Affiliation and achievement needs of never-married women thirty and over.

Donald George. Deathe

University of Windsor

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UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

AFFILIATION AND ACHIEVEMENT NEEDS
OF NEVER-MARRIED WOMEN
THIRTY AND OVER

by

Donald George Deathe
and
Julie Sibley Farrell

A research project presented to the School of Social Work of the University of Windsor in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Work

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1979
RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Dr. P. Kumar Chatterjee   Chairman
Prof. Maq Harman   Member
Dr. Robert Whitehurst   Member
AFFILIATION AND ACHIEVEMENT NEEDS OF NEVER-
MARRIED WOMEN THIRTY AND OVER

by

Donald George Beath

and

Julie Sibley Farrell

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore affiliation and achievement needs of never-married women and to de-
mystify two of the most common stereotypes applied to never-married women—that they are "career women" and "lonely losers." The "career woman" stereotype is based on the assumption that women who have careers and do not marry are abnormally achievement oriented compared to "normal" women; the "lonely loser" stereotype implies that they are inferior to other women because they do not have "normal" affiliative relations, i.e., husbands and children.

In order to test these stereotypes in a scientific way, the researchers developed three research questions: (1) Do the achievement and affiliation needs of never-married women differ significantly from those of married women, (2) Do the affiliation patterns of never-married women differ from those of married women, and (3) What
are some of the factors that contribute to the development of achievement and affiliation needs.

In response to the first research question, the researchers tested subsamples of married and never-married women matched according to age, socio-economic status, religious background, and education using the Adjective Check List, a standardized personality inventory measuring, among other things, need for Affiliation and need for Achievement. Results showed that never-married and married women had similar levels of need for Achievement and for Affiliation. In addition, the scores for achievement and affiliation showed a low positive correlation which suggested that some theories of feminine psychology which cast achievement and affiliation need in opposition to each other in the lives of women should be re-examined.

The second research question was explored through interviewing their subjects on the amount and type of affiliation they experienced in their lives. Both groups experienced the same amount of affiliation as measured on the Affiliation Index, but different patterns of affiliation were revealed. Married women had more affiliative ties to their home and family and to family-oriented organizations. Never-married women experienced more meaningful affiliation through their jobs and friends.

The researchers found that several important factors
in the development of achievement were suggested. These included atmosphere in childhood homes, expectations of parents, and presence of models.

The researchers concluded that no evidence was found to support the stereotypes on the basis of abnormal levels of needs for Achievement or Affiliation. Persistence of stereotypes may be caused by social desire for maintenance of status quo, fear of the unknown, and the fact that never-married women have affiliation and achievement patterns different from those of other women.

Recommendations for further research and implications for social work and the general public were suggested.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank Dr. Kumar Chatterjee, 
Mae Harman, and Dr. Robert Whitehurst of the Sociology 
Department, for sitting on our committee. We would also 
like to thank Bev Hunter for helping to launch the study, 
the women who gave of their time to participate in it, 
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Laila, for seeing their mother through.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Our society has established motherhood and matrimony as the centrally significant institutions in the lives of its women. The all-American dream of young girls has traditionally been to have a husband and children and to amass an ever-growing accumulation of material possessions. Generally, it is believed that, in the middle-class domestic setting, a woman's "natural" penchant for nurturing and her prodigious need to love and to be loved can best be met.

In such a society the never-married woman—the woman who through choice or chance passes beyond the "marriageable age" still single—is an anomaly. Her lifestyle is a mystery to all but her closest friends, and her social role is generally uncertain. Due to the lack of factual information about her, a plethora of myths has tended to surround her psychological make-up, mental health, and social behaviour.

It is the purpose of this study to unveil some of these mysteries by applying scientific methodology to discover the validity of those stereotypes for never-married women which suggest that they have abnormal
achievement and affiliation needs.

Like other so-called deviants, the never-married woman is often the victim of prejudice. Her deviant marital status and single lifestyle causes many "normals" (married people) either to show her an unusually high measure of concern and tolerance or to subject her to outright rejection or devaluation. In other words, the never-married woman is apt to be treated as a threat to or as an object of pity by the married community.

Such ambivalent feelings and biased attitudes, arising from a lack of knowledge about the true nature of the never-married woman and her life, have engendered and supported a system of stereotypes through which the society pretends to know and understand its never-married female members. Through the "career woman" stereotype, it suggests that never-married women do not possess the same need for love and tenderness as other women (lack of affiliation need) and are thus capable of extreme competitiveness (an over-developed need for achievement) in the business world. Further, they are capable of threatening the marital bliss of married people through their sexual aggressiveness. At the opposite attitudinal pole is the stereotype of the "lonely loser." Here, society sees never-married women as having the same affiliation and achievement needs as their married counterparts, but as somehow incapable of having these needs met. This lack
of need satisfaction happens, according to the stereotype, due to a personal inadequacy—usually looks or personality—that has, alas, rendered "lonely losers" unloveable, unmarriageable, and lonely.

The authors of this report, hereafter referred to as the "researchers," believe that it is important for these myths and misunderstandings to be dispelled through scientific investigation and accurate reporting so that the prejudices against never-married women can be replaced by factual information. If, by and large, these women are the psychological misfits that the stereotypes imply, then many of the precepts of the feminist movement should be called seriously into question by the psychological community, for it would be a grievous wrong to suggest to the young women of today that singlehood is an option for them if, in truth, it is an arid desert inhabited principally by the piteous and the spiteful. Furthermore, never-married women presently represent approximately five per cent of the adult female population thirty years of age and over (see Table 1) and thus should be considered members of a numerically significant minority. If the psychological suffering among this group were actually as serious as the stereotypes imply, never-married women would comprise a major mental health problem in our society about which literally nothing is being done, for there are no major mental health or social service programs designed
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage of Population 15 and Over</th>
<th>Population 30 and Over</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Population</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>2,130,000</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>429,000</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1,913,000</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>416,000</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,664,000</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>406,000</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1,380,000</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>405,000</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1,242,000</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>371,000</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table adapted from Canada Census.
specifically to serve the psychological needs of never-married women.

Fortunately, the mental health of never-married women seems to be in far better shape than the stereotypes suggest. In fact, in a report on American mental health, Gurin, Veroff, and Feld (1960) found that single women experienced fewer episodes of "nervous breakdown" than did other women. Corroborating evidence was reported in a survey of mid-town Manhattan (Srole, Langer, Michael, Opler, and Rennie, 1962) which found that a larger percentage of married women suffered impaired mental health than did single women in every age category except 40 to 49.\(^1\) While naive anti-marriage enthusiasts might like to use these findings to support their belief that singlehood offers a practically trouble-free existence, this claim is probably as extreme and unjustified as the one that says that singlehood is a symptom of mental illness.

Remaining single does present some special problems of its own, however. For example, the single woman usually must rely on one paycheque, defend herself against social "norms," and may have to seek emotional comfort outside the familiar surroundings of home. In addition to these stresses, the never-married woman must struggle with the problems faced by all women in our society--

\(^1\) The change in mental health statistics for single women in the 40 to 49 age range will be examined more closely in subsequent chapters.
problems such as limited educational and employment opportunities, unequal pay scales, and other forms of discrimination—and she often must face these and her own personal problems essentially alone.

Why This Topic Was Chosen

The researchers had personal as well as scholastic and professional reasons for choosing the topic of singlehood—reasons which may have influenced the manner in which they approached the research project. By outlining for the reader how this report came into being, the personal perspectives from which the subject was viewed will hopefully be made evident.

This project was first and foremost a Master's thesis which was undertaken to fulfill a degree requirement issued by the School of Social Work at the University of Windsor. The researchers, fellow students in the graduate program, had found in their undergraduate days that on similar projects they had worked well together and, therefore, they wanted to collaborate on their thesis. The problem was to agree on a topic (1) that complied with the School's regulations governing original research, (2) that was related to the researchers' "Intervention" specialization, and (3) that would sustain the interest of both through the long and difficult task that lay ahead.
The topic—the affiliation and achievement needs of never-married women—was a compromise between the researchers' separate interests that had evolved from their individual life experiences. One researcher was divorced and the mother of two children; she wanted to find out how women like herself developed alternate systems of emotional support during those first critical years of transition from married to formerly-married status. The other researcher, a single man in his late twenties, wanted to investigate the problems being experienced by single men in our society. A bargain was struck and the topic, which seemed to suit the interests of both to some extent, was agreed upon.

During their Master's program, both students had their field practicums in agencies which served the needs of families. As the year passed, various aspects of the topic were made increasingly pertinent in terms of social work intervention by their practice experiences. They counselled troubled teenage girls who were flirting with premature motherhood because they desperately wanted to be adults but who could find no other adult role open to them. They dealt with children who had been neglected, abused, or abandoned because the dream of marriage and motherhood had somehow gone sour. They were confronted by wives who felt trapped in their marriages, their growth
stunted and their sacrifices unappreciated, and by husbands who could not comprehend their wives' dissatisfaction and internal turmoil. Finally, there were divorced or widowed mothers, devoid of the traditional affiliative supports and too burdened to meet their achievement needs. The relationship between a woman's marital status and her need for affiliation and achievement was an issue that cropped up time and again in the counselling situation. These events served to deepen the researchers' conviction that the topic they had chosen was indeed an important one in terms of counselling women.

The Process of Problem Formulation

The idea for formulating research questions in this topic area was inspired by an article entitled, "The Personal and Social Adjustment of the Never-Married Woman" (Baker, 1968) which surfaced when the researchers began their review of the relevant literature. In this article, the author described his study of the psychological normality of never-married women. By administering a standardized test of personal and social adjustment, the California Test of Personality, to matched samples of married and never-married women, he hoped to challenge the popular notion that never-married women tend to be psychological invalids and social misfits. The results
showed no significant differences between the never-married and the married subjects.

During the years that have passed since the Baker study was made, many social changes have occurred. The number of women in the work force and in positions of responsibility has increased. Alternate living and sexual arrangements falling outside the traditional family structure have become more commonplace; these include cohabitation, casual sex, and unmarried parenthood. These events taken together may account for the fact that there seems to be less tongue-clucking and head-wagging about the woman who never marries than was the case ten years ago.

Does this lack of overt disapproval of the never-married woman mean that she has come to be accepted by married society? Not necessarily. Although the expression of one's personal intolerances may no longer be as socially permissible as was once the case, this does not mean that people no longer have prejudicial feelings. There is no reason to believe that a decrease in prejudicial moralizing necessarily indicates the birth of understanding and acceptance.

The real test of acceptance of a minority lies in the changes made in the social rituals and public customs to accommodate the needs of that minority. According to
recent research in this area, relatively little change seems to have occurred in the relationship between the married and single communities (Adams, 1976; Stein, 1976). Instead of singles being integrated into the married sector of society, a whole subculture for the non-married has grown up in Western society in recent years. Those who cater to the needs of single people by providing housing, computer dating services, leisure recreation facilities, and so forth, are reaping a bonanza from the fact that married society has not yet opened itself to full social integration with singles and, therefore, like it or not, single people must seek the majority of their social relationships among members of their own minority. Thus, it would appear that prejudicial feelings toward singles have not been eradicated in the 1970's, for there is still segregation in actual social practices.

From their own experiences as singles and from reading such recent accounts of the single experience as those by Edwards and Hoover (1974), Adams (1976), Stein (1976), and Bradley, Berman, Suid and Suid (1977), the researchers decided that social stereotyping of never-married women persists and is problematic enough to warrant investigation. Therefore, they decided to test the validity of two of the most common stereotypical images that plague the never-married woman, specifically
those stereotypes that suggest that never-married women have different achievement and affiliation needs than married women. The researchers formulated their primary research question in the following manner.

**RESEARCH QUESTION 1:** Do the achievement and affiliation needs of never-married women differ from those of married women?

Out of this central question grew two closely related issues which the researchers felt were germane to a full understanding of affiliation and achievement needs in never-married and married women. The first was how and to what extent never-married women were able to satisfy their need for affiliation. The researchers posed this question because they felt that the "lonely loser" character could be attributed to "affiliation hunger" (caused by inadequate relationship patterns) rather than to an over-developed need for affiliation. As an alternate justification for the stereotype, this possibility had to be investigated. This research question was phrased as follows:

**RESEARCH QUESTION 2:** Do the affiliation patterns of never-married and married women differ significantly from each other?

The second issue coming from the researchers' initial research question was the factors in the environment that might influence the development of affiliation and achieve-
ment needs in women. This question arose primarily from the review of literature, where a number of studies reported a wide variety of such factors which were theoretically associated with strength of affiliation and achievement needs. The third research question formulated by the researchers was as follows:

**RESEARCH QUESTION 3:** What are some of the demographic and biographical factors associated with the strength of affiliation and achievement needs in women?

Using these questions as a framework, the researchers developed a project aimed at improving their understanding of never-married women by validating or invalidating some of the stereotyping surrounding them.

**Relevancy to Social Work**

A study of the affiliation and achievement needs of never-married women seems relevant to the field of social work for several reasons. For one thing, as noted above, five per cent of the female population never marries. This means that never-married women account for a significant proportion of the client population about whom very little is known. In addition, as the average age at which women marry gets higher, the number of women still single and past thirty is likely to further enlarge this group in the future (Westervelt, 1973).
Research to discover information about singleness is urgently needed because the professional social worker is handicapped in the delivery of appropriate services to these women due to a lack of essential information about what their physical and emotional needs are likely to be. In addition, the misconceptions and prejudices about never-married women, which are held both within the profession and by the general public, may result in prejudicial treatment that could have serious effects on their well-being. It is through knowledge that ignorance and the cruelty of prejudice are eliminated.

One important side-effect of increasing the profession's scientific knowledge about the social and psychological aspects of the never-married woman's life is the development of a greater understanding of the coping mechanisms that allow a woman to live alone successfully in this society. Rising divorce rates, up from 11,000 in 1966 to 45,000 in 1974 (Canada Year Book, 1976), have produced a vast number of women who have been thrown into the position of coping for themselves either temporarily—between marriages— or permanently. The counsellors of these women, and of widows too, could probably be tremendously more helpful if they were familiar with the skills and techniques that a woman alone needs to survive and, hopefully, some of this valuable information will be
provided by examining the lives of women who have never married.

Finally, affiliation and achievement needs and patterns for need fulfillment must be considered when formulating any sort of life plan. This is an area that tends to be overlooked in counselling, especially in the vocational counselling of women. Likewise, a woman's need for achievement is likely to be missed or discounted in the marriage counselling situation.

The average woman spends 23 years of her life in the working world, and this is true whether or not she planned to have a career (Sheehy, 1976). The extent to which women are now part of the Canadian labour scene has grown phenomenally since the end of the Second World War: whereas 20 per cent of women 15 years and older were employed outside the home in 1946, the comparable figure for 1971 was 39 per cent. Among women 35 years of age and over, participation in the labour force has more than doubled since 1951. In 1971, approximately 3 million women 15 years and older were employed outside the home, as opposed to 1.2 million in 1951, and of these 3 million more than 1 million were never-married (Canada Census, 1971). Clearly, the role of women and of never-married women in the working place is not insignificant.

The rising cost of living in Canada today demands
that many wives work. The majority of middle-class families could not maintain their economic status and standard of living without the second income provided by the wife (Howe, 1972). However, the number of women properly trained for a career is relatively small. The majority of women who work hold service jobs (see Table 2), which traditionally are low paying and are low in status. The average annual income for women, as reported by Census Canada (1971), was a mere 48.7 per cent of that earned by men in the same year. The percentage of women in the professions has actually decreased in the past 50 years, from 19.1 per cent in 1921 to 15.5 per cent in 1961 (MacEachen, 1964), with the shift away from female dominance in the field of education (Blitz, 1974; MacEachen, 1964). Only one position in sixty in the skilled labour force is held by a woman, because technical training schools still tend to be highly prejudicial against them (Hedges and Bemis, 1974). If there is a pronounced and growing need for women to experience achievement—which this society defines as career success—opportunities are indeed quite sparse.

Such factors affecting achievement for women must be considered in vocational planning, as must the need for affiliation. Women who continue to work while they have a family must give more of themselves, physically
Table 2

Ten Leading Occupations of Women in Canada, 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
<th>Women as Percentage of All Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stenographers, Typists and Clerk-Typists</td>
<td>209,410</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>96.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Occupations, not otherwise specified</td>
<td>165,613</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Clerks</td>
<td>133,234</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maids and Related Service Workers, not otherwise specified</td>
<td>120,161</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>88.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Teachers</td>
<td>118,594</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeepers and Cashiers</td>
<td>98,663</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>62.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses, Graduate and in-Training</td>
<td>81,868</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>96.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Labourers</td>
<td>66,081</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitresses</td>
<td>61,802</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>78.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewers and Sewing Machine Operators</td>
<td>50,592</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>90.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 Occupations                                           | 1,106,018 | 62.7%    | 66.3%                             |

Total Female Labour Force                                 | 1,763,862 | 100.0%   | 27.3%                             |

Source: MacEachen, 1964
and in terms of time, than other workers, and this is a fact that should be considered in their career plans. Likewise, married women who do not work initially rarely base their life plans on the reality that many years are likely to be spent on the job. High school counsellors should take the responsibility for making teenage girls aware of these facts and help them to establish appropriate life goals and timing sequences.

In addition to demographic changes occurring in the affiliative and achievement areas of women's lives, research that leads to a greater understanding of these needs and to the development of new models for the expression of femininity is important for the elimination of counsellor bias. A number of studies have shown that counsellors do reflect a sexist bias in their counselling. Pietrofesa and Schlossberg (1970) found that both men and women practicum students in psychology showed negative bias toward a female client who was considering entering a nontraditional occupational field, and the same result was obtained by Thomas and Stewart (1971) in a study with secondary school counsellors. Research by Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, and Vogel (1970) found that clinicians considered traits characterizing healthy adults as more typical of men than of women, with female clinicians showing as much bias as their male counterparts.
These studies were reported by Oliver (1975) in his article on the implications for counselling of recent research on women.

There is also evidence that counselling style may be affected by the sex of the client, and this different treatment of male and female clients may have undesirable effects on women. Parker (1967) demonstrated that male therapists tended to be more non-directive with females than with males, and Heilbrun (1970) found that dependent females who left counselling prematurely showed a preference for more directive therapist responses. Thus, female clients who need a more directive approach may not receive it from male counsellors and, as a consequence, may leave counselling too soon.

It is hoped that the information uncovered in this study about the affiliation and achievement needs of never-married women will prove helpful to counsellors dealing with this segment of the client population and will enhance their understanding of all women's problems in this area as well.

Summary

The foregoing chapter has served as an introduction to this research project on the affiliative and achievement needs of never-married women. The position of never-married
women in Canadian society was described in relation to traditional expectations placed on women to marry and have a family. It was suggested that little is known about never-married women and that public thinking about this group of people is often clouded by an overlay of myth and misconception, as exemplified by the "career woman" and the "lonely loser" stereotypes. The process of the researchers' problem formulation leading to the development of three research questions was then outlined in terms of the role of achievement and affiliation needs in the lives of never-married women as compared with married women.

The chapter concluded with an examination of the relevancy of this topic to the social work profession. A number of areas of relevancy were identified: the size of the never-married female population in Canada, the need for factual information about never-married women to reduce prejudice and ignorance among social workers and the wider community, and the importance of knowledge about affiliation and achievement needs for counselling women.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE: AFFILIATION
AND ACHIEVEMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize theory developed around the concepts of "need for affiliation" and "need for achievement." These concepts will be examined, in turn, in terms of their historical development, contemporary definitions, and methods of measurement. Once the concepts themselves have been defined, their interaction will be analyzed, with special emphasis being placed on Judith Bardwick's conceptualization of the achievement-affiliation dilemma for women.

Need for Affiliation

Interest in need for Affiliation (nAff) grew from the work of Henry Murray (1938) at Harvard on the identification of needs as variables in the construction of personality. In all, he distinguished 44 variables, among them need for Affiliation, which he defined as the desire to draw near and enjoyably cooperate or reciprocate with an allied O [other]; an O who resembles to S [self] or who likes the S. To please and win affection of a cathedected O. To adhere and remain loyal to a friend. (p. 174)

His criteria for measurement of need for Affiliation were:
(1) friendly feeling; (2) desire to associate, play and converse; (3) efforts to resolve differences, cooperate and maintain harmony; (4) readiness to trust and confide; and (5) the number, intensity and duration of friendships.

