

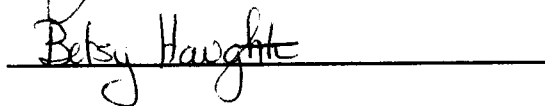
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Christine Medlin entitled "The Influence of Significant Others, Fertility and Gender Role Attitudes on the Educational and Occupational Processes of Low-Income Women from Rural Appalachia." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Human Ecology.



Gary Peterson, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Vice Provost
and Dean of The Graduate School

THE INFLUENCE OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS, FERTILITY AND GENDER ROLE
ATTITUDES ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PROCESSES OF
LOW-INCOME WOMEN FROM RURAL APPALACHIA

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Christine Medlin

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ABSTRACT

Over the past two decades, the issue of status attainment, the process by which young persons secure positions in the educational and occupational hierarchies, has received widespread attention in the social science research (Haller and Portes, 1973; Matras, 1980; Otto, 1986; Sewell and Houser, 1975; Spenner and Featherman, 1978). The majority of these studies have focused on middle-income, college-oriented men, and only recently have investigators begun to examine the status attainment process as it applies to women (Alexander and Eckland, 1974; Falk and Cosby, 1975; Hall, 1979; McClendon, 1976; Scanzoni, 1979; Sewell and Shah, 1968; Triemen and Terrell, 1975).

The present study contributed to the literature on the status attainment of women by investigating the attainment process in a unique sample: low-income women from rural Appalachia. Concepts from the symbolic-interaction-role perspective were used to conceptualize the status attainment processes of these women (Hall, 1979). The specific purpose of this study was to investigate the associations between such family and social psychological variables as significant other influences, fertility and gender-role attitudes on the educational and early occupational attainment of the subjects. Many of the unique aspects of low-income Appalachian family life also were addressed in this study.

The sample consisted of 46 females (41 white and 5 black) and was drawn from a 16 year longitudinal study of Appalachian youth from depressed areas of four southern states (Southern Regional Technical

Committee, 1974). The youth were investigated in (a) 1969 when they were in fifth and sixth grade, in (b) 1975 when they were in high school, in (c) 1979 and (d) 1985 when they were young adults.

Secondary analyses of qualitative data from in-depth interviews were used to identify the processes and mechanisms through which significant others, fertility and gender-role attitudes influenced educational and occupation attainment. The results indicated that significant others used a wide array of strategies to influence the job and schooling decisions of the women in this study. Individuals within the family (e.g., mothers, fathers, siblings and grandparents) tended to use expressions of confidence and encouragement more frequently, while extrafamilial individuals (e.g., teachers, counselors, and peers) tended to use specific advice and role-modeling more often. Fertility patterns influenced the job decisions of these subjects by (1) postponement of work outside the home while children were young, (2) evoking an acute awareness of the provider role, and (3) contributing to the selection of jobs that were compatible with childrearing. Many of these childbearing women also reported that they (1) postponed further education, (2) pursued additional education to enhance the provider role, or (3) aspired to further education in order to serve as a learning resource to their children.

An overwhelming number of women approved of married women with children working outside the home. As a result of their own child care responsibilities, subjects reported an array of actions that influenced their job and educational decisions. These mothers also

seemed to be influenced by a strong cultural imperative to remain at home when their offspring were of preschool age. Results from this study also suggested many implications for program planners, researchers and practitioners to enhance the quality-of-life for low-income women from rural Appalachia.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, the issue of status attainment, the process by which young persons secure positions in the educational and occupational hierarchies, has received widespread attention in the social science research (Haller and Portes, 1973; Matras, 1980; Otto, 1986; Sewell and Houser, 1975; Spenner and Featherman, 1978). Social mobility, or the level to which individuals progress in the educational and occupational hierarchies of our society, formed the earliest focus of interest in this area of inquiry. Research of this kind is characterized by the work of Blau and Duncan (1967) who examined intergenerational and intragenerational status using such structural variables as father's education and occupational attainment status. As time progressed, however, research emphasis shifted to the investigation of factors contributing to the process of social placement. Subsequently, scholars have elaborated on these initial lines of research by utilizing both structural and social-psychological variables as causal links in the attainment process (Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, 1970; Sewell and Shah, 1968).

While the foundation, replication and expansion of these two perspectives has contributed significantly to the existing knowledge about status attainment, much of the literature has been limited to the study of college-oriented, middle-income males (Alexander and Eckland, 1974; Falk and Cosby, 1975; McClendon, 1976). However, with the continued progress of the human liberation movement and greater

numbers of women in the work place, the number of empirical investigations on the status attainment of females has increased in recent times (Alexander and Eckland, 1974; Falk and Cosby, 1975; Hall, 1979; McClendon, 1976; Scanzoni, 1979; Sewell and Shah, 1968; Treiman and Terrell, 1975). Despite increased interest in the status attainment process of women, many ways in which the mobility choices and attainment behaviors of females differ from those of males remain unclear. Among the issues requiring additional research in the area of female status attainment are breaks in career continuity, lack of mobility, female socialization to be secondary breadwinners and the attainer's personal view of success (Falk and Cosby, 1975). Other factors that may have influence on the careers of women include marital plans, fertility plans, and the preference given to male siblings in the status attainment process (Peterson, Rollins, Thomas and Heaps, 1982). Accordingly, this study examined the impact of significant others' influence, fertility and gender-role attitudes on the status attainment process for a unique sample: low-income women from rural Appalachia.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between such family and social psychological variables as significant other influences (mother, father, peers and others), fertility and gender-role attitudes on the educational and early occupational attainment of low-income women from rural Appalachia. Secondary

analysis of qualitative data from in-depth interviews were used to address these issues.

Rationale

Women in the Appalachian region confront a multitude of barriers to successful educational and occupational attainments (Bernard, 1975; Dunn, Elliott and Carson, 1981; Lilly, 1979; Lord, 1974; Lord and Patton-Crowder, 1979; Miller, 1977). While previous research on female attainment has examined the relationship of significant others (parents, teachers, peers), fertility and gender-role attitudes, few qualitative studies have been conducted on the actual mechanisms of significant other influence and the underlying processes taking place (Alexander and Eckland, 1974; Falk and Cosby, 1975; Hall, 1979; McClendon, 1976; Scanzoni, 1979; Sewell and Shah, 1968; Treiman and Terrell, 1975; Waite and Moore, 1978; Waite and Stolzenberg, 1976). Another shortcoming is that little research exists on the status attainment process within low income samples (Peters, 1983).

A primary and unique aspect of this study, then, was to obtain in-depth perceptions of the strategies and techniques used by significant others to influence the educational and occupational aspirations and attainments of low-income Appalachian women. Along these same lines, attitudes toward working mothers and the impact of fertility on educational and occupational attainment will be examined. Miles and Huberman (1984) describe data of this kind as rich, well-grounded descriptions of phenomena as they occur within local

contexts. Use of qualitative data often leads to a greater understanding of the mechanisms of a phenomenon, and provides insight that generates new hypotheses and explores nuances that are beyond the capacity of quantitative research. Thus, qualitative research can provide more in-depth information that is useful to parents, program planners and other helping professionals who are seeking ways to assist young women in transcending the barriers that confront them. In addition, results of this study may focus on new insights that might be explored in subsequent quantitative studies.

Conceptual Framework

This study examined several family and social-psychological variables influencing the status attainment of young women from rural Appalachia. One useful way of organizing and interpreting concepts from the status attainment literature is through the use of the symbolic interaction conceptual framework.

Symbolic interactionism emerged initially from the ideas of such philosophers and social thinkers as William James, George Herbert Mead, Charles Horton Cooley and William Isaac Thomas (Blumer, 1969; Stryker, 1980). One of the major assumptions of the symbolic interaction perspective is that humans live in a physical and symbolic world (Stryker, 1981). According to this perspective, humans develop complex symbolic capacities due to their perceptions, values, and mental assessments of their world, themselves and place in the world (Burr et al., 1979). Because intervening mental processes act to mediate behavioral responses to stimuli, the cognitive or intellectual

processes within the individual must be a central part of studying human relationships.

Concepts useful in understanding how individuals interpret reality include the mind, shared meanings and interactions. The first of these concepts, mind, is used to represent the sophisticated manner in which people think. That is, sharing, communicating and significant symbols all interact in a cyclical way to form this intellectual process. Because individuals have a mind, they can weigh alternatives and think abstractly. Thinking occurs because individuals are capable of sharing meanings through the use of significant symbols.

Mead (1934) stressed that the process of communication requires the individual to "take the role of the other." The self, then, emerges as an individual comes to respond to him/herself from the standpoint of others. Because young women see themselves from the standpoint of others and learn what is expected of them in terms of attainment, it is important to understand the symbolic processes and expectations that become prevalent during the status attainment process.

Another critical concept, reflected appraisals (Rosenberg, 1971), represents the idea that we come to see ourselves as we perceive our significant others as viewing us. Thus, the evaluations and attitudes of parents, teachers, peers and others about the potential of females to attain status becomes part of women's self-evaluations.

Structural Symbolic Interactionism

Franklin (1982) defines structural symbolic interactionism as the description given to those branches of symbolic interactionism which emphasize the social influence of "structure" on social interaction. From this school of symbolic interactionism, the concepts of social position, status, prestige and roles can provide additional insight into the status attainment process (Biddle, 1979; Burr, 1973; Stryker, 1980). For instance, social position explains a commonly known identity that individuals share. Thus, knowledge of the social positions that Appalachian young women share might include student, nurse, teacher and grandmother. These social positions are useful because they provide individuals with cues for responding appropriately to persons occupying certain positions. Biddle (1979) stated that shared identities of this kind emerge in all societies and are critical factors of the human condition. In terms of this study, therefore, the concept occupational attainment encompasses the variety of social positions either sought or attained by females in the occupational arena.

Another important concept, status, describes the collection of rights and responsibilities attributed to social positions. The prestige of a social position is the criteria used to determine one's status and refers to the amount of deferential treatment exercised by individuals who do not belong to that social position. This research is focused on a sample of low-income women whose families of origin occupy low status in contemporary society because people external to

the kinship network attribute little prestige to their positions in society.

From a symbolic interaction perspective, when individuals enact the rights and responsibilities that comprise a particular status, they are acting out a role. Role is a concept used to describe a set of expectations for behavior that develops during social interactions (Biddle, 1979). Beliefs, cognitions and behavioral components are the constituents of roles (Bernard, 1976). More explicitly, roles can be perceived as mental expectations that are socially reinforced and performed as reflections of these expectations.

Role reciprocity is another closely related concept (Aldous, Osmond, and Hicks, 1979; Bernard, 1976). As used in the symbolic interaction perspective, the child socializer role cannot exist without a child to socialize (i.e., socializee role), a nurse role without a patient role, or an instructor without a student role. When perceiving the family as a system of mutual role expectations, mothers, fathers, siblings and extended kin form complementary status and reciprocal role relationships. Thus, this interdependent quality of family roles explains why a change in any one part of the system, will influence changes in other dimensions of family life.

According to symbolic interactionists, roles appear during the socialization process and against the backdrop of a system of role relationships (Biddle, 1979). Young children learn acceptable social behavior from social agents such as parents, siblings and other kin. Gradually the young incorporate these roles into their repertoires and develop a variety of identities corresponding to the roles they occupy

(Biddle, 1979). Thus, role learning takes place as the child becomes responsive to the expectations of others and models their role behaviors. An important feature of the parenting role, for instance, concerns the socialization of children. Thus, the socialization process teaches children roles that are socially appropriate for their age, gender, economic class and other positions they are expected to occupy during their lifetimes.

Role socialization, in turn, is a critical concept for viewing the process of status attainment with greater clarity. For example, young women learn what role behaviors are essential for securing a social position in the employment arena. Role learning of this kind can be accomplished as women evaluate their own capabilities and respond to the expectations of others. Subsequently, young women will respond to the expectations and develop corresponding behaviors they view as appropriate to their educational and occupational goals.

Family socioeconomic status also plays a major role in how parents socialize their children. Jencks et al. (1979) and Rubin (1976), for example, have argued that parental socioeconomic status acts to define the array of role behaviors common in family settings. Parental "world view" becomes the child's "world view" and shapes the child's perceptions and role-modeling options.

Another important concept within the symbolic interaction perspective is "significant others" (Biddle, 1979). Individuals serving as significant others include parents, teachers and peers whose expectations and perspectives form critical components in the reference groups of a young person. During middle-childhood, parents

function as the primary significant others, while a more elaborate pattern emerges as the young enter adolescence (Kandel and Lesser, 1969; Peters, Peterson and Southworth, 1981). As social interaction with the larger community unfolds during adolescence, the young begin to add teachers and a more diverse set of peers to their repertoire of significant others (Kandel and Lesser, 1969; Peters et al., 1981; Picou and Carter, 1976; Sebald and White, 1980).

The incorporation of significant others' expectations takes place through a process called internalization (Biddle, 1979; Biddle and Thomas, 1966). In an early stage of this process, standards are assigned to a generalized other (i.e., attributed expectations from the society in which a child lives). In a final stage, however, the child incorporates these expectations into a personal normative system.

Two other concepts important to the symbolic interaction framework include general roles and general role expectations. The first concept, general roles, refers to roles applicable to all or nearly all situations within a society. For instance, women in mainstream America are expected to be expressive and men less disclosing. Such widely prevalent expectations for the performance of gender-specific activities are referred to as general expectations and collectively take the form of general roles (Biddle, 1979).

Taking these concepts into consideration, the status attainment process of low-income Appalachian women focuses on the general role expectations that these young people perceive as important to their educational and occupational role performance. For instance, although there are current trends toward changing gender-role attitudes

(Peterson et al., 1982), it is still anticipated that males will be the primary breadwinners in their families (Bernard, 1975; Bruce, 1974; Mason, Czajka and Arber, 1976).

Personal selection is another concept from the symbolic interaction perspective describing the processes through which an individual goes to determine the feasibility of entering a particular social position. When applied to the current study, personal selection conceptualizes the occupational and educational aspirations these young women hold for themselves. Thus, in activating this process, young women continue their own self-evaluations as they examine a variety of educational and occupational alternatives based on personal abilities, and the goals that significant others hold for their role performance. As a consequence, these young women modify their attainment goals to reflect the feedback they encounter from early phases in the personal selection process.

When examining how societies, communities and families have influence on human relationships and behavior, the concept social systems also becomes useful (Biddle, 1979; Peterson and Rollins, 1982; Stryker, 1980). More specifically, social systems are made up of reciprocal role relationships, containing particular elements associated with such relationships. Within a social system there are shared standards for role enactment. For purposes of this research, Appalachia is conceptualized as a social system in transition. That is, it is evolving from a rural, isolated culture into a social system reflecting positional and role diversity.

Nominal Definitions

Early occupational attainment is an important variable for the present study. Biddle (1979) defined occupations as social positions in which role performance is monetarily rewarded from a higher social system. The range of such roles can span the condition of unemployment to professional and management positions (Duncan, 1961).

Educational attainment refers to the amount of education these young women have achieved by their late twenties. Educational attainment for this study will vary from ninth grade through the number of professional degrees obtained.

Maternal influence is a process variable used to identify and describe the methods and strategies used by mothers to influence their daughters' level of educational and occupational attainment.

Paternal influence is also a process variable. It is used to identify and explain the methods and strategies used by fathers to influence their daughters' level of educational and occupational attainment.

A third intrafamilial process variable, non-parental intrafamilial influence, concerns identifying and explaining the methods and strategies used by non-parental family members to influence the educational and occupational attainment levels of these young women.

A final process variable, extrafamilial significant other influence, explains and describes the methods and strategies used by significant others from outside the family (peers, teachers,

counselors and others) to influence the educational and occupational attainment levels of these young women.

An additional variable, fertility, is used to describe how childbearing, childrearing and number of children influence the educational and occupational attainment of these young women.

A final variable examines the influence of one specific gender-role attitude: the attitude of these young women toward combining wife and mother roles with education and employment outside of the home.

Objectives

The primary goal of this qualitative study was to examine how family and social-psychological variables have influenced the status attainment process of low-income Appalachian women. A second goal was to identify issues and generate hypotheses for the application of these processes to a more complex understanding of women's status attainment process. This study has six specific objectives. They are:

1. To identify the processes and mechanisms through which mothers influenced the educational and occupational attainment of low-income Appalachian women.
2. To identify the processes and mechanisms through which fathers influenced the educational and occupational attainment of low-income Appalachian women.
3. To identify the processes and mechanisms through which non-parental intrafamilial individuals influenced the

educational and occupational attainment of low-income Appalachian women.

4. To identify the processes and mechanisms through which extrafamilial significant others influenced the educational and occupational attainment of low-income Appalachian women.
5. To identify the processes and mechanisms through which fertility influenced the educational and occupational attainment of low-income Appalachian women.
6. To identify the processes and mechanisms through which one specific gender-role attitude (attitude toward married women working outside of the home) influenced the educational and occupational attainment of low-income Appalachian women.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Understanding the status attainment process of low-income Appalachian women requires that a wide array of related literature be reviewed. In order to accomplish this, Bernstein's (1971) overview of position-oriented families, literature on Appalachian women, and barriers to satisfactory status attainment among rural youth will be reviewed. A subsequent section on the theoretical and empirical literature relating to women's status attainment will follow. Because the impact of significant others, gender roles, and fertility provide additional insight into the process of female status attainment, the final section of this chapter will consider literature related to each of these variables.

Position Oriented Families

Concepts proposed by Bernstein (1960, 1964, 1970, 1971, 1973) are used in this research to conceptualize the structure of roles within low-income Appalachian families. According to Bernstein (1971), the concept of role structure is useful in examining social class differences in family organization.

In the process of dealing with role structures in families, he differentiates between person-oriented and position-oriented families. For instance, psychological qualities of person-oriented family members provide the backdrop for the distribution of influence and

power. As a result of different abilities and interests within these families, roles are generally flexible and non-constrictive. Characteristically, the authority structure is laterally distributed among the family members. This form is more common within middle-class households.

