Data from the 167 women who returned complete and valid instruments were used in the study. The rate of returns, 83% of the total who had agreed to participate, was accepted as representative because the sampling procedures were compatible with standard methods of valid random sampling.⁴

⁴William G. Cochran, <u>Sampling Techniques</u> (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), pp. 355-392.

Data were considered invalid if any of the instruments were incomplete; if fewer than the seven rank order letters were used; and if the infrequency scale score of the Jackson Personality Inventory (JPI) was elevated, that is, if it was four or higher, for, according to the Jackson Personality Inventory Manual, scores of four or more should be taken as evidence that the profile as a whole is unreliable.

The Jackson Personality Inventory (JPI) was developed by Douglas N. Jackson to provide "a set of measures of personality reflecting a variety of interpersonal, cognitive, and value orientations likely to have important implications"⁵ for an individual's functioning. Developed mainly for use on populations of average or above average ability, this instrument was appropriate for women of college ability who were neither psychiatrically disturbed nor representative of a deviant population.

The JPI consists of 320 true-false statements comprising 16 scales. Each scale, in turn, is comprised of ten true-keyed and ten false-keyed statements. Each scale was constructed from a large item pool based on explicit definitions of each scale.

Because scale interpretations must be based upon the explicit definitions of test developers, it was necessary to use two scales, Interpersonal Affect and Social Participation, in order to obtain a satisfactory measurement of the need to affiliate, as defined by the theorists whose ideas were being tested. Bardwick defines the need to

⁵Douglas N. Jackson, <u>Jackson Personality Inventory</u> (Goshen, New York: Research Psychologists Press, Inc., 1976), p. 9.

affiliate as the need "to acquire love and, perhaps, to give love":⁶ and chodorow refers to "relation and connection to other people." to "less individuation and flexible ego boundaries," to "identification and denendency," to "social-relational experiences,"⁷ to "close personal relationships,"⁸ and to "relationships of attachment to and identification with" others.⁹ The Interpersonal Affect scale was chosen because a high score on it indicates close identification with other people and their problems, emotional ties with others, personal relationships, and emotional responsiveness to others. The Social Participation scale was chosen because a high score on it indicates both formal and informal association with others, positive interpersonal relationships, cordiality, friendliness, and social activity.¹⁰ Furthermore, the JPI's Interpersonal Affect scale has a high positive correlation with the Personality Research Form's Nurturance scale (r = .70 and .66) and the JPI's Social Participation scale has a high positive correlation with the personality Research Form's Affiliation scale (r = .63 and .69).

Finally, the JPI's Self Esteem scale was chosen because a high score on it indicates self-confidence in interpersonal relationships,

⁶Judith M. Bardwick, <u>Psychology of Women: A Study of Bio-Cultural</u> <u>Conflicts</u> (Evanston, IL: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 156. ⁷Chodorow, 1974, pp. 44-45. ⁸Ibid., p. 53. ⁹Ibid, p. 65. ¹⁰Jackson, p. 10. ¹¹Ibid., pp. 32-33.

self-assurance, self-possession, self-sufficiency, and a high opinion of self as a group member.¹² Furthermore, the JPI's Self Esteem scale has a positive correlation with the Bentler Psychological Inventory's Self-Acceptance scale (r = .56).¹³

Jackson reports reliability coefficients for the Interpersonal Affect scale at .92 and .88 and for the Social Participation scale at .94 and .91.¹⁴ These reliability estimates were computed by using Bentler's coefficient theta. Data were obtained from two college samples and included the scores of 207 females. Considering that each scale contains only 20 items, these values are relatively high.

The Need Satisfaction Schedule--II (NSS--II) consists of 80 yesno questions comprising four scales, each made up of 20 questions. The four scales correspond to the first four levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs: physiological, physical safety-security, affection-belonging, and esteem-respect.

Measurement of the internal consistency of each subscale and the total schedule revealed the following alpha coeffecients: for Level I, .78; for Level II, .61; for Level III, .71; for Level IV, .79; and for the total schedule, .82.¹⁵

¹²Ibid., p. 10. ¹³Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁴Douglas N. Jackson, "Reliability of the Jackson Personality Inventory," <u>Psychological Reports</u> 40 (1977):614.

¹⁵Donald J. Lollar and Stanley J. Smits, <u>Need Satisfaction</u> <u>Schedule Manual for Forms I and II</u> (Atlanta, Georgia: Atlanta Pediatric Psychology Associates, 1979), pp. 1-6. Subscale Level III, which measures gratification of the need for affection and belonging, was used to measure gratification of the need to affiliate, as called for in Hypothesis 2. Subjects were told to ignore the following item, however, because it was not considered appropriate for post-adolescents: (#54) "Do you have a strong attachment to your hometown football team?"

Then, because the alpha coefficients indicated common variance throughout the schedule, especially in the higher order needs, total schedule scores were used to explore an interesting possibility suggested by Hypothesis 3: there might be a correlation between selfesteem and gratification of all four levels of needs, and perhaps this correlation might be higher than that between self-esteem and gratification of the need to affiliate. In doing so, the investigators asked the subjects to ignore two additional inappropriate items: (#32) "Is it necessary for you to share a bed due to overcrowded conditions?" and (#69) "Are you doing as well in school as you think you should?"

Already for Lollar's Need Satisfaction Schedule--II, reliability coefficients ranged from .60 for Subscale Level II to .75 for Subscale Level I, which indicates the stability of the schedule for seven to ten days after its administration to a population of delinquent adolescents. Thus, although the NSS--II was not designed for adults, it was chosen because it was the most valid and reliable instrument that could be found to measure gratification of needs.

A simple seven-item Rank Order Form was designed by this investigator to ascertain the relative importance to the subjects of select affiliative or loving relationships. Subjects simply rank-ordered the seven listed relationships in terms of their contribution to the subjects' loving and feeling loved, no matter when the relationships existed or whether they existed at the time of the study. Subjects were instructed to rank the relationships, not as they thought they should have been, but as they actually had been.

The Rank Order Form, designed to gather data to test Hypothesis 3, was developed because no other appropriate instrument was available. Its trial form listed relationships with (1) mother or mother surrogate, (2) child or adolescent, (3) husband or man other than father or father surrogate, and (4) woman other that mother or mother surrogate. Three other relationships, (5) father or father surrogate, (6) God or other spiritual being, and (7) self, were added to the final instrument because their absence presented problems to trial-run participants. Then, because the study was intended to test the relative order of only the four original relationships, the rankings of the three added relationships were excised, leaving a one to four ranking of the original four for purposes of statistical analysis.

The Demographic-Biographic Data Sheet revealed the following: 1. Marital Status: whether the woman was in her first, second, or third marriage; whether she was divorced and not remarried; whether she was separated; whether she was single and either a Religious or not a Religious.

2. Maternal Status: the number of children and grandchildren or foster children the woman had;¹⁶ the age and sex of each child,

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¹⁶See Table 1, p. 56.

grandchild, or foster child.

 Profession or Occupation: the women's present and past professions or occupations and the dates she ascribed to each.
 Education: the highest level of education the woman had attained.

5. Parents or Guardians: whether or not the woman's natural mother and father were living and either their present age or date of death; whether or not the woman had had a woman or man guardian, stepparent, or surrogate parent; the relationship of such a person to the woman; the years when the person served as such; whether or not the person was still living; and either the person's present age or date of death.

6. The Woman's Husband: his profession or occupation.

Statistical Analysis

Pearson product-moment coefficients of correlation, multivariate analyses of variance, 2 x 2 factorial analyses, and \underline{t} tests were used to analyze the five hypotheses of this study. All tests were done on computer by means of either the <u>Statistical Package for the Social Sciences</u>, 2nd edition, or <u>Statistical Analysis System User's Guide</u>, 1979 edition.

A Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation was used to test Hypotheses 1 and 2: to determine the magnitude and direction of the relationship between levels of self-esteem, as measured on the Self-Esteem scale of the JPI, and levels of need affiliation, as measured on the combined Interpersonal Affect and Social Participation scales of the JPI; and the relationship between self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation, as measured by Subscale Level III of the NSS--II, in the total group as well as in each of the subgroups: (1) Young nMnM, (2) Young MM, (3) Older nMnM, and (4) Older MM.

The strength of the relationships revealed by the Pearson correlation coefficient \underline{r} indicated the goodness of fit of the linear regression line to the data; when squared, the \underline{r} indicated the proportion of variance in the dependent variable, self-esteem.

 \underline{Z} transformations were computed but do not appear in the tables because they yielded scores identical to the original scores.

Student's <u>t</u> tests were used to determine the significance level of the relationships in these two-tailed tests. The squared result, \underline{t}^2 , equals the <u>F</u>-ratio and appears as such in the tables.

To test Hypothesis 3 multivariate analyses of variance were used to study the effect of relationships with select persons, the independent variable, on self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation, the dependent variables. Relationships with select persons were revealed on the Rank Order Form; levels of self-esteem were measured by the Self Esteem scale of the Jackson Personality Inventory; and levels of gratification of need affiliation were measured by Subscale III of the Need Satisfaction Schedule--II.

Two designs were used in an effort to test thoroughly the theories of Bardwick and Chodorow. In the first design, relationship with select persons was defined as the first-ranked person among the four under study. Consequently, those who ranked <u>mother</u>, for example, before the other three persons were compared in levels of self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation with those who ranked husband or man <u>other than father; child/adolescent;</u> or <u>women other than mother</u> first. In the second design, relationships with select persons was defined as the persons ranked first and second, which resulted in the following six categories: (1) Mother and Child/Adolescent, (2) Mother and Husband or Man Other Than Father, (3) Mother and Woman Other Than Mother, (4) Child/Adolescent and Husband or Man Other Than Father, (5) Child/ Adolescent and Husband or Man Other Than Father, and (6) Husband or Man Other Than Father and Woman Other Than Father, and (6) Husband or Man

In order to test Hypothesis 4, data of a 2 x 2 (Age x Marital-Maternal Status) factorial design for the one dependent measure of selfesteem were analyzed by means of the analysis of variance (ANOVA) and \underline{t} tests. Main effects for the four subgroups: (1) Young nMnM, (2) Young MM, (3) Older nMnM, and (4) Older MM, were computed. Interaction effects of age and marital-maternal status were also computed. The \underline{t} tests were used to determine the significance of difference between self-esteem means in subsets of the four subgroups.

In order to test Hypothesis 5, data of a 2 x 2 (Age x Marital-Maternal Status) factorial design for the one dependent measure of need to affiliate were analyzed by means of the analysis of variance (ANOVA). Main effects for the four subgroups: (1) Young nMnM, (2) Young MM, (3) Older nMnM, and (4) Older MM, were computed. Interaction effects of age and marital-maternal status were also computed.

