CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

Fear of success, defined as a stable, latent personality characteristic acquired early in life in conjunction with sex role standards, can be conceived as a disposition (a) to feel uncomfortable when successful in competitive (aggressive) achievement situations because such behaviour is inconsistent with one's femininity, an internal standard, and (b) to expect or become concerned about negative consequences such as social rejection following success in such situations. This motive appears to be related to several factors. The present study has attempted to investigate FOS in a sample of Indian college students. The discussion of the findings of this research will be organized around the objectives of the study.

Before discussing the psycho-social correlates of FOS, an attempt has been made to determine if the construct of FOS is operative in the Indian context, through an analysis of the stories written in response to the four verbal leads.
FOS - the construct

FOS had been assessed in this investigation with the help of the projective technique. The stories written by the subjects to these four verbal leads clearly revealed that the concept of FOS, as visualized by Horner and Fleming (1977) clearly existed and was therefore operative in the Indian context. Given below are examples of stories scored for FOS.

Stories written by Boys

(i) John has just invented a microscope. It is the first ever microscope produced with such a high magnifying power. He wonders about the future advents that Science can make. He is exhilarated at the thought that the uses of this invention will help all mankind. Suddenly the microscope slips from the table and falls to the ground. He screams and tries to hold it, only to hear the shattering of glass.

(ii) Suresh was a brilliant student; he had joined the IIT two years before and had done very well academically.

It was just 20 days ago, that he had talked to Susan about his parents being dead against their marriage. Suresh had worked with Susan for a long time and their friendship had led to love.

Suresh came from an orthodox Hindu family and Susan of course was Christian. Soon after they had told each other of their love, Suresh, the conscientious boy that he was, went home and told his parents of his decision to marry her; his parents had refused their agreement, point blank.

So he made up his mind to end his life; in disgust he went back to the chemistry lab, late in the day, to get some potassium cyanide.

As he was getting out, he thought he would take one last look at Susan and he peeked into her room; there he saw Susan, lying dead; she had sacrificed her life for him.
Stories written by Girls

(1) Sandhya hurried and yet it seemed her legs would never be fast enough. She was going to the chemistry lab. She had already spent the whole morning there - yet she felt the urge to go back, for Sandhya was waiting, and very eagerly too, to see the result of the experiment she had just done that morning. Sandhya was a lovely girl, beautiful in the extreme, but unlike the usual state of affairs, her beauty was accompanied by brains too. She had already discovered a new use for a particularly useless salt and right now she was working on how a very harmful gas could be proved harmless. Her career depended on this, for if she was successful in her attempts, she would be awarded a gold medal and a highly envied post in a chemical factory. She walked into the lab and confidently hurried to her table with an anticipatory smile in her face. Then "Oh! God! What happened?" she thought, as she looked down her glass case. The mice in it should not have been dead. They should have been alive and frisky. Her experiment had failed! failed! failed!!!

She looked down and slowly tears coursed down her cheeks. She had failed on one of her most important ventures.

(11) "Sandhya is doing her B.Sc. II Year. She is an absent minded girl, disinterested in anything but studies. In short she is a book-worm. When she was doing her work in the lab in the morning, she had removed and kept her gold bangles and ring on the table and had forgotten to take them afterwards.

You think her greedy mother won't take her to task? She sent her back to the lab at 6.45 p.m.

Sometimes I think that being merely a bookworm won't help us in any way. We must learn to communicate with people. I only hope that Sandhya will change her ways. Instead of mugging away in the library, she can have a gay time chatting with her friends.

(111) "Sheela, a young college student is sitting in her parents' bedroom and talking to her mother. Mrs. Malhotra is the Secretary of an International Health Organisation, involved in providing a balanced diet to school children. Mrs. Malhotra is very successful in this highly paid job and is to be honoured next morning by the Nageswary award. Sheela
on the other hand, has grown up without a mother's gentle care. She has been visiting friends and noticing how different their mothers are. Perhaps a little more homely, not so sophisticated but definitely more .... motherly.

Sheela decides to talk to her mother. She explains carefully to her all her feelings. Light dawns on Mrs. Malhotra. She realizes that while caring for children all over the world, she has neglected her only child. She relents and decides that while continuing with her work on a small-scale she will try in future to achieve a balance between home and career."

(iv) "Mary was a pathologist and she was very famous in her field. Savita was her best friend, who was married and settled in the same city as Mary. They always used to meet on Sunday, either in Mary's or Savita's house and go out shopping or to picnics, whenever Mary was free.

Since two months, Savita was not feeling very well. She was becoming weak and used to feel giddy very often and Mary wanted to do a check up for Savita. Almost everything was perfect with Savita. Now her blood was to be tested. Mary thought it could be the case of leukemia and she was hoping it would be nothing like that.

She took the blood sample to the microscope and focused it. She prayed and her hands were shaking. She again hoped it would not be leukemia. She took a careful look into her slide. To her relief it showed negative results. She jumped with joy and ran out to tell this news to her friend's family."

All these stories, indicate that non-contingent negative consequences, contingent negative consequences, interpersonal engagement, relief and absence of instrumental activity - the different categories to be scored to indicate the presence of FOS were present in the stories written by the subjects of this sample. As Horner (1978) had stated, the empirically derived scoring system on which the present scoring was based, did not depend on the gross assessment of the tone of the
manifest content in the TAT story. Rather it involved the scoring of more subtle story sequences. The verbal TAT leads used were the neutral/ambiguous verbal leads and not the highly structured leads with respect to success and failure. Moreover, the scoring did not revolve around the avoidance of success per se but was more generally concerned with the avoidance of instrumental competence. A review of the stories revealed that negative consequences, whether contingent or non-contingent, and interpersonal engagement were the more frequently scored categories.

In contrast, are examples of stories which reveal no FOS.

(1) "Suresh was the best microbiologist in the whole of Asia. He had won many academic awards and presented many papers on the 'mobile' structure of P-Neon-F (a new element). They were of international recognition.

The exact structure of P-Neon-F was not known to any research worker throughout the world. No exact structure had been formulated and so finding its source was a big task. The varying structure also induced new ideas - which could produce compounds as powerful as a laser beam. Suresh was confident that he would come out with something on this. The Government of India provided him with the latest available techniques.

Suresh went on with his research for three years with no fruit. One evening, all of a sudden, he returned to his lab. He peered into the electron microscope. Microscopy revealed that the structure was changing. He observed this for the next few evenings and with a little more research he presented the 'Diurnal structural variation theory of P-Neon-F'. It could protect anyone against Laser. He was awarded the Nobel Prize, of course."

(11) "Fatima is a young girl of 12 years. She is now sitting in a chair in front of her interviewers in a high school office."
Patima is a brilliant but modest girl. She has secured the 2nd rank in the State level exam at the termination of her middle school career. She is sure of getting a seat in the best High school in the country. She aspires to become a great scientist. She wants to contribute to the knowledge of mankind and make human life more happy.

She finishes her high school study and being a more responsible girl and with great credit to herself, she enters a good college. She takes up Physics as her chosen subject and becomes a high calibered electronic engineer. She has been pursuing her goal with all earnestness and has been successful so far. She is sure of complete success. She has designed an instrument which can exactly measure the blood sugar level, just by placing that instrument on the chest of the person - what an ingenious person and what a gift to mankind.'"

(iii) "Sandhya is the head of the Department of Chemistry. She has now finished her lecture on 'Structure of an Atom' and is now proceeding to the Chemistry lab. She had work there. She was herself in research. She was a respected teacher for the students and also for the other staff in the Department. She was very considerate but yet she was quite strict in her dealing with people.

She was very eager to reach the lab because she had expected to find a particular reaction going on in a particular glass jar. She had arranged it a few days earlier. She had hypothesized something and now she would know if she was correct.

She is now in front of the jar. Yes, Yes, she can see the changing bands of colour. It is a spectacle worth viewing. Yes, she is right. She knew it all the time. She is always right in her judgement.

These stories reveal that fear of success is not present in all stories and in all subjects. Need for achievement, can be the main motivating force, with no inhibitory forces acting to lessen its strength. Since FOS is manifest in the stories of only a few, the attempt is made to find out the psycho-social correlates of this motive.
Sex Differences

FOG has been postulated as a motivational concept, by Matina Horner (1978) to explain inconsistent sex differences in achievement motivation. One of the assumptions put forward by Horner (1978) regarding FOG was that this motive would be much more common in women than in men. It assumed that being successful in competitive situations was generally more consistent with the masculine identity and other male goals and not antagonistic to them, as it would be in the case with women. The extent of FOG, as measured in this study does seem to be markedly different among boys and girls, with girls exhibiting a much higher FOG.

