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TOWARDS A CRITICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MACHISMO:
PUERTO RICANS AND MENTAL HEALTH

City University of New York

PH.D.

1981

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TOWARDS A CRITICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MACHISMO:

PUERTO RICANS AND MENTAL HEALTH

by

VICTOR DE LA CANCELA

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
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1981

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1981

This manuscript has been read and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

TOWARDS A CRITICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MACHISMO:
PUERTO RICANS AND MENTAL HEALTH

by

Victor De La Cancela

Advisor: Professor Anderson J. Franklin

The degree of similarity between the social science definition of machismo and the lay Puerto Rican's understanding of the macho construct was examined. Literature regarding this alleged pattern of assertiveness and dominance among Hispanic males was reviewed and prevalent descriptions stated machismo to be pathological, related to unresolved oedipal conflicts and inferiority complexes (Traditional View.) More recent and less well known views claim that "positive" cultural (Culturalistic View) or "negative" socioeconomic (Dialectical View) forces underlie the dynamics of machismo. The present study examined machismo in terms of both its individual and social manifestation, and its ideological function in capitalist society.

Four null hypothesis were tested, they were: H1) The Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo does not significantly affect his interpersonal relationships; H2) The Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo does not significantly affect his concept of parenting; H3) The Puerto Rican male's self-concept or view of himself in the world does not significantly affect his investment in machismo through manifested acts; and H4) There

is no discrepancy between the Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo with that provided by the dominant social science literature.

Forty Puerto Rican subjects, twenty males and twenty females, between 18 and 21 years of age, with no more than a high school education and earning less than \$8,000.00 per annum, were obtained from social agencies in the Boston and Northampton areas of Massachusetts. Subjects were interviewed utilizing an original instrument, the Machismo Attitude and Behavior Questionnaire, which is a combined Likert, true-false statement and open-ended interview schedule which gauged their adherence to Traditional, Culturalist, or Dialectical views of Machismo. Information was solicited regarding the Puerto Rican male's masculine identity, child-rearing experience, male-female relationships, and sense of social alienation. Interviews were conducted in the language of preference of the subject, and completed questionnaires were coded by bi-lingual and bi-cultural raters with 95% inter-rater agreement.

Data was analyzed using SPSS Subprograms Frequencies, Cross-Tabs and N-Par Tests. Confidence levels were set at .05 and all but the first hypothesis were rejected.

Results indicated that the subjects had a working concept of machismo. However, significant differences between male and female perceptions of macho were found: Males saw their similarity to other males primarily in terms of their sense of responsibility as providers/workers while females saw the Puerto Rican male as thinking his similarity to other machos as primarily anatomical. Male-female relationship results indicated generally good friendship of some duration, with mutual sharing evident, as well as good intimate relationships. However, male and female subjects differed, in that females tended to give less positive

reports in this area. In essence, the findings suggested that the macho concept among Puerto Ricans responds to a dialectical view in that what is labelled "macho" is composed of characteristics that may be perceived as positive, negative or contradictory.

Data on parenting indicated that Puerto Rican fathers were important figures in family life and that they had very close relationships with subjects. Fathers were available for aspects of child rearing that transcended stereotypical disciplinarian roles, and had relationships with their children that involved mutual trust and respect. Fathers were described as having an active interest in their children, helping them with schoolwork, playing with them, and teaching appropriate social behavior.

Findings of interest regarding self-concept and macho behavior interaction revealed less stereotypical behavior among Puerto Rican males. Subjects reported that they cried more, shared housework and recognized that their behavior might be construed as more domineering than the Anglo male's.

Data relative to differences between popular concepts of macho and social scientific views showed significant differences. Puerto Rican males are seen as masculine as most other men, no more nor less; and male models were available to Puerto Rican boys during their formative years. Similarities included the male as breadwinner and descriptions of women as housebound. However, these similarities were analyzed and related to the macho emphasis on work and its intimate ties to capitalist society's emphasis on and rewards for male proletariat productivity.

Implications of findings indicated that practitioners with traditional

views of machismo may alienate Puerto Rican clients from seeking services and may actually promote further friction. Dialectical views are seen as providing possibilities for change by exploring contradiction in the macho concept while defining these as common occurrences. Additionally, recognition of social-historical realities hopefully leads to efforts to avoid replicating the social castration of the Puerto Rican male and encourages more personable, present and future oriented, and empowering therapies.

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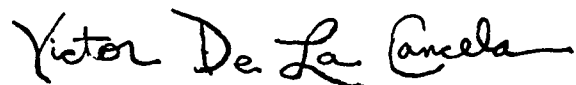
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I take full responsibility for defects in presentation, want of clear exposition and error in translations, formulation, conclusions or recommendations. To the extent that others learn from this report, the credit belongs to all the persons who were part of this collective odyssey.

In solidarity,



Victor De La Canela
Cambridge, Massachusetts
1980

Dedicated to all the men
in my life who taught me love--
papi, Tio Victor y Tio William
to my brothers Edwin and Jose,
to the compañeritos
Eddie, Junior y Zaulo
and to the Puerto Rican men
whose daily revolutionary struggle
is an 'act of love.'

Hermanos dejenme compartir con sigo
todo su llanto
Hermanos dejenme compartir con sigo
todo su felicidad

--from "Brothers" in Walls to Roses
Songs of Changing Men
Folkway Records, 1979

"Listen, man, you from.....wherever you are. Listen, you think you're so macho because you fight with your blood brother--because you get drunk--because you treat women like things. You think you're macho, but I tell you that you're a jerk, because all those things are just what the Anglo enemy wants you to do. He wants you to fight with your own brothers so that you'll be divided and not fight against him, he wants you to get blind drunk so that you won't know what you're doing and then he can do anything he wants with you. And you think you're so macho. If you really were some kind of man, you would be fighting for your people, you would be forming groups...we don't need machos. We need guys with fresh blood and fresh ideas who can go all the way in the struggle, and by any means necessary."