In summary, the 167 women who participated in this study were either college graduates or college students, presently or in the past. They were divided into four subgroups based on their age and maritalmaternal status. One-half of the women in each of the four subgroups were invited to participate by this investigator. The other half were invited to participate by a male of approximately the same age, educational background, and lifestyle. Both invitations to participate and assignments to the two investigators were made on a random basis.

Data for the study were gathered from the Jackson Personality Inventory, the Need Satisfaction Schedule--II, the Rank Order Form, and the Demographic-Biographic Data Sheet. The data were analyzed by means of Pearson product-moment coefficients of correlation, multivariate analyses of variance, 2 x 2 factorial analyses, and \underline{t} tests. The results of the analyses are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Data from the 167 women who returned complete and valid instruments were subjected to Pearson product-moment coefficients of correlation, multivariate analyses of variance, 2 x 2 factorial analyses of variance, and \underline{t} tests in order to test the five hypotheses of this study. The results are presented in the order of the hypotheses tested.

Hypotheses 1

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant correlation between women's level of self-esteem and the level of their need to affiliate when age and marital-maternal status are controlled.

Minor Hypotheses:

1.1 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the young neither-married-nor-mothers (nMnM) subgroup.

1.2 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the young married mothers (MM) subgroup.

1.3 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the older neither-married-nor-mothers (nMnM) subgroup.

1.4 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of need affiliation in the older

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married mothers (MM) subgroup.

Hypothesis 1 proposes that any relationship between the level of self-esteem, as measured by the Self Esteem scale of the JPI, and level of need to affiliate, as measured by the Interpersonal Affect and Social Participation scales of the JPI, will not be greater than zero for either the total group of women or for any of the four subgroups. A Pearson product-moment correlation was the measure used to obtain the degree of correlation between the dependent variable, self-esteem, and the independent variable, need to affiliate. Fischer's \underline{Z} transformation was used to test for equality. F-ratios were used to assess the significance of the relationship between the two variables. A coefficient of determination, r^2 , was computed to determine the percentage of total variance in self-esteem that could be accounted for by variance in need to affiliate. A summary of the obtained r's, F-ratios, probabilities, and $\underline{r^2}$, are presented in Table 2. \underline{Z} transformation scores do not appear on the table because they were identical to the original scores.

The <u>F</u> value of 7.43 reveals a significant difference, a low positive correlation, at the .007 level of probability between self-esteem and need to affiliate in the total group. <u>F</u> values are not significant in the subgroups, however. Thus, Hypothesis 1 may be rejected though the Minor Hypotheses 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4 may not be. In the group as a whole, self-esteem and need to affiliate scores covary in a positive direction; the magnitude of the dependent variable, self-esteem, is affected by the magnitude of the independent variable, need to affiliate. The proportion of the total variance in self-esteem that can be accounted for by variance in the need to affiliate, however, is very

PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF LEVELS OF SELF-ESTEEM AND LEVELS OF NEED TO AFFILIATE IN THE TOTAL GROUP AND THE FOUR SUBGROUPS

Group, Subgroup	N	r	<u>F</u> -ratio	Probability	<u>r</u> ²
Total Group	167	.21	7.43	.007*	.04
Young nMnM Subgroup	46	.25	2.96	.090	.06
Young MM Subgroup	34	.15	.74	.395	.02
Older nMnM Subgroup	43	.15	.93	.338	.02
Older MM Subgroup	44	.27	3.26	.078	.07

*Significant at the .01 level

small: only 4%. Thus, though some of the variance in self-esteem may be accounted for by variance in the need to affiliate, much more, 96%, must be accounted for by variables other than the need to affiliate. This fact greatly reduces the practical significance of the statistical significance of the correlation between self-esteem and the need to affiliate.

Low positive correlations between self-esteem and the need to affiliate approach significance in the young nMnM and older MM subgroups, with probabilities of .09 and .08 respectively. But they do not actually reach significance in any of the four subgroups, partially due to their small size. This fact further reduces the practical significance of the main finding of statistical significance in the total group.

While not revealing a cause-effect relationship between selfesteem and the need to affiliate, the results permit prediction of self- \mathcal{H} esteem scores from need affiliation scores within the limitations described above.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant correlation between women's level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in women when age and marital-maternal status are controlled.

Minor Hypotheses:

2.1 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation

in the young nMnM subgroup.

2.2 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the young MM subgroup.

2.3 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the older nMnM subgroup.

2.4 There is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation in the older MM subgroup.

Hypothesis 2 proposes that any relationship between the level of self-esteem in women, as measured by the Self Esteem scale of the JPI, and level of gratification of their need to affiliate, as measured by Subscale Level III of the NSS-II, will be non-significant for both the total group and for the four subgroups. A Pearson product-moment correlation was the measure used to obtain the degree of correlation between the dependent variable, self-esteem, and the independent variable, gratification of need affiliation. Fischer's \underline{Z} transformation was used to test for equality. <u>F</u>-ratios were used to assess the significance of the relationship between the two variables. A coefficient of determination, \underline{r}^2 , was computed to determine the percentage of total variance in self-esteem that could be accounted for by variance in gratification of need affiliation. A summary of the obtained <u>r's</u>, <u>F</u>-ratios, probabilities, and \underline{r}^{2} 's are presented in Table 3. <u>Z</u> transformation scores do not appear on the table because they were identical to the original scores.

The results reveal a low but statistically significant positive

PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS COEFFICIENTS OF LEVELS OF SELF-ESTEEM AND LEVELS OF GRATIFICATION OF NEED AFFILIATION IN THE TOTAL GROUP AND IN THE FOUR SUBGROUPS

Group, Subgroup	N	r	<u>F</u> -ratio	Probability	<u>r</u> ²
Total Group	167	.26	12.40	.001*	.07
Young nMnM Subgroup	46	.32	5.10	.029**	.10
Young MM Subgroup	34	.10	.35	.557	.01
Older nMnM Subgroup	43	.44	10.09	.003**	.20
01der MM Subgroup	44	.23	2.34	.134	.05

*Significant at the .001 level **Significant at the .05 level correlation at the .001 probability level between self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation in the total group; at a .05 probability level in the young nMnM subgroup; and at a .005 probability level in the older nMnM subgroup. Results do not reveal a statistically significant correlation in either MM subgroup, however. The <u>F</u> values are as follows: 12.40 for the total group; 5.10 for the young nMnM subgroup; 10.09 for the older nMnM subgroup; .35 for the young MM subgroup; and 2.34 for the older MM subgroup. Thus Hypothesis 2, as well as Minor Hypotheses 2.1 and 2.3 may be rejected, but Minor Hypotheses 2.2 and 2.4 may not be.

The results indicate that for the group as a whole, as well as for the nMnM subgroups, self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation covary in a positive direction. The magnitude of the dependent variable, self-esteem, is affected by the magnitude of the independent variable, gratification of need affiliation. As the latter increases or decreases so does the former. This has practical significance because the size of the subgroups, especially, is relatively small. But the proportion of the total variance in self-esteem that can be accounted for by the variance in gratification of need affiliation is only 7% in the total group and 10% in the young nMnM subgroup and thus of little practical significance. In the older nMnM subgroup, however, variance in self-esteem due to variance in gratification of need to affiliate reaches the meaningful figure of 20%. Thus, though in general variance in self-esteem must be accounted for by variables other than gratification of need affiliation, in the older nMnM subgroup gratification of need affiliation is indeed a major active variable.

For the young MM and older MM subgroups, a low positive correlation exists between self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation, but it is not statistically significant at the minimally acceptable .05 level. It approaches significance, however, in the older MM subgroup, with a probability of .134.

While not revealing a cause-effect relationship between selfesteem and gratification of the need to affiliate, the results permit prediction of self-esteem scores from need affiliation scores within the limitations described above.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3: There are no significant differences in level of self-esteem in women or in level of gratification of need affiliation in women, or both, based on their satisfying primary relationships with either one or two select persons.

Minor Hypotheses:

3.1 There are no significant differences in level of self-esteem in women based on their having a satisfying primary relationship with their own mothers rather than with their husbands or men other than their fathers; children and/or adolescents; or other women, exclusive of the women's mothers.

3.2 There are no significant differences in level of gratification of need affiliation in women based on their having a satisfying primary relationship with the persons listed in 3.1.

3.3 There are no significant differences in level of self-esteem in women based on their having satisfying primary relationships with their own mothers and children and/or adolescents rather than with their own mothers and their husbands or men other than their fathers; their own mothers and women other than their mothers; children and/or adolescents and husbands or men other than the women's fathers; children and/or adolescents and other women, exclusive of the women's own mothers; or husbands and men other than the women's fathers and women other than the women's own mothers.

3.4 There are no significant differences in level of gratification of need affiliation in women based on their having satisfying primary relationships with the persons listed in 3.3.

3.5 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation, taken together, based on the relationships outlined in 3.1.

3.6 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation, taken together, based on the relationships outlined in 3.3.

Hypothesis 3 proposes that satisfying primary relationships with a select person or persons will not have a statistically significant effect on either level of self-esteem in women or level of gratification of their need to affiliate or the two taken together.

Data for satisfying primary relationships were obtained from the Rank Order Form; self-esteem was measured by the Self Esteem scale of the JPI; and gratification of affiliation need was measured by Subscale Level III of the NSS--II. Multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAS) were used to determine the effect of the independent variable, relationships with a select person or persons, on the dependent variables, selfesteem and gratification of need affiliation.

Two designs were used to reflect two distinct definitions of the independent variable. The first design treated the rank-ordered relationships with select persons as a four-category variable; subjects were placed in one of four categories on the basis of their first choice when ranking the relationships listed in Hypothesis 3: Category 1, Mother; Category 2, Child/Adolescent; Category 3, Husband/Man Other Than Father; Category 4, Woman Other Than Mother. The second design categorized subjects on the basis of their first and second choices: Category 1, Mother and Child/Adolescent; Category 2, Mother and Husband/Man Other Than Father; Category 3, Mother and Woman Other Than Mother; Category 4, Child/Adolescent and Husband/Man Other Than Father; Category 5, Child/ Adolescent and Husband/Man Other Than Father; Category 5, Child/ Adolescent and Woman Other Than Mother. Category 6, Husband/Man Other Than Father and Woman Other Than Mother. Category sizes, means, and standard deviations in the two designs are presented in Tables 4 and 5.