Shipley and Veroff (1952) conducted a number of experiments designed to measure need for Affiliation from the scoring of Thematic Apperception Test items and suggested that affiliation motivation was composed of two components:

(1) seeking affiliation because of the pleasant stimulus reward value of the affiliative relationship (approach behavior); and (2) seeking affiliation because of the painful stimulus value of rejection. (p. 354)

However, their work centered mainly around the latter component, fear of rejection.

Edwards (1954) built on Murray's earlier work with personality variables and focused attention on need for Affiliation. His definition was:

To be loyal to friends, to participate in friendly groups, to do things for friends, to form new friendships, to make as many friends as possible, to share things with friends, to do things with friends rather than alone, to form strong attachments, to write letters to friends. (Edwards, in Heibrun, 1959, p. 348)

However, his definition gave no indication of the approach-avoidance theory.

Elizabeth French and Irene Chadwick (1956) developed the concept of need for Affiliation and stressed its two-factor (approach and avoidance) nature. They defined
affiliation motivation as "a desire to establish and/or maintain warm and friendly interpersonal relations" (p. 296). Using French's Test of Insight (1958), on a group of air-force students under arousal and control conditions, they found that "increasing affiliation cues in the environment increase[d] the level of goal-oriented [approach] and threat-oriented [avoidance] responses" (French and Chadwick, 1956, p. 300), thus confirming McClelland's two-factor theory of motivation (1951). Their results also confirmed that "[a]ffiliation motivation is more than just fear of separation as proposed by Shipley and Veroff" (French and Chadwick, 1956, p. 299).

Schachter (1959) distinguished two different kinds of affiliation. The first was affiliation that served as a means to an end, such as belonging to a union so as to hold down a job position; the other was affiliation that served as an end in itself. This kind of affiliation would include prestige and support derived through interpersonal relationships (Schachter, 1959, p. 2). Schachter found anxiety-provoking situations increased affiliative tendencies because people would rely more heavily on the support of others when their actions or beliefs were called into question or when some uninterpretable event occurred in their lives. In such situations he found that the adage "Misery loves company" held true, but that it was important
that the "company" share in the misery; not just anyone would do (Schachter, 1959, p. 24).

Schachter also discovered that birth-order position was a factor in determining response of anxiety-provoking situations. First-born and only children tended to be more anxious than later-born children and, when anxious, they were much more likely to seek out the support of others than were later-born children (1959, pp. 51-52). He theorized that this occurred because of parental insecurity about being new parents which resulted in overprotectiveness and inconsistency. Further, when a second child arrived, the first child was removed from the limelight, and parents then tried even harder to make up to the first-born for this dethroning. First-born and only children demonstrated greater dependence on others for support, approval, help, and reference.

In a variety of studies, then, using several distinct measures of dependence, the same relationship obtains—dependency is greater for early-born than for later-born children. (p. 86)

Schachter also found that earlier-born children belonged to a larger number of organizations than did later-born children. This finding was related to the greater need experienced by early-born children for support and reference to others.

In Bardwick's Psychology of Women (1971) the "affiliation motive" emerged as woman's most important
need in life. She defined it as "the need to acquire love and, perhaps, to give love" (p. 156). She considered affiliative needs and affiliative success "critical in . . . [women's] basic concept of themselves" (p. 158). In her view, women value themselves according to the value others, especially husband and family, place on them. Unlike men, for whom achievement in the world of work is a primary need, the gratifications obtained through achievement by women are insufficient for developing positive self-esteem. It is only through fulfillment of the need for Affiliation that women can be actualized.

A number of different ways have been developed for measuring need for Affiliation. Based on the work of McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell (1953), a number of projective measures were designed, the most important of which are the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) and the French Test of Insight. In both of these measures, the subject is given a score for need for Affiliation based on the number of affiliative themes present in stories constructed in response to pictures (in the TAT) or statements (in the French Test of Insight). A slightly more recent development in the measurement of need for Affiliation involves the use of self-report measures. Among the more common of these measures are the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), the California
Personality Inventory (CPI), the Personality Research Form (PRF), and the Adjective Check List (ACL).

Need for Achievement

As with need for Affiliation, work on the concept "need for Achievement" (nAch) dates back to Henry Murray (1938). It was another of the 44 needs identified by Murray, and he defined it as

The desire or tendency to do things rapidly and/or as well as possible. To accomplish something difficult. To master, manipulate or organize physical objects, human beings or ideas. To do things as rapidly and as independently as possible. To excel one's self. To rival and surpass others. To increase self-regard by the successful exercise of talent. (p. 164)

The work of David McClelland (1953) on need for Achievement is also considered a classic in the field of achievement motivation. He defined achievement in three ways: success in competition with a standard of excellence, unique accomplishment, and long-term involvement in a field of endeavour (1953). As with affiliation, the idea of a two-factor theory was important: the need for Achievement was motivated by hope of success on the one hand and fear of failure on the other. Need for Achievement was defined as the "desire to do things well, to accomplish things, to excel and achieve success in comparison with some standard of excellence" (Deaux, 1976, p. 46).
Bardwick (1971, p. 156) defined the achievement motive as "the desire to do something, independent of others, according to some internal standard of excellence." She saw achievement as being an important motivator of female behaviour, especially in early years and in middle age. At other times during a woman's life, achievement needs were more likely to be met through affiliation.

As with need for Affiliation, the measurement of need for Achievement has developed along both projective and self-report lines. McClelland et al. (1953) developed a scoring manual for the achievement motive based on the achievement imagery and themes present in subjects' responses to TAT pictures. Elizabeth French's Test of Insight (1958) worked in a similar fashion but used written statements instead of pictures. Self-report, pencil-and-paper tests like the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), the California Personality Inventory (CPI), the Personality Research Form (PRF), and the Adjective Check List (ACL) are also popular.

The Interplay of Affiliation and Achievement Needs

Almost every woman alive is aware that she is part of some huge problem. Almost every magazine published has devoted large amounts of space to it. Alternative solutions, offered with great passion, range from salvation in the marketplace to fulfillment in the supermarket. Yet hardly a sound is heard from the professional literature of psycho-
logists: here the problem of the psychology of women has never become a widespread issue. (Bardwick, 1971, p. 1)

The problem to which Bardwick addressed herself in her writings on female psychology was not only the role conflict that is experienced by so many women in America but, more to the point, the contradiction that many women feel between the typical characteristics of womanhood and the probable success of women in the marketplace.

Theories differ on the source of the psychological differences between men and women; they seem to agree, however, that in the world of work, men generally have a distinct advantage (1) because the marketplace was structured by men and is operated according to many sex-linked prejudices, and (2) because the "male" personality traits (Broverman et al., 1970) of independence and aggression are more likely to bring about the satisfaction of the individual's need for this particular type of achieving. The personality qualities traditionally ascribed to women, on the other hand, tend to emphasize affiliation rather than achievement (Broverman et al., 1970). It is commonly believed that these qualities, especially empathy with other people, sensitivity, and nurturance, give women an advantage in noncompetitive forms of achievement, such as child-rearing and homemaking but, in our culture, both men and women generally apply the male criteria of excellence to their work per-
formance (Bardwick, 1971, pp. 3-4).

The upshot of this situation is that many women may feel doomed to low self-esteem in some important aspects of their lives. Women who apply their affiliative qualities to the traditional role of wife and homemaker may feel unfulfilled; they may see themselves as having low status and as being under-achievers and they may experience utter helplessness if they are ever left alone to fend for themselves. At the other extreme are those women who bring the qualities of ambition, aggression, and organization to their paid employment and risk alienation and suspicion of having failed as women.

For never-married women the consequences of this dilemma are apparent in the stereotypes that are often applied to them. If the never-married woman holds some "masculine" achievement aspirations, that is, if she has chosen a career as her primary life interest, she is likely to be considered unfeminine. On the other hand, if she possesses only those traditional feminine attributes, like dependency and passivity, her chances of occupational and financial success will be greatly diminished, putting her in a still more vulnerable social position. Such a person easily becomes categorized as a "lonely loser."

A study by Bahr and Garrett (1976) attested to the social and psychological problems occurring at a high rate among destitute women who had neither job nor family. Likewise,
Nevill and Damico (1975) found evidence that the mental health of single women was a variable that was often dependent to a significant degree upon their economic status.

One aspect of female achievement motivation that is related to the notion that women's self-esteem depends to a large extent on the approval of others is Marina Horner's concept of fear of success. Horner (1970, 1972) suggested that the normal achievement strivings of women can be inhibited by the expectation that success will be followed by negative consequences, because high levels of achievement are not considered appropriate for females. The price of academic or career success, therefore, might be social failure. On the basis of her own and other research, Horner (1972) concluded that many young women who are faced with a conflict between their need for Achievement and their female image will conform to the sex-role stereotype. Unfortunately, such an adjustment may result in negative emotional consequences for the individual as well as depriving society of a valuable human resource.

Summary

In the foregoing chapter, the researchers presented some of the literature in the area of need for Affiliation and need for Achievement. They traced the development of
thinking about those concepts from their origins with Murray in the 1930's to material from the current decade. Methods for measuring these needs were mentioned briefly. It was seen that achievement and affiliation needs had special implications for women, in terms of their participation in the world of work, their femininity, and their decision about whether to marry. It was found that affiliation and achievement needs were sometimes conflictual for women in ways that would not occur for men. Affiliation and achievement needs were seen as important for understanding the psychology of women and of never-married women.
CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE: STEREOTYPING

The purpose of this chapter is to examine several of the more important aspects of the stereotyping of never-married women. Since the stereotyping of never-married women is best understood in the context of the stereotyping of women in general, the first section will describe some possible origins of female stereotypes and how social attitudes toward women affect the way in which never-married women are perceived. Then, the most typical stereotypes applied to never-married women in our society will be described and the manner in which the prevailing attitudes toward the family have aggravated the stereotyping of singles will be reviewed.

Origins of Female Stereotypes

There seem to be two major stereotypic assumptions about women which are nearly universal and from which many of the chauvinistic attitudes and social behaviours of many times and many places have originated. The first is that woman is inferior to man, that she is weaker intellectually and morally, as well as physically, and therefore should remain subordinate to man because she
needs, him to support and guide her. The second assumption is that women find fulfillment as human beings primarily through marriage and motherhood. On these two basic assumptions hang the bulk of society's justification for male domination and the social subjugation of women (Baker, 1967).

The practical implications of these theories are plain in regard to the never-married woman: it is not proper for her to be unmarried. From the sympathetic point of view, her singleness robs her of personal fulfillment and the helpful support of a man; from a critical perspective she is charged with interrupting the natural order of things, posing a threat to normal people and "laying herself open to psychological and even behavioral aberrations" (Baker, 1967, p. 19).

The concept of the dependent nature of woman is probably a remnant left over from primitive society, for primitive woman was indeed more dependent on man than she is in modern society. For one thing her life span was much shorter and usually did not exceed her child-bearing years. This meant that practically all of her adult life was involved in the tasks associated with motherhood. This, in combination with the hostile environments in which most primitive peoples lived, put her in a very vulnerable position where she needed the support and
protection of her mate. Tied to the home by the needs of her children, it is little wonder that she came to be so strongly associated with the tasks of homemaking. It is not difficult to recognize how these facts of life led to the development of the dominant-submissive pattern of male-female relationships. The natural consequences of child-bearing, domesticity and dependence came to be viewed as characteristic of woman. Taking "what is" as "what ought to be," early man believed that this arrangement of masculine-feminine function was written into the natures of the sexes (Baker, 1967, p. 21).

In spite of the lengthening of woman's life span and the reduction of both the number of her children and of her child-bearing years, the long tradition of female inferiority has continued to persist, even into the present. She is still confined in many areas to the passive role. Her domain is still considered to be the home, just as her major social function is still believed to be child-bearing, even in this day of growing awareness about the dangers of over-population. Now, as in the past, there are a variety of social forces that promulgate the image of woman as a secondary support to man (Baker, 1967).
The Stereotyping of Never-Married Women in Modern Society

As long as the assumptions (1) that women are inferior to men and (2) that they find fulfillment as human beings primarily through marriage and motherhood, are highly operative in the collective subconscious, the never-married woman is likely to be regarded as deviant and open to stereotyping. She is caught in the double bind of living outside the traditional female domain and, at the same time, being considered an outsider and an inferior competitor in the traditional male-dominated spheres.

In American society, to be labelled "never-married" a woman must be thirty or over; a woman who is single but who is in her twenties is usually considered "still marriageable"; unless she declares her intention to remain single, it will be assumed that she is in the "pre-marital" stage of her life. In the first decade of adult life, therefore, a woman's singleness is not apt to be viewed as irregular. After reaching thirty, however, she starts to realize the implications of being permanently single.

Canada Census (1971) data showed that 90.8 per cent of the female population marries by the time they reach their thirtieth birthday. (See Table 3.) After thirty, marriage rates drop off dramatically. These data seem to
Table 3
Percentage Distribution of Women Ever Married in Canada, Showing Age at First Marriage, 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at First Marriage</th>
<th>Absolute Percentage Frequency</th>
<th>Cumulative Percentage Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35 and over</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>96.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>90.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>73.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 5,743,230
Table adapted from Canada Census, 1971

indicate that if a woman is single when she passes beyond her twenties, there is a strong probability that she will remain single for the rest of her life.

The "spinster" and the "old maid" are the classic stereotypes for never-married women. "Spinster" is a term that comes down to us from the Middle Ages when there was an abundance of unmarried women due to feuds, wars and the great masses of men who joined the clergy. So that these women could support themselves, certain occupations
were reserved for them: dairy-keeping, beer-brewing, and the textile industry, to name a few. Originally, the word "spinster" was used to designate a textile worker but it soon came to be synonymous with an unmarried woman (Bullough, 1973). Today, there are still stereotypic jobs associated with never-married women; library work and teaching are, perhaps, the most notable.

"Old maid," of course, conveys the idea of sexual naivety on the part of never-married women. "Maid" has been used traditionally to indicate virginity, usually in a girl just beyond her childhood years, while "lady" was used in reference to a married and therefore sexually active woman. Hence, an "old maid" is a woman who retains her virginity and sexual immaturity into her old age. Colloquially, the term is used to describe a fussy, nervous and/or timid person.

The two themes about never-married women that are carried in these classic stereotypes are (1) that their primary work is outside the home while "normal" women work in the domestic setting and (2) that they are not in any sort of sexual relationship with men and cannot therefore be wives and mothers. To the extent that feminine fulfillment is believed to be dependent on marriage and homemaking and that feminine worth is based on child-bearing, these stereotypes convey the message
that never-married women are unfulfilled, unfeminine, and deviant.

In recent years new stereotypic images have emerged, but their origins in these classic stereotypes seem clear. The "career woman" image focuses on the fact that most never-married women work outside the home and the "lonely loser" suggests that never-married women are usually sexual isolates.

Judged as emotionally hard and coolly efficient, the "career woman" is chiefly characterized as being aggressive. Since personal qualities like intelligence, assertiveness and a desire to compete have traditionally been attributed to men, women with these characteristics who have developed successful careers may be prejudged as "mannish" or even castrating. The assumption is that such women are unable to deal with their natural inferiority, nor are they able to accept their natural place in society. Out of their frustration and anger they seek to strike out at men by invading the male's natural sphere and challenging his superior position. In their attempt to usurp man's power, it is generally held that this type of woman forfeits her femininity.

The fear behind the stereotype seems apparent: the loss of self-identity in maternal engulfment. Some men feel that, given equal footing with women, they may soon become engulfed in female domination. It is therefore
necessary to defuse a woman who chooses to compete with men by stripping her of her femininity—hence the "career woman" stereotype.

A second common stereotype emerging for never-married women is that of the "lonely loser." "Lonely losers" are usually sad, depressed, and filled with dissatisfaction about the role that life has handed them. They are women who long to marry, but who have none of the essential qualities for doing so. Thus, they painfully continue living their lives, alone, eating TV dinners, visiting their mothers every Sunday, and hardly daring to dream that some day their "Mr. Right" will come along (Parent, 1973).

This stereotype is obviously based on the assumption that only through marriage and motherhood can women find satisfaction and fulfillment. The "lonely loser" is prohibited from filling these roles due to her lack of sexual attractiveness, however it is defined by the cultural fashion. Barred from participation in marriage and motherhood, she lives in fear of forfeiting her worth as an individual in the eyes of others, and is pictured as obsessed with romantic notions and fantasies.

The emotional component of this stereotype is pity rather than fear. Because the "lonely loser" is not responsible, ostensibly, for the fact that she is unattractive, she cannot be blamed for disrupting the
natural order of things by remaining unmarried; therefore, she is viewed with compassion, in much the same manner as a physically disabled person. She does not elicit a fear response because she poses no threat to the establishment. In fact, she validates and supports traditional values about the nature and function of women by her painful reaction to her exclusion, by the emphasis she puts on romantic love, and by her inability to find fulfillment without a man.

In recent years clear distinctions between married and never-married women have become blurred by the number of women who are choosing to live in sexually intimate relationships without being legally married. Although these relationships bear a strong resemblance to marriage in many cases, they do not carry the same legal or social implications as the traditional marriage institution. On the other hand, a long involvement of this type would probably have a great effect on women's lifestyles, and on the way they are perceived by others. As a rule of thumb, the less sexual involvement women have, the more apt they are to have the classical never-married stereotypes applied to them.

The single woman who is noticeably sexually active with men is usually stereotyped as a "swinger." "Swingers" are thought to be beautiful, affluent, morally flexible
and, for the most part, young. They are pictured as tall, thin, and tanned—never as tired, short, overweight, and poor. As appealing as membership in this category might be to some women, the days in the life of a female "swinger" are numbered, and women who persist in this lifestyle past a certain age are likely to be pitied for trying to keep up the illusion of desirability when they just have not got it any more.

Age adds another dimension to the stereotyping of single women. Generally speaking, the stereotypes associated with aging are particularly demeaning for all women, because they are based, for the most part, on the assumption that waning sexual desirability and potency are a natural consequence of the aging process. Although there seems to be no physiological basis for believing that women's sexual responses necessarily decrease with age, this is a commonly held belief even among elderly women themselves.

Actually, there has been relatively little research on sexuality among older women. M. H. Huyck outlines some of the reasons for this neglect.

[We still have a taboo against sex in old age. [It has been] suggested [that] this is probably more than a hangover from the Victorian era. It persists with such remarkable tenacity that present-day processes must be helping to maintain the taboo. . . . We still believe that sexual activity is primarily intended for procreation and that its recreational function is secondary. Since in old age
it is no longer possible to maintain the illusion that sex is carried on for reproductive purposes, it cannot be 'morally' condoned. (In Troll, Israel, and Israel, 1977, p. 44)

Taboos against sex for women outside of marriage are based on the same belief as the taboos against sex in old age. In a society where female sexuality is morally permissible only for the purposes of procreation within the traditional family setting, women who are not in a position to bear children are admonished to remain chaste by the prevailing social norms. This attitude is reflected in the stereotyping of both aging and unmarried women. Sexual activity on the part of aging women is likely to be viewed with disgust or as cause for embarrassment on the grounds of its impropriety. Similarly, the moral judgement passed against the sexual activity of never-married women can run the gamut from indiscretion to out-and-out whoreishness. Only recently, with the introduction of the "swinging" subculture, has there been any sign of change in the social attitudes towards female sexuality outside the context of marriage and motherhood; and even here, the moral fiber of female "swingers" is open to question.

The contrast between married and never-married women is greatest during their years of fertility, up to the age of about 50. For one thing, never-married women are much more likely to be career-oriented during this
period than are married women, and they are more likely to enjoy early career success since they are free to devote undivided attention to their educations and work. Working wives and mothers, on the other hand, may be hindered in the development of careers by the demands of husbands and families. During these years, never-married women are more apt to be viewed as abnormal because their lifestyles present a more striking contrast to those of married peers than in later years of life. Because there is a growing tendency for married women to join the labour force around the time their youngest child reaches school age, the working woman becomes less unique as age increases, up to the age of retirement. In addition, among older members of the female population singleness becomes more prevalent due to the increasing numbers of women who are left alone by the death of a spouse or divorce. For these reasons the unmarried woman who works to support herself becomes more normative beyond the child-bearing years. Due to the fact that the asexuality of never-married stereotyping seems to merge with the asexuality attributed to aging, never-married women tend to become less stigmatized on the grounds of their marital status during the latter years of their lives.

