Master of Arts in Liberal Studies (MALS) Student
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Academic Departments and Programs

11-1-1998

Career Development in Young Adult Women: Educational Influences on Self-Esteem

John E. Montreal
Skidmore College

Recommended Citation

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By John E. Montreal

**FINAL PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN LIBERAL STUDIES**

**SKIDMORE COLLEGE
MAY 1998**

Advisors: Joan Douglas, Jeffrey Segrave

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Abstract

The study of the college experience and student self-esteem contributes to the understanding of human development. There are biological, environmental, and cognitive factors that influence student behavior. For women, the process is often preordained by gender roles shaped by men. The effects play a strong part in career development. This paper explores social, psychological, and biological research that informs human behavior. Studies about college influences on women's self-concept and self-esteem reveal the factors involved in their career persistence, and decision-making. The evidence exposes the process that embodies student development, more than it suggests conclusions about career development. Helen Astin's (1984) sociopsychological model of career choice and work behavior is embraced as a need-based explanation utilizing motivation, socialization, expectations, and opportunities.

I. Introduction

Early on, we learn to regulate ourselves from our experiences with family, friends, and school. In a broader sense, we learn to behave according to our cultural involvement. The world around us helps define our motivations and where to direct them. Our motivations come from our biology, environment, and cognitive perceptions. The interaction of these modify, create, and change our behavior. This paper reviews these influences on young adult women. The life experience processes they traverse through their college years are examined. The resulting impact of these processes on women are considered for their ability to motivate them. The evidence suggests a strong link exists between biological, environmental and cognitive influences, and personal self-worth feelings. These factors act to support, delay and suspend the development of career interests.

The framework for considering human behavior that leads to career interests is disclosed herein through motivational theory that addresses biological, environmental and cognitive factors. The exploration of these factors imparts knowledge about their interacting qualities. Farmer (1985) reinforces the importance of interacting influences. She notes, for example, one's ability as a biological factor that interacts with psychological (cognitive) and environmental (social) factors. One's physical ability plays a role in determining, for instance, the type of attitudes and self-beliefs he or she will develop. For example, some men and women, allow physically superior people to intimidate or dominate them (Morris, 1971). Submitting to others in this way is construed as a self-protective measure. The innate (biological) sense we have to protect ourselves from harm is portrayed through this behavior. This demonstrates cognitive influences (self-protective thoughts) interacting with the environment (interpersonal relations) and one's biological abilities.

Next, the environment is probed for its effects on individual behavior. The tangible setting we live in and our perceptions of it affect our motivations. For instance, some find small campus settings that house a few thousand students more appealling to

attend than those with tens of thousands of students. Similarly, social experiences mold the reactions of individuals towards others and themselves. The history of women being objectified by men is reviewed to accent the severity and the extent by which societal influences promote male privilege and superiority over females. Examples of psychological forces and physical abuses women have and, in many cases, continue to be exposed to graphically illustrate environmental pressures on them. These descriptions reveal substantial forces on women in deciding career interests that conform to gender roles created by men. Additionally, the psychological, physical and health effects suffered by women are evidently connected and are interactive. For example, women develop cognitive measures of coping with male privilege by obsessing with their attractiveness. In making themselves more appealling to men, they reason male attention will provide environmental benefits (i.e. safety and financial security). As well, the literature notes women alter their biology, for instance, by using birth control devices and this becomes a factor in their career and family planning interests. And, the health and physical changes women experience are proven to be motivational factors in developing their self-worth feelings. By striving to conform to the male perception of body attractiveness, they often develop, for example, eating disorders. This paper uncovers a substantial body of evidence on the objectification of women. Its relevance is significant and timely evident in the educational influences they experience.

Family influences are also surveyed and found to be critical factors in structuring our reactions to our environment. We learn to act confidently or not from our upbringing. The more love and support we get the better prepared we become to exercise our free will. The evidence suggests our family life provides us with an orientation to develop career interests. For example, some of us view our environment as a resource to fuel our own goals. Others consider themselves as assets to help benefit the environment. This concept is presented as an individualistic versus collectivistic orientation. Our career interests and educational aspirations are formed from these influences.

All of our biological, environmental and cognitive motivations are conditioned by various reinforcements. The persistence of our behaviors is investigated herein and found to be associated with innate and environmental determinants. Rewards and punishments, for example, act to reinforce, direct, and change our motivations. These reinforcements are shown to be interactive with our biological, environmental and cognitive influences. Together, they imply the reasons we develop behavior persistence. Our persistence, or lack of it, affects our career interests.

In discussing the cognitive factors associated with our behavior, this paper finds they operate and arouse our fears and anxieties (Franken, 1998). Depending upon how well we learn to think constructively about ourselves and our environment, we realize or not our full potential. Research indicates we learn to either adjust to or transform conflicting feedback from our environment. As we learn to control our thinking in a rational and positive manner, we avoid falling prey to innate motivations. In this way, we confront our environment and integrate ourselves with it instead of fleeing from its uncomfortableness. For instance, when we learn to restructure negative self-doubts about our abilities, we become focused on our progress in place of our potential to fail. The information reviewed about our cognitive influences further uncovers and substantiates the interacting qualities of our biological, environmental, and cognitive motivation. It provides yet another argument or perspective for the persistence of our behaviors. It also points to the significance of our self-regulation.

In analyzing the literature on self-regulation, the implication of its relevance to educational attainment unfolds. The standards by which we judge ourselves and identify with our environment are shown to be a crucial component of human development. This is how we develop concepts about ourselves. As the information on cognitive factors supports, we formulate our goals and direct our attention through our ideas that originate from our self-knowledge. For example, "[i]ndividuals whose self-concept underestimates their skills and talents may find it difficult and even impossible to develop aspirations that

might motivate them to set difficult goals" (Franken, 1998, p. 403). Our experience in interacting with our environment and our natural abilities conspire to create a range of possible self-concepts. We may, for instance, have confidence in our capacity for athletics, but lack self-assurance in our academic skills. In the first instance, a clear athletic self-concept is prominent, and in the other, a deficient scholarly self-concept emerges. The studies used in this paper emphasize that our self-concept development is nourished by our biological, environmental and cognitive influences. Our success in acting competently in our environment is contingent upon our self-concept development and the clarity by which we perceive our self-attributes. These factors have consequences for our self-worth feelings (self-esteem). An explanation of self-esteem follows and informs our understanding of it.

Self-esteem is the most important part of our "psychological well-being" (Sanford & Donovan, 1984, p. 3). Having it increases our ability to overcome stress and to deal with life transitions. We are better able to interact with those around us, and are happier because of self-esteem. We develop self-esteem from conquering and overcoming things we think are difficult. We also get it from the support we get from those around us. Encouragement and confidence-building feedback helps us develop self-esteem. "Being competent at cooking and putting on makeup, for example, doesn't really give one a sense of power and control the way competence in athletics does" (Sanford & Donovan, p. 42). We need challenges in our lives to promote our self-esteem. It is not transferable from someone else. Just because one of our significant others has it, does not mean we'll realize it. With low self-esteem we are not as confident in undertaking difficult tasks. This sets us up for failure more often. We learn from having self-esteem to develop appropriate boundaries that serve as limits to increase our chances for success. In the process we create a more enduring sense of our own competence. We also devise a more stable self-concept. And, our self-concept has as much to do with our self-regulation as our self-esteem does. It consolidates the information we receive from our environment and

deciphers the context we receive it in. As Franken (1998) notes, "[r]eceiving a grade of B may mean little for someone whose only wish is to graduate, but a great deal for someone who wants to be admitted to medical school" (p. 403).

We develop our self-concept into general ideas about ourselves and along specific contexts, such as, identifying with our academic abilities (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). We tend to identify more with our specific self-concepts. However, the self-concept may or may not be part of our consciousness. Young women are more likely, for example, to identify with being students than being community residents. These specific self-concepts more often dominate our motivations. We could speculate from this, for instance, that the late Princess Diana's humanitarian efforts were driven more by her royalty self-concept than say her identification with motherhood. Her worldwide self-image was that of being from royalty and part of the British Monarchy in spite of being the mother of two boys. As these examples illustrate, the term can narrow or expand our comprehension of the self. Herein, "*self-concept* is a relational term used to denote students' judgments of their competence or skills (whether academic or social) *relative to those of other students*" (p. 171). It is closely related to our *self-esteem*.

Self-esteem is comprised of the feelings we have about ourselves that originate more from our own personal standards. It is developed by our internal consciousness that compares our ideal self-image to our real self-image. It denotes the "level of satisfaction" we have for ourselves and whether we believe ourselves to be "capable, significant, successful, and worthy" (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, p. 171). Like our self-concept, we may or may not be consciously aware of our self-esteem. While high self-esteem has been positively linked to "confidence, independence, curiosity," "mastery and achievement," and "subjective well-being,. . .low self-esteem has been identified as a risk factor for . . . poor school performance" and negative social adjustment (i.e. drug and peer abuse, delinquency) (Franken, 1998, p. 379; Harter, 1990).

Korman (1966) found individuals with high self-esteem choose careers that correspond with their self-concepts. For instance, students who are confident and proud of their success in law studies are more apt to become lawyers. Conversely, "[p]eople with low self-esteem have self-conceptions that change and fluctuate from day to day" (Von Bergen, Soper, Balloun, Crawford, Samie-Khalajabadi, & Rosenthal, 1996, p. 418). They are more likely to be career undecided and to be "slower processing information" about themselves and their interactions with others (p. 419). We develop our attitudes from our sense of self-esteem that we express to others and internally to ourselves. This transpires from our own personal judgments about ourselves (Coopersmith, 1967). Feeling good about oneself, for example, is usually correlated to having a positive attitude about meeting the daily challenges of life. This describes having a general sense of self-esteem about one's basic self-concept. This is the point we start from to construct all our other self-beliefs and to make our career decisions.

Bandura (1992) addresses the idea about our sense of competence being crucial for development of self-esteem. He states our "self-beliefs" about our own efficacy (abilities) affect our "thought patterns that can enhance or undermine our performance" (p. 10). Our self-efficacy is comprised of the feelings we have about our ability to act competently in our environment. These thoughts and actions control our self-esteem. They direct our intentions and actions (Bandura, 1992). This is how our perceptions about our own ability to mobilize resources and to meet challenges are created. For example, individuals low in self-esteem often perform poorly where skill is required by competition (Shrauger, 1972). "Psychologists have established that people with low self-esteem blame themselves when something goes wrong, whereas people with good (high) self-esteem" tend to look outside of themselves for answers (Franken, 1998, p. 290). Accordingly, low self-esteemed people set low goals to "avoid disapproval due to failure" (Dweck, 1991, p. 382). They are prone to irrational beliefs, career indecision, and anxiety

(see Stead, Watson, & Foxcroft, 1993). They rely on their self-beliefs about their abilities to predict their performance. The result of this effect narrows their career options.

Another aspect of low self-esteemed individuals is manifested in their self-handicapping behavior (Franken, 1998). By staying out late the night before an exam, for example, the low esteemed person is insuring himself or herself of a ready-made excuse for performing poorly. Rather than staying in to study for the exam and accepting the resulting grade as being reflective of his or her ability, the low esteemed individual adopts this self-handicapping strategy to insulate himself/herself from the self-perception of not having studied enough. This strategy is typical of individuals who do not hold high value for the self-discipline necessary for educational attainment. Sanford & Donovan (1984) report women with negative self-fulfilling prophecies often adopt this as a strategy to manipulate their perceptions of external experiences (i.e. failing the exam) until they align with their own internal expectations (i.e. *I'm like my parents who were not education achievers. ")*. This is a form of self-regulation. It is an important part of career development. The development of career interests is an overriding theme throughout this paper.

Career development evolves from the psychological growth and development that college students experience in molding their "concepts of self, attitudes, values, interests, and way of thinking" about school, work and society (Blocher & Rapoza, 1981, p. 212). Higher education is the nucleus for the converging of personal and social (career) goals. Therefore, career development is best studied from an "ecological approach" -- "an approach that focuses on the quality of interaction between the developing student and his or her environment" (pp. 212, 213). The outline for considering these student-environment dynamics is contained in "developmental tasks, social roles, and coping behavior" (p. 213). Young adults must transition through a number of social and personal issues. The successful interaction of this student-environment relationship has a critical

bearing on student self-esteem. The young adulthood stage is tied to career and personal development.

"At any rate, there is little evidence that most students enter college with relatively stable and well-formed vocational plans that are further crystallized and refined during an exploration process carried out over the college years" (p. 215). On the contrary, the evidence indicates most students have only superficial plans and that they are influenced by their families, and friends. However, these initial career ideas are often abandoned upon entering college (Baumgardner, 1976). College influences affect their self-esteem. Studies show that those students who maintain high self-esteem and that have stable self-concepts are better able to make career choices (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). These students are believed to be more successful in learning about themselves and how to effectively interact with others. Women, however, are subject to unique pressures. These come from the social influences inherent in their external world, as well as, internal self desires and needs. For women, the college environment has less impact in assisting their career decidedness (Blocher & Rapoza, 1981). Many women have needs, for instance, that involve combining careers and family plans. This sets the stage for these women to have lower career goals than men. Consistent with these pronouncements is evidence by Eyde (1968) that indicates women place higher values on career goals and achievement over 10 years after graduating. Eyde's study focuses on the fact that many women delay their career plans. It suggests there are a variety of personal and interpersonal causes of career undecidedness. But, as will be reviewed herein, there are other biological, environmental, and cognitive factors that define women and effect their self-esteem.

The conclusion of this paper embraces Astin (1984) which offers a sociopsychological model to explain career development. This model utilizes motivation and the environment to elaborate on how we satisfy our needs. The biological, environmental and cognitive aspects of human behavior noted throughout this paper combine together with this model to bare behavioral processes that create career interests.

Repeatedly, societal gender roles and cultural influences surface as powerful forces that invigorate these behavioral processes. Ultimately, the presentation of the studies and analyses noted herein informs the reader on influential factors that impact career development in young adult women. Moreover, the educational influences on their self-esteem are exposed and shown as impressive factors in developing their self-concept. The next section of this paper, "Foundations For Influence: Motivation Theory", begins this journey to investigate career development.

II. Foundations For Influence: Motivation Theory

The college environment affects student development in a variety of ways. The feelings and behavior of students are shaped by the psychological and sociological factors they experience. In some instances, change occurs in their thoughts and outward behavior. This change can be temporary or long lasting. Still, in other ways, students experience psychological and physical development. Growth or regressive influences, from changes or through development, interact and serve the individual by allowing him or her to function in the environment. The environment is also interactive with these changes and development, and contributes to the integration of all life factors affecting the student. There are different theories, models and paradigms for viewing educational influences on students.