--from "Los Comancheros del Norte:
For Machos Only" in Valdez and
Steiner (1972)

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Since the 1920's Puerto Ricans have been migrating to the United States, bringing with them customs and mores that are not easily accepted by their North American fellow citizens. The responses to their differences have been characteristic of America's response to migratory groups: initial fear and antagonism, then studying their lives in order to better understand them. Unlike the study of other migrant groups, psychology as a field has been slow in undertaking an intensive investigation of the Puerto Rican psyche. Instead psychology has assumed, as have other disciplines, that the Puerto Rican can be easily understood under the aegis of all Latin American groups. Where this error has not been committed, another occurs, namely, the examination of the Puerto Rican's intrapsychic functioning without any regard to the socio-historic conditions which influence, and some would say, shape that psyche. What is surprising is that even the intra-psychic explanations are far from completed, and that indeed they lack the parsimonious thread out of which "scientific" theories are supposedly woven.

As Padilla and Ruiz (1973) point out, this has been true in the study of the machismo construct. Many commentators use the label in explaining patterns of assertiveness and dominance among Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surnamed males without having agreed upon a verbal definition of the construct. Even so, most of the "research" on the

topic tends toward equating machismo with indications of pathology of some variety and contributory to innumerable maladies (Stycos, 1955).

Tharp, Lenhoff, and Satterfield (1968) view the macho as involved in drinking, in extramarital affairs and being oriented towards things outside the family. Penalosa (1968) stated that the behavior syndrome was the result of a deprivation of a constant and secure masculine identification.

Williamson (1970) conceptualized machismo as a kind of reaction formation against guilt and anxiety arising from excessive feminine identification on the part of the male child. Stone (1974) saw it as the explanation behind the bombing of Haiphong and Vietnam by Nixon and his cohorts. This genre of all inclusive thinking regarding machismo is evident in the works of other Anglo authors (Allen, 1974; Furnell, 1974).

There is, however, a small literature that does not dwell on the pathogenic nature of machismo. For example, Rogler (1974) describes the macho by citing the case of a man who worked more than 30 years on the behalf of Puerto Rican migrant workers which resulted in his gaining a reputation as a "macho," this being a positive attribute. Rohrlich-Leavitt (1970) defines macho as an ideal personality type to which men strive, for this is the man who is confident of his inner worth and who expresses this in action. Klapp (1964) sees the macho as a man's man and a woman's ideal beau. Steiner (1974) reports that Carlos Feliciano, a Puerto Rican Nationalist defines machismo as the struggle of humanity, of men and women everywhere for their independence.

Recent literature (Garrison and Thomas, 1976; Hernandez, Haug, and Wagner, 1976; Jimenez, 1978; Martinez, 1978) suggests that machismo traditionally has been portrayed in an ethnocentric and inaccurate manner. According to them, this is because the majority of previous studies have been conducted by non-Hispanics who lacked familiarity with the culture and history, and these studies have also suffered from a lack of research sophistication in that empirical evidence was lacking, analysis was cursory, and that the findings were generalized without appropriate delimitations.

The machismo literature has either focused on the pathological aspects of the macho concept, or has been a reaction to these descriptions. What has been lacking is a structured attempt to explore the concept in its individual and social manifestations. This study will seek to redress some of these shortcomings.

Statement of the Problem

The present study will analyze some important aspects of the machismo construct and attempt to understand them in light of socio-historical, and psychological realities of the Puerto Rican experience.

The problem that this study specifically examines is the degree of similarity between the social scientific construct of machismo, and the Puerto Rican's understanding of it.

This study provides a unique contribution in its endeavor to study machismo from a dialectical perspective.

The particular importance of this study for clinicians lies in

the critical perspective that it will provide about the nature and impact of the male role on the lives of children and females in the Puerto Rican experience. Its goal is to help psychiatric nurses, psychiatric social workers, guidance counselors, school psychologists, clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, and other mental health personnel to better understand the dynamics of the Puerto Rican male and thereby be more adequately prepared for individual, group, family or marital therapy interventions. Likewise, this framework for understanding machismo could also provide helpful insights to those concerned with organizing effective mental health delivery systems in the Puerto Rican community. The advantages of sensitizing providers to the socio-political and cultural aspects of the machismo issue could also include the development of a clinical practice based on dialectical change and not on social adjustment (Adams, 1979). The study could also have implications for other than mental health workers since it includes references and critical analyses of relevance to educators, legislators and scholars of the human condition. In summary, the usefulness and uniqueness of this study is due to the fact that it challenges the ethnocentric nature of previous investigations by operationalizing the construct and employing a dialectical perspective.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of the study will be to provide an empirical evaluation of the machismo construct. It is an exploratory study that seeks to

determine how the role behavior of macho is perceived by Puerto Rican males and females. Furthermore, the purpose of this study is to clarify and explicate the ideological underpinnings of machismo by situating it in its socio-historical context. The specific objectives of the study are:

1) To examine whether Puerto Ricans define macho in ways that contest the dominant literature conceptualization.

2) To explore whether machismo has a dual, interactive, and contradictory definition, that can be understood dialectically.

Rationale of the Study

Since the objectives outlined above employ similar dependence on literature review and interpretation, one rationale will be presented for the combined objectives.

The basis upon which the case can be made that machismo has been misunderstood in general and in particular by psychologists stems from the research on machismo and its relation to psychopathology.

Marina, Maldonado-Sierra and Trent (1958) posit "machismo" as one of the explanations for the high incidence of mental disorders among Puerto Ricans. They state that overly dominating mother-son relationships can lead to future unstable marital relationships.

In a study using intensive psychotherapy interviews with over 35 Mexican-American women, it was observed that the most frequent precipitant to seeking help was the "macho" behavior of males in their families.

From this, Meadow and Stoker (1965) concluded that the macho syndrome consisted of behaviors characterized by physical violence, drinking and pre- and extra-marital acting out. Heller (1967) suggests that the high rates of assault and battery among Mexicans are reflections of machismo. Minuchin (1967) sees the Puerto Rican male involved in adolescent type activities directed against his wife and women in general and views the relationship of the macho to his wife as being an ambiguous son-husband role. Kiev (1972) writes that machismo may express castration fears, dependency needs and inferiority feelings. Aviles-Roig (1973) associates machismo with weekend drinking binges on the part of males in Puerto Rico. Funnell (1974) saw it as reflective of the distance between a father and son and as contributing to the son's difficulty in successfully identifying with his father. Feigen Fasteau (1975) considers macho to be a restrictive and artificially polarized male sex-role stereotype.