To some extent the negative attitudes toward singleness are formed in response to the esteem in which our
society holds the family. People are conditioned to accept marriage and family as the natural arrangement for both the development of individuals and the good of society. Whether extended or nuclear, the family is given credit for performing the functions of reproduction, status placement, and socialization. To what extent present-day families actually accomplish these functions is questionable, but it is commonly held that in marriage one not only ensures his own well-being but also fulfills his responsibilities to his community (Stein, 1976, pp. 5-7).

In our society adulthood and emotional maturity are believed to be synonymous with marriage and parenthood. The person who chooses singlehood is considered to be immature at best, or even self-destructive. The attitude prevails that those who remain single are deviant or, in some way, inadequate for adult roles. Social psychologists are accustomed to referring to these people as "those who fail to marry" or as "those who do not make positive choices." The possibility that some people might actually choose to be single because they want to be or because they feel it would contribute to their growth and well-being to remain so, is simply not believed to be possible (Stein, 1976).

This attitude toward singleness is reflected in the lack of factual and scientific information about singles.
and about never-married women specifically. The reason scientific inquiry into singleness has been neglected thus far is that our social assumptions about it are so strongly ingrained.

[Social scientists] are as human and culture-bound as anyone else and thus tend to ignore those elements of society that do not conform to our cultural norms. This obvious omission [of texts on singles] tells us something about our society and our discipline. Surely the oversight is not because [social scientists] are unaware that a sizeable proportion of our population is unmarried. Rather, the neglect reflects our adherence to the ideal that everyone should marry and that, if he really wants to, anyone can. (Duberman, in Stein, 1976, p. 4)

There seems to be a paucity of research on never-married women as a social group in the fields of sociology, psychology, and social work. Better represented in the literature are studies on formerly-married women. These valuable reports include Helen Lopata's study of widowhood (1973), William Goode's study of divorced women (1956), Jessie Bernard's study of second marriages (1956), and Lucile Duberman's study of reconstituted families (1975). In addition, certain dimensions of the never-married woman's situation have been explored in reports like Bahr and Garrett's study of women alone in poverty (1976) and Stein's (1976) and Adams' (1976) studies of the social nature of singleness in the United States and England.

Summary

In this chapter some of the possible sources of
female stereotypes were described in order to create a context for understanding the stereotyping of never-married women. It was suggested that there are two basic assumptions about women: (1) women are inferior to men and (2) women find fulfillment primarily through marriage and motherhood. These two assumptions probably date back to primitive times when the entire adulthood of a woman was likely to be consumed in child-bearing and they do not necessarily hold true in modern times. Nevertheless, the assumptions persist and the implication they hold for never-married women is that it is improper and unnatural for a woman to remain unmarried.

In American society, women who pass their thirtieth birthday unmarried are likely to remain single the rest of their lives and they become vulnerable to never-married stereotyping. The two-classic images for never-married women are the "spinster" and "old maid." These images are based on the notion that it is improper for a woman to perform her primary work outside the home and it is unnatural for her not to marry and to remain childless.

More recent stereotypes—the "career woman" and the "lonely loser"—convey the same sentiments in a new form. From the emerging "singles" subculture comes the "swinger" image which grants a single woman sexuality but brings her morals into question.
The belief that sexual activity is primarily intended for procreation persists, and it implies that sexual expression is not proper for women outside of marriage or when they have passed beyond their child-bearing years. For this reason the stereotypes for unmarried women tend to merge with those for older women during the latter part of life. In addition, more married women enter the work force after raising their families and women who are left alone through the death of a spouse or through divorce increase the number of unmarried women among the aging members of society. The aging, never-married woman tends to become less conspicuous and is usually considered less deviant than she was during her younger years.

Part of the hostility behind the stereotyping of never-married women is due to the respect in which society holds the family. It is generally believed that the family unit serves important social functions and that those who "fail to marry" do themselves and their community a disservice. These negative attitudes toward singleness permeate all aspects of society and are reflected in the lack of research on singleness by members of the scientific community.
CHAPTER IV

REVIEW OF LITERATURE: PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

A number of psychological theories on feminine development reflect the traditional social assumptions about the nature of women. Basically, these theories limit the definition of woman to procreation and homemaking, for they maintain that the emotional and mental well-being of women depends on adequately fulfilling the maternal role. Marriage and motherhood are perceived as the primary life interests of psychologically "normal" women; women who do not assume these roles are, therefore, psychologically suspect.

In this chapter developmental psychology for women will be examined from the perspectives of a number of respected people in the field. Attention will first be focused on Freud's description of women in psychoanalytic theory. Following that, the contributions of Horney, Erikson, Bardwick, and others will be presented. Then, the contrast between the biological restrictions implicit in these theories and the holistic approach of humanistic psychology will be explored in terms of the healthy development of a sense of self.

47.
The most well-known and influential formulations of personality development in Europe and America were derived from the psychoanalytical theories of Sigmund Freud. Only in the last fifteen years have attempts been made to explain the female personality without the phallo-centric perspective of Freudian theory.

To understand the source of the misogynic attitudes of psychoanalytic theory, one must remember that Freud was a product of the Victorian era. He was born in Austria, into a traditionally Jewish household where men were lords and women lesser beings. The naturalness of patriarchy was probably confirmed for him by the fact that he was his mother's favourite child and was treated as such. In addition, it is probable that the empirical attitudes and fervent religiosity of Catholic Vienna left an impression on him, as did the prudish, puritanical, and hypocritical sexual mores of the Victorian era. Although his genius cannot be denied, contemporary critics generally agree that Freud evolved a sexually-biased, male-oriented psychology which he based on anatomic immutables—"anatomy is destiny"—reinforced by the beliefs and practices of nineteenth century science (Horney, 1967).

Freud's rationale for the psychological differences between men and women was that women are incomplete men.
In his paper, "Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Differences Between the Sexes" (1956), he suggested that women are men who lack penises. He defined the penis as the ultimate source of instinctual power in human beings and, for this reason, he believed that women so desire to possess this symbol of power that they "refuse to accept the fact of being castrated" and have the "hope of someday obtaining a penis in spite of everything" (Horney, 1967, p. 24).

Psychoanalytical theory holds that when young girls perceive anatomical differences between the sexes, their unrealizable desire for a penis causes them to have feelings of inferiority and they become predisposed to be jealous of men. If development is normal, mature women eventually substitute a baby for a penis and, by doing so, their maternal desires are created and feelings of inferiority abated. The intensity of these maternal desires should theoretically be proportionate to the amount of unresolved feeling they experienced in connection with the wish for a penis. Thus, women's greatest fulfillment is achieved when they bear children, especially sons (Freud, 1956). For this reason, the drive to achieve need gratification should naturally turn women toward marriage and motherhood. In this context, childless women, unmarried women, and especially women who choose not to marry in order
to pursue a career are strongly suspected of being neurotic.

It is little wonder that Freud has been accused of furnishing an intellectual justification for the subordination of women rather than contributing to a true understanding of female psychology (Bullough, 1973). His misogynic attitudes are certainly apparent in the following statement:

I cannot escape the notion (though I hesitate to give it expression) that for women the level of what is ethically normal is different from what it is in men. ... We must not allow ourselves to be deflected from such conclusions by the denials of the feminists, who are anxious to force us to regard the two sexes as completely equal in position and worth. (In Horney, 1967, p. 24.)

Horney

In reaction to Freud's thinking, there arose a second school of psychoanalytic thought which also employed the concept of penis envy in its understanding of the feminine psyche. In contrast to Freud's theory, however, this group of female psychoanalysts did not believe that penis envy was necessary for the development of femininity; it was, they said, a manifestation of the outrage and self-hate that women felt because of their abasement by a male-dominated culture. The fundamental cause of female subordination, according to this school
of thought, was masculine envy of the creativity of the female uterus, a sort of penis envy in reverse.

The most noted spokesperson of this group, Karen Horney (1967), suggested that feminine dissatisfaction with the female sexual role, an attitude which she found among many of her patients, is not the result of penis envy so much as a desire to be something other than female. She believed that, through their family relationships, young girls are likely to internalize society's indictment that being a woman is in itself culpable. When the wish to have a penis is expressed by women, they are only demanding in a symbolic way some form of equality with men (Thompson, 1964). Indeed, the "motives for flight into male roles," wrote Horney (1967, p. 70), "are later reinforced socially by the actual subordination of women."

On the topic of affiliation need, Horney had little to say. Her greater interest was centered on the "neurotic need for love" which she said was characterized by insatiability, an inability to return love, and a constant fear of rejection. Horney called it an "overvaluation of love," and she described it in the following manner:

[There are types] of neurotic women who feel unhappy, insecure, and depressed as long as they do not have someone devoted to them, who loves them or somehow cares for them. I also refer to women for whom the wish to get married has taken on a compulsive quality. They keep staring at this one point in life—getting
married—as if hypnotized, even though they themselves are absolutely incapable of loving and their relations to men are notoriously poor. Such women are incapable of developing their creative potentials and talents. (Horney, 1967, p. 246)

For women who feel they are failures at winning the attention and admiration of men, there is a strong tendency to become obsessed with the notion of obtaining an ideal love relationship in order to prove their self-worth. It is not the unmarried status itself which is threatening; it is the conflict between society’s role expectations for women and their own self-perceptions. Because they have not assumed the roles that socially define femininity, they consider themselves unfeminine and become obsessed with the desire to enter into a male-female relationship in order to regain self-worth (Horney, 1967).

For women who aspire to independence, as a number of never-married women do, the psychological implications of social assumptions about feminine nature are both internal and external conflict and loss of sexual self-esteem.

It is comprehensible, therefore—speaking solely from the sociological standpoint—that women who nowadays obey the impulse to the independent development of their abilities are able to do so only at the cost of a struggle against both external opposition and such resistances within themselves as are created by an intensification of the traditional ideal of the exclusively sexual function of woman.
It would not be going too far to assert that at the present time this conflict confronts every woman who ventures upon a career of her own and who is at the same time unwilling to pay for her daring with the renunciation of her femininity.

The conflict in question is therefore one that is conditioned by the altered position of women and confined to those women who enter upon or follow a vocation, who pursue special interests, or who aspire in general to an independent development of their personality. (Horney, 1967, p. 183)

Erikson

One of the first proponents of a differential psychology for women—-one that was not based on the idea that femininity evolves from a frustrated masculinity (making it a sort of "normal" pathology)—was Eric Erikson. In 1964 he wrote that the psychoanalytic psychology of women was

Largely reconstructed from women patients necessarily at odds with their womanhood and with the permanent inequality to which it seemed to doom them. [This view] has been strongly influenced by the fact that the first and basic observations were made by clinicians whose task it was to understand suffering and to offer a remedy; and that they by necessity had to understand the female psyche with male means of empathy, and to offer what the ethos of the enlightenment dictated, namely, the "acceptance of reality." They saw, in the reconstructed lives of little girls, primarily an attempt to observe what could be seen and grasped (namely, what was there in boys and hardly there in girls) and to base on this observation "infantile sexual theories" of vast consequence. It does not seem reasonable to assume that observation and empathy, except in moments of acute or transitory disturbance, would so exclusively focus on what is not there. (Erikson, 1964, p. 583)
Erikson's (1964) analysis of the play habits of young children led him to believe that, regardless of social expectations for sex-role behaviour, sex differences in the body produce distinct psychological differences in the sexual identity of men and women. The explosive configurations boys make with toys seemed to Erikson to reflect their awareness of the activity, protrusion, and vitality inherent in their physical sexual functions. On the other hand, the closed and protected interior areas of girls' structures suggested their awareness of the potentially dynamic inner spaces within their physical bodies.

Erikson (1964) theorized that women have a greater propensity for affiliation behaviour than men due to sex-role socialization and a physical predisposition to nurture and protect the young. He did not believe, however, that the feminine nature is in any way inferior to that of men. In fact, he suggested that it is precisely because the female qualities of passivity, nurturance, and selflessness have been ignored in a world dominated by men that the human race stands on the brink of self-destruction. He urged that women be allowed to share the conference tables where the future of the world is decided so that they can give direction to the male's protrusive and dynamic energy and channel it into activities that prepare
the environment for the continuation of the race rather than for its eradication.

In his scheme of the "eight stages of man," Erikson (1963) systematically followed development into and through adulthood. Each stage has its unique and distinctive developmental tasks and is characterized by changes in personality structure. Through these progressive steps, the individual moves toward "ego identity," the ultimate form of personal fulfillment.

The sixth and seventh stages are particularly relevant to a study of never-married women. The major developmental task of the sixth stage is to achieve a "sense of intimacy" by sharing a deep, affectionate relationship with another or others and by fusing self-identity with that of others. This task is accomplished, Erikson said:

In the solidarity of close affiliations, in orgasms and sexual unions, in close friendships and in physical combat, in experiences of inspiration by teachers and of institutions from the recesses of the self. The avoidance of such experiences because of a fear of ego loss may lead to a deep sense of isolation and consequent self-absorption. (1963, p. 264)

It is not clear if all these activities are essential to finding intimacy or if some combination of them will suffice. Traditional attitudes about feminine fulfillment imply that complete fulfillment for women is not possible without "orgasms and sexual unions." If true, never-
married women who have not experienced sexually intimate relationships with men fail to achieve intimacy in their lives.

The primary developmental task of the seventh stage is "generativity," the process of establishing and guiding the next generation. Children, claimed Erikson (1963), are required for one's complete fulfillment: "Mature man needs to be needed, and maturity needs guidance as well as encouragement from what has been produced and must be taken care of" (p. 266). Erikson believed procreation is the superior, although not the only, form of generativity: "The concept of generativity is meant to include such more popular synonyms as productivity and creativity, which, however, cannot replace it" (p. 267).

The implication for never-married women is, of course, that their creative contributions to others are inferior and less satisfying than child-bearing and this stage of growth toward ego identity can never be as successfully mastered as by women who become mothers.

Bardwick and Others

Bardwick (1971) agreed with Erikson that the body makes a great contribution to the psychological make-up of the individual. She stated that it is the female body's own configuration and functioning that is effective in female psychology rather than some uneasy feeling that the
body is "incomplete." Further, the developmental patterns of the female body are different from those of the male and this too has an impact on the formation of the psyche. Girls do not experience intensive sexual sensations as young as boys do; while boys are struggling to gain impulse control over their sexual feelings, girls are able to continue striving for achievement in their skills and learning. Therefore, girls surpass male classmates in school during the primary years. When sexual sensations intensify in girls during puberty, however, affiliation needs become dominant. Although the affiliative behaviour associated with puberty may be more of a socially learned response to the symptoms of adolescence than it is physically inherent, during puberty and young adulthood men begin to surpass women in achievement behaviour. The achievement motive generally does not re-emerge in women until the mid-thirties, after marriage and family have been well established.

Bardwick (1971) saw the differential socialization of boys and girls as partly responsible for psychological differences between men and women. Affiliative behaviours, such as cuddling and kissing, are socially appropriate for infants of both sexes; by the age of two or three, however, boys are discouraged from these activities because they are "sissy," while girls are encouraged to turn to others
for love and affection. In addition, the early sexual responses of boys may incur paternal disapproval at a young age, and set the scene for revolt and the establishment of independence. Because they are less "trouble" than boys, girls continue in dependent relationships with their parents up until the time of marriage, when dependency is transferred to husbands. The outcome of differential socialization is that men tend to develop a stronger sense of identity and independence than women do. They depend less on the approval of others to experience satisfaction about themselves, are more inner-directed and autonomous in most areas of their lives, and generally have greater access to sources of high esteem.

Bardwick (1971) conceived of the affiliation and achievement needs of women as being in an inverse relationship to one another. As children, girls evidence strong achievement behaviours but in puberty, affiliation is given priority over achievement as the desire to marry becomes increasingly urgent. Affiliation needs remain dominant until women have become extremely secure through years of marriage and child-bearing. If such security is established, the achievement motivation may re-emerge and send women out into the world to begin careers after their youngest children are in school.

Baruch (1967) found that, among her subjects who had formerly been college students, there was an increase
in achievement motivation 10 to 15 years after their marriage. She suggested that these findings show the importance of the need for Affiliation rather than for Achievement in the lives of her subjects. The need for Affiliation is suppressed during the period of early marriage and child-rearing and re-emerges later in life, when the affiliation needs have been satisfied.

Stein and Bailey (1973) summarized similar studies that found affiliation to be more important in the lives of women than achievement. In contrast to Bardwick, however, these authors suggested that women may merely shift achievement efforts from academic and career areas to social areas during adolescence. Finding a husband may be an achievement goal, although it appears on the surface to be affiliative in nature.

More recently, Sheehy (1976) suggested that affiliation and achievement have equal importance in many women's lives and described traditional and newly emerging life patterns designed to accommodate both types of need.

The more traditional and most prevalent pattern is marriage and child-bearing during the twenties and entry into the work force (often preceded by a return to school) when all the children have reached school age. The number of women over thirty who are enrolled in higher education
courses doubled during the period 1963 through 1973, and
the number of women in the work force has also increased
remarkably (Westervelt, 1973).

An alternate pattern that is coming increasingly
into use is that of pursuing a career during the first
decade of adult life and bearing children during the
second. Sheehy suggested that some of the women who
develop a career before raising a family do so according
to personal plans made early in life; others have no plans
for children but, as menopause approaches, they realize
that they want children and make great shifts in their
lives to accommodate this desire. The option of marrying
or postponing marriage many years is becoming more and
more viable—both socially and economically—for women.

Practically speaking, there are three basic life
plans for women involving marriage and work: (1) to marry
and have a family in lieu of working; (2) to combine work
and marriage in some way; and (3) to remain single and work
in lieu of getting married (Baker, 1967). However, the
theories about the relative importance of affiliation and
achievement for women discussed in this section lend support
to the concept that singleness is not a legitimate female
option. In fact, Bardwick was quite clear about her
feelings that a woman's failure to marry was indicative
of psychological deviancy.
I regard women who are not motivated to achieve the affiliative role with husband and children as not normal. The psychological needs that evolve for the body, the internalization of cultural expectation as part of the self-concept, and the pressure from parents and peers all converge to make marriage and children, love and nurturance, the most important of feminine psychological needs. When these needs are absent, denied, or defended against, my clinical observation is that there is evidence for pathological levels of anxiety, a distorted sex identity, and a neurotic solution. (1971, p. 162)

In her view, women's need to establish affiliative ties through marrying and having children is essential to a sense of self-esteem. Although a woman may compromise the amount of her life she devotes to the family, there is no room for options in terms of whether or not to establish a family. For Bardwick, therefore, the never-married woman is indeed a "lonely loser."

**Humanistic Psychology**

It has been asserted that singleness for women is not necessarily the consequence of some personality aberration (Adams, 1976; Stein, 1976), nor is it responsible, in itself, for psychological maladjustment in adulthood (Baker, 1967). On the other hand, the traditional assumptions about women as expressed in the stereotypes of never-married women are contraindicative of these claims, for they suggest that it is unnatural and psychologically abnormal for women to remain unmarried. The
central issue of this controversy seems to be whether it is possible for women to find fulfillment outside the roles of wife and mother.

Carl Rogers (1961) and other prominent psychologists frequently referred to the "fully functioning self." The self, arising from the organism's "inner drive to become," is not an inherent or otherwise innate characteristic of any human being. While persons are born with certain personality-linked potentials, like intellectual capacity and constitutional strength, the self is developed through the complex interactions of one's individual, biogenetic makeup, the cultural milieu, the influence of other people in one's life, and the "inner drive to become." In addition, the effect of environmental influences on the development of self depends, to a large degree, on how these factors are perceived.