In the case of position-oriented families, however, both role segregation and authoritarian leadership are the defining characteristics. Age and gender differences form the basis for status levels underlying the divisions of responsibility, with family roles being rigid and ascribed.

Given this background information, it is likely that many of the Appalachian women from low-income backgrounds who participated in this study are members of position-oriented families. Such is the case because the inflexible organization of position-oriented families is more common within lower-class groups in which age and gender specify the kind of roles that a person occupies within families. These families are likely to cast the role of females along traditional expressive lines (Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Brown and Schwarzweller, 1970; Gochros, 1974; Hennon and Photiadis, 1979; Photiadis, 1980; Wilson, 1979). Furthermore, the strong, familistic tendencies of Appalachians facilitate the formation of boundaries that are not easily permeated (Brown and Schwarzweller, 1970; Heller and Quesada, 1977; Photiadis, 1980).

It is also important to consider here how parental perceptions of, and involvement in, extrafamilial roles may be reflected in intrafamilial ways. Cook-Gumperz (1973) contends that family role

structures are a reflection of the larger society's ascribed roles. For instance, parental experiences within employment settings may influence the way in which offspring are socialized to adopt occupational roles in adulthood (Jenks et al., 1979; Kohn, 1969, 1977; Rubin, 1976). Thus, parents socialize their children to be successful in contexts that are similar to their own experiences and levels of attainment.

Understanding these considerations is essential to the present study of the status attainment process of low-income Appalachian women. Parents of these women may serve as primary socializing agents who influence their children to adopt educational and attainment values that are similar to their own. Several studies have indicated that conformity and obedience orientations are adaptive within low-income and blue-collar positions and that parents who work in such jobs often encourage their children to adopt these values (Kohn, 1969, 1977; Peterson and Peters, 1985; Rubin, 1976; Southworth and Peterson, 1981).

Appalachian Women

The lifestyles of Appalachian women are varied and diverse (Farr, 1981; Florin, 1977; Church, 1974; Gaines, 1978a, 1978b; Kahn, 1974; Phillip, 1972). Among the factors shaping the life experiences of mountain women, Lord and Patton-Crowder (1979) included ". . . family history and characteristics, employment opportunities in the immediate area of their home, educational background, and the

economic, social and political circumstances of the section of Appalachia in which they live" (p. 3).

Literary images of Appalachian women reveal a wealth of information on their lives and character (Arnow, 1974; Dykeman, 1962; Stuart, 1973). Through fictional accounts, Appalachian women were described as strong, versatile, familistic and nurturing (Farr, 1981; Patton-Crowder, 1979). Because early records of the female experience in Appalachia are scarce, these literary analyses provide speculations about what life was like for women who resided in a region fraught with unending challenges.

Observers who recorded the activities of the Appalachian population in the late 1800's and early 1900's depicted a patriarchal system (Campbell, 1921; Kephart, 1922; Miles, 1905). Farr (1981) contended "They [women] have let the man assume any prominent family role in community and political affairs; they imply that he is head of the household and his word is law to his family--and in truth this is often the way it is" (preface). While traditional mountain women commonly assumed childcare and agricultural roles and were subservient to their husbands, they accepted their lives and, only upon growing older, assumed new positions of respect and authority within the family system (Patton-Crowder, 1979).

Numerous contemporary references have been made to Appalachia as a folk culture in transition (Ford, 1962; Hennon and Photiadis, 1979; Schwarzweller, 1970). With the rapid change that accompanied industrialization came demands for redefinition of traditional sex-roles (Hennon and Photiadis, 1979). One outcome was the shift from

functioning in what was once a predominantly self-sufficient or agricultural existence to employment in the paid labor force as low-wage earners (Collins and Finn, 1976). As a result of this new employment role, women often acquired more economic power than their spouses. In contrast, as Beaver (1979) has indicated "as women move into the labor market, they are assuming a variety of low-status, low-wage jobs, and may in fact be suffering from a loss of status from roles associated with female labor in traditional agricultural Appalachia" (p. 72). Recent empirical evidence also suggests that societal change is having influence on Appalachian women to the extent that "A traditional division of labor by sex roles seems to have been rejected in principle, though not in all behavior" (McKenry et al., 1979, p. 77).

Much the same as women throughout the nation, Appalachian women are experiencing changes in gender roles and find themselves caught in the web of transition (Glosser, 1979; Hennon and Photiadis, 1979; Lilly, 1979; Lord and Patton-Crowder, 1979). While many participate in the homemaking role fulltime, still others work in low-paying jobs and continue to shoulder primary caretaking responsibility for children and for family (Clarenbach, 1977; Lewis et al., 1986; Lilly, 1979; Southeast Women's Employment Coalition, 1986). To strengthen the employed Appalachian woman in her effort to balance family and worksite demands, a variety of needs must be addressed:

. . . political participation and legal rights; health education and health care; child care; early childhood and special education; and preservation of rural values. (Lord and Patton-Crowder, 1979, p. 129).

Such descriptions of Appalachian women may provide insight into their life experiences. That is, these women are witnessing considerable changes in role structure as innovation progresses in Appalachia. It is against this backdrop of transition in family life that low-income Appalachian women develop their educational and occupational plans.

Status Attainment

Prior to presenting a review of the literature on women and status attainment, short reviews of the research on barriers to satisfactory occupational and educational attainment among rural youth will follow.

Barriers to Occupational Attainment Among Rural Youth

In a comprehensive review of the literature examining barriers to satisfactory occupational attainment among rural youth, Peters (1983) identified and discussed six central concerns: (1) poor schools; (2) membership in families with restricted psychological and financial resources; (3) unsuccessful role models; (4) low parental encouragement; (5) lack of awareness of available occupations; and (6) unwillingness to relocate away from family and familiar surroundings.

When combined with the general economic depression of the local environment, the aforementioned problems become even more complex. Because poverty and unemployment are so pervasive in rural Appalachia, there is a scarcity of satisfactory occupational alternatives for youth. These limitations, then, serve to elicit frustration and dissatisfaction with the economic system (Turner, 1983). While the

initial preference among youth may be for higher status occupations, many will be forced to face the reality of settling for whatever job they can locate; "an outcome that results in feelings of apathy, anomie, and futility within the occupational sphere" (Turner, 1983; cited in Peters, 1983, p. 28).

It is evident, then, that such structural factors as low-income circumstances, restricted economic options, and poor parental encouragement may have adverse consequences for the occupational attainment of rural youth.

Barriers to Educational Attainment Among Rural Youth

Numerous studies have focused on the importance of educational attainment in the occupational process (Backman, O'Malley, and Johnson, 1978; Blau and Duncan, 1967; Jencks et al., 1972; Jencks et al., 1979; Sewell et al., 1969). In contemporary life, education is a valuable force in upward social mobility, perhaps because time spent in school fosters attitudes and behaviors that are desirable to employers. As a result, occupational status is often considered to be an outgrowth of previous educational achievement (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Jencks et al., 1972; Jencks et al., 1979).

Several studies have indicated that low-income rural youth possess lower expectations and aspirations when compared to those of middle- and upper-income groups from urban areas (Kenkel, 1981; Kuipers, Southworth and Reed, 1979; Tittle, 1981). As low-income youth mature, discrepancies between aspirations and reality arise. Youth with adequate financial and familial resources focus their skills and assets on higher attainment. However, low-income youth

adjust their future plans downward as they recognize the numerous obstacles they face in the pursuit of satisfactory attainment (Kenkel, 1981; Kuipers et al., 1979).

Family socialization processes can also contribute to the lowered aspiration and expectation levels of low-income youth (Peters, 1983). It is during the preadolescent and adolescent years that parents exert important influences on the educational plans of youth (Peters et al., 1981; Stroup, 1980). When faced with the reality of limited employment options, parents may socialize offspring for lower educational attainment (Peters, 1983). Parents also socialize their children for reality as they see it: low-income positions are the experience of daily life.

Early labor force entry and limited vocational training may also contribute to lower expectations and attainment levels in rural, low-income youth (Kenkel, 1981; Thomas and Falk, 1978). These barriers may serve to minimize the attainment process in the initial stages. Thus, ". . . once low-income rural youth enter the labor force, returning to the classroom may become an expensive alternative at a later time" (Peters, 1983, p. 31).

In summary, there are several barriers contributing to the low expectations and educational attainment of Appalachian youth. Recognition of the numerous obstacles they face provides young people with the impetus to adjust their aspirations downward as they enter the world of work quite early. Having come to terms with the reality of limited options for their offspring, parents may socialize their children accordingly (Peters, 1983).

Women and Status Attainment

As mentioned in a previous section of this paper, the earlier literature on status attainment has been limited generally to the study of middle-class, college-oriented males. The subsequent sections of this review, however, will examine the theoretical and empirical research on the attainment of females.

Psathas (1968) was among the earliest scholars interested in developing a theory of occupational choice for women. He contended that social and technological changes mandated an investigation of the process of vocational choice for women because record numbers of females were entering the labor force. The major thesis of Psathas' (1968) paper was that factors influencing the entry of women into occupational roles must begin with the relationship between occupational and sex roles. He called for the development of a general theory of occupational choice that attended to such factors as marriage, mobility and family finances which, for women, operate in special ways. By calling attention to these special factors, Psathas (1968) hoped ". . . that research would be directed to women's entry into occupations, and that, as a result, more general theories of occupational entry will be formulated" (p. 266).

Zytowski (1969) was also one of the early scholars to address the need for a special theory of vocational development for women. In an attempt to differentiate the patterns in the work life of men and women, he presented gender specific postulates and a discussion of the developmental stages unique to women. While describing the modal life role for women as homemakers, Zytowski (1969) stressed that the nature

of the female role was not static and would eventually resemble that of men. Recognizing that altered social expectations and technological innovations might ultimately undo his entire scheme, Zytowski (1969) raised the issue of a special theory of vocational development for women as an element worthy of further study.

Falk and Cosby (1975) reviewed the major occupational choice theories and demonstrated their limitations in reference to the occupational choices for women. From the literature cited, these investigators concluded ". . . that the developmental process for women may be different than that for men" (p. 310). As women make their occupational choices, there are both more stages for women and a more complex array of factors functioning within any given stage. The authors also issued a cautionary note to future researchers of the status attainment process. Specifically, they argued that current status attainment models would need further expansion in the form of gender-specific variables to address adequately the individual, family and employment patterns unique to females.

Laws (1979) examined the need for scholars to attend to the processes involved in female occupational choice and decision-making. In suggesting a life-cycle framework for studying this topic, Laws (1979) criticized the male-dominated, prospective design of the extant research. In order to strengthen the current theoretical base for studying women's status attainment processes, Laws (1979) stressed the need for process oriented research that addressed such questions as:

1. How do occupations come to be perceived as options?
2. By what mechanisms are options eliminated? By what mechanisms are options maintained, encouraged?

3. How do options acquire positive and negative valence for the individual?
4. How do positive and negative valences change? (Laws, 1979, p. 39).

More recently, Perun and Bielby (1981) critiqued the theories of occupational behavior and called for the implementation of a developmental model that would focus on the unique variables specific to women over time. These authors contended that the previous theoretical revisions proposed by Psathas (1968) and Zytowski (1969) remained virtually unused. Furthermore, they have concluded that

"... a solution to the current theoretical morass will be found only when women's occupational behavior is viewed from the human development paradigm which emphasizes process, comprehensiveness and a life course perspective" (p. 248).

In a detailed discussion of the weaknesses of vocational behavior theories for women, Perun and Bielby (1981) identified and discussed three central themes: (1) failure to consider the social structural constriction surrounding vocational choice, (2) failure to consider the relationship of lifespan development and vocational choice, (3) failure to look beyond the period of late adolescence for alternate critical periods of choice.

For Perun and Bielby (1981), the central thesis for a human development paradigm was the recognition that social change and social structure have a profound impact on the occupational experiences of women. Considering the context and extent of persistent sex segregation in the the labor arena, women's process of vocational choice is restricted by economic and social forces that perpetuate occupational sex stereotyping.

Besides this criticism of current theories on the basis of gender-inappropriateness, Perun and Bielby (1981) also have elaborated on age-inappropriateness. More specifically, these authors emphasized that it is the interaction of age and gender roles, rather than gender roles alone, that can account for the employment behavior of contemporary women. In contrast to theories focusing on the adult male life course in which the work cycle prevails, this theory focused on the work cycle as an added dimension to the adult lives of women. Consequently, the theory assumes that the "typical" sequence and timing of occupational roles for men must be altered fundamentally when applied to the lives of women.

Thus, the theoretical literature on women's attainment behavior suggests that: (1) the determinants of occupational behavior for women are different from those of men, (2) the work cycle of women is not as predictable as that of men and (3) the ability to synchronize work and family cycles throughout adulthood may be very difficult for women. Researchers who continue to work toward a model of female occupational behavior will increasingly need to recognize that any specification of the work cycle of women will be a complex task influenced by the social, biological, historical and psychological processes present in the adult life course.

Empirical Studies

Hall (1979) identified and discussed three central reasons for the scarcity of research on female status attainment: (1) stereotyping women in homemaking roles, (2) viewing the social status

of women as a function of the husband's occupational attainment, and (3) the prevalence of men in the labor force.

Treiman and Terrell (1975) credit the feminist movement for paving the way for increased interest in women's status attainment research. Prior to the impact of this social movement ". . . women were routinely excluded from stratification studies on the grounds that their experiences were too complicated for analysis" (Treiman and Terrell, 1975, p. 174). Although there has been an awakening of interest in this area, previous studies have focused predominantly on middle-class women (Hall, 1979). Few studies have been applied to rural females (Dunn, Elliot and Carlsen, 1981; Hall, 1979; Wilson, Peters and Peterson, 1985). Furthermore, investigations of the status attainment processes of low-income women are also scarce (Hall, 1979; Wilson, Peters and Peterson, 1985).

Among the earliest researchers to examine gender differences in educational attainment were Alexander and Eckland (1974). Results of their research indicated that females attained a lower level of education than males. Social class origins played a major role in female attainment, while academic ability proved to be the determining factor of males. Although this study is important for understanding women's attainment processes, it is essential to underscore that the data utilized by Alexander and Eckland (1974) came from a national sample collected in 1955. In contrast to many non-traditional options that began to emerge in the sixties, the fifties was a decade in which greater pressure may have been prevalent for females to pursue the traditional roles of wives and mothers. Peters (1983) suggested that

because of these contextual factors, the impact of gender on educational attainment may have been stronger in 1955 than it is today.

Using a longitudinal data set collected by the Census Bureau in 1962 and 1967, Treiman and Terrell (1975) also examined gender differences in status attainment. This study revealed that males and females enjoyed a similar educational attainment process--a finding in contrast to the work of Alexander and Eckland (1974). Upon closer scrutiny of unemployed females, however, these investigators did find that educational attainment was strongly linked to the educational and occupational attainment of parents. Treiman and Terrell's (1974) findings concerning the unemployed female clearly paralleled the work of Alexander and Eckland (1974) who, as previously mentioned, found that family social origins influenced the status attainment of women.

Upon examining occupational status, Treiman and Terrell (1975) discovered women were concentrated in occupations where salary level (compared to educational requirements) was low (e.g., teachers, secretaries). Consistent with Alexander and Eckland's (1974) results, Treiman and Terrell found that occupational status for both genders was generally an outgrowth of educational attainment.

Further credibility was provided for Treiman and Terrell's (1974) results in a study by McClendon (1976) on the occupational status attainment processes of males and females. Although a more recent data set was used (General Social Survey, 1972-1974), findings indicated that socioeconomic status was a more effective predictor of the educational attainment of unemployed than employed females. In

addition, employed males and females displayed similar patterns of occupational attainments.

In an effort to clarify the female status attainment process, McClendon (1976) added such variables as marital status, number of children and employment to the Wisconsin model (previously developed with males). However, these "female" variables added little additional explanation to the status attainment process of women.

Thomas and Falk (1978) found that more than half of the rural female subjects who participated in a longitudinal study of career attitudes and achievements aspired to traditional female occupations (nurse, teacher, secretary, etc.). It is interesting to note, however, that few of these women aspired to be housewives. In contrast, when career expectations were evaluated, Thomas and Falk (1978) discovered that the majority of white females (75%) expected to participate in traditional female occupations, with 40% expecting to be homemakers. Thomas and Falk (1978) concluded that rural females demonstrated a "career choice myopia" (p. 87), by focusing on a few occupations that traditionally employed females.

In a more recent contribution to the status attainment literature, Wilson, Peters and Peterson (1985) tested a modified theoretical model of status attainment (Falk and Cosby, 1975) using a longitudinal sample of youth from low-income Appalachian families. Results of this study revealed that ". . . social-psychological factors such as the obligation to perform expressive roles and the influences of extrafamilial significant others are more directly linked to female status attainment than are their academic abilities"

(Wilson, Peters and Peterson, 1985, p. 13). This research further corroborated the earlier findings of Alexander and Eckland (1974) demonstrating that the status attainment process is different for each gender. Wilson, Peters and Peterson (1985) discussed the pervasive socialization influences of Appalachian families on their offspring as an underlying force contributing to this difference.

Dunn, Elliot and Carlsen (1981) examined the educational and occupational aspirations of young rural women in contrast to their male peers. This report confirmed the investigators' expectations that young rural women would have educational aspirations as high as those of their male peers. Results of these data indicated that change in the patterns of rural youths' aspirations has taken place in the last decade, particularly among young women. Females surpassed males in the level of educational aspirations, leading these researchers to identify a trend toward similarity in occupational aspirations. Further, evidence surfaced that suggested young rural women are attracted to a broader range of occupations (e.g., veterinarian, accountant) than earlier research indicated.

Keeping in mind that aspirations and attainment levels do not always coincide, especially when applied to women, these researchers indicated a variety of possible interpretations of their data. The importance of increasingly complex credentialing may be one factor contributing to the higher educational aspirations of young women. That is, these women may see a veterinary degree or advanced business training as critical to their occupational attainment. Or, perhaps actual wage increases in low prestige occupations for men has negated

the aspiration for higher education among males. Further research that addresses changing occupational trends could serve to further clarify this issue.