Four statistical tests: Wilks, Roy, Hotelling-Lawley, and Pillai, were employed to test the hypothesis that the vectors of mean scores, or centroids, for the two dependent variables, taken together, are the same across the four groups. The matrix of the sums-of-squares

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR MEASURES OF SELF-ESTEEM AND GRATIFICATION OF NEED AFFILIATION IN THE FOUR-CATEGORY DESIGN

Cat	egory	N	<u>Sel1</u> Mean	<u>F-Esteem Grati</u> Standard Dev.	<u>fication of N</u> Mean	leed Affiliation Standard Dev.
1:	Mother	69	11.94	5.24	17.96	1.17
2:	Child/Adolescent	13	13.54	5.32	18.39	.77
3:	Husband/Man Other Than Father	60	12.00	4.54	17.83	1.22
4:	Woman Other Than Mother	25	10.84	4.37	17.36	1.63

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR MEASURES OF SELF-ESTEEM AND GRATIFICATION OF NEED AFFILIATION IN THE SIX-CATEGORY DESIGN

Cat	egory	N	<u>Se</u> Mean	<u>lf-Esteem</u> Standard Dev.	<u>Gratification of N</u> Mean	<u>Need Affiliatior</u> Standard Dev.
1:	Mother and Child/ Adolescent	30	12.10	5.61	18.03	1.03
2:	Mother and Husband/ Man Other Than Father	54	11.87	4.69	17.87	1.29
3:	Mother and Woman Other Than Mother	38	11.29	4.79	17.63	1.55
4:	Child/Adolescent and Husband/Man Other Than Father	33	12.24	5.04	17.82	1.13
5:	Child/Adolescent and Woman Other Than Mother	3	15.00	4.58	18.00	.00
6:	Husband/Man Other Than Father and Woman Other Than Mother	9	12.11	3.82	18.22	1.09

and cross-products appears in Table 6. The results of the tests appear in Table 7.

The obtained <u>F</u> values and their probabilities do not permit rejection, at the .05 level of significance, of equal mean vectors for the combined dependent variables: using Wilks' criterion, <u>F</u> (6, 324) = 1.30, with a probability of .255; using Roy's maximum root criterions <u>F</u> (3, 163) = 2.57, with upperbound probability; using the Hotelling-Lawley trace, <u>F</u> (6, 322) = 1.31, with a probability of .252; and using Pillai's trace, <u>F</u> (6, 326) = 1.30, with a probability of .258. Thus Minor Hypothesis 3.5 may not be rejected.

The same four tests were also used to test the hypothesis that the vectors of means scores, or centroids, for the two dependent variables, taken together, are the same across the six groups. The matrix of the sums-of-squares and cross-products appears in Table 8. The results of the tests appear in Table 9.

The obtained <u>F</u> values and their probabilities do not permit rejection, at the .05 level of significance, of equal mean vectors for the combined dependent variables: using Wilks' criterion, <u>F</u> (10, 320) = .42, with a probability of .936; using Roy's maximum root criterion, <u>F</u> (5, 161) = .58, with upperbound probability; using the Hotelling-Lawley trace, <u>F</u> (10, 318) = .42, with a probability of .937; and using Pillai's trace, <u>F</u> (10, 322) = .42, with a probability of .935. Thus, Minor Hypothesis 3.6 may not be rejected.

Computerized MANOVAS also revealed the degree of correlation between the dependent and independent variables and the variance in the dependent variables that could be accounted for by variance in the

DATA MATRIX FOR MANOVA: EFFECT OF RELATIONSHIP WITH SELECT PERSON ON SELF-ESTEEM AND GRATIFICATION OF NEED AFFILIATION IN THE FOUR-CATEGORY DESIGN

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Characteristic Root	Percent	Characteristic Vector		
		<u>Self-Esteem</u>	Gratification of Need Affiliation	
.047	96.90	.006	.053	
.002	3.10	.016	037	

DATA ON FOUR MULTIVARIATE TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE IN THE FOUR-CATEGORY DESIGN MANOVA: EFFECT OF RELATIONSHIP WITH SELECT PERSON ON SELF-ESTEEM AND GRATIFICATION OF NEED AFFILIATION TAKEN TOGETHER

Test Criterion	Test Statistic	d.f.	<u>F</u> Value	Probability
Wilks' Criterion	.953	6, 324	1.30	.255
Roy's Maximum Root	.047	3, 163	2.57	Upper Bound
Hotelling-Lawley Trace	.049	6, 322	1.31	.252
Pillai's Trace	.047	6, 326	1.30	.258

DATA MATRIX FOR MANOVA: EFFECT OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH SELECT PERSONS ON SELF-ESTEEM AND GRATIFICATION OF NEED AFFILIATION IN THE SIX-CATEGORY DESIGN

Characteristic Root	Percent	Characteristic Vector		
		<u>Self-Esteem</u>	Gratification of Need Affiliation	
.018	68.28	.007	.049	
.008	31.72	.015	042	

DATA ON FOUR MULTIVARIATE TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE IN THE SIX-CATEGORY DESIGN MANOVA: EFFECT OF RELATIONS WITH SELECT PERSONS ON SELF-ESTEEM AND GRATIFICATION OF NEED AFFILIATION TAKEN TOGETHER

Test Criterion	Test Statistic	d.f.	<u>F</u> Value	Probability
Wilks' Criterion	.974	10, 320	.42	.936
Roy's Maximum Root	.018	5, 161	.58	Upper Bound
Hotelling-Lawley Trace	.026	10, 318	.42	.937
Pillai's Trace	.026	10, 322	.42	.935

independent variable. Summaries of the MANOVAS appear in Tables 10 and 11.

Results revealed in the MANOVAS fail to show any statistically significant differences at the .05 level in levels of self-esteem in either the four- or six-category design. The <u>F</u>-ratio in the fourcategory design is .89 with probability of obtaining a greater value .450. The <u>F</u>-ratio in the six-category design is .40, with a probability of .849. Relationships with a select person or persons does not significantly affect level of self-esteem. Thus Hypothesis 3, together with Minor Hypotheses 3.1 and 3.3 may not be rejected.

Results also fail to reveal any statistically significant correlation, at the .05 level, between women's self-esteem, as a dependent variable, and relationships with a select person or persons, as an independent variable. Correlation coefficients are only .13 in the fourcategory design and .10 in the six-category design. Furthermore, the correlations of determination, $\frac{R^2}{s}$, reveal that only 2% of the variance in self-esteem can be accounted for by the first-ranked relationship with a select person; and only 1% of the variance in self-esteem can be accounted for by the relationships ranked first and second. Thus women's levels of self-esteem cannot be said to be predictable on the basis of the affiliative relationships the women rank first or first and second.

Results of the MANOVAS also fail to reveal any statistically significant differences at the .05 level in levels of gratification of need affiliation in either the four-category design or the six-category design, though differences in the four-category design approach

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MANOVA: EFFECT OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH SELECT PERSONS ON SELF-ESTEEM IN THE FOUR-CATEGORY AND SIX-CATEGORY DESIGNS

Design	Source of Variance	d.f.	MS	<u>F</u> -Ratio	Probability	<u>R</u> ²	<u>R</u>
Four- Category	Relationships with Select Person	3	21.21	.89	.450	.02	.1:
	Error	163	23.83				
Dependent V	ariable: Self-Esteem						
Six- Category	Relationships with Select Persons	5	9.69	.40	.849	.01	.1(
	Error	161	24.22				

MANOVA: EFFECT OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH SELECT PERSONS ON GRATIFICATION OF NEED AFFILIATION IN THE FOUR-CATEGORY AND SIX-CATEGORY DESIGNS

sign	Source of Variance	d.f.	MS	<u>F</u> -Ratio	Probability	<u>R</u> ²	R
ır- cegory	Relationship with Select Person	3	3.50	2.27	.082	.04	.20
	Error	163	1.55				
pendent Va	ariable: Gratification o	f Need Aff	iliation				
(- Cegory	Relationships with Select Persons	5	.84	.52	.762	.02	.13
	Error	161	1.61				
pendent Va							

significance.

The <u>F</u>-ratio in the four-category design is 2.27 with probability of obtaining a greater value .082. The <u>F</u>-ratio in the six-category design is .52, with a probability of .762. Relationships with a select person or persons does not significantly affect level of gratification of affiliation need. Thus Hypothesis 3, together with Minor Hypotheses 3.2 and 3.4 may not be rejected.

Results also fail to reveal any statistically significant correlation, at the .05 level, between women's gratification of need affiliation, as a dependent variable, and relationships with a select person or persons, as an independent variable. Correlation coefficients were only .20 in the four-category design and .13 in the six-category design. Furthermore, the correlations of determination, R^{2} , reveal that only 4% of the variance in gratification of need affiliation can be accounted for by the first-ranked relationship with a select person; and only 2% of the variance in gratification of need affiliation can be accounted for by the relationships ranked first and second. Thus women's levels of gratification of need affiliation cannot be said to be predictable on the basis of the affiliative relationships women rank first or first and second.

In summary, primary satisfying relationships with a select person or persons is not significantly affecting levels of self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation considered separately or together.

Further Analysis of the Data

Failure to find significance in Hypothesis 3 prompted

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investigation of an hypothesis extrinsic, but related, to the study: there are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem and level of gratification of all basic needs based on their satisfying primary relationships with either one or two select persons, as defined in Hypothesis 3. <u>All basic needs</u> are defined, according to Maslow, as those of the first four levels of his hierarchy: physiological, physical safety-security, affection-belonging, and esteem-respect.¹

Self-esteem was measured by the Self Esteem scale of the JPI. Gratification of all needs was measured by Subscales Levels I, II, III, and IV of the NSS-II. The data were subjected to the same statistical tests as those of Hypothesis 3 and its Minor Hypotheses. Data and test results appear in Tables 12, 13, 14, and 15.

The effect of the independent variable, relationship with select persons, on the dependent variables, gratification of all basic needs and self-esteem, taken together, reaches significance according to the Hotelling-Lawley test: \underline{F} (6, 322) = 2.11, with probability of .051; the Wilks test: \underline{F} (6, 324) = 2.11, with probability of .052; and the Pillai test: F (6, 326) = 2.11, with probability of .052.

Results also indicate a statistically significant \underline{F} value at the .05 level for the main effect of relationship with a select person on level of gratification of all basic needs: F (3, 163) = 3.57, with a probability of .015. Those who choose women other than their mothers as primary affiliators gratify their needs less than those who make the

¹A. H. Maslow, <u>Motivation and Personality</u>, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 80-91.