Conditioned by the past, each person brings to the present situation a unique definition of its meaning, and interacts with the present situation in accordance with that perception, that is, on the basis of the meaning he assigns to the situation. (Baker, 1967, p. 143)

Development of the self is usually conceived in terms of a number of stages, plateaus, or achievements through which the self approaches fulfillment. Maslow (1968) suggested that fulfillment or "self-actualization" is built on the adequate satisfaction of other, more primitive needs like survival needs (food and shelter)
and affiliation need (belonging). Self-actualization is achieved primarily through self-acceptance, which permits an out-turning to contribute to the welfare of significant others. Erikson (1963) also believed that a sense of belonging (intimacy) and contribution to others and to the future (generativity) were essential to achieving fulfillment or "ego identity."

The need to affiliate is considered in Maslow's and Erikson's theories to be a prerequisite of fulfillment for all human beings. It is not clear, however, whether affiliation is achieved only through male-female, long-term sexual relationships or if there are other relationships which are just as useful in achieving a sense of belonging. Fromm (1963, p. 38) suggested that

> Love is not primarily a relationship to specific person; it is an attitude or orientation of character which determines the relatedness of a person to the world as a whole, not toward an 'object' of love."

Further, he stated:

> If erotic love (that between a man and a woman) is not also brotherly love, it never leads to union in more than an orgiastic, transitory sense. (p. 46)

The importance of sexual union between two persons who have established a truly loving relationship as a form of intimacy cannot be denied. Neither can the fulfillment experienced by many people through procreation and parenting. What Fromm recognized is that the human experience of affiliation is not limited to these situations. People
may find other satisfying forms of intimacy which will enable them to live happy and productive lives.

It is also possible for people to find ways of making significant contributions to others in their social milieu and to the larger community without bringing children into the world. On close analysis, it appears that parenting children is not as important as having the quality of a parental personality; this quality may find many other objects of responsibility and concern besides children since there are a number of ways in which one can give of oneself.

The implications of humanistic theory for never-married women are clearly much more positive than those of traditional thought. Feminine fulfillment is no longer limited to the roles of marriage and motherhood, although these roles certainly afford the majority of women an opportunity to experience belonging and fulfillment. Rather, feminine fulfillment is replaced by the concept of human fulfillment which depends on both a sense of self-worth that comes through achievement and a sense of belonging that results from giving of oneself to others.

Summary

In Chapter IV, some of the developments occurring in the understanding of the psychology of women were presented. Selected theorists from the time of Freud to the
present day were examined in terms of their thinking about women and, where possible, about never-married women. Freud believed that women were inferior to men, and that they were motivated to overcome their missing penis through the substitution of a baby and thus compensate for this structural inferiority. In their rejection of motherhood, never-married women were developmentally deviant. Horney saw women's feelings of inferiority as culturally, rather than biologically, founded, and that women were afflicted with self-hate because of their subordination in a male-dominated society. A common compensation for this self-hate was an "overvaluation of love." Never-married women do not follow culturally defined feminine roles and this might possibly have implications for their mental health, but they were not necessarily psychologically abnormal. Erikson recognized that female psychology had been largely based on women who were in therapy, and that this had been a factor in earlier thinking that women were inferior and unhappy. He suggested that women were different from but equal to men. Roles of women were mainly the result of their anatomical difference from men and only partly due to social reinforcement of sex-role behaviour. Women had a predisposition arising from an awareness of their dynamic "internal spaces" to nurture and to raise a younger generation; never-married women would, therefore, be forced to realize
their creative needs through means other than, and inferior to, motherhood. Bardwick concentrated on the psychology of women and believed that physiology played an important role in the psychological makeup of women. Affiliation was the dominant need in women's lives. Never-married women were seen as pathological. Neither Rogers nor Maslow differentiated between men and women in their understanding of personality. Persons, male and female, needed affiliative and achievement experiences in their lives in the process of becoming "fully functioning" or "self-actualized." Because they saw affiliation as an integral part of the self achieving its full capacity, it was surmised that women did not need to be confined to traditional roles to attain their highest potential.
CHAPTER V

REVIEW OF LITERATURE: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this chapter the researchers will build a theoretical framework—from a sociological viewpoint—on which to base a conceptual understanding of the changing roles of women in modern society and the effects of these changes, if any, on the lives of never-married women. Relatively little research has been done on never-married women, especially with respect to role change and role conflict. Information on this topic must be distilled from general theory and studies of the effects of social change on women’s social roles. The theories discussed will be Ogburn’s Theory of Social Change (1964), Deutsch’s Conflict Theory (1969, 1973), and Adams’ Theory of the Social Sources of Singlehood (1976). These theories describe a dynamic relationship between social change, role conflict, and social stereotyping and can be used to discern various aspects of the never-married woman’s role and position in society.

Ogburn’s Theory of Social Change

Ogburn (1964) conceived of society as a whole that is composed of an infinite number of integral and highly-
related parts. Some of these parts he classed as material; the rest he called non-material. Material parts are the technological or physical aspects of a culture, such as population, climate, and inventions; the non-material parts are the social or organizational aspects, ideology, family patterns, and social values, for example.

When change occurs in one area of a culture through invention, discovery, or happenstance—premeditated or fortuitous—the effects are sure to be felt by the dependent and related parts. When a delay occurs between the initial change and the reaction of the dependent parts of the culture, the result is a "cultural lag." The extent of the ensuing gap in the social fabric and the duration of time for which the lag persists may vary, but if the gap is severe enough and endures for long enough, the time for which it lasts is called a period of maladjustment and is characterized by disharmony or conflict.

Cultural lag can result from changes in the non-material parts to which the material parts must adjust, or from changes in the material parts to which the non-material parts must adjust. For the purposes of this

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1Ogburn's exact definition of cultural lag is "(that which) occurs when one of two parts of culture which are correlated change before or in greater degree than the other part does thereby causing less adjustment between the two parts than existed previously" (1964, p. 86).
study, the researchers are chiefly interested in the latter, for contemporary historians tend to agree that the changes associated with the Women's Movement have occurred primarily in response to important technological advances in the recent past. Bullough (1973), for example, suggested that the changing cultural norms and social structures related to the social role of women are non-material adaptations to

1. Increased understanding and control over women's biological processes, especially the introduction of highly effective contraceptives

2. The invention of many time-saving devices for the home

3. The technological advances in industry that have made physical strength unimportant in most job situations.

Three concepts given credit in this theory for slowing down the process of adaptation are social utility, reluctance to change, and "vested interest" (Ristic, 1975, pp. 21-22).

Social utility. The various elements of a culture exist because they now or in the past performed some socially useful function. When new cultural elements of superior utility are discovered, they replace the old. But change from the old to the new is often made difficult
by the fact that the social utility of the old forms is well-established in the social consciousness, while the usefulness of the new has yet to be proven. Recent material changes have eroded the social usefulness of the traditional female role; over-population and advanced machine technology have created a whole different set of social needs. However, alternative gender roles continue to be challenged simply because their social utility has not been proven.

Reluctance to change. Slowness to change can be partially attributed to habit and to socially enforced conformity to group standards. Individuals are apt to be hesitant about deviating from the accepted code of manners because generally accepted standards for behaviour and decorum facilitate social interactions. The knowledge and reassurance that comes from the definiteness and repetition of the existing social organization is comforting to most people. In addition, there is a certain amount of fear engendered by uncertainty. Social experimentation is likely to be viewed as risky because it is seen as a threat to the interdependence and orderliness necessary in social organization (Ristic, 1975, p. 21).

Evidence of the reluctance to change is found in the fact that the role of women has changed least in those areas of society where authority and power are concentrated. Comparatively speaking, few women have positions of power
in the government, in the church, or in the corporate structures because of society's hesitancy to tamper with the traditional decorum of these important junctures of social interaction.

**Vested interest.** Social change can present a special threat to those who have a vested interest in maintaining the *status quo*. When individuals or groups derive a differential advantage under given conditions, they are likely to offer resistance to social changes which they perceive as being dangerous to the position they wish to preserve (Ristic, 1975, p. 22).

Of these three processes the concept of vested interest is probably the most responsible for society's reluctance to accept less restricted social roles for women. Historically, women have been the subordinate or "second sex" (Beauvoir, 1960). In order to maintain their dominant position, men have traditionally had a "vested interest" in preserving those customs and attitudes that keep women in their place.

Satisfied with their roles in decision-making, men have vested interests in preserving the existing arrangement, but they must justify their position. Rationales generally take the form of attributing superior competence or moral value to themselves. From this point of view, lack of power and influence is little enough punishment for women who are so incapable and who would
fly in the face of nature. These rationales supporting the status quo are usually accompanied by corresponding emotions which lead some men to react with disapproval and resistance to attempts to change the power relationships, and with apprehension and defensiveness to the possibility that these attempts might succeed. The apprehension is often caused by an expectation that the change will leave men in a powerless position under the control of women who are incompetent and irresponsible or at the mercy of women seeking revenge for past injustices.

Two recent studies illustrate the validity of Ogburn's Theory of Social Change and show that modern society is in a period of maladjustment due to cultural lag.

In a study of changing role structures within the family, Nye (1976) suggested that new patterns of marriage and work are emerging for men and women and that the traditional sex-role differences are becoming blurred. His findings showed that many role tasks which have been strictly gender-related in the past—tasks like earning the family's income and keeping house—are beginning to be shared between the sexes.

Aware of these changes in role performance in modern society, Broverman et al. (1972) designed a study to find out if sex-role changes were being accompanied by
changes in male and female stereotypes. In this study a number of subjects, both male and female, were asked to list those characteristics which they considered masculine and feminine. These responses were compiled into a single list of male and female character traits. By analyzing this list, Broverman et al. found (1) that there was a sharp distinction between the subjects' concepts of masculine and feminine, (2) that the majority of the responses reflected a traditional view of male and female personalities, and (3) that masculine traits continue to be considered more socially desirable than feminine characteristics.

Since the number and variety of roles played by women is increasing rather quickly, while the disparaging stereotyping about their emotional, mental, and moral make-up continues to persist, a gap has been created between actual role behaviours and social values and attitudes. This gap is caused by the slowness of society to adapt its perception of women to their changing lifestyles.

Deutsch's Conflict Theory

In the last section some of the social sources of conflict concerning the role of women in modern society were described in terms of social change and cultural lag. It is the purpose of this section to describe the nature of this conflict and some of the major processes involved.
Deutsch (1969) identified two types of conflict: constructive and destructive. Constructive conflict serves a positive purpose. It can provide an opportunity to test and assess oneself, it may demarcate groups from one another so that group and personal identities can be formed, and it can perform a stabilizing and integrating function for relationships by eliminating sources of dissatisfaction. The chief characteristic that distinguishes constructive conflict from destructive conflict is the amount of cooperative effort that goes into its resolution.

Destructive conflict, on the other hand, is much less controllable; it tends to expand and escalate, often blurring or obliterating the original cause as it spreads into more and more areas of dissatisfaction. Its processes tend to reinforce themselves, making it progressively harder to bring under control once it has gotten out of hand. This type of conflict usually results in little true or lasting good for either side, for the amount of energy entailed leaves both sides weak and vulnerable and the factionalism it causes may be difficult to overcome.

Destructive conflict is characterized by three interrelated processes: the competitive process, the process of misperception, and the process of commitment.

**Competitive process.** The competitive process arises from a struggle by two or more parties for incompatible goals; when the probability of goal-attainment by one party
increases, it decreases for the other and a win-lose mentality is created on both sides. The effects of the competitive process are (1) the communication between the conflicting parties becomes unreliable and impoverished; (2) the view is stimulated that the solution to the conflict can only be of the type that is imposed by one side on the other through force, deception, or cleverness; and (3) suspicion and hostile attitudes increase the sensitivity of the opponents to their differences while minimizing awareness of similarities.

Process of misconception. The process of misconception and biased perception stems from pressures for self-consistency and for social conformity on the part of both parties. As the conflict escalates, there is an increasing tendency on both sides to misinterpret the words and the actions of the opposer and, in doing so, stress is increased. This in turn leads to further misconceptions. Thought becomes polarized and defensiveness increases as intellectual resources for discovering new ways of coping with the problem are reduced.

Process of commitment. The process of commitment is based on the psychological pressure for self-consistency. People tend to make their beliefs, attitudes, and actions agree with one another. This need may lead to conflict, for stands previously made must be justified to oneself and to others. "People come to love the things for which
they have suffered" and will commit themselves to conflict in order to preserve that which they love (Festinger, 1961, pp. 1-11).

Deutsch (1969) further suggested that conflict can take two forms: (1) interpersonal conflict which exists between two or more persons and arises primarily when there is a discrepancy between role expectations and role behaviour, and (2) intra-personal conflict which occurs within the individual. In attempting to fulfill more than one role simultaneously, individuals may find that they experience internal turmoil when they must satisfy multiple sets of expectations. This type of intra-personal conflict often occurs during a period of social change in which role definitions are not clear and lack specificity. Consequently, the individual is faced with a lack of congruence between the expectations of the former role model and the emerging one.

An interesting study by Nevill and Damico (1975) demonstrated the intra-personal form of conflict often experienced by women who were attempting to maintain traditional affiliation patterns, (marriage and children) while engaging in work outside the home as a means of satisfying their achievement needs. These researchers tested three samples of women--never-married, currently-married, and previously-married--to determine how and to
what extent marital status affects the role conflict that is experienced by working women. The subjects were asked to describe the extent of their conflictual feelings in eight areas: expectations of self, time management, household management, guilt, expectations of others, finances, relations with husband, and child care. Findings showed that currently-married subjects experienced significantly more conflict in every category except expectations of self and expectations of others; in these categories the conflict levels of all three samples were fairly consistent. One interesting note is that the currently-married group even experienced more conflict in the area of child care than did the single mothers in the previously-married sample.

In general, there was a high level of congruence between the previously-married and never-married, especially when samples were controlled for occupational level. The conflict experienced by these two groups remained fairly low as long as respondents were in relatively well-paying positions. However, as financial rewards decreased, conflict levels rose for both groups. In contrast, conflicts for married women remained relatively stable across occupational lines.

In applying Deutsch's theory to the social attitudes about never-married women, it is evident that the processes of destructive conflict are operative in the stereotyping
of this group. Commitment to traditional family patterns by married people is predictable, for it enhances the consistency between their values and their own actions and choices. Pressure for self-consistency usually promotes pressure for social conformity because it lends support to one's actions to universalize the moral justification for them. People who do not, therefore, "do as I do" are apt to be labelled as abnormal, deviant, or morally suspect, and their actions are likely to be misperceived and misinterpreted. Moreover, the labelling is apt to be in black-and-white terms since misperception tends to increase stress and polarize thought.

The "career-woman" and "lonely loser" stereotypes may be considered misperceptions of the lifestyles of never-married women. Never-married women often live alone and work outside the home; in their stereotypes these two facts of life are misperceived and misinterpreted as loneliness and aggressiveness in order to discount what marrieds may see as threatening behaviour.

Adams' Theory of the Social Sources of Singleness

Adams (1976) suggested that singleness is tolerated, or even encouraged, when it suits the needs of a society to do so and that the clearer its social expediency is perceived, the more likely that social accommoda-
tions; will be made for single people. The way in which society encourages people to remain single she described in the following manner:

If a society wishes to encourage a proportion of its members to remain single... it must take practical measures to provide for the special needs arising from this status; in short, those who do not marry must be guaranteed a fair allotment of society's resources that will enable them to match the standard of living normally accepted by their married peers. (Adams, 1976, p. 34)

Some of the social conditions she described that are likely to engender accommodating attitudes toward singleness are production needs, need for mobility, property laws, and population problems.

Production need. When a society's more important means of material production require the participation of women, either as an additional labour force or because of the special skills that women are thought to possess, female singlehood is likely to be encouraged. The assets of single women are that they can perform their work away from home without disrupting important aspects of their lives and, more importantly, they are free to devote their full attention to industrial tasks without the distractions of family.

One example of this type of social control comes from the early days in the development of New England's textile industry. At the outset, mills were chiefly staffed by young, ambitious daughters of farming families.
who hoped to move out of their rural backgrounds and improve their lot by moving to urban areas. In order to encourage their migration from the country to the mill-towns, mill owners opened boarding houses for them and provided them with expanded social and educational opportunities. Later on, young, unmarried farm girls were replaced by immigrant women, most of whom were married, who provided a cheaper form of labour. The policy of providing opportunities for unmarried women subsided and was replaced by one allowing women working in the mills to bring their children to work (Adams, 1976, p. 37).

Need for mobility. During stages of expansion or transiency in the development of a society, the need for unattached individuals who are free to move about without disrupting their home environments may encourage social acceptance of singleness. One such society was the early Christian community. Struggling for survival in the hostile environment of Roman imperialism, the early church needed missionaries who could travel the length of the Roman Empire recruiting new members and providing communication between the far-flung churches. Singlehood was not only accepted but promoted because of its social utility in this developing society. Men who remained single to become missionaries were highly revered and their practical needs—like shelter and food—were willingly provided by other church members who believed that by doing so they
were able to secure God's blessings for themselves.

Property laws. Provisions have been made in various cultures for women whose singleness was likely to benefit the larger society by securing property rights of the family. During the Middle Ages, for example, social cohesiveness depended on the feudal structure of rigid hierarchy; strict arrangements concerning property ownership, marriage, and legitimate inheritance became a matter of great importance. A number of religious orders for women were begun at this time. They served the social function of providing an alternative lifestyle for women who remained unmarried because their families could not afford a sufficient dowry to attract a husband of appropriate rank and social status or because marriage might incur a threat against the family's financial holdings. Apart from economic usefulness, the religious orders also offered women an alternative to marriage, a haven where serious-minded women could cultivate their intellects and souls in relative peace (Adams, 1976, p. 46).

Population problems. In recent years the problems brought on by over-population have caused some shifts in social attitudes about marriage and child-bearing. Among the more highly-educated, the decision to marry and not have children, or simply not to marry at all, has become more acceptable. For the most part, however, these groups
represent the vanguard, the leading edge of change, while the majority still places great value on marriage and family.

Adams' theory was used by novelist and social critic, Gore Vidal (1979), in a recent article concerned with the question: Is singleness being presently encouraged or disparaged in modern Western society? According to Vidal, recent trends in politics seem to indicate the beginning of a backlash against social changes that are "threatening to destroy" the family structure. Social innovations and movements, such as the liberalization of divorce laws, gay liberation, and pro-abortion legislation are being blamed for weakening the social structure by their apparently deleterious effects on family life. The tide, it seems, is turning against social acceptance of singleness and single lifestyles.

The actual cause of this reactionary situation, said Vidal (1979), is that politicians need emotion-laden issues to stir public sentiment and gain votes, since there is no longer a war to exploit for these purposes. Few issues are as emotionally stimulating to the public as preservation of the family. Therefore, various political factions have begun to attack recent social changes that the public has come to associate with sexual permissiveness and the single life.
Behind the flurry of political dramas lies the vested interest of big business. Capitalistic society depends, to a large extent, on the preservation of the family structure, for the man with a wife and family to support is much less likely to challenge his employer than a single worker with the freedom and mobility to change jobs easily. It is for this reason, suggested Vidal, that sexual freedom and alternate lifestyles have come under fire.

If Vidal's analysis should prove to be accurate, there could be an increase in negative stereotyping of unmarried people and a decrease in the social accommodations that have been made for singles in recent years. Such a back-lash as Vidal described might result in curtailment of individual choice and seriously damage the status of never-married women in our society.

Summary

Three sociological theories that offer a framework for understanding the stereotyping of never-married women are (1) Ogburn's Theory of Social Change, (2) Deutsch's Conflict Theory, and (3) Adams' Theory of the Social Sources of Singleness.

Using Ogburn's theory, the persistence of never-married stereotyping can be explained by a reluctance to change social attitudes about women, married and never-
married, even though actual female lifestyles and work habits appear to be undergoing tremendous changes. This reluctance to change female stereotypes may be attributed to (1) a commitment to traditional social identities and interactions of men and women because the social utility of new forms has not been proven, and (2) men’s vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Such a gap between social attitudes and material changes in society is called a cultural lag and is often characterized by conflict.

Deutsch’s Conflict Theory suggests that this conflict may take one of two forms: constructive or destructive. It may also be experienced internally (intrapersonally) or between individuals or groups (interpersonally). The processes of destructive conflict are evident in the stereotyping of never-married women. Commitment to marriage by married people results in the disparaging of those who do not marry; elements of never-married women’s lifestyles are misperceived and interpreted as a threat to marriage.