These findings are in keeping with previous research results (Horner, 1978; Jackaway and Toovan, 1976; Solomon, 1975). In fact, the concept of FOG emerged as an explanation for sex differences in nAch literature. Horner had stated that a typical American woman as a result of sex role socialization develops a belief that achievement strivings are incompatible with femininity and hence anticipates negative consequences (social rejection and/or loss of femininity) from successful achievement.

The results obtained in the present investigation did to imply that in India as well, achievement and its conjoint aspects of striving, competition and aggressiveness are expected of, and in the domain of males. Thus for girls to
succeed, it implies that they have to be 'masculine' which brings about negative social sanctions. From the ancient times, the idea of a man as the 'lord and master' and of an Indian woman as subservient to his wishes, has been the ideal portrayed in the scriptures. In Hinduism, a woman has been described by a multitude of derogatory attributes. She has been called fickle-minded, sensual, given to falsehood, trickery, impurity and thoughtless action. The dictum of Manu 'In childhood a woman must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, and when her lord is dead, to her sons. A woman must never be independent', along with Tulsidas' well known stanza in which he groups women with drams, morons, shudras and cattle as objects fit to be beaten have influenced the attitudes of the Hindu masses towards women.

There is no overall appraisal of a woman's personality in the lore of Hinduism. She is viewed only in specific roles. With the conception of marriage as the true destiny of a woman and with her important obligation to bear a son, the roles of wife and mother have emerged as the proper roles for a woman. The cult of the mother-goddess has had a lot of influence on the status of women. By idealizing the quality of sacrifice in a mother and by eulogizing her motherhood, religion has bound the woman to the home and to the role of creating and nurturing.
There has been a strong emphasis on a faithful and uncomplaining wife. The ideal woman is the devoted wife, who is willing to suffer all kinds of adversities for the sake of loyalty to her husband. The dominant characteristics of well-known characters of Hindu mythology - Sita, Savitri, Ahalya, Draupadi, Gandhari, Mandodari, Damayanti to name a few - are loyalty to their husbands, steadfastness, and chastity. This has been the essence of a woman's role as wife. Bhisma in the Mahabharata states the following attributes as the best feminine virtues: fidelity, forgiveness, absence of guile, piety, and truthfulness.

Experimental evidence corroborates the fact that this picture of the two sexes is still the dominant image existing today. The stereotypical picture of Indian men has been found to be aggressive, ambitious, forceful, independent, competitive, assertive and dominant; while Indian women have been portrayed as yielding, gentle, shy and homely (Rao, Gupta and Murthy, 1982; Williams and Best, 1982). With this typical Indian man and woman stereotype prevailing in the minds of people, any girl who is ambitious, assertive and competitive is immediately over stepping her sex-role boundaries. For a man, however, to succeed, is in keeping with social expectations and therefore he experiences relatively little conflict.

Though sex differences was the major finding in FCS literature, the results have been inconsistent as revealed in
Chapter II. Moreover, a content analysis of the stories written by boys and girls had revealed that boys wrote bizarre, unrealistic, cynical, pessimistic and/or joking stories containing violence, death, devaluation of success and achievement and doubts about the worth of success. Male FOS, therefore seemed to be a reaction to conventional middle class values and a questioning of the 'success ethic' and ambition (Fleming, 1974; House, 1973; Jordan, 1973; Proscott, 1971).

However, the stories written by girls had usually centered around loss of femininity, loss of love, guilt over aggression and conflict between gender roles and success.

These results suggested that apart from a quantitative analysis, a qualitative analysis would also yield interesting findings about the concept of FOS (Weinroich-Haste, 1978).

Therefore a qualitative analysis was carried out in this study as well. Perhaps the best way to understand sex differences found in this study, would be a comparison of a few typical stories written by the boys and girls.

Stories written by Boys

(1) "The creatures from outer space were all around him. Their leader had one of his tentacles over John's neck and then he barked 'Ye Earthling, Tell us what you see'.

These creatures had landed a week back, the day the planets took a configuration of the letter Z. They said they had reached the end. All life in this
planet (i.e., Earth) will also end. Then slowly the
life was dying out. By this time, most of the living
creatures had died. But they had kept this earthling,
John, alive. He was their answer. A microbiologist.

John with all his qualifications was a humble earth-
ling. He bravely answered "It's moving, hence it's
alive." The time was 11:59:59 in his digital
watch. It struck 12:00:00. A strange glow
came over the horizon. John became breathless. The
creatures started howling, their tentacles entangling.
The end had come. Everyone suddenly froze. They all be-
came statues. Then a strange thing happened. All the
previously animate things became stone dead and all the
other previously inanimate things got life. The era
of the non-living had begun!

(ii) "Suresh is a good for nothing schemer. He was not
a loafer by any means. The only problem he had was
his laziness. Today he had got up at 8 o'clock in the
morning when he had to attend his Chemistry lab at 8:15
a.m. He wanted to get up early in the morning but
because of his sweet dream he could not get up. In his
dream, he dreamt he was in heaven with fairies and
urvasis all around him. They were smiling at him.
One of the urvasis appeared in front of him and asked
him - 'Mr. Suresh, will you marry me?' Mr. Suresh was
overwhelmed with joy. Suddenly he was awakened by
somobdy rocking him. To his dismay it was his father.
His father showered abuses on him and he was virtually
kicked to the college.

When he came to the college, the class had started.
He was about to enter the class, when he heard some
lovely voice calling him. He turned back to see the
same fairy behind him, asking him where the Chemistry
lab was. He fainted on the spot."

(iii) "Ahmed is a moron, mentally retarded from birth.
His smile can never be wiped from his face. He set
this time smiling into the face of the greatest neuro-
logist ever. A brain surgery was advised. His skull
was sawn into two. The neurologist was shocked.
Ahmed's brain was the size of a peanut. The neuro-
logist touched it. Ahmed's smile disappeared."

Stories written by Girls

(1) "She couldn't believe what she was seeing. It was
clearly a slide of leukemia. There were just too many
immature W.B.C.s for it to be anything but blood cancer.
She lifted her face only to receive the doctor's sympa-
thetic look.
Mary was a nurse in the hospital. A week ago her niece who was feeling weak and giddy for the past few months had been brought to the doctor for a check up. Various tests had been conducted and now the doctor was showing her the stained blood smear. She did not want to believe it. She wanted to scream at fate. Her niece Jane, was only 10 years of age, born to her sister, 8 years after marriage, and the only child. How was she to break the news to her sister and brother in law.

She felt the comfortable hand of the doctor on her shoulder and wiped away her tears trickling down her cheeks. The grave voice of the doctor telling her that it was too late to do anything seemed to be coming from somewhere far. She was too shocked to think of anything. She slowly shook off the doctor's hand and walked away as if in a dream. She did not know what she would do and where she would go.

Seeing his favourite and ever alert and kind nurse in this state, the doctor slowly shook his head in despair."

(11) "Mary is a student. She is always spending her time looking into a microscope. She is a peculiar type of student. No one likes her because she studies too much. She will spoil her eyes and soon become blind. She is very sad."

(111) "Fatima was sitting on a chair and remembering her past. When she was young she wanted to become a doctor. But due to her bad luck she could not do so; because when she was young, her father passed away. So it was not possible to become a doctor. There were no finances and also there was nobody to help. She had to earn. So she was hunting for a job. Ultimately she got a job. Her mother found out a boy for her and got her married. So she thought 'What exactly I wanted to do, I could not achieve it. It remained a dream. It did not come true. If I had been a boy, it might have come true.' Hence she sat on the chair and was remembering it."

These stories confirm the qualitative differences in the concept of FOS between the boys and girls.

FOS: Level of Achievement

The results obtained had revealed opposite trends for the two sexes, as far as level of achievement and FOS was
concerned. In the case of boys, high achievement was associated with FOS; on the other hand, low level of achievement was associated with FOS for the girls. Some plausible explanations can be offered for these conflicting results. The hypothesis put forward had indicated a positive relationship between low level of achievement and FOS, implying that in general, a high motive to avoid success would lead to performance decrement. However, this was not completely validated. Though the results in the case of the girls did reveal this trend, it did not reach statistical significance. These results can be attributed to the fact that achievement in a college environment is one facet of success which is not socially tabooed for girls. Several girls, in fact do extremely well in colleges, getting ranks and distinctions. Fleming (1973) has stated that it appears that classroom-like conditions are insufficient to engage the motive to avoid success, perhaps because the classroom is one situation where it is perceived to be appropriate for women to excel. This interpretation is consistent with many reports that women are encouraged to do well in school (at least to a point) and that they do in fact excel in the classroom (Komesovsky, 1939; Minor, 1949).