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR MEASURES OF SELF-ESTEEM AND GRATIFICATION OF ALL BASIC NEEDS IN THE FOUR-CATEGORY DESIGN

		<u>Sel</u>	f-Esteem Gra	Gratification of All Basic Nee		
Category	N	Mean	Standard Dev.	Mean	Standard Dev.	
l: Mother	69	11.94	5.24	69.75	4.77	
2: Child/Adolesce	ent 13	13.54	5.32	68.46	4.56	
3: Husband/Man Ot Than Father	her 60	12.00	4.54	68.72	5.64	
4: Woman Other Th Mother	ian 25	10.84	4.37	65.56	7.21	

DATA MATRIX FOR MANOVA: EFFECT OF RELATIONSHIP WITH SELECT PERSON ON SELF-ESTEEM AND GRATIFICATION OF ALL BASIC NEEDS IN THE FOUR-CATEGORY DESIGN

Characteristic Root	Percent	Characteristic Vector			
		<u>Self-Esteem</u>	Gratification of all Basic Need		
.066	83.97	002	.015		
.013	16.03	.017	004		
.013	16.03	.017	004		

DATA ON FOUR MULTIVARIATE TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE IN THE FOUR-CATEGORY DESIGN MANOVA: EFFECT OF RELATIONSHIP WITH SELECT PERSON ON SELF-ESTEEM AND GRATIFICATION OF ALL BASIC NEEDS TAKEN TOGETHER

Test Criterion	Test Statistic	d.f.	<u>F</u> Value	Probability Less Than	
Wilks' Criterion	.926	6, 324	2.11	.052*	
Roy's Maximum Root	.066	3, 163	3.60	Upper Bound*	
Hotelling-Lawley Trace	.079	6, 322	2.12	.051*	
Pillai's Trace	.075	6, 326	2.11	.052*	

*Significant

MANOVA: EFFECT OF RELATIONSHIP WITH SELECT PERSON ON GRATIFICATION OF ALL BASIC NEEDS IN THE FOUR-CATEGORY DESIGN

Source of Variance	d.f.	MS	<u>F</u> -Ratio	P Less Than	<u>R</u> 2	<u>R</u>
Relationship with Select Person	3	107.82	3.57	.015*	.06	.25
Error	163	30.19				

Dependent Variable: Gratification of All Basic Needs

*Significant

other choices. Means for levels of gratification of all needs are as follows: Mother Category, 69.75; Husband or Man Other Than Father Category, 68.72; Child/Adolescent Category, 68.46; Woman Other Than Mother Category, 65.56.

Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4: There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age and marital-maternal status, taken separately or together.

Minor Hypotheses:

4.1 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age.

4.2 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their marital-maternal status.

4.3 There are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age and maritalmaternal status taken together.

Hypothesis 4 proposes that neither age nor marital-maternal status nor an interaction between the two significantly affect the level of self-esteem in women, as measured by the Self Esteem scale of the JPI. A 2 x 2 factorial analysis, with self-esteem as the dependent variable and age and marital-maternal status as the independent variables, was used to test the hypothesis. Table 16 presents means and standard deviations for measures of self-esteem in the total group and in the four subgroups. A summary of the ANOVA results is presented in Table 17.

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR MEASURES OF SELF-ESTEEM IN THE TOTAL GROUP AND IN THE FOUR SUBGROUPS

Group, Subgroup	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Young (18-27) Women Neither Married Nor Mothers	46	12.37	4.19
Young (18-27) Married Mothers	34	12.69	4.51
Older (32-62) Women Neither Married Nor Mothers	43	9.84	4.79
Older (32-62) Married Mothers	44	12.96	5.43
Total Group	167	11.92	4.88

ANOVA: MAIN EFFECTS AND INTERACTION EFFECT OF AGE AND MARITAL-MATERNAL STATUS ON SELF-ESTEEM

Source of Variance	d.f.	MS	<u>F</u> -Ratio	Probability	
Age Classification	1	46.95	2.07	.152	
Marital-Maternal Status	1	127.78	5.65	.019*	
Age x Marital-Maternal Status	1	84.76	3.75	.055	
Error	163	22.63			

Dependent Variable: Self-Esteem

*Significant at the .05 level

Results demonstrate a main effect for marital-maternal status: F(1, 163) = 5.65, with a probability of only .019. Married mothers have significantly higher levels of self-esteem than do women neither married nor mothers.

Results fail to demonstrate, however, a main effect for age: <u>F</u> (1, 163) = 2.07, with a probability of .152. There is a trend, though, toward higher self-esteem for younger women. Neither do results demonstrate a significant interaction effect between age and maritalmaternal status: <u>F</u> (1, 163) = 3.75, with a probability of .055, though the interaction effect approaches significance.

The <u>t</u> tests reveal significant differences in levels of selfesteem when the young nMnM subgroup is compared to the older nMnM subgroup and again when the older MM subgroup is compared to the older nMnM subgroup but not when the young MM subgroup is compared with the young nMnM subgroup. In both former cases the self-esteem of the older nMnM subgroup is significantly lower than that of the comparison group: <u>t</u> (87) = 2.66, with a probability of .01 and <u>t</u> (85) = 2.37, with a probability of .05. Thus, though there is no significant interaction effect between marital-maternal status and age, it is the older nMnM subgroup alone that accounts for the self-esteem of the combined nMnM subgroup being significantly lower than that of the MM subgroup. Table 18 presents data on the t tests of significance.

In summary, because Minor Hypothesis 4.2 may be rejected so may Hypothesis 4: marital-maternal status does affect level of self-esteem. Minor Hypotheses 4.1 and 4.3, however, may not be rejected.

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DATA ON T TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE: DIFFERENCES IN SELF-ESTEEM MEANS IN YOUNG AND OLDER MM AND nMnM SUBGROUPS

Self-Esteem		Subgroup	Means	Difference	d.f.	<u>t</u> Value
leans		Young MM	12.62			
3.0 + MM		01der MM	12.96	337	76	.29
2.5		Young nMnM	12.37			
2.0 +		Older nMnM	9.84	2.533	87	2.66*
2.0		Young MM	12.62			
1.5 +		01der nMnM	12.37	.025	77	.99
1.0		01der MM	12.96			
		01der nMnM	9.84	3.118	85	2.37**
0.5 +						
0.0 +	\mathbf{X}					
9.5 +	•					
9.0 +			 			
Young	01der	*Significant	at .01 le	vel		
		**Significant	at .05 le	vel		

Hypothesis 5: There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age and marital-maternal status, taken separately or together.

Minor Hypotheses:

5.1 There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age.

5.2 There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their marital-maternal status.

5.3 There are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age and maritalmaternal status taken together.

Hypothesis 5 proposes that neither age nor marital-maternal status nor an interaction between the two significantly affect the level of need to affiliate in women, as measured by the Interpersonal Affect and Social Participation scales of the JPI. A 2 x 2 factorial analysis, with need to affiliate as the dependent variable and age and maritalmaternal status as the independent variables, was used to test the hypothesis. Table 19 presents means and standard deviations for measures of need to affiliate in the total group and in the four subgroups. A summary of the ANOVA results is presented in Table 20.

Results demonstrate a main effect for age: $\underline{F}(1, 163) = 17.33$, with a probability of .000. Young women, those between 18 and 27, have a significantly higher level of need to affiliate than older women, those between 32 and 62.

TABLE 19

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR MEASURES OF NEED AFFILIATION IN THE TOTAL GROUP AND IN THE FOUR SUBGROUPS

Group, Subgroup	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Young (18-27) Women Neither Married Nor Mothers	46	25.71	4.33
Young (18-27) Married Mothers	34	24.85	7.18
Older (32-62) Women Neither Married Nor Mothers	43	21.93	6.03
Older (32-62) Married Mothers	44	20.80	7.12
Total Group	167	23.27	6.48

TABLE 20

ANOVA: MAIN EFFECTS AND INTERACTION EFFECT OF AGE AND MARITAL-MATERNAL STATUS ON NEED AFFILIATION

Source of Variance	d.f.	MS	<u>F</u> -Ratio	Probability
Age Classification	1	664.72	17.33	.000*
Marital-Maternal Status	1	41.86	1.09	. 29 8
Age x Marital-Maternal Status	1	.75	.02	.889
Error	163	38.37		

Dependent Variable: Need to Affiliate

*Significant

Results fail to demonstrate, however, a main effect for maritalmaternal status: $\underline{F}(1, 163) = 1.09$, with a probability of .298. Neither do results demonstrate an interaction effect between age and marital-maternal status: $\underline{F}(1, 163) = .02$, with a probability of .889. The results of the ANOVA permit rejection of Hypothesis 5: age does affect level of need to affiliate. Minor Hypothesis 5.1 may be rejected, but Minor Hypotheses 5.2 and 5.3 may not be.

Summary

A low positive correlation was found between self-esteem and the need to affiliate in the total group but in none of the subgroups: the young nMnM, the young MM, the older nMnM, and the older MM. The proportion of total variance in self-esteem that can be accounted for by variance in need affiliation is quite small in the total group as well as in the four subgroups. Neither the correlation nor the proportion of the variance in self-esteem accounted for by need to affiliate are of practical significance.

Low positive correlations were found between self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation in the total group and in the nMnM subgroups but not in the MM subgroups. Again, however, the variance in self-esteem that can be accounted for by variance in gratification of need affiliation is relatively small in the total group as well as in three of the four subgroups. Only in the older nMnM subgroup does the proportion of the variance have practical significance.

It does not seem to make a difference in level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation, taken singly and together, which primary affiliative relationships women have. Relationships with one affiliator or two affiliators chosen over others seem to have no effect on the degree to which self-esteem is high or the need to affiliate is gratified. Correlations between self-esteem as well as gratification of need affiliation and the relationships with select persons are positive but too low to be statistically significant. In addition, variance in self-esteem and in gratification of need affiliation that can be accounted for by variance in the relationships with select persons is very small. Much more of the variance seems to be due to variables other than the specific relationships whereby women gratify their need to affiliate.

Marital-maternal status seems to affect level of self-esteem to a significant degree though neither age nor an interaction between age and marital-maternal status do. Married mothers have significantly higher self-esteem than women who are neither married nor mothers, regardless of their age. In addition, older women who are neither married nor mothers have a significantly lower level of self-esteem than older married mothers, young married mothers, and young women neither married nor mothers.

Finally, age seems to affect level of need to affiliate to a significant degree though neither marital-maternal status nor an interaction between age and marital-maternal status do. Young women have a significantly greater need to affiliate than do older women.

Chapter V will be devoted to a discussion of these results in the light of the theoretical considerations that prompted the research. Reasons for the expected as well as the unexpected results will be presented. Supportive research findings will supplement explanations whenever possible.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Problem and Research Hypotheses

Because of the great difficulty many women experience in attaining optimal self-esteem and the serious challenge this presents to professional counselors, this research focuses on the bases of selfesteem in women and, in particular, on the contribution the need to affiliate might make. The purpose of the study is to explore the relationships among self-esteem, the need to affiliate, gratification of the need to affiliate, and the specific relationships whereby the need to affiliate might be gratified; and to examine the effect age and marital-maternal status might have on levels of self-esteem and the need to affiliate.