One final study to be addressed within this section (Marini, 1980) examined sex differences in the determination of occupational prestige both at entry into the labor force and at the time of a fifteen year follow-up survey. Using a purposive sample of Illinois high school students collected in 1957 and again in 1972, Marini's (1980) investigation revealed that while the mean level of occupational status at entry into the labor force is virtually the same for both sexes, men experience greater upward mobility after entry than women. A possible explanation for this enhanced attainment of males may be the greater labor force participation of males. Although the process of entry appeared to be the same for both sexes, women experience little career mobility after entry into the labor force.

Marini (1981) focused on a number of sex differences that impacted occupational prestige, namely that: (1) the status attainments of same-sex parents have greater effects than those of opposite-sex parents (indicating sex-linked role modeling and role restriction), (2) females are not as greatly effected by academic resources and accomplishments in high school as are males, (3) variables such as time of entry into marriage and fulfillment of sex-differentiated role expectations have a positive effect on occupational attainment for males; however early entry into marriage produces a negative effect on the occupational attainment of females.

Thus, in both theoretical writings and empirical research on women's status attainment, there is an awakening of interest in developing a clearer understanding of how this process occurs for females. While scholars continue to struggle to develop a more comprehensive framework to explain and predict the educational and occupational behavior of women, it is critical to remember that much of the existing research has been conducted during a decade impacted by rapid societal transitions and change. Future researchers can contribute to the current knowledge base in this area by conducting longitudinal studies investigating the process for all socioeconomic groups.

In conclusion, Almquist's (1977) critique outlining the important limitations of the research on gender and status attainment appears just as relevant today:

They are cross-sectional and static rather than historical and dynamic, they do not portray the actual process of getting through school and getting a job and they refer to gross occupational categories only and do not reflect differences in the jobs men and women hold within occupations. Thus, these studies do not reveal the barriers to equality that women face nor their efforts to transcend the barriers (p. 850).

Significant Others

In order to comprehend the literature describing the effect of significant others (SOs) on the status attainment process, it is important to begin with an analysis of how these individuals become influential to others. For instance, Woelfel and Haller (1971) stated that the term significant others is used to describe those individuals:

who exercise a major influence on the attitudes of individuals by 1) communicating the norms, values, and expectations of the

culture or society in which they live; 2) defining the behavior that is considered to be appropriate to the culture or society in which the individual resides; 3) modeling the appropriate attitudes and behaviors; and 4) providing the necessary information about the environment to the individuals under their influence. (cited in Shade, 1983, p. 137).

Rosenberg (1971), in an article entitled "Which Significant Others?", discussed two aspects of significant interpersonal relationships: valuation and credibility. He argued that:

if we are deeply concerned about particular others' opinions of us or if we trust their judgment, then our views of what they think of us will clearly be related to what we think of ourselves; but if we do not value their good will or trust their judgment, then the effect on our self-concept is almost invariably smaller. (p. 857)

Rosenberg contended that both the attitudes of others and the attitude toward others, affect our self-concepts. Thus, he suggested that Mead's (1934) theory be amended to read: "We are more or less unconsciously seeing ourselves as we think others who are important to us and whose opinion we trust see us" (p. 857).

Biddle, Bank and Martin (1980) utilized in-depth interviews with 149 adolescents to determine how parents and peers influenced their drinking and school behavior. These investigators found that parents influenced offspring primarily through communicating norms, while peers acted as role models.

Davies and Kandel (1981) examined parental and peer influence on adolescents' educational plans. The sample for this study consisted of 762 adolescent-parent-bestfriend triads. Results revealed that parental influence on the teenagers' goals was stronger than peer influence. Furthermore, in this study, parental influence did not decline over the adolescent years. Peer involvement was shown

to be part of a process of reciprocal influence, and peer influences were greater with girls than with boys.

Scritchfield and Picou (1982) discussed three problems with the research on significant other influence (SOI):

- 1) the continued use of presumed definitions of who are significant others;
- 2) inadequate specification of the relative influence of definers and models; and
- 3) the differential effects of SOI on status aspirations for black and white youth.

Citing the need for research that directly identified the structure of SOI for both racial groups, Scritchfield and Picou (1982) analyzed data collected on 247 (117 blacks, 130 whites) male youth. The Wisconsin Significant Other Battery was used to elicit the identities of SOs. Results indicated black/white differences in interpersonal matrices and highlighted problems encountered in using a priori measures of SOI.

Blyth et al. (1982) examined early adolescents' significant others in a sample of more than 2800 seventh through tenth graders. Results indicated that parents and siblings are almost always listed as significant others by these adolescents. In addition, most subjects listed at least one extended family adult and at least one nonrelated adult as important in their lives. Females named more significant others than males both overall and with regard to both same- and opposite-sex nonrelated young people. The nonrelated youth

who were listed as SOs were from the same grade, same school and same vicinity as the subjects.

Shade (1983) discussed the impact of significant others on the social success of black youth. She argued that for ". . . Afro-Americans these significant others are more than just the immediate family. They include . . . parents, siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, peers, adult friends, media and white society" (p. 138). In a further discussion, Shade (1983) focused on "mothers, who are apparently highly influential in the areas of establishing aspirations and standards" (p. 145).

In a detailed discussion and analysis of the literature examining the importance of significant others' influence in the educational and occupational plans of youth, Turner (1983) highlighted several recurring themes: (1) the differential importance of parental influence over time, (2) the increasing importance of extra-familial individuals (peers, teachers, and others) over time, and (3) the differential importance of significant others' influence between males and females. Females were reported in this review to select parents in a fairly consistent pattern over time. From the literature cited, it appeared that the father-daughter relationship influenced occupational aspirations, suggesting that achievement patterns tend to be modeled from the cross-sex parent.

Houser and Garvey (1983) examined the amount of support, encouragement and discouragement 470 women received from important people in their lives when considering enrollment in non-traditional occupation training. A questionnaire was used as part of a larger

study to identify characteristics of women enrolling in such programs. Results revealed that compared to peers in traditional programs, these non-traditional enrollees received greater amounts of support for their endeavors from significant others (family, friends, classmates, instructors and counselors).

Hoelter (1984) examined the relative effects of significant others on the self-evaluation of 1367 high school seniors. His results suggested that gender interacts with perceived appraisals in affecting self-evaluation. That is, the perceived appraisals of friends have the greatest effect on the outcome measure among females, while the perceived appraisals of parents have the largest effect on this outcome measure for males.

Otto (1986) described the cross-generational pattern used by significant others (relatives, friends, teachers and others) to reproduce their relative social standing from one generation to the next. That is,

children learn beliefs, values, and behaviors in the family context. These give them an educational orientation that defines the kind of career preparation they will receive. Their career preparation readies them for occupational placement and work experience, which in turn affects their adult values and attitudes. Finally, their adult values and attitudes are conveyed to their children and the process begins anew. (p. 251).

Peterson et al. (1986) examined longitudinal and cross-sectional data from 302 white Appalachian and 117 rural black youth to determine the SOs who influenced their occupational, marriage and fertility decisions. An analysis of results revealed that parents were the most frequently chosen SOs. The greatest diversity of SOs

(peers and teachers) for occupational decisions were chosen during late adolescence.

Thus, a review of the literature on SOs demonstrates their importance in the status attainment process. While parents, peers and school personnel have represented the SOs most frequently identified by youth, future research should focus on SOs in the lives of adults as well. Studies utilizing a human development paradigm (Perun and Bielby, 1981), for instance, will need to focus on who the SOs are over the lifespan.

Parental Differences

Considerable research has substantiated the notion that parental influence on adolescent goals is an important link in the status attainment process (Alexander et al., 1975; Kandel and Lesser, 1972; Kerchoff and Huff, 1974; Sewell and Shah, 1968; Sewell et al., 1970; Usui et al., 1978). However, most previous studies have generally not distinguished between maternal and paternal influence upon adolescent goals. Smith (1981) contended that ". . . failure to differentiate between parents might sacrifice important information about family patterns and about the status attainment process" (p. 92). Thus, within the status attainment literature, studies are beginning to emerge that attempt to define these parental differences.

Maternal Influences

In an investigation of the effects of parental characteristics and attitudes upon the educational goals of 122 middle-income male and female adolescents, Anderson (1980) found the most important factor to

be parental education. When examining the goals of the females in this study, mothers' education was found to be the critical factor. Anderson (1980) emphasized the fact that the mothers' average education was significantly lower than the fathers' average education. Thus, this pattern becomes increasingly important and may explain why the goals of females in the sample were lower than those of males. Furthermore, these sex differences in the goals of adolescents may be a function of gender differences in parental expectations and aspirations.

Smith (1981) studied a cross-section of 4,918 adolescents in a predominantly middle-income school district in Columbia, South Carolina. The purpose of this study was to understand adolescent agreement with perceived maternal and paternal educational goals. Regression results from this study indicated that the ". . . net effect of perceived maternal goals upon adolescent educational expectations is considerably greater than the net effect of perceived paternal goals" (p. 92). Smith (1981) offered the explanation that mothers may have an advantage over fathers in the amount of time they spend with adolescents; thus, youth may tend to agree with mothers on a wide array of orientations and goals.

Shaw (1982) examined a unique data set of 642 mothers and daughters from the National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience. The purpose of this investigation was to analyze the effects of living in a single-parent family on high school completion. Data analysis revealed that for black women, both low income and living in single-parent households taken independently, contributed to

higher rates of dropping out of school. On the other hand, for white women, living with a single-parent had no effect on high school completion once the generally lower income status of single-parent families was taken into account.

In a discussion of these results, Shaw (1982) stated

that white girls are much less likely to complete high school if their mothers were dropouts, whereas the mother's high school completion has no effect on the black girl's completion prospects. The source of these racial differences is not clear. It may be that in both cases the mother's way of life influences the daughter (p. 158).

Falk and Salter (1978) assessed the stability of status orientations among 138 young, white, rural women from Georgia, South Carolina and Texas. This panel investigation focused primarily on how social origin variables influenced early educational and occupational orientations and how early states of these orientations influenced the orientations themselves at a later point in time. Results indicated that the level of educational attainment for both parents was a significant influence on the daughter's educational aspirations and expectations, leading the investigators to surmise ". . . that the atmosphere in the home is more conducive to plans to pursue higher levels of education if one or both parents had themselves obtained additional schooling" (p. 29). Falk and Salter (1978) also added that the employment orientations of these females were much more influenced by the education of mothers than by the education of fathers. They also described the roles of mothers either as that of models or definers. To Falk and Salter (1980), therefore, the importance of mother's education on the status orientation of daughters indicated

that inclusion of this variable as a measure of social origin was necessary.

In a review of the research comparing male and female intergenerational mobility patterns, Baker (1981) found that studies generally focused on father-daughter, or father-son linkages. Occupational and educational information for mothers was usually not available. Prior to Baker's (1981) investigation, only research by McClendon (1976) analyzed the effects of mothers' education on children's attainment. Despite this emphasis, however, McClendon's (1976) study provided no information on mothers' occupation.

Two mobility studies that did report data on mothers' occupational status included the previously mentioned Treiman and Terrell study (1975) and Rosenfeld (1978). Treiman and Terrell (1975), for example, explored the effect of mother's occupation on daughter's attainments. Results of this study indicated that the occupation of the mother was the single most important variable in determining the occupation of the daughter, next to educational level of the daughter. Rosenfeld (1978) reported that in dual-career families when the daughter was sixteen, the mother's occupational status was more influential than the father's occupational status in determining the daughter's occupational status.

Baker (1981) used data collected on 604 predominantly middle-income families in a midwestern city to conduct an analysis of the effect of mother's occupation on children's employment. The data revealed that mother's occupation had an effect that was significant for the educational attainment of both sons and daughters. To the

investigators' surprise, mother's occupational status had a less powerful effect than father's occupational status on daughter's attainments. However, mother's occupational status had a more powerful effect on son's attainment than that expected by father's occupational status. Thus, a cross-sex versus a like-sex effect of parental influence on children's attainment appeared to emerge. In a further analysis of the data, Baker (1981) indicated that mothers' occupational status is an important component of the child's attainment, not the presence or absence of the occupation.

More recently, Schulenberg et al. (1984) reviewed the research on the effects of maternal employment upon the daughter's status attainment. In general, the literature revealed the following: (1) if the mother was employed the greater was the probability of a daughter working outside of the home, (2) maternal employment outside the home was the most consistent correlation of career orientation and departure from traditional roles, (3) maternal employment was linked with higher prestige vocational aspirations and expectations plus more traditionally masculine vocational aspirations in females. In a further discussion, the investigators explained that these findings indicated that the employed mothers serve as significant role models. Thus, when a mother is employed, the daughter can observe and learn from "a working model." In many instances, where female employment served as a departure from traditional female roles, the mother may have served as a "sex-role attitude" model. Thus, young women appear to learn behaviors and attitudes conducive to becoming employed from mothers who work outside the home.

In summary, information presented in the aforementioned studies described the important role that mothers play in the status attainment process. Although the literature has been concerned primarily with middle-income families, data analyzed to date suggests that mothers can exert a powerful influence on the status attainment process of young women. Future research should continue to address the impact of maternal expectations, modeling behaviors, education and occupation for all income groups. Furthermore, as more non-traditional options continue to develop for women in dual-earner families, investigations of cross-sex influences will continue to be important.

Paternal Influences

The importance of father's occupational status as a positive force in intergenerational mobility for his children has long been established (Baker, 1981; Borus, 1983; DeJong et al., 1971; Schulenberg et al., 1984; Tyree and Treas, 1974). However, very little is known about the dynamics involved in the father-daughter relationship as it pertains to the female status attainment process.

McBroom (1981) studied the effect of socioeconomic status and parental influence on the gender-role expectations that a purposive sample of 148 single college women came to hold. Results indicated that the relationship these women had with their fathers was directly related to sex-role views. More specifically, those who enjoyed positive childhood relationships with their fathers were more likely to hold traditional gender-role views. It was also significant that

social class alone demonstrated no significant link to the gender orientations of these women.

The author offered two probable implications: (1) fathers may serve as indirect sources of sex-role influence or, (2) depending upon their socioeconomic status, fathers will socialize their daughters in traditional or non-traditional ways.

Smith (1981) used multiple regression analysis to examine adolescent agreement with perceived maternal and paternal educational goals. Using 2466 subjects from a purposive sample of junior and senior high school students from a predominantly middle-income suburban school district in Columbia, South Carolina, he found that the effect of maternal goals was considerably greater than those of the father. This report confounded earlier theoretical assumptions that fathers are more important as instrumental socializers in such important realms as educational goals (Parsons and Bales, 1955). Smith (1981) offered a possible explanation for this finding by citing increased mother-adolescent time for interaction.

Ihinger-Tallman (1982), arguing that past research on adolescent attainment did not consider the process through which children learn attainment values from parents, utilized a simulated career game to examine such parent-child interactions. Encouragement patterns, parental opportunity awareness, and family affect were examined in order to assess their impact on the attainment values of 79 adolescents. The data were drawn from a larger, purposive study examining family problem solving in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Results indicated that parents were more verbally involved in the career

planning of daughters than for sons, thereby suggesting that greater parental concern or assurance was expressed when the careers of females were considered. Although there was generally more verbal activity between parents and daughters in this study, the parent-son interchanges were more predictive of attainment value than were the parent-daughter interchanges. The authors concluded that variables affecting the attainment values of young women were elusive. They went on to suggest that perhaps parent-child interaction deemphasizing marriage and children may have more impact on attainment than socializing daughters for specific careers.

Intons-Peterson (1985) used open-ended interviews with 102 white fathers, who were purposively selected from a wide range of socioeconomic levels, to examine the kinds of goals, beliefs, aspirations and expectations they had for their children. Well-educated fathers having professional-managerial positions discussed college as an expectation for both sons and daughters; however, while college was seen by these fathers as an important goal for the career success of sons, college for daughters was important for options that may or may not include careers. The author noted a rather casual attitude on the part of fathers toward their daughter's lifetime goals. Other findings of interest included father's conformity to contemporary gender stereotypes and the increase in educational aspirations for children as fathers' level of education increased.

While the foregoing studies provide some insight into father-daughter interactions as they relate to the status attainment process, the information gathered here is clearly limited. Longitudinal

studies with larger, more representative sample selections need to be conducted if this phenomenon is to be better understood.

Gender Roles: Socialization and Ideology

McBroom (1981) reviewed the major theories of socialization arguing that early childhood experiences are linked to the attitudes and beliefs that individuals ultimately come to hold. Further, he emphasized that the literature on gender-role orientations embraced by females is usually consistent with this position. The subsequent section of this paper, therefore, will examine the literature on gender-role socialization and ideology as influences on the female status attainment process.

Kacerguis and Adams (1979) discussed several gender specific factors serving as possible barriers to the perceived occupational choices and alternatives for females. More specifically, these authors concerned themselves with the childhood socialization patterns acting to facilitate or obstruct the career aspiration choice of women. Through a review of current childrearing practices, play materials and mass media programming, Kacerguis and Adams (1979) suggested that specific gender role socialization patterns are commonly used that have a deleterious effect on the career choices of women. A central thesis advanced in this paper is that ". . . differential exposure of children to socially 'appropriate' gender activities and playthings is a source of influence on the type of occupations selected during adolescence or adulthood" (Kacerguis and Adams, 1979, p. 369). These authors further argued that the

traditional manner in which many females are socialized fosters passivity and servitude, thus curtailing the pursuit of occupational opportunities and experiences available from a wide array of alternatives.

Laws (1979) reviewed the research on preadolescent females' socialization for occupations. Elements she identified as contributing to the process of formation of occupational plans for females included:

First, the cognitive map of the job ghetto is present from the earliest years. Second, planning for dual roles is present in females (but not in males). And . . . the addition of a third element: as the girl approaches puberty, the sex role agenda begins to gain ascendancy, at the expense of occupational ambition (Laws, 1979, p. 42).