Srinivas (1978) commenting on the changing position of Indian women, states that in India, an intimate link exists between female education, marriage and caste. One consideration that appears extremely relevant is that a girl ought not
to be more highly educated than her husband. Parents want their daughters to get only so much education as will give them the utmost in the marriage market. Sometimes this means that girls have to be educated enough to have a job, as increasingly, young men from the middle classes prefer to marry such girls. The cost of urban living has made them realize that two incomes are better than one.

The pressure to get women educated is part of the process of securing good husbands for them. Colleges and Universities provide respectable waiting places for girls who wish to get married. Among the urban middle class belonging to the higher castes, the possession of a basic degree, is now, regarded as essential to get a 'good' groom. But as a girl gets more and more educated, her connubial circle narrows, as there is an implicit rule which is only rarely broken, that the boy ought to be at least as highly educated as she is (Srinivas, 1978).

Thus the classroom is one of those safe settings where it is perceived to be appropriate for women to do well. Perhaps, success is condoned when it is instrumental to attaining appropriate goals such as getting into college or enabling one to be in a position to find a good husband.

Fleming further states that "the contingencies of Fear of Success arousal may seem to be somewhat elusive — what Alper calls 'now-you-see-it-now-you-don't' effect (Alper, 1974).
But although the condition under which Fear of Success is aroused sounds unstable and not much like a motive, this proviso quality is exactly how motives do operate—they become engaged and influence behaviour provided certain conditions of subjective expectancies are met. This aspect of motive arousal is perhaps most clearly illustrated by Fear of Success because it operates in non-obvious ways that lead to confusion unless the interactional nature of motives, situations and expectancies is clearly understood. I should mention here that Fear of Success is not a trait in the sense that it is regnant in one's hierarchy of responses and exerts a generalized influence on behaviour. Though a stable characteristic of the personality, it remains latent until aroused. (Fleming, 1975).

It appears then, that in the case of girls, the FOS being shown in this study may be a latent factor, not yet aroused; yet a stable personality factor likely to reveal itself outside the college environment especially when careers and career aspirations are considered. This assumption was justified when the Group Discussions and Career Decision sessions administered during the intervention programme were analysed. Most of the girls exhibiting high FOS had very low career aspirations, if at all they planned a career. They wanted to be good housewives and condemned 'working girls' who were satisfying their 'individuality' at the cost of their family and marriage. They felt that being acknowledged as good
mothers and good wives should be the ultimate aim of all women. This was, despite the fact, that they were highly intelligent and were doing well in college. When they spoke of careers, they chose very sex-typed careers and positions which were subordinate to others: examples are lab technicians, nurses, computer punch operators and not computer programmers or on the managerial side of any organization.

These results are in keeping with other research findings. Parker (1972) comparing FOS-present and FOS-absent women found that women high in FOS considered a home and family more important and a personal professional career less important. Robison (1974) reported that subjects with FOS were more likely to have family centered future goals vs. career centered goals than subjects without FOS. Similarly, in Schwenn's study (1970), on the educational and career aspirations of girls who were high on MAS, she reported that most of the subjects had future plans in more traditional, appropriately feminine and less ambitious careers i.e., to work for a politician instead of being a politician, to teach instead of going to law school, to become a housewife instead of any number of things. The results here, seem to correspond to the research reports of the West. Thus these girls seem to be doing well in college, but very few would go on to make use of their potential, outside the college environment, in careers and employment where success would be frowned upon. Taylor (1980) also reports higher levels of vocational indiscernment among
women scoring high on Fear of Success.

In the case of the boys, high FOS was correlated to high achievement. Interviews with these high FOS scorers, who were also high achievers revealed that they were questioning the concept of success itself. The qualitative analysis of their stories substantiated this finding. This was especially true in the faculty of Medicine. All those students, who were high achievers, felt that in general, success was being equated with wealth and power in the present times and that this was a wrong presupposition. According to them, success did not mean 'accumulating money'; rather, being accepted as a 'good doctor' and being appreciated by their patients who had faith in them, were signs of success. They felt that the world had become increasingly materialistic, where money and influence alone fetched you 'success'. This feeling was especially prevalent in the professional colleges, and all those boys with high FOS felt that instrumental competence was futile.

An example of a story written by a high achiever clearly epitomizes this questioning of the evaluation of success:

Suresh is on his way to the Chemistry lab. He meets his cousin brother who is a graduate. Suresh tells him that he is in a hurry. The cousin brother tells him that it is useless to study and do well in this world. He had finished his studies and done well, three years back and he could not get any job, because he was poor. Nowadays you progressed not by doing well but by having money - it did not matter how you got the money. Suresh heard all this and lost all his interest in going to the lab. Practicals are very hard and after taking so much trouble, it would be useless. There was no future in degrees. He thought 'I will be gaining nothing, on the other hand, I will be losing my three years' - so Suresh was late on that day.'
For a high achiever, success is more of a reality than it is for a low achiever. This may be the reason why boys, who are high achievers seem to be suffering from FOS.

The difference in the mean FOS scores for the high and low achievers had not been statistically significant when the entire group was considered. One explanation for this may be sought in the curvilinear relationship between MAS and level of achievement. As Atkinson (1978) states, different levels of subjective $P_e$ have varying effects on the motive. Thus if $P_e$ were to be plotted on the abscissa and MAS on the ordinate, we would have the high achievers for whom $P_e$ is very high at one extreme and low achievers for whom the $P_e$ is very low at the other extreme. The resulting curve would be curvilinear implying that the motive to avoid success which produces inhibition and decrement in performance would be most strongly aroused when the $P_e$ was intermediate. This curvilinear relationship has also been postulated by Trosenmer (1977) who asserts 'Considering the high caliber and thus generally high achievement motivation in Horner's experiment, a curvilinear effect may indeed be found - the 'fear of success' effect being most prominent in neither very high nor very low achievement motivation groups but in the mid range. This is where 'success' is neither assured nor impossible but at the tantalizing limit of one's reach.' While Trosenmer spoke about the curvilinear relationship between $nAch$ and FOS, the same can be applied to achievement and FOS, since in this
group of subjects, the correlation between nAch and level of achievement was significant at the .01 level of significance.

Working under this assumption, the MAS would be nearly the same for both the high and low achievers, as $P_\theta$ would be at the extremes; thus yielding non-significant differences in FOS between these two levels of achievement. The type of relationship between level of achievement and MAS would be apparent only when a third group - the average achievers for whom $P_\theta$ is intermediate was considered.

To check the existence of this curvilinear hypothesis, an additional hypothesis was therefore set up which stated that average achievers would have the highest FOS scores, compared to the high and low achievers; since in terms of achievement motivation theory (Atkinson, 1978) these average achievers would have a $P_\theta$ around .50 and would be most strongly aroused in terms of achievement inhibition.

To test this hypothesis, a group of 36 subjects belonging to all the 5 faculties and both the sexes were assessed for FOS using the verbal leads. Details of the sample are presented in Appendix Q. The FOS scores were correlated with the TAT story length using the product-moment correlation and the correlation obtained was .46 and therefore the FOS scores had to be corrected, using the formula advocated by Horner and Fleming (1977). These corrected scores, when compared with the scores of the high and low achievers yielded
an F ratio of 6.103 which was significant (Table 19). Further tests revealed that the average achievers differed in their FOS scores from both the high and low achievers, with the average achievers scoring the highest.

Summing up, the results of this study indicate that the two groups, high and low achievers do not actually differ in their FOS, when the entire sample is considered. However, the two sexes show opposite, and in the case of boys, significant trends. High achievement in the case of boys and low achievement in the case of girls is correlated with high FOS.

It would be interesting to cite here, the results of Fyans Jr., Salili, Meehr and Desai's (1983) study on the cross-cultural exploration into the meaning of achievement. Using the semantic differential technique, the authors investigated the meaning of 'achievement' across different cultures. Analysis of these results indicated the generalizability of a factor of 'achievement' across cultures. This concept of achievement was decidedly masculine in orientation and was conceptually linked to success and power.

However, cultural variations were wide with regard to the instrumental activities related to achievement. The authors compared cultures who scored high and low in terms of this 'general' factor and interestingly enough, India (Mysore, Bangalore), from which the sample for the present
study is selected was among the lowest scoring cultures on this factor. The results of these analyses revealed that the high scoring cultures tended to see success as associated with self, initiative, freedom, education and work. For the low scoring cultures, the meaning of success took on a different, almost contrasting form. With reference to reward, the high scoring cultures stressed the future, the low scoring cultures stressed tradition.

With regard to education, different meaning for groups scoring high and low emerged. Low cultures apparently viewed education as confirming the old ways rather than ushering in the new.

Moreover, low cultures viewed Competition and Champion in a negative fashion. Competition was associated with punishment and sin, Champion with fear and defeat.