The following serve as null hypotheses: (1) there is no significant correlation between level of self-esteem in women and level of their need to affiliate when age and marital-maternal status are controlled; (2) there is no significant correlation between level of selfesteem in women and level of gratification of their need to affiliate when age and marital-maternal status are controlled; (3) there are no significant differences in level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation, taken singly or together, based on women's satisfying primary relationships with their mothers, children and/or adolescents, their husbands or men other than their fathers, and women

other than their mothers; (4) there are no significant differences in women's level of self-esteem based on their age and marital-maternal status, taken separately or together; (5) there are no significant differences in women's level of need affiliation based on their age and marital-maternal status, taken separately or together.

Review of the Literature

The review of the literature reveals that American women do not significantly differ from American men in level of global self-esteem in spite of two significant phenomena: women are not as highly valued as men, and most people base their self-esteem on the opinion others have of them. Commonly accepted theories account for this unexpected finding by attributing to women a higher need for affiliation than for achievement and a strong tendency to base their self-esteem on the success with which they establish and maintain relationships within which they can love and be loved.

Empirical support exists for women's greater social orientation as well as their significant need to receive and express love: their need to participate in social interaction as well as to experience warm, close relationships with others. Empirical support also exists for Bardwick's theory of the importance of gratification of need affiliation, in contrast to mere need affiliation. Successful performance in the affiliative domain, not simply the need to perform, has been found to increase self-esteem. Furthermore, impediments to gratification of need affiliation, in particular sensitivity to rejection, have been found to frustrate optimal self-esteem. In addition, empirical support exists both for and against Bardwick's theory of the importance of heterosexual and filial affiliative relationships and Chodorow's theory of the importance of feminine, especially maternal, relationships. On the one hand, marital adjustment and marital satisfaction correlate with self-esteem; women's self-esteem seems to be more vulnerable to rejection from men than from women; and heterosexual relationships play a critical part in the self-esteem of younger women. On the other hand, positive correlations have been found between females' self-esteem and their mothers', but not fathers', warmth-versus-rejection; between women's self-esteem and identification with other women; and between women's self-esteem and the way they perceive all authority figures', but especially their mothers', reactions to them.

Moreover, negative correlations have been found between women's self-esteem and competition with men, though not with women; between women's self-esteem and their husbands' success; between mothers' selfesteem and difficult-to-handle children; and between women's innovative career expectations and the esteem of their own mothers.

Most studies do not reveal a significant effect of age on selfesteem, provided the subjects are active adults, rather than adolescents or retired adults. Finally, research on the effect of age on the need to affiliate is inconclusive. So is research on the effect of maritalmaternal status on self-esteem.

Methodology

The 167 subjects who participated in this research by returning

complete and valid instruments were either college graduates or college students, presently or in the past. They were divided into four subgroups: women between the ages of 18 and 27 who were neither married nor mothers (Young nMnM); women between the ages of 18 and 27 who were both married and mothers (Young MM); women between the ages of 32 and 62 who were neither married nor mothers (Older nMnM); and women between the ages of 32 and 62 who were both married and mothers (Older MM).

One-half of the women in each of the four subgroups were invited to participate by this investigator. The other half were invited to participate by a male of the same age, lifestyle and educational background. Both invitations to participate and assignments to the two investigators were made on a random basis.

Data for the study were gathered from four self-report instruments: the Jackson Personality Inventory (JPI) measured self-esteem and need to affiliate; the Need Satisfaction Schedule--II (NSS--II) measured gratification of need affiliation as well as gratification of the four basic levels of needs, as outlined by Maslow; the Rank Order Form revealed the order in which the subjects ranked their affiliative relationships in terms of their contribution to the subjects' loving and feeling loved; and the Demographic-Biographic Data Sheet revealed age and marital-maternal status. The subjects were told to ignore three items of the NSS--II that did not seem appropriate for adult women.

The data were analyzed by means of Pearson product-moment coefficients of correlation, multivariate analyses of variance, 2×2 factorial analyses and t tests.

Results

Results reveal a low positive correlation between self-esteem and need to affiliate in the total group but not in the four subgroups. A trend toward a positive relationship is revealed, however, in the Young nMnM and Older MM subgroups. Results also reveal a low positive correlation between self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation in the total group, the Young nMnM subgroup, and the Older nMnM subgroup as well as a trend toward a positive relationship in the Older MM subgroup. The proportion of the total variance in self-esteem that can be accounted for by the need to affiliate, however, is small. The proportion of the total variance in self-esteem that can be accounted for by gratification of need affiliation is also small, except in the Older nMnM subgroup.

Results fail to demonstrate significant differences in level of self-esteem in women and level of gratification of need affiliation in women, taken singly or together, based on their satisfying primary relationships with either one or two persons selected from among the following: mother, child/adolescent, husband or man other than father, and women other than mother. All four basic levels of needs are gratified significantly less, however, if the women's primary affiliators are other women, exclusive of their mothers.

Finally, results reveal that marital-maternal status seems to affect level of self-esteem to a significant degree though neither age nor an interaction between age and marital-maternal status do. Married mothers have significantly higher self-esteem than women who are neither married nor mothers, regardless of their age. In addition, women who

are neither married nor mothers and are between the ages of 32 and 62 have a level of self-esteem significantly lower than married mothers of the same age, married mothers between the ages of 18 and 27, and women neither married nor mothers between the ages of 18 and 27. Results also reveal that age seems to affect level of need to affiliate to a significant degree though neither marital-maternal status nor an interaction between age and marital-maternal status do. Women between the ages of 18 and 27 have a significantly greater need to affiliate than women between the ages of 32 and 62, regardless of their marital-maternal status.

Discussion

Hypothesis 1

In keeping with previous research, a low positive correlation was found between self-esteem and the need to affiliate in the total group. This was not true, however, for the subgroups even though in the Young nMnM subgroup and the Older MM subgroup the correlations approached significance.

When significant or almost significant, the correlation is positive, indicating that when women are loved, they feel worthwhile; and when their love is accepted, they experience themselves and their love as valuable.¹ While it is true that the need to affiliate is important for young married mothers, for young women neither married nor mothers

¹Jean Morval and Monique Morval, "Self-Esteem and Interpersonal Needs in Girls Between 15 and 18," <u>Revue de Psychologie Appliquee</u> 22-2 (1972):67.

this need is exaggerated by the very fact that its fulfillment is precarious. Without the relative stability implied by marriage and the more-or-less permanent condition of motherhood, the woman is more aware of the situations in which she either experiences, or fails to experience, love. To the extent that the woman's need to affiliate is gratified in a significant number of situations, the need to affiliate will correlate with feelings of self-worth. Need for affiliation is also more important, it seems, to older married mothers because, having permitted the functions of wife and mother to assume primacy in their lives, they have come to regard the degree to which they successfully relate to their husband and child as a gauge of their self-worth.

The correlation is low, in general, however, for one or more reasons. Most obviously, self-esteem is multidetermined, with any one determinant, even need for affiliation, being relatively small,² and other needs, such as power, achievement, and self-actualization being equal to, if not more potent than, need for affiliation in their contribution to the phenomenon of optimal self-esteem. Several research findings, in fact, reveal that a feminine orientation, with its characteristic emphasis on need affiliation, is not a correlate of selfesteem. By contrast, masculine and androgynous orientations, with their emphasis on need for power and achievement, are correlates.³ The

²Ruth C. Wylie et al., <u>The Self-Concept: Theory and Research on</u> <u>Selected Topics</u>, revised ed., vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), p. 693.

³J. K. Antill and John Cunningham, "Self-Esteem as a Function of Masculinity in Both Sexes," <u>Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychol-ogy</u> 47 (August 1979):783.

androgynous orientation in particular, Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp postulated, capitalizes on the attitudinal and behavioral strengths of both masculine and feminine sex-role expectations and thus brings about the most socially desirable consequences for women.⁴ These, in turn, become the bases for their self-esteem.

Another possible reason for a low correlation is that, for today's women, affiliation might still be a need but not a highly valued one because of social pressure. Especially since the Women's Liberation Movement the need to affiliate has lost ground to the need to achieve, with which it frequently seems to be in conflict.⁵ This is especially true of women in college and hence many in this sample, whose need for achievement is likely to increase, first as they pursue higher education and then as they complete it.⁶ It is also true of slightly younger females, Gurney found, for high school females in his sample who got work experienced a significant increase in self-esteem whereas their male counterparts did not.⁷ It seems that women are now "more willing to

⁵Matina Horner, "Toward an Understanding of Achievement-Related Conflicts in Women," <u>Journal of Social Issues</u> 28-2 (1972):157-175.

⁶B. G. Lipinski, "Sex-Role Conflict and Achievement Motivation in College Women," (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cincinnati), <u>Dis</u>-<u>sertation Abstracts</u> 26-9 (1966):4077B; Agnes A. O'Connell, "The Decision To Return To College: Role Concepts, Personality, Attitudes, and Significant Others," <u>Sex Roles</u> 3-3 (1977):239.

⁴J. T. Spence, R. Helmreich, and J. Stapp, "Ratings of Self and Peers on Sex Role Attributes and Their Relation to Self-Esteem and Conceptions of Masculinity and Femininity," <u>Journal of Personality and</u> <u>Social Psychology</u> 32 (March 1975):29-39.

⁷Ross Gurney, "Does Unemployment Affect the Self-Esteem of School Leavers?" <u>Australian Journal of Psychology</u> 32-3 (1980):181.

recognize that achievement may be female appropriate as well as male appropriate."⁸

A third possible reason for a low correlation is that the Jackson Personality Inventory, like other personality inventories, is not refined enough to measure either those aspects of self-esteem that focus on feeling valued because of being loved and having love accepted or those aspects of need affiliation that focus on the warm, close interpersonal relationships that the phrase emphasizes in this study.⁹

Finally, perhaps because of greater awareness of the unique potential of the individual, women in this sample base their self-esteem more on living in accordance with their values and attaining their personal goals than on establishing and maintaining satisfying affiliative relationships.¹⁰ Indeed, Lunneborg and Rosenwood found today's women to be intent upon finding their identity, growing in self-awareness, and defining their personal goals, be they in the realm of affiliation, achievement, or a fusion of the two.¹¹ It may even be that this phenomenon is invalidating the achievement versus affiliation argument.¹²

⁸T. G. Alper, "Achievement Motivation in College Women," <u>American</u> <u>Psychologist</u> 29-3 (1974):202.

¹⁰For a fuller discussion of this possibility see Stanley Coopersmith, <u>The Antecedents of Self-Esteem</u> (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Co., 1967), pp. 38-39.

¹¹P. W. Lunneborg and L. M. Rosenwood, "Need Affiliation and Achievement: Declining Sex Differences," <u>Psychological Reports</u> 31 (1972):797.