Chickering (1969) is one notable theorist who believes successful student development involves the improvement of the whole person's behavior and social interaction. This involves motivational factors that influence perceptions and behaviors. They contain biological, cognitive and social motives. Consequently, these factors can be merged and explained by motivation theory. When viewed from an integrated and organized perspective, these motivations and the results they effect on students provide a systematic way of considering educational influences. These components provide insight to the causes of self-esteem and the development of career interests. They involve needs and motivation is need satisfaction. The following provides a framework from which to view the motivation involved in student development. It will address the many reasons for our overt and unseen behavior, and identify the interaction of our biological, cognitive, and environmental influences. The dynamics of this process effects career interests and self-esteem.

DESCRIBING MOTIVATION

"Motivation refers to subjective 'springs of conduct'--forces, drives, urges, and other states of the organism that impel, move, push, or otherwise direct its behavior"

(Hewitt, 1988, p. 116). Motivation may be present in either the outward and visible behavior of an individual, or it may be internally present as thoughts or feelings. We get messages from our brain that certain things or people give us pleasure or pain (Hayes, 1994). When we act to stimulate these pleasures or to avoid pain, we call this being biologically or physiologically motivated. If we mentally compare someone we do not like with someone we have just met, we are generally motivated to treat this new person with similar disdain. This is an example of behavior motivated by cognitive thought processes. It is an illustration of how we create mental images and react to them. They can be the source of events that touch our lives.

In his recording of *Positive Imaging* (1987), Dr. Norman Vincent Peale explains how individuals have attained goals and overcome adversity through mental imaging. He notes the power inherent in picturing an outcome. For instance, he tells of how one person overcame cancer by mentally imaging anti-cancer cells attacking the disease prone cells in his body and was medically diagnosed as cured. In another story he recounts how a boy looking in the window of a newspaper production office pictured himself sitting in the editor's seat who eventually became editor and publisher of the *New York Enquirer*. William Fezler (1989), in a comparable vein, writes about creative imagery, mentally picturing images, in which he posits we can maximize our potential by developing "greater energy, concentration, memory, confidence, work efficiency, athletic ability and intuition" (p. xii). Both Peale and Fezler are alluding to conscious attempts to influence our unconsciousness. They imply along with psychobiologists that we have two separate hemispheres of brain activity that "perform different functions" (Wonderly, 1991, p. 331). We refer to these as our conscious and unconscious self. There are other aspects of our being that regulate behavior.

Freud (1947) believes there are three structures inherent in every human being. He argued they constitute the self. They are: *"the id, which consists of the basic biological impulses; the ego, which copes with stress in the environment and mediates between the*

contrasting desires of the id and superego; and the superego, which represents the dictates of one's conscience" (Research & Education Association, 1994, p. 17). He assumed our basic instincts collectively comprise the id. When we are hungry, for instance, we satisfy our id by eating. On the other hand, when we have a mental picture of our height being in proportion to our weight, and are motivated to maintain this body image by our superego, we may struggle with the desires of the id. The struggle involves our ego which is the here and now portion of our self fighting to maintain a balance between our ideal image created in our superego and the hunger drives of the id. The ego, for example, may intervene and motivate one to exercise more to reduce the effects of calorie intake from food, or it may drive one to drink more water while eating so that the stomach will get a filled-up feeling and stop the self from eating. Freud maintained the dynamics of the id, ego and superego are necessary to effect progressive human development. He reinforced this by stating "our civilization is, generally speaking, founded on the suppression of instincts" (Wonderly, p.331). This evidence implies motivation is determined from the intermingling of unseen feelings, desires, overt behavior, and learned experiences. Much of our motivation develops from what we learn through social interactions. Gender and cultural influences are major parts of social interaction.

One can be motivated to conform to gender and cultural roles based upon previous outcomes or learned experiences. For example, women often choose career interests that are lower in prestige and low paying because they are taught to depend on men for support (Debold, Wilson, & Malave, 1993). They learn from media themes like in Disney's *Cinderella* to expect that their troubles will be solved by a man. From late adolescence, young women learn to defer their self interests and to devote considerable attention to serving others in caretaker roles and to attracting the appeal of men (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990). They are encouraged to subordinate their interests and their opinions to males. Renzetti & Curran (1995) note sex and gender discrimination, and inequality

throughout our culture causes this. The idea that men are superior to women and become dominant over them because of this has been a residing influence in gender relations (Eagly, 1995). Women lose confidence in their own abilities and come to expect men will give them security, love and happiness (Baxter Magolda, 1993). As these brief examples illustrate, our biology, cognition, and environment are determinants of motivation. An in depth look at how each of these determines educational influences follows.

Biological Determinants & Innate Aspects

There are significant physical differences in men and women that determine biologically based behavior. Men and women have sex hormones in their bodies (Franken, 1998). The androgen hormone is responsible for awakening the sexual interest in boys during adolescence. The testosterone hormone in men is considered related to male physical aggressiveness and the reason men are better at visual-spatial tasks (Law, Pellegrino, & Hunt, 1993). Women are endowed with the estrogen hormone and this is believed to be the reason for their better abilities in verbal and language tasks (Gordon & Lee, 1986; Hines, 1990). The fact that women can and do bear children is assumed to be the reason for their affiliative and relational motives. The presumption is they are around other people and children more, and serving the needs of others more often than men. This is how they learn to be expressive and to adopt feminine behavior (i.e. empathy for others, being shy and passive; see Katz, Boggiano, & Silvern, 1993). Conversely, males are raised to be more instrumental (i.e. goal directed and aggressive, Reber, 1995) in their behavior and this gives credence to the argument they have more exploratory type behaviors.

As men and women learn about their biological differences, they make decisions that affect both their psychological and physical development. For instance, women make career choices that combine family interests more often than men do (Betz, 1993; Levinson, 1996). And men, because of their greater physical capabilities, occupy more career roles that require physical exertion. The cognitive development of both men and

women affects their physical well-being in decisions they make, for instance, about smoking and drinking alcohol. Learning to smoke cigarettes and to drink alcohol excessively through social interaction, for instance, can limit the healthy development of our physiology. Our thought processes determine our learning about values for such things as peer, parental, and societal values, as well as, for physical appearance, and social skills (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991). To the extent men and women uphold and conform to these values, their level of self-esteem is often determined. "[W]hen people follow their strengths, rather than some standard given to them by society, their parents, or their peers, they begin to develop high self-esteem" (Franken, 1998, p. 382). Some of our biological behaviors are driven by the motivation to be competent and self-confident.

Franken (1998) reports that current research suggests we have an innate drive to master our environment. This he characterizes as being part of our need to survive. Our natural motivation is to fend off perceived threats. It is a very basic and fundamental motivation that does not involve complex conscious thinking. We do this through our nervous system and brain links. This interaction involving the brain deals with incoming stimulus from the environment and makes the judgment call as to how we will respond (LeDoux, 1992). For example, our natural response to someone who criticizes our creative efforts is to initially perceive the situation the same as a threat, and this initiates a feeling within us as if we were being threatened; a feeling of anger (Franken, 1998). This is the innate drive reaction.

Our "memory ability, learning ability, emotion, sexual behavior, hunger and thirst" are part of our innate behavior that have developed over time (Research & Education Association, p. 27). We see evidence of innate behavior in ethological studies that reveal some species of animals "appease the wrath of a dominant animal. . ." by making themselves appear smaller and less threatening (Morris, 1971, p. 130). "[W]e see all manner of cringings and crouchings, grovellings and hunchings-up, downcast eyes and lowered heads, in a wide variety of animal species" (Morris, p. 130). Humans in the same

way exhibit submissive behavior. Goleman (1995) claims we are all born with this innate emotional circuitry. He notes innate fears inhibit our behaviors; we pull away and limit our approach to others. For instance, some of us may fear particular people and become passive around them. The person with low self-esteem, or that is shy, often walks with a lowered head; "in sorrow, posture is often slumped with the face tilting downward" (Research & Education Association, p. 388). These "non-verbal behaviors accent our emotional states;" and "[n]o one ever taught us how to do this" (Matsumoto, 1996, p. 289). Physiological based motivations, like biological based motivations, are instinctually derived, but may be affected by the environment.

Through our development of competence we learn how to decipher these incoming messages and to respond in a way that will be efficient for our continued mastery of the environment. We learn to have efficacy in our habitat. This is similar to Bandura's (1988) notions about developing self-efficacy. He refers to developing our self-confidence (or self-efficacy) in our various life tasks. For instance, we might have high self-efficacy in driving a car, but low self-efficacy in studying calculus. Robert W. White (1959) developed this idea of competence further. He developed a theory which suggests the "tendency to explore is based on a more general motive" that is derived from the "*feelings* of efficacy" we experience as we come to understand how to affect the environment (Franken, 1988, p. 452). He posits the *feelings* can act as a reward. As long as the act of exploration is stimulating, the motivation to explore remains (Franken, p. 452). White's theory is based upon motivation being derived from our sense of competence. He implies our actions whether overt, or inner thoughts, are motivated by how effective we feel in our environment (Wonderly, pp. 205-206). McClelland (1987) elaborates further by stating *"[s]kill itself--even in routine tasks--tends to be a product of motives and expectancies plus practice, but no one doubts that skill is a major determinant of the probability of success and hence contributes in a major way to predicting response*

strength" (p. 518). Our sense of competence, skill and abilities impacts on our reaction to the environment.

Wonderly (1991) notes there is a connection between competence and power (p. 206). He states the term power "identifies both an urge and the many objects of competent behavior" (p. 206). He claims we are motivated "to act competently in order to gain power to access needs, and here the term seems to stand midway between desire and need" (p. 206). Power and the seeking of pleasure, he comments, are linked. The inference is that we receive gratification from asserting our desires (Wonderly, p. 206). Wonderly's ideas would be similar to saying a student who has been socially conditioned to be a peer conformist does not have the competence to develop his or her own interests. This result, according to Wonderly, would be that the conformist has no personal power to access his or her own needs. Not being able to recognize your own needs is similar to not being self-determining.

In discussing competence and power, Wonderly (1991) mentions that power is different from *potency* in that *potency* is the urge to grow; develop more competence (Wonderly, p. 206). He infers that one becomes potent, that is having high self-efficacy about one's general abilities, and desiring to develop further by exercising his or her abilities, from increasing his or her competence level. This is similar to White's meaning of *effectance*. White implies that "mastery, competence, and self determination" causes one to have an *effectance*; a motive to want to impact upon the environment (McClelland, p. 148). Likewise, this is similar to Bandura's beliefs which he clarifies in his statement-- *"[p]eople's beliefs about their abilities have a profound effect on those abilities. . .[p]eople who have a sense of self-efficacy bounce back from failures; they approach things in terms of how to handle them rather than worrying about what can go wrong"* (Goleman, pp. 89-90). As we attain certain goals in particular aspects of our life, we become self-efficacious in that area. The compounding results moving in a positive direction are part of the successful development of our self-esteem.

McClelland (1989) explains White's *effectance* motive in his own terms as having an *impact incentive* (p. 148). He states that "the production of effects upon the environment is a natural incentive that guides and directs much of" our behavior (p. 148). Similarly, Bernard & Huckins (1978) note that "persons become active forces in dealing with their own environments, in making demands upon these environments, and in manipulating or controlling them in order that their demands are satisfied" (p. 171). The growth and development of our self-esteem contributes to our motivation orientation. This determines whether or not we satisfy our need to be self-determining or controlled by others.

Deci (1995) interprets White's paper entitled "The Concept of Competence" as arguing "competence could be thought of as a fundamental human need" (p. 65). Deci infers that right along with seeking autonomy, one needs to feel competent. This energizes an individual to explore and be curious. He notes that "perceived competence without perceived autonomy has been shown to have negative effects" (Deci, p. 70). He illustrates this in the example of children who are pressured by adults to "master the challenges" given them (p. 70). When pressure becomes a controlling factor, autonomy is lost and the sense of competency does not grow. The child raised under such conditions, as a competent puppet, never learns to propel his or her own curiosity and interest (Deci , p.71). This results in stagnation of the individual's competence level.

Deci (1995) reports research indicates "the person who feels competent and autonomous, who directs his or her own life, is immeasurably better off than the person who does not" (p. 71). These were the implied results for studies of female college students who narrowed their career interests. Baxter Magolda (1993) and Holland & Eisenhart (1990) found women who had not learned to balance their peer relations with schoolwork, and who had not developed self-fulfilling educational interests and study habits, lowered their career goals and aspirations. They also lost academic self-esteem and had learned to rely on peer culture for general self-esteem. Their attention was focused on

satisfying the controlling interests of others and not their own needs. The evidence indicates our innate physical and cognitive abilities motivate our behavior. We learn from these initial drives to interact competently with our environment and others. As we learn to master our abilities we become more self assured to explore other aspects of our lives. We develop better processes to meet our goals, and as a result, we think of more goals to achieve.

Environmental Determinants

The process of human development involves influences beyond the scope of the individual self. They cause and affect changes in the individual, and shape human behavior and development. Physical environments, such as, residence halls, classrooms, or a basketball court to some extent frame the type of behaviors we exhibit. We act differently in each according to the physical setting. For instance, we sleep in residence halls; we discuss in classrooms; and we cheer at basketball games. The different settings determine at least to an extent the type of behaviors we exercise. The motivations in each case are different. Where in one setting we may want to be sociable, in another we may be motivated to be aggressive and boisterous. The social interactions we experience throughout our lives lend us the knowledge upon which we determine our appropriate behaviors. We match our abilities to behave, in many instances, with the setting. If we are socially amiable individuals, we may choose to attend a party. If we are solitary and introverted types, we may opt to spend time in the library. It is the interaction of personality and environment that determines behavior (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). This is why our personalities most often match those of the others who define the environment. Pascarella & Terenzini (1991) argue this most likely leads to stability in the environment. They note where there are inconsistencies some change will often take place "either in the individual or, more likely in the setting as the individual withdraws from an incompatible setting in search of one more congruent with his or her type" (p. 40). This

knowledge leads us to conclude that to some extent we can predict individual "social, personal, and educational outcomes" (p. 40).

Consider these four aspects about the influence of the college environment (Strange, 1993). First, the physical setting. The physical environment influences behavior, for example, due to location, terrain and climate. Students in Florida, for instance, may become involved in entirely different social activities than students in New York. The climate and the heat and cold associated with it play a big part in determining this. Second, the synthetic features of buildings may give rise to various feelings that individuals adopt. For example, small and confined settings that are overcrowded can cause student stress levels to develop from the noise and distractions involved. After awhile, students will come to associate their own experiences of these settings as feelings; and possibly adopt an aversion to go there. "Given that students spend up to 80 percent of their study time in their rooms, issues of privacy, freedom from noise, and other distractions and provisions of adequate and appropriately designed space are paramount" (p. 138). There are gender differences associated with space perception. Moos (1986) notes males respond negatively to crowded areas more than females do. The characteristics of the people in the environment are "collectively transmitted through its inhabitants; therefore the dominant characteristic of the individuals within an environment determines its dominant feature" (Strange, 1993, p. 140, 141). For example, a group of nursing students in a particular residence may discuss their assignments and studies more often than those in another building. The mutual support given by these students could improve their overall self-esteem. Third, the organizational structure of the environment plays a role in behavior also. For instance, a student social club that has too few volunteers to organize events may cause the conscientious members to despair and disband. This could lower self-esteem. Fourth, the perception of the environment can affect behavior. Students may, for example, perceive of certain social groups as being more attentive to their personal relationships. This can increase self-esteem. Pascarella &

Terenzini (1991) report the college environment impacts student outcomes. For better or worse, the physical, social, and human aspects of these settings can effect behavior persistence. The ultimate goal for higher education is to establish and develop stimulating and challenging environments for students to grow personally and socially in. In this way, career decision-making will be enhanced.