Dunn (1980) considered factors likely to impact the attainment process of young women from rural areas. More specifically, she focused on occupational sex stereotyping as a factor influencing females. Through an analysis of data from a five-region rural survey (N = 1787), conducted from 1977 to 1978, Dunn (1980) concluded that rural youth (female and male) seem to reflect the national tendency to sex-stereotype occupations. An additional finding indicated that youth with wage-earning mothers tended to stereotype vocations less extensively than youth with mothers who were homemakers. The most significant level of stereotyping was found in rural regions considered to be the most traditional (e.g., Appalachia, Spanish/Catholic New Mexico).

It is important to emphasize at this point that the female subjects did not stereotype occupations to the same degree as males, and the extent to which lower stereotyping would influence their

actual occupational decisions was unknown. Furthermore, while these rural females may visualize themselves in occupations that are less stereotyped, it cannot be assumed that they inevitably will select these work situations when schooling ends. Prior to drawing such conclusions, Dunn (1980) has emphasized the importance of observing changes in the occupational attainments of rural women over the next ten years.

Bielby (1978) examined the relationship between maternal employment and the subsequent career prominence of adult female offspring. Using a national probability sample of 1612 subjects, Bielby (1978) examined details about mother's employment history, respondents' perceptions of family members' attitudes toward maternal employment, and indicators of the daughters' sex-role ideology. Sex-role ideology was fashioned from attitudes toward wives with careers, attitudes toward mothers who worked, and attitudes toward equity for women. Results indicated that sex-role ideology was central to married women's career prominence. More specifically, a more liberal ideology was related to greater career salience.

Scanzoni (1979) utilized longitudinal data (1971 and 1975) to determine how sex roles influenced the job and income levels of married women over time. Data for this study were gathered from a regional household probability sample of 427 white, married females with husbands present in the household. Results of this study indicated that women embracing traditional gender role patterns seemed less focused on occupational attainment, while those who were interested in greater role interchangeability actively pursued labor

force involvement and thus, gained from such activity. It is critical to stress, however, that the narrow time frame of this study and the absence of such other variables as achievement motivations and prior work history, limit the usefulness of the data. What this analysis does contribute, then, is a recognition of the importance in the link between sex-role preferences and variation in female attainment.

Scanzoni (1979) contended that this link might be forged during adolescence, thus establishing early associations between attainment and egalitarianism. He further argued that while education influenced every segment of the attainment process, gender roles appeared to maintain their own independent impact on attainment.

More recently, Corder and Stephan (1984) examined the first step in a proposed two stage process of career and family decision-making among women. These authors suggested that women make an initial lifestyle choice concerning the importance of career and family. Further, they proposed that traditional sex-role socialization limits the range of occupations from which a final selection is made at the second stage.

In order to conduct their investigation, Corder and Stephan (1984) administered questionnaires to 948 predominantly middle-class, white students (8th through 12th grades) who attended five schools in a southwestern city. Data were collected as part of a larger study investigating the relationship of significant others, sex-role attitudes and self-concept to career plans.

Results from path analysis revealed the importance of sex-role socialization to female lifestyle. That is, these authors found sex-

role variables to be more important predictors of aspirations in the first stage of career decision-making than family background, significant others or achievement variables.

This overview of the literature on sex role orientation and status attainment provided significant evidence that early childhood socialization limits the career choices for many females. While one study suggested that occupational sex stereotyping among females is diminishing, other investigations on this topic will be needed over the next decade before any new conclusions can be made. As more women enter the labor market, the impact of maternal employment on sex role ideology and daughter's career salience should be investigated with even greater numbers of subjects. Finally, longitudinal research examining the link between gender-role preferences formed during adolescence may serve to explain the processes involved in how gender role ideology impacts adult female attainment.

Fertility and Status Attainment

In an effort to understand the relationship between labor force participation and the fertility of American women, Waite and Stolzenberg (1976) reviewed the extant research. Four central themes emerged from their literature analysis: (1) ". . . an inverse relationship between the number of children born to a married woman and the proportion of her married life that she has held employment;" (2) ". . . working wives . . . have smaller family size ideals, desires and expectations than their nonworking counterparts;" (3) ". . . women who are employed because they like being employed anticipate

fewer children than women who work because they need the money provided by a job;" (4) ". . . females who plan to hold paid employment also plan to have smaller families than women who have no labor force participation" (Waite and Stolzenberg, 1976, pp. 235-236). These authors stated that the exact mechanism which causes the link between fertility and labor force participation was not known. Therefore, in order to gain more information in this area, Waite and Stolzenberg (1976) examined young women's fertility expectations and plans for labor force participation when they reached age 35 with a large national sample of 3589 subjects. Using the sample National Longitudinal Study of the Labor Market Experiences of Young Women, 1968-1972 (NLS data; N = 3589 subjects) they found that the number of offspring a young woman plans to bear has only a small impact on the probability that she intends to be actively employed in the labor force when she is 35 years of age. However, these investigators did find that a woman's intentions to participate in the labor force when she is 35 have a marked effect on the total number of children she eventually plans to bear. This relationship was found for both never-married women and those presently married. It is also interesting to note that the same relationship was found for married women when the husband's income level and his attitude toward labor force participation was included in the model.

Waite and Stolzenberg (1976) indicated that contrary to what was previously thought, women do formulate their reproductive and labor force decisions prior to marriage. Also, the link between plans for labor force participation and fertility expectations is similar

for both married and single young women. Although the influence of fertility expectations on labor force participation plans seems to be minimal, the results of this study indicated that the effect of labor force participation plans on fertility expectations seemed to be significant.

Waite and Moore (1978) also used the NLS data base to examine the effect of age-at-first-birth on the educational attainment process of young women. Results from this study underscore the importance of the timing of fertility for female educational attainment. For instance, it appeared from the data analysis that age-at-first-birth is negatively and strongly associated with educational attainment (regardless of social, demographic and motivational factors) and it appeared that those who bear children at earlier stages do not catch up with their childless peers. These investigators contended that early childbearing severely limited the overall attainment of women; however, white women experienced greater educational setbacks than did their black counterparts.

Hofferth and Moore (1979) also used a subset of NLS data to evaluate the impact of an early first birth (less than age 18) on the later economic well-being of 1268 females aged twenty seven. The age at which a female had her first child had significant effects on subsequent economic status. The indirect effects of an early birth included impact on education, family size and workforce participation. Thus, early childbearers had lower education levels, more offspring and fewer employment experiences; therefore, their income was limited.

They were more likely to be living in poverty than those who were later childbearers.

Crowley and Shapiro (1982) examined NLS data from 11,400 subjects (age 14 to 21) to further understand their educational aspirations and future fertility expectations. Results of this study indicated that both educational and fertility expectations were consistently predicted by such social values as religious background, religious activity and gender-role traditionality. The most significant finding in this research was the strong relationship between gender-role traditionality and future plans for young males. For instance, highly traditional young men reported lower educational expectations and higher fertility expectations than peers who were less traditional. Thus, to the degree that more traditional beliefs and attitudes are linked ultimately with lower educational attainment, the authors contended that traditional sex-role values will constitute a serious impediment to the status attainment for both genders. In a further discussion of their results, the authors noted the strong desire for occupational training that was evident among the young women in the sample, thus, emphasizing the apparent contrast to lower female aspirations a decade previously.

Finally, the fertility ideals and expectations of these women were analyzed reflecting the national downward trend in expecting fewer children. And, in light of the frequently manifested inverse relationship between female fertility and educational attainment, the authors contended that the low fertility plans of the women in this sample appeared quite consistent with their high educational goals.

Howell and Frese (1982) examined the antecedents and short-term consequences of early parenthood, teen marriage and educational attainment. Using longitudinal data (1969 and 1975) from the Southern Occupational Goals Study (SOGS), these researchers sampled 945 (79% of the original respondents) subjects. Results indicated that these three early role transitions are not significantly related to social class and academic ability and achievement, but rather, premature dropping out of school is highly related to socioeconomic status and school success. These investigators argued that the major effects on these accelerated transitions represent gender and race differences in the pattern of role entry and exit. For instance, women tended to experience a greater coincidence of marriage or parenthood and early school-leaving. However, race was found to modify this gender effect, with white women appearing to suffer more from subsequent educational handicaps. This indicates that the black family structure eases such a role transition. Howell and Frese (1982) emphasized the finding that parents seem highly instrumental in fostering the belief that premature role transitions ought to curtail the socioeconomic careers of their children, especially the females.

This review of the literature on the impact of fertility on the status attainment process of women indicated the complex nature of this variable. It is important to consider that much of this research is retrospective and generally the childbearing event has already occurred prior to aggregate investigations. Longitudinal studies are needed to examine the actual processes involved in the manner that fertility influences attainment levels for women.

Summary

Throughout this chapter, a variety of themes and issues were addressed relating to the status attainment of low-income, Appalachian women. Many of the barriers that these women encounter in their pursuit of educational and occupational goals were discussed. The importance of significant others to the attainment process was also an important topic of consideration. Finally, information on the influence of gender-role attitudes and fertility provided additional insight into the female attainment process. In the subsequent chapter, the methodology for the present investigation will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

1969 Sample

Low-income youth from rural areas of the southeastern United States were the subjects who provided data for this study.

Originally, data were gathered from 1,412 mother-child dyads during the 1969 baseline phase. Seven Southern states (Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia) contributed to the sample of fifth and sixth grade youth (mean age 11.2 years). Later, Alabama discontinued participation in the project and individuals from that state were not included in the follow-up phases (1975, 1979) of the project. Members of the Southern Regional Research Project S-63 and S-171 collected all phases of the data.

In the original sample, three low-income groups were represented: rural blacks, urban blacks and Appalachian whites. Subjects came from 20 schools located in areas generally considered to be economically depressed. Families enrolling children in these schools experienced high levels of poverty and unemployment. The selected schools were located in rural areas containing towns of 2,500 residents or less, while urban areas were cities with 40,000 residents or more. For purposes of reaching sampling quotas in each state, the number of sites actually chosen closely paralleled the selection of about one out of three meeting the stratification protocol for the project. Through the use of Census figures, the project researchers

estimated that the numbers of Southern families with similar characteristics totaled about 200,000.

Original sample selection for this longitudinal study was purposive. Hall (1979) justified collecting data in this manner for two reasons: (a) prohibitive cost and time investment in selecting a probability sample and (b) a comparison of the goals of low-income youth from several subpopulations was the primary objective of the original panel of data collection (Southern Regional Technical Committee, 1974).

Children and parents of higher socioeconomic status were excluded from the original sample based on the occupational status and educational attainments of the parents. Upon removal of higher SES parents from the sample, the mean educational attainment levels of the parents were 9.1 years for the mothers and 8.5 years for the fathers. An examination of the average occupational prestige scores (Duncan, 1961) of these parents revealed scores of 55.9 for mothers and 58.9 for fathers. Thus, all parents occupied positions in the lower five levels of the United States Census classification: craftsmen, laborers, clerical workers, service workers, factory workers and agricultural workers.

Eighty-eight percent of the fifth and sixth graders in the selected schools were present on the day the instruments were administered. All of the target population were given the Otis-Lennon Mental Ability Test (1969) in order to screen out those youth who would be unable to respond effectively to the written survey forms.

In 1975, a second panel of data was collected when the youth were 17 to 19 years old (mean age 17.1) and in the 11th and 12th grades. This phase included as many of the 1969 respondents (N=938) as could be found who were willing to participate. The majority of the 1975 participants were found and surveyed in high school settings. Subjects were questioned about educational plans, occupational plans and obstacles to those plans. Other elements under study included life satisfaction, school performance, locus of control and self-concept. Some of the original (1969) respondents were located outside of school settings because they had dropped out of school or because they had relocated beyond the community.

During 1979, a third panel of data was collected. Young adults (N=524) answered a survey that was mailed to them. These subjects were located on the basis of their earlier reported address and next of kin. At the time of this inquiry the young adults had an average age of 21.1 years (i.e., of those who had been included as respondents in 1969 and 1975). The 1979 instrument was a questionnaire with items measuring educational and occupational attainments as well as reports of current salary, closeness to where respondents had grown up, the size of the community lived in, self-esteem, and other sociodemographic information about marriage and family, work, educational plans and realities.

1985 Sample

The present study (1985 subsample) involved 46 young women who participated in all three of the previous assessment phases (1969,

1975, 1979). The 1985 subsample, of which these women were a part, consisted of 86 individuals (46 females and 40 males). Selecting the sample took place in three phases: drawing the sample members, searching for their last known address and using various tracking strategies to locate the potential respondents (Shoffner, 1985).

A computer program was designed (Southern Regional Technical Committee) to randomly select 199 of the 524 cases who were assessed in 1979. Each state was then sent its own list of case codes. Four of the original states participated in this phase: Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

Each state then randomly drew its own sample from the list. Every effort was made to locate the sample members who were drawn. A variety of tracking strategies were utilized including: contact letters (see Appendix A), word-of-mouth from other respondents, and contacts with local informants, family and friends. A record was kept of the tracking strategies used to locate each subject (see Appendix B).

Respondents contacted by mail indicated their willingness to be interviewed by returning a stamped, pre-addressed agreement card (see Appendix C). Each person interviewed received a \$35.00 stipend and signed a consent form that also served to verify receipt of funds (see Appendix D).

A total of 86 consenting respondents (46 females and 40 males) were located in the four participating states. The numbers of interviews completed in each state were as follows:

Kentucky	20 (8 male and 12 female)
North Carolina	33 (15 male and 18 female)
Tennessee	20 (9 male and 11 female)
Virginia	13 (8 male and 5 female)

1985 Female Subjects

The 46 women in the 1985 sample were the focus of this study. [Note: Demographic data describing the sample should be interpreted with caution. It is important to clarify that while these women came from low-income backgrounds, several are experiencing an upwardly mobile lifestyle. That is, as a sample, their average age-at-first-birth and education are higher than low-income Appalachian women in general (Southeast Women's Employment Coalition, 1986). In addition, the large number of women in the sample reporting work outside the home is greater than that normally found among females in low-income groups (1980 Census).] Subjects ranged in age from 26 to 29 years with a mean age of 27.1 years. Seventy-seven percent (35) were married. Eighty-eight percent (31) of these married women were in their first marriage. Six percent (3) who were not married had been married in the past, while 17 percent (8) were single.

Of the 46 women in this study, 83 percent (38) had children. The mean number of children per childbearer was 1.5. The mean age for the children was 6.4 years.

Eighty-nine percent (41) of the women were white Appalachians. Eleven percent (5) were black. The educational attainment levels for these women were as follows:

High school dropouts	13%	(6)
GED completion	13%	(6)
High school graduates	28%	(13)
Post high school classes	35%	(16)
Bachelor's degree	6%	(3)
Master's degree	5%	(2)

An examination of the occupational status for these women revealed this profile:

Full-time paid employment (outside the home)	58%	(26)
Full-time homemakers	33%	(15)
Part-time paid employment (outside the home)	5%	(3)
Full-time students	4%	(2)

Of the 31 women who were employed outside of the home, 12 percent (4) secured career-oriented positions: teachers, family business and mortician. Eighty-eight percent (27) of those employed outside of the home occupied what are typically considered low paying jobs: factory workers, school custodians, lunchroom managers, sales clerks, office clerks and nursing home aides. The educational level of the mothers of these women ranged from 2 to 14 years. The mean educational level for mothers of the women in the 1985 sample was 9.5 years compared to the 1969 mean for all mothers of 9.1 years. Fathers' educational level for this female subsample ranged from 1 to 13 years. A comparison was made between the mean educational level of fathers (1969 and 1985). Both means were 8.5 years. The occupational prestige scores of the fathers of these women (Duncan, 1969) ranged

from 34 to 76 with a 1985 mean of 55.5 as compared with the 1969 mean Duncan score of 58.9 for all fathers.

State residences of these subjects were as follows: Kentucky, 26% (12); North Carolina, 39% (18); Tennessee, 24% (11); and Virginia, 11% (5).

Instrumentation

The first, second and third panels of data collection employed questionnaires. The fourth and final phase (1985) of the project utilized a semi-structured, individual interview schedule, entitled Dynamics of Life Plans and Attainment of Low-Income Youth (see pocket). This instrument was designed by members of the Southern Regional Technical Committee.

Qualitative methodology was chosen in order to provide more in-depth information about the actual processes and mechanisms involved in attainment. The central purpose of the 1985 study was to identify the life experiences that contributed to educational and occupational achievement of low-income individuals from low-income, rural backgrounds. Specifically, the project examined, in detail, several factors that were hypothesized to influence the varying levels of educational and occupational attainment of rural youth. Such factors included in the study were the influence of significant others, life events (e.g., availability of role models or stressful life experiences), family background variables, individual coping skills, fertility patterns, child-rearing, levels of aspiration and residential preferences on the life attainments of the sample (Shoffner, 1984).

Procedures

Members of the Southern Regional Technical Committee met on several occasions during 1984 and 1985 to develop and refine the interview schedule. During this time, these investigators also collaborated with the chairperson of the Southern Regional Technical Committee in order to produce the guidelines for research procedures and instructions for interviewers (Shoffner, 1984; 1985).

At one of the aforementioned meetings, an experienced counselor, who was pursuing a Ph.D. in Child and Family Studies, provided training in interviewing techniques (e.g., demonstrations and role playing). Videotapes were made at this session, so that each participating state could draw upon this resource when training its own interviewers.

Interviewers were recruited, trained and provided with project-specific guideline manuals for review (Shoffner, 1985). Investigators emphasized that the questions in the instrument were to be used as interview guides with the emphasis on obtaining narratives or accounts in the respondent's own terms. The character and the contour of such accounts were to be set by the respondent. Instructions and prompts were included in each section of the interview guide to facilitate data gathering.

The interviews were conducted by appointment in locations chosen by respondents, usually in the homes of sample members. Each subject gave consent for the interview to be recorded, a process that lasted about an hour.