¹²Victor Paul Kelemen, "Achievement and Affiliation: A Motivational Perspective of Sex Differences," <u>Social Behavior and Personality</u> 8 (1980):11.

⁹Wylie, 1979, p. 660.

Hypothesis 2

The results of Hypothesis 2 testing revealed a low positive correlation between self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation for the total group and for subgroups of women neither married nor mothers, as expected. There was no significant correlation in the married mothers subgroups, however, though a trend toward a positive correlation was revealed in the older married mothers subgroup. The fact that the correlation between self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation was slightly higher than that between self-esteem and need to affiliate in the total group as well as the subgroup supports Bardwick's theory that it is gratification of need affiliation, not simply need affiliation, that affects levels of self-esteem. It also corroborates Youngleson's findings that a great need to affiliate can result in lower self-esteem if social deprivation occurs.¹³

It is possible that the lowness or insignificance of the correlation between self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation reflects the NSS-II's intended objective: to assess the needs of an adolescent population, in contrast to the adult population of this study. Perhaps it also reflects the necessity of gratifying many needs, rather than the one need to affiliate, in order to attain high self-esteem.

The positive nature of the correlation also reflects findings regarding sensitivity to rejection, a phenomenon which is independent of

¹³Martin Youngleson, "The Need to Affiliate and Self-Esteem in Institutionalized Children," <u>Journal of Personality and Social Psychol-</u> ogy 26 (May 1973):280-286.

the need to affiliate.¹⁴ If a woman is too sensitive to rejection or threatened by rejection, she will, by that very fact, not gratify her need for affiliation,¹⁵ no matter its motivational strength.¹⁶ In fact, as Mehrabian explained, her anxiety about being rejected will induce discomfort in others and elicit from them negative rather than positive attitudes and consequently increase the likelihood of their performing non-affiliative behaviors.¹⁷ This, of course, will result in low selfesteem in the sensitive person. Furthermore, at least in his twelfth grade student sample, Krishnan found higher sensitivity to rejection among females than among males.¹⁸

Failure to find significance in the married mothers subgroups supports the conjecture that gratification of other needs is playing a more important role in these subgroups than gratification of need

¹⁴Albert Mehrabian, "The Development and Validation of Measures of Affiliative Tendency and Sensitivity to Rejection," <u>Educational and</u> Psychological Measurement 30 (1970):427.

¹⁵R. M. Sorrentino and B. H. Sheppard, "Effects of Affiliation-Related Motives on Swimmers in Individual Versus Group Competition: A Field Experiment," <u>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</u> 36 (July 1978):705.

¹⁶Ironically several studies show that low self-esteem is correlated with intense feelings. J. E. Dittes, "Attractiveness of Group as Function of Self-Esteem and Acceptance by Group," <u>Abnormal and Social</u> <u>Psychology</u> 59 (1959):77.

¹⁷Albert Mehrabian, "Questionnaire Measures of Affiliative Tendency and Sensitivity to Rejection," <u>Psychological Reports</u> 38-1 (1976): 206.

¹⁸A. Krishnan, "The Relationship of Motive To Avoid Success and Selected Socio-Cultural Variables to Resultant Achievement Motivation in Twelfth Graders," (Doctoral dissertation, Kent State University), <u>Dis</u>sertation Abstracts 36-11 (1975):7298A.

affiliation. Perhaps for the young married mothers, bearing and raising a child is fulfilling need achievement much more than need affiliation. Bardwick herself said that motherhood was a real achievement and a critical life task.¹⁹ Perhaps for the older married mothers, gratifying the need for self-actualization is a slightly greater determinant of self-esteem than gratifying the need for affiliation. In fact, in responding to the NSS-II, very few older married mothers complained that they had no chance to see their best friend or did not belong to a caring community, as did the younger women. The fact that the selfactualizing need is only slightly greater, of course, accounts for the trend toward a significant correlation between self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation.

It is also possible that locus of control is contributing significantly to variance in self-esteem. Married mothers who affiliate closely with children and adolescents might have less of a sense of control over these relationships than might women who relate primarily with adults, for the latter's attitudes and behaviors are more stable, more predictable, and less extreme. With relatively less internal locus of control, perhaps married mothers, and especially young married mothers, are less prone to let their self-esteem be affected by the degree to which they seem to be gratifying their need to affiliate. In fact, locus of control has been found to account for 11% of the variance of

¹⁹Judith M. Bardwick, <u>Psychology of Women: A Study of Bio-Cul-</u> <u>tural Conflicts</u> (Evanston, IL: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), pp. 211-212.

self-esteem in adolescents.²⁰ with internal locus of control correlating with high self-esteem and feelings of power.²¹ By contrast, the selfesteem of older women neither married nor mothers is significantly affected by the degree to which their need to affiliate is gratified. Perhaps these women, who are Religious, have been culturally conditioned to devalue their needs to achieve, to exercise power, and to attain status; their life of professed poverty, humility, and obedience has not been consonant with them. Perhaps, too, these women are more conscious of the degree to which they are actually loving and being loved because certain aspects of their lifestyle have lessened the chances that their affiliative needs will be met in the natural course of events. Thev have vowed celibacy; they have experienced separation from their families; and, in general, they have not been able to decide with whom they will live and work. Hence, the degree to which they actually experience love might be playing a significant part in their experience of selfworth.

Hypothesis 3

Unexpectedly, it seemed to make no significant difference in level of self-esteem and level of gratification of need affiliation, taken singly or together, which person or persons became women's

²⁰R. P. Roe, "The Relationship between Self-Esteem and Conceptual Systems Considering the Variables of Sex, Age, IQ Score, and Locus of Control in an Adolescent Sample," (Doctoral dissertation, University of North Colorado), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 41-5 (1980):1895B.

²¹A. L. Javitch, "Perceptions of Power and Its Relation to Self-Esteem, Sex, Sex-Role Stereotyping and Locus of Control," (Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 41-7 (1981):2764B.

primary affiliators, though women who affiliated primarily with a child or adolescent had a slightly higher level of gratification of need affiliation. These results suggest that it is the affiliation process itself that makes one feel worthwhile, rather than the affiliator as a member of a particular sex or age. The value of the affiliator, as personally or societally determined, is not important compared to the positive feelings experienced in the course of the affiliative relationship. The results also suggest that no one or two categories of persons are as influential as popular theories purport.

When the four affiliators in this study are considered individually, the advantages of relating to one rather than the others seem to be balanced by the disadvantages, cancelling out the superiority of one person over the others in terms of his or her contribution to selfesteem.

On the one hand, for example, the adult woman remembers her mother as the earliest, most complete, and most immediate gratifier of her needs, the one on whom she could always rely for love and security. On the other hand, the adult woman remembers her mother as an authority figure prone to restrict, frustrate, and deny equality, even when her daughter is herself an adult and possibly even a mother. Indeed, Rothbart and Maccoby found that mothers were more likely to allow aggression toward themselves from their sons than from their daughters and less acceptant of comfort-seeking in their daughters, perhaps, because bombardment by social devaluation of women. If women are not conscious of this prejudice underlying men's opinions of them, it is likely that they will suffer from low self-esteem at the hands of their male affiliators. Unemployed women will be especially vulnerable, Baruch and Barnett found, for they are considerably more sensitive than their employed counterparts to their husbands' attitudes.²⁵

In addition, unemployed women, and even some who are employed, are usually dependent upon their husbands, financially and, in some cases, even legally. It is not surprising, then, to find Joslin concluding at the end of her study of white working-class women whose marriages provided the means of attaining middle-class status: "Threats to self-esteem . . . are generated by dependence upon and inequality with one's husband . . . "²⁶

Relating primarily to a child has its advantages and disadvantages also. Children are needy and dependent and consequently gratify women's needs to nurture and to engage in meaningful activity. Furthermore, children are usually more demonstrative of love and affection than are adults and thus give clear and potent positive feedback to their mothers or teachers. It is very likely that this is the reason women who relate primarily to a child have a slightly higher level of

²⁵Grace K. Baruch and Rosalind Barnett, <u>Involvement in Multiple</u> <u>Roles and the Well-Being of Adult Women (Bethesda, MD: ERIC Document</u> <u>Reproduction Service, ED 187 608, 1979).</u>

²⁶D. Joslin, "Working-Class Daughters, Middle-Class Wives: Social Identity and Self-Esteem Among Women Upwardly Mobile Through Marriage," (Doctoral dissertation, New York University), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 39-6 (1979): 2925A.

gratification of need affiliation than other women.

On the other hand, children are equally prone to lower their mother's and teacher's self-esteem, not only by misbehaving and thereby incurring society's disapproval, but also by providing negative feedback as blunt and potent as that which is positive. This negative feedback, in turn, results in low self-esteem.²⁷

Moreover, children's instability and unpredictability as well as their self-determination and responsiveness to countless stimuli other than their mother or teacher serve to increase the latter's feelings of powerlessness and heighten their sense of an external locus of control. This results in lower self-esteem and lower gratification of need affiliation.

Similarly, when a woman relates primarily to adolescents, she gratifies her need to be needed and to perform a meaningful nurturant function. But she also receives negative feedback, at times from society, at times from the adolescents themselves, regarding her performance and worth as a mother or teacher or authority figure. In addition, when the adolescents become conscious of their right to self-determination, they usually act in such a way that the women in authority over them are made to feel powerless and ineffectual.

Finally, disadvantages nullify the advantages of relating primarily to another woman, exclusive of one's own mother. On the positive side are equality and ease in showing empathy, which is greater than

²⁷K. W. Christian, "Aspects of the Self-Concept Related to Level of Self-Esteem," <u>Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology</u> 46 (October 1978):1151-1152.

that felt toward the opposite sex,²⁸ as well as mutual interests, mutual concerns, and mutual goals. On the negative side are the impact of social devaluation of the affiliator's sex, competition in areas of life scarcely open to women, fear that the relatively few opportunities for advancement will be seized by a kindred spirit, and envy when another women succeeds. Furthermore, losing out to another woman is a particularly painful experience because women receive less competitive socialization than men and consequently find it harder to lose.²⁹

The results of the extraneous hypothesis related to Hypothesis 3 seem to support this explanation. All basic needs are gratified less when another woman, rather than a mother, child, or male, is the woman's primary affiliator. Assuming that neither physiological nor physical safety and security needs are distinguishing variables, one surmises that neither affiliative nor esteem needs are being satisfactorily met because of feminine envy, jealousy, and either eagerness to devaluate another woman in order to get ahead or subtle hatred of her because she has.

Hypothesis 4

Results from tests of Hypothesis 4 revealed that though maritalmaternal status significantly affected level of self-esteem, age did not do so. Contrary to the recent findings of Baruch, Barnett, and

²⁸W. Olesker and L. Balter, "Sex and Empathy," <u>Journal of Coun</u>-<u>seling Psychology</u> 19-6 (1972):561.