Stern (1970) claims our psychological needs are developed through the organization of our environment. He believes we learn to behave and to develop motivations through our interactions with the environment. From these experiences in our environment, we either facilitate or impede our individual needs. "Environments seen as having the potential of moving the actual and ideal selves (or self and other environmental occupants) farther apart, however, tend to reduce performance and satisfaction and to be avoided" (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, p. 41). We look at our family life as being the primary socializing agent and our colleges as being the influence on "students' roles (present and future), and thereby induce adoption of behaviors, attitudes, goals, and values. . ." (p. 49). Our needs and motivations are influenced by these different experiences. First, let's consider the historical environment women develop in.

__Womens' Historical Environment: Objects of Man.__ Women experience unique socialization influences. They are comprised from a history of male dominance. The changes and development women experience seem to have a direction decided by men. They have learned to fit into society according to this male influence. The history of their behaviors and motivations need to be considered within the context of male motivation. Depicted as objects rather than as individual selves, women have been characterized in different ways.

Slender, seductive, beautiful, sultry, ravishing, gorgeous, goddess, shapely, curvaceous, baby-machine, man-eater, and sex-kitten are words used to describe women that have been promoted by the male influence in society. They portray women as objects, and less than human. They imply that body parts are more important than the whole

person. They characterize women as childish play things. They exaggerate women's biological functions and impart that men are impaired by their abilities. They infer women are the weaker sex. For centuries, these words and words like them have caused women to be viewed as things for men to manipulate and control. These words have contributed to the idea that women are objects. Women have suffered physically, psychologically, and socially from being objectized.

Historically, man has viewed woman as "goddess, . . .idol, plaything, mother, virgin, harlot, ministering angel, slut, enchantress, hag, 'better half', or weaker vessel"(Cavendish, 1995, p. 2822). The world has been defined and put in neat little contexts devised by men. It is as though everything revolves around men and the masculine point of view. "[W]omen's bodies have been defined as the natural possessions or chattel of their husbands" (Wilson & Laennec, 1997, p. 30). Aristotle believed that woman is "inferior to man" (Okin, 1987, p. 37). He believed that women contributed the material creativity in nature; meaning the embryo (Labouvie-Vief, 1996). However, he argued that man's contribution to creativity was more "spiritual and divine", and therefore superior (Labouvie-Vief, 1996, p. 106). Out of this superiority principle came the idea that whatever is masculine and male is proactive, while whatever is female and feminine is passive. This mode of thought has been translated to mean that the female anatomy is negative, hollow, and receiving, where as the male anatomy is positive, generative, and intrusive (Labouvie-Vief, 1996). Females "have been gazed upon and acted upon" by desiring males (Labouvie-Vief, 1996, p. 107).

Women have been little more than *passive* bystanders in a man's world. The idea that women are inferior has been fostered and maintained by social institutions such as the early Jewish, Christian, and Eastern world religions (Cavendish, 1995). "Around the world,. . .myths often tell of the past bad behavior and evil of women that eventually was ended when men overturned the power of women and took control" (Labouvie-Vief, 1996, p. 108). Myths and superstitions have helped create the notion that women are

inferior to man. Indeed, women's development is centered around their experiences as daughters, wives, and mothers, whereas, men's development is viewed from the extent of their creativity, their ability to construct and produce. Men are judged more on their future worth and women more on their present abilities.

Beliefs about women's inferiority have made them non-considerations. Clara Thompson in *Psychology of Women* states there are prevailing attitudes that advance the notion "women's sexual needs are unimportant" (p. 80). She noted Victorianism fostered the idea that women did not show evidence of erotic excitement as men do, and so, "encouraged a denial of pleasure in the sexual act" (p. 80). Woman must satisfy men and be available whether or not she actively participates. Thompson saw this as a devaluing of women (Williams, 1987). The feelings of women were second to the sexual desires of men. Alfred Adler in *Psychology of Women* notes that:

> *"[m]any girls and women find compensation in certain privileges accorded to them because of their sex such as special courtesies and exemptions from some kinds of obligations. While these may seem to elevate women, it puts them in a position which has been designed by men for the advantage of men" (p. 84).*

Adler's notes support the premise that the world devised by man orchestrates the role for women.

Religious institutions of the East and West have helped perpetuate the beliefs that women are sexual objects sought by men and that the lures of sex were "obstacles to spiritual advancement" (Cavendish, 1995, p. 2829). Cavendish (1995) notes evidence declaring women as inferior and as objects have included Paul Mobius's book entitled *The Physiological Intellectual Feebleness of Women*. In it Mobius wrote the regions of the brain "necessary for spiritual life" are "less well developed in women" (Cavendish, 1995, p. 2825). Cavendish (1995) reports the Indian epic, *The Mahabharata* characterizes woman as being "an all-devouring curse" where "in her body. . .lust engendered by blood and semen" is the evil part of the cycle of life (p. 2825). These writings seem to

suggest the same meaning in the male anecdotal phrase *'women are a necessary evil.'*
Wilson & Laennec (1997) claim women have been defined as "commodities embodied in
human (female) form, desirable for displaying a family's wealth and producing heirs" (p.
40). The creative spirit in man uses commodities, whether they be human or not, to
produce things. Women have been defined more as objects of materialism than part of
human-kind.

Since the biblical story about Adam and Eve, women have been portrayed as evil
seductresses and as custodians of the sex act (Cavendish, 1995). There is an inherent
masculine fear of women. Stories like those about Adam and Eve, and Samson and
Delilah, that depict men in compromising roles with women, accentuate this masculine
fear. It is as though the masculine urge to dominate and control does not want to
acknowledge the partnership created between man and woman through the sex act.

Cavendish (1995) claims that "religious . . .traditions which classify phenomena in
terms of opposites,. . . (perpetuate the idea that) male is generally classed with good,
positive, active, and female with evil, negative, (and) passive" (p. 2822). This comes close
to implying the same analogy as the anecdote--*woman is man's sticky fly paper;* or,
woman is the mirage of man. The implication is that women interrupt men from the
normal course of their activities. Cavendish (1995) reports H. R. Hays quotes an
Australian aborigine as saying, "the vagina is very hot, it is fire each time the penis goes in,
it dies" (p. 2825). One might conclude that the inference is women sap men of energy,
strength, and aggressiveness. Another assumption easily made based upon these
conclusions is women are possessed by their looks and the influence derived from their
beauty. In Hatcher (1984) Simone deBeauvoir, a famous feminist, is quoted as saying
"[p]regnancy, at least temporarily and sometimes permanently, destroys the woman's
beauty and hence negates her power over men" (p. 121). Speculation on deBeauvoir's
comment could induce one to reason that minus the woman's good looks, the man would

not be sexually attracted to her. A woman's physical attractiveness constitutes her passive, negative, and evil influence over man (Hatcher, 1984).

Both Adam and Samson lose abilities and are weaker after their famed encounters with the beautiful women mentioned. Adam loses favor with God and is thrown out of the Garden of Eden after he is coaxed along by Eve to eat the forbidden fruit. Samson has his strength-giving long hair sheared by Delilah while sleeping after a night of song and sex. Bolen (1985) captures the evil, negative, and passive characteristics of women in her writings about Persephone. Persephone is the mythical goddess and queen of the underworld Bolen (1985) uses to illustrate psychological perspectives of women. She writes Persephone is devious, not truthful, and manipulative, and can "become intoxicated by ritual and feel possessed" (Bolen, 1985, p. 222). Coincidentally, Montgomery & Burgoon (1977) characterize "traditional sex-typed females" as having a high level of persuasability, as well as having "unstable attitude structures" (p. 66). One might interpret these findings as supporting the correlation of Cavendish's (1995) reported religious characterizations of women as being negative, and evil with the characters Eve and Delilah. Eve and Delilah, one might assume, avoided obligations and sought their own self-fulfillment by shirking their responsibilities. In this context, they are not actively constructing their future, rather they are passively taking advantage of others.

There are other historical facts and reflections that support grandiose and negative connotations about women. Many prehistoric figurines found of Great goddesses are shaped with "pregnant bellies, massive breasts", and an over-emphasized genital triangle (Cavendish, p. 2832). Just as suggestive is Michelangelo's painting that symbolizes the Genesis story and depicts a female head on the garden serpent who influenced Eve to eat the forbidden fruit (Cavendish, 1995). These signs and symbols detract from women's image. Otto Weininger (1903) wrote in his book entitled *Sex and Character* that 'woman wants man sexually because she only succeeds in existing through her sensuality' (Cavendish, 1995, p. 2828). Weininger (1903) implies women over come their lack of

abilities by encouraging men to sustain them by offering sex. There has been no lack of negative connotations about women in material symbolism or the written form. However, the plight of women and the most serious physical harm to them has been culturally promoted. The objectizing of women has done more than impair their reputation or to stereotype them negatively; it has scared and damaged their bodies.

Obsessions. Some of the most notable obsessions with women's bodies have been related to female circumcision, foot-binding, menarche and menstruation, suttee or widow burning, and desire for thinness and attractiveness. Also, forced prostitution should be included here because it is another symptom developed from the perception women are objects. A 1991 conference of Southeast Asian Women's organizations estimated that 30 million women had been sold worldwide into prostitution (Leuchtag, 1995). Many unsuspecting young girls who were sold for as little as $17 (American dollars) to prostitution dealers by their families, or kidnapped by dealers, live under virtual slavery and end up contracting AIDS (Leuchtag, 1995). All of these obsessions with women's bodies have resulted in health complications for women physically and/or psychologically.

Female circumcision is most often practiced in Africa and Asia (Asali et al., 1995). Asali et al (1995) report that female circumcision either involves complete removal of the clitoris or "[a] less drastic form. . .(that) involves removal of the prepuce of the clitoris, similar to male circumcision" (p. 572). Bengsten & Baldwin (1993) assert the reasons given for circumcision include religious tradition and practice, societal norms, education, or moral or sexual control. Asali et al. (1995) claim societies that practice female circumcision believe women without circumcision "are not good bakers or cooks;" that women are "more clean" or purified from it; and that it will enhance reproductive ability and diminish "women's sexual desire" (pp. 573-574). Hosken (1989) claims psychological and sexual problems often arise from circumcision that involve "fear of sex, promiscuity, or even suicide" (p. 170). Lightfoot-Klien (1989) and Moen (1983) note depression, hemorrhage, shock, and retention of urine have also been diagnosed in those who have

been circumcised. Renzetti & Curran (1995) infer circumcision "is a direct outgrowth of the devaluation of women" and it gives women who perform the practice status in their own societies (p. 356).

Foot-binding was notoriously practiced by the Chinese between the 10th and 20th centuries on the feet of young girls (Renzetti & Curran, 1995). Renzetti & Curran (1995) claim some of the reasons given for foot-binding included it made women more appealing to men; it functioned as a way to ensure female chastity and fidelity; and tiny feet were considered to be more feminine. They report foot-binding resulted in the women losing most of their toes, gross deformities of the foot, and prolonged infections.

Suttee or widow burning was a custom practiced in India until it was outlawed in 1829 (Renzetti & Curran, 1995). It was believed a widow of a deceased husband should be burned to death herself to honor the dead husband and to prevent disgrace from her natural tendency to be lustful with other men (Renzetti & Curran, 1995). The suttee or widow burning custom was based upon the premise women were inferior men that the gods have punished by giving them a woman's body (Cavendish, 1995). By being burnt to death, it was believed they would be purified and forgiven by the gods (Cavendish, 1995). Issues about female purity are also centered around menstruation.

Menarche is the girls first period. Brumberg (1997) writes "menstruation was considered the first step on the slippery slope to loss of innocence, (and) . . .many Victorian mothers simply avoided the subject altogether" (p. 16). She notes that instead of menarche being a moment to start a dialog about a girl's fertility, it became the time to start discussing personal hygiene. The emotions of girls have not been a priority. Personal hygiene in the 1990s is a more than $2 billion a year business which begins girls focusing on their bodies; it is the impetus behind girls being preoccupied with their looks (Brumberg, 1995). Girls and their mothers head to the malls after menarche and begin the ritual shopping for bras, lipsticks, and high heels, and body piercing; "it sets the stage for obsessive over-attention to other aspects of the changing body, such as size and shape"

(Brumberg, 1995, p. 55). The shopping rituals and beauty aid promotions induce the once confident adolescent girl into thinking she needs exterior modifications to her body.

There was a time when women were allowed to retreat and rest from the normal rigors of life for the duration of their period (Brumberg, 1997). However, as Chrisler, Johnston, Champagne, & Preston (1994) report women have come a long way from the days when menstruation meant they had to control their activities. There are various forms of sanitary napkins that have taken the place of cotton rags that allow a woman to be as physically active as she wants to be; without any mess (Brumberg, 1997). For some women, menstruation is a monthly cycle they hardly notice. For other women, as Chrisler et al. (1994) claim, . . .have taboos against sexual activity during menstruation and that it is a time when . . .(they) are more prone to illnesses, susceptible to stress more, and . . .(are perceived as) "dangerous and unpredictable" (pp. 375-376). Their work finds there is a stigma associated with menstruation and it generally impacts women in a negative way. It contributes to the shame many women have about their attractiveness and look of their bodies.

Desire For Attractiveness: The Beginning. Brumberg (1997) notes the 1920s marked the beginning of when girls started conscious efforts to restrict their food intake and to exercise to control their weight all in the name of beauty. Fashion, film, and the media helped launch the beauty preoccupation. Modern femininity was requiring women to become exhibitionists. They wore shorter and tighter fitting clothes to become decorative objects (Brumberg, 1997).

The mother and daughter ritual of combing each others long hair began to decline with the advent of the Flapper and shorter haircuts for women (Brumberg, 1997). For many women, combing another female's hair is a form of bonding. This is especially true for mother and young daughter relationships. The grooming activity which is often reciprocated is perceived as a sign of intimacy between the participants (Brumberg, 1997).

As women began to find their freedom to travel and to assert their own preferences, they opted for new experiences. After World War I, many of the traditional associations for women began to erode. Church and community groups, and the Girl Scouts "began to note a decline in membership and interest" (Brumberg, 1997, p. 101). The mass production of the automobile and movie theaters sparked a more mobile and autonomous time period for women (Brumberg, 1997). Women were being seen and noticed more. There was a general trend to seek entertainment and amusement away from home.