Other studies that set a precedent by viewing machismo as an index of adaptive coping in a hostile environment or criticizing the psychoanalytic view of machismo have been reported in the literature.

La Ruffa (1971) claims the American social scientist has made value judgments which have dramatically distorted any analysis of machismo. Sotomayor (1971) states that the patriarchal model of Mexican-American families is looked down upon by American society, and that the very conclusion that these families are non-democratic is a result of inadequate research methods. She posits that the psychoanalytic model classifies the differences it cannot tolerate as pathology. She points

to the colonial status of the Mexican-American and how it influences their routine behavior and families. Further, Sotomayor counters the negative conceptions of the Mexican-American family by enumerating the strengths of the family which include respect for the mother and oldest son roles. Martinez (1973) criticizes the psychoanalytic frame of reference in attempting to explain machismo, as being out of date theoretically, and not taking into account more recent developments in analytic theory. Abad and Suarez (1974) claim that machismo traits are ascribed stereotyped negative values by Anglos, but that they are highly valued by Latino males for the ideal represents courage, pride, honor, charisma and leadership qualities. Alvarez (1974) states that the Latino male in the face of attacks on himself and culture can only respond in ways which are familiar to him. Therefore, under the oppression of exclusion and rejection, which prevent him from realizing himself as a person with dignity (being relegated to menial non-productive jobs, ghetto housing, in brief, social castration) the Latino's only means to compensate is to overcompensate. Consequently, he manifests an extreme version of the male norms of the Latino culture.

Rodriguez and Rodriguez (1975) are suspect of discussions of Hispanic groups that in effect reduce the culture to negative and pathological dimensions, as such discussions are too easily made and ill-supported. As they discovered in their investigation of studies of Hispanics, there are no proofs that Puerto Rican men are more sexually voracious than their Anglo counterparts. In addition, they posit that the communication problems that researchers find between Puerto Rican

males and females are more often the results of problems that the researchers have in understanding the non-verbal communication that does take place. They claim that the problems that plague the objective study of such concepts as machismo are rooted in the ethnocentric attitudes of Anglo scholars who evaluate the normalcy of certain behavior patterns in terms of their similarity to the behavior patterns of Anglo society.

Hernandez, Haug, and Wagner (1976) understand machismo as being used by the Latin male as just and fair authority, which if misused will cause the loss of respect for the man. Garrison and Thomas (1976) write that the macho concept is badly understood by North Americans. These authors distinguish it from Don Juanism or being a "mujeriego" (womanizer), indicating that the Dominican peasant culture explicitly trains and reinforces traits and behaviors such as machismo which are negatively viewed in American culture. Perez (1977) in analyzing Mexican ballads about men, discerned that machismo is predominantly a self-assertive mode of expressing the power motive and that the Chicano expression of machismo is characterized by the theme of cultural conflict. Mizio (1977) comments that the macho role (if it is to be understood) must be viewed in the context of a man being castrated by society.

The differing points of view expressed in this more recent literature, suggest that machismo might be experienced among Puerto Ricans as an adaptive function. However, the published and unpublished theoretical and research papers reviewed in this work reveal that the

most common approach to the subject of machismo has been one that disparages and assumes an arrogant stance towards the Puerto Rican. These disparate views point towards a need for further research that takes into special consideration the socio-historical forces affecting Puerto Ricans since that first study I cited conducted by Stycos in 1955. Twenty-five years can have a profound effect on the utility of a particular mode of interpretation of the world. More important than this temporal analysis, is the greater criticism that must be raised on the nature of previous "research" on machismo.

The prevalence of suggestive literature as opposed to scientific literature raises questions about the political motivations of previous writers on this topic. These have to be understood in the context of a historical reality: Puerto Ricans have been and are presently battling for the right to self-determination, and struggling to overcome the brutality of slum dwellings, structured unemployment, and miseducation.

The search for universals in psychology has often been undertaken at the expense of the minority. The mental health subculture that determines normality to be what is believed among the professionals, is oppressive in its generalizing aspects.

In addition, in the "machismo" literature it is often assumed that personality is formed only through the individual, intrapsychic modes of experience with questionable attention given to the social, class and cultural issues. Yet the combined efforts of Sociology, Social Work and Anthropology show us differently. Nonetheless, pro-

professionals from these fields have joined with psychologists in, unwittingly at times and willingly at others, promulgating national stereotypes that expose the biases of the label givers. As clinicians interested in the betterment of lives through the alleviation of psychic and social distress, we must consider the potentially disruptive effects on the emotional states of individuals of a given ethnic group when they are judged with stereotypes that are minimally based on reality. We must therefore question the effect of reinforcing degrading stereotypes of Puerto Ricans by social scientists.

I question what effect the education of mental health workers in these eurocentric orientations has, for as Freire (1970) reminds us "...there is no neutral education. Education is either for domestication or for freedom." The biased perception of the Puerto Rican may lie in the need to externalize negative aspects of the self onto a convenient scapegoat. Whatever the etiology of this perception, the effect can be pygmalion in function when one considers that educators trained to expect stereotypes discover and more dangerously may mold the conduct of their students to meet these views (Rosenthal, 1966). If the effects of stereotyping are recognized as detrimental to the efforts of Puerto Ricans to attain full equality in this society, it may likewise be concluded that the dominant psychological literature helps maintain the status quo. In effect psychologists are revealed to be the "soft police" (Statman, 1971) who being "politically activated and oppressive" (Dominguez-Ybarra and Garrison, 1977) have utilized their theories to enforce morality, pacify alienation, and

legitimize the prevalent capitalistic system (De La Cancela, 1979). Psychology as a field serves colonialist and capitalist class interests in promulgating an adialectical understanding of machismo. To grasp the nature of this statement one must understand the ideological basis of psychology in the Western profit motivated tradition; and psychology's ideological link to capitalism as "professional ideologists of this society" (Stevenson, 1977) must be explored. Ideology shapes the selection of questions to be investigated in the field, the methodology employed, and the conceptualization of the situation. Eisenstein (1977) states that:

Ideology is used...to refer to the ruling ideas of society. In this sense, it is seen as a distortion of reality and as protective of existing power arrangements. More specifically, ideology is the ideas which protect both male and capitalist power arrangements (p. 17).