²⁹Sherryl Connelly, "As Women Gain in Job World, Envy Often is Their Reward," <u>Chicago Tribu</u>ne, 28 December 1980, sec. 12, p. 3.

Rivers,³⁰ older women did not experience an increase in self-esteem that could then distinguish them from the younger women; and contrary to the findings of Birnbaum,³¹ neither the older married women experienced a significant decrease in self-esteem nor the older unmarried non-mothers, a significant increase. The results did reveal, however, a trend toward higher self-esteem in younger women.

Failure to find a significant relationship between age and selfesteem might be explained by the fact that the women in this study are all within the active span of years and in good health and therefore not subject to the debilities and deprivations of the infirm and the elderly. As adults, the women are beyond the age of unstable and easily affected self-esteem, beyond the height of adolescence, an often difficult time to gratify affiliative needs. Their need to maintain the self-esteem they have acquired has become greater than their need to gratify affiliative needs, with the result that failure to gratify those needs can no longer significantly lower the level of gratification nor can gratifying them significantly raise it. As Jones explains in his defense of self-consistency theory over self-esteem theory: people have ways of ignoring new information that is inconsistent with their evaluation of self, with the result that they confirm or maintain their

³⁰Grace Baruch, Rosalind Barnett, and Caryl Rivers, "A New Lease on (Mid) Life," Chicago Tribune, 28 December 1980, sec. 12, p. 1.

³¹J. A. Birnbaum, "Life Patterns and Self-Esteem in Gifted Family-Oriented and Career-Committed Women," <u>Women and Achievement: Social</u> <u>and Motivational Analyses</u>, ed. M. Mednich, S. Tangri, and L. Hoffman, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), p. 397.

level of self-esteem.³² They reorganize cognitively in order to protect their self-esteem,³³ using a variety of ways of handling feedback so as to keep their level of self-esteem,³⁴ In particular, those with high self-esteem use denial defenses when confronted with negative feedback, and those with low self-esteem use expressive defenses, especially sensitization, when confronted with positive feedback.³⁵

Marital-maternal status, on the other hand, does seem to affect self-esteem: those who are married have significantly higher selfesteem than those who are not. Though as a group they neither have a significantly higher need to affiliate nor gratify that need to a significantly higher degree, they seem to be gratifying one or more of the other needs on which self-esteem is based to a greater extent than women neither married nor mothers. Perhaps it is their need to achieve, for Bardwick herself clearly explains that motherhood satisfies both the need for affiliation and the need for achievement, indeed that it is one of the greatest achievements of a woman. In addition, perhaps the demands of home and family have made married mothers more realistic in their expectations of themselves. Unable to strive for perfection and

³²S. C. Jones, "Self and Interpersonal Evaluations: Esteem Theories Versus Consistency Theories," <u>Psychological Bulletin</u> 79 (1973):192.

³³B. M. Spillman, "Cognitive Dissonance, Self-Esteem, and the Process of Self-Persuasion," (Doctoral dissertation, University of Utah), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 35-3 (1974):1776A.

³⁴L. Edward Wells and Gerald Marwell, <u>Self-Esteem: Its Conception</u> <u>and Measurement</u> (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976), p. 205.

³⁵A. R. Cohen, "Some Implications of Self-Esteem for Social Influence, <u>Personality and Persuasibility</u>, ed. C. I. Hovland and I. L. Janis, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959), pp. 84-103. demand it of others in the way that those who co-exist only with adults are prone to do, married mothers have learned to compromise, to lower their goals in order to permit their adoption by children, and to be satisfied with less-than-optimal results. Their unmarried counterparts, on the other hand, are freer to set self-centered and stringent goals and are especially inclined to pursue them if attaining a college education and enjoying popularity are their sole concerns.

If one looks at the near significant interactive effect and t test results, another explanation is possible. Age and marital-maternal status are interacting to the extent that those in the Older nMnM subgroup have a lower level of self-esteem than do those in the other three subgroups. Interestingly, this subgroup is composed of Religious women, whose lifestyle is presumed to approximate Chodorow's ideal matrifocal society, at least in its essentials. Perhaps, of course, it does not. Perhaps economic and decision-making power are held by a few, rather than the majority, with resultant feelings of powerlessness on the part of the latter. Perhaps need for achievement is not being gratified in ways meaningful to the individuals due to commitments to institutions taking precedence over the women's professional preferences and needs. Perhaps frequent change in worksites precludes a sense of completion in any one effort, or gender-differentiating roles prevent the women from doing that which they were most gifted to do. Perhaps selfactualization needs are not being satisfactorily gratified as a result of inappropriate social structures. Indeed, Stones concluded that "women might have lower self-esteem if they are constrained by social structures and gender-differentiated roles unique to small and isolated

societies."³⁶ Perhaps need for affiliation is being gratified only by members of the same sex or only by adults, leaving unfulfilled some of the more subtle aspects of need affiliation. In fact, 33% of the Religious women in the study revealed that they did not have close friends of the opposite sex, compared with 15% in the Young nMnM subgroup and 9% in the MM subgroups.³⁷

Perhaps the ideal of perfection is making unrealistic demands on the Religious women, causing them to feel that they are not measuring up to their full potential. And finally, perhaps due to a distorted view of the virtue of humility, the women have become accustomed to regarding themselves as of little or no value and certainly not superior to others. Perhaps, indeed, Chodorow's ideal matrifocal society is either difficult to achieve or fraught with problems.

The self-esteem of the Religious women is not extremely low, however. This is probably due to the Religious women's having a purpose in life, enjoying an intrinsic religious orientation, and making a vocational commitment to God and the Church, three factors which have recently been found to be bases of self-esteem.³⁸

³⁶Christopher Stones, "Authoritarianism and Self-Esteem Among White Rhodesian (Zimbabwean) and South African Students," <u>Journal of</u> <u>Psychology</u> 107 (1981):20.

 $^{^{37}}$ This was revealed in the NSS-II, question 62.

³⁸B. L. Mostul, "The Relationship of Ambiguity Tolerance to Trait Anxiety, Self-Esteem, Purpose in Life, and Religious Orientation," (Doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 41-7 (1981):2738B; D. W. Gold, "Disadvantaged Women's Ego Identity Status as Related to Achievement, Self-Esteem, and Demographic Information," (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 41-6 (1980):2320B.

Hypothesis 5

Results of tests of Hypothesis 5 revealed a significant main effect of age on need to affiliate, with younger women having a greater need to affiliate than older women. This finding is in keeping with Bardwick's theory of older married women's having a greater need to achieve than to affiliate; Kelemen's discovery of a significantly higher need to affiliate among younger females, in comparison with older females;³⁹ and Atchley's finding that retired women do not increase social participation to the same degree that retired men do.⁴⁰ Younger women in the sample, for example, complained to a greater extent than older women that they neither had a chance to see their closest friend nor belonged to a caring community.⁴¹

It is possible that younger women have a greater need to affiliate because either their relative insecurity in social realms prompts them to place a high priority on intimate and/or numerous interpersonal contacts or their delight with newfound permanent commitments, especially with husband⁴² and child, makes them value their affiliative relationships above other things in life.

⁴¹This was revealed in the NSS-II, questions 14 and 15.

 4^{2} In the NSS--II, question 62, more than 15% of the young women neither married nor mothers revealed they did not have close friends of the opposite sex; only 9% of the young married mothers said the same.

³⁹Victor Paul Kelemen, "Achievement and Affiliation: A Motivational Perspective of Sex Differences," <u>Social Behavior and Personality</u> 8 (1980):8.

⁴⁰R. C. Atchley, "Selected Social and Psychological Differences Between Men and Women in Later Life," <u>Journal of Gerontology</u> 31 (March 1977(:204.

Older women, on the other hand, are perhaps more secure in their affiliative relationships and can therefore afford to direct their attention to gratifying their needs for achievement in impersonal realms, power and prestige, and self-actualization. If they are not secure in their affiliative relationships, perhaps they are weary of trying, less idealistic, or egocentric, due to repeated disappointment.

By contrast, marital-maternal status does not seem to affect need to affiliate. Neither does an interaction between age and maritalmaternal status. It is neither the married state and experience of motherhood nor the unmarried state and inexperience of motherhood that affect a woman's need to love and be loved. Be she relatively secure in affiliative relationships with husband and child or relatively free to choose any affiliators she wishes, she will experience a heightened need to affiliate simply because she is young or a lowered need to affiliate simply because she is older.

Conclusions

1. The results of this study are supportive of previous findings of a low correlation between self-esteem and need to affiliate. They also lend minimal support to Bardwick's distinction between need affiliation and gratification of need affiliation, for correlations between levels of self-esteem and levels of need to affiliate are slightly lower than those between self-esteem and gratification of need affiliation. Failure to give stronger support may be due to the intended population of the NSS--II, adolescents rather than adults; to the relatively small size of the subgroups; to the definitions of self-esteem and need to affiliate on which the JPI was based; and to the self-report nature of the instruments used. This failure might also be due to the impact of the Women's Liberation Movement, which has increased women's awareness of other needs on which self-esteem might be based, especially among the sample's college-educated women. If this impact is true, it might be more important than ever before in the history of woman to help her acquire the necessary skills to break out of the structures that have kept her dependent on her affiliative relationships alone. The woman "who [denies] the need to achieve and [defers] it to the need to nurture and affiliate will have to take steps to meet the need to achieve if full psychological development is to be attained,"⁴³ The results of the study are not supportive of either Bardwick's or

2. The results of the study are not supportive of either Bardwick's or Chodorow's theories of the importance of specific affiliative relationships. Rather, they seem to suggest that particular affiliators, as representatives of a particular age and/or sex, are not as important as purported. The advantages of relating to any category of persons seem to be balanced by the disadvantages, leaving no one affiliative relationship superior to the others. With this in mind, though, it is interesting to find the Older nMnM subgroup, which has the lowest level of self-esteem, reporting lack of close friendship with the opposite sex; and the MM subgroups having self-esteem significantly higher than women neither married nor mothers. To reach

⁴³ Marie Lebewohl, "The Effect of Participation in an Internship Program on the Self-Esteem of Adult Women," (Doctoral dissertation, Boston College), <u>Dissertation Abstracts</u> 41-2 (1980):555A.

optimal self-esteem, it seems, a woman must not only gratify her need to affiliate but also affiliate both with her own sex and the opposite sex. Perhaps it is also true that a woman benefits from affiliators of her own age as well as those of other ages.