As women were obviously noticed more, they became increasing concerned with their exterior looks. Health problems began to emerge. Williams (1987) notes women make up more than 90 percent of the people with eating disorders. The obsession with body thinness is believed to be the overwhelming reason for anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa. "Thinness is a highly valued element of femininity and beauty, promoted by television, magazines, and diet books" (Williams, 1987, p. 454). Women were surrounded with examples of what to look like. Minority women, however, have not had the same experiences as White women with their body image.

Minority Contrast. Osvold & Sodowsky (1993) report some differences for African-American and Native American women in their eating attitudes and behaviors, and that of women who have problems with anorexia nervosa, bulimia, and obesity. First, they point out eating disorders are associated with women who have many sex roles. This means for women in general who possess more masculine and feminine roles, that they are more likely to develop eating disorders. They claim White women are more worldly and more often in higher socioeconomic status which creates more sex roles for them. This situation causes White women to be more at risk than their minority sisters for eating disorders. They are also not as easily influenced by expensive material products which they cannot afford to purchase to adorn their bodies. Osvold & Sodowsky (1993) further support their claims with Brown & Konner (1987) who point out that "poorer societies in which leaner is the norm value fatness, which is representative of

prosperity. . ." (p. 149). Furnham & Alibhai (1983) found "30% of lower socioeconomic status women were obese compared to 16% of middle-class women and 5% upper-class women" (p. 148). Osvold & Sodowsky (1992) "found a 40% obesity rate among African-American women and a 38% obesity rate among Native American women in a predominantly lower socioeconomic minority population" (p. 148). Osvold & Sodowsky (1993) state anorexia nervosa and bulimia most often develop in adolescence, "which is generally a briefer period for African Americans" (p. 150). Consequently, minority women pass through their adolescent developmental stage quicker which puts them at less risk of the cultural influence to be thin. They enter womanhood earlier than their White sisters and "have less time to become preoccupied with physical appearance, dieting, and the concerns about weight" (p. 150).

Body Objectization. Physical attractiveness has historically always been linked to women; men do not focus on their attractiveness to any great extent (Downs, 1990). McKinley & Hyde (1996) report women have far "more negative body esteem than men" and they become "external onlooker[s]" of their bodies (pp. 182-183). "Women learn to associate body surveillance with self-love, health, and individual achievement"; they view themselves as objects (Spitzack, 1990, p. 183). They become preoccupied with their looks, and can become narcissistic. DeBeauvoir posits woman often come to hate their babies because they are "perceived as the cause of ruining their own body" (Hatcher, 1984, p. 121). The need to perceive oneself as attractive is a very strong motivating factor. Women are surrounded with onlookers everyday who make judgments about them based upon their looks. Tannen (1994) notes in spite of the range of women's hairstyles, women who don't have a particular style are often perceived as being slovenly. These type of attitudes force women to make decisions about wearing shoes, for instance, based upon their attractiveness and not on the comfort of the fit. In order to compete and be positively accepted at work, women have to be conscious of their physical appearance and how it will be received by those around them.

Tannen (1994) relates a story about a female attorney who is called off to court unexpectedly and is chided by a male associate before she leaves who states, "Hadn't you better button your blouse?" (p. 10). Her blouse was not low cut and their was only one button not buttoned. However, the incident had the affect of undermining the self-confidence of the woman. Similar incidents are played out everyday that have women questioning their own abilities based upon their perceived looks. As Tannen (1994) points out, its a daily struggle for women to monitor their looks, their makeup and who they are going to be seen by. She argues "[s]ome men even see. . .(the lack of makeup) as a hostile refusal to please them" (p. 111). This preoccupation with clothing and one's looks is rarely a problem for men. Women are the marked objects of a patriarchal culture.

Certainly the ultimate of objectizing women is epitomized by Dr. James Burt, a prominent Dayton, Ohio, gynecologist, who wrote in 1975 in a self-published book entitled *Surgery of Love* that he had been performing "love surgery" on women with out their consent while they were in the hospital for one of his "painless" child-births or for "gynecological surgery" (Wilson & Laennec, 1997, p. 59). "Burt wrote that women's vaginas are *structurally inadequate for intercourse* and he felt his surgery would help them achieve orgasms (pp. 59, 61). The surgery he performed without his patients consent involved the removal of skin around the clitoris and the exterior of the vagina to allow more exposure to nerve endings which he believed would allow a woman to experience a greater orgasm during intercourse (Wilson & Laennec, 1997). Dr. Burt's actions is a blatant example of how far the objectizing of women can be carried. He had no concern for them as human beings; he just wanted to fix an *inferior thing*. He exhibits the mentality about women being mere body parts; no brain, soul or free will inhabits the whole.

Some Health Affects. The objectizing of women and the accentuating of their body parts have created health and safety problems for them. Claybrook (1996) notes the long history of women wearing high-heeled shoes have placed enormous strain on their

ankles, legs and hips and they distort normal posture. They were primarily created to display women and to accentuate their body parts. Young (1990a) comments:

"The young girl acquires many subtle habits of feminine body comportment-- walking like a girl, tilting her head like a girl, standing and sitting like a girl, gesturing like a girl, and so on. The girl learns actively to hamper her movements. . .Thus she develops body timidity that increases with age. . .The more a girl assumes her status to be feminine, the more she takes herself to be fragile and immobile and the more she actively enacts her own body inhibition" (p. 25). This helps one to understand the culturally planted mentality of women that instills in them the need to wear some of the various types of shoes and clothing that often can restrict their physical movements.

Women's clothing has not only been used to adorn the female body, but also to help shape it. Corsets, which were used during the 1700's and 1800s, "[s]queezed women's bodies into unnatural shapes; in fact the corset placed such a strain on the internal organs of women's bodies it created a collateral market for a second device, the pessary, designed to prevent the collapse of the uterus that corset wearing sometimes prompted" (Claybrook, 1996, p. 111). The perfect hour-glass figure was the impetus for the corset; it was perceived as being the ultimate womanly look.

The quick rush to mass produce many articles of female clothing also caused safety problems for women. "[I]n 1994, the Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) issued a recall on sheer chiffon skirts that burned faster than newspaper; approximately 250,000 of the skirts were in circulation" (Claybrook, 1996, p. 111). The mass produced skirts were considered nothing more than a market method to exploit the female body. Claybrook (1996) reports many women's products have been unregulated or poorly regulated, for instance, cosmetics, contraceptives, silicone breast implants, the Dalkon Shield, and lactation suppressents; some have caused great personal injury. These things served to alter women's looks, control their capacity to reproduce and to regulate their natural bodily functions. They also helped changed the focus of women's bodies from that

of "mothering capacities" to that of being sexualized objects for male pleasure (McDermott, 1996, p. 18).

The Hymen. In discussing some of the historical changes in the perception and attitudes towards women's bodies, it is important to mention the hymen. The hymen is "a thin membrane which has no particular function" that bridges the minor lips of the vagina (Williams, 1987, p. 236). The hymen is easily broken from physical activity, sexual foreplay, and intercourse (Williams, 1987). Brumberg (1997) points out fewer hymens were found in tact on the gynecological examining table after the advent of the sexual revolution in the early 1900s. She reports "a third of the women born before 1900 usually remained clothed during sex;" but in the 1920s only about 8 percent did (p. 157). This new attitude towards their bodies had women seeking premarital hymenotomies in the interest of sexual satisfaction (Brumberg, 1997). A hymenotomy is "a surgical procedure that incised the hymen" (Brumberg, 1997, p. 158). Women were no longer concerned with being labeled "deflower[ed] virgins" from lacking their intact hymen (Brumberg, 1997, p. 159). For centuries, Brumberg (1997) states that husbands had the "peculiar right" to deflower virgins; suddenly, gynecologists were profiting from the new found sexual attitudes (p. 159). The Victorian belief that a hymen was a necessary symbol of purity every girl should have was eroding. By 1936, Brumberg (1997) notes mass produced tampons, sanitary menstruation napkins, which were inserted into the vagina, were catching on with women. There was not as much of a concern that inserting something into the vagina might make one less than a virgin. The times were changing women's attitudes about their physical anatomy. The "sanctity of the hymen" was losing ground as women were becoming more compliant and allowing vaginal medical exams; they were not as concerned about maintaining an intact hymen (Brumberg, 1997).

Promotion as Objects. Times have changed the way women receive messages about their looks. Women are bombarded daily with the sophisticated ads of the media. Today's over $130 billion a year advertising industry has become the driving force behind

the objectizing of women (Kilbourne, 1989). "Women are shown almost exclusively as housewives or sex objects" (Kilbourne, 1989, p. 122). They are mostly portrayed with cleaning products or as beautiful bodies women viewers try to emulate. Women are shown in subordinate and/or sexy roles. Lazier & Kendrick (1993) report women have been portrayed as "less intelligent than males" based upon findings from television content analyses (p. 202). Goffman (1979) concluded women are weakened by advertising that portrays them as smaller than men; touching other women; in lower ranking occupations; in family scenes; and using what is considered feminine body language (bashfulness, puckish looks, and goofy smiles). Women receive these advertising signals, as well as, men do and the result is the objectizing of the female body. Women are dehumanized by the media.

"A woman is conditioned to view her face as a mask and her body as an object, as things separate from and more important than her real self, constantly in need of alteration, improvement, and disguise" (Kilbourne, 1989, p. 122). Kilbourne (1989) notes "more than one million dollars is spent every hour on cosmetics" (p. 122). Cash & Cash (1982) support Kilbourne's claims as they state "public body-consciousness is related to the use of cosmetics" (p. 286). They also suggest "that the use of cosmetics may compensate for negative feelings about certain parts of the body (Cash & Cash, 1982, p. 282). In other words, women who have a negative view of their waist size would be more prone to wearing cosmetics. As Kilbourne (1989) notes the images portrayed of beautiful and perfect women in ads "is difficult and costly to achieve and impossible to maintain--no one is flawless and everyone ages" (p. 124). Certainly, one could question--how does a women emulate sexy and virginal, or innocent but sensual at the same time? There are a whole host of contradictory messages women receive about themselves in ads (Kilbourne, 1989). Not being able to fulfill any of the images perfectly and for long, lowers the self-esteem of the women who are reading and viewing these ads as the norm to be striving towards. "Dr. Steven Levenkrom, author of *The Best Little Girl in the World*, the story

of an anorexic, comments every women's fashion ad should carry a line saying: *Caution: this model may be hazardous to your health*" (Kilbourne, 1989, p. 124). These ads with perfect female bodies contribute to the poor self-images that women who are prone to eating disorders adopt.

To convince the male population women are objects, magazines, such as, *Playboy* often portray "big-breasted female[s] who (are). . .willing and ready to have sex at any time" (Dines, 1995, p. 257). *Penthouse*, another widely read men's magazine focuses "on women's genitals, simulated sexual intercourse, sexual violence, . . .group sex, and trivialize[s] and legitimize[s] child sexual abuse, battery and murder" (Dines,1995, p. 260). The more women are objectized the more they lose their individuality and humanity.

Sports Illustrated magazine with a circulation of over three million is another media form that has been charged with dehumanizing women (Daddario, 1992). Daddario (1992) reports the *Sports Illustrated* annual swimsuit issue portrays women as sex objects. She argues the models in the "swimsuit issue are given more total photographic coverage than female athletes" (p. 50). In most of the regular monthly *Sports Illustrated* issues, Daddario (1993) states on average 90.8% of the feature articles are centered on males and only about 8% devoted to females. Women athletes are not valued the same as male athletes; they are not given the same coverage as men.

There has always been strong feminist criticism against type-casting women in "sex-appropriate" sports (Daddario, 1993). Appropriate sports are considered to be those that allow women to remain glamorous and that pose little physical risk (Daddario, 1993). These types of sport activities depict females in physically erotic motions and positions. Gymnastics, tennis, and skating are sports Daddario labels as sex-appropriate. These sports are individual-oriented with the athlete participating to perform her physical best rather than in cooperation with other team members who together compete for power and control (Daddario, 1993).

Lumpkin & Williams (1991) found "female athletes are described in print articles and television commentary according to their physical appearance and perceived desirability to men" (p. 52). They noted words like "luscious" and "12-car pileup gorgeous" (p. 52). Duncan (1990) found East Germany athlete Katarina Witt was described by sports writers as "so fresh-faced, so blue-eyed, so ruby-lipped. . .she makes a lousy enemy of capitalism" (p. 58). While Duncan & Hasbrook (1988) found visual footage of women focused on "breasts, bottoms, and thighs, thereby reducing the athletes to attractive sexual objects" (p. 52). Daddario (1993) claims female athletes in *Sports Illustrated* were also outnumbered more often by gender references about the non-athletes in the magazine. For instance, in one study "[p]hotographs of . . .non-athletes included 27% depicting wives/girlfriends of male athletes, . . . 8% of mothers of male and female athletes. . ." and 36% were of female models (Daddario, 1993, p. 55). Where as, less than 30% of the photos were of female athletes.

Yet, other photos found in the swimsuit issue of *Sport Illustrated* revealed models who were not described as such in athletic wear and in animal-like positions (Daddario, 1993). Daddario (1993) infers this could have had readers thinking they were looking at real athletes; perceived role models. One female model, dressed like an athlete, was shown "reclined on a sofa with knees bent, eyes closed, one arm dropped to the floor and the other arm over her head" suggesting sexual availability and vulnerability (Daddario, 1993, p. 60). The emphasis placed in this sports magazine was obviously on women as objects and not sports athletes. The media's objectizing of women is not always so obvious.

Television has helped provide many roles for women to see themselves in as objects. As John Fiske (1987) reports, soap operas and other TV dramas show women interacting with men to empower themselves. Fiske (1987) states wealthy people characterized in these shows are often portrayed interacting with women from a lower socioeconomic status. Women viewers get the impression from watching these episodes

that if they model the sexy images, they will in turn strike it rich by befriending a wealthy male. Fiske (1987) claims this hardly ever happens in real life.

Rapping (1991) reports television shows make unconventional behavior seem widely practiced. Women are often depicted having sexual affairs with their husband's brother, and as being married to bisexuals (Rapping, 1991). Once again, television sensationalizes the sex act and reduces women's quest to happiness as the seeking out of sexual partners to solve a whole host of emotional problems. They learn to identify with fictional characters from fictional stories. Many women viewers try to apply social learning from fictional stories and characters to real life situations; it usually causes a negative consequence (Rapping, 1991).