Adams’ Theory of the Social Sources of Singleness suggests that singleness often serves a useful social purpose and when it does, society encourages it to some extent by providing social and economic accommodations for singles. When singleness is not socially useful, these provisions are withdrawn. According to social critic Vidal,
recent political trends indicate that the single lifestyle is likely to be discouraged in the future because it threatens the capitalistic economy. This discouragement would probably be characterized by an increasing tendency to stereotype never-married women.
CHAPTER VI

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: FURTHER DEVELOPMENT
OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this chapter the researchers will present the hypotheses that were developed from Research Question 1. These hypotheses were formed in order to test the validity of the two most common stereotypes for never-married women, the "career woman" and the "lonely loser." In addition, the rationale for stating these hypotheses as supports for the stereotypes will be outlined. Following this explanation, the development of Research Questions 2 and 3 will be described, operational definitions will be given, and the study will be classified.

Research Question 1: The Hypotheses

The researchers' first question was concerned with the strength of affiliation and achievement needs of never-married women. From this question they developed two hypotheses, the first of which was addressed to achievement needs.

HYPOTHESIS 1: The scores of never-married women will be significantly higher than those of married women on the Adjective Check List's 1 scale of Achievement.

1Adjective Check List is a standardized test of personality measuring need for Achievement and need for Affiliation. It is described in some detail in Chapter VII.
The null hypothesis of this statement is that the scores of never-married women will not be significantly higher than those of married women on the Adjective Check List's scale of Achievement, in which case there will either be no significant difference between the two groups or the never-married women will score significantly lower than would the married women on the Achievement scale.

The researchers' rationale for the above hypothesis was based on the strong achievement component inherent in the "career woman" stereotype described in Chapter III. The researchers chose to state the hypothesis in such a way as to support this stereotype which suggests that never-married women are so much more strongly achievement oriented than married women that they are unable to establish "normal" female affiliations through marriage and motherhood.

The assumption that outstanding achievement behaviour is not normal for women has been incorporated into a number of psychological theories. Consequently, these theories suggest that women who seek achievement in the traditionally male-dominated spheres of endeavour, as many never-married women do, may be psychologically deviant. Affiliation through marriage and motherhood, on the other hand, is assumed to be a normal life pattern for women by a number of developmental theorists.

Freud (1956) believed that a woman's failure to marry
resulted in unresolved feelings of penis envy because, he said, it was through child-bearing that the female abates her sense of inferiority by acquiring a symbolic penis in the form of a child, especially a male child. Erikson (1964) defined the natural setting for female activity as the home (internal spaces), and Bardwick (1971) suggested that it is only when women feel very secure in interpersonal relationships that they allow achievement needs to take priority over affiliative needs in their lives and that this security is usually not attained until they have been married for a number of years. In the context of these theories, the achievement needs of never-married women were hypothesized by the researchers to be abnormally strong in comparison with married women.

A second hypothesis developed by the researchers from their first research question implies that never-married women have a stronger need for affiliation than married women. Based on the stereotype of the "lonely loser," this hypothesis indicates that never-married women never achieve the security of married women and therefore tend to channel most of their energy into meeting their affiliation needs. This hypothesis reflects the theories of Bardwick (1971) and, in addition, those of Horney (1967), which described this over-developed need for affiliation as an "overvaluation of love."

The researchers stated this hypothesis in the following
manner:

**HYPOTHESIS 2**: The scores of never-married women will be significantly higher than those of married women on the Adjective Check List's scale of Affiliation.

The null hypothesis of this statement is that the scores of never-married women will not be significantly higher than those of married women on the Adjective Check List's scale of Affiliation. This means either that there will be no significant difference between the two groups or that never-married women will score significantly lower than married women on the Affiliation scale.

**Research Question 2**

In addition to testing for levels of affiliation and achievement needs of never-married women, the researchers were also interested in examining their affiliation patterns. For married women, the nuclear family forms a focal point for affiliation. Family life in American society is generally considered sacred because it is thought to be the main source of socialization and emotional support for its members. Even the role of the extended family has been allowed to deteriorate in favor of an exclusive involvement with spouse and children. Never-married women are obviously in a socially vulnerable position since they have neither husbands nor children to satisfy their affiliative needs and they are forced to look elsewhere for
the interpersonal relationships that are essential for personal well-being. Having decided to explore some of the relationships used by never-married women to meet their affiliative needs, the researchers constructed an Affiliation Index and certain questions for their Interview Schedule which were useful in this endeavour.

Research Question 3

Research Question 3 suggests that there are a number of factors which contributed to the development of strong affiliation and achievement needs in women. Sheehy (1976) suggested that childless women might experience a crisis in the years preceding menopause because of the realization that their child-bearing years were ending; Nevill and Damico (1975) found that never-married women were subject to poorer mental health during their forties than at other times. The researchers were, therefore, interested in exploring the relationship of age and need for Affiliation.

Hoffman (1972) found that the atmosphere in women's childhood homes influenced the development of achievement behaviour in adulthood. Homes which had relatively permissive and relatively warm atmospheres were found to produce high achievers. The researchers briefly examined the relationship between this atmosphere and their subjects' need for Achievement.

The researchers were interested in the possible
effects that expectations of others and availability of models might have on their subjects' achievement needs and behaviour. They examined subjects' recollections of their parents' expectations for them, subjects' recollections of what their peers had planned for their own lives, and subjects' awareness of having been exposed to never-married and working women as models in relation to need for Achievement.

Certain questions on the researchers' Interview Schedule were designed especially to explore these areas of subjects' lives.

Operational Definitions

The research questions yielded a number of concepts and variables that had to be defined operationally. Although some of these concepts were partly defined in previous chapters, the purpose of this section is to define them not only in theoretical terms but also to outline the means by which they were measured empirically.

For the purposes of this research study, need for Affiliation was defined, consistent with French and Chadwick's (1956) thinking, as the desire to establish and maintain meaningful interpersonal relationships because of both the emotional rewards consequent to such relationships and the fear of rejection associated with their loss. Need for Affiliation was measured by scores obtained on the Adjective
Check-List (ACL), a pencil-and-paper personality profile including measures of need for Affiliation and need for Achievement.

In this research project, McClelland's (1954) definition of need for Achievement was used: success in competition with a standard of excellence, unique accomplishment, and long-term involvement. Like need for Affiliation, this concept was measured by scores obtained on the Adjective Check List.

In exploring the second research question, amount of affiliation and type of affiliation pattern were measured and described by an index composed of a number of questions from the researchers' own Interview Schedule. The items selected for inclusion in this index included four of the seven sectors of attachment proposed by Bahr and Garrett (1976, p. 43). This Affiliation Index\textsuperscript{1} was employed by the researchers to measure the extent and the manner in which never-married and married women meet their affiliation needs.

For sampling purposes, marital status was a concept which demanded clarification. Never-married meant the state of not being involved in a long-term, live-in relationship with a man, either legal or common-law. It was also stipulated that never-married women would be individuals 30 years of age and over. This cut-off point was chosen be-

\textsuperscript{1}The Affiliation Index used in this study will be described in Chapter VII.
cause statistics show that marriage rates decline sharply after 30 and women still unmarried at that age will probably never marry.

The researchers defined married women as women 30 years of age or over, legally married and currently living with their husbands. They also stipulated that married women must have at least one child (not necessarily still living at home). The justification for this requirement was that the researchers wanted their contrast group to be representative of women who fill society's traditional role expectations by being wives and mothers.

Socio-economic status, as measured by Blishen and McRoberts' "socio-economic index for occupations in Canada" (1976), was one of the variables controlled in the selection of the sample. The index used was a ranking of 480 occupations whose titles corresponded with classifications used in the 1971 Canada Census and whose rankings were derived from the average education, income, and prestige level of incumbents. The importance of the Blishen and McRoberts index for this study was two-fold: not only did it provide a valid and reliable indication of occupational status but it also was closely related to the larger concept of socio-economic or class status. As Blishen stated, "Occupational position is an invaluable indicator of class position" (1958, p. 520)
Classification of the Research Design

Tripodi, Fellin, and Meyer (1969) classified research studies into three major designs—experimental, quantitative-descriptive, and exploratory. Classification of research is based on the purpose of the study and the methods used for data collection (p. 21). Using the criteria of Tripodi et al. as a guideline, the researchers classified their project as a quantitative-descriptive study. The major characteristics of this type of study are (1) that it is not experimental in nature; (2) that contrast groups are used in sampling rather than experimental and control groups; (3) that variables are operationally defined and systematically measured; and (4) that it tests hypotheses using accepted statistical procedures or describes relationships among variables. The researchers further determined that their design was an hypothesis-testing sub-type of quantitative-description. They made this determination because their primary purpose was to examine the hypotheses described in this chapter in terms of whether they would be supported by empirical testing. They constructed meaningful contrast groups of never-married and married women, matched on a number of criteria to control for extraneous variables, and subjected these two groups to a variety of research procedures in order to test out their hypotheses. Their research thus fulfilled all of Tripodi et al.'s criteria
for classification as stated.

Summary

In this chapter an outline of the methodology employed by the researchers in developing the research questions was presented. Research Question 1, concerning the strength of affiliation and achievement needs of never-married women, resulted in the formation of two hypotheses: (1) that the scores of never-married women would be significantly higher than those of married women on the Adjective Check List's scale of Achievement, and (2) that the scores of never-married women would be significantly higher than those of married women on the Adjective Check List's scale of Affiliation. Each of these hypotheses was developed in accordance with relevant theory, existing stereotypes of the never-married woman, and available measuring devices. Research Questions 2 and 3 were of a more exploratory nature and did not, therefore, result in the formation of hypotheses for testing. From Research Question 2, concerning the affiliation patterns of never-married women, the researchers decided to look at a variety of sources used by this group to meet their affiliative needs and constructed their own Affiliation Index to assist them. Research Question 3, concerning some of the demographic and biographical factors associated with the strength of affiliation and achievement
needs of never-married women, was approached through a personal interview with each of the women in the research sample. Each of the variables employed in the study was defined in operational terms. Finally, the study was classified according to the Tripodi et al. (1969) system as a quantitative-descriptive type, hypothesis-testing subtype.
CHAPTER VII

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: DATA COLLECTION
AND ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

After the problem was formulated, sampling and data collection methods were devised and instruments for gathering the needed data in a valid and reliable way were chosen and constructed. It is the purpose of this chapter to outline the methods and describe the instruments used in this study for data collection and analysis and to state the limitations of the study in terms of both design and results.

Population and Sampling

Since the focus of this study was the affiliative and achievement needs of never-married women 30 and over, this was the population in which the researchers were primarily interested. Due to the limitations of the project however, it was impossible to investigate the needs of all the members of this population in Canada, in southwestern Ontario, or even in Windsor, the location in which the study was done. The researchers hoped to obtain adequate results however, without going to such lengths by following certain guidelines while selecting their sample and generalizing
their results.

The researchers chose a judgmental (Ackoff, 1953) or quota (Chein, 1976) sample for their study. A quota sample is one in which the researcher includes diverse segments of the population by "taking into account such bases of stratification as age, sex, education, geographical region of residence, socio-economic status, and ethnic background" (Chein, 1976, p. 518). Essentially, the sample is still a non-probability one that has certain limitations to its external validity because the extent to which the sample is representative of the population is not quantifiable.

The researchers considered a number of Chein's criteria in choosing their sample. A total of 54 women were interviewed by the researchers, 26 never-married and 28 married. Of these 54, 25 never-married women and 25 married women were chosen for the analysis. The two groups were matched to each other by age, socio-economic status, education, income, and religion. In this manner, a number of extraneous factors were eliminated which might have complicated the analysis of the data that was collected.

Matching the two groups by age, education, and religion was easily accomplished. Questions on the Interview Schedule which yielded this information were pre-coded for simple comparison and analysis. With respect to the variables of income and socio-economic status, it was not
appropriate to look solely at the scores of the respondents themselves. Some of the married respondents were employed only part-time and were, to some extent, dependent on someone else for their standard of living and status in the community. Therefore, the researchers decided to match the two groups by using the income and socio-economic status of the member of the household who scored higher on the Blishen and McRoberts (1976) index. In some cases, married women were matched to their never-married counterparts by their own scores on income and socio-economic status; in other cases, however, the husbands’ scores were used for matching purposes.

This procedure had both practical and theoretical justification. Take, for example, Mrs. R. of South Windsor, married, working part-time as a cashier in a grocery store. She earned approximately $6,000 per year. Her scores on income and SES fell somewhat below the mean of the researchers’ sample. However, Mrs. R.’s husband was a businessman earning more than $50,000 per year. Mrs. R.’s lifestyle and $100,000 home were obviously more dependent on her husband’s position than on her own. This type of situation caused the researchers to use for comparison the scores of the household member who ranked higher on the relevant indices. Blishen (1967) agreed that the family takes its social status from the husband when he is working (p. 42).
The researchers drew their sample from a variety of sources. An advertisement inviting never-married and married women 30 and over to take part in a survey of lifestyles was placed in the "Personals" column of The Windsor Star. Volunteers were asked to phone the School of Social Work and leave their names and numbers with the secretary. The researchers were interviewed about their study on CBC radio's morning program, "Information Radio." This provided some free publicity for the project and further disseminated the request for volunteers to telephone the School of Social Work. Other respondents were referred by friends, acquaintances and colleagues of researchers. A number of volunteers were obtained by asking subjects at the end of the interview if they knew other people who would be willing to take part.

**Data Collection**

Each subject completed a pencil-and-paper test of personality (the Adjective Check List) and participated in an interview consisting of both multiple-choice and open-ended questions. The researchers chose to interview the subjects rather than use a mail-out questionnaire because they were aware of the statistics for return rate of mail-out questionnaires--usually 10-50% (Selltiz et al., 1976, p. 297)--and felt that their potential sample was not big
enough to afford such a loss in response rate. They were also aware that at least 10 per cent of the population is functionally illiterate and mailed-out questionnaires of this complexity might not be understandable to some respondents. As Selltiz et al. (1976, p. 296) remark, "Complicated questionnaires requiring extended written responses can be used with only a very small percentage of the population." By interviewing, the researchers were forced to surrender one of the main advantages of questionnaires—their economy of administration time—in favour of the higher response rate and the better quality of narrative response possible through interviewing respondents.

**Instrumentation**

The instruments used in the study were the Adjective Check List and an Interview Schedule constructed by the researchers to gather certain demographic and personal data relevant to their hypotheses and research questions. They also constructed an Affiliation Index to measure amount of affiliation and to describe the type of affiliation patterns found among the subjects.

**The Adjective Check List.** This instrument was developed by Gough and Heilbrun (1965) to measure individual self-concepts in terms of fifteen traits of personality. It consists of a list of 300 adjectives (see Appendix A)
from which the respondent chooses those he feels are characteristic of himself. Most of the 300 adjectives were drawn from items in Cattell's factor analytic studies (1943, 1946); others were derived from the personality theories of Freud, Jung, Mead, and Murray. Scoring for each trait is obtained by adding the number of adjectives considered indicative of a particular trait and subtracting the number of adjectives that are contra-indicative. This computation yields a numerical score which is converted to a standard score according to the sex of the respondent and the total number of adjectives checked in the test.

The Adjective Check List has a number of strong points in terms of personality assessment. First, the test is easy to administer, even to "unsophisticated respondents" (Robinson and Shaver, 1969, p. 122) and requires only 10 to 15 minutes to complete. Second, most of the terms used are common in everyday language so the test is easy to understand, requires minimal literacy, and the familiarity of its items "provides a meaningful task for the rater" (Heilbrun, 1959, p. 347). Third, a large amount of data can be collected in a short time because the test measures a number of personality traits simultaneously. Fourth, "the presence-or-absence checking response assures analytic ease," a distinct advantage for the researchers in comparison with projective measures of assessment (Heilbrun, 1959, p. 347).
The authors of the ACL assessed its reliability by having selected samples of respondents complete it a second time after various intervals of time. Test-retest correlations for both the Affiliation and Achievement scales were found to be adequate (Gough and Heilbrun, 1965, p. 15).

The various indices of the ACL were subjected to tests of their construct validity (Gough and Heilbrun, 1965), and were found to be accurate measures of what they purported to measure. For example, Heilbrun (1959) administered the ACL to two groups of high and low achievers (as indicated by a combination of the IQ's and grade point averages at college). He found that his high achievement group scored significantly higher on the Achievement scale of the ACL than did other subjects (p < .04). Similarly, the number of good friends with whom one could discuss important personal experiences was used as an external criterion for validating the Affiliation scale of the ACL (Heilbrun, 1959). Subjects scoring highest on the Affiliation scale were found to have significantly greater numbers of "good friends" than did subjects who scored lowest (p < .03).

In their study of never-married women, the researchers administered the ACL as recommended by its developers, but they were interested in only two of the fifteen personality traits for which the test was designed. These two traits were Affiliation and Achievement; the
others were ignored in the analysis.

**Interview Schedule.** The Interview Schedule was developed by the researchers over a period of months. It was pretested on a number of women, most of whom were friends or acquaintances of the researchers but who otherwise would have been appropriate sample members. Many revisions were made and pretesting was repeated until the researchers were satisfied with the instrument. Pretesting allowed important improvements to be made in the schedule and it afforded the researchers an opportunity to get some experience in the art of interviewing before actual data collection began. Since both researchers would be interviewing subjects, audio tape-recordings were made of the pretest interviews and were compared to ensure that the interviews were conducted in a reliable manner. The researchers continued this check of reliability throughout the data collection process.

The Interview Schedule (see Appendix B) consisted of 39 questions, the majority of which were fixed-alternative.

There were two main purposes for which the researchers' instrument was used. The first was to gather basic demographic information on variables such as age, marital status, socio-economic status, religion, education, that were relevant to the testing of their hypotheses. This information they used to match the subsamples and
to control for extraneous influences. The second purpose was to obtain certain biographical information from respondents that might turn up reasons why respondents scored as they did on the ACL. These factors, it was felt, might affect the ACL scores and, if so, this information would be useful in interpreting these scores.

All fixed-alternative questions were precoded. The interviewers used answer sheets on which all possible answers were presented in numerical form. During the course of the interview, little writing was required of the interviewers since they needed only to circle numbers on the answer sheet to record the respondents' answers. Information from the answer sheets was readily transferred to coding sheets for key punching and computation.

**Affiliation Index**

The "affiliation index" devised by Bahr and Garrett (1976) served as a model for the researchers' development of a more appropriate index for use in this study. The Bahr and Garrett index consists of three "sectors of attachment" through which an individual may affiliate with others; these are living arrangements, employment, and voluntary organizations. (See Appendix C.) This index was designed to measure the affiliation of single women living in various pockets of poverty in American society; therefore, its sectors of affiliation were not appropriate
for the sample used in this study. For one thing, all the
subjects in this study were employed, either part-time or
full-time and most of them belonged to several organiza-
tions. Simply belonging to an organization would not be
as indicative of affiliation for these women as it was
for destitute women.

Using Bahr and Garrett's "sectors of attachment"
as a guideline, the researchers devised their own index
composed of the following four areas of affiliation:

1. Living arrangement: lives with someone/
lives alone

2. Affiliative employment: employed in a service
occupation/employed in a non-service occupation

3. Social sphere: has close, personal friends/
does not have close, personal friends

4. Organizations: participates in an organization/
does not participate in an organization.

A service job was defined as one not dealing either
directly or indirectly with a product, and one in which the
worker came into contact with those being served. Hair-
dressing was considered a service occupation, for instance,
while legal articling was not. Employment in an insurance
company was considered a service job only if the subject
dealt directly with clients, instead of doing clerical
work only.

Bahr and Garrett's "membership in a voluntary
organization" sector of attachment was changed to "participation in an organization" because it was felt that active membership showed stronger affiliation than simply being listed as a member.

In order to find out if never-married women met their affiliation needs in a wider variety of ways than did married women, the researchers approached the Index in several different ways.

First, the number of positive affiliation sectors for each subject was determined by scoring a +1 for each positive category and summing them. Using this system, a subject who lived with another-adult, did not have a service job, had three friends and participated in two organizations would score 3. The subject who lived alone, had a service job, had six friends and participated in ten organizations also would have a score of 3. In other words, this score reflects in how many of the four sectors of affiliation each subject was positively affiliated.