Units of Analysis

For purposes of the present study, the content from answers to 8 of the 47 questions on the interview guide was analyzed. More specifically, these 8 questions reflected the aforementioned objectives (see Chapter 1, pp. 12-13). Detailed descriptions of these 8 questions are as follows:

Maternal Influence

Maternal influence on jobs was assessed by an item in the interview guide which asked, "Do you feel that your mother tried to influence the kind of job or career you chose?" (see pocket, question 10). If the respondent answered in the affirmative, the following probe was used: "What was it about your mother that influenced your job choices?" The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature and knowledge of maternal influences on jobs or new information would emerge. Based on the respondents' comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect any action, attitude, characteristic or behavior demonstrated by mothers that influenced the daughters' job choices. Such maternal qualities were viewed as the mechanisms through which mothers functioned as significant others for the respondents.

Maternal influences on schooling and training was assessed by an item in the interview which asked, "Do you feel that your mother tried to influence your decisions about schooling and training?" (see pocket, question 13). If the respondent answered in the affirmative,

the following probe was used: "What was it about your mother that influenced your decisions about schooling and training?" The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature and knowledge of maternal influence on education would emerge. Based upon the respondents' comments, categories were generated to reflect any action, attitude or behavior demonstrated by mothers that influenced the daughters' schooling and training decisions. Such maternal qualities were viewed as the mechanisms through which mothers functioned as significant others for the respondents.

Paternal Influence

Paternal influence on jobs was assessed by an item in the interview guide which asked, "Do you feel that your father tried to influence the kind of job or career you chose?" (see pocket, question 10a). If the respondent answered in the affirmative, the following probe was used: "What was it about your father that influenced your job choice?" The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature and knowledge of paternal influences on jobs, or new information would emerge. Based on the respondents' comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect any action, attitude, characteristics or behavior demonstrated by fathers that influenced the daughters' job decisions. Such paternal qualities were viewed as the mechanisms through which fathers functioned as significant others for the respondents.

Paternal influence on schooling and training was assessed by an item in the interview guide which asked, "Do you feel that your father tried to influence your decisions about schooling and training?" (see pocket, question 13a). If the respondent answered in the affirmative, the following probe was used: "What was it about your father that influenced your decisions about schooling and training?" The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature and knowledge of paternal influences on education or new information would emerge. Based on the respondents' comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect any action, attitude, characteristic, or behavior demonstrated by the fathers that influenced the daughters' schooling and training decisions. Such paternal qualities were viewed as the mechanisms through which fathers functioned as significant others for the respondents.

Non-parental Influences

The influence of other people (besides parents) on job decisions was assessed by an item in the interview guide which asked, "When you were growing up, did other people, besides your parents, influence your job decisions?" (see pocket, question 12). If the respondent answered in the affirmative, the following probe was used: "Who were they?" Once a response was obtained for the initial probe, a second probe was employed to elicit the following information: "What was it about (name/relationship) that influenced your job or career choices?" . . . "Was it the kind of person she/he was or the kind of information she/he had or the kinds of experiences they had?" (This

series of probes was initiated for each person identified by the respondent.)

Subsequently, the responses to these probes were used to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature, and knowledge of significant others' (non-parental) influences on jobs or new information would emerge. Based on the respondents' comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect any action, attitude or behavior demonstrated by any person(s) (other than parents) that influenced job decisions. Such qualities were viewed as the mechanisms through which these individuals were able to function as significant others for the respondents of this study.

The influence of other people (besides parents) on schooling and training decisions was assessed by an item in the interview guide which asked, "When you were growing up, did other people, besides your parents, influence your schooling and training plans?" (see pocket, question 16). If the interviewer received an affirmative response to question 16, she/he followed the same format for the series of probes described with question 12. The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature and knowledge of significant others' (non-parental) influences on education or new information would emerge. Based on the respondents' comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect any action, attitude, characteristic or behavior demonstrated by any person(s) (other than parents) that influenced schooling and training decisions.

Fertility Influences

The influence of fertility on job decisions, schooling and training was assessed by a series of questions and probes (see pocket, question 19). Initially, each respondent was asked, "Do you have any children?" Depending upon the response, the appropriate probes from the following list were used:

"How old are they?"

"Has having children influenced your job decisions?"

(if yes, "Describe how.")

The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature, knowledge of fertility influences on jobs, or new information would emerge. Based on the respondents' comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect any circumstances, situation, attitude or behavior related to being a parent behavior that influenced their job decisions (once they became parents).

"Has having children influenced your schooling and training decisions?"

(if yes, "Describe how.")

The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature and knowledge of fertility influences on education or new information would emerge. Based upon the respondents' comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect any circumstances, attitude or behavior related to being a parent that influenced schooling and training decisions (once they became parents).

"Has having children when you did influenced your decisions?"

(If yes, "Describe how.")

The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature, knowledge of fertility timing influences on education, or new information would emerge. Based on the respondents' comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect any circumstances, situation attitude or behavior related to being a parent that influenced schooling and training decisions (based on when they became parents).

Attitudes Toward Married Women Working (Learning) Outside the Home

The influence of one specific gender-role attitude (opinions on married women working outside of the home) on the job decisions, schooling, and training was assessed by a series of several questions (see pocket, question 20). The four parts to this particular assessment are as follows:

"Do you think a married woman should work outside the home?"

The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature, knowledge of sex-role attitudes or new information would emerge. Based on the respondents' comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect the rationale (when one was given) for working outside the home.

"What if she has young children?"

The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature, knowledge of sex-role attitudes or new information would emerge. Based on the respondents'

comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect the attitudes and opinions toward married women with children working outside the home.

"How have your attitudes and opinions about this issue influenced your schooling and training decisions?"

The researcher examined the responses to determine if themes and issues aligned with the existing literature, knowledge of sex-role attitudes and new information would emerge. Based on the respondents' comments, categories were generated (during the coding process) to reflect any circumstance, action, attitude or behavior that influenced schooling and training decisions (based upon their attitudes/opinions on married women with children working outside the home).

"How have your attitudes and opinions about this issue influenced your job decisions?"

Based on the existing literature, knowledge of sex-role attitudes, or new information, the subjects' responses were examined to determine where any themes would emerge. Specifically, summary categories were generated based on the subjects' reports of any circumstance, action, attitude or behavior that influenced job decisions (based upon their attitudes/opinions on married women with children working outside the home).

Data Reduction

Researchers in each of the four participating states taped and transcribed their own interviews. Individual interviewers checked each transcript for accuracy. The data from each state were then

forwarded to the three other states, so that by Fall of 1985, the four states had copies of all 86 transcripts. Each state then assumed preliminary coding responsibilities for the content of the answers to a specified number of questions for all 86 transcripts. Late in 1985 the members of the Southern Regional Technical Committee met to discuss this preliminary data reduction process.

Coding

For purposes of the present study, the content from answers to the eight aforementioned questions from the interview guide were analyzed. In order to develop categories for the coding of data, several preliminary steps were taken (Taylor & Bogden, 1984):

1. The researcher conducted a comprehensive review of relevant literature.
2. Transcripts were read and reread.
3. Notations were made on emerging themes, hunches, interpretations and ideas.

Through a back and forth, deductive/inductive process, categories were developed (see previously discussed criteria for each variable). These categories reflected existing theories and themes as well as new information that emerged from the data. Categories acted as summary statements reflecting answers to each question.

Initially, one member of the Southern Regional Technical Committee worked with two graduate students to develop and refine the coding categories for six of the eight questions used in this research. Frequency counts were made reflecting the variation in response to each question. Interrater reliability was computed by

having two graduate students independently summarize and categorize data from the questions. Agreement ranged from 82% to 100%.

Demographic information gathered at the time of the 1985 interview, along with the information on this subsample gathered in 1969, were used to calculate descriptive statistics. Percentages were used to reflect the frequency of responses to the eight questions rather than rank ordering. In order to protect the anonymity of the respondents in the results, case ID numbers were used in the quoted material.

Limitations of the Study

Three methodological limitations were apparent in this study. They included: (a) purposive sampling; (b) the weaknesses of self-reports; and (c) the subjective nature of qualitative data.

Purposive Sampling

As mentioned previously, the participants for this study were taken from a purposively-selected, nonprobability sample of low-income, Appalachian youth. Thus, the generalizations of this research may be limited. However, it is important to recall that the primary goal of the original (1969) project directors was to limit this study to low-income families; therefore, they intentionally selected low-income individuals using nonprobability sampling methods. Such a decision created a unique sample with advantages and disadvantages. While it was difficult to generalize the findings from this group to other samples because of the actual focus of the project, the design

of the sample did permit the collection of information about a unique group.

In addition, as mentioned in the previous section on demographics, the subjects in this sample, who all came from low-income backgrounds, do not, as a group, reflect the socio-economic characteristics of low-income women in general. Thus, the generalizability of these findings is limited.

Self-Reports

While data from in-depth interviews can provide greater insight into the mechanisms of a phenomenon, the issue of potential bias is very real because ". . . interviewers can easily lead (e.g., body language, tone of voice, 'leading' questions, etc.) respondents to give the 'right' responses" (Slavin, 1984, p. 92). For this reason, members of the Southern Regional Technical Committee prepared project-specific training sessions, video-tapes and manuals (Shoffner, 1984; 1985) so that interviewers would understand and practice the appropriate techniques for collecting data in a non-biased manner.

Harre and Secord (1972) emphasized other reasons for using caution when interpreting data gathered through self-report:

- a) the lack of an independent check on whether the reported states exist, and

- b) the inability to verify whether the act of reporting generates artifactual memories.

Thus, the aforementioned limitations should be considered carefully to qualify any interpretation of the data.

And finally, it is important to recognize that the exclusive self-report format of the interview method and the qualitative nature of the data analysis were, by design, subjective.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The primary objectives of this study were to identify how significant others (mothers, fathers, peers and others), fertility, and attitudes toward married women working outside the home influenced the educational and occupational attainment of low-income women from Appalachia. Secondary analyses of qualitative data from in-depth interviews were used to address these issues. This chapter provides the results of these analyses.

Maternal Influences

Jobs

Subjects were asked the following question, "Do you feel that your mother tried to influence the kind of job or career you chose?" As shown in Figure 1, 30 percent of the respondents answered affirmatively. An important clarification, however, involved the fact that several of those who originally replied in the negative, later were able to describe some form of maternal influence in response to subsequent questioning. Follow-up probes or questions, therefore, seemed to evoke memories about maternal influences.

The most notable finding related to a lack of maternal influences on jobs, with 24 (52%) women simply reiterating that their mothers did not give them any advice. Two categories: giving specific job advice (13%, 6), and general encouragement to do better than family circumstances, but not a specific job (11%, 5) were the

Did mother influence job choice?

A.		N	%
	Yes	14	30
	No	32	70
		46	100%

B. What was it about mother?

N	%	
24	52	Mother did not give any advice

Influence Categories

5	11	Mother gave general encouragement to do better than present family circumstances, but not a specific job
6	13	Mother gave advice about specific job(s)
3	7	Mother advised subject to seek jobs similar to present family circumstances
1	2	Mother advised subject to seek jobs that were personally satisfying (without giving advice about specific jobs)
1	2	Mother advised against specific jobs
2	4	Mother served as a general role model of positive qualities (without giving specific advice about jobs)
1	2	Mother served as a negative role model (subject decided not to do what mother did)
3	7	Mother expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed
22	48%	

Figure 1. Maternal Influences on Jobs

most specific actions taken by mothers (see Figure 1-B).

Illustrations of these response categories are as follows:

Specific advice.

. . . she's part of the reason . . . that I did finish school . . .
. and got the job that I did. She really encouraged me and, kind
of pushed me [to become an employment office interviewer] . . .

General encouragement.

She just had a third grade education, and she always told us . . .
get a good education so that you could get a better job . . .

Figure 1-B also provides information about six other identified maternal influences. These include advice to seek jobs similar to family circumstances, advice to seek jobs that were personally satisfying, advice against specific jobs, role modeling and the expression of confidence in the subject's ability to succeed. In total, eight maternal processes were identified as influential to the job decisions of these women.

Schooling and Training

In answer to the question, "Do you feel that your mother tried to influence your decisions about schooling and training?", 67 percent (31) responded affirmatively (see Figure 2-A). Again, it is evident in Figure 2-B that subsequent questions elicited a greater array of maternal influence (42, 91%) than originally acknowledged. The three most significantly discussed processes were: general encouragement to do better than family circumstances, enforcement of high school

Did mother influence schooling or training?

A.	Yes	N 31	% 67
	No	15	33
		—	—
		46	100%

B. What was it about mother?

N	%	Influence Categories:
11	23	Mother gave general encouragement to get a higher education than was the present family circumstances, but not a specific educational level
8	17	Mother enforced staying in high school
7	15	Mother wished and encouraged high school completion
3	7	Mother advised subject about specific levels of higher education
1	2	Mother advised subject to seek the level of education that she found personally satisfying (without giving advice about specific educational levels)
1	2	Mother advised subject to seek educational levels similar to present family circumstances
1	2	Mother advised against pursuing an education beyond high school
3	7	Mother advised against pursuing an education away from home
2	4	Mother served as a general role model of positive qualities (without giving specific advice about educational levels)

Figure 2. Maternal Influences on Schooling and Training

2	4	Mother served as a negative role model (subject decided not to do what mother did)
3	7	Mother expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed
—	—	
42	91%	Subjects who reported an influence
4	9	Mother did not influence schooling/give advice
—	—	
46	100%	Sample Total

C. Maternal Influence Comparisons: Jobs vs. Schooling and Training

Jobs

<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
----------	----------

22	48
----	----

Mother influenced job decisions

Schooling & Training

<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
----------	----------

42	91
----	----

Mother influenced schooling and training decisions

Figure 2 (continued)

completion and encouragement of high school completion (see Figure 2-B).

In the first of these categories, 23 percent (11) indicated that their mother gave general encouragement to get a higher education than family circumstances, but not a specific educational level. One young woman described her mother's influence in this way:

. . . she'd only went to the seventh grade. She'd wished she'd went on . . . she wanted me to [go on], . . . 'cause she didn't have an opportunity . . .

Another mother, who was a high school dropout, responded to her daughter accordingly:

Well one thing that really sticks out in my mind: she used to always tell me . . . "please don't do like I did."

Eight of the women (17%) indicated that their mothers enforced the completion of high school. Several described this kind of interaction as follows:

. . . she was very definite about that. I had to finish high school.

Several times in high school I was wanting to quit . . . and she stayed on me . . . and tried to keep me in school until I finished.

. . . she always threw the fact back up to me that she didn't finish school and that if I didn't finish school I would never be able to make something of myself because times had changed and you have to have more education . . .

In contrast to the strong enforcement theme, 15 percent (7) of the women reported that their mothers wished or encouraged them to complete high school. One young woman, who married prior to graduation, gave this reply:

And that's what she asked me before she consented to me getting married, if I would at least finish high school for her.

Another woman described her mother's influence in this way:

Mother always did encourage us to stay in school . . . she saw that I did want to get out there and get an education to enable myself to get a good job.

One mother took specific actions to encourage her daughter to enroll in a high school business curriculum:

. . . she bought me a typewriter which with five of us at home was a very expensive luxury.

Figure 2-B displays the wide array of mechanisms used by mothers to influence the schooling and training decisions of their daughters. In addition to the three most frequent categories, this pattern of diversity is an important finding. Thus, a total of 11 different maternal influence strategies were found. Only four women (9%) indicated that their mothers were not influential.

Summary

Forty-eight percent of the women described maternal actions and characteristics used to influence their job choices. The two most significantly identified processes included encouragement to exceed current family occupational circumstances and specific advice about jobs. More than half of the subjects reported no maternal influence on jobs (Figure 1-B).

In contrast to the limited maternal influence within the occupational area, 91 percent (42) of the respondents indicated that their mothers tried to influence their education and training decisions. General encouragement to surpass family circumstances, enforcement of high school completion and encouragement of high school completion were identified as the principal activities used by

mothers. Only four of the subjects were unable to identify specific mechanisms of maternal influence on their educational decisions.

Figure 2-C contrasts maternal influences on jobs vs. schooling and training. There is a significant difference in the number of mothers who influenced educational decisions (91%) vs. those who influenced job decisions (48%).

Paternal Influences

Jobs

When asked the question, "Do you feel that your father tried to influence the kind of job or career you chose?" 41 percent (19) of the women said "yes" (see Figure 3-A). In response to the subsequent question, however, Figure 3-B indicates that 48 percent of the subjects (i.e., the sum of those identifying an influence mechanism) actually described some kind of mechanism through which fathers influenced the job decisions of these women.

Twenty-four (52%) women indicated that their fathers did not give them any advice concerning jobs. This lack of paternal influence parallels the finding that 24 mothers (52%) did not advise their daughters on topics related to jobs (see Figure 3-C). Three of the most frequently mentioned activities used by fathers to influence the daughter's job choices were general encouragement to exceed family circumstances, specific job advice and the expression of confidence in the daughter's ability to succeed. The first two of these processes were the same as the two most frequently mentioned maternal influence

Did father influence job choice?

A.		N	%
	Yes	19	41
	No	27	59
		46	100%

B. What was it about father?

N	%	
24	52	Father did not give any advice

Influence Categories:

7	15	Father gave general encouragement to do better than present family circumstances, but not a specific job
5	11	Father expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed
4	9	Father gave advice about specific job(s)
3	7	Father advised subject to seek jobs that were personally satisfying (without giving advice about specific jobs)
1	2	Father advised subject to seek jobs similar to present family circumstances
1	2	Father served as a negative role model (subject decided not to do what father did)
1	2	Father expressed positive evaluations of occupational advancement (but did not direct specific comments to subject)
22	48%	

Figure 3. Paternal Influences on Jobs

C. Parental Comparisons: Jobs

<u>Mothers</u>		<u>Fathers</u>		<u>Major Finding</u>
<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
24	52	24	52	Did not give any advice
<u>Mothers</u>		<u>Fathers</u>		<u>Most Prevalent Processes/Mechanisms:</u>
<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
6	13	4	9	Gave specific job advice
5	11	7	15	Gave general encouragement to do better than family circumstances, but not a specific job
		5	11	Expressed confidence in the daughter's ability to succeed

Figure 3 (continued)

mechanisms on jobs (see Figure 3-C). In total, seven processes were used by fathers to influence the job decisions of these women.