The media characterizations and portrayals of women have at times bordered on being pornographic and/ or erotic. While the media is still dominated by White women, visuals and photographs that dehumanize minority women have historically not been protected from objectization either (Dines & Humez, 1995). Race has been no stranger to those that would advance women as objects. "The treatment of Black women's bodies in nineteenth century Europe and the United States may be the foundation upon which contemporary pornography as the representation of women's objectification, domination, and control is based" (Collins, 1990, p. 280). African American women were sex objects for their White masters and were often bred like animals (Collins, 1990). They were subject to the sexual urges of their owners and the slave auction blocks were the first pornographic stage shows (Collins, 1990). Collins (1990) claims African American women were displayed along side animals. In this way, they were perceived as less than human. The historical treatment of African American women helped build the foundation for the pornography exhibited today. It has been responsible for much of the expressions of women in subordinate roles and the promotion of sexual violence against them (Collins, 1990). Even today, with the advancement of equal rights and treatment by law, women are still being used. "[S]ome men openly (admit) . . .to (harboring). . .'decorative women'

around them" (Tannen, 1994, p. 270). Many male employers hire women strictly for their looks and not their abilities (Tannen, 1994). Tannen (1994) reports "Japanese businessmen, (for example), often hire pretty young women simply to stand around" (p. 271).

Finally, history showers us with the ways, forms and the degree to which women have been devalued, subordinated, and turned into objects for the pleasure of males. We can take no cover under today's treatment of women. They are still being perceived as body parts, sexualized forms and the weakness of man. The life of a young girl takes a turn for the worse once she reaches late adolescence. The flow of menstruation marks the flood of male perceptions. Her self confidence and development superiority over her male peers stifles with the onset of being cast as a sex object. From her mother, to her father to her sisters and brothers, she senses the attention her exterior image brings out of them. She finds no strength in the roles she plays. Her inner qualities receive no nourishment to grow and expand. There is no real future for her; only comforts from the present. Her older sisters recount waking-up from being a mass of body parts; they are mid-life adults. Only now does life seem more worth exploring for them. They are no longer objects. They are real persons; free from the gaze of male hormones. This historical perspective gives us an insight into the socialization experiences women have faced and continue to be influenced under. They explain important behaviors motivated through social interaction.

The Family Factor. For most of us, our parents were the dominant factors that shaped our lives. "Our first experiences with both love and conflict" most likely happened through contact with them (Sanford & Donovan, 1984, p. 28). Before considering how college influences the self, it is important to consider the impact of parents (Newcomb & Wilson, 1966). They are significant elements of our development and motivation. Coopersmith (1967) implies agreement with this by writing: *"[W]e will have a solid foundation of self-esteem if, in our early years, we acquired a sense of significance, a*

sense of competence, a sense of connectedness to others balanced by a sense of separateness from them (parents), a sense of realism about ourselves and the world, and a coherent set of ethics and values" (p. 38). Clearly, the evidence indicates we construct our self-perceptions and develop motivations from experiences in our early family life.

The likelihood of our mastering career exploration, minus any imminent economic situation (i.e. an increase in financial obligations), is predicated upon having a positive family atmosphere and a positive self-concept (Bingham & Ward, 1994; Fitzgerald & Weitzman, 1992; and Super, 1957, 1980, 1990). Farmer (1985) notes the importance of having self-esteem, personal autonomy and parental support for predicting career and achievement motivation. These factors have encouraged larger numbers of women, and especially ethnic minority women, for instance, to choose math and science courses (Farmer, Wardrop, Anderson, & Risinger, 1993, August). This is notable because math and science curriculum and career fields have been traditionally dominated by males, and perceived to be associated with masculinity (Eccles, 1994; Weishaar, Green & Craighead, 1981). Moreover, this demonstrates how Farmer's factors are important aids in overcoming sex and gender stereotypes, and that having a positive self-concept develops one's sense of competence. Career exploration is enhanced by this sense of competence.

Similarly, parents who communicate to their daughters a low opinion of: education achievement, nontraditional occupations for women, and careers that require androgynous marital goals are likely to instill these same attitudes in these women. Sex and gender stereotypes are fostered this way. This is how parental values, either negative or positive, are often passed on to children (Franken, 1998). By helping to formulate our expectations for the future, our parents impact our motivation. They instill the confidence in our self-efficacy, for example, to overcome barriers and to be proficient. Our outcome expectations are derived from our self-efficacy and this influences career exploration and decidedness (Betz & Voyten, 1997). If we develop negative expectations, we often project self-fulfilling prophecies through our lack of confidence and failure. However,

parental support can help us alleviate negative expectations and move us closer to building the self-efficacy necessary to make career decisions (Bandura, 1977, 1986). Undeniably, parents are important developmental factors in our life stages.

Self-esteem in young women most often originates from parental support given during childhood and extending through early adulthood (Sanford & Donovan, 1984). This major contribution from parents affects their development of aspirations and motivations that lead to academic success, social adjustment and career development (Davey & Stoppard, 1993; Fullinwider-Bush & Jacobvitz, 1993; King, 1989; Levinson, 1996; Mau, Dominick, & Ellsworth, 1995; Serbin, Powlishta & Gulko, 1993). This encouragement is perceived as the driving force that motivates women to planning science careers (McLure & Piel, 1978; Mau et al., 1995) and into pursuing male-dominated occupations, for instance, as engineers and psychologists (Fitzpatrick & Silverman, 1989; Haber, 1980; Hackett, Esposito, & O'Halloran, 1989; Houser & Garvey, 1985; O'Connell & Russo, 1988) and as physicians (Standley & Soule, 1974). These women experience increased self-esteem from cohesive family environments. Psychosocial development is deterred without self-esteem.

In families that are not stable, for example, due to marital conflict (Amato, Loomis, & Booth, 1995), the early adulthood period of offspring is prone to psychological distress and unhappiness (Brown & Harris, 1978; Landerman, George, & Blazer, 1991; Tweed, Schoenbach, George, & Blazer, 1989). Women from these unstable families most often have personal and social problems. For example, they often have conflicts in intimate relationships and with social friendships (Rawlins, 1992). They are "less likely to have received the essentials of self-esteem, more likely to have been labeled in negative and inaccurate terms, and more likely to have been influenced by negative role models" (Sanford & Donovan, 1984, p. 83). Their self-feelings are low. They are prone to delinquent behavior. "[S]tudents having negative self-feelings may seek positive self-feelings by derogating school regulations and, at the same time, adopting patterns of

deviant behavior such as cheating, disobeying teachers, engaging in theft, vandalizing, and using alcohol or other drugs" (Liu, Kaplan, Risser, 1992, p. 128). Overall, the more family love, respect, and supervision young adults receive, the better they are at adjusting to college life (Kurdek & Fine, 1994; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991; Barthelemy & Fine, 1995).

Lefkowitz (1995) reports young adults who have poor self-concepts also express a variety of negative identity problems associated with their "body image, health, sexuality, and feelings about personal worth" (p. 429). Excessive concerns about physical attractiveness, dieting, and sexual activities, for example, result in these women being less autonomous and more susceptible to being influenced by other people (Debold, Wilson, Malave, 1994; Deci, 1995). Poor self-perceptions about achievement potential, distorted gender relationships and uninformed career decisions are a few of the probable consequences these women will suffer (Eccles, 1994). They will not have the motivation to develop the commitments necessary for educational attainment. The evidence indicates substantial differences between stable and unstable families. There are also some variations in the way minority families influence their children. They instill distinguishing motives that affect social interaction.

In noting there is little empirical data on gender-role expectation for ethnic minority families, Reid & Pauldi (1993) state "anecdotal information suggests that Asian American and Hispanic American parents may expect their daughters to be even more submissive and dependent than those of white American families" (p. 195). In contrast, Afro-American families impose fewer gender-role constraints on their offspring than whites do (Casenave, 1979; Romer & Cherry, 1980). This lends support to the notion Asian American and Hispanic American women have lower self-esteem in gender relations than do Afro-Americans. Moreover, Afro-Americans are motivated to seek socially assisting careers.

Simpson (1996) reports Afro-American women state they are positively influenced by their working mothers and "their parents' non-sexist attitudes" to enter the legal profession (p. 200). These Afro-American women credit these factors as the reasons for their increased self-esteem and self-efficacy in being achievement motivated, in opting for a career they perceive as being a service to their communities, and as enhancing their own intrinsic motivation. They are more motivated to explore career options. Correspondingly, Stead, Watson, & Foxcraft (1993) report the evidence suggests low self-esteem is related to career indecision. There are other family factors that differentiate ethnic minorities from Euro-Americans in their self-concept building process.

Matsumoto (1996) notes non-western ethnic minorities often have parental and family influences that create a collectivistic view of the self-concept. He contends they instill cultural values that promote interdependence. This is different from Western concepts of the self that are built on valuing individualism. An Asian American raised under collectivistic values may be more motivated to succeed in school, for example, from a desire to increase the social respect for his or her family. His or her personal advancement is anchored in personal beliefs that personal self-esteem is linked to the family's self-esteem. In contrast, a Euro-American that is individually oriented, for instance, thinks more about his or her own prestige and self-esteem. This is placing the individual's success over the familys', or any other group for that matter. In some respects, female minorities have stronger interrelational bonds with their families. They are motivated to help one another.

Renzetti & Curran (1995) report Afro-American and Hispanic American children are most often raised by their mothers in single-parent families. Consequently, Afro-American and Hispanic American mothers, in typical collectivist fashion, are known to look after each other's children (Debold, Wilson, & Malave, 1994). These mothers believe in the notion of extended family. Notwithstanding this connectedness, Asian and Native American mothers in the same socio-economic class, often encourage their female

offspring to marry early and obtain the economic assistance of a husband (Debold et al., 1994). The need for the basic staples of living motivates them to seek financial assistance. Unwittingly, the mothers narrow the education and career options of their daughters. The daughters end up focusing on their immediate economic concerns which they view can be improved by marrying. This social design can have a negative effect on career motivation.

"Psychologist Jean Baker Miller notes the drawback of this strategy" has the effect of the daughters forsaking their own intrinsic desire (p. 71). This is detrimental to their own self-esteem. Likewise, individualistic orientation has its negative side. Deci (1995) states individualism is equal to selfishness and "stands in contrast to acting for the common good" (p. 134). He notes individualism is a prescription for extrinsic motivation and a desire for being materialistic. Selfishness, extrinsic motivation and materialistic desires characterize low-esteemed individuals Deci (1995). Collectivism and individualism whether consciously chosen strategies or not, substantiate a major way family culture affects self-esteem. They also instill attitudes and values through racial identity building.

Crocker & Major (1989) believe ethnic minorities develop self-protective strategies which are culturally perpetuated through family life and serve to foster high self-esteem. By considering any negative feedback that lowers self-esteem as being racially motivated, discounting negative comparisons to more advantaged social groups, and by valuing ethnic role model achievements, ethnic minorities promote a strong sense of identity and develop high self-esteem. Slavin, Rainer, McCreary & Gowda (1991) and Porter & Washington (1993) suggest Afro-American adolescents who have a positive racial identity suffer less stress and self-esteem effects from racial prejudice. Those who have a perception of emotional connection and support from family members have more positive self-concepts (Cauce, Felner, & Primavera, 1982). Likewise, Slavin & Rainer (1990) conclude self-esteem and the self-concept are positively related to family support. As well, Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown (1992) contend Afro-American adolescents who are supported by their parents to achieve in academics have high self-esteem in school.

These findings are consistent with research that indicates "people with high self-esteem perform equally well following success and failure," whereas "people with low self-esteem perform significantly less well after failure" (Franken, 1998, p. 383). These findings indicate student motivation is affected by self-esteem.

Consequently, the evidence points to positive feedback from parents as being critical in the development of self-esteem in adolescents. Self-esteem is not peculiar to any group of individuals as Rogers (1959) reaffirms "we are (all) innately motivated to develop high self-esteem" (p. 385). He implies unconditional love from parents increases the likelihood one will have high self-esteem. Conversely, he notes one who is only given conditional love will have low self-esteem and a negative self-concept. The impact of being understood, acknowledged, and loved enhances the self-concept. Much like Cooley's (1902) idea of the "looking glass self," positive parental support and feedback reflects positive self-images in offspring. "Both the positive affect and the perceptions of understanding.... intimate interactions provide are . . .likely to enhance well-being" (Prager, 1995, p. 172). The close family relationship and the experience of unconditional love provide a solid foundation of high self-esteem (Duck, 1994a).

For the young woman entering college, the positive family experiences contribute to her having an orientation towards achievement and to making career decisions evolve from confident exploration. Being open to explore helps create an achievement motivated identity (Marcia, 1966). Young women who do not experience reassuring parents and who do not develop high self-esteem are perceived to be less confident and more susceptible to the selfish manipulations of others. They will not have developed the intrinsic motivation to learn about career education and vocations that lead to contentment and self-actualization. They will be less likely to self-determine their goals and more apt to be negatively influenced by their social interactions. In all probability, they will not have the emotional maturity to delay gratification and to experience education for the long-term benefits. The end justifies the means for these women. Values and principles

will often be overlooked. They will be less motivated by the experience of the process to undertake challenging tasks (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). They will not, as Bandura (1991) suggests, have developed the strong feelings of self-efficacy to tackle the goals necessary to become self-actualized.

Holland & Eisenhart (1990) support the findings about male dominated culture negatively affecting women. They argue women's natural sense of self is in being connected to others. Women are interdependent creatures that develop goals and aspirations around the inclusion of significant others. This makes them more vulnerable to the culture of romance that implores male superiority and female subordination. Their sense of frustration marginalizes their identities (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990). They learn to become more influenced by peer culture and this affects their educational and career achievement. Brown (1991) suggests women learn to give up their autonomy in developing their education and to rely on idealized relationships from having experienced male dominance in their lives. She claims these experiences reinforce their innate need to forge relational bonds. This increases their interdependence on peers. As a result, their sense of self and their self-esteem are not as self-determining. They become extrinsically motivated. These effects reduce career exploration and increases attention on the present (Franken, 1998). They also point out some of negative environmental factors that are interactive with social relationships.

Holland & Eisenhart (1990) affirms these women seem to develop three significant strategies to get through college. They devised this conclusion from their study which involved looking at peer relationships and the college environment. The *getting over* strategy involves the mental construct of academics being little more than a means to get a credential. These women who profess the getting over mentality deemphasize their schoolwork and put more interest in their peer relationships. Afro-American women are believed to adopt this strategy because they perceive of societal obstacles like racial discrimination to be rampant. They tend to seek support from their own racial group to

maintain a sense of identity. The *doing well* strategy entails getting good grades to prove that one is proficient in a particular subject. The trouble with this plan, Holland & Eisenhart note, is that many of these women come from high school with the idea that college work will be no harder, and consequently are discouraged from the discipline required to succeed in college. The doing well types end up with lower self-esteem. Finally, the *learning from experts* strategy is a perspective that involves seeking out knowledge from instructors and schoolwork because the process is viewed as life enhancing. Women who practice this strategy tend to have higher self-esteem and a better self-concept (Baxter Magolda, 1993).