With regard to sex roles, the high scoring cultures associated achievement with masculinity. The low scoring cultures associated it with femininity. This, according to the authors was as perplexing as it was intriguing. The authors conclude that there are what might be appropriately called different forms of achievement motivation associated with the goals that might be held; and it is a person's perception and definition of achievement and the achievement situation that counts.
FOS : Faculty

The analyses (Table 19) had revealed that the subjects of the five faculties of Arts, Science, Commerce, Medicine and Engineering differed significantly in their FOS scores, with the students of Medicine reporting the highest FOS. When the two sexes were studied separately, the findings seemed to indicate that the girls did not differ on their FOS scores across faculties; while the mean FOS scores of the boys across faculties was statistically different with the medical and commerce students reporting the greatest amount of FOS. Sex differences in FOS, within each faculty were also evident in the faculties of Arts and Commerce, with girls scoring higher than the boys.

Trying to explain this high incidence of FOS in medical students, a conflict between nAch and nAff may be posited. Success goes along with achievement and since one of the consequences of achievement/success is loss of friends and social rejection, the need to affiliate gets thwarted. Thus when nAch and nAff are both high, the conflict arises, leading to FOS. Of the different faculties included in this study, Medicine is the only one where nAff is as important as nAch. One cannot be a good doctor, if one cannot get along well with people. This fact was also verbally expressed by the students of the medical faculty, during the intervention programme. Since both those motives are high in those students, it may explain the reason as to why they exhibit the highest FOS.
The analyses, presented in Table 19 also indicates that subjects who have a high need to achieve as well as a high need to affiliate reveal high FOS.

Research in India has revealed that, the demand for educated wives, the growing economic crises and the realization that education builds up personality have encouraged the spread of women's education. The usefulness of giving education to girls so that they may become more eligible as marriage partners as well as for taking up employment if such a need arises in the family, has now been recognized. As a result the number of women enrolling in colleges is increasing.

The faculty-wise enrollment of women however highlights the fact that though women are given education, it is hardly that education which qualifies them for employment. At the University level, women are still predominant in the 'traditional' faculties of Arts, Education and Medicine (S.N.D.T., 1981). In the recent years, with the need for employment becoming a financial necessity, the enrollment in the faculties of Science and especially Commerce have been increasing, because education in those faculties provides job opportunities in the accepted traditional feminine jobs of secretaries, typists and clerks (I.C.S.S.R., 1975).

Relating the above trends to the present study, since girls with high MAS have been found to be family oriented and
tend to take up traditionally feminine jobs when and if the need arises, they may flock to the faculties of Arts and Commerce which are 'feminine oriented' and this may explain the sex differences in FOS evidenced in these faculties. However no attempt is made to state any cause-effect relationship between MAS and choice of faculty.

With regard to the boys, the results indicated that those in the faculty of Medicine had the highest FOS scores. These results may give credence to the findings of Hoffman (1974) and others who report a rise in the percentage of boys scoring high in FOS and whose stories revealed a questioning of the very concept of 'success'. In the present study as well, interviews with the high FOS scorers, in the faculty of Medicine indicated that these boys were skeptical as to the evaluation of success in today's society.

Considering the three major independent variables of this study together: the sex of the subject, the level of achievement and the choice of faculty, - the results reveal that the girls, by and large, irrespective of the level of achievement or faculty, seem to fear success. However, in the case of the boys, faculty and level of achievement seem to determine the presence of FOS. High achieving boys from the faculty of Medicine seem to be most prone to fear success, may be because for them, success is a real possibility and this success conflicts with their already high need for affiliation. All these results reinforce Weinreich-Haste's
(1978) contention that the concept of FOS with regard to the
two sexes is not only quantitatively different but also qualit-
tatively different. While boys tend to question the concept
and evaluation of success, girls are anxious about success
itself, and its negative consequences for them.

FOS: A motivational problem

FOS, as a construct, was postulated by Horner (1978),
within the framework of the Expectancy x Value theory of
achievement motivation (Atkinson, 1978) to explain inconsist-
ent sex differences in need for achievement literature. From
the standpoint of the definition of a motive as a learned
expectation of change in affect, aroused by either internal
or external cues, McClelland (1953), McClelland et al. (1958),
Atkinson (1958) and others developed the theory of achievement
motivation. Responsiveness to cues which cause a change in
affect, contingent upon doing well was thought to be attribut-
able to a characteristic need to achieve in a person. On
the basis of responsiveness to such cues, achievement moti-
vation was differentiated from the other motives, operating in
the organism. A review of literature revealed sex differences
in nAch and these findings have been corroborated by the
present study. In this investigation as well, boys and girls
differ in their nAch scores, both at the conscious (question-
naire score) as well as at the unconscious (projective cue
scores) levels, with boys showing a higher need for achieve-
ment. The research reports available, where a direct
comparison of nAch levels in boys and girls has been made, have shown differing trends. Veroff, Wilcox and Atkinson (1953) found higher nAch scores in the case of girls when the TAT type test was administered, under neutral conditions. However, this was true only when both the sexes wrote stories for male pictures. When boys wrote for male cues and girls for female cues (as in the present study), boys scored higher on nAch scores. In India, Sinha (1967) using self describing essays for assessing nAch, found male students to have higher mean nAch scores than females. Chaudhary (1972) using a sample of secondary school students from Punjab and Lyngdoh (1975) using a college sample of students from Meghalaya found the girls showing considerably higher nAch scores than boys, while Desai (1970) found the difference to be in favour of the boys in his Gujarat sample of school students. In Gokulanathan's (1979) study of school students of Assam, he found that the mean score was in favour of girls and that the difference in the means between the boys and girls was statistically significant. However, when the sample was sub-divided according to race, the tribal boys showed a greater nAch score than the girls, although the difference did not reach statistical significance. Nevertheless, the non-tribal girls showed a significantly greater mean score than the non-tribal boys. Choksi (1975) studied IX standard students in Baroda and measured nAch through the TAT, adapted by Mohta (1969). He reported that the mean nAch score of boys was greater than that of girls.
When the present investigation is considered, the results indicated that boys had a higher nAch than girls; likewise high achievers and low achievers differed significantly with high achievers scoring higher on nAch. Faculty-wise differences were also evident. However, there was no interaction between faculty, sex of subject and level of achievement, as far as nAch scores were concerned.

Taking into consideration the two variables of nAch and FOS, all the analyses substantiated the finding that greater the need for achievement, lower would be the FOS. Therefore, a significant negative relationship emerged for these two motives. Those results agree with those cited by Coleman (1974), Deinhardt (1973), Fleming (1974), Groszko and Morgenstern (1974) and Freedberg (1975). Thus the results obtained in this study coincide with the results reported in most other studies i.e., there exists an inverse relationship between need for achievement and the motive to avoid success. Orlasky (1979) evaluated Tresemer's (1976a) hypothesis that high FOS scores were associated with low achievement behaviour only among women who also exhibit low nAch and found support for the hypothesis. The group expected to be experiencing the greatest amount of conflict over success, i.e., high on both FOS and nAch exhibited the most achievement behaviour.

Orlasky proposed an explanation for those results, i.e., this group may have been most aware of the societal pressures and may have therefore developed adequate coping mechanisms.
When the existence of a curvilinear relationship between nAch and FOS, as postulated by Tresomer (1977) was checked, the conclusions arrived at seemed to imply that low nAch scorers had the highest FOS, with average nAch scorers having average FOS scores and high nAch scorers exhibiting the least FOS. The hypothesis of a curvilinear effect had therefore to be rejected. Similar results had been obtained by Tresomer (1977) when he had reanalysed Horner's original results. Horner had claimed that FOS was especially debilitating to highly competent women, women who were highly achievement oriented, creative and productive. Tresomer (1977) claimed that at a time when the progress of equal rights for women was being measured by the percentage of positions of power (company presidents, management, or rank-and-file employed) held by women, Horner's claim was shocking. It meant that just those women who could be attaining such positions were suffering from internal conflicts about their potential success. Tresomer further added that the finding from the reanalysis, that it was the low nAch scorers who had the highest FOS, was more pedestrian - that is, it was more culturally acceptable that women (and men) who were not particularly achievement oriented in the first place might be more vulnerable to the negative effects of FOS, in an arousing testing setting. Tresomer also stated that if these results had been presented earlier, the notion of FOS would have had much less of an impact on the public.
However, in answer to this criticism and in explanation to the obtained results, Fleming (1977b) stated that this finding was just what might have been predicted from the expectancy value theory. According to her, it agreed with the other studies in which the interaction of high FOS and low nAch improved prediction (Berens, 1976; Fleming, 1974) and she addressed the implications of these results on Horner's assumptions.