For instance, 15 percent (7) of the women indicated that fathers gave general encouragement to do better than the present circumstances of the family, but not a specific job. One respondent, whose father was a high-school dropout, put it this way:

Well, he wanted me to finish school . . . try to make something of myself.

Five women (11%) indicated that their fathers expressed general confidence in their ability to succeed. The following quote is reflective of such activity:

Dad was all the time saying you could be whatever you want to be. He didn't really say you should do this or you shouldn't do this . . . he kind of built up my confidence in making me believe I could do just about whatever I wanted to do.

Fathers gave advice about specific jobs to four (9%) of the women in this study. One woman described her father's influence accordingly:

Daddy would have liked for me to have been a nurse or a teacher. Those are two expected things . . . in the mountains. You're either a teacher or a nurse or a housewife (laugh).

Other processes used by fathers to influence their daughters' job choice included: positive evaluation of occupational advancement, advice to seek personally satisfying work, encouragement to find work similar to family circumstances, specific advice to avoid certain jobs and negative role modeling (see Figure 3-B).

Schooling and Training

In answer to the question, "Do you feel that your father tried to influence your decisions about schooling and training?", 70 percent

(32) of the women replied in the affirmative (see Figure 4-A). However, as the subjects elaborated in response to the subsequent question, 93 percent (43) (i.e., the sum of those who identified an influence mechanism) identified some action, attitude or process that fathers used to influence them (see Figure 4-B). This contrasts sharply with the much lower level (48%) of paternal influences on the respondents' occupational choices (see Figure 4-D).

An analysis of the major processes and mechanisms used by fathers to influence their daughters' level of schooling and training revealed two prominent activities. They were: general encouragement to exceed present family circumstances and enforcement of high school completion (see Figure 4-B). These two processes by fathers were among the three most frequently reported maternal influences on schooling and training (see Figure 4-C). When comparing the data in Figure 4-C, it is important to note that fathers tended to enforce the completion of high school, whereas, mothers were more likely to use a combination of enforcement and encouragement mechanisms.

Sixteen women (Figure 4-C) (34%) reported that fathers gave them general encouragement to get a higher education than was the present family circumstance, but not a specific educational level. For instance, one woman described her father's influence as follows:

. . . well, I think he had saw what mother went through with . . . just getting married, raising a family, never working . . . it's kind of hard . . . sad, too . . . and he really wanted better things for me, and by getting a better education and a good job that way I would have my own income. I would be somewhere in the workforce, and I could be quite independent with that.

Did father influence schooling or training?

A.	Yes	N 32	% 70
	No	14	30
		—	—
		46	100%

B. What was it about father?

N	%	Influence Categories
16	34	Father gave general encouragement to get a higher education than was the present family circumstances, but not a specific educational level
12	26	Father enforced staying in high school
4	9	Father wished and encouraged high school completion
4	9	Father advised subject to seek the level of education that she found personally satisfying (without giving advice about specific educational levels)
2	4	Father gave advice about specific levels of higher education
2	4	Father expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed
3	7	Father expressed positive evaluations of higher education (but did not direct specific comments at subject)
—	—	
43	93%	Subjects who reported an influence
3	7	Father did not influence schooling and training
—	—	
46	100%	Sample Total

Figure 4. Paternal Influences on Schooling and Training

C. Parental Comparisons: Schooling and Training

<u>Mothers</u>		<u>Fathers</u>		<u>Major Finding:</u>
N	%	N	%	
42	91	43	93	Influenced schooling and training decisions
<u>Mothers</u>		<u>Fathers</u>		<u>Most Prevalent Process/Mechanism:</u>
N	%	N	%	
11	23	16	34	Gave general encouragement to get a higher education than was the current family circumstances, but not a specific educational level
8	17	12	26	Enforced staying in high school
7	15			Wished/encouraged staying in high school

D. Paternal Influence Comparisons: Jobs vs. Schooling and Training

<u>Jobs</u>		
N	%	
22	48	Father influenced job decisions
<u>Schooling & Training</u>		
N	%	
43	93	Father influenced schooling and training decisions

Figure 4 (continued)

Twelve of the women (26%) (Figure 4-C) indicated enforcement of high school completion was a major form of paternal influence.

Several described their experiences as follows:

They [parents] definitely wanted me to finish high school.

Fathers don't talk to you as much as mothers do. But they both thought education was important. They wanted us all out [of high school] at the right year. That's all we really had to do to satisfy them, and that's what we did.

Now my father, he doesn't even know how to read and write. That was the main important thing to my father, was education, because he never had it himself. Now that is one thing that he was very determined for, at least a high school education, and he raised five kids and he put everyone through high school.

In addition to the two aforementioned processes, five other educationally-focused influences were described. They were: specific advice, positive evaluation of education, encouragement to seek a personally satisfying education, expression of confidence in the subject's ability and the encouragement of high school completion (see Figure 4-B). Three respondents indicated no influence or advice from fathers concerning decisions about schooling and training.

Summary

Fathers used a variety of mechanisms to influence the job choices of daughters in this study. Examination of the data on jobs revealed three main paternal actions: encouragement to do better than current family circumstances, expression of confidence in the daughter's ability to succeed and specific job advice. Slightly more than half of the respondents indicated no paternal advice concerning jobs.

For the educational and training decisions of these women, two major mechanisms of paternal influence were reported: encouragement to do better than the current circumstances of the family and enforcement of high school completion. Only three women reported no paternal advice/influence concerning these decisions. Figure 4-D provides a comparison of paternal influences on jobs vs. schooling and training. In a pattern similar to that demonstrated by mothers, these fathers exercised significantly more educational influences (93%) than occupational influences (48%).

Non-Parental Influences

Item twelve in the interview guide addressed non-parental influences on jobs. Subjects were asked, "Did other people (besides your parents) influence job decisions?" Figure 5-A indicates that 22 (48%) of the respondents said no, while 24 (52%) of the women said yes. In a subsequent question, these 24 women each provided from one to three responses naming a total of 37 influential individuals (e.g., siblings, extended family members or individuals beyond family boundaries). Figure 5-B specifies the non-parental kin and individuals beyond family boundaries who influenced the job decisions of the respondents. School personnel (e.g., teachers, counselors and principals), friends and grandparents seemed to be especially prominent as significant others for job decisions.

Kin (Non-Parental) Influences on Jobs

Figure 6 provides an overview of the processes used by the eleven identified non-parental family members to influence the job

Did others (besides parents) influence job decisions?

A.	No	N 22	% 48
	Yes	24	52
		—	—
		46	100%

B. Identification of Individuals:*

<u>Familial</u>		<u>Extrafamilial</u>	
	N		N
Grandparents	5	School Personnel:	17
Sisters	3	Teachers (11)	
Husband	2	Counselors (4)	
Aunt	1	Principals (2)	
		Friend(s)	7
		Funeral Director	1
		Veterinarian	<u>1</u>
	—		
	11		26

*37 responses per 24 women; range per woman: 1-3 individuals.
Response breakdown: 11 familial only; 3 combination; 10 extrafamilial only.

Figure 5. Non-parental Influences on Jobs

Who else (besides parents) influenced your job decisions?

N	%	
4	36.5	Person gave general encouragement to do better than present family circumstances (but not a specific job)
4	36.5	Person expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed
2	18	Person served as a general role model of positive qualities (without giving specific advice about jobs)
1	9	Person gave advice about specific job(s)
11	100%	(n = influential individuals)

Figure 6. Kin (Non-Parental) Influences on Jobs

choices of the respondents. An examination of these responses indicated that the most frequently reported processes included encouragement to do better than the family's present circumstances and expression of confidence in the subject's ability. Excerpts from the transcripts clarify these two categories:

Encouragement to do better than family circumstances:

. . . Several members of the family . . . at times . . . they would hear me talk about . . . going up [beyond family circumstances] . . . being a teacher or secretary or something. They'd say that's fine . . . good idea . . . good thing to do . . .

Expression of confidence:

I have a sister, an older sister. [She] gave me encouragement [about jobs] . . . brought me out of myself a little bit more because I was so shy . . . [she] gave me a little more confidence . . .

Two other actions that were reported included specific job advice and role modeling. In total, four different strategies were identified.

Kin (Non-Parental) Influences on Schooling and Training

In response to the question, "Did other people (besides parents) influence schooling and training decisions?", 29 (63%) women said "yes" (see Figure 7-A). The range of significant others (SOs) named by particular respondents varied from one to five, with a total of 44 SOs being identified by the 29 women. All of the 44 SOs were classified in familial and extrafamilial categories (see Figure 7-B). Consistent with the finding for job-decisions, grandparents were the non-parental kin most frequently having influence on the schooling and training decisions of these women. Figure 7-C demonstrates that there

Did others (besides parents) influence schooling and training decisions?

A.	No	N 17	% 37
	Yes	29	63
		—	—
		46	100%

B. Identification of Individuals:*

<u>Familial</u>		<u>Extrafamilial</u>	
	N		N
Grandparents	6	School Personnel:	24
"Family" (generic)	3	Teachers (17)	
Brothers	2	Counselors (5)	
Sisters	2	Principal (1)	
Husband	2	College Recuriter (1)	
Father (double identification)	1	Friends	2
	—	Funeral Director	1
	16	Veterinarian	1
			—
			28

*44 responses per 29 women; range per woman: 1-5 individuals.
Response breakdown: 10 familial only; 6 combination; 13 extrafamilial only.

Figure 7. Non-parental Influences on Schooling and Training

C. Identification of Individuals: Non-Parental (Kin) Influences

<u>Jobs</u>		<u>Schooling & Training</u>	
	N		N
Grandparents	5	Grandparents	6
Sisters	3	"Family" (generic)	3
Husband	2	Brothers	2
Aunt	1	Sisters	2
		Husband	2
		Father (double identification)	1
	—		—
	11		16

Figure 7 (continued)

was substantial consistency in the choices of non-parental kin for the areas of job and schooling/training decisions.

Figure 8-A provides a breakdown of the mechanisms used by the 16 non-parental family members to influence the education and training decisions of these women. General encouragement to exceed present family circumstances and the expression of confidence in the subject's ability to succeed were the two most prominent mechanisms.

Half of the women (8, 50%) indicated that non-parental family members gave them general encouragement to surpass current family training and schooling levels (Figure 8-A). Illustrations of this category are as follows:

My older sister. And my baby sisters. They'd say you don't want to do the jobs I have to do They graduated from high school . . . but they were into housekeeping for other people. . . . They wanted me to get more education so that I wouldn't have to do domestic work like they was doing.

She [grandma] just kept telling me how it would be if I didn't get a good education . . . 'cause she said she had it rough . . . she didn't have much education and she didn't have a good job or nothing.

Concerning the second predominant category, 3 (20%) of the women identified a family member who expressed general confidence in their ability to succeed. An example of this category is as follows:

My grandfather was always telling me I could do good [in school].

Role modeling and the expression of positive evaluations of education also were identified. Thus, a total of four different mechanisms were used by non-parental kin to influence the schooling and training decisions of these women.

A.

N	%	
8	50	Person gave general encouragement to get a higher education than was the present family circumstances, but not a specific educational level
3	20	Person expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed
2	12	Person served as a general role model of positive qualities (without giving specific advice about educational levels)
2	12	Person mentioned but no specifics given
1	6	Person expressed positive evaluations of higher education (but did not direct specific comments at subject)
16	100%	(n = influential individuals)

B.

Kin (non-parental) Influences: Comparison of Major Mechanisms

<u>Jobs</u>			<u>Schooling & Training</u>		
N	%		N	%	
4	36.5	Person gave general encouragement to do better than current family circumstances	8	50	Person gave general encouragement to get a higher education than was the family circumstances
4	36.5	Person expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed	3	20	Person expressed confidence in the subject's ability to succeed

Figure 8. Kin (Non-Parental) Influences on Schooling and Training

C. Identification of Individuals: Extrafamilial Influences

<u>Jobs</u>		<u>School & Training</u>	
	N		N
School Personnel:	17	School Personnel:	24
Teachers (11)		Teachers (17)	
Counselors (4)		Counselors (5)	
Principals (2)		Principals (1)	
		College recruiter (1)	
Friends	7	Friends	2
Funeral Director	1	Funeral Director	1
Veterinarian	1	Veterinarian	<u>1</u>
	—		
	26		28

Figure 8 (continued)

Summary

An examination of the data on non-parental kin influences on jobs revealed two prominent strategies: general encouragement to do better than present family circumstances and expression of confidence in the subject's ability to succeed. Two additional mechanisms included the provision for specific job advice and role modeling.

The two most frequently reported non-parental kin influences on schooling and training were general encouragement to get a higher education than current family circumstances and expression of confidence in the subject's ability to succeed. Role modeling and the expression of value for higher education were two additional activities used by non-parental family members to influence the schooling and training decisions of these women. Figure 8-B indicates the major mechanisms used by non-parental kin to influence occupational and educational decisions. Through such means of influence as general encouragement and expression of confidence, these family members seemed to create a climate of support for educational and occupational attainment.

Extrafamilial Influences

For purposes of clarity, Figure 8-C displays the array of extrafamilial individuals who influenced the occupational and educational decisions of the women in this study. This information was previously included as sections of Figure 5-B and 7-B. It is noteworthy that school personnel and friends were the major

extrafamilial significant others for the occupational as well as the educational decisions of respondents.

Extrafamilial Influences on Jobs

Figure 8-C provides four categories of extrafamilial SOs who were identified as having influence on the job decisions of the women in this study. Twenty-six influential individuals were represented. It is important to note the strong influence of school personnel and friends in both job and school decisions.

Figure 9 provides an overview of the processes used by these extrafamilial individuals to influence job decisions. Specific job advice and role modeling were the two most frequently mentioned activities. Three other mechanisms of influence included general encouragement to exceed family circumstances, positive evaluations of occupational advancement and expression of confidence in the subject's ability to succeed.

Eight women (30.5%) described their experiences concerning specific job advice. An example of this category is as follows:

. . . Talked to her [guidance counselor] and she was always willing to help or advise [about jobs of interest].

Role modeling was identified as an influential process by eight women (30.5%), one of them described her experiences accordingly:

I had her [business teacher] for two hours every day and she was a real good influence to me. She was real good, real good in her field, and I wanted to learn under her.

Extrafamilial Influences on Schooling and Training

There were 28 extrafamilial individuals who influenced the schooling and training decisions of women in the study. Figure 10A

Who else (besides parents) influenced jobs?

N	%	
8	30.5	Person gave advice about specific job(s)
8	30.5	Person served as a general role model of positive qualities (without giving specific advice about jobs)
6	23	Person expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed
3	14	Person gave general encouragement to do better than present family circumstances (but not a specific job)
1	2	Person expressed positive evaluations of occupational advancement, but did not direct specific comments at subject
26	100%	(n = influential individuals)

Figure 9. Extrafamilial Influences on Jobs

Who else (besides parents) influenced education?

A.

N	%	
9	32	Person expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed
6	21	Person gave advice about specific levels of higher education that subject should seek
4	14	Person expressed positive evaluations of higher education (but did not direct specific comments at subject)
3	12	Person served as a general role model of positive qualities (without giving specific advice about educational levels)
6	21	Person mentioned but no specifics given
28	100%	(n = influential individuals)

B. Extrafamilial Influences: Comparison of Major Mechanisms

<u>Jobs</u>			<u>Schooling & Training</u>		
N	%		N	%	
8	30.5	Person gave specific advice about jobs	9	32	Person expressed general confidence in subject's ability to succeed
8	30.5	Person served as a general role model of positive qualities (without giving specific advice about jobs)	6	21	Person gave advice about specific levels of higher education that subject should seek

Figure 10. Extrafamilial Influences on Schooling and Training

C. Major Non-Parental Influences Comparisons:

<u>Jobs</u>					
<u>Kin</u>			<u>Extrafamilial</u>		
N	%		N	%	
4	36.5	Person gave general encouragement to do better than family circumstances	8	30.5	Person gave specific job advice
4	36.5	Person expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed	8	30.5	Person served as a general role model of positive qualities

<u>Schooling and Training</u>					
<u>Kin</u>			<u>Extrafamilial</u>		
N	%		N	%	
8	50	Person gave general encouragement to get a higher education than was the family circumstances	6	21	Person gave advice about specific levels of higher education that subject should seek
3	20	Person expressed confidence in the subject's ability to succeed	9	32	Person expressed general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed

Figure 10 (continued)

illustrates the processes and mechanisms used by these 28 influential persons.

The two most frequently reported influences included: expression of general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed and specific advice. Role modeling and expression of positive evaluation of education were two other less predominant mechanisms identified. In total, four extrafamilial influences on schooling and training were identified. One woman described a high school teacher who expressed general confidence as follows:

. . . he always made you feel like you could do whatever you wanted to do as long as you tried. . .

One young woman reported her GED instructor's specific advice in this way:

When I dropped out of school and worked on that training program, they influence you--they train you to take your GED. So, I went for about a year and decided to go for my GED. Now, the first time I took it, I didn't put in the time that I should've on it, but I really wanted to pass it. So this girl there who was really helping me out said, "Okay, you just take my car and you go over there and take it over." I said "no, I'm not going back there--it's too embarrassing." She said, "Yes, you are."

Teachers and counselors provided significant extrafamilial influence for the education and training decisions of women in this study. One respondent described her specific advice experiences as follows:

Maybe my teachers and counselor. They kind of helped me look for work and kind of gave me a direction to look forward to. Like, my counselor wanted me to go into typing or clerical work or something like that, which I had never thought of before.

Summary

Women who reported extrafamilial influences on job decisions

most frequently identified specific job advice and role modeling as the mechanisms of influence. Three other job-related influences that were identified included positive evaluations of occupational advancement, general encouragement to do better than current family circumstances and expression of confidence in the subject's ability to succeed.