Motivational Reinforcements: Understanding Persistence

Motivation is generally divided into categories consisting of positive, negative, or conditioned, social, and generalized reinforcements (Research & Education Association, p. 56). They provide reasons for the persistence of our behavior along with other factors. One of the most significant factors of human motivation is the innate desire to seek pleasure and power. They are considered basic human needs. Pleasure and power are reinforcers in a sense that they are important in every situation humans encounter. For instance, the need to avoid pain and to be in control of one's own body functions seem to be consistent for everyone. Pain is considered to be the opposite of pleasure and being in control of one's own body is taken for granted to be the minimum amount of power for one to have on this earth. It is from this perspective that other reinforcers are considered along with these fundamental ones. The hedonistic and the Machiavelli theories are two prominently known concepts that address these fundamental motivations and human needs.

The Research & Education Association (1994) reports the early 19th century saw the re-emergence of the hedonistic theory about human nature (p. 339). The hedonistic theory posits the "basic motive behind all behavior is to avoid pain and seek pleasure" (p. 339). Franken (1988) explains hedonism as "the human tendency to enjoy immediate

pleasure" (p. 5). In a different way, Rethlingshafer (1963) notes the idea of pleasure is subjective at best. She suggests pleasure is more appropriately defined as the seeking of a goal. And, a goal once attained, she comments, needs to be replaced by yet another goal to maintain pleasure. She implies satisfaction may be derived from attaining goals, but not be considered pleasure. This satisfaction seeking, she notes, is a preference for "stimulation with no goal in view" (p. 201). For example, she explains animals "sip sugar and solve problems when they are not hungry;" . . ."they explore their environment with no definite goal in view;" and "they have preferences for salt which are inexplicable in terms of drive-reduction" (p. 201). We have preferences for stimulation in much the same way. We eat and drink when we are not hungry or thirsty, and we are naturally curious. The experience of these feelings and activities brings about satisfaction in us. This example illustrates the dynamics involved in goal establishment and achievement. It shows how the process leading to goal achievement can affect our drive and performance, and play a role in our motivation to seek pleasure.

Another approach to human motivation was expressed by Machiavelli who "maintained that egotism, fear, love, hunger and sex were the basis for political leadership" (Research & Education Association, p. 339). He implies the inherent nature of humans causes some to be followers and some to be leaders. Machiavelli's beliefs about the unstableness of humans were the reason he argued they had to be protected from themselves. However, there is a fundamental concept about human motivation that must be considered along with his beliefs. This is the need we have to seek self-esteem and the initial confidence it gives us to have power over ourselves and finally others (Franken, 1998). Personal power in its most elementary form is exhibited in the way we seek attention, love, affection and influence over others. To some degree, we all express our own version of manipulation in the way we allow others to perceive ourselves. In the way we dress, and posture our bodies, for example, we carry influence and affect others. In a generic sense, the Machiavellian theory applies to the power we seek in any situation, be it

political, economic, or whatever--especially personal. Power is a motivational factor in human relations and considered a generalized form of reinforcement along with such things as prestige, and money (Research & Education Association, 1994, p. 57). Motivation is further divided into other reinforcement categories.

The Research & Education Association (1994) notes motivational variables as including "primary and secondary *drive* sources" (p. 341). Wonderly (1991) notes the term *drive* is commonly used to describe biologic alterations representing the energizing aspect" of organisms (p. 140). Primary motivation is stimulated by such things as: "food, water, air, temperature, and almost any intense stimuli, such as, loud noises and electric shocks" (Rsearch & Education Association, p. 341). Secondary or conditioned motivations are considered to be learned and include desires for "success, power, affection, money, appearance, and security" (p. 341). They claim fear, anxiety, and verbal cues are also learned drives. Motivational variables are further classified into reinforcement categories that include rewards and punishments.

Positive reinforcements are generally perceived to increase the likelihood of desired behavior. For instance, the giving of a reward for performing some act. However, negative reinforcement involves the removal of something from a situation and also supports the likelihood of increasing a particular behavior (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 1990, pp. 129-130). "It removes an unpleasant stimulus" (Research & Education Association, p. 57). For example, peers negatively reinforce each other to conform to group norms by ignoring or withholding their attention from those who do not. Conversely, students who are academically oriented to college are often encouraged to study hard by getting high grades for their efforts (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). This is positive reinforcement. Punishment and rewards are two other types of reinforcement.

Punishment serves to avert behavior. Cheating, for example, may be dealt with by expelling students engaging in it from school. Students who perceive the outcome of their cheating in this way are not as likely to cheat (Bandura, 1991a). Students who are

expelled may never cheat again, however, they may never learn to value the educational system that expels them. The use of punishment in such cases may never obtain the desired results of graduating honest students. They may be inclined to dropout of school from the effects of the negative experience. Skinner (1953a) postulates punishment is a lacking strategy in that it does not help the one it is applied to learn how to achieve the desired goal. In contrast, rewards are usually applied to help one learn about desired behavior. Rewards used as reinforcers are given to increase specific types of behavior. People learn to value certain types of material and activities through these various reinforcers. Clothes, grades, social interaction and romance are things some students learn to value (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990; Upcraft, 1982). Punishment has it limitations in controlling our behavior.

Skinner (1938) believed punishment was ineffective in controlling behavior. He postulates punishments are better perceived as short term aversion methods. He did not believe punishment would extinguish the drive to perform a certain behavior. His animal experiments reveal punishment does not eliminate undesirable behavior. It only curtails undesirable behavior. From this evidence, we could assume punishment reinforcers experienced by college students may only change their behavior temporarily and not affect their long term motivational tendencies. Students may conform to peer influence, for instance, by drinking alcohol or by wearing similar attire during their college experience, and after graduation behave according to their own personal standards. Our behavior is also affected by the values we establish.

We learn to value social reinforcement. Social reinforcement occurs when the reinforcer consists of feedback from individuals in our surrounding environment (Cloninger, 1996). Bandura, Grusec & Menlove (1967a) support this in their report that behavior will not be learned unless it is motivated by some occurrence. For instance, female college students who do not conform to their peers ideal of femininity will often be excluded and isolated by other female students (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). This effect or

threat of it is enough to make most women conform. This is how we learn to "self-regulate" and "self-reinforce" our behavior motivation (Cloninger, 1996, p. 354). There are some sex differences that may explain motivational reinforcements and provide an understanding of our behavior persistence. Buss comments on some reasons for the persistence of our sexual behavior.

Buss (1994) reports evolutionary psychologists account for aspects of our persistent behavior through biological factors. They claim men and women have innate tendencies to insure the survival of their genes. For example, males are believed to be rewarded by their sexual behavior and this reinforces their gene survival goal. In fulfillment of this goal males are theorized to be exercising their competence in seeking to implement a strategy of many sexual partners to mate with to propagate their genes. This is a case of more is better. Females on the other hand, are presumed guided more by the fact they can bear only so many babies at one time. They are concerned with perpetuating their genes from this standpoint which makes them more directed towards quality instead of quantity of mates. They seek to protect their offspring and gene survival through males who have strength and intelligence (Buss, 1994; Franken, 1998). If this theory is correct, it could be used to support the evidence that implies college women place a high priority on romance and relationships (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990). In the absence of any immediate rewards, women may be biologically motivated to put more attention towards their social interests over academics. There are other arguments for our motivational persistence.

Deci (1991) suggests intrinsic motivation is one reason for our behavior persistence in the absence of any *rewards*. Intrinsic motivation, he explains, is the belief that certain behaviors will result in self-fulfillment. He notes we learn to develop expectations about future outcomes and this motivates us. The act of mastering or developing competence provides the *reward*. This implies we become motivated by the process as well as by the goal we are trying to attain. It explains the reasons for our

behavior persistence by the use of our cognitive abilities. This leads into the cognitive component of motivation.

The Cognitive Component

Successful developmental changes require we process the never-ending environmental stimulus with adequate responses. We do this by perceptually reinterpreting conflicting experiences to "make it consistent" with our "current knowledge" or by changing our current beliefs to fit the situation (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, p. 28). Students do this in establishing their career interests. Marcia (1966, 1967) notes this in his identity model that posits individuals learn to respond to psychosocial tasks like developing career interests through psychological commitment. He claims individuals are "identity - diffused" when they have not made any commitments to develop interests or values that would lead to a career. These individuals resemble students who choose to place a high priority on socializing rather than academics. "Identity - foreclosed" students are those who have made commitments, for example, to adopt the values and interests of others (parents, peers). These students are the type that most likely let their parents or peers chose their career interests or occupational preference. "Identity - moratorium" refers to people who are actively engaged in developing a commitment, but who have encountered an exploration or goal fulfillment block. For example, women who put their career plans on hold to have children. "Identity - achieved" is the term Marcia uses to label those who have successfully and independently made commitments, for instance, to choose a career or major field of study. This model demonstrates the different categories cognitive motivations can be grouped into when considering student development. There are other aspects of cognitive motivation that affect our behavior

According to Festinger (1957), we naturally look for ways to match our thoughts with our behavior. For example, very few men choose home economics as a major

because they view the field as being stereotypical for women. The presumed male perception is they would feel less masculine in such a field (Katz, Boggiano, Silvern, 1993). This is supported by evidence indicating only about 5% of the bachelor's degrees in home economics go to men (Betz, 1993, p. 632). However, the conflict many men have in suppressing more reasonable thoughts about lowering their sex-typed occupational barriers is resolved through the motivational state known as cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). Whenever two inconsistent beliefs are held by an individual, the thought that best matches his or her behavior subsequently chosen is called cognitive dissonance (Reber, 1995, p. 135). Cognitive dissonance has the propensity to alleviate psychological discomfort. It can also be the root of poor performance. Pallak & Pittman (1972) suggest increased anxiety over suppression of logical and rational information to make thoughts match with behavior can reduce performance. They claim increased physiological arousal interferes with our normal concentration. It makes it harder to process more incoming information. A student who suffers from test anxiety, for example, may perceive his or her instructor as being *too tough* in test preparation. While this strategy may match the student's thoughts with his or her poor test results, it can also be responsible for raising his or her anxiety level during easier tests. In this way, cognitive dissonance can be at fault for poor performance.

In contrast to cognitive dissonance, Roese (1997) concludes counterfactual thinking creates "mental representations of alternatives to the past and produces consequences that are both beneficial and aversive to the individual" (p. 133). Roese reports counterfactual thinking may result in negative emotions, as well as, benefit the individual in the future. For example, a group of students who fail a course together may reason their participation in the course study group would have helped them pass the course. They reason this in spite of the fact the test had multiple trick questions. In the future, these students may opt to join study groups because of this perception and perform better. Using another example, counterfactual thinking can be perceived as counter

productive. For instance, a female student who counterfactually thinks of herself as physically unattractive and the reason her promiscuous boyfriend broke-up with her. Her resulting negative emotions can cause her to have low self-esteem about her body and to engage in poor eating habits. "[T]he fact that counterfactual thinking plays an important role in planning and execution of ongoing behavior" makes it useful in the study of cognition in motivation (Roese, 1997, p. 145). Our thoughts in general shape the way we act and think. They provide the mental images we base our *values* on, which in turn create our *attitudes*, and so gives the impetus to our fleeting *moods*.

George & Jones (1997) note "values are never fully attained but rather are more permanent guides for experience" (p. 395). They explain values, attitudes and moods, which are all part of the cognitive process involved in motivation, by illustrating their impact in the environment. They postulate "*intrinsic . . . values* refer to end-states that occur through work" (p. 396). For example, an art student valuing the freedom of his or her work expression exclaims *--I feel free to explore my own creative mind in the work I produce.* Conversely, they explain "*extrinsic . . .values* as end-states that occur as a consequence of work" (p. 396). For instance, the student who proclaims *--I decided to major in engineering, even though I love teaching, because it opened-up higher paying job opportunities for me to provide my family with financial security.* These ". . . values are the evaluative standards that people use to interpret their . . .experiences" (George & Jones, 1997, p. 397). Although George & Jones use work to illustrate their points, work and school are similar in developing attitudes, values, and moods. In this regard, their illustrations substantiate cognitive influences that apply to educational attainment. They characterize work *attitudes* as involving "job satisfaction, job involvement and organizational commitment" (p. 398). *Attitudes* reflect the self-expression a worker has about his or her job. For instance, someone who perceives of himself or herself in a dead-end job may never be excited about their work. Similarly, students who think of social service type careers as demeaning may limit their career exploration.

Correspondingly, *moods* are brief expressions, for instance, of how a student feels about taking a test, and are not connected to any significant event or cognitive process (George & Jones, p. 400). *Moods* are short-lived, but when they turn into long-lasting emotions, it is because the emotion has been "cognitively and/or behaviorally dealt with, (and) feeds into a more enduring affective state or a mood" (p. 400). A student who is not satisfied with his or her instructors may never exhibit a happy *mood* in class. This unhappy *mood* condition, if it lasted long enough, could turn into a lasting *attitude* that in turn could diminish the student's *value* for an education. This is one reason why our optimistic feelings are considered to be more important for predicting our success than our academic intelligence (Seligman, 1990). *Values, attitudes, and moods* are regulated by an individual's cognitive processes. They in turn create motivations, for example, that develop our emotional maturity.

Of course, our emotional outlook can be a barrier to our development. Mednick & Thomas (1993) report the psychological barrier *fear of success*, which is known to impede Euro-American women, is less of an "inhibiting factor" for Afro-American women (p. 613). The *fear of success* barrier is a cognitive construct presumably built by women's attachment to traditional roles and aversion to competition (Horner, 1972; Wernikoff, 1980). These constructs point to the discrepancy between the ideals of womanhood and adulthood. Welcome adult traits have been sex-typed. Sex-role stereotypes have classified independent thinking, and taking responsible action as being masculine attributes that are undesirable as qualities for women (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz,1972) (see also Horner, 1972; Gilligan, 1977). "The very essence of femininity" (Horner, 1987) has been described as "the repression of aggressiveness" (masculine traits) (Freud, 1933, p. 158). Women are more affiliative and connected to others than they are competitive (Katz, Boggiano, & Silvern, 1993). This evidence supports the notion of achievement avoidance in women. It also furthers expectancy-value theories of motivation where the most important motives are: the expectations about

the consequences of actions, the value of these consequences, and the level of anxiety associated with negative consequences (Horner, 1987). In short, fear of success equates to having negative expectations and anxiety about achievement and yielding to those expectations. It impairs our cognitive thought processes.

Chickering (1969), Heath (1968, 1978), Perry (1970, 1981) and Kohlberg (1969) all suggest the importance of cognitive maturity in student development. The formulations of our thoughts and their interaction with our environment are such that we are constantly adapting to change. Successful student development is contingent upon doing this maturely. "Cognitive capacity and readiness for change are intimately related to development because of their necessity for the perception of the complexity of one's world, as well as of one's place in it" (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, pp. 44, 45).

