Who Am I and Where am I Going: Self and Agentic Action

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Acknowledgements: This research was funded by grants from NIMH, NSF, and NICHD to Eccles and by grants from NSF, Spencer Foundation and W.T. Grant to Eccles and Barber I began my research work on gender and motivation with a quite specific question posed by the National Institute of Education in 1977:

WHY ARE FEMALES LESS LIKELY TO GO INTO MATH AND PHYSICAL SCIENCE THAN MALES? I became increasingly aware, however, that this question is a subset of a much more general question:

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## WHY DOES ANYONE DO ANYTHING?

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  - a framework that sought to incorporate both personal agency and structure

We were greatly influenced by the following theoretical and political perspectives.

## Intellectual Influences: The 60's and 70's

## The cognitive revolution in social psychology

- Rotter Locus of Control
- Bandura Social Cognitive Behaviorism
- Heider, Kelley, Weiner Attribution Theory
- Bandura Self Efficacy Theory

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### And in motivational psychology

- Expectancy Value theorists (e.g., Atkinson; Feather; Heckhausen; Vroom)
- Fishbein and Ajzen Theory of Reasoned Action

BUT Simultaneously: Advent of the Women's Movement Movement of Feminist Perspectives into Academia

Beginnings of women's studies and gender studies

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 Acute awareness of role of socialization in recreating gendered behavior patterns and choice

 Acute awareness of structural barriers to women's life choices Two Aspects of Choosing One's Life Path \* Personal Agency = Picking One's Path \* Expectancy-value models of rational choice \* Identity development

 Structural Forces = Opportunities and Barriers to Picking One's Own Path
 Social forces that shape and restrict one's choices

# Developing a Theory to Explain Gender and Achievement-Related Choices

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WHY ARE FEMALES LESS LIKELY THAN MALES TO GO INTO THE PHYSICAL AND ENGINEERING SCIENCES?

# **Common Explanations**

### Biological Differences

- Brain differences
  - Hemispheric Specialization
    - May be linked to verbal and spatial skills
  - Specialized Sensitivities for Learning and Interests
    - Such as preferences for speech input and faces versus mechnical objects
    - Do not know the actual mechanisms but genetic studies suggest these may be heritable and may be sex-liked
  - Disabilities
    - Learning particular types of materials
    - Social intelligence
    - Anxieties

# Social Experiences

- Family and Peers
  - Role Models
  - Expectations
  - Provision of Differential Experiences

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- Family and Peers
  - Role Models
  - Expectations
  - Provision of Differential Experiences
- Schools and Larger Society
   Differential Treatment
  - Discrimination
  - Differential Teaching Practices for Different Subject Areas

# **Psychological Differences**

- Ability Self Concepts for Different Skill Areas
  Domain Specific Interests and Preferences
  More General Differences in Values and Goals
  Anxieties
- Susceptibility to Stereotype Threat
- Implicit Self Concepts and Stereotypes
- Theories of Intelligence
- Personal and Social Identities
- Expectations of Differential Treatment

Very Difficult to Distinguish These Hypotheses

All are Likely Influences

In addition, People Self-Socialize into the Culturally Approved Social Roles and Niches

## **Final View**

So my colleagues and I wanted to create a comprehensive model to guide our research into the wide range of possible influences on such critical life defining choices as one's occupation.

#### **Eccles et al. General Expectancy Value Model of Achievement Choices:**



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- Focus most on the components of subjective task value.

### Can I Succeed?



Do I want to do the task?

### Can I Succeed?

### Personal Efficacy, Theories of Intelligence; Implicit Self Beliefs

Success Expectations

Activity Choice And Engagement

Subjective Task Value

### Do I want to do the task?



Engagement

Subjective Task Value



Internal/External Comparison

Activity Choice and Engagement

Subjective Task Value





### Subjective Task Value

Activity Choice and Engagement

Interest Value Of Task

### Subjective Task Value

Activity Choice and Engagement

Interest Value Of Task

Self Determination Theory/Interest Theories



## Short and Long Term Goals

Interest Value Of Task

### Activity Choice and Engagement


## Short and Long Term Goals

Interest Value Of Task

### Activity Choice and Engagement

SDT; Utility Value; Attainment Value

Short and Long Term Goals

Self-Schema

Personal and Social Identities Interest Value Of Task Activity Choice and Engagement

Short and Long Term Goals

Self-Schema

Personal and Social Identities Interest Value Of Task

#### Activity Choice and Engagement

What we call Attainment Value

Possible Selves; Identity Theories; SDT;



## Affective Memories Affective Expectations

Activity Choice and Engagement

Self-Schema Personal and Social Identities Short and Long Term Goals

Interest Value Of Task

### Affective Memories Affective Expectations

Stereotype Threat; Implicit Beliefs; Theories of Emotion and Action; Theories of Emotion and Memory