To expose the ideological underpinnings of the machismo construct one must conduct an examination of the economic sphere in which Puerto Ricans find themselves. This is appropriate given that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. This colonial relationship to the United States, which has been addressed by nationalists, independentistas, and socialists in Puerto Rico since July 1898, when the United States Armed Forces invaded the island, has been finally recognized by the United Nations in its Declaration of September 12, 1978. The document pictures the Puerto Rican as a member of what Bailey (1975) calls the "American under class": a class composed of the colonized, the mentally ill, "the lower class in essence, the workers who are the alienated cogs in the capitalist machine. This Puerto Rican reality is

aptly stated by Cortes, et al. (1976):

The most definitive fact of life of Puerto Ricans in the United States is their class placement within the North American relations of production; in their overwhelming majority, migrants from Puerto Rico over several generations continue to comprise an acutely oppressed sector of the North American proletariat and industrial reserve army (p. 120).

To ignore the economic structure in which machismo breeds is similar to the bourgeois feminists concern with sexism in that it points accusatory fingers at individuals rather than examines the systemic conditions that give rise to the behavior of those individuals.

This study intends to go beyond examination of male-female relationships, not to stagnate in Hegelian master-slave analyses or dogmatic oppressor-oppressed tendencies. My intent is to contextualize the problem using a critical perspective offered by Marxist analysis and the insights provided by Memmi's and Fanon's colonizer-colonized psychology, as well as Freire's educational praxis model.

I will not engage in the "culturalist" perspective represented by the most recent literature on machismo. This perspective reacts to the dominant literature that equates machismo with innumerable maladies by arguing that machismo is misunderstood. Such a perspective romanticizes machismo as a method of maintaining cultural identity in hostile settings. The culturalist perspective emphasizes the "positive" aspects of machismo such as: defense of the family, and particularly of women; fierce love of independence; a value on bravery, honesty and in a code of ethics assumed to be basic to the Puerto Rican's macho self view. Although these claims may be accurate, the "culturalist"

view, which is promulgated by many well-intentioned Hispanics, fails to adequately justify the oppressive aspects of this behavior. It grants "foreskin privileges" to our Latin males (Burris, 1971), and it identifies their oppression but not how they also oppress others. The problem is that the traditional forms of the male role are often seen as desirable and culturally consonant, instead of recognizing that this cultural expression is but a survival mechanism which may need to be transformed if a liberating culture is to evolve.

The "culturalist" view is also limited in that it implies a perspective which ignores or downplays the very real negative components of machismo. This nullifies class differences and, as shown by Lopez-Garriga (1978), offers instead an analysis totally divorced from socio-economic realities which reifies behavior into "local curiosities." It is a perspective which subtly blames the victim and results in excusing the system in which the person is embedded.

The emphasis here, however, differs in that it seeks to understand what it means to be a "macho" and what that has to do with "machismo" for the Puerto Rican man in the socio-historical context in which he is embedded. From this examination, machismo can be understood as an ideological construct undergoing change due to internal contradictions. The emphasis is placed on the unity of opposites and their interaction and change, not on the glorification or justification of either of its extremes. As such this study looks at the opposite, reciprocal, and interactive sides of the machismo coin, for, as expressed by Cornforth (1953), "opposites cannot be understood in separation but only in their

inseparable connection." Failure to examine these contradictions results in a positivistic, reified and metaphysical understanding of one aspect of the Puerto Rican cultural experience: in a narrow, distorted and ahistorical view (Cortes, et al., 1976) whose parallel in understanding mental processes is psychologism (Martin and Cohen, 1979). The result of those limited analyses is a fossilized and fetishized view of culture and consciousness where the present is regarded "as a natural fact, permanent and unalterable" (Lichtman, 1976). This involves a process which contributes to the fragmentary and unilateral nature of such meaningless statements as: Puerto Rican males have genetic problems with masculine identification. A statement that amounts to a "sentencing procedure" (McClelland, 1973) in the kangaroo court of American psychology theorizing, where it is often forgotten that "in all honesty a theory is not a sure fact" (Snow, 1976).

Definition of Terms

Machismo is what this study intends to define. It has been defined previously as follows: Bermudez (1955) defined it as "a typical case of unconscious compensation against hidden feminine tendencies in the Mexican male." Robinson (1963) interprets the word to signify "masculine aggressiveness and sexual virility." Lewis (1963) defines it as the Puerto Rican form of male chauvinism." Penalosa (1968) defines it as "that much-publicized Mexican trait of manliness, in which the man constantly tries to express and constantly looks for signs in others that his manliness is being recognized." Burma (1970) explains

that the term "connotes virility, pride and a self concept of personal worth in one's own eyes as well as those of his peers." Fitzpatrick (1971) defines it as:

A style of personal daring (the great quality of the bull-fighter) by which one faces challenge, danger, and threat with calmness and self possession; this sometimes takes the form of bravado. It is also a quality of personal magnetism which impresses and influences others and prompts them to follow one as a leader--the quality of the conquistador (p. 91).

Barber (1972) defines it as:

A highly destructive narcissistic attempt to prove "hypermanliness" and superiority, due basically to radical doubt regarding one's own masculinity and a profound lack of self-esteem. Its phenomenology includes a need to prove great potency and the capacity to commit aggression, to drink, to dominate women, to punish any insult to oneself or one's woman, and to show contempt towards danger and death (p. 3630-A).