III. The Self-Concept: Self-Regulation

Research indicates our success in life is predicted by how we think and not by our intelligence (Epstein, 1991; Seligman, 1990; Goleman, 1995) . What we think about ourselves is most important. We learn to interact with others and according to situations from the ideas we develop about ourselves. When we have positive views of ourselves, we can better handle new experiences in our lives. However, if we have negative concepts about ourselves, we are not as capable of reacting to these experiences. We are not as competent about ourselves and the world around us. We develop our self-concepts or feelings about who we are and what we stand for, for example, through our family and school experiences. We may or may not always be conscious of the standards by which we conduct ourselves. More importantly, we may not always be conscious of our self-concepts. For example, Franken (1998) notes we may ascribe to the entity theory about our intelligence. We may feel our skills and abilities are static. This makes it harder for us to be encouraged about tackling new issues and facing new transitions in our lives. We will be more apt to have low self-esteem and low self-efficacy from the limits this view of our intelligence puts on us. We will be less likely to put forth effort. Conversely, if we hold an incremental perspective, a belief that our intelligence is changeable, we will be more inclined to apply ourselves. For example, we would be more inclined to work harder to try and get A's even though we have been getting B grades. This demonstrates how our self-knowledge (self-concept) interprets the past, to regulate our present behavior. It helps us determine how to process: our feelings, dreams, motivations reactions to feedback and to view success and failure (Dweck, 1991). For a young woman who enters the college environment, her self-concept is molded by her peer and faculty experiences (Demo, 1992; Hoyle & Crawford, 1994; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991).

Levine (1966) notes these school experiences as helping students create either an academic or social orientation. He implies those who are peer oriented develop a social self-concept. This happens as a result of interests acquired through a "socialization"

process (p. 108) (see Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997, p. 192). Those who adopt a social self-concept, Levine notes, do not learn to balance academic interests with peer interests. Peer-dominated activities are more important to them than academic interests and consume most of their time (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990; Horowitz, 1987). These students can be characterized as having less depth and certainty in their self-concepts. This leads to less self-confidence, control, and positive affects over their future outcomes (Baumgardner, 1990). Students having a social self-concept are reinforced by their peers to conform. Peers, for example, reinforce socially conforming behavior (i.e. going to bars, parties; See Eccles, 1994; Gove, 1994; Holland & Eisenhart, 1981, pp. 24-26; Hoyle & Crawford, 1994). This conformity causes dependence. Students learn to depend on their peers, for example, for "emotional support, advice, and material goods that can be borrowed in times of need" (Levine, 1966, p. 128). Women are affected more by peer groups than men, and according to Goldman & Wong (1997) "women gain their self-esteem from interpersonal relations" (p. 605). Women naturally have more of an expressive side to themselves that is exhibited by bonding and showing empathy for others (Sanford & Donovan, 1984). They are more concerned about the process of life. Men are more likely to get their self-esteem from being instrumental. They are culturally influenced to be more end-results directed and not as concerned with the process part of life (Franken, 1998). However, research supports the existence of strong peer influences. For instance, students intending to follow in vogue career paths are deterred by their peers from changing their minds (Holland, 1985).

Peer reinforcement is strengthened by our innate need to form attachments with others (Barchas, 1986; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Eddy, 1993), and our inherent concern for our personal safety. The need to belong and the desire for interpersonal attachment are considered fundamental to human motivation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Bowlby, 1969, 1973). This motivation is life enhancing. There is substantial evidence indicating people who are socially interactive and who maintain intimate relationships are healthier,

happier and more content with their lives (Sarson, Pierce, & Sarason, 1990). These are

positive reinforcements that maintain and broaden interaction. Accordingly, Barthelemy &

Fine (1995) suggest the successful development of the self-concept is dependent upon

peer support in "college adjustment, social adjustment," and "personal-emotional

adjustment" (p. 471)(see Eccles, 1994; Makosky, 1982; Panori, Wong, Kennedy, & King,

1995; Smith, Wolf, & Morrison, 1995). They found lack of support and failure to adjust

affects Euro-American women more negatively than men. Their fear of losing support

lowers their self-efficacy. They do not have self-confidence in their own ability. This often

results in their not exploring nontraditional career interests, for instance, by not studying

math and science (Eccles, 1994; Walsh & Srsic, 1995; Weishaar, Green & Craighead,

1981). "*[M]ost* (Euro-American) *women know that women in male-dominated*

occupations often face discrimination and harassment on their jobs, as well as more

subtle forms of disapproval from their colleagues, friends, and relatives. The

anticipation of these kinds of negative experiences can also deter women from selecting"

nontraditional careers (Eccles, 1994, p. 605). Hence, Euro-American women have lower

career aspirations than men.

Conversely, Fouad & Bingham (1995) report ethnic minorities have higher career

aspirations. They found Afro-Americans are more achievement oriented and less

influenced by gender roles in pursing career interests than Euro-Americans. Afro-

American women are less likely to be deterred, for example, from entering nontraditional

career paths. They "more than Euro-American women describe themselves as

androgynous and masculine" (Harris, 1993, p. 683; Binion, 1990; Smith & Midlarskey,

1985). Coincidentally, Harris (1993) found that "masculinity enhances decision-making

related to career goals" (p. 685). This evidence suggests Afro-American women are less

influenced by gender in developing their self-concept. They have more self-complexity

(Linville, 1987). This means they have an incremental perspective about their abilities.

They allow themselves a greater range of self-concepts. This affords them the capacity to

better "achieve goals and to deal with a wide variety of negative events" (Franken, 1998, p. 406). This implies they have high self-esteem in making career decisions irregardless of gender stereotypes. Likewise, Lay & Wakstein (1985) found similar findings for Hispanic-Americans. Possibly, they learned to overcome some negative reinforcements.

Negative reinforcements, for example, are often in the form of teasing and assaulting, and they serve to stop and redirect peer behavior until it conforms to the group norms (Buhrmester & Prager, 1995; Thorne & Luria, 1986). As well, Brown & Gilligan (1992) note women will exclude and isolate those who do not conform to feminine stereotypes. Holland & Eisenhart (1990) report women who stray too far from college socializing and who appear to be academically oriented are often ostracized and considered *weird* by their college peers. They report that in conformist, rather than in academic oriented environments, women who are high academic achievers are not as socially appealing to their peers (also see Pascarella, 1984a). "Conventional or conformist" college environments place a "strong emphasis on student conformity, traditional social activities and dating, and competitive sports" (Pascarella, 1984a, p. 41 Clark & Trow, 1966). Students who allow themselves to be influenced by these peer pressures do not have positive self-concepts. They do not have the attributes of high self-esteem. Franken (1998, p. 406) notes these as being: "(1) confidence, curiosity, independence, and self-initiative; and (2) the ability to adapt to change and stress" (see Campbell, 1990). Conversely, those with low self-esteem are characterized by Franken (1998, p. 406) as: "(1) failure to show confidence, curiosity, independence, and initiative; and (2) inability to adapt to change" (see Harter, 1990). Consequently, having a positive self-concept assists one in meeting challenges and in dealing with stress. Understanding Horney's psychological strategies for resolving interpersonal conflicts can also help.

Horney (1945, 1950) developed a paradigm around three interpersonal behavior strategies to explain our actions. They are like different self-concepts. She refers to them as personalities. They are the compliant, the aggressive and the detached personalities.

First, the compliant strategy which involves our need to connect with and to be submissive to others. This is typically a response low self-esteemed individuals use (Cloninger, 1996). Second, the aggressive strategy involves the desire to fight for one's selfish instincts. This strategy is exemplified by those who are narcissistic, arrogant, and vindictive. More men than women arguably use this strategy in advancing their individualistic and competitive nature (Cloninger, 1996). The third scheme, the detached type, characterizes our drive to flee or submit, rather than fight. This plan involves people resolving conflict by pulling away from others. They seek to avert confrontation, change, and extending any effort to repel, the influences of others. However, Cloninger (1996) notes creative people are often detached from others. They seek isolation from others to reduce distractions. Paris (1989) summarized these strategies as being our human instincts to fight, flee or submit that relate to animalistic tendencies. The strategies explain how the unhealthy self-concept may favor "one interpersonal orientation over the others" (Cloninger, 1996, p. 167). Contrastingly, the healthy self-concept learns to adopt all three strategies depending upon the circumstances (Cloninger, 1996). At times, we need to take the initiative and assert ourselves in dealings with others for support in order to achieve our goals. For example, Milem & Berger (1997) note constructive involvement with campus extracurricular activities leads to the perception of institution and peer support. This leads to career persistence and higher self-esteem, and correlates with the healthy self-concept adoption of Horney's aggressive strategy. Our motivation to react is best served by understanding and utilizing constructive behavior strategies. They help develop self-complexity. Developing realistic expectations is another good behavior strategy.

During the course of their education, students learn to build expectations about their environment. They become motivated by their expectations. Betz & Voyten (1997), Pringle (1995), and Vroom (1964), claim individuals are motivated based upon expectation that a particular behavior will lead to a desired goal and the attraction value of that goal determines the quantity and quality of the behavior. The implication of

expectancy theory for students is their expectations will determine the amount of effort and skill they put towards educational attainment and in adjusting to the college environment. Their "efficacy expectations, particularly those with respect to skills of career decision making," are important for career development (Betz & Voyten, 1997, p. 180). Coupled with efficacy expectations are outcome expectations. If outcome expectations are low, then the individual is not motivated to establish the goals necessary for career fulfillment (Bandura, 1991). This is one explanation for the fact women are more likely than men to select majors that are linked with occupations of low prestige, income and authority (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Holland & Eisenhart (1990) reason the college environment is a microcosm of the larger patriarchal society we live in. Because of male dominance and gender discrimination, women often adopt the idea of the *Cinderella* fantasy. They think of men as being their providers and saviors. Women are noted to shift their interests after entering college "away from college work and toward the peer group, with its emphasis on romance" (p. 201). This effect transforms their ideals of economic and career success into being part of a couple with a successful male. The shift away from school work lowers their outcome expectations for academic and career goals. Consequently, they do not perceive themselves as becoming breadwinners. They are inclined to ascribe to the entity theory about their intelligence. They will also be more apt to have a negative view of their competencies and therefore not be able to deal with different goals (Seligman, 1990).

Jones (1997) claims women turn to being victims of male culture by adopting self-concepts based upon differences from others. They do this, for instance, when they focus on their race, gender or class. She notes women naturally tend to formulate their self-concepts based upon connectedness to others from an internal sense of self. Jones found women in her study felt pressured to be externally defined. However, their internal identities were inclusive of experiences, significant others, and education to name a few. They described themselves as having self-concepts that were inclusive and not roles

comprised by someone else based upon their differences. For example, they did not separate being Black from being a woman. They reported losing their internal sense of self when they allowed themselves to be manipulated by gender discrimination and bias. They became extrinsically motivated during these times. This resulted in their lack of self-regulation. When we allow ourselves to be controlled by others we are less inclined to be goal persistent. We will be less able to set goals, and to motivate ourselves. Deci (1995) asserts we are intrinsically motivated when we provide ourselves with self-incentives. Extrinsic motivation is known to reduce our "feelings of competency and self-determination" (Franken, 1998, p. 346). Likewise, ego and performance orientations can affect positive results. White & Duda (1994) found that "[m]ales (as college athletes) tend to be more concerned with winning and demonstrating their ability in competitive contexts than females" (p. 13). Franken (1998) notes this as being a performance strategy. He claims "performance-oriented" people are concerned with "outcomes," whereas those who have "mastery-orientation" are concerned with the "process" (p. 412). The White & Duda study implies that men are more performance-oriented than females. Those that are performance-oriented, for instance, are more concerned with the outcome of the game. These individuals are more inclined to have a narrower range of self-concepts according to Baumgardner (1990). They are more "ego" oriented (White & Duda, 1994, p. 5). Being ego oriented suggests one is primarily interested in exerting "superiority over others" (p. 5).

In contrast, those that are concerned with development of their abilities in comparison to others, are task oriented. These people are more disposed to having self-concepts that incorporate a broader range of self-knowledge. The evidence indicates task oriented individuals will be more persistent in their goals and have higher self-esteem (Baumgardner, 1990). They are prone to be more intrinsically motivated and more self-determining. Students that are intrinsically motivated are more likely to have academic self-concepts. Expectations about student-faculty relationships also motivates students.

Academic oriented students with expectations that their teachers will mentor and guide them strive for academic achievement. They become motivated to achieve educational attainment and this leads to career development (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Student-faculty interaction that is founded on mentoring and role modeling is reported to lead to higher educational aspirations and attainment (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). "[W]omen in same-sex colleges, and black women in black colleges are positively influenced by same-sex teachers and are associated with higher levels of career persistence and achievement" (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Their knowledge of these positive influences raises their expectations, and impresses their perceived outcomes. Accordingly, Franken (1998) states "[a]chievement motivation is…regarded as an example of intrinsic motivation" (p. 347). He argues we learn to develop our own sense of competence and self-determination from following our own interests. When we are moved to explore interests by our own curiosity and desire, we are intrinsically motivated. Individuals with low self-esteem are perceived as being more dependent upon the acceptance and approval of others (Hellman & McMillin, 1997; Steinem, 1992). These types of interpersonal relations are considered immature and extrinsically motivated. They deter self-determination and educational attainment. Whereas, the "achievement of mature interpersonal relations" leads to self-determination in academic decision-making (Straub, 1987, p. 286; Govier, 1993). Those individuals that engage themselves in social and leadership involvement are positively influenced. Stoecker, Pascarella, & Wolfle (1988) found this to be evident for the educational attainment of black men over white men, and for women. Academic oriented students put academic interest ahead of socializing. This increases their self-esteem (Liu, Kaplan, & Risser, 1992).

The examples herein depict how students develop academic and social interests that lead to the creation of the self-concept (Eccles, 1994; Liu et al., 1992). They portray the dilemma students face of allowing themselves to be influenced by superficial peer interests, or of preparing for the responsibilities of adult life. The example of going to

bars and parties to please others depicts students who are extrinsically motivated and not self-determining (Deci, 1995; Deci & Ryan, 1985). This is how subcultures develop around peer group interests. In contrast to socially absorbed students, Clark & Trow (1966) note those that belong to an academic subculture place a high value on "serious academic effort" (p. 22). Students who are aligned with an academic subculture experience more permanent self changes in their transition to adulthood. They begin to move from being subject-centered to focusing on problem solving. Their self-concepts are founded on being authentic, and "they. . .become capable of a deeper relatedness to others" (Deci, 1995, p. 6). They are driven more by intrinsic motivation. This type of motivation increases self-esteem. It moves us to become aware of our needs and to set goals to satisfy those needs. Deci & Ryan (1985) claim by reaching our goals we learn to master tasks. This helps us develop self-efficacy. Pajares (1996) joining with Bandura (1986) affirms self-esteem spurs us to perform better and high self-efficacy encourages us to put forth greater effort with more persistence (see Meier, 1991, p. 140-142).