Secondly, patterns of affiliation of married and never-married women were detected by examining categories of affiliation for each subject. Whereas all married subjects lived with someone, some never-marrieds lived alone; on the other hand, never-marrieds were more likely to hold service jobs and have more friends than marrieds.
By comparing the patterns of affiliation revealed by the index, the researchers hoped to discover if never-marrieds seek affiliation in different areas of life than marrieds.

Thirdly, the extent to which certain sectors served as sources of affiliation was determined by breaking them down further. The researchers chose to break down the "friends" and "organizations" sectors in greater detail during data analysis.

Plan for Analysis of Data

Data obtained by the ACL and the Interview Schedule were analyzed by computer using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer language. A number of SPSS subprogrammes were employed in the analysis: FREQUENCIES, CROSSTABS, BREAKDOWN, T-TEST, and PEARSON CORR.

Subprogramme FREQUENCIES provided statistics on absolute and percentage frequencies of the values of each variable under consideration, along with several measures of central tendency (mean, median, and mode) and variation (skewness, kurtosis, standard deviation, variance, standard error, minimum, maximum, and range).

Subprogramme CROSSTABS crosstabulated frequencies of relevant variables like, for example, marital status and need for Affiliation. It also conducted tests of association of variables including Cramers V, Lambda,
Gamma, and so forth.

Means, standard deviations, and variances were furnished by subprogramme BREAKDOWN for a number of cross-tabulated variables. BREAKDOWN was found particularly useful in conjunction with CROSSTABS for describing the never-married and married subsamples.

Subprogramme PEARSON CORR supplied the researchers with Pearson moment correlation coefficients for the correlation of variables that were treated intervally, such as age, affiliation and achievement scores, and socio-economic status.

Finally, T-TEST was used to test for significance of association of variables and was instrumental in an analysis of the extent to which the data was found to support the research hypotheses.

**Limitations of the Study**

The researchers recognize that there were a number of limitations to their study. The research sample was less than ideal on a number of counts. First, it was small in number, composed of only 25 never-married and 25 married women. Further, these 50 women were more likely to be representative of women who read and respond to "Personals" columns of newspapers or listen to CBC radio than representative of Windsor women in general. Ideally, a much larger number of participants would have been preferred, and a
different sampling procedure, taking women from a larger number of sources, would have been used. In addition to the size of the sample and the limited number of sources from which it was obtained, the matching of the subsamples is also subject to criticism. In constructing the two subsamples, the researchers attempted to control possible influences of a number of variables on their findings. Therefore, they tried to match the never-married and the married subjects to one another in terms of age, education, socio-economic status, occupation, income, and religion. However, it was impossible to obtain a perfect match on all of these variables and the researchers had to content themselves with less than ideal matching in terms of their subsamples' educational levels and job types.

Both the never-married and the married subsamples were predominantly middle-class. They were composed of a large number of professionals and very few industrial workers and, therefore, were not representative of the general population, but rather more of Windsor professionals, office workers and service workers.

The researchers recognized that using two interviewers to collect data could weaken the reliability of the study. To minimize this possibility, they used a highly structured, standardized interview schedule which had been thoroughly discussed and pretested before use,
plus a pencil-and-paper personality test with well-established reliability. In addition, during the course of interviewing, the two researchers met frequently to discuss the kinds of responses they were obtaining in order to be sure that there was homogeneity in interviewing style. However, the possibility exists that the use of two interviewers could have affected the results obtained.

The Interview Schedule constructed by the researchers lacked extensive validation or reliability testing. Several questions on the Interview Schedule proved to be inadequate for obtaining the desired information, either because they were confusing to subjects, because they were misphrased, or because they were too broad to be easily or reliably coded and analyzed. Additionally, the interview covered a large number of areas, some of which were emotionally charged. It was sometimes difficult for subjects to deal with this range of material during the course of the 45-90 minutes required for the interview.

Some limitations imposed on the study were due to time and financial restrictions and to the small size of the sample which made generalizations to the larger population difficult. Despite these problems, the matching difficulties, and some sampling bias, however, the researchers felt that their sample was adequate for the
purposes of the study. The researchers have borne these limitations in mind in their analysis of the data collected from the participants and in the conclusions they have drawn from this analysis.

Summary

In this chapter an outline of the sampling procedure employed and the data collection methods used with the sample were presented. The sample was a judgmental one (Ackoff, 1953), consisting of 25 never-married and 25 married women, all at least 30 years of age, and matched to each other in terms of age, education, religion, and socio-economic status. Each of the data collection instruments was examined in turn, the Adjective Check List, the Interview Schedule, and the Affiliation Index. The plan for analysis of collected data was outlined and the limitations of the study were summarized.
CHAPTER VIII

DATA ANALYSIS: DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

A number of variables were taken into consideration by the researchers in the construction of their sample, its size, the marital status of the subjects, their ages, religious background, occupations and social class, and their educational background. In this chapter the research sample will be described in terms of these variables.

The Sample

The research sample was composed of fifty women from the city of Windsor and the surrounding County of Essex. The city of Windsor is a municipality of 200,000 people situated in the southwestern corner of Ontario, 230 miles west of Toronto. It has a long history dating back to the late 17th century and it served as a military base for the British during the American Revolution; however, it is now better known for its industrial base, and as the Canadian car manufacturing capital. Being directly across the Detroit River and the American border from Detroit, it has significant American connections and influences. Essex County is primarily agricultural, with some of the most productive land and favourable climate in Canada. It is a

113.
peninsula of 707 square miles with a population of 307,000 (including Windsor).

The sample was composed of two subsamples of 25 women each. One subsample was never-married women, the other married women living with their husbands and having at least one child. All subjects were 30 years of age or older, and all were employed, at least part-time, outside of their homes.

Age

The age breakdown of women in the sample is shown in Table 4. Average (mean) age of the 50 women was 41.9, and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Never-Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Total (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60 and over</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 59</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean 42.9 40.9 41.9

P > .05
they ranged in age from 30 to 62. The two subgroups were well-matched in terms of age, according to t-test measurement of significance in difference between their means ($p > .05$).

When compared to actual census date for the area (Canada Census, 1971), women in their thirties were proportionately over-represented in the sample and those in their sixties under-represented.

**Religious Background**

The two subsamples were well-matched to each other in terms of their religious background. Approximately 60 per cent were Protestant and 34 per cent were Catholic (see Table 5). The t-test conducted on the means of the subsamples was not significant ($p > .05$).

**Table 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Never-Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Total (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$p > .05$
By comparison with the Windsor and Essex County populations, Protestant women were somewhat over-represented and Catholics somewhat under-represented (Canada Census, 1971).

**Occupational Variables**

Members of the research sample came from a variety of occupational backgrounds. A number of professionals were interviewed, including teachers, social workers and nurses. Another large group was office workers who described themselves as secretaries, bookkeepers, receptionists, and typists. A third group was composed of service workers and included barmaids, sales clerks, janitors, and hairdressers. Table 6 summarizes the composition of each subsample in terms of subjects' jobs and those of married subjects' husbands. The table reveals some interesting differences in the type of jobs held by never-married subjects and those held by the married subjects. The married subsample was 48 per cent office workers, whereas that occupational grouping accounted for only 16 per cent of the never-married subsample. On the other hand, the never-married subsample contained considerably more professional women than did the married subsample.

There were differences between the never-married and the married women in terms of the amount of time spent at work. Twenty-four never-married women were employed
Table 6

Occupations of Never-Married and Married Subjects and Their Husbands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office worker (4)</td>
<td>Office worker (12)</td>
<td>Car assembly (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social service related (4)</td>
<td>Teacher (4)</td>
<td>Salesman (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher (3)</td>
<td>Social service related (1)</td>
<td>Teacher (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articling student (2)</td>
<td>Barmaid (1)</td>
<td>Mechanic (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal investigator (2)</td>
<td>Cashier (1)</td>
<td>Caretaker (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse (2)</td>
<td>Cook (1)</td>
<td>Disability pension (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social worker (2)</td>
<td>Hairdresser (1)</td>
<td>Electrical contractor (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance agent (1)</td>
<td>Hospital technician (1)</td>
<td>Financial analyst (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian (1)</td>
<td>Janitor (1)</td>
<td>Insurance agent (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychologist (1)</td>
<td>Kennel owner (1)</td>
<td>Manual labour (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public relations (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pattern maker (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plumber (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel agent (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Salvage man (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tool and die (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
full-time, whereas only 14 of the married group had full-time jobs. The remaining 11 married women were employed on a part-time basis (less than 30 hours per week), while only one never-married woman was employed part-time. In addition, 40 per cent of the never-married subjects had been employed continuously from the time they first left school, as opposed to only 16 per cent of married subjects. The majority of gaps in the employment history of never-married subjects were due to a return to school, whereas most commonly, married subjects had temporarily left the work force to have children.

In fact, analysis of the data revealed that the never-married women displayed more "career indicators"—factors associated with career development—rather than simply holding a job—than the married women. These indicators and the per cent of members of each group to which they apply are outlined in Table 7.

Socio-Economic Status

The researchers were interested in matching their two subsamples according to socio-economic status (SES). Socio-economic status can be measured by Blishen andMcRoberts' "socio-economic index for occupations in Canada" (1976). Occupations on this job-education-income-prestige scale range from a high of 75.2846 (for administrators in
Table 7
Career Indicators of Married and
Never-Married Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career Indicators</th>
<th>Never-Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Married (N=25)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time employment^a</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uninterrupted employment^a</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entirely self-supporting^b</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post high school education or training^a</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in job-related activities^a</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a *p < .05
^b *p < .001

teaching and related fields) to a low of 18.2394 (for fish
canning, curing and packing occupations). The research
sample covered a wide spectrum on this scale, with the
highest woman's score being 72.2955 (a university professor)
and the lowest 24.9784 (a janitor). The mean score of the
research sample was 54.34.

In determining the socio-economic status of the
married subsample, it was not always appropriate to take
the SES score of the woman herself. This was the case when
women had part-time jobs or when there was a large discrepancy between the husband's score and the wife's. The researchers decided to use whichever score was the higher for assessing the wife's socio-economic status. The husband's score was used in 14 cases and the wife's score in 11 cases.

Means of socio-economic status scores were:

\[ \bar{x} \text{ (total sample) } = 54.34 \]
\[ \bar{x} \text{ (never-married sample) } = 53.68 \]
\[ \bar{x} \text{ (married sample) } = 55.00 \]

\[ p > .05 \]

A t-test conducted on the subsample means showed that the difference between them was not significant.

Blishen and McRoberts (1976) converted raw socio-economic status scores into six social classes: "based upon the use of the tens digits of the individual index values" (p. 73). This calculation yielded the following six classes:

- social class 1 70.00+
- social class 2 60.00—69.99
- social class 3 50.00—59.99
- social class 4 40.00—49.99
- social class 5 30.00—39.99
- social class 6 Below 30.00

Class distribution of the members of the research sample according to this scheme is shown in Table 8. In terms of both the actual Blishen and McRoberts scores and their conversion to social classes, the subjects were well-matched.
Table 8
Social Class Distribution of Never-Married and Married Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Never-Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Total (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean: 3.08 3.04 3.06

<sup>a</sup>From Blishen and McRoberts, 1976

Education

The researchers hoped to match the married and never-married subsamples according to educational levels attained; however, an analysis of educational levels revealed that the never-married subsample was more highly educated than the married subsample. In addition, the overall educational background of the subjects departed significantly from figures provided by the Canada Census (1971).
for average educational levels of Windsor women. The educational attainments of the total sample were higher than expected from an examination of the census data. A summary of subjects' educational attainments can be found in Table 9.

Table 9

Levels of Education Attained by Never-Married and Married Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Never-Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Total (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade school</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post secondary, non-university</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University bachelors degree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post graduate</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 11.44; df = 4; p < .05$

**Summary**

In the foregoing chapter the sample used in this research project was described. This description included the area from which the sample was drawn; the size of the sample; and its composition in terms of marital status,
age, religious background, employment, socio-economic status, and educational attainments. Limitations in matching the two subsamples to one another were noted, and the extent to which the whole sample represented the population from which it was drawn was indicated. Some variables were controlled better than others in the matching, and there were a number of discrepancies between the subgroups as well as between the whole group and Canadian women in general.
CHAPTER IX

DATA ANALYSIS: THE HYPOTHESES

The purpose of Chapter IX will be to outline and discuss the findings related to the hypotheses evolved from Research Question 1. After findings are presented they will be analyzed to determine if they support or nullify the hypotheses. The results will be discussed in terms of their implications for the stereotyping of the never-married woman.

Hypothesis 1

The first stereotype tested was that of the "career woman," the never-married woman who fails to marry because of her inordinate need to achieve and who sacrifices normal affiliation in pursuit of business success. The achievement needs of such women are construed to be greater than those of "normal," married women. Support for the following hypothesis by the empirical evidence would have indicated that this stereotype had some scientific basis.

HYPOTHESIS 1: The scores of never-married women will be significantly higher than those of married women on the ACL's scale of achievement.

This was not the case, however. When scores of the never-married and the married subjects were compared and their
difference tested for significance, the findings were as follows:

\[
\bar{x}_n \text{Ach (total sample)} = 53.39 \\
\bar{x}_n \text{Ach (never-married sample)} = 56.08 \\
\bar{x}_n \text{Ach (married sample)} = 52.76
\]

The never-married women scored slightly higher than the married women on the ACL's scale of Achievement, but the difference was not significant (p > .05). The findings did not lead to a rejection of the null hypothesis—that never-married women would not score significantly higher on the ACL's scale of Achievement than married women; therefore, it was concluded that the strength of never-married women's achievement needs does not differ significantly from that of married women.

Hypothesis 2

The second stereotype tested was that of the "lonely loser." "Lonely losers" are never-married women who fail to marry due to some personal defect in physique or personality and whose unrequited, and therefore over-blown, need for Affiliation comes to dominate their personalities and causes them much psychological suffering. While the married woman finds satisfaction of her need for Affiliation through marriage and can, therefore, devote energy to other achievement pursuits, the "lonely loser" is unsuccessful in life because her emotional energy is forever
being used up by her frustrated need for Affiliation.

There are two ways of translating this stereotype into a testable form. One is to assume that the affiliation needs of never-married women are greater than those of married women because they go unmet; the other is to assume that the strength of affiliation need is constant but that affiliation hunger—poor affiliation patterns—is the source of the "lonely loser's" suffering. The researchers tested this stereotype in both ways: first by testing the strength of affiliation need, and then by comparing the affiliation patterns of the married and never-married subgroups (see Chapter X).

To test the notion that the affiliation needs of never-married women are greater than those of married women, the researchers constructed the following hypothesis:

**Hypothesis 2:** The scores of never-married women will be significantly higher than those of married women on the ACL's scale of affiliation.

Findings showed that there was no significant difference between the scores of the married and never-married women.

\[ \bar{x} \text{ (total sample)} = 47.06 \]
\[ \bar{x} \text{ (never-married sample)} = 44.79 \]
\[ \bar{x} \text{ (married sample)} = 49.24 \]

\( p > .05 \)
The data collected by the researchers did not support the rejection of the null hypothesis—that never-married women would not score significantly higher on the ACL's scale of Affiliation than married women; therefore, it was concluded that the strength of never-married women's affiliation needs does not differ significantly from that of married women.

Discussion of Findings

Figures 1 and 2 show the frequency distributions of achievement and affiliation scores for both the never-married and the married groups. In both cases there is no significant difference between scores obtained by the two groups; in fact, the distribution patterns are remarkably similar. This observation led the researchers to compare the achievement scores of the subjects with their affiliation scores, in order to determine if there was a significant relationship between the two variables. A test of strength of association revealed that a low positive correlation existed between subjects' achievement and affiliation scores ($r = .32$). The correlation coefficient was significant ($p = .013$), and it appeared that levels of achievement and of affiliation need were directly related.
Figure 1

Frequency Distributions of nAch Scores
for Never-Married and Married Groups

--- Never-Married (N=24)
--- Married (N=25)

\[ P > .05 \]

\[ ^a \] Note that the never-married N=24, not 25. The reason for this is that one of the never-married subjects interviewed for the purposes of the research project did not complete the ACL. This is also the case in Figures 2 and 3.
Figure 2
Frequency Distributions of nAff Scores for
Never-Married and Married Subjects

Never-Married (N=24)  Married (N=25)

Need for Affiliation Scores

P > .05
There are two important conclusions to be drawn from these findings. The first is that the data do not support the validity of the standard stereotypes so often applied in our society to never-married women; on the contrary, the data indicate that marital status has no relationship to the degree to which women experience need for affiliation and achievement. The second conclusion is that since need for affiliation and need for achievement appear to vary together, those psychological theories that cast them in an inverse relationship or as independent variables should be re-examined.

Summary

This chapter has presented the findings regarding the researchers' two hypotheses. It was discovered that the data which had been collected through the administration of the Adjective Check List to the research subjects did not support the rejection of the null hypotheses. Therefore, it was concluded that the strength of achievement need of never-married women did not differ significantly from that of married women (Hypothesis 1), and that the strength of affiliation need of never-married women did not differ significantly from that of married women (Hypothesis 2). It was found, however, that strength of achievement need and that of affiliation need had a low positive relationship to one another. These findings
were then applied to the stereotypes of the "career woman" and the "lonely loser," and the researchers concluded that evidence did not exist in the data to support their validity.
CHAPTER X

DATA ANALYSIS: AFFILIATION PATTERNS

The following chapter will investigate the researchers' exploration of their second research question concerning the affiliation patterns of never-married women. Two areas will be examined—the relative amounts of affiliation experienced by never-married women in comparison with married women, and the ways in which patterns of affiliation for the two groups differ.

Amount of Affiliation Experienced

No significant difference that could account for the stereotype of never-married women as "lonely losers" was detected between married and never-married subjects on the ACL scale of Affiliation. The never-married subjects appeared to have no greater need for Affiliation than did the married subjects. This finding suggested that singleness was neither caused by, nor did it cause, an over-developed need for Affiliation and that marriage did not satisfy and thus reduce a woman's need for Affiliation. As mentioned earlier, however, an over-developed need for Affiliation is only one of the two possible interpretations of the "lonely loser" stereotype.
An alternative explanation of it is that never-married women suffer from affiliation hunger because they are less well affiliated with other people than married women. If the "lonely loser" stereotype were indeed valid, the amount of affiliation in the lives of never-married women might be expected to be significantly less than that in the lives of married women.

Table 10 outlines the scores obtained by the never-married and married samples on the Affiliation Index.

Table 10
Scores on Affiliation Index for Never-Married and Married Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Never-Married Sample (N=25)</th>
<th>Married Sample (N=25)</th>
<th>Total Sample (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>3.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average (mean) score for the never-married sample was 2.80, and that of the married sample was 3.24. This
difference was not significant ($p > .05$). Both never-married and married women scored positively on approximately three out of the four Affiliation Index areas. Never-married subjects, therefore, were as well affiliated as married subjects.

It should be noted that this score was not a measure of the amount of emotional satisfaction attached to the affiliation areas included in the Index; it was simply a tally of the subject's positive participation in four areas of human relationship—home, work, friends, and community organizations. The researchers realized that an understanding of the quality of relationship was necessary to fully answer the question that lay behind the "lonely loser" stereotype. "Are never-married women as happy as married women?" However, it was not within the scope of this study to probe for the answer to that particular question.

Components of the Affiliation Index

In addition to examining the amount of affiliation experienced by the never-married and married women in the sample (as seen in their Affiliation Index scores), the researchers also looked more closely at the individual components of the Index. First, differences in subjects' living arrangements were explored. Second, the nature of subjects' jobs were compared. Third, the issue of
friends was examined to discover not only the extent to which subjects reported having friends, but also the actual numbers of close friends reported, the marital status of these friends, and the importance placed on friends. Finally, differences in patterns of organizational participation were examined. Table 11 summarizes these comparisons.