> Self-Schema Personal and Social Identities Short and Long Term Goals

Interest Value Of Task Activity Choice and Engagement



# Subjective Task Value: Cost

- Psychological Costs
  - Fear of Success/Failure
  - Anticipated Anxiety
  - Stereotype Threat
  - Link of Task Demands to Temperamental "Traits" - leading to activation or anticipated activation of fear and anxiety

# Subjective Task Value: Cost

- Psychological Costs
  - Fear of Success/Failure
  - Anticipated Anxiety
- Financial Costs

- Lost Opportunities to Fulfill Other Goals or to do Other Activities (Amy)
  - Implicit Beliefs (Me; Not Me)
  - Theories of Intelligence

# Subjective Task Value: Cost

- Psychological Costs
  - Fear of Success/Failure
  - Anticipated Anxiety
- Financial Costs
- Lost Opportunities to Fulfill Other Goals or to do Other Activities

 Social and Psychological Costs of Punishment or Rejection and of Violating Norms

# **Key Features of Model**

1. Focuses on <u>Choice</u> not on <u>Deficits</u>

 Points Out Importance of Studying the Origins of Individuals' Perception of the Range of Possible Options

# Key Features of Model

 Focuses on the Fact that Choices are made from a Wide Range of Positive Options

2. Focuses on the Hierarchical Nature of Both Expectancies and Subjective Task Values

 These Hierarchies are Labile, Being Influenced by Immediate Social Context, and Developmental Tasks

## How Does This Relate To Gender?



"O.K., you be the doctor, and I'll be the Secretary of Health and Human Services."





Gender and Ability Self Concepts and Personal Expectations

Cultural Stereotypes about Which Gender is Supposed to be Good at Which Skills

 Extensive Socialization Pressures to Make Sure These Stereotypes are Fulfilled

# Gender-Roles and Subjective Task Value

- Different Hierarchies of Core Personal Values
  - a. Concern with Social Goals versus Concern with Power or Achievement Goals;
  - b. Concern with Social Relationships versus concern with Individual Achievement and Status.
  - c. Interest in Things versus Interest in People.
  - d. Interest in Cooperation versus Interest in Competition
- 2. Density of Hierarchy
  - a. Single-mindedness versus Diverse Interests

# Gender-Roles and Subjective Task Value Continued

- 3. Different Long Range Goals
- 4. Different Definitions of Success in Various Goals and Roles.
  - a. What does it take to be a successful father versus a successful mother?
  - b. What does it take to be a successful professional?
  - c. What does it take to be a successful human being?

# Gendered Achievement-Related Choices: STEM

My colleagues and I then used this framework to design a longitudinal study of gendered educational and occupational choices related to the mathematical, physical and engineering sciences.

I have time to give you only a couple of examples of this work.

#### Michigan Study of Adolescent Life Transitions (MSALT)

<u>Waves 1-4</u> Jacque Eccles Carol Midgley Allan Wigfield Jan Jacobs Connie Flanagan Harriet Feldlaufer David Reuman Doug MacIver Dave Klingel Doris Yee Christy Miller Buchanan

## <u>Waves 5-8</u> Jacque Eccles Bonnie Barber Lisa Colarossi Deborah Jozefowicz Pam Frome Sarah Lord Mina Vida Robert Roeser Laurie Meschke

## OVERVIEW OF DESIGN AND SAMPLE: MICHIGAN STUDY OF ADOLESCENT LIFE TRANSITIONS – MSALT

**DESIGN**:

On-going Longitudinal Study of One Birth Cohort Data Collected in Grades 6, 7, 10, 12; and again at Ages 20 and 25 Data Collected from Adolescents, Parents, and School – Most Using Survey Forms

### SAMPLE:

Nine School Districts Approximately 1,200 Adolescents Approximately 90% White Approximately 51% Female Working/Middle Class Background

# **MSALT DESIGN**

Wave	1,2	3,4	5	6	7	8	9
Grade	6	7	10	12	12+2	12+6	12+9
Age	12	13	16	18	20	24	27
Year	83-'84	84-'85	88	90	92	96	99

## **MSALT** Sample General Characteristics

School based sample drawn from 10 school districts in the small city communities surrounding Detroit.

Predominantly White, working and middle class families

Approximately 50% of sample of youth went on to some form of tertiary education

# **Two Basic Initial Questions**

ARE THERE GENDER DIFFERENCES ON THESE SELF AND TASK BELIEFS?

DO THE GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THESE SELF-RELATED BELIEFS MEDIATE THE GENDER DIFFERENCES IN INVOVLEMENT?