Specific advice and the expression of general confidence in the subject's ability to succeed were identified most frequently as extrafamilial influences on school and training. Role modeling and the expression of positive evaluations of higher education were two additional influences that were identified. Figure 10-B provides a comparison of the major mechanisms used by extrafamilial individuals to influence the occupational and educational choices of these women. This figure appears to demonstrate that extrafamilial SOs frequently utilize such concrete mechanisms as specific advice, expressing general confidence and role modeling to influence educational and occupational decisions.

Non-Parental Influences: Summary and Comparisons

Figure 10-C provides a summary, as well as a contrast, of the major mechanisms used by non-parental kin and individuals beyond family boundaries to influence the educational and occupational choices of these women. Family members appear to create a climate of support and encouragement, while extrafamilial individuals seem to provide more concrete influences such as specific advice and role modeling.

Fertility Influences

As indicated in Chapter 3, 83% (38) of the women in this sample were mothers for an average of 1.5 children. The mean age of their children was 6.4 years, with the age range of these offspring varying from 2 months to 11 years. Because two of the 38 childbearing women did not respond to "fertility" questions, data for this section (fertility influences) were acquired from 36 respondents.

Jobs

Subjects were asked the question, "Has having children influenced your job decisions?" Figure 11 indicates that 13.5 percent (5) reported no effects, while 86.5 percent (32) of the responses identified some form of influence (NOTE: in this instance, an n of 37 exists because one subject generated two summary statements).

The most frequently reported influence (16, 43%) was an increased focus on finances or an acute awareness of the provider role. Illustrative comments lend credence to this report:

Yes . . . with that many kids you just about have to work; you want to give them the things in life you think they deserve.

Yes. Before I had my son, I probably would quit at any time, not really caring about working too much. But now that I got him I wouldn't quit unless I had another job.

You got more to support. You need more money.

Thirty percent (11) of the women indicated that they selected jobs that were compatible with childrearing demands/skills. One woman described this form of influence as follows:

I probably wouldn't work at the school if I didn't have kids. . .
. And the reason I left the factory job is that I didn't have anyone to watch them--that's the main reason.

How has having children influenced your job decisions?

N	%	
16	43	Subject reported an increased focus on finances/an acute awareness of provider role
11	30	Subject selected a job compatible with childrearing demands/skills
5	13.5	Subject postponed working outside the home while child/children was/were young
5	13.5	Subject reported no effects
—	—	
37	100%	(n = subjects responding to question)

*One respondent generated two summary statements.

Figure 11. Fertility Influences on Jobs

Another subject, who was the mother of a 17-month-old, said this:

. . . I like working part-time because I can give him the care and attention he needs.

Five (13.5%) women reported that they postponed working outside the home while their children were young. Two themes emerged here (NOTE: Themes do not appear in figures.) They were: postponement due to role overload (3) and postponement due to child development needs (2). The following comments provide some insight into the differences in rationale for postponement of work outside the home:

Role overload.

It [having children] sure has [kept me from jobs outside the home]. It's give me more jobs [inside the home].

Child development needs.

I guess it's just the way we've always been brought up, that the mother should care more for the children . . . and I have not gone back to work with the little one . . .

Schooling and Training

Figure 12 illustrates how the schooling and training decisions of the 36 mothers were influenced by having children. Sixty-one percent (22) of the women reported postponing further education while their children were young. Again, two themes were identified within this general postponement category. (Note: Themes do not appear in figures.) They were related to childrearing demands (20, 81%) and child development needs (2, 9%). For instance,

How has having children influenced your education and training decisions?

N	%	
22	61	Subject postponed further education while child/children was/were young
6	17	Subject reported no effects
3	8	Subject expressed desire for further education to facilitate child's/children/s education
2	6	Subject pursued further education to enhance provider role
3	8	Question not asked
—	—	
36	100%	(n = subjects responding to initial part of fertility question)

Figure 12. Fertility Influences on Schooling and Training

Childrearing demands.

You can't study [now, and must wait until she's older] 'cause she's always hollering "mommy, mommy."

. . . I'm gonna have to wait until they can take care of themselves before I can go back to college.

Child development needs.

. . . if his care or well-being has to be sacrificed in any way, then I'll just have to wait.

Three (8%) women expressed a desire for further education in order to facilitate the learning of their children. One mother described her feelings in this fashion:

. . . I see my children, you know . . . studying. . . . I'd . . like to know . . . more, so I could help them.

Two (6%) of the mothers indicated they sought further education to enhance their performance of the provider role. One single parent explained her actions as follows:

. . . when I finished high school I wanted to get a job but I looked at him and said, "I need more." So I went to a two-year college.

Timing

The final probe used to determine the influence of fertility on schooling and training decisions asked the respondents, "Has having children when you did influenced your decisions?" Figure 13 provides a profile of responses. Thirty-one percent (13) reported no effects. Eight women (24%) expressed the idea that parenting should have been postponed until further education was completed. Quotes from the transcripts illustrate this theme:

. . . if I had waited a couple of years . . . I might have . . . been able to do something more than we did [educationally] . . .

How has having children when you did influenced your education and training decisions?

N	%	
13	31	Subject reported no effects.
8	24	Subject expressed the wish that parenting had been postponed until further education was complete
8	24	Subject indicated that parenting demands were not compatible with further education
2	6	Subject reported seeking further education to enhance provider role
4	12	Question not asked
1	3	Question asked, not answered
36	100%	(n = subjects responding to initial part of fertility question)

Figure 13. The Influence of Timing of Parenthood on Schooling and Training Decisions

If I could do it over, I would wait until I was a lot older until I could do whatever it was that I did do [have children early]."

. . . I just wished I'd a went [on to complete my education] a little sooner . . .

And finally, eight (24%) women reported that the timing of parenting demands was not compatible with further education. One subject said:

Yeah . . . if I didn't have 'em, I could maybe go on, get a high school diploma, maybe get a good job.

Summary

Forty-three percent (16) of the women indicated that having children influenced their job decisions by increasing their focus on finances/making them become acutely aware of the provider role. Other consequences reported included postponement of work outside the home while their children were young and selection of jobs that were compatible with childrearing demands/skills.

The most frequently reported fertility influence on schooling and training was postponement of further education while children were young (22, 61%). Two women reported pursuing further education to enhance their provider roles, while three women expressed a wish to continue their education to enhance the learning of their children.

Gender-Role Attitudes Influence

Subjects were asked a series of four questions concerning married women working outside the home. Data related to each of these questions are discussed in four subsequent sections.

Opinions About Married Women Working

In response to the question, "Do you think a married woman should work outside the home?", 42 women provided answers. Figure 14 illustrates the range of responses.

Two women responded "no" to the question and did not elaborate. Eleven women responded "yes" and did not elaborate. Nine women responded in the affirmative and provided reasons for women to work outside the home. There were three themes identified in the answers of these nine women: financial need (5), woman's independence (2), and self-actualization (2). Excerpts from the transcripts give examples of these three themes:

Financial need.

Yeah, I think it's fine 'cause most women have to work.

. . . yes. 'Cause a lot of times in these days, you have to work in order to take care of your family.

I think a married woman better work outside the home if they want anything on the table. . . . It's so hard, one person alone no matter what you make, you can't make it, just one person working.

Independence.

. . . it's possible to work part-time . . . and be able to get some job that you may be able to take a child with you. Just to have a small independence.

Yes. I don't think anybody should be dependent on the other for anything. Just lately there seems to have been a lot of women . . . dependent on men . . . I don't think that's good at all.

Self-actualization.

. . . You need to get out and have something for yourself, if it's just working in a factory . . .

Do you think a married woman with children should work outside the home?

<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Should Be Based On The Individual</u>
2 (5%)	20 (47.5%)	20 (47.5%)

<u>Rationale</u>	<u>Rationale</u>	<u>Rationale</u>
None (2)	None (11) Examples (9)	None (2) Examples (18)

Figure 14. Opinions on Married Women Working

Twenty women (47.5%) responded that working outside the home should be the individual decision of a married woman. Two women did not elaborate why they felt this way, while 18 women gave qualifying answers. Four individual decision themes emerged from the responses of these 18 women. They were: personal comfort/desires (11), financial need (4), balancing work/family roles (2), and self-actualization (1). The following quotations provide an example for each of these four individual decision themes:

Personal comfort/desires.

If they're comfortable doing it and want to do it . . . then each should decide [for herself].

Financial need.

. . . if it's needed [on an individual basis], sure, why not?

Balancing work/family roles.

. . . if she has someone to keep them [young children]--a reliable person or day care, if that's what she [as an individual] wants.

Self-actualization.

. . . and after seeing my mother, I [as an individual] wouldn't want to stay home with the kids. I know myself . . . she didn't have a life outside the home.

Influence of Young Children

The second question in this series of probes asked the respondents, "What if she has young children?" Forty-two women answered this question, with two women (5%) responding "no" and 40 (95%) responding "yes." Figure 15 provides a profile of the 40 affirmative responses to this question.

Should a married woman with young children work outside of the home?

N	%	
18	45	Subject reported it was ideal for a married woman with children to be home when they are young
12	30	Subject indicated that mother's self-actualization needs should be met
6	15	Subject stated that reliable child care should be available
4	10	Subject responded that role-overload could present difficulty
—	—	
40	100%	(n = subjects responding to question)

Figure 15. Influence of Young Children on Married Woman Working Outside the Home

The largest majority (18, 45%) reported that it was ideal for a mother to be home with small children. However, within this general category, two different considerations were taken into account. Specifically, the two themes were child development needs (5, 28%) and finances (13, 72%). (Note: Themes do not appear in figures.)

Child development needs.

. . . I would rather [be at home] . . . you feel like you miss so much when they're little that you never get to capture any more once they're grown.

Finances.

. . . if the husband can support the family and can give the children things, then I think it would be real nice for the wife to stay at home if she can.

Twelve women (30%) discussed a mother's need to self-actualize.

The comments that follow reflect this theme:

But for me, it's better if I work outside. I need to do something for me, not that I do not love my son. I think I would be a better mother to him if I did something for me, outside.

Two other topics that were discussed included reliable child care (6, 15%) and role overload (4, 10%).

Job Decisions

Thirty women responded to the question, "How have your attitudes and opinions about this issue (i.e., young children) influenced your job decisions?" (Note: It was evident from the transcripts that interviewers/subjects had difficulty with this and the final probe. Neither were understood clearly.)

More than one-third (11, 36%) responded that there were no effects on job decisions (see Figure 16). The most common

How have your attitudes and opinions on this issue (married women working outside the home) influenced your job decisions?

N	%	
11	36	Subject indicated no influence
Influence Categories:		
7	23	Subject indicated she postponed working while children were young
5	17	Subject indicated she was currently employed
4	14	Subject reported she was employed for self-actualization reasons
2	7	Subject indicated she selected a position compatible with childrearing
1	3	Subject responded that she was motivated to seek a better job
—	—	
30	100%	(n = subjects responding to question)

Figure 16. Influence of Attitudes/Opinions on Job Decisions

influence (7, 23%) was postponing work while children were young.

The following mother's response is reflective of such action:

I just delayed it [going back to work] because I stayed home with my children instead of working.

Five women (17%) simply reiterated that they were currently employed. The following response provides an example of this pattern:

I work. I don't need to be home all day.

Three additional themes also were noted: employment for self-actualization, selecting employment compatible with childrearing and motivation to seek a better job. Figure 16 has many interesting similarities with Figure 15, such as the attitude (Figure 15) as well as the actual practice (Figure 16) of postponing work while children are young.

Education and Training Decisions

Twenty-three women responded to the question, "How have your attitudes and opinions about this issue influenced your education and training decisions?" (Difficulty in comprehension and some tendency for the interviewers to skip this question explain the low response rate.) Figure 17 provides the response patterns with similar categories to Figure 15 and 16 reappearing, such as postponing education while children were young and securing further education to obtain a better job.

Close to half (11, 48%) of the women reported no influence. Two other processes were identified: postponing education while children were young (10, 44%) and seeking further education to secure a better job (2, 8%).

How have your opinions on this issue (married women with young children) influenced your education/training decisions?

N	%	
---	---	--

11	48	Subject reported no influence
----	----	-------------------------------

Influence Categories:

10	44	Subject reported postponing education while children were young
----	----	---

2	8	Subject sought further education to secure a better job
---	---	---

—	—	
---	---	--

23	100%	(n = subjects responding to question)
----	------	---------------------------------------

Figure 17. Influence of Attitudes/Opinions on Education and Training Decisions

Postponement of school.

It's too hard [with young children] to think about a lot of schooling to go through, and I will . . . have [to take the time] later.

Seeking further education.

Another mother discussed seeking further education:

. . . it did influence mine [further education] in the way that .
 . . training for a better job is very important if you want to . .
 . get a better job . . . children do motivate you . . . to get a
 better education and a better job.

Summary

Opinions on married women working. Respondents indicated a range of attitudes towards married women working outside the home. While only two subjects (5%) were not in favor of such employment, only 20 women (47.5%) provided a clear-cut approval. Twenty more women (47.5%) indicated that work outside the home should be based on the individual's decision.

Influence of young children. When asked their opinions about married women with children working outside the home, two prevalent responses were identified. They were: the ideal for a married woman with children to be home when they are young and the need to meet a mother's need for self-actualization. Two other categories focused on role-overload and reliable child care.

Jobs. More than one-third (11, 36%) of the subjects responded that their attitudes/opinions about married women working did not influence their job decisions. The most prevalent influence was the postponement of work while children were young. The second most

prevalent category consisted of women who simply stated that they were employed. Three other categories that were identified included: employment for self-actualization, employment compatible with childrearing and motivation to seek a better job.

Schooling and training. Close to half (11, 48%) of the subjects reported no influence on their schooling and training decisions. Of those who reported being influenced, however, two influence categories emerged: postponing education while children were young and seeking further education to secure a better job.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

In the previous chapter, the results of this study were presented.

Based upon these analyses, several important conclusions about this sample can be drawn:

1. More than half of the subjects reported no parental influences on job decisions;
2. Parents who did influence their daughters used a wide array of mechanisms;
3. Grandparents, peers and school personnel were frequently identified as SOs for the educational/occupational decisions of the subjects;
4. Family members frequently used mechanisms of encouragement and confidence expression, while individuals beyond family boundaries used role-modeling and the provision of advice.
5. Childbearing subjects reported:
 - a. postponing work outside the home while children were young;
 - b. an acute awareness of the provider role;
 - c. selecting jobs/education compatible with childcare responsibilities;
6. An overwhelming number of women approved of married women working outside the home.

Chapter 5 provides an interpretation of these results, and the implications of this investigation for further theory, research and intervention.

Discussion of the Results

Maternal and Paternal Influences

Given the low-income origin of this sample, it was not surprising that more than half of these women indicated that their mothers and fathers did not influence their job decisions. Several plausible explanations for these findings can be found in the literature relating to the attainment barriers that low-income women face. First, there is the strong likelihood that many of these women are members of position-oriented families and it is quite possible that their early socialization focused primarily on "expected" or "traditional" female roles (e.g., wife and mother) (Bernstein 1960, 1964, 1970, 1971, 1973). This casting of female roles along traditional, expressive lines has been described by a variety of scholars (Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Brown and Schwarzweller, 1970; Gochros, 1974; Hennon and Photiadis, 1979; Parsons and Bales, 1955; Photiadis, 1980; Wilson, 1979).

Second, parents who do not work outside the home (many of the mothers were not employed outside the home) may not be equipped with a "world view" reflecting employment experiences. Several scholars, for example, argue that parental experiences within employment settings may influence the way offspring are socialized to

adopt occupational roles in adulthood (Jenks et al., 1979; Kohn, 1969, 1977; Rubin, 1976).

A third, and final consideration, may result from such common structural factors in Appalachian life as low-income circumstances and restricted economic options. Parents who are struggling to meet the basic living needs of their families may not have the time, energy, information or inclination to influence their daughters' job-related decisions.

In contrast to the low number of women who reported no parental influences on jobs, the majority of the women reported some form of parental influence on their educational plans. Perhaps this suggests that parental influence on occupational plans may be indirect. That is, parents value education for the jobs that may result. Wilson (1985), for example, indicated that ". . . among low-income rural inhabitants of Appalachia . . . education may be valued to a great extent for its instrumental rather than its intrinsic worth" (p. 86). It is quite possible that some of the parents in this study who attempted to influence their daughters' educational pursuits did so primarily because they generally believed it would provide their daughters with greater economic well-being (Photiadis and Simoni, 1983; Reck and Reck, 1976; Rohberg and Westby, 1967; Schwarzweller and Brown, 1969).

An alternative explanation is encouraging because it recognizes the role of "parental efficacy" in the educational attainment of their offspring. In contrast to the occupational domain, education may be viewed as an area in which even low-income parents feel capable of

influencing and encouraging their children's upward mobility. By rewarding appropriate educational endeavors, parents possess the ability to shape the behaviors of their offspring. Through the management of such family resources as finances and emotional support, parents may feel capable of exercising influence over scholastic performance. The educational domain seemed to be more accessible because "parental efficacy" did not extend to occupational decisions to the same degree.

Although several explanations exist that describe parents' influence on the educational and occupational decisions of their daughters, some gender-specific findings about parental influence merit careful consideration. For instance, previous investigations of maternal involvement in the daughter's status attainment process describe the mother's function as that of definer/role model (Falk and Salter, 1978; Schulenberg, 1984). Results of the present study further refine prior knowledge by actually identifying the specific mechanisms through which mothers become definers and role models. Specifically, the participants in this study who were influenced by their mothers, contributed information describing maternal encouragement, advice and confidence-building as some of the means that mothers use to influence their educational and occupational decisions. Five ways that parents function as SOs were identified within the occupational area, whereas eleven mechanisms were evident in relation to educational attainment.

Although there is limited research on the dynamics within the father-daughter relationship that have implications for female

attainment, several investigators have begun to focus in the past few years on the kinds of goals, beliefs, aspirations and expectations that fathers hold for their daughters (Ihinger-Tallman, 1982; Intons-Peterson, 1985; McBroom, 1981; Smith, 1981). In contrast to mothers who frequently used encouragement mechanisms, fathers tended to play the role of enforcer, especially with reference to the daughter's high school completion.