First, Horner's original guiding assumption was not that FOS is especially debilitating to highly competent women, but that it was more strongly aroused among them. In motivation research, she stated, these two issues may overlap, but are not synonymous. Describing the effect of a motive as 'debilitating' refers to its behavioural impact. While motive arousal can imply a behavioural significance, it usually refers to the situational cues that heighten the existing levels of motivation (McClelland et al., 1953). In the sense that able/achievement oriented women may often find themselves in situations that intensify this dynamic conflict, Horner's assumptions may have merit. In support of this, Fleming cites the high incidence of FOS imagery as an indication of the level of conflict arousal. There has been a tendency for very high levels of FOS imagery to occur among women at elite, highly competitive colleges such as 89% in Wellesley (Alper, 1974), 88% at Radcliffe (Prescott, 1971), and 62% at the University of Michigan (Hoffman, 1974). Caballero, Gilos and
Sheaver (1975) have suggested that the bright, competitive women who end up in high pressure environments may become faced with a peculiar set of cross pressures that result in a heightened saliency of achievement-related conflicts and an arousal of fear of success. Horner herself tried to explain this inverse relationship between FOS and nAch by proposing that the presence of FOS inhibits the expression of achievement imagery, in the projective measure of MS. Thus, the projective measure would not be able to discriminate between subjects who scored high in nAch from those who scored low in nAch but also high in FOS. Fleming (1977b) on the basis of elaborate reanalysis of various research results, reports that these motives have substantial independent effects (in opposite directions) that may overlap. Her results also give credence to Horner's proposal that the expression of achievement motivation in women may become inhibited by the concurrent arousal of fear of success.

In sum, then, the results of the present study evidence a statistically significant, inverse relationship between the motive to succeed and the motive to avoid success.

With reference to the motivational variable of need for affiliation, sex differences in this motive had been substantiated in several studies (Crandall and Rabson, 1960; Crandall, Dewey, Katkovsky and Preston, 1964; Hoffman, 1972; Maccoby, 1966; Walberg, 1969). All those studies have reported greater affiliative striving among girls when compared to boys.
According to Hoffman (1972), the early socialization experiences of boys and girls teach them to use different methods to obtain reinforcements. Boys learn that independence and mastery over tasks that require skill will lead to reinforcement. Girls on the other hand, learn that the most effective way to obtain reinforcement is to seek the help and approval of others. Because affiliation rather than achievement becomes the primary source of girls' reinforcement, girls develop stronger affiliative needs than boys. In Hoffman's view, even when girls do express achievement striving, it is out of a desire to please rather than to succeed.

The results of this study, proved conclusively that the girls of this sample as well, expressed a much greater need to affiliate than the boys, and these results are in keeping with previous results.

With regard to FOS, all the analyses revealed that a positive, highly significant relationship existed between the two motives - the MAS and the need for affiliation, indicating that subjects who were high in nAff were also high in FOS. These findings bear out with those of previous studies (Fleming, 1974; Stewart, 1975) which also revealed a positive relationship between these two motives.

This positive relationship obtained, validates the hypothesis drawn up, which stated that there would be a significant relationship between nAff and FOS. This
relationship is what is to be expected. One of the negative consequences responsible for the development and manifestation of FOS is 'social rejection because of success'. Recalling the definition of FOS - 'the motive to avoid success can be conceived as a disposition to (a) feel uncomfortable when successful in competitive (aggressive) achievement situations because such behaviour is inconsistent with one's femininity, an internal standard and (b) to expect or become concerned about negative consequences such as social rejection following success in such situations.' It is evident that only for an individual who has high nAff will social rejection act as a 'negative consequence' and that is why a positive correlation can be expected, and has been obtained ($r = 0.468$, significant at the .001 level of significance) between these two motivational predispositions.

When an effort was made to see as to what combination of need for achievement and need for affiliation resulted in FOS, the results revealed that subjects with high nAch/high nAff and low nAch/high nAff manifested the greatest amount of FOS, in comparison to the other two combinations of these motives - the high nAch/low nAff and low nAch/low nAff. Thus subjects who were high on both the motives - the motive to succeed and the motive to affiliate - exhibited FOS. A plausible explanation for this finding is that FOS may be a result of a conflict between these two motives. This explanation was also offered when trying to understand as to why the students of
the faculty of medicine revealed the highest FOS. Kornadt, Eckensberger and Emminghause (1980) state that it is possible that success itself is not feared, but instead certain consequences of success are feared. Achievement is desired, what is feared is missing the goal of a different motive e.g., the approval motive. In such circumstances, they add, a conflict between these two different motives would be present. In any overlapping of two motives, the possibility of conflict would be inevitable.

Sorrentino (1974) has also offered an explanation. He showed that 'overmotivation' - need to achieve along with a need to affiliate - led to performance decrements in a Together situation (i.e., when both boys and girls worked in the same room) when compared with an Alone condition (when the girls worked in the room, by themselves), a parallel to Horner's experiment. Thus, too many positive or approach programmes or tendencies can be debilitating, pulling the person in too many directions at once. Negative ideation as found in the TAT-type stories is then explained as an anxiety in response to the more basic process of conflict between primary motives. This explanation of a 'conflict' seems to be further justified by the nearly zero FOS score obtained by the high nAch/low nAff scores.

Subjects low in nAch and high in nAff also revealed FOS in this study. This may be attributed to the fact that success is often found at the cost of affiliation and therefore
to resolve the conflict, the need to achieve is suppressed in these individuals, leading to a low nAch. However, further research is needed to clarify as to why some subjects express both the motives while others suppress their nAch, when both procedures lead to FOS.

The idea that FOS is a motivational problem, was further substantiated when the results of the step-wise regression were considered. The two motives - nAch and nAff were found, in combination, to explain the maximum amount of variation in FOS.

**FOS : Anxiety**

The very construct of FOS connotes an anxiety over success, and presupposes the inhibitory influence of this anxiety on performance. Therefore the hypothesis put forward stated that anxiety and FOS would be positively related.

However, the results obtained in this study appeared contradictory. When the responses of the entire sample were analyzed, the two variables appeared to be totally unrelated, as shown by the nearly zero correlation and $F$ ratio. When the two sexes were studied separately, a different picture emerged. For boys, anxiety was negatively related to FOS, while for girls it was positively related. Thus, in the case of boys, the lower the FOS, greater was the anxiety; in the case of girls, the hypothesis postulated was verified. The relationship was positive and therefore, it indicated that greater the FOS, greater would be the anxiety. These findings
seemed to further justify the idea that boys and girls differ not only quantitatively but also qualitatively on this inhibitory motive.

Trying to relate these findings to previous literature, we can detect a trend of inconsistent results. Coles and Mausner (1974) reported a significant negative correlation between FOS, as measured by Horner et al.'s 1973 measure, and a self-report measure of situational anxiety. Fleming (1974) undertook the task of determining the relationship between anxiety and FOS for boys and girls separately and she reported a non-significant correlation for boys and a negative correlation for girls. Similar findings were reported by Jordan (1973). The trend indicated that in the case of women, the correlation between these two variables was negative.

However, O'Connell (1980) reported a positive correlation for both boys and girls, as did Pappo (1973) and Good and Good (1973).

In the present investigation, with regard to the total sample, the non-significant results obtained coincide with Deinhardt (1973), Groszko and Morgenstern (1974), House (1973), McGuiness (1974) and Short and Sorrentino (1974) who all reported non-significant results.

One explanation can be offered for the conflicting findings obtained here. The concept of FOS differs markedly between the two sexes. For girls, success itself has a
negative valence and therefore is accompanied by anxiety. Hence a positive relationship is apparent between these two variables. In the case of the boys, success is not tabooed—rather there is a new awareness as to what the concept of success really means and it is this aspect which is being questioned by the boys of this sample. Even if they do 'succeed' there will be no negative sanctions from society and hence the question of 'fear' or 'anxiety' does not arise. These results therefore raise a fundamental question. Is the concept of FOS essentially the same and therefore viable for the two sexes? The results of this study reveal that it is not so. Not only are there quantitative and qualitative differences in the TAT-stories, but the variables related to this concept also differ for the two sexes. If this is so, then the measurement of FOS for boys is under doubt. Horner and Fleming (1977) developed the scoring system, using only girls in their sample, and it may be this fact that is leading to these conflicting results. An inclusion of a sample of boys when developing the empirically based scoring system may clear the confusion that now exists.

Linking the results of this study to level of achievement, boys who were high achievers were the ones found to be manifesting high FOS. Since 'success' is the expected norm, they are accepted by society. It is no wonder then, that they do not suffer from anxiety. They are exhibiting FOS in their evaluation of success, and that may be the reason why the trend
of the relationship between anxiety and FOS is negative for them.