Aramoni (1972) defines it as a behavior that links manliness to hypersexuality, to enormous genitals, and to the defeat of other men. He sees it as a specific counterphobic attitude towards women, and of the anxieties of life and death. Lopez (1973) sees it as "more than sexism, it is a composite of some of the most reactionary and some of the most progressive forces in the Puerto Ricans social development." He sees machismo as being different for the Spaniard and for the Puerto Rican, one emphasizing genteelness and the other physical prowess. Lopez sees machismo as having undergone important changes in the Puerto Rican community, ranging from its crudest expression in the street gangs of the late 50's and early 60's to the now more prevalent concepts of pride and self respect. Abad and Suarez (1974) diagnose the dynamics of machismo to be "a defense mechanism against unconscious

dependency and passivity needs, which through reaction formation take the expression of hypermasculine behavior." Jimenez (1978) defines it as the "capacity to endure with dignity, suffering; it really has not much to do with sex." Christensen (1979) elucidates that "machismo gives great emphasis to a stylized 'male' behavior pattern, usually characterized by sexual conquest, heavy drinking, and physical encounter, in order for a man to prove to others that he is a macho."

Except for Lopez's definition all the other definitions are inadequate for the purposes of this study. They each lack essential information that is important in understanding machismo in its social context. Bermudez's definition is based solely on the Adlerian interpretation of overcompensation among Mexicans and says nothing of the phenomena among Chicanos or Puerto Ricans. Robinson condenses an understanding of machismo to aggressive and sexual components without clarifying his theoretical basis for such condensation. Lewis is restricted to island Puerto Ricans and says nothing about mainland Puerto Ricans. Penalosa also focuses on the deficit model in not saying anything of the adaptive qualities of machismo. Fitzpatrick is guilty of the reverse, for he is flowery and waxes poetically over the "positive" aspects. Barber assumes that there is only pathology in the construct, and Aramoni provides further fuel to this argument. Abad and Suarez provide a traditionally psychoanalytic definition which is surprising given their arguments that traditional psychology ignores social-cultural factors. Jimenez discounts even the face validity of sex as important in the construct. And finally, Christensen's definition,

though recent, is dated inasmuch as it does not provide any information not already available two decades ago. Lopez is the only author who examines machismo dialectically, in a social and historical context. It is my contention that his accurate socio-political perspective can be enriched by a psychological investigation in order to approach a truly scientific definition.

In this study, machismo is defined as a learned disposition, subject to modification from the environment, and through experience, to respond evaluatively to one's role, as a man, and to the role of women. It includes ideas of what is proper behavior for a man, ideas of what others expect of you as a man and it refers to Hispanic notions of these ideals. It is an anti-democratic ideology based on patriarchal roots, which tends to alienate men from their families, and from themselves and which has been institutionalized through the division of labor between the work done in the home (house work) and the work done for a salary (wage work) under the industrial capitalist system. It is one of the ways in which the dominating socio-economic and political structure affects the attitudes and behaviors of a people. Accordingly, the definition of machismo proposed here is one which recognizes this relationship and intends to explore its manifestations. In the context of the present study machismo will be the definition derived from interviewing Puerto Rican men and women, and will refer only to Puerto Rican machismo, as opposed to White, Black, or other Hispanic versions of machismo.

Delimitations of Study

The scope of the study has been delimited by the writer in a number of ways. First, the study has been restricted geographically to the Northeastern area of the United States. Therefore, care should be exercised in extrapolating the results of the study to other geographic areas. Secondly, the study has been delimited to Puerto Ricans living on the mainland. Therefore, no claim can be made that the results of the present study would be descriptive of Puerto Ricans who have never resided in the mainland. Third, the study has been delimited to individuals between 18 and 21 years of age and as such the results may not be reflective of individuals below or over this age range. Fourth, the study has been narrowed to subjects with no more than a high school education, consequently the effects of higher education on machismo attitudes and behavior are not addressed. Fifth, income levels of interviewees were also restricted to reflect a family living under the national average. Sixth, several variables were not considered in this study, e.g., alcoholic intake of the subjects; sexual satisfaction of subjects; and religious involvement of interviewees. It is felt that those variables may have substantial impact on the intensity of certain aspects of the macho role.

Limitations of the Study

The study was limited by certain conditions that were beyond the investigator's control. The voluntary nature of the sample has limited the results of the study. It is possible that the attitudes of

persons not choosing to participate in the study differ significantly from the attitudes of those persons volunteering to participate. The study was limited by an inability to control all of the above variables which may have influenced the outcome, e.g., marital status, length of marriage, number of times married, length of residence in the mainland United States, political affiliation, sexual orientation, premarital sexual experiences, parental presence or absence, racial characteristics, racism and sexism encountered by subjects, previous incarceration, a previous experience as psychological research subjects and employment status.

Summary and Overview of Remaining Chapters

A cursory review of literature shows that the machismo construct has not been dialectically studied by psychologists. In addition, a new definition of the construct is suggested here. The purpose of this study was presented, the most important consideration being that it behooves us to examine the machismo construct in order to better understand how stereotypes can serve as obstacles in the treatment of Puerto Rican clients.

In the following chapters points addressed in the different sections of this first chapter will be expanded upon. Chapter II will be the review and analysis of the available literature on machismo. Literature in mental health, sociology and political science will be reviewed. A general description of machismo among different groups will precede the description of Puerto Rican machismo. Chapter III

will describe the 40 subjects interviewed, as well as describe an original research instrument, a questionnaire of 245 items some of which have been culled from the existing literature. Chapter IV will provide a statistical analysis of the results of the interviews. Chapter V will review the purpose of the study, the current literature and formulations in light of the results obtained. A discussion of the implications of the findings will follow and finally, suggestions for further research in this area will be presented.

C H A P T E R I I
REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF LITERATURE

Chapter Overview and Introduction

Chapter II will present an analysis of the literature relevant to machismo. It will include a historical overview of the construct and its relationship to mental health among Hispanics as well as a review of relevant sociological literature emphasizing recent work in women and ethnic studies.