We learn to adjust our beliefs to our environment (Epstein, 1990; Dweck, 1991), and to tailor our responses according to the situation (Bargh & Gollwitzer, 1994). We do this to satisfy our desires and as a consequence of developing our interests. We learn to follow others cues and to feel rewarded by their approvals, for instance, when we are extrinsically motivated. This is the case when women alter their career interests based upon the perceptions of peers, for example, who view engineering careers as "unfeminine" (Morgan, 1992, p. 229). The women opt to be peer conformists by not exploring nontraditional careers and in doing so narrow their career options. (Nontraditional fields/careers "are those employing less than 30% of women," whereas, "traditional fields are defined as those employing more than 50% women" as per U.S. Departments of Commerce & Labor, 1990, p. 608.) They succumb to peer influences rather than risk disassociation. Romantic relationships and friendships with men are sometimes difficult to establish, for example, by women who choose nontraditional fields like engineering

(Eccles, 1994; Holland & Eisenhart, 1990; Kulik & Harackiewicz, 1979; Pfost & Fiore, 1990; Shaffer & Johnson, 1980; Sanford & Donovan, 1984). However, abandoning career interests to please others is indicative of one who has low self-esteem and who is extrinsically motivated. Students experience stress and regrets in making such decisions and this contributes to lower self-esteem (Goldman & Wong, 1997; Lata, Nakamoto, & DeGenova, 1997). These experiences describe college adjustment scenarios that impact the development of the self-concept.

Finally, the review of these academic and social factors reveals important educational influences affecting the self-esteem of young adult women. Their behaviors, motivations, and perceptions intertwine with expectations, gender, and minority differences to develop their educational attainment. Their attention gets directed to being decided, exploring, or immature in career development. The on-going interaction of social and academic influences shapes their self-concept and affects their self-efficacy. The process cultivates their motivational orientation, whether intrinsic or extrinsic, and their expectations determine the direction of their goal setting. Their incidental spells of career fantasizing contributes to the process. These occupational fantasies have been found to predict choice of college major one year later (Miller & McGowan, 1990). The consequence of attending to these concrete and fanciful interests creates self-awareness and promotes educational development. It helps build self-esteem. Successful educational development involves being open to experience. Not in any wanton or promiscuous sense, but with a discriminating sense of choice, flexibility, and personal freedom. Likewise, being responsible about setting goals and building mature interpersonal relations aids in college adjustment and promotes achievement motivation.

The decision to change, which is what the young adulthood period of life is about, "means exploring why (one) want[s] to change and also paying attention to the benefits" (Deci,1995, p. 165). Our success in changing self-behaviors begins with learning about our own motivations. Especially for women, removing gender labels and focusing on grooming the instrumental sides of the self will expand career possibilities and increase self-esteem.

IV. Conclusion:
A Sociopsychological Approach

In concluding this review of the literature on career development and the educational influences on self-esteem, Astin's (1984) sociopsychological model of career interests is related first. Then, a summary reexamines motivational influences and self-regulation. Astin (1984) provides a compatible framework around which the educational influences noted herein can be synthesized. The motivations and expectations of students crystallize well using this sociopsychological model of career interests. It incorporates the concepts of motivation, socialization, social opportunities, and expectations. These concepts involve psychological factors, such as, the motivations and expectations involved in educational attainment and career exploration. They also include environmental factors, for example, gender role socialization and lifestyle patterns. Astin's model supports four principles that are interactive (pp. 117-126). They are: (1) our behavior is motivated to satisfy our needs of survival, pleasure, and contribution; (2) career choices are based upon our expectations; (3) our early socialization constructs the framework for our expectations; and (4) societal and self-perceived opportunities impact our expectations. The interaction of these principles is what Astin believes creates career interests and motivational behavior.

With the first principle, Astin addresses the **motivation** of some of our innate needs. The fact that students are motivated to satisfy their needs for attachment to others and for social support develops their expectations. Any assumption about career and self-esteem development must be based on our basic human needs. We all act in different ways to satisfy our needs. As Astin reports, we have basic needs for **survival**, **pleasure** and **contribution**. We satisfy our survival needs, for example, when we provide for our food, shelter, and clothing. We are motivated to be competent in our environment to attain these (Franken, 1998). As the evidence herein indicates, we do this because of biological, environmental, and cognitive determinants. Biologically, we are motivated, for example, to master our environment. By learning to be competent in academics and

career choices we promote our survival needs. As we master particular subjects, for instance, we are able to aspire to other goals. This process of overcoming challenges increases our self-esteem. As we develop interests from being competent in our environment, we increase our self-knowledge and begin to form self-concepts. This effect helps us create a more stable life. We have more confidence in handling our personal affairs, and in interpreting feedback from others. We learn to develop intrinsic motivation and to avoid immature dependency on extrinsic rewards. Holland & Eisenhart (1990) note students who allow their peers to dictate their actions, for instance, to attend parties relinquish self-determination and become extrinsically motivated from peer attention.

We satisfy our pleasure needs by accomplishing our goals. Astin infers we have innate tendencies that are stimulated from seeking intellectual and emotional pleasure. The feeling of satisfaction and contentment we experience as a result of accomplishing goals is viewed as a positive reinforcement. Rethlingshafer (1965) supports the idea that goal attainment provides satisfaction, however, she notes that the process of goal attainment relates more to our pleasure needs. In other words, we maintain our pleasure by seeking new goals.

Our contribution needs are satisfied when, for example, we act on altruistic instincts. In their theory of intrinsic motivation, Deci & Ryan (1985), reinforce the premise that we gain internal pleasure and contentment from making altruistic gestures. Woman are believed to have more of an innate tendency to be altruistic. Eccles (1994) supports this notion by stating women make more "occupational sacrifices" to obtain careers that help others and society (p. 600). They are more apt to explore the social sciences and related careers. Katz et al. (1993) furthers this argument by claiming women have been socialized by their mothers and society to have empathy. Men are believed taught to be more stoic-like in their emotions and feelings for others. The gender differences for men and women extend to women being more communal, affiliative and interdependent, whereas, men are more individualistic and independent. These reasons

support the beliefs about women being more altruistic and that they seek socially connected careers. Jordan (1991) substantiates this premise arguing women's development is shaped more by environmental affects that emphasize empathy and relatedness to others. Miller (1991) explains women, as girls, are influenced by their mothers to think of themselves as caretakers. The caretaker self-concept they learn about has them in supporting roles. These roles include being "wives, mistresses, mothers, daughters, secretaries, (and) nurses" (p. 12). Women assume these expressive roles and are said to express their empathy for others (Renzetti & Curran, 1995). Astin (1984) notes these environmental affects on women as sex (gender) role socialization. This is why women learn to develop interests in careers and fields that stress helping people. They become motivated to satisfy their "contribution needs" (Astin, 1984, p. 120). The satisfaction of these contribution needs increases their self-esteem.

In contrast, men are conditioned through gender **socialization** to be extrinsically motivated to seek pleasure from tangible rewards (i.e. money). Consequently, they are oriented more towards the physical sciences than they are the social sciences. Eccles (1994) substantiates this by reporting that men make more education and career decisions that are related to math and the physical sciences. Their focus is more on extrinsic rewards that are derived from high paying jobs. These motivations shape the self-concept. For example, "[a] man is ego-involved in his work if his feelings of worth are dependent on amassing a fortune from the work. . ." (Deci, 1995, p. 115). He identifies more with the end result of profits, than he does with any satisfaction or pleasure he receives from the work. One of the consequences of "[e]go involvement" is that it undermines intrinsic motivation and "impairs learning and creativity" (pp. 115, 116). When we develop pride for our self-concept from taking credit for some accomplishments, our self-esteem increases (Lazarus, 1991). Franken (1998) adds, "confidence, independence, curiosity, and initiative" are by-products of this pride (also Harter, 1990). Additionally, men's environmental influences encourages them to be more autonomous, and self-centered

(Jordan, 1991). As a result, men are not as interdependent oriented as women are. Their "contribution needs," or the need to contribute to the "well-being" of others is centered around fulfilling instrumental roles (Astin, p. 120; Renzetti & Curran 1995). These instrumental roles involves leadership and decision-making duties that Renzetti & Curran (1995) suggest are relationally distal. Males are more often in provider roles that involve, for example, economic and directive assistance. Moreover, as engineers, physicians, mathematicians, and researchers, (Fitzpatrick & Silverman, 1989; Haber, 1980; Hackett et al. 1989; Houser & Garvey, 1985; and O'Connell, & Russo, 1988), they conform to their gender role socialization and satisfy their contribution needs. Men's expectations, as well as that of women, are extracted from both their gender socialization and perceptions of their social opportunities (i.e. more or less gender role barriers) (Astin, 1984). This evidence confirms the existence of gender-typed behavior, and the interaction of psychological and environmental factors that influence career choices. It also demonstrates how career options are created from need satisfaction and expectations-- Astin's first and second principles. These choices and expectations are conditioned by socialization and support Astin's second and third principles. The successful control of these factors and adaptation of them into the self-concept promotes self-esteem (Shapiro, Schwartz, & Astin, 1996).

In the fourth principle, Astin attempts to explain our behavior which centers around expectations that are derived from societal and self-perceived opportunities. Our lifestyle patterns are affected by changes in society. For example, Joan Brumberg (1997) notes the 1990s lifestyle patterns of most college students encourages sexual relations. She insinuates the patterns of more liberalized sexual attitudes and behavior are attributed to the social opportunities created by the advances in birth control devices. This progress allows women greater flexibility in combining career plans with motherhood. These examples characterize how our interests form and we make career choices. Our self-esteem is believed to be "positively linked" to these behaviors and motivations (Franken,

1998, p. 379). The better we handle the interacting process of all these factors, the better we perceive our self-concept and sense of competence. The context within which these conclusions are based assumes heterosexual attraction in the college culture. They illustrate motivations to satisfy needs (i.e. pleasure needs) in Astin's first principle. They suggest career commitments based on their relative capacity to satisfy needs (i.e. contribution needs through altruism) in the second principle. And, the impact of the third and fourth principles were clearly evident in the socialization experiences described and the social opportunities noted. Our expectations and perceived opportunities help us to control and to make sense out of our environment.

Shapiro, Schwartz, & Astin (1996) claim our principle human need to control stems from our desire to efficiently and effectively approach our environment. Being able to predict the outcome of our actions helps to determine our efficacy that predicates our level of self-esteem. Miller (1991) suggests women seek to control and build self-efficacy for operating within patriarchal culture, which is so often peer culture (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990; Levine, 1966), by behaving according to stereotypical sex roles. Modern media demonstrates this. As Disney's *Cinderella* theme implies, women learn to escape adolescence by establishing a romantic relationship with a supporting male (Debold, Wilson, & Malave, 1993). Supporting males help shelter these women, for instance, from adolescent teasing and assaults (Buhrmester & Prager, 1995). This evidence shows how our need to control is interactive with developing self-efficacy. It illustrates how women do this by applying patriarchal gender role knowledge to their environment. Moreover, this evidence aligns with Astin's environmental factors that contribute to career interests. The social norms and values we learn to follow "directly influence career choice. . ." (p. 124). For example, women who follow the *Cinderella* model often develop lower career aspirations. They expect their boyfriends to become their economic supporters (Debold et al. 1993). This effect lowers their career aspirations. Debold et al. (1993) note Afro-American women may deviate from this *Cinderella* strategy because they are

taught not to put trust in a man for economic or emotional support. The high percentage of single parent black families, and unemployed black men is the reason (Renzetti & Curran, 1995). This makes them more career persistent than Euro-American women. The interaction of motivation, socialization, social opportunities and expectations inherent in the college environment influences self-esteem. These factors mark a trail of biological, environmental, and cognitive influences that impinge upon the self. For women, more so than men, these forces are aligned to restrict the full potential of human development. The element of control for women is not as effective or efficient as it is for men.

The biological, environmental, and cognitive influences women are subjected to more often restrict and delay their career interests. The evidence suggests our male dominated society portrays women as inferior and the weaker sex. Because women are the bearers of children, they are most often the caretakers as well. Consequently, their career decisions are more often made to incorporate the well-being of significant others. The complexities involved with their biological capabilities, for instance, menstruation, pregnancy and as male sex objects, often create career barriers and lowers their goals. For example, women are first viewed as sexual objects after menarche (Brumberg, 1997). They also have to consider the ramifications of their sexual behavior as resulting in pregnancy. The addition of children and a family to care for most often implies greater responsibilities for women than for men. This serves to limit their career exploration. And, women who allow themselves to be manipulated as sex objects of men are shown to have lower self-esteem and more career indecision (Sanford & Donovan, 1984). They learn to accept less than the development of their full potential.

The environmental influences women are exposed to most often equip them with gender appropriate roles. This happens as women learn to adopt the male perspective about their feminine identity (Brumberg, 1997). If they steer to far from lady-like and delicate, they risk peer ostracizing. Accordingly, women who allow themselves to be controlled by peer pressure are more extrinsically motivated. This sets the stage for their

further exploitation and reduced autonomy. They become more dependent and less likely to reach their full potential. The literature indicates women are socially conditioned to rely on men for safety and financial security. As they become accustomed to fulfilling male expectations, they often invite their own psychological demise. This is illustrated by women who accept unrealistic and male fostered body images for themselves. These images are of the perfect svelte and shapely female body. It is virtually impossible for them to maintain. This has the effect of reducing their self-esteem. They begin to view themselves as less socially appealling. Research indicates these negative perceptions lower their career aspirations (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). To be certain, many of these negative behaviors are instilled by family life long before women enter young adulthood.

The data on family influences suggests that strong and stable support helps adolescents to become more independent and confident. Supportive family atmospheres are believed responsible for greater career decidedness and development of mature self-concepts in college students (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Students from supportive families are less effected by gender influences in career exploration (Farmer, 1985). They are noted to have better social and personal relationships (Rawlins, 1992). These students are more instrinsically motivated and not as persuaded by extrinsic rewards and negative peer behavior (Levine, 1966). They develop more career persistence which enables them to accomplish more goals and to develop high self-esteem. Because they have a greater sense of competency in their environment, these students develop constructive reactions to their environment. They have more self-determination.

In handling cognitive factors associated with their behavior, students must successfully learn to avoid innate motivations. Studies reveal the more complex our methods are for dealing with negative or conflicting social feedback, the better we are at self-regulation. We learn to control our emotions better and to find solutions. We suppress our instinct to flee and become determined not to be guided by the fear of failure. Likewise, the literature on self-concept development implies more and flexible self-

concepts are responsible for mature self-regulation.

Self-concept development helps to predict career interests and to define self-attributes. The more we learn to exercise our abilities, the more competent we become. This has the effect of increasing our confidence to tackle the steps necessary to develop aspirations. Without aspirations, we do not learn to set goals. And, without goal attainment, we often lack the self-esteem to transition through social and personal crises. In summary, the biological, environmental, and cognitive variables related to the self-concept are important in relation to women's educational and career development. "In comparison to males, females generally seem to report less confidence in their academic and career-related capabilities and since beliefs are related to achievement behavior, females' lower self-concepts probably serve as a serious barrier to their educational and career achievements" (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987, p. 119). Research suggests that women who are career decided and who are flexible in their approach to biological, environmental, and cognitive influences have higher levels of self-esteem. However, the literature also implies that career pursuits in themselves serve to build self-esteem.

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