When the GHQ and Neuroticism scores were considered, the analyses implied that FOS scores were totally unrelated to psychological morbidity and neuroticism, for the entire sample as well as for the boys and girls; though in keeping with the findings of the Anxiety scores, the two sexes showed opposite trends. The explanation may be, that the GHQ is a screening device used in the clinical set up to measure deep-rooted psychiatric maladjustment. FOS is a motivational problem and these results seem to imply that it is not really linked to psychological morbidity. Hence, the GHQ cannot differentiate between high and low FOS scorers. Subjects who score high on the GHQ are showing maladjustment of a severe nature, which may be attributable to personality deficiencies and environmental conditions, and not to FOS. This interpretation is further substantiated by the fact that high scores on the GHQ are positively related to anxiety, neuroticism, low level of achievement, conservatism, externality in locus of control orientation, low need for achievement, low socio-economic status and greater number of siblings (Rao and Murthy, 1983). Hence the GHQ score appears to indicate a general maladjustment while FOS appears to be a motivational problem. Hence the results indicate that FOS is not a severe problem requiring psychiatric care and aid.

A similar interpretation can be offered for the
Neuroticism scores. Subjects high on FOS are therefore not emotionally unstable and neurotic.

FOS: Psychological Androgyny

The hypothesis that psychological androgyny is related to mental health has received increased attention in the psychological literature. Androgynous individuals, in contrast to sex-typed individuals have been shown to have significantly higher levels of self-esteem (Spence, Helmreich and Stepp, 1975; Bem, 1977) and to be significantly higher in level of adjustment as defined by the degree of role consistency (Heilbrun, 1976).

The hypothesis postulated for this study was that psychologically androgynous individuals would manifest lower FOS. The results obtained have verified the hypothesis, since the androgynous subgroup had the lowest FOS scores and the Feminine subgroup had the highest. These results are in keeping with expectations. The concept of androgyny was put forward by Bem (1974), to describe an individual who was both masculine and feminine, both assertive and yielding, both instrumental and expressive, depending upon the situational appropriateness of these various behaviours. Bem further stated that because of their rich repertoire of behavioural responses, such individuals could adapt better to situational demands than sex typed individuals.

The results obtained in the present study agree with those
cited by other investigators as well. Gayton et al. (1978) examined the relationship between FOS and psychological androgyny and their results indicated that androgynous subjects reported significantly lesser FOS than feminine or undifferentiated subjects. These findings therefore seemed to suggest that psychological androgyny was associated with dealing effectively with possible perceived negative consequences of success. FOS has been hypothetically related to a more conventional sex-role orientation in women, since success is inappropriate and tabooed for the feminine sex role.

However the analysis of the results of the two sexes, once again reinforces the idea of the differential impact of FOS based on the sex of the subject. In the case of the boys, subjects who had an androgynous sex-role orientation seemed to manifest significantly lower FOS scores when compared to boys with a feminine sex-role orientation. This is as hypothesized. The Feminine stereotype does not incorporate 'success' in its image, and therefore these individuals exhibit FOS.

When the responses made by the girls are considered, it is evident that all the sex-role categories show some presence of FOS and that these scores do not statistically differ amongst themselves. However, the trend does reveal that Feminine subjects show the greatest FOS. Jones (1977) also reported that contrary to previous predictions, women with an androgynous sex role did not differ from women with other sex-role orientations, where FOS was considered.
No statistically significant sex-role orientation effects emerged when King (1977) studied the effects of sex-role preferences on the expression of FOS in females. Steckler (1973), also cited results that indicated no relationship between the total FOS '73 score and sex-role identification as measured with the BSRI.

Summarizing all the results, we find that on the whole, androgyny does result in lower FOS. This is particularly true in the case of the boys. Those results suggest that psychological androgyny may be associated with minimizing the anxiety from the perceived negative consequences of success. The discomfort associated with success may result from the perception of success as a masculine behaviour. If so, androgynous subjects could be expected to manifest lesser FOS because of less discomfort since they have incorporated the values and behaviours of both the sexes into their behavioural repertoire.

In the case of girls, sex-reversed or masculine girls seem to be predominantly greater in number in the low FOS group, while feminine or sex-typed girls seem to predominate in the high FOS group. The same explanation holds good here as well. Since success is equated with masculinity, girls who have adopted cross-sex behaviours show less discomfort. Thus on the whole, Bem's (1976) findings that androgynous subjects are more comfortable than sex-typed subjects when performing cross-sex activities is consistent with this interpretation.
A mention can be made here of Adler's (1924) concept of 'masculine protest'. Adler observed that in the European culture women were usually regarded as inferiors. This cultural attitude towards women, that is in effect that she is not the equal of man, led to the psychic expression of this inequality in the form of the 'masculine protest'. Adler gave the protest, the epithet 'masculine' since all the struggling, the eagerness to be first in competition with others, the strife for power which characterized the mind-current had to do with qualities that were customarily called 'masculine'. According to Adler, we come across this protest among women who inwardly rise up against their position as women, and he saw a hidden desire to escape the position of women. Women since the earliest days of civilization have been placed in a subordinate position; one might almost say that the feeling of inferiority throughout centuries has enmeshed womanhood itself and now burdens the whole sex. A girl becomes aware of this disadvantage as soon as she experiences the condescending airs and disdain with which her brothers talk 'of girls not being any good'. Such talk awakens a desire to outshine them, and in this very fact is the foundation laid in the girl for a conflict with her own nature. The protest which should be directed against what is fallacious in the opinion, instead gets directed against the nature of womanhood itself. The degrading sex-role stereotyping dictated by culture and tradition make life a difficult adjustment as her conflicts are either heightened or reduced,
depending upon the attitudes of others and the degree to which she is accepted or rejected in the culture.

**POS: Locus of Control**

The concept of locus of control as an important psychological variable has gained momentum in psychological research, and has been linked to several variables - academic achievement and motivation being just two. Locus of control, a concept advocated by Rottor (1966) deals with an important belief system inherent in an individual's mode of thinking - viz., the extent to which the individual believes that he is self motivated, directed or controlled (internal frame of reference) or to the extent to which he believes that the environment (luck, fate, chance, powerful others) plays a dominant role in influencing his behaviour and the reward and punishments that he obtains. Formulated within the framework of the social learning theory (1954), it forms one of the elements of a behavioural prediction formula, the other elements being those of situational determinants, reinforcement value and behaviour potentials. Rottor explains the distinction between internal and external control of reinforcement in the following terms:

> When a reinforcement is perceived by the subject as following some action of his own but not being entirely contingent upon his action, then, in our culture, it is typically perceived as a result of luck, chance, as under the control of powerful others, or as unpredictable because of the great complexity of the forces surrounding him. When an event is
interpreted in this way, by an individual we have labeled this a belief in external control. If the person perceives that the event is contingent upon his own behaviour or his own relatively permanent characteristics, we have termed this a belief in internal control.

Analysis of the results of the Internal-External Scale (Valecha et al., 1980) revealed significant sex differences in the construct, for the present sample, with the girls showing greater externality. These results correspond to those cited by other studies (McGinnies et al., 1974; Parson and Schneider, 1974). In the international context, a locus of control/sex role link has been indicated for Australians, Japanese, New Zealand, Swedish and American women (McGinnies et al., 1974) and also for French, German, Indian, Japanese, Italian, Canadian, American and Israeli women (Parson and Schneider, 1974). In virtually all of these countries, it has been observed that women tend to be more externally oriented than men.

A brief examination of the literature regarding this construct shows that the categorization of people in terms of control orientations (internal-external) can add explanatory richness to other forms of social and psychological differentiation.
While inter-sex differentiations involving locus of control are quite common (Deaux and Emswiller, 1974; Joe, 1971; Nicholls, 1975; Sinha, 1972), intra-female sex differentiations are rather scarce. Recent studies (Alper, 1973; Chassia, 1976; Horner, 1970, 1972; Midgley and Abrahm, 1974) have demonstrated the usefulness of considering within-female sex differences, especially in the area of achievement motivation wherein women are supposed to underachieve in competitive situations involving men, not only because of a fear of failure but also because of a FOS. Underachievement because of FOS has been linked with the traditional sex-role socialization of American women (Alper, 1973; Horner, 1970; Lipman-Blumen, 1972) and of American and Australian women (Foathor and Raphelson, 1974). In addition, a link between traditional sex-role socialization and external locus of control has been suggested for Indian women (Sinha, 1972) and for American women (Deaux and Emswiller, 1974).

In the light of all these research findings, it was hypothesized that FOS and externality in locus of control orientation would be positively related.