- 3. This research underscores the necessity of meeting the needs of older Religious women: their affiliative needs because these women base more of their self-esteem on gratification of affiliative needs than do women in general, all their needs because these women experience significantly less self-esteem than do women in general.
- 4. The results of this study also suggest that younger women must be allowed to affiliate to a greater extent than older women. They must not be so burdened by the cares and responsibilities of childrearing that they have neither time nor energy to enjoy the company of other adults or to engage in self-fulfilling activities.
- 5. Finally, because in general only small portions of variance in self-esteem seem to be accounted for by the need to affiliate and/or gratification of that need, women should endeavor, and be helped to endeavor, to gratify their other needs. They must find ways of excelling in activities and/or employment outside the home, sharing in meaningful decision-making, realizing their full potential as unique and gifted human beings, and living in accordance with the values they have come to cherish.

Recommendations for Further Research

 For the sake of confirming the results, this study should be replicated.

- 2. Changes in the design might also be helpful in studying Bardwick's and Chodorow's theories. Specifically, married mothers might be compared with unmarried mothers and married women who are not mothers; young Religious women might be compared with older Religious women and with women, young and older, who are neither married nor mothers nor members of a Religious order; professional women might be compared with homemakers and with women who have combined a career with homemaking; women with less than a college education might be compared with college-educated women; and women in one kind of Religious order might be compared with those in another.
- 3. It would also be interesting to compare men with women in various age and marital-status categories as well as to include fathers in the list of potential primary affiliators.
- 4. In future studies gratification of need affiliation should be measured by an instrument designed for adults; and need for affiliation should be measured by an instrument that is more heavily based on interpersonal affect than on social participation.
- 5. Future research should explore the relative effect gratification of needs other than need to affiliate has on levels of self-esteem.
- 6. Finally, it is important that definitions of self-esteem be furthur refined so that the term becomes as accurate and inclusive as possible. In addition, it is important that instruments measuring self-esteem be further validated.

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APPENDIX A

RANK ORDER FORM

RANK ORDER FORM

Reflect upon your relationships with the following persons and upon yourself as a person who has loved and been loved.

Than rank order the relationships in terms of their contribution to your loving and feeling loved. (Place (a) through (g) beside the numbers, with (l) being high).

If two relationships seem equal, choose the one that is slightly more meaningful.

Be sure to rank the relationships, not as you think they should have been, but as they actually have been.

It makes no difference when the relationships existed or whether they still exist.

(a)	My relationship with my mother or mother surrogate.	Rank Order	Letters
(b)	father surrogate.	(1)	
		(2)	
(c)		(3)	
(d)	d) My relationship with God or other spiritual being.	(4)	
		(5)	
(e)	My relationship with my husband or man other than my father/father surrogate.	(6)	
(f)	My relationship with myself.	(7)	
(a)	My relationship with a woman other than		

(g) My relationship with a woman other than my mother/mother surrogate.

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC-BIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET

Birthdate	Race	Ethnic origin	
<u>Marital State</u> Marrie		2nd marriage 3rd marriage	
	ed and not remarri		
Separa	ated		
Single	e: a Religious	Never married but not a Religious	
Child	ildren ren:	No grandchildren or "foster" children Grandchildren or "foster" children: Age Sex Age Sex	
Profession on	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Dates</u> since	
Past	····		-
1030 -		from till	
		fromtill	-
Education The hi	ighest level of edu	ucation I have attained:	
Parents or Gu	lardians		
Natura	al mother: Still	l living, age Dead since	_
	a woman guardian, ly	stepmother, or other surrogate mother: from when I was till when I was	
ľ	(relationship t		
		iving, age . She has been dead since	•~
l,	ly (relationship t	from when I wastill when I was	-
		iving, age She has been dead since	
Natura	al father: Still	l living, age Dead since	
	a man guardian, st ly	tepfather, or other surrogate father:	
•	(relationship	from when I wastill when I wasto me)	
	He is still li	iving, age . He has been dead since	
Μ	ly(relationship	from when I wastill when I was	-
		iving, age He has been dead since	
Husband's Pro	ofession or Occupat	cion:	

(Please use the reverse side for any answer if need be.)

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APPENDIX C

SAMPLE ITEMS FROM JACKSON PERSONALITY INVENTORY

SAMPLE ITEMS FROM THE JACKSON PERSONALITY INVENTORY

Directions: Read each statement and decide whether or not it describes you. Then indicate your answer on the separate sheet.

If you agree with a statement or decide that it does describe you, answer TRUE. If you disagree with a statement or feel that it is not descriptive of you, answer FALSE.

<u>Answer every statement</u> either true or false, even if you are not completely sure of your answer.

- 13. I only telephone friends when there is something important to discuss.
- 27. I am usually guite confident when learning a new game or sport.
- 55. I am so sensitive to the moods of my friends that I can almost feel what they are feeling.
- 61. I enjoy group activities more than the things I do by myself.
- 75. I am not the type of person one remembers after one meeting.
- 87. I would like to spend a great deal of my time helping less fortunate people.
- 151. I am quite affectionate toward people.
- 167. I have no patience with someone who is just looking for a shoulder to cry on.
- 187. I enjoy stating my opinions in front of a group.
- 269. I don't need the company of others to be happy.
- 283. I am able to talk intelligently to people in a wide variety of occupations.
- 285. Rather than spend an evening by myself, I would invite a neighbor in to talk.
- 299. I prefer to go to social functions with a group of people so as not to stand out.

- 311. I get embarrassed for a speaker who makes a mistake.
- 317. At a social event, I like to get around and talk to all the guests.

Jackson Personality Inventory. Copyright 1976 by Douglas N. Jackson.

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APPENDIX D

NEED SATISFACTION SCHEDULE--II

 Date______Age_____Grede_____Race____School______

 Parents' marital status (check one--''''')': Together I separated I divorced I widowed I

 Father's highest education level: 0-5th grade I 6-12th grade I high school degree I college degree I graduate degree I

 Mother's highest education level: 0-5th grade I 6-12th grade I high school degree I college degree I graduate degree I

 Mother's highest education level: 0-5th grade I 6-12th grade I high school degree I college degree I graduate degree I

 Major source of (family income: Father's earnings I mother's earnings I public assistance I other I

 Original

 How many people live In your home?______

INSTRUCTIONS: For each question, choose only one answer—"yes" or "no." There are no right or wrong answers. Place an "X" in the column which best answers the question for you. If you are not sure about an item, answer it the way you usually think or feel. Please read each item carefully. Do not skip any questions, if you wish to change your answer, draw a circle around your first "X" and mark a new "X" in the other box.

NSS-II

BY DONALD J. LOLLAR, Ed.D., AND STANLEY J. SMITS, Ph.D.

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SUMS				
2	3	4	TNS	
	2	2 3	2 3 4	

		YES	NO
	o you have close friends of he same sex?		
	Do you feel safe around vater?		
	to your friends show you hat they care?		
	Do you feel close to several ormer classmates?		
g	f you were told you were not joing to live here anymore, s there anyone here you yould miss?		
n g	Do you feel safe when neeting a stranger or when joing into a place that you aven't been before?		
	Do you typically get enough exercise?		
	Can you look back on your accomplishments with pride?		
	Are you bothered with hysical problems?		
0	s the place you live usually comfortable in terms of emperature?		
	o most people you know ike you?		
	Do you often feel weak all over?		
13. D	Do you sleep well?		
t	Do you have a chance to see he person you think is your closest or best friend?		
	Do you feel part of a caring community?		
v	Can you generally predict what is going to happen to ou from day to day?		
0	s the area in which you live ften afflicted with tor- adoes or hurricanes?		
	o people usually respect ou?		
	fost people are better than ne.		
20 D	o you feel important?		

		YES	NO
21.	If you had a problem, is there anyone who likes you enough to help you with it?		
22.	Are you loved by your parents?		
23.	Do you often experience shortness of breath?		
24.	Do people pay much atten- tion to you?		
25.	Do you often have difficulty in keeping your balance?		
26.	Are you able to handle your fears after you've learned something about them?		
27.	Do you have confidence that you can usually do the things that people ask you to do?		
28.	Do you wish there could be someone physically with you for protection?		
29.	Is your hearing adequate?		
30.	Is your appetite good?		
31.	Things never seem to work out well for me.		
32-	Is it necessary for you to share a bed due to over- crowded conditions?		
33.	Is there someone who really loves you or cares about you?	D	
34.	Is your eyesight adequate?		
35.	Are you making progress toward getting the things you'd like to get out of life?	۵	
36.	Are you doing anything that is important to you?		
37.	Do you have difficulty making decisions for fear of being a failure?		
38.	Do you engage in any work that is dangerous?		
39.	Is there someone you can trust enough to talk to about yourself?		
40.	Are you afraid you might die before your time?		۵

	D	YES	NO
41.	Do you sometimes have problems with your balance?		
42.	Are there two or more people who like you enough to in- clude you as a member of a group?		
43.	Do you have the love of your siblings; that is, your brothers and/or sisters?		
44.	Do you often wish you were more respected by others?		
45.	Is there someone who believes you like them?		
46.	Do people give you recogni- tion for the things you do?		
47.	Do you usually get enough sleep?		
48.	If you do something for somebody else, do you get credit for it?		
49.	Are you in good health?		
50.	Can you disagree with others without fear of getting physically hurt by them?		
51.	Is there anything you can think of that you can do well?		
52.	Are you involved in activities that are meaningful to you?		
53.	Do you frequently have an upset stomach?		
54_	Do you have a strong attach- ment to your hometown foot- ball team?		
55.	Is there anyone that you are afraid might beat you up?		
56.	I have to work to believe I am a worthwhile individual.		
57.	Do people see you as shar- ing values similar to theirs?		
58.	Do you often travel under hazardous conditions?		
59.	Do you fear others will take advantage of you; that is, cheat you out of your possessions?		
60.	At times do you feel worthless?		

61. Are you happy with yourself?	YES	NO □
62. Do you have close friends of the opposite sex?	0	
63. Does your food digest properly?		
64. Is there anyone who might try to cut you with a knife?		
65. Do you know what to do in order to keep from getting hurt or injured?		
66. Do you like most of the people you know?		
67. Have you missed a meal during the last week because there wasn't enough food for you?		
68. Are you sometimes made to do something you think is wrong?		
69. Are you doing as well in school as you think you should?		
70. Do you feel safe while at home?		
71. Would you rather be like someone else?		
72. Are you often afraid of being hurt by burglars or muggers?		
73. Do you feel secure in high places?		
74. Is there anyone who would wake you up if a fire broke out while you were asleep?		
75. Is the food you eat nutri- tional; that is, good for you?		
76. Do you perspire too much?		
77. Do you have as many friends as you'd like?	۵	
78. Does your body require medication to function normally?		
79. Do your siblings (brothers and/or sisters) believe you like them?		
80. Do you feel safe walking in your neighborhood?		

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Sister M. Judith Ann Schaeffer has been read and approved by the following committee:

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation, and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy.

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v. a. Helin,