Table 11
Affiliation Patterns of Never-Married and Married Subjects on the Affiliation Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Affiliation</th>
<th>Never-Married Sample (N=25)</th>
<th>Married Sample (N=25)</th>
<th>Total Sample (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lives with someone</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has affiliative job</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has friends</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participates in organizations</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Living arrangements. Significant differences were noted in living arrangements of never-married and married subjects. It was a stipulation for their inclusion in the study that married women be currently living with their husbands and, therefore, none of the 25 married women
lived alone. In addition to their husbands, 1 of the married women had a parent living in her home, 2 included other adults as members of the household, and 22 had children still at home. By contrast, 15 of the never-married women did not live with anyone, the remainder sharing their homes with a parent or parents (5), and/or another adult (5), and/or children (1). It was readily apparent, therefore, that the home life experiences of never-married women differed significantly from those of married women in the study.

Nature of job. An analysis of the jobs held by subjects revealed that a larger number of never-married women held positions that could be considered affiliation-oriented than did married women. Thirteen of the never-married subjects were employed in positions dealing either with children, the sick or the elderly, which Sheehy (1976) described as possible family substitutes for unmarried people. Six married women held positions which could be similarly classified.

Although a majority of never-married women held affiliative-type jobs, none of them identified affiliative motives for working (Interview Schedule, question 8). However, in spite of the fact that married women appeared to have jobs which offered less opportunity for satisfaction of need for Affiliation, six of them identified affiliative needs as their primary motivation for working
outside the home. This is not consistent with the idea that a woman's affilative needs must be met exclusively by husband and family within the home.

Friends. Close to 100 per cent of all respondents, both never-married and married, reported that they had at least one close, personal friend. There was one exception only, a married woman who reported no friends. Never-married and married subjects had an identical number of friends, each reporting an average (mean) number of 3.7 (Interview Schedule, question 17a). It was interesting, however, that a majority (60 per cent) of the married sample reported that all their friends were married, while none of the never-married group did so (Interview Schedule, question 17b). Twelve per cent of the never-married sample reported that none of their friends was married, while none of the married sample reported a similar situation. Table 12 summarizes these findings.

An overwhelming majority (88 per cent) of the married sample indicated that its major source of affiliation was the family (Interview Schedule, question 16). The family appeared to play an important role among never-married women in the satisfaction of affilative needs. However, friends were mentioned more often than any of the other options given, with 48 per cent of the never-married sample indicating them as their major source of affiliation. Table 13 summarizes these findings.
Table 12
Percentage Distribution of Number of Married Friends of Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Married Friends</th>
<th>Never-Married Sample (N=25)</th>
<th>Married Sample (N=25)</th>
<th>Total Sample (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 100% 100% 100%

$\chi^2 = 32.56; \text{ df } = 4; \ p < .001$
### Table 13

#### Percentage Distribution of Major Source of Affiliation of Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Source of Affiliation</th>
<th>Never-Married Sample (N=25)</th>
<th>Married Sample (N=25)</th>
<th>Total Sample (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 26.73; \text{ df} = 3; p < .001 \]
Almost all never-married and married members of the sample indicated that they had friends and, indeed, they indicated that they had almost the identical number of close, personal friends. The major differences between the never-married and married women in the sample in terms of friends was the extent to which the friends of these women were married and the importance placed on them as sources of affiliation need satisfaction. For the never-married subjects, friends appeared to be more central to their lives, perhaps in some ways similar to the importance placed on the family by their married sisters.

Organizations: The Affiliation Index indicated that the majority of both married and never-married subjects participated in organizations. Although a slightly larger number of married women participated in organizations than did never-married women, the difference was not significant ($p > .05$). Further analysis of responses given by subjects revealed that never-married subjects participated in an average (mean) of 2.84 organizations each and that married women were actively involved with an average of 2.36 organizations each. Once again, this difference was not significant ($p > .05$).

Striking differences were apparent, however, in the kinds of organizations to which never-married women, as compared with married women, belonged. The married sample participated in ten churches or church-related
activities, whereas the never-married sample was involved in only three similar groups. Never-married women were involved in seven education-related organizations or activities, whereas married women participated in only three. Never-married women were also much more often represented in job-related organizations, primarily unions and professional associations, than were married women. Service and friendship organizations were popular with both groups, attracting a larger membership from each group than did any of the other organizational categories. This information is summarized in Table 14.

It appeared, therefore, that never-married women and married women were equally likely to be involved with groups and organizations outside the home, and that they were participating in equal numbers of such organizations. However, there were major differences in the kinds of organizations that each group was attracted to, with the never-married group being much more interested in job and education-oriented organizations than was the married group, and with the married group more highly involved in the church than was the never-married group.
Table 14
Number of Organizations Participated in by Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Organization Participated in</th>
<th>Never-Married Sample (N=28)</th>
<th>Married Sample (N=25)</th>
<th>Total Sample (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing education</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-improvement</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 16.58; df = 6; p < .05 \]

**Summary**

In the foregoing chapter the researchers investigated whether the amount of affiliation and/or the type of affiliation experienced by never-married women differed substantially from that experienced by married women. The stereotype of the "lonely loser" suggested either that never-married women had an over-developed need for Affiliation or that their need for Affiliation was not met as successfully as that of their married counterparts. ACL scores indicated that never-married women did not have
an over-developed need for Affiliation. The Affiliation Index showed that there was no significant difference in the amount of affiliative experiences in their lives either.

Although there was no significant difference in amount of affiliation experienced by the two subsamples, there were differences in the components of this affiliative experience. A majority of never-married subjects lived alone, while all married subjects shared their homes with at least one other person (their husbands). Never-married subjects were more often employed in affiliative-type jobs than were married women, but were less likely to identify affiliative needs as part of their motivation for working. They were equally likely to have friends and to have an equal number of friends as their married counterparts; however, significant differences were noted in the marital status of such friends and in the importance attached to them as sources of affiliation. There was no significant difference in the number of organizations participated in by never-married and married subjects; however, the types of organizations participated in were quite different.
CHAPTER XI

DATA ANALYSIS: OTHER SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

Although neither Hypothesis 1 nor Hypothesis 2 was supported by the data, there were a number of interesting findings dealing with the levels of need for Affiliation and need for Achievement of the sample group. These findings were obtained through an analysis of items in the Interview Schedule crosstabulated with scores on the ACL. The most interesting of these concerned the influence of age, home atmosphere, expectations of others, and models. Each of these will be dealt with in turn in this chapter.

Age

The researchers found that the pattern of need for Affiliation scores among the never-married sample differed from that of the married sample. Whereas there was a gradual increase in need for Affiliation among progressively older women (\( \bar{x} = .38 \)), never-married women showed a pronounced peaking of need for Affiliation in the 40 to 49 year bracket. Need for Affiliation scores for never-married women aged 40 to 49 were found to be significantly higher than scores for women in either their 30's, 50's or 60's (\( p < .05 \)). Figure 3 outlines 144.
these findings in summary form.

Figure 3

Mean Need for Affiliation Scores According to Age and Marital Status

An explanation for the peaking phenomenon in the never-married sample is found in Sheehy (1976) who attributes it to the crisis experienced by women when they realize that their child-bearing years have almost passed and if they are ever to bear children, it must be done very soon. This crisis brings never-married women's need for Affiliation into prominence, thus causing the peaking until this crisis has passed.

Erikson (1963) refers to this same critical point, reached during the "Generativity versus Stagnation" stage of life. He says

Even where philosophical and spiritual tradition suggests the renunciation of the right to procreate or to produce, such early turn to "ultimate concerns," wherever instituted in monastic movements, strives
to settle at the same time the matter of its relationship to the Care for the creatures of this world and to the charity which is felt to transcend it. (pp. 267-268)

Like Sheehy, he suggested that the women who have declined the right to bear children still must come to a reconciliation of their need to attend to "ultimate concerns." Their need for Affiliation could, then, be taking a major position in their lives during this period.

Nevill and Damico (1975) reported that the Midtown Manhattan survey (Srole et al., 1962) "found that married women suffered a larger percentage of impaired mental health than did single women in every age category except 40-49" (Nevill and Damico, 1975, pp. 489-490). The connection between high need for Affiliation and impaired mental health in this case may be this mid-life crisis experienced by never-married women nearing the end of their child-bearing potential.

One serious limitation to drawing conclusions from the data on affiliation and age is that this study was not a longitudinal one. It was impossible for the researchers to say whether the higher need for Affiliation scores obtained by never-married women in their forties were due to the fact that they were in their forties per se. Another possibility is that never-married women currently in their forties may have shared a sufficiently similar life experience to account for their higher need
for Affiliation. It would have been necessary either to have followed these women into their fifties or to have tested another group of women ten years hence to rule out the influence of social change on these scores.

Home Atmosphere

The findings concerning subjects' recollection of the atmosphere in their childhood homes (Interview Schedule, question 22) revealed that married and never-married samples saw this atmosphere differently from one another (see Figure 4). On a 5-point scale between "always warm" and "always hostile," a clear majority of the married women rated their childhood homes as "usually warm, but sometimes hostile." Never-marrieds more often saw their childhood homes as "always warm" than any of the four other alternatives, with "always hostile" their second most common choice. None of the married sample referred to their parents' home in this way. According to Hoffman (1972), the childhood home atmosphere is important in the development of need for Achievement. Optimum conditions for its development exist when the atmosphere is usually warm but sometimes hostile, while the home that is always warm smothers the child, and the home that is more often hostile fails to provide adequate encouragement for the development of high need for Achievement. According to their recollec-
Figure 4
Atmosphere in Childhood Homes of Subjects

--- Never-Married Sample (N=24)
---- Married Sample (N=25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home atmosphere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: always warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: usually warm, but sometimes hostile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: equally warm and hostile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: usually hostile, but sometimes warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5: always hostile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The married sample was raised in an atmosphere more conducive to the development of a high need for Achievement, yet the absolute levels as found on the ACL were not significantly different for married and never-married groups.

A possible explanation for this is that married subjects may have channelled their achievement needs into
getting married and having a family, that they achieved through affiliating. According to Horner's fear of success theory (1972), married subjects might be more vulnerable to fear of success and, therefore, might repress their need for Achievement to concentrate on need for Affiliation instead. It might be argued that never-married women might have less need to avoid success because consequences in terms of family life—husbands being threatened by the competition—are non-existent.

A related finding was that older women are less likely to have described their homes as "usually warm, but sometimes hostile." This may represent the effect of social change toward increasing permissiveness with children in society and family life, a change which has led to increased warmth in the atmosphere at home.

Expectations of Others

Significant differences were found in the kinds of expectations which the never-married and married samples remembered their parents having for them (Interview Schedule, question 33). A large majority of the parents of never-marrieds expected their daughters to carve themselves a niche in the worlds of education and work, whereas an equally large majority of parents of the married sample did not have this expectation of their daughters. Table 15 presents this finding in summary form.
Table 15

Expectations of Parents of Never-Married and Married Subjects for their Daughters Concerning Work and/or Higher Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Had expectations for their daughters concerning work and/or higher education</th>
<th>Never-Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Total (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 4.06; df = 47; p < .001 \]

Subjects were also asked about what their teenage peers expected to do when they grew up (Interview Schedule, question 34). There were no significant differences between responses of married and never-married subjects (see Table 16).

Once again, the influence of social change was suspected of causing significant correlations \( (p < .05) \) between age of the subjects and each of these above-mentioned variables. Parents and peers of older subjects were significantly less likely to expect their daughters...
Table 16
Expectations of Peers of Never-Married and Married Subjects Concerning Plans for Work and/or Higher Education as Adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Had plans for work and/or higher education</th>
<th>Never-Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Married (N=25)</th>
<th>Total (N=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$p > .05$

to achieve in education or employment than parents and peers of younger subjects were. More frequently, older subjects, both never-married and married, responded that their parents expected them to marry and have a family.

Influence of Models

A number of variables (questions from the researchers' Interview Schedule) concerning the influence of models were meaningful in relation to the development of need for Achievement among the never-married and married samples. First, it is interesting to note that only a
small proportion of the never-married sample (3 out of 25) reported having one or more never-married women as models to them during their development (Interview Schedule, question 29). However, a much larger proportion of the never-married sample (10 of the never-marrieds versus 2 of the marrieds) said they had one or more working women as models in their lives (Interview Schedule, question 28). This represented a significant difference between the two groups (p < .01).

The parents of the subjects studied in this project seemed to have played a particularly important role in the development of need for Achievement. Never-married subjects who saw their mothers as achieving women (Interview Schedule, question 20a) developed a higher need for Achievement themselves as indicated by their ACL scores.

Finally, it would appear that attitudes toward women working have changed over the years. Older women, not surprisingly, were found to have fewer working mothers (Interview Schedule, question 27a), and older never-married women felt less positively about their mothers working than did either younger never-married women or married women regardless of age (Interview Schedule, question 27b).

There was no evidence in the data that never-married subjects' choice of marital status was influenced
by the presence of never-married models during their childhood or adolescence. However, there was evidence that models influenced the development of their achievement needs and that the acceptance of women as workers, as well as mothers, has increased during the past several decades.

Summary.

In the preceding pages some demographic and biographical factors associated with ACL scores on need for Achievement and need for Affiliation have been discussed. Analysis of responses to questions on the researchers' Interview Schedule revealed that there were interesting differences between never-married and married women in the areas of age and need for Affiliation; atmosphere in childhood home and need for Achievement; parental expectations and need for Achievement; and influence of models on marital status and attitudes toward working women.

The researchers realize that their findings about the development of need for Achievement and need for Affiliation are extremely limited. They presented these findings because of their intriguing nature and because they hope they will be of use to future researchers exploring need development among never-married women.
CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter the researchers will integrate the findings from their research questions with the theoretical framework outlined in the chapters on review of literature. Generally speaking, test findings supported available theory, except in the area of traditional developmental theory of women. The findings on each research question will be summarized and conclusions made in turn. The chapter will close with the researchers' recommendations in their topic area.

Research Question 1: The Hypotheses

The first research question was concerned with the achievement and affiliation needs of never-married women. This question led to the development of two hypotheses regarding need for Achievement and need for Affiliation. The first hypothesis stated that never-married women would score higher on the Adjective Check List's scale for Achievement than married women. The hypothesis was not supported: there was no significant difference in the test scores of the two groups. The researchers concluded that their never-married and married subjects had similar levels of need for Achievement.

154.
Similarly, the second hypothesis, that never-married women would score higher on the ACL's scale of Affiliation, was not supported; once again there was no significant difference in the test scores of the two groups. The researchers concluded that their never-married and married subjects had similar levels of need for Affiliation.

These conclusions led the researchers to question the validity of the "career woman" and "lonely loser" stereotypes, which depended for their support upon the hypotheses. The data provided no scientific evidence to support either stereotype.

If the stereotypes are not scientifically grounded in terms of differences in level of psychological needs, why have they persisted? One reason may be that social attitudes toward singleness may reflect the degree to which unmarried women serve a socially useful purpose (Adams, 1976). Traditionally, certain jobs have been considered "female jobs": teaching, nursing, domestic service, library and office work, and so forth. Since married women have been discouraged from working outside the home, these jobs have been filled, for the most part, by unmarried women, and special appropriations have been made to attract them to these positions. As one of the never-married subjects put it, "Teaching is where the money is for women, and it's a job where I can expect to be accepted and promoted." When the researchers asked a
university secretary, a married woman, where they could find unmarried women on campus, she replied, "Have you looked over at the library? There should be a lot of old maids over there."

Another reason for the persistence of stereotyping is found in Ogburn's Theory of Social Change (1964). Stereotypes are useful in maintaining the status quo for those with vested interests in society remaining as it is. By disparaging women who have education and lifestyles that enable them to present a more serious challenge to male co-workers in the business world, men may hope to maintain the status quo and retain their traditional power. In addition, a cultural lag exists between changing roles and how incumbents are perceived. Although never-married women are performing a wider range of roles than they once did, traditional stereotypes and assumptions about them continue. Never-married women present an unknown and potentially threatening factor in the fields of work and family. Stereotypes serve to debase them in both these areas as a means of preserving familiar social identities and restricting never-married women to the roles which society has traditionally allowed them.

Another reason the stereotypes persist may be that never-married women appear to be more achievement oriented, even though career development is due partly to the
financial necessity to work and partly to their freedom to pursue a career. Married women may have less financial necessity or freedom from family responsibilities to develop their own careers. Never-married subjects were more often employed full-time, had fewer interruptions in their employment histories, were more often self-supporting, more often had post-high school education or training, and participated in more job-related organizations. They appeared, therefore, to be more career-oriented, and it is possible that the "career woman" stereotype, based as it is on the assumption that they have unusually high achievement needs, may be a mythological explanation for the fact that, as a group, their work may be more easily characterized as a career than can that of other women.

Stereotyping of never-married women, therefore, seems to be based more on social attitudes than on scientific evidence of the psychological differences between them and married women. This study lends support to the growing conviction among some segments of society that the traditional view of women is based more on social prejudices than on an innate and unchangeable female nature.

Another conclusion to be drawn from the fact that levels of need for Achievement and need for Affiliation were similar, regardless of marital status, is that in
this study married women have the same need for Achievement as never-married women. It has been suggested in the literature that need for Achievement is relatively unimportant to women. However, this study showed that need for Achievement is an important factor in subjects' lives, never-married and married alike, although married subjects had not developed similar achievement behaviour outside the home. One married subject reported: "I see marriage and motherhood as a challenge and I like that challenge. But sometimes I feel like I'm wasting my education and my talents. I should be doing more." Another married subject said, "It is much easier to feel personal achievement in work than in running a house and bringing up a family, because there's not a total emotional involvement." It would appear, therefore, that the home does not always provide adequate opportunity for a married woman to satisfy her need for Achievement. She may be forced to realize her achievement needs by manipulating her husband to provide material goods and to upgrade the family's social position through his career success. Blishen (1967) suggested that a woman's socio-economic status should properly be derived from that of her husband, even when she herself worked outside the home.

The researchers found that affiliation and achievement scores had a positive relationship to one another.
In general, subjects who scored highly on one scale scored highly on the other as well. Bardwick (1971) suggested that achievement and affiliation present a dilemma for women because their ultimate need for Affiliation must be secured in marriage and family before they can turn their attention to achievement needs. The researchers found no evidence to support this idea; rather, their data supported the holistic thinking of the humanistic psychologists who hold that development of awareness in one area of life should have a positive influence on other areas. Achievement and affiliation go hand-in-hand in the development of the person and in her self-actualization.

Research Question 2

The researchers' second question was concerned with the levels and types of affiliative experiences present in the lives of their subjects. They found that never-married women experienced somewhat less affiliation than married women, as measured by scores on the Affiliation Index, but this difference was not statistically significant. They concluded that never-married women were not, therefore, the victims of affiliation hunger, an alternative explanation of the "lonely loser" stereotype. Never-married women were, in fact, exposed to almost identical levels of affiliative experience. It
was speculated that sources of affiliation may be readily provided in the fabric of society for married women; however, for never-married women, these sources are not necessarily so easily available. If so, they must seek out their own sources in a more determined fashion.

Whereas there was no significant difference in the amount of affiliative experiences identified by members of the two groups, there were significant differences in the patterns which these experiences formed. Since never-married women more often live alone, they must compensate for their lack of affiliative experience at home by seeking it elsewhere. Sixty per cent of never-married subjects were employed in affiliative-type jobs, as compared to only 40 per cent of married subjects. Never-married women belonged to a larger number of organizations than did married women, and the types of organizations in which they participated were different. Not surprisingly, they belonged to fewer family-related organizations (such as churches, PTA, Girl Guides, and so forth) and to more work-related or self-improvement groups.

Never-married women placed more affiliative importance on friends than did married subjects. Forty-eight per cent of never-marrieds said friends were their most important source of affiliation while only four per
cent of the married group agreed. One never-married subject, describing a group of friends she'd had for years, said, "I feel really lucky to have had my friends for so long. We've lasted longer than most of the married couples I know."

There were significant differences in the number of married friends subjects had. Sixty per cent of married subjects said that all their friends were married, while none of the never-married subjects had only married friends. On the other hand, 12 per cent of the never-married subjects had no married friends, a situation unknown to the married women in the study. Two possible reasons for this discrepancy are (1) that never-married women are excluded from social intercourse with married people because they present a threat to interactions between couples, and (2) never-married women may prefer to socialize with other single people who would tend to share their interests and who would appreciate their lifestyles and their worth as individuals. One single woman summed up both of these points when she said, "People tend to socialize in couples—male and female; single people don't fit in. I feel more comfortable with my single friends."