Consistent with the finding for mothers, results of the present study also refined previous knowledge by focusing on the processes and mechanisms used by fathers to influence the educational and occupational attainment of their daughters. For instance, women in this study, described encouragement, advice-giving and confidence-building as the primary means that fathers use to influence their daughters' educational and occupational decisions. A total of seven occupational processes and seven educational processes were identified. In a manner similar to that described for mothers, such means of influence provide additional insight into our understanding of the mechanisms that fathers use in their capacity as significant others (Woelfel and Haller, 1971). Both fathers and mothers influenced their daughters by communicating and modeling their values, norms and expectations concerning education and employment.

Non-parental Influences

In the case of non-parental agents, grandparents, school personnel and peers were mentioned most frequently as having some form of influence on the educational and occupational decisions of the women in this study. These individuals (as well as those who were

less frequently named, such as siblings, husbands, veterinarians, morticians, etc.) also functioned as significant others (Woelfel and Haller, 1971). That is, their perspectives and expectations may have had important implications for the educational and occupational decisions of the subjects.

The most significant finding concerning non-parental influences was the difference in processes used by non-parental kin vs. those outside family boundaries. For example, family members frequently used encouragement and the expression of confidence in a person's abilities as mechanisms of influence, while extrafamilial individuals tended to become influential by role-modeling and the provision of specific advice. Perhaps these findings suggest that the primary function of family members as SOs is through the psychological support they offer while SOs outside family boundaries provide more specific direction through advising and role-modeling. Future investigations with larger and more representative samples are needed to explore these possibilities in greater detail.

Another contribution of this study is concerned with the number of processes and mechanisms used by non-parental SOs to influence the educational and occupational decisions of these women. Non-parental kin influenced both the educational and occupational decisions in four different ways. For example, the subjects who reported non-parental kin influences on jobs described general encouragement, the expression of confidence in the subject's ability, general role-modeling and specific advice. Similarly, the four mechanisms of non-parental kin influences on schooling and training included: general encouragement,

the expression of confidence in the subject's ability, general role-modeling and the expression of positive evaluations toward higher education.

SOs from beyond family boundaries, on the other hand, exercised five means of influence on job decisions and four mechanisms of influence on educational decisions. For instance, the subjects who described extrafamilial influences on jobs reported specific advice, role-modeling, the expression of confidence in the subject's ability, general encouragement and the expression of positive evaluations of occupational advancement. The four categories that emerged relating to extrafamilial influences on schooling and training were: the expression of general confidence in the subject's ability, specific advice, the expression of positive evaluations of higher education and role-modeling. These findings contribute to current knowledge on the contribution of significant others to the status attainment process by identifying mechanisms of influence used by family members and individuals beyond family boundaries.

A result of considerable significance was the fact that almost half of these women could not identify a single non-parental influence on their educational and occupational decisions. A possible explanation for this outcome might be the numerous barriers to satisfactory attainment among rural youth from Appalachia (Peters, 1983). Membership in families with restricted resources, associations with others who lack awareness of available options or the absence of successful role models in their relationship networks may be a partial explanation for the large number of women who reported no influence

(Peters, 1983). The realities of position-oriented family life (Bernstein, 1960, 1964, 1970, 1971, 1973), socialization for traditional female roles (Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Brown and Schwarzweller, 1970; Gochros, 1974; Hennon and Photiadis, 1979; Parsons and Bales, 1955; Photiadis, 1980; Wilson, 1979), and the structural limitations of residing in rural Appalachia might also be contributing factors. In short, a variety of factors associated with their low-income backgrounds and residence in rural Appalachia may limit their access to SOs who will assist their educational and occupational attainment.

Fertility Influences

In contrast to earlier quantitative investigations linking fertility variables with the movement of females into and out of the labor force (Crowley and Shapiro, 1982; Hofferth and Moore, 1979; Howell and Frese, 1982; Waite and Moore, 1978; Waite and Stolzenberg, 1976), the results of this study help to explain how the childrearing to which young women are exposed may have significant consequences for their educational and occupational attainment. The large number of subjects reporting an increased focus on finances (i.e., an acute awareness of the provider role) seems especially ironic considering the large number of women in this study who reportedly received no job-related influence from significant others. Despite the fact that many of these women may have been socialized for traditional female roles, the reality of their lives required them to focus considerable attention on the provider role. Postponement of work outside the home while children were young and selecting jobs that were compatible with

childrearing demands demonstrated the work-related compromises that some women seemed required to make once they became mothers. Okun (1984), for example, has concluded that changes within the family system (such as the transition to parenthood) often give rise to changes within individual and employment systems as well. The results of this study, in turn, suggested that change within the family system may have encouraged some of these women to postpone employment and to select work that was compatible with childrearing demands.

A related finding concerned the differences in the rationale given by these women for postponing the assumption of work outside the home. Specifically, some of the respondents indicated that either role overload or child development needs were the primary reasons for this postponement. A possible conclusion might be that women who provided overload issues as their rationale would prefer to be working, while those focusing on child development needs may see parenting as their current and only priority.

The large number of women who reported postponing further education while their children were young identified either childrearing demands or child development needs as the reasons for their postponement. Again, it may be possible that women who saw the demands of parenting as barriers to further education may prefer to be in educational settings, while those women who discussed the issue of child development may have accepted their parenting role as the current priority in their lives. Future research should focus more closely on the differences between such issues.

Two other categories of interest concerned the desire for further education to facilitate the learning of offspring and the pursuit of further education to enhance the role as provider. These subjects demonstrated their interest in continuing to learn as adults. It is plausible that these women have experienced what Mezirow (1978) describes as a "perspective transformation." That is, they perceive themselves differently (e.g., provider, adult learner) as the result of some major life event (e.g., parenthood) and may make growth-enhancing changes in their lives accordingly. Or, on the other hand, these women may have desired or pursued further education for pragmatic reasons (i.e., economics).

A possible reason for some of these women to prefer that parenting be postponed until the completion of further education was that childrearing was seen as a barrier to the role of student. This preference, in turn, is similar to the response by women who indicated that being a parent was not compatible with further education. It is quite possible, therefore, that both groups of women might welcome further education should services be made available that would mitigate the barriers presented by child care.

Gender-Role Influence

The majority of women in this study approved of married women working outside the home. This finding is of special interest considering the large number of women who reportedly received no job-related influences from significant others during their youth. McBroom (1981) argued that early childhood socialization experiences are linked to the attitudes and beliefs that individuals ultimately come

to hold. Perhaps these women have had to modify their earlier more traditional perceptions of a married woman's role as they experienced the challenges of adult living. Financial need and personal development concerns (e.g., independence, self-actualization) may encourage the perception that married women contribute to the economic and emotional health of the family unit. Such perceptions suggested that these women might be experiencing changes in gender roles and are part of the cultural transition away from more traditional roles in Appalachia (Glosser, 1979; Hennon and Photiadis, 1979; Lord and Patton-Crowder, 1979; Lilly, 1979).

Close to half of the respondents indicated it was ideal for a married woman with young children to be home when the children are young. Child development needs and financial concerns were two themes mentioned in conjunction with this ideal. Although many Appalachian women would like to stay home with young children, many are required to shoulder the primary caretaking responsibility for both children and the family (Clarenbach, 1977; Lewis et al., 1986; Lilly, 1979; Southeast Women's Employment Coalition, 1986).

For many of these women, family system changes exerted changes in individual and employment systems. (Okun, 1984). Three of the categories (e.g., self-actualization, scheduling work around child care demands and motivation to seek better employment options) clearly illustrate this. Altogether, the women indicated five different work-related influences generated by their attitudes/opinions on married women with children working outside the home.

A large number of respondents reported no gender-role attitude influence on their education and training decisions. This may be accounted for, perhaps, by the fact that many of these women had completed high school or college prior to having children. It is interesting to note, too, that almost half of the women reported postponing further education while their children were young, suggesting a later return to formal learning.

Implications for Theory

Contemporary theorists argue that the "typical" sequence and timing of occupational roles for men must be altered fundamentally when applied to the lives of women (Perun and Bielby, 1981). Consequently, there is a continuing need for social scientists to expand the current theories of human development to include the life circumstances of women in pursuit of educational and occupational goals.

In particular, data from the present study point to the importance of work/education/family issues. Okun (1984), for instance, has argued that there is a systemic nature to this interrelatedness (e.g., work, family, individual), with changes in any one of these areas contributing to changes in the remainder of the system. Theoretical concepts are needed to address the specific mechanisms behind these changes and to highlight the interrelatedness of work/education/family issues throughout the female life course.

Finally, results from this study further clarify the role of "significant other" in the status attainment process. This is an

important concept within the symbolic interaction perspective describing individuals (i.e., parents, peers and others) whose expectations and perspectives form critical components in the reference group of a young person (Rosenberg, 1973; 1981). Knowledge gained in this investigation describes the actual mechanisms used by SOs to influence the educational and occupational processes of young women from rural Appalachia.

Implications for Research

An important implication of these results is that there needs to be more research on status attainment, especially with low-income women. Relatively little empirical research with low-income groups has been conducted on status attainment. This qualitative study was designed as a first step in order that subsequent hypothesis testing could be undertaken with qualitative and quantitative data.

Longitudinal studies with larger sample sizes that focus on "who" the SOs are that influence young women over time should be conducted throughout the life cycle. It will also be important to investigate how these individuals exercise their influence. Continued efforts are needed to identify the different means of influence used by family members in comparison to SOs outside family boundaries.

Implications for Public Policy and Practitioners

The results of this investigation have important implications for those who develop public policy, implement and evaluate human

services delivery, and provide direct services to clients residing in rural Appalachia.

Significant Other Influences

Of particular importance in this study were the numbers of young women who could not identify a single, occupationally-focused influence initiated by someone significant in their lives. Comprehensive, career education programs that facilitate the occupational attainment of females and males (e.g., K-12) must be designed for teachers, counselors, administrators, parents, extended family members, and youth that will remedy such deficits. Non-traditional training programs (e.g., engineering, "hard sciences") that enable women to earn more than secondary breadwinner status should be implemented. Outreach programs conducted by agricultural personnel (e.g., "extension agents") who regularly work with rural individuals and families can also be an important method for disseminating career information. Community college personnel and adult basic education programmers seeking to upgrade the skills and employability of high-risk women in the region, might utilize the indigenous peer-counselor as a "significant other" in recruiting efforts. Re-entry orientation programs should be designed to assist women and their significant others with balancing student and family roles (Hooper, 1979). Tax incentives for industry/business establishments that participate in job partnership training programs for women should also be considered.

Fertility Influences

Innovative efforts must be undertaken to remove family responsibility barriers for women who are seeking further education and work beyond the home. Employer-sponsored child care, on-site facilities for students who are parents, and day care reimbursement vouchers are ways such impediments might be reduced. Scheduling the timing and placement of course offerings to avoid interference with family roles should also be considered. For example, women with elementary age children may welcome the scheduling of GED classes, during the day at their child's school. For such circumstances to become a reality, there must be increased articulation between educators at both ends of the life cycle.

Educators must recognize the prevalence of women who are single parents and design curricula and support services that meet the special retention needs of these individuals. Institutional researchers who are constantly striving to identify new student markets and assess community needs should pay particular attention to the design of instruments incorporating the family-focused, "fertility" variables addressed in this investigation. Public relations personnel might tap into previously "unreachable" segments of their target populations who are educationally "at-risk" by using the media to advertise program offerings and student support services that are harmonious with the life circumstances of low-income women. In addition, this "PR" strategy may further reduce impediments to adult female attainment by socializing the SOs in the family and

friendship networks of women who often impose culture-bound stereotypes of the "traditional" female role.

Another group of outreach agents in rural Appalachia is the population of public health nurses. Young women frequently seek out and consult with these professionals as they consciously make fertility decisions. This unique relationship may enable public health nurses to have contact with many individuals that various institutions and employers are unable to reach. Institutions and employers may enhance the scope of their services by cooperating with these health professionals. In a variety of ways, public health nurses function as significant others for hundreds of low-income females during their reproductive years. It is possible, therefore, that information, encouragement and approval by public health nurses in reference to continued educational pursuits by low-income mothers could lead to "creative recruiting" in family-planning, pre-natal and well-child clinics--places recruiters have never tread! The circulation of adult education and job training information in such settings may be very beneficial to women, especially to those whose childbearing has been completed.

Gender-Role Influences

Data from this study indicated a strong cultural imperative for women to be home with young children. However, for women from low-income backgrounds, this is often a financial impossibility--they must work. Family enrichment information (e.g., changing roles, communication, stress management, etc.) delivered via the churches, cooperative extension, media, mental health and educational

institutions can help to enhance a woman's ability to reduce the tensions that are bound to result between cultural messages and reality. Counselors and other helping professionals can assist women who are experimenting with new roles by directing them to learning experiences that emphasize such skills as time management and assertiveness.

These professionals are also in unique positions to advocate for more gender-fair programming of opportunities within local communities. The economic realities of living in Appalachia indicate that many women will be required to work outside the home. Employers and educators alike must recognize the need for alternative forms of child care and make it available. Institutions of higher learning can utilize their status within communities to encourage such developments. Working toward the ideal of minimal gender discrimination in educational, occupational and family settings is an important goal worthy of consideration.

Summary

This study has been concerned with how significant others (mothers, fathers, peers and others), fertility, and gender-role attitudes influence the status attainment processes of low-income Appalachian women. Qualitative data from indepth interviews were used to address these issues. Results further refined the existing research on the status attainment of women by identifying the actual processes and mechanisms of influence for each of the variables under investigation. This investigation revealed that significant others

used a wide array of strategies to influence the job and schooling decisions of the women in this study. Individuals within the family (e.g., mothers, fathers, siblings and grandparents) tended to use expressions of confidence and encouragement more frequently, while extrafamilial individuals (e.g., teachers, counselors and peers) tended to use specific advice and role-modeling more often. Fertility influenced the job decisions of these subjects by (1) postponement of work outside the home while children were young, (2) evoking an acute awareness of the provider role, and (3) contributing to the selection of jobs that were compatible with childrearing. Many of these childbearing women also reported that they (1) postponed further education, (2) pursued additional education to enhance the provider role, or (3) aspired to further education in order to serve as a learning resource to their children.

An overwhelming number of women approved of married women with children working outside the home. As a result of their own child care responsibilities, subjects reported an array of actions that influence their job and educational decisions. These mothers also seemed to be influenced by a strong cultural imperative to remain at home when their offspring were of preschool age. The results of this study may be incorporated into intervention programs for Appalachian women.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

LETTER OF EXPLANATION AND REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATION IN SAMPLE

Dear

We really need your help--only you will do--and we are able to offer you thirty-five dollars for it.

In 1969, when you were in the fifth or sixth grade, you were among the students we studied in six Southern states. We were interested in students' life plans and goals. You helped us again in 1975 when we wanted to find out if, or how, life plans change. In 1979, we sent you a questionnaire by mail. That time, we were studying what you were actually doing as young adults and how satisfied you were with your life and achievements.

It has always been hard for young people to decide what to do in life--how far in school to go, what job they should take, when to marry, and so on. We believe that our study can help young people with their many choices and decisions. Already, we've had articles appear in national journals where they reach teachers, counselors, and others who work with youth.

Over 1400 students participated in the first part of our study. In this, our LAST part, we would like to interview a sample of those people. The things we will talk about are not too personal. But we would like to know how you're doing, and how things have worked out for you. We will never, of course, use your name or identify you in any way with the answers. Our interview with you will take about an hour. The thirty-five dollars we will give you is our way of saying "thank you" for your time and effort.

We would like to contact you within the next couple of weeks to find out when you could talk with an interviewer. Please fill in and mail the enclosed card to let us know when we may call. We look forward to hearing from you soon. Thank you.

Please remember four things:

- It is important that we talk with you.
- The results of our study should help young people as they think and plan for their future.
- The interview should take about an hour.
- You will receive \$35.00 at the interview.

Sincerely,

Sarah M. Shoffner, Project Director
Department of Child Development and Family Relations
Greensboro, North Carolina

APPENDIX B

LOCATION STRATEGIES

Interviewer's/Researcher's Record of Locating Respondent

Case Code _____

Name _____

1979 Known Address _____

☐ Sample search (Check completeness of 3 waves of data)☐ Letter sent☐ Find local informant
(Find someone who was a classmate but not in the sample, ask if they know where the S_s are.)Record of Strategies Used (Include dates, calls made, contacts with informants)☐ Make calls to respondent☐ Appointment for interview

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANT RESPONSE CARD

Return Card (To be enclosed with the letter to the respondent)

Project 063

U.S.
Postal
Stamp

Case Code for
identification
when card is
returned

Dr. Sarah M. Shoffner
School of Home Economics
University of North Carolina
at Greensboro
Greensboro, NC 27412-5001

FRONT

I would be interested in participating in your study
of life plans and goals.

My phone number is () _____

I do not have a telephone, but I can be reached at

_____ OR _____
(phone number) (address)

A good time to call me would be _____
(time)

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

BACK

APPENDIX D

Certification of Receipt of Cash from _____
University as indicated below:

I certify that I received cash in the amount of
\$_____ for contractual services rendered in connection
with Research Project No. _____ on _____.
(date)

(Signature)

(Social Security Number)

(Home Address)

☐ in box if you want to receive reports of study

VITA

Christine Lyons Medlin lived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania where she was educated in the parochial schools of the Catholic Archdiocese. In 1969 she completed a Bachelor's degree in Home Economics from Drexel University. Her Master's degree in Individual and Family Studies is from the University of Kentucky.

For more than a decade Christine has lived and worked in the Appalachian region. She has been active as an educator and health program planner holding positions in maternal and child health, nutrition and pneumoconiosis projects. She is a registered dietitian, member of the American Dietetic Association, and the Tennessee Council on Family Relations.

While pursuing her doctoral degree in the Department of Child and Family Studies, Christine served as 1984-85 president of the Graduate Student Organization, and received the Excellence in Service in Child and Family Studies award. Her current areas of interest include continuing education for family services practitioners, Appalachian women, and the effects of stress upon the family.