The psychological literature on machismo is sparse as can be attested to by the fact that a search of the National Clearinghouse of Mental Health Information of the National Institute of Mental Health conducted in 1978 provided three references, two of which proved to be only minimally related to the topic. The majority of the literature has been written recently and mainly in the field of social work. Psychiatry has also taken greater interest in the topic than psychology. Given the paucity of published references to machismo and that the literature is recent, a search for pertinent literature had to be instituted that went beyond the traditional library research. This took the form of personal communication with individuals suspected to have interest in the topic. Letters were mailed out from August 1, 1978 to April 9, 1980 requesting published or unpublished manuscripts, articles, books, or presentations written in the fields of education, social work, sociology, psychology, Puerto Rican studies, anthropology,

women's studies, comparative literature, Spanish, journalism and interdisciplinary studies (see Appendix A). Individuals contacted were listed in either local or national directories of Hispanic or Spanish-speaking/Hispanic surnamed mental health workers, students in graduate programs, or directors of Hispanic human service agencies, and finally colleagues (COSSMHO, 1977, 1978; Office of Expanded Educational Opportunity, 1977-1978, 1978-1979; and Taylor, 1977). The results of this were impressive and can be attested to by the over 200 bibliographic entries in this report. With consideration of these factors, the reader is provided an exhaustive review of the literature that provides a theoretical framework for machismo.

Development of Machismo Concept in Psychology

Traditional View

The earliest theoretical formulation of the machismo concept occurs in Bermudez (1955), who writes of it in relation to his understanding of Mexican family life:

On the contrary, machismo is a vicissitude of the instinct. However, in some special personalities which have certain elements, be they physical or of mind, machismo does convert into a psychic trauma severe enough to transform the Mexican into a delinquent (p. 94).

Machismo may be on occasion an application of rationalization of behavior, in the man who, in order to justify his libertine behavior, alleges that he is the holder of innumerable obligations which in turn grant him certain rights. But, in more general terms, machismo is more easily identified as a typical case of an unconscious compensatory mechanism: in the conscience of the Mexican exists a disposition towards women (a disposition imposed by fear) noticeably partial in the double sense of the word: it is fragmentary because it

does not take into account anything but determined aspects of the feminine: and it is unilateral because it fails to admit that certain qualities may form part of the masculine character. 'The differences between the masculine sex and the feminine are not established with the ease, the common person thinks, besides those of biology, not all men are equally virile nor women identically feminine' (Biotipologia, Muller-Freinfels). This partial attitude is interfered with by subconscious tendencies of a contrary sign, which consist of a tendency to take an excessive interest in women, of owning them; this interference adopts as compensatory the primitive form of machismo, which is observed in the behavior I have described (p. 96).

With this first definition of machismo among Mexicans, the stage is set for the introduction of a theoretical perspective which holds that the Mexican male and subsequently other Latin men are to be understood in terms of their unconscious resentment of women. This perspective will heretofore be identified as the traditional social scientific definition of machismo and will be understood as being promulgated mainly by psychoanalytically minded theorists who identify with white European world views. The fact that in some instances, as is the case with Bermudez, the author is not Anglo does not contest the validity of the preceding statement. That Latino social scientists have in the past, and presently argued for the intrapsychic understanding of machismo devoid of its socio-historical roots should come as no surprise. Their psychological training has been heavily influenced by the "scholarly" exposure to Western notions of the ubiquity of psychoanalytic explanations, which deal with cultural differences only to the extent that they are conceived as barriers to the psycho-sexual maturity of the individual. In the case of the Hispanic male, this has meant that his culture is seen as a deficit (Leosa, 1977). In histori-

ically reviewing the theoretical discussions of machismo from a mental health perspective, it is found that the early psychological literature adopted that school of thought represented by Bermudez.

Ramirez and Parres (1957) similarly see in machismo a reaction formation against fears created by an overwhelming identification with females. They expand on Bermudez thought by stating that machismo is a defense mechanism against the "father's lack of real importance in the family organization." However, Fernandez-Marina (1959) focuses on the importance of the father in creating a macho image for his son whose genitals he will play with in order to show him off as a "macho completo" (complete he-man). Fernandez-Marina then theorizes that this type of sexual overstimulation contributes to a hyperkinetic seizure syndrome--el ataque which is specific to Puerto Ricans. Aramoni (1961) attempts to give a psycho-historical view of the macho in Mexico. His aim is to convince us that Pancho Villa is the next to the last machista, and that the Mexican revolution which he led and symbolizes was not so much the result of strategy or technique, as it was of the drive of each soldier to function in a very "manly" style. Mexican machismo is revealed in the songs Mexicans sing and the bullfights they wage. It is revealed in the sport of fighting cocks, and indeed the cock is the pargon that Aramoni offers to aid in understanding the macho. The cock shows no cooperation with other fowl, and if he should he would be considered a rare bird. According to Aramoni, machismo can be negative or positive depending on how it is utilized, it can be admirable or pejorative, but it is certainly not in the character of mature produc-

tive men. The fact that women are seen as having no importance at all, and the fact that they seem to accept this characterization is seen as a "folie a deux" by Aramoni. Aramoni traces the historical roots of machismo to the similarities between the Aztec Indians and the Spaniards who conquered them. Both societies had at their base the clear dominance of men and diminution of women; both had warriors and conquerors; both had excessively ceremonial religions which justified the destruction of life on philosophical reasons, i.e., the Aztec allow for sacrifices to their god, and the Spaniards could fight an inquisition and conquer people in order to save their souls; both societies had slaves. Aramoni states that the Mexican male is his own worst enemy, that he seeks the best for himself and gives his female counterpart nothing. If one takes into account that life is a source of pleasure, happiness, a chance to produce, create and realize things, then he concludes the Mexican's toying with death is a perversion. That the macho sees death as achievement is understandable given that life is bad for some and given the knowledge that the culture applauds those who die for certain ideals. If the hero's applause awaits he who kills for unrequited love, what of the person who dies in the process of trying to gain his honor in this manner? This becomes the only possible avenue to fame and to immortalization through the folklore and songs.

Overall, Aramoni believes that the Mexican people as a whole are nearing adolescence, that they are young and avoiding the use of prolonged application, constancy and efficiency to their tasks. He compares the Mexican to the egocentric child who expects all just

because he desires it. Further, Aramoni states that alcoholism is clearly identified with manhood in the Mexican culture. The bar is the church where cathartic release occurs, where all life's worries miraculously disappear, where one becomes the macho of machos. The Mexican woman accepts this state of affairs as stable and unchangeable, in the process becoming extremely dependent on her children. She envies the males genital powerfulness, and she denies her right to intellect equating it with ugly looks. She adapts to a society of masculine rights and feminine duties. Aramoni posits that part of this devaluation of women is based on the Mexican woman's status as abused and possessed by the conquerors, a historical fact which the present day male considers humiliating.