# Gender Differences in Ability Self Concepts – 7<sup>th</sup> Grade



# Gender Differences in Subjective Task Value – 7<sup>th</sup> Grade



# Conclusions

 Gender Differences Occur across Several Domains for Both Ability Self Concepts and Subjective Task Values

Gender Differences Emerge Quite Young

But Do These Differences Mediate Gender Differences in Course Taking and Activity Involvement? Predicting Number of Honors Math Classes (sex, DAT) N = 223 (honors students)



#### Predicting Number of Honors Math Classes N = 223 (honors students)



## Predicting Physical Science Class Enrollments



# Predicting # of Physical Science Classes (sex, DAT)



# Conclusion

In this sample, the gender differences in utility value were the strongest mediators of gender differences in math and physical science course enrollments.

A slightly different pattern is emerging for math in the CAB study: Math Ability Self Concept is having a stronger effect.

In this sample, the gender differences in all three expectancy – value beliefs mediated the gender differences in involvement in sports.

# What about College Course Choices?

# **MSALT DESIGN**

Wave	1,2	3,4	5	6	7	8	9
Grade	6	7	10	12	12+2	12+6	12+9
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## Specific Sample Characteristics for Analyses Reported Today

Those who participated at Wave 8 (age 25)
Female N = 791 Male N = 575
Those who completed a college degree by Wave 8

• Female N = 515 Male N = 377
### Sex Differences in College Majors



### Sex Differences in Occupations



### Analyses 1: Between Sex

 Logistic regression to test for mediators of sex differences in college Math/Engineering/Physical Science majors

# Time 1 Measures: 12th Grade

- Math/Physical Science Self-Concept of Ability
- Math/PS Value and Usefulness
- Biology Self-Concept of Ability
- Biology Value and Usefulness
- English Self-Concept of Ability
- English Value and Usefulness
- High School Grade Point Average

## Sex Differences in Domain Specific Self Concepts and Values

#### Self Concept and Value at Age 18 by Sex



### Time 1 Predictors of Physical Science and Engineering College Major



### Time 1 Predictors of Science College Major



### Analyses: Within Sex Discriminant Function Analyses

Use age 20 General Ability SCs and Occupational Values to predict College Major at age 25





### Time 2 Measures: Age 20 Ability-Related

Math/Science General Ability Self Concept
Efficacy for jobs requiring math/science
Intellectual Ability Self Concept
Relative ability in logical and analytical thinking
High School Grade Point Average

**Time 2 Measures: Occupational Values** Job Flexibility Does not require being away from family Mental Challenge Opportunity to be creative and learn new things Working with People Working with others Autonomy ■ Own Boss

### Time 2 Measures: Comfort with Job Characteristics

Business Orientation: Comfort with tasks associated with being a supervisor

People Orientation: Comfort working with people and children

### Sex Differences in Age 20 General Self Concepts and Values



## Sex Differences in Age 20 General Self Concepts and Values



#### Predicting Women's M/E/PS and Biological Science College Major from General Self-Concepts and Values at 20





#### Predicting Men's M/E/PS and Biological Science College Major from General Self-Concepts and Values at 20

Predicting Math/Science vs Other College Major





#### Predicting M/E/PS vs. Biology Major From General Self-Concepts and Values at 20



Intellectual Self Concept Math/Science Self -Concept Final GPA Value Flexibility Business Oriented People Oriented Value Work With People

**Discriminant Function Coefficient for Males** 

### Predicting M/E/PS vs. Social Science Major From General Self-Concepts and Values at 20





#### **Conclusions 1:**

Strong support for the predictive power of constructs linked to the Expectancy Value Model.

 Domain Specific SCs and Values push both women and men towards the related majors

Some evidence that more general values can also push people away from M/S/PS majors and towards Biology-Related majors

Sex differences in selection of M/E/PS college major are largely accounted for by Expectancy Value Model

### **Conclusions 2**

Even stronger support for both the push and pull aspects of the Eccles et al. Expectancy Value Model

Strong evidence that valuing having a job that allows one to work with and for people pushes individuals away from M/E/PS majors and pulls them toward the Biological Sciences

# Applications

Interventions to increase the participation of females in M/E/PS need to focus on increasing women's understanding that M/E/PS and Informational Technology jobs can help people and do involve working with people as well as increasing their confidence in their ability to succeed in these fields.

### What have I Left Out?

Critical roles of parents and teachers

- We have this information on this in this sample and another sample.
- Both are key in shaping gender differences in all aspects of this model.
- On average, these processes reinforce traditional gender role self images and choices.

### What have I Left Out?

- The other psychological and social processes that drive women and men out of non-traditional fields
  - I am particularly interested in the processes that influence interest in and intense passion for particular activities.
    - The role that ongoing emotional experiences play in shaping more stable and enduring interests, "passions", and thus the differential Subjective Task Value of various activities.

### The End

#### Thank You

More details and copies can be found at www.rcgd.isr.umich.edu/garp/