Research Question 3

In the third research question the researchers
turned their attention to some of the demographic and biographical factors that might be identified as operative in the development of achievement and affiliation needs. Interesting findings were discovered in the areas of economic status, education, age, and background experiences.

In constructing their sample, the researchers attempted to obtain subjects from a wide range of social classes. However, both never-married and married subjects were predominantly middle-class. This was particularly true of the never-married sample. The researchers were unsuccessful in finding single, lower-class workers for the study, although several of the married subjects were from the lower class. These data are consistent with findings of Nevill and Damico (1975) and Bahr and Garrett (1976) who suggested that the well-being of women alone depends to a great extent upon their economic solvency. The researchers were unable to find evidence in the literature that successful singlehood exists for lower-class women. Therefore, singleness may be more of a realistic option for women in higher socio-economic strata than it is for members of the lower class.

Differences in subjects' educational attainments were also apparent. Twice as many never-married subjects continued their education beyond high school as did
married subjects. Three times as many married subjects had only finished elementary or high school. Consistent with their findings about socio-economic status, the researchers can speculate that the attainment of post-high school education makes the choice of not marrying more viable. They can also speculate that never-married women have more time and freedom to further their education and pursue careers than married women do. For single women who must support themselves, obtaining vocational training and developing a career is much more essential than it is for women who have husbands to support them.

Data suggested that the need for Affiliation among never-married women, aged 40 to 49, was considerably higher than it was for other age groups. Erikson (1964) and Sheehy (1976) suggested that the cause might be the realization that child-bearing years are ending, a situation that brings affiliative needs to the fore. An alternative explanation is that never-married women in their forties have arrived at a point similar to that experienced by many men of similar age in their career development. Having devoted approximately 20 years of their lives to their careers, they have come to a point where their upward mobility has reached a standstill. For them, the forties are a crisis point at which they must decide on new directions or reconcile themselves to
a plateauing of social position.

Several findings were interesting and useful for understanding the development of subjects' need for Achievement and Affiliation. The researchers found that the presence of working women in subjects' backgrounds, and especially of achieving mothers, positively influenced the development of subjects' own need for Achievement.

Hoffman (1974) suggested that the atmosphere experienced in childhood homes affects the development of need for Achievement. A relatively warm home atmosphere, in which there is occasional expression of conflict, is more conducive to high achievement than either extremely warm (smothering) or hostile environments. The data collected did not support this theory. However, the majority of married women remembered their childhood homes as being what Hoffman considered optimal for achievement development, while a majority of unmarried subjects described childhood homes that were less than ideal because they were either too warm or too hostile. Based on this theory, married women should have scored significantly higher on Achievement than never-married women did. The married group did not score higher, however, and they did not display superior achievement behaviour in terms of career development. The same data indicated that women from homes with optimal
achievement development conditions tended to marry, while those from less than ideal homes did not. Perhaps never-married women remained single because their childhood homes provided either models of hostile marriage relationships or ones so "perfect" that they felt incapable of living up to their parents' examples.

A large majority of never-married women reported that, during adolescence, their parents had expected them to continue their education and work, rather than devote themselves to marriage and family, when they grew up. Exactly the opposite was the case with married women. An examination of how subjects remembered their teenage friends revealed that there were no significant differences in expectations of never-married and married women's peers in terms of achieving and affiliating. Family expectations and atmosphere at home, therefore, appeared to play the more important role in deciding subjects' eventual marital status.

Recommendations

Earlier in this report mention was made of the paucity of research into the lifestyles of never-married women. With a few notable exceptions, this group has been largely ignored in the professional literature. It is beginning to be realized that adult singles are not a rare breed, and statistics show that their numbers
are growing. In the last few years, a number of popular books have been written which describe lifestyles of singles, either through case studies or by focusing on how to live a successful single life. However, little of this represents the results of scientific research. Therefore, the researchers would like to present a number of recommendations for future study.

First, they would like to see their study replicated using a larger sample. They recognize that their results have limited generalizability because of the inadequacies of their sample, and replication would help establish the reliability of their findings.

Second, the research sample used in this study was predominantly middle-class. Adams (1976) reported that she was unable to find lower-class, never-married women when she was completing her research on singleness. Baker (1967) suggested that his study be replicated using a sample of lower-class women. It is, therefore, recommended that research be conducted to discover whether singleness is truly an option for lower-class women, or whether education and income of at least average levels are essential for marital choice.

Third, the study indicated that the "lonely loser" and "career woman" stereotypes have no scientific grounding in need for Affiliation and Achievement differentials between marital status groups. However, these stereotypes
persist in popular thinking, along with a number of others, such as the "old maid," the "spinster," and the "swinger." The researchers encourage further investigation of never-married women's lives to discover if any of these popular stereotypes is valid or if the range of behaviours and lifestyles is as wide as exists among married women.

Fourth, during their interviews, subjects often identified problems that they felt were specific to single people. Sometimes these problem areas were affiliation-oriented: loneliness, lack of a sounding board, sexual frustration, being treated differently, and so forth. Sometimes their concerns were more practical and concrete: a financial resource to fall back on in time of emergency, someone to look after them during times of illness; house and car repairs for which they had little practical experience or training. Research is needed, therefore, to discover what the problem areas are for singles and what their needs for service in the community might be.

Finally, the study underscored some possible deficiencies in the psychology of women, a field which is still in its early developmental stages. Few theorists have been primarily concerned with women, let alone never-married women. In light of changing sex roles and new opportunities available for women today, further research into the nature of women by the mental health community is essential.
In addition to recommendations for future studies, the researchers wish to make several points about the awareness of female singleness among members of the general public and the social-work community.

It may be that never-married women have been as guilty as the rest of society in stereotyping themselves. A number of women who participated in this study did so in spite of the fear that the results would reinforce public opinion about their strangeness, and a number of others refused to participate altogether when they discovered what areas would be covered in the interview. The results of this research show that the never-married subjects were not freaks in terms of their psychological needs for Affiliation and Achievement. The public in general; and never-married women in particular, need to be made more aware of such findings.

The social work community has, perhaps, been as ignorant about never-married women as has the general public. Social workers have often been guilty of not recognizing the "single" option or allowing their clients the benefits of an unbiased choice of marital status. One never-married subject deplored the lack of counselling services for single people. "Where can I go if I wanted professional help? I don't have kids, so CAS is out; Family Services Bureau sounds like families, not individuals. Where would I go for help?"
Many of the never-married subjects identified the need for other community services for singles. Among those mentioned were financial counselling and financial aid, health services, particularly for older singles living alone, and leisure time activities that are not restricted to couples. Social planners should take such concerns into consideration when exploring community need for services.

Women who are planning to stay single on a long-term basis need to be made aware of the implications of that decision in terms of employment. All but one of the never-married subjects were employed full-time, and most of them indicated that financial necessity was involved in their motivation to work. These findings are important for vocational counselling: women who wish to remain single need to receive adequate education and vocational training for the employment future they have in mind.

The number of previously-married women (separated, divorced, and widowed) is growing quickly in Canada today. Not only should knowledge about never-married women be useful in the counselling of singles, but information about the skills and techniques developed by the never-married for coping alone may be applied when helping the previously-married in the months following separation to
deal with their new life circumstances.

Finally, never-married women have existed on the fringe of society historically and in the present. They have been perceived as deviant, immoral, or otherwise inferior to other women, except under special circumstances. Stereotypes that reinforced society's views of never-married women have persisted, even though the roles assumed by women have changed. At one time, women were expected to find fulfillment and self-actualization only through marriage and family. Recently, the combining of marriage and work has become popular, with family optional. Society should recognize that remaining single is also an option for women, inasmuch as it provides equal opportunity for the satisfaction of the psychological needs for Affiliation and Achievement. Hopefully, society can allow itself the flexibility to recognize women's right to these alternatives for their lives.
SEX: MALE O FEMALE O

INCS ANSWER SHEET FOR
THE ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST
BY HARRISON G. GOUGH

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DIRECTIONS FOR USING INCS ANSWER SHEET
This answer sheet contains a list of 100 adjectives. Please read them
quickly and blacken the circle beside each one you would consider
true for you. Do not worry about duplications, contradictions,
and so forth. Work quickly and do not spend too much time on any one
adjective. Try to be honest, and fill the circles for the adjectives which
describe you as you really are, not as you would like to be. BE SURE
to turn the page over and continue through adjective No. 100
on the reverse side.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

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CONTINUE ON REVERSE SIDE

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Which of the following statements apply to you?
   (1) ___ I am thirty or more, I have never been legally married, and I work outside my home, either full time or part time.
   (2) ___ I am thirty or more, I am legally married and am presently living with my spouse, I have at least one child and I work outside my home, either full time or part time.

2. To what extent is being single/married your own personal choice?
   (1) ___ completely my choice
   (2) ___ mostly my choice
   (3) ___ somewhat my choice
   (4) ___ hardly my choice
   (5) ___ not my choice at all

3. How satisfying do you find being single/married?
   (1) ___ completely satisfying
   (2) ___ mostly satisfying
   (3) ___ somewhat satisfying
   (4) ___ hardly satisfying
   (5) ___ not satisfying at all

4. With whom do you live? Which of these relationships do you find especially warm, caring or emotionally satisfying and supportive? (Check as many as apply in first column; then check again in second column those relationships which are strongly affiliative.)
   (1) ___ with no one
   (2) ___ with parent(s)
   (3) ___ with spouse
   (4) ___ with one or more adults other than spouse
   (5) ___ with one or more children
   (6) ___ with a pet(s)

5. What is your present job? (title and description)
6. Here are some pairs of statements which describe a job. Which one of each pair describes your job better?

or (1) ___ I provide a human service.
     (2) ___ I help to produce or sell products.

or (1) ___ I deal primarily with people.
     (2) ___ I deal primarily with inanimate objects or ideas.

     (1) ___ I am the main source of help and support for a male co-worker or boss.
     or (2) ___ I am not the main source of help and support for a male co-worker or boss.

     (1) ___ I work primarily with children or senior citizens.
     or (2) ___ I do not work primarily with children or senior citizens.

     (1) ___ I work closely with other members of the staff.
     or (2) ___ I usually work alone.

7. How many years have you worked, either full time or part time?

    (1) ___ 1 or less
    (2) ___ 2 - 4
    (3) ___ 5 - 9
    (4) ___ 10 - 19
    (5) ___ 20 - 29
    (6) ___ 30 - 39
    (7) ___ 40 or more

8. What is your main reason or reasons for working? (One or more answers in order of importance.)

    (1) ___ to get out of the house
    (2) ___ additional income
    (3) ___ career interest
    (4) ___ financial necessity
    (5) ___ to be with friends
    (6) ___ personal achievement
    (7) ___ other (specify):
9. Would you continue to work if you didn't need the money?

(1) __ yes  
(2) __ no  
(3) __ undecided

10. (a) Have there been gaps in your employment history?

(1) __ yes
(2) __ no

(b) (Ask only if response to 10(a) is yes.)
What was the main reason you most recently stopped working?

(1) __ to look for another job with more opportunity for advancement
(2) __ insufficient salary
(3) __ family needs
(4) __ conflict at work
(5) __ return to school
(6) __ other (specify):  
(0) __ not applicable

(c) (Ask only if response to 10(a) is yes.)
What was the main reason or reasons you started working again? (One or more answers in order of importance.)

(1) __ found a job with opportunity for advancement
(2) __ financial necessity  
(3) __ additional income
(4) __ felt a need for personal achievement
(5) __ career interest
(6) __ to be with friends
(7) __ to get out of the house
(8) __ other (specify):  
(0) __ not applicable

11. Which of the following events would best indicate to you that you have been successful at your job?

(1) __ You are making a substantial salary.
(2) __ You feel satisfied with your accomplishments.
(3) __ Your family and friends are proud of you.
(4) __ You have reached the goals that you set for yourself.
(5) __ Your boss tells you that you are doing a good job.
(6) __ You have the confidence to take on challenging problems and situations.
12. You have just said that . . . would best indicate to you that you have been successful at your job. Based on this, to what extent do you generally consider yourself successful in your work?

(1) ___ to a very large extent
(2) ___ to a large extent
(3) ___ to some extent
(4) ___ to a little extent
(5) ___ to a very little extent

13. What is your own yearly income?

(1) ___ $30,000 or more
(2) ___ 20,000 - 29,999
(3) ___ 15,000 - 19,999
(4) ___ 10,000 - 14,999
(5) ___ 5,000 - 9,999
(6) ___ 1,000 - 4,999
(7) ___ Less than $1,000

14. (Ask only of married Ss.)
What is your family's total income per year?

(1) ___ $30,000 or more
(2) ___ 20,000 - 29,999
(3) ___ 15,000 - 19,999
(4) ___ 10,000 - 14,999
(5) ___ 5,000 - 9,999
(6) ___ Less than $5,000
(7) ___ Unknown
(0) ___ Not applicable

15. Which of the following areas serves as your major source of personal achievement?

(1) ___ work
(2) ___ family.
(3) ___ friends
(4) ___ other (specify):

Explain:

16. In which of these same areas are your relationships with other people the most important?

(1) ___ work
(2) ___ family
(3) ___ friends
(4) ___ other (specify):

Explain:
17. (a) How many close, personal friends do you have?

   (1) __ none
   (2) __ 1
   (3) __ 2 - 3
   (4) __ 4 - 5
   (5) __ 6 or more

(b) How many of your friends are married?

   (1) __ all of them
   (2) __ most of them
   (3) __ some of them
   (4) __ a few of them
   (5) __ none of them

18. (Ask only of never-married Ss.)

   Are you presently involved in a romantic relationship?

   (1) __ yes
   (2) __ no
   (0) __ not applicable

19. How close do you feel to relatives?

   (1) __ very close
   (2) __ close
   (3) __ somewhat close
   (4) __ not very close
   (5) __ not close at all

Here are a few questions about your childhood.

20. Looking back on your childhood, which of your parents

    would you call (a) the achiever and (b) the comforter?

   (a): (1) ___ mother    (b): (1) ___ mother
        (2) ___ father     (2) ___ father
        (3) ___ both parents (3) ___ both parents
        (4) ___ neither parent (4) ___ neither parent

21. Which of the following phrases best describes the way

    you were treated by your parents when you were a child?

   (1) ___ always permissive
   (2) ___ usually permissive, but sometimes strict
   (3) ___ equally permissive and strict
   (4) ___ usually strict, but sometimes permissive
   (5) ___ always strict
22. Which of the following phrases best describes the atmosphere in your home during your childhood?

(1) ___ always warm
(2) ___ usually warm, but sometime hostile
(3) ___ equally warm and hostile
(4) ___ usually hostile, but sometimes warm
(5) ___ always hostile

23. (a) How many children did your parents have?

(1) ___ One only (small family)
(2) ___ 2 - 4 (medium family)
(3) ___ 5 or more (large family)

(b) Where do you come in your family?

(1) ___ oldest
(2) ___ only middle child
(3) ___ one of the middle children
(4) ___ youngest
(5) ___ only child
(6) ___ other (specify):

24. Which of the following phrases best describes your relationships with your parents?

(1) ___ always closer to mother
(2) ___ closer to mother in early years but grew closer to father during teen years
(3) ___ equally close to mother and father
(4) ___ closer to father in early years but grew closer to mother during teen years
(5) ___ always closer to father
(6) ___ other (specify):

25. Were you a favorite child, and if so, of whom?

(1) ___ I was not a favorite child.
(2) ___ I was my mother's favorite child.
(3) ___ I was my father's favorite child.
(4) ___ I was the favorite child of someone other than my parents.
   (specify):

26. Looking back, which of the following phrases best describes your mother during your childhood?

(1) ___ very liberated (modern-thinking)
(2) ___ liberated
(3) ___ equally liberated and traditional (old-fashioned)
(4) ___ traditional
(5) ___ very traditional
27. (a) During your childhood, did your mother work outside the home?

   (1) ___ always
   (2) ___ usually
   (3) ___ occasionally
   (4) ___ seldom
   (5) ___ never

(b) (Ask only of Ss whose mothers worked.)
Which of the following phrases best describes your feelings about her working?

   (1) ___ proud of her achievement
   (2) ___ ashamed that she had to work
   (3) ___ angry that she didn't take better care of you
   (4) ___ sad that you couldn't see her more often
   (5) ___ not bothered because it just seemed natural
   (6) ___ other (specify): (0) ___ not applicable

28. (Ask only of Ss who gave achievement responses to Q. 8.)
Was there a working woman, or working women, in your life whom you feel influenced your desire to achieve through your work?

   (1) ___ yes
   (2) ___ no
   (3) ___ undecided
   (0) ___ not applicable

Explain:

29. (Ask only of never-married Ss.)
Was there a single woman, or single women, in your life whom you feel influenced your decision to remain single?

   (1) ___ yes
   (2) ___ no
   (3) ___ undecided
   (0) ___ not applicable

Explain:

30. How far did you go in school?

   (1) ___ grade 8 or less
   (2) ___ grade 9 - grade 13
   (3) ___ post high school, non-university
   (specify):  
(4) ___ university
    (specify degree, if any):
(5) ___ post graduate
    (specify degree, if any):

31. What kind of grades did you make your last few years
    of school?

(1) ___ well above average
(2) ___ above average
(3) ___ average
(4) ___ below average
(5) ___ well below average

32. (Ask only of Ss who went beyond grade 8.)
    What part of high school did you enjoy most?

(1) ___ academic
(2) ___ social (dating)
(3) ___ both of these
(4) ___ neither of these
(5) ___ other (specify): (0) ___ not applicable

33. During your teen years, what did your family expect
    you to do when you grew up?

(1) ___ marry and have a family
(2) ___ continue education, work or both
(3) ___ both of these
(4) ___ neither of these
(5) ___ other (specify):

34. During your teen years, what did most of your girl-
    friends expect they would be doing when they grew
    up?

(1) ___ marry and have a family
(2) ___ continue education, work or both
(3) ___ both of these
(4) ___ neither of these
(5) ___ other (specify):

35. (a) What groups and organizations do you belong to?
    I'm thinking about church and church groups,
    unions, sports clubs, charities, interest and
    hobby groups, evening classes, social clubs,
    professional organizations, volunteer work and
    so on.

(b) What is your main reason for belonging to each
    group that you have mentioned?
36. What is your religious background?

(1) ___ Protestant
(2) ___ Catholic
(3) ___ Jewish
(4) ___ other
(5) ___ none

37. What is your age?

(1) ___ 30 - 34
(2) ___ 35 - 39
(3) ___ 40 - 44
(4) ___ 45 - 49
(5) ___ 50 - 54
(6) ___ 55 - 59
(7) ___ 60 or more

(The remaining questions should be asked of never-married Ss only.)

38. Are you aware of any of the following as potential or actual problems? Please describe.

(a) Loneliness?

(b) Sense of vulnerability in living alone (such as, physical attack or illness)?

(c) Restricted social life?

(d) Economic insecurity?

(e) Being treated differently because you're single?

(f) Lack of an immediate sounding board when needed?

(g) Increasing tendency to selfishness, narrowness or rigidity?

(h) Aging and retirement?

(i) Sex?

(j) Any other problems that haven't been mentioned?
39. From your experiences as a never-married woman in this community, what services do you think could be provided by local agencies that might be helpful to the never-married woman?

(a) Psychological counselling?
(b) Financial counselling?
(c) Long-term financial assistance?
(d) Financial assistance in time of emergency?
(e) Friendship and support groups?
(f) Crisis counselling?
(g) Housekeeping services in time of sickness or emergency?
(h) In-home nursing care?
(i) Are there any other services you would recommend?
AFFILIATION INDEX

1. Lives alone, unemployed, no voluntary associations.
2. Lives alone, unemployed, voluntary associations.
3. Lives alone, employed, no voluntary associations;
   OR lives with someone, unemployed, no voluntary associations.
4. Lives alone, employed, voluntary associations;
   OR lives with someone, unemployed, voluntary associations.
5. Lives with someone, employed, no voluntary associations.

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VITA AUCTORIS

Don Deathe was born on August 27, 1949, at Toronto, Ontario. He attended elementary school at Macville, Ontario and completed high school at Central Peel Secondary School in Brampton, Ontario. In 1969 he obtained a B.A. from York University in Toronto, and he was granted a B.S.W. degree by the University of Windsor in 1977. He entered the M.S.W. programme in September 1977.

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