Though Aramoni claims to be making a psychological analysis of the machismo construct among Mexicans in terms of the sexism of the male, he himself falls prey to sexist ideology. For instance, he speaks of the Mexican women envying the genitility of the male. This is the penis envy construct which has been found to be theoretically out-of-date and oppressive towards women in contemporary thought. Secondly, he engages in generalizations which reveal his own sexist orientation, such as statements to the effect that the masculine mentality prefers abstraction, as compared to the feminine manner of experiencing the world which tends toward the concrete. In summary and in all fairness it must be recognized that Aramoni hints at machismo as possibly having positive attributes. However, he made value judgments which allowed him only to hint at "positives" and not expand on them.

Rogler and Hollingshead (1965) provide further descriptions of the behaviors that characterize the macho, of the Puerto Rican variety:

A man is sexually aggressive, in the vernacular mujeriego (a woman chaser). He is expected to create and capitalize upon sexual opportunities...the mother is an important agent in the socialization of her son. She helps transmit to him the cultural image of the sexually aggressive male. She interprets the size of her son's genitals as evidence of his masculine equipment, his masculine documentation, and the armament he can use to defend himself in a life of sexual conquest and sexual adventure. Even a wife who suffers the infidelities of her husband refers to her father with subdued pride as a man who has woman on the left (p. 332).

Minuchin (1967) describes the Puerto Rican macho:

The Puerto Rican male, in an attempt to bolster his self-image, involves himself in extramarital sexual conquests and adolescent-type activities directed against his wife (and women in general): excessive drinking; domino and card playing with friends; avoidance (in social, party-like gatherings) of conversations with females while concentrating on peers, etc. His relationship with his wife involves an ambiguous son-husband role. He is dependent and demanding; he leaves most practical matters at home to be attended to by his wife; he feels that his duty ends with being the provider. At the same time, he feels displaced by his children and has difficulty in finding a way to become integrated into his family (p. 239).

It is of interest that the two preceding definitions of the Puerto Rican macho are quite similar even though the authors are referring to two different groups; island versus mainland males. The implicit assumption that Minuchin adheres to is that there are no differences between the two groups.

Ramirez (1968) claimed that the absence of the father figure in the Mexican family and that the ambivalence toward the mother which the culture supports are part and parcel of the motivating forces behind the machismo pattern. Kiev (1968) adheres to these definitions and adds more to the theoretical formulation of machismo. He sees the

behaviors as manifestations of oedipal conflicts in general, and castration fears in particular. Penalosa (1968) a Mexican psychologist fuels this argument further with his general statements of family roles:

The behavior related to machismo has been the result of the deprivation of a constant and secure masculine identification. The latter is also sought in the male's social relationships, which tend to be all male in character. After working hours the typical Mexican joins his friends and carries on with them a life that differs little from that which he practiced before he was married (p. 684).

The Mexican social world is a man's world. He spends a great deal of his effort and money in making his social position stand out in the world of males. The underlying dynamism here seems to be the much commented upon inferiority complex of the Mexican male, the other side of the machismo coin. It would seem as if Alfred Adler had devised his theories especially for the purpose of understanding the Mexican personality. Ramos, as mentioned above ascribed this phenomena to historic courses. It can however perhaps best be understood in terms of the father-son relationship: the son's feelings of utter powerlessness before the father and the impossibility of relating to and identifying with him. In other words the explanation is to be sought in the values which are at the very base of various aspects of the Mexican family (p. 686).

Penalosa's arguments are quite clear in stating that the typical male is machista and in judging the Mexican familial pattern in an incriminating manner. In this way he reproduces Aramoni's (1961) and Minuchin's (1967) value judgments about Latin family members and their roles, and implicitly about their culture as adolescent.

In later work, Aramoni (1972) traces machismo to fear, guilt, and inadequacy. Aramoni describes machismo as violent, absurd behavior which expresses exaggerated masculine qualities, in an attempt to dominate others in order to deny one's own weaknesses, and excessive dependency.

The machista treats the women like a thing, tries to make her feel inferior, good-for-nothing, unless what she is doing is related to serving him the master, in bed and out. And, like a feudal lord, he renders a woman docile but resentful, submissive but passively resistant or actively negative. She reacts by taking possession of the children and exerting great influence over them. She will also have her lord defend her, perhaps meet his death in a blood struggle against another man to keep his face in front of her (p. 69).

As delineated by Aramoni, the factors that make up the machismo complex are frustration, violence, exhibitionism, a promiscuous environment, and vital scarcities in every area of life for certain Mexican socio-economic classes. In addition he describes the following as contributing to machismo: a lack of respect for human life; feelings of manipulation, impotence and despair; laxity, and socio-economic problems that seem insurmountable; destructiveness in word and action, accompanied by high rates of homicide, general criminality, and alcoholism. The machista attitude towards women is that he wants a woman for his personal use, in a wholly disrespectful way. But, as soon as he has possessed her, the macho loses all, or almost all, of the interest he had in her. He regards her mainly as an object of conquest. Nevertheless, he is capable of fighting to the death with another man over her. For the Mexican, three women are spared this humiliation: his sister, his mother, and the virgin. These are above contempt and not to be subjugated. It is not permitted to insult them. The life goal of the machista is to prove to his mother that he is a man. Yet there is reason to assume that the man unconsciously hates and fears the woman. This is why she must be disarmed and subdued, made impotent and harmless. Aramoni concludes his thoughts on the topic of machismo by

defining it as a uniquely Mexican answer to the universal quest for individuation, dignity and relatedness. However, Aramoni reveals a certain awareness of machismo that goes beyond the traditional views. This is done in terms of his reference to socio-economic factors as contributory to the syndrome. Although he does not identify what those factors are. Kiev (1972) concurs with Aramoni in seeing machismo as expressive of castration fears, dependency needs and inferiority feelings. Giraldo (1972), using Adlerian theory, also concludes that the macho has an inferiority complex. Torrey (1972) reports that in the Mexican-American subculture, to be labeled homosexual is the ultimate debasement in the sphere of male behavior, and he states that the problems of authority, sexual potency, and relations with women that these males have worsen with age. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) claim that there have been ample assertions in the literature of how the machismo concept of the masculine ego "leads to the adoption of a variety of defenses: denial of feminine attributes, exaggeration of supermasculine behavior" yet a search of their references does not reveal one single citation having to do with the topic.