The results obtained for all the analyses yielded non-significant results. Thus it seems to indicate the locus of control does not differentiate between FOS scores. A cursory glance at the mean scores as shown in Table 20 moreover reveals that internals, in all the three analyses - the total sample, as well as for the boys and girls - had higher FOS scores than
externally oriented subjects, though the difference was not statistically significant. These results therefore substantiated the trend revealed by the correlations, and the hypothesis which had stated that externals would have higher FOS had therefore to be rejected. Thus contrary to previous research findings (Midgely and Abrams, 1974; O'Loary, 1977; Pappo, 1973 and Patty and Shelloy, 1974) the results of this study revealed that there exists no relationship between locus of control and FOS, for this sample of Indian students.

FOS : Conservatism

It had been hypothesized that individuals who were conservative in their attitudes would manifest greater FOS. Results of the analyses indicated that in the case of this group of subjects, conservatism in attitudes did not influence FOS scores. In fact, the trend revealed that FOS scores were higher for the radical group, disproving our hypothesis, though the results did not reach statistical significance.

Several plausible explanations can be put forward to understand these contradictory findings. The first explanation may be that the instrument itself may be measuring a general attitude towards economic, religious, political and social areas whereas FOS is pertinent only to the social area, specifically to sex-role attitudes. Therefore, to test conservatism on the whole may result in the dilution of its effects on FOS. It may be better to test attitudes to this
area of social relationship rather than to attitudes in general.

A qualitative analysis of the items in the questionnaire indicated that most of the items in the area of social attitudes, relate to marriage in general and the place of women in the home. They do not question the fact as to whether women should get married or not, and what are the roles of women; rather the attitudes being tapped here are with regard to intercaste marriage, love marriage, widow remarriage, etc. With so much publicity being given to those controversial topics and with the advent of the mass media, the attitudes of most students, nowadays, to those areas have become more radical and that may be the reason for those nonsignificant results. An individual may have very radical views on widow remarriage, divorce, intercaste marriages etc. and still exhibit FOS in his/her personal striving.

When the responses of the subjects to the two items pertinent to the status of women at home and the roles she should play were separately analyzed, the results revealed that most of the high FOS scorers were quite conservative in their attitudes, thus indicating that general conservatism in attitudes is not linked to FOS, but rather conservatism to the 'Female Role' has a direct impact on the manifestation of FOS.

When the attitudes in each area - social, religious and economic-political - were studied, it was found, surprisingly
enough, that in the case of boys, those who were highly radical in their attitudes towards religion, manifested greater POS. Therefore a positive relationship emerged between these two variables. While religious attitudes, by themselves do not appear to be related to POS, radical views in the area of Religion can be viewed, in the Indian set up, as being indicative of an extremely radical attitude to all areas of life in general. Religious attitudes are highly interrelated to social customs and have a deep bearing on the very attitudes of the Indian people. In India, a lot of effort is being made, at present, to change the attitudes of people towards social/economic and political evils and propaganda is publicizing such events. Thus people may be changing their views to those issues, without actually becoming radical in their thinking. Religious attitudes are not the focus of the present mass media and therefore for an individual to reveal radical attitudes towards religion indicates an overall radicalism. Moreover, in the area of religious attitudes, only one area is being tapped, i.e., whether religious attitudes are necessary for progress or not. Hence it is a homogenous area. In the social and economic-political areas, however, the attitudes being tapped are many and diverse - marriage, widow remarriage, divorce, right to ancestral property, caste system, birth control techniques, sex-education etc. Naturally individuals may have radical ideas towards some issues and be conservative in others, thus diluting the social attitudes score. As all these areas are not pertinent to POS, it may have resulted in non-significant results.
In the case of the boys, the positive relationship between religious attitudes and FOS may be suggestive of a positive relationship between radicalism in general and FOS. The same explanation put forward before, to explain the various results obtained for the other variables holds good here as well. The construct of FOS seems to differ for the two sexes. In the case of boys, it seems to be more of an existential concept where the very evaluation of success is questioned. Society's norms for success do not tally with the individual's personal conception of success. Instrumental competence is not valued by society - rather conformity and material possessions are indicators of success and it is these attitudes which are being rebelled against by the boys exhibiting FOS. For an individual to rebel against society's norms indicates a radical attitude and hence this may be the reason why boys with high FOS have radical attitudes towards religion.

**FOS: Temperament**

The importance of describing the major patterns of behaviour in human subjects have always been recognized by psychologists and the search for the main dimensions of personality have been pursued by many well known figures. A review of literature by Eysenck has led to strong support for a view which recognizes the existence of two very clearly marked and outstandingly important dimensions. These, called the Extraversion-Introversion and Neuroticism dimensions, have been incorporated in the Eysenck's Personality Inventory.
(Eysenck and Eysenck, 1964). The characteristics associated with the Introversion-Extraversion factor are very similar to those associated with Jung's concepts, namely, outgoing, impulsive, uninhibited, sociable tendencies in the extravert versus quiet, retiring introspective tendencies in the introvert.

Based on extensive theory and research, Eysenck postulated that the Introversion-Extraversion dimension is basically one of the balance of cortical excitatory and inhibitory potentials. The introvert has greater excitatory potential relative to inhibitory cortical potential than does the extravert. The balance of cortical potential, affects, among other things, conditionability, with quick and efficient conditionability being associated with introverts and slow inefficient conditioning associated with extraverts. In part because of his conditioning efficiency, the introvert becomes 'over socialized'.

With regard to the present investigation, the correlational analyses had revealed non-significant relationships between extraversion and F06, though, in the case of girls and for the entire sample, the trend was negative implying that the more introverted the individual, greater was the F06. The t ratios obtained were non-significant for the entire sample and for the two sexes. Here again, all the analyses clearly revealed that the introverts had higher F06 scores. These
The review of literature had revealed that children of working mothers exhibited lesser FOS than those of non-working mothers, because these children had models, or less stereotyped images of the female role, who proved that success need not be avoided. Based on these research findings reported, it was hypothesized that maternal employment would be negatively related to FOS.

However, contrary to expectations, the findings of this study revealed that subjects whose mothers were employed manifested greater FOS; and this was especially true of daughters whose mothers were working. Thus these conclusions contradict those of Gibbons and Kopelman (1977), Gilroy et al. (1981), Patty and Shelley (1974), Puder (1976), who all report that daughters of working mothers manifest lower MAS. However, in most of these studies, type of work, duration of work, volitionality, the age of subject when the mother started working, SES etc. all interacted to affect the relationship.

Bakor (1978) and Jordan (1973) reported no difference in the employment patterns of mothers of girls showing FOS and of those not showing FOS. Moreover, Bakor (1978) found that sons, whose mothers were employed had significantly higher FOS scores than those with unemployed mothers. She tried to explain these contrary findings by suggesting an interaction between SES and maternal employment.
In the present investigation, however, daughters of working mothers revealed higher FOS than non-working mothers. In this case, it appears that instead of working mothers appearing as positive models, they appear as negative models. In the light of the Indian culture, these results appear valid. The concept of a 'working woman', especially when there is no financial necessity, has not yet been fully accepted in the eyes of society, even to the present day. Therefore, women who started working, one generation back, for reasons of individual satisfaction, must have faced a lot of hardship and ostracism. This conflict faced by these women in the roles ascribed to them by society, and the roles acquired by nature of their employment, might have had a detrimental effect on the outlook of their daughters, to work in general and success in specific. Expectations of society and what one should and should not achieve and do, influence the motivational aspirations of an individual to a very large extent. Seeing the conflict and hardships faced by their working mothers might have made the subjects fear the consequences of success and this would be especially true of daughters who would identify with their mothers, and expect to experience the same conflicts and frustrations that their mothers had experienced, if they were also successful.

Baker (1978) had postulated an interaction between SES and maternal employment, on the manifestation of FOS. In her results, for male subjects, those with employed mothers had
significantly higher FOS scores when compared to those whose mothers were not working. It was suggested that mother's employment might indicate lower SES of the subjects. In trying to explain why females whose mothers worked, exhibited FOS, Baker (1978) concluded that females with achieving parental role models had greater expectations of achieving themselves, and these achieving models conflicted with socially accepted models of more passive female behaviour.

In the present analysis, as well, the results revealed an interaction effect between socio-economic status and maternal employment. But the findings refuted Baker's (1978) contention that mother's employment would be indicative of a lower socio-economic status and therefore subjects whose mothers were employed would exhibit FOS. In the present study, subjects from the lower SES whose mothers were working had the lowest FOS scores. On the other hand, those who were from the upper socio-economic strata, and whose mothers were employed scored much higher on the FOS score. These results can be explained; it is in keeping with the norms of society for women of the lower SES to work and therefore they experience no conflict between the roles ascribed to them and actually played by them. However, for women of the upper socio-economic classes to work, for reasons which are not motivated by financial constraints, is not yet an accepted fact. Hence, these working women become the cynosure of all eyes. It is these women who experience role conflict and
who therefore transmit these frustrations and fears to their children, especially their daughters who can identify with them.

Considering socio-economic status by itself, the review of literature had revealed that this variable was an important determinant of the level of FOS experienced by the individual.

In the present study, SES as measured by Kuppuswamy's (1962; revised 1981) Scale did not significantly differentiate FOS scores. However, the general trend did reveal that subjects from the upper classes scored more on FOS than the lower class students. These results are consistent with the research reports cited by Breedlove and Cicirelli (1974), Dalsimer (1974) and Horner (1972).

For individuals of the upper socio-economic classes, success is a more 'vivid' and realistic possibility and therefore is more threatening. For individuals of the lower socio-economic strata success usually has no fearful consequences, since the possibility of succeeding is quite low, and as Horner (1978) had postulated, FOS is more likely to be seen in individuals for whom success is within reach. In 'approach-avoidance' gradient terms, the individuals of the upper classes are typically much closer to the threatening goal than individuals of the lower strata.

Horner (1972) in her reanalysis of her original data, found that women scoring high in FOS came predominantly from
the upper middle and middle class homes with fathers who were highly successful. She postulated that these families placed a premium value on competence and independence and according to McClelland and others (1961), this was the type of family background which was most conducive to the development of need for achievement. That SES is an important variable in the field of achievement motivation was reported by Winterbottom (1958), Mehta (1969), Srivastava and Tiwari (1967) and Chaudhary (1972).

Studies conducted by Himmolweit et al. (1952), Rosen (1956), Douvan (1956) and Douvan and Adelson (1958) have indicated that middle class subjects were highly motivated when compared to their working class counterparts.

Kanta (1962) reported that the size of the family and parents income significantly influenced the children's educational aspirations.

De and Priya (1972) found that children of higher economic status had significantly higher levels of achievement motivation when compared to children of low economic status.

Based on their studies, McClelland and others (1961) had found that variations in family type are important as they modify the key factors responsible for the development of achievement i.e., high standards of excellence, warmth and low father dominance seemed to be most likely to have consistent effects on increasing nAch. However, the expression
of nACh was later regarded as inconsistent with the feminine sex-role stereotype for these same individuals, and hence the emergence of FOS. Thus family status did seem to influence FOS.

In this study, as well, the same explanation holds true. Most of the lower SES individuals belong to the Scheduled castes/Scheduled tribes and studies (Ameer Jan, 1983) have shown that these individuals have a lower nACh and are not concerned with achievement and success. Thus the question of avoiding success because of its negative consequences does not arise.

The analysis of results concerning the demographic variable of religion yielded interesting findings. While the F ratios obtained were non-significant, the trend clearly revealed that Christians were more likely to score higher on the FOS than Hindus and Muslims. The correlation also substantiated this finding. The relationship between Christianity and FOS was positive and significant. Further research is needed to explain these results.

Similarly, order of birth did not yield significantly different FOS scores. However, a cursory glance at the mean scores did reveal that 'only children' had the highest FOS score. The trend of the data in Table 19 tends to support the hypothesis that order of birth does affect the extent of manifestation of FOS, though falling shy of the conventionally
accepted level of significance. The trend suggests that FOS is more salient among children who are 'middle born' or 'only' children. This was also true when the samples of boys was studied. However, in the case of girls, 'only children' had the least FOS, while middle born children scored the highest. Previous studies have also reported that only children and first born children showed greater FOS (Fleming, 1974; Jordan, 1973). Trying to determine the indirect influences on need for achievement, Atkinson and Miller (1966), obtained evidence that in the United States, first born children tend to have higher n Achievement, presumably because their achievement oriented parents could set higher standards, be more affectionate etc., with one child than with several. However, in McClelland and others (1966) study of Indian students from Madras, the correlation between n Achievement (verbal) and birth order was positive though non-significant, suggesting that younger children may have higher n Achievement in India. Since order of birth is an important determiner of need for achievement, it will also have its repercussions on the extent of FOS shown.

The results also revealed that size of family was a determiner of FOS, for boys. Smaller the size of family i.e., fewer the number of siblings, greater was the FOS manifested by the subject. Bright (1970) reported a non-significant correlation between number of siblings and FOS. However, Moore (1974) found that FOS was significantly related to
larger family sizes among white females (mean number of children with FOS–present: 3.09, FOS–absent: 2.49, \( F = 2.93^c \)), a relation which held when income and religion were controlled. Among black females, FOS was correlated with smaller families (FOS–present: 2.42, FOS–absent: 3.60) which held when income was controlled and among non–Catholics when religion was controlled. Tomlinson–Keasey (1974) also reported a negative correlation between FOS and number of siblings.

In sum, then, the family background variables do influence the manifestation of FOS. In general, children whose mothers are employed, who belong to the upper socio-economic strata, who are first born or only children and those whose family size is small, are most likely to exhibit FOS. A general picture emerges from these variables. All these are family variables that are conducive to the development of a high need for achievement (McClelland, 1966) and this may be producing the conflict that results in the emergence of FOS.

Recapitulating all the evidence on FOS and its relationship to various psycho-social variables that have emerged from this investigation, we find that sex of the subject is an important determinant of FOS. Faculty of study or occupational choice, level of achievement are all influenced by the FOS score. Subjects manifesting FOS are found to be more anxious, feminine oriented, highly motivated by the need to affiliate, having a low need for achievement, with no particular locus of control, more radical in their attitudes.
and opinions, more introverted, coming from small families, usually first born or 'only' children, with mothers who are working and belonging to the upper SES.

It appears, then, that Fear of Success does operate in accordance with the original hypotheses as put forward by Horner (1978) - as an inhibitor of achievement related performance especially among women. The chain of cognitive associations defined by the scoring system of the FOS, does appear to have meaning, i.e., it is effectively charged for some individuals who have learned a connection (through a series of rewards and punishments) between striving for excellence in unfeminine pursuits and certain negative consequences.

One very significant outcome of this study is that the construct of FOS appears to have a different meaning for the two sexes.

A profile of the female graduate student, strongly characterised by a fear of success would begin by describing her as a woman, who is 'feminine' in her sex-role orientation. The clear picture emerged of a family oriented individual, completely willing to submerge her 'individuality', inspite of her high potential, who showed performance decrement and who had opted for the traditionally female-oriented courses in an attempt to reduce the conflict which would result if she succeeded. These women had very low career aspirations,
were highly anxious, had very high need for affiliation, and
did not express a high need to achieve. They tried to
resolve the conflict likely to be experienced by completely
'dying' career-oriented goals in preference for family
centered goals, and by redirecting their energies into
professions (such as Arts/Commerce) that were more neutral
with respect to sex-role orientation, and hence easier to
integrate with more traditional concerns.

The picture that emerged for the success fearing man
was completely opposed to that of the success fearing woman.
These were high achievers, mostly from the faculty of medicine.
They were radical in their views and the concept of Fear of
Success was more an existential concern about the value of
success, in the present society. These individuals showed
no anxiety, were feminine in their sex role orientation,
belonging to small families, and with a high need to
affiliate and a low need to achieve. They had high career
aspirations and were highly intelligent.

In brief, then, it appears that the contingencies of FOS
arousal are somewhat elusive - what Thelma Alper called the
"now-you-see-it-now-you-don't" effect (Alper, 1974). It
appears that perception of the task as masculine or challeng-
ing is a critical determinant of performance. Makosky (1972)
claimed that women high in FOS had a feminine sex-role
orientation because they performed best on a task described
as feminine. The existence of Fear of Success is evidence of
a conflict between a desire to perform well and the expectation of negative consequences as a result of success-striving. To say that this conflict is resolved by acceptance of the traditional female role is highly oversimplified. The important consideration is that persons characterised by avoidance motives act in ways that arouse the least anxiety. So, although the behaviour pattern may suggest sex role conformity, the underlying conflict motivating such choices precludes the label of sex role preference (Fleming, 1975).

In conclusion, we can quote Fleming (1975) who states that 'although the conditions under which Fear of Success is aroused sound unstable and not much like a motive, this proviso quality is exactly how motives do operate - they become engaged and influence behaviour provided certain conditions of subjective expectancy are met. This aspect of motive arousal is perhaps most clearly illustrated by Fear of Success because it operates in non-obvious ways, that lead to confusion unless the interactional nature of motives, situations and expectancies is clearly understood. I should mention here that Fear of Success is not a trait in the sense that it is regnant in one's hierarchy of responses and exerts a generalized influence on behaviour. Though a stable characteristic of the personality, it remains latent until aroused. The research task, then, is to determine as precisely as possible just which situations do arouse Fear of Success.