Rendon (1974) focuses his attention on Puerto Ricans and states that the family structure is such that the Puerto Rican male is patriarchal, enjoying greater privilege and authority. Stoker and Meadow (1974) see the macho pattern as promiscuous, irresponsible and including non-support of family. Christensen (1975) informs that his counseling of Puerto Ricans has revealed machismo to be "characterized as an overcompensatory reaction to the dependence-aggression

conflict" which is "acted out through fights and sexual conquests." Cappon (1975) traces it to the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs and to the resulting Mexican male identification with the aggressor. In addition to previously identified components, it is sadistic, includes a preference for male children, and reflects ambivalence over male dependency. Lipsitz Bem (1975) criticizes the macho for being "less playful" and stereotypically male. Brake (1975) sees machismo as the glorification of violence, and Goldberg (1976) writes of the macho pose where the macho does not acknowledge "true feelings about the many self denying aspects of being the diligent provider, faithful husband, dutiful father, and all around strong man." Both Brake and Goldberg are not talking about Puerto Ricans but about men in general. Thus what exists in their writings is the usage of a Hispanic word for man as a catch-all definition of the inadequacies of all males. Goldberg illustrates this with his concept of macho rigidity. He believes that males destroy their bodies as a result of this, for they are out of touch with their bodies' warning signs of stress. This is a result of early training that teaches males to deny and resent illness, that it is sissy to complain of pains. To be sick is to be passive and unmanly, for it unconsciously represents femininity and homosexuality. This rigidity extends to all aspects of the male's life. It encourages him to not give attention to his looks, for such attention is narcissistic and latently homosexual. It affects his diet, as eating meat versus vegetables is manly. It affects his ability to be intimate with other men, and contributes to the usage of alcohol to deaden the anxiety

aroused by the possibility of such intimacy. McCarthy (1977) expands on the catch-all phraseology of his fellow Anglo clinicians:

The image of the exploitative macho male has become, through popularization by the media, a sort of ideal toward which the rest of us have sometimes unthinkingly strived. Thus, by trying to conform to what we perceived as a socially approved male stereotype, we may have acted in ways that were a good deal more irrational and self-defeating than we have realized.

The macho ideal left no room for us to feel concerned or responsible for conception and contraception. Instead we had to concern ourselves with playing the part of the uncommitted, footloose seducer with little or no feeling of caring or responsibility for his partner. This situation was likely to create a painful psychological bind, a conflict of loyalties, for while normal human concern and simple common sense might make us wonder whether we should be taking some precautions against an unwanted pregnancy, at the same time the socially approved masculine code counsel us to go ahead and damn the consequences (p. 51-52).

Martinez (1977) defines machismo as "caricatured hypermasculinity" and thereby applies a double whammy to the Mexican-American psychiatric patient. While Sedo (1978) communicates his understanding of the "mythical macho" to include an identification and relationship to a feminine superego, wherein the macho searches for a mate worthy of the introjected "phallic mother."

The traditional literature reviewed up to this point, has observed Puerto Rican and Mexican macho behavior and concluded that it is immature, perverse, latently homosexual and fueled by deep inferiority complexes. Machismo has been conceptualized as a narcissistic, adolescent, dependence-aggression conflict which merits eradication. Both Adlerian and psychoanalytically oriented theorists have described the macho as an irresponsible, sexist individual responding to oedipal and identification problems. As shall be seen in the following section,

these conclusions have their parallels in "research."

Traditional Research

Having examined the theoretical literature that characterizes machismo as a reaction formation against unconscious dependency and passivity needs and against latent feminine identification, attention can now be focused on how research has been conducted to substantiate these formulations. A forewarning must be made, and that is that the Traditionalists for the most part have not conducted research on machismo per se. Hence if the review of the research literature seems unsubstantitive, that is because it accurately reflects the nature of the research.

Diaz-Guerreo (1955) is among the first in the psychiatric field who attempts to research the etiology of neurosis among Mexicans and using a seven-item questionnaire he concludes that the Mexican male is indeed neurotically (read oedipally) attached to his mother.

Marina, Maldonado-Sierra and Trent (1958) find in machismo an explanation of the high rate of emotional disorders among Puerto Ricans, inasmuch as they see Puerto Rican males having difficulties with their spouses due to their attachments to their dominant mothers. Using an adaptation of the Diaz-Guerreo questionnaire they set out to explore the differences between Puerto Rican family values and those of other Latin Americans. Their subjects were teenagers between the ages of 16 and 19, who were upwardly mobile middle-class freshman college students. Of an original sample of 521, 240 males and 254 females

completed the study. The adapted questionnaire had 123 items, whose form was declarative statements (e.g., Men should wear the pants in the family). Results show that the mother is regarded in both the Puerto Rican and Mexican cultures with high esteem with the Mexican males being more in agreement than the Puerto Ricans. Even though results tended to indicate that the Puerto Rican female is more liberated than her Mexican counterpart, the percentage differences between them were not significant. The results on questions of male dominance seem to confirm Diaz-Guerreo's findings on the Latin concept of male supremacy. No statistics other than percentages were reported in this study and no confidence levels were indicated. The authors concluded that the basic values underlying the Puerto Rican middle-class family are significantly more similar to that of the Mexican than to that of mainland Americans, yet these values are evolving towards the American norm. In particular this is true of the role of the father which is being questioned as a result of the inclusion of greater numbers of women into the labor market. They also foresee conflicts for Puerto Rican youth because of the flux sex roles are undergoing.

The major limitations of this study lie in the usage of the questionnaire form of interview, for in the final analysis results are totally dependent upon whether the subjects answered questions truthfully. This limitation, as well as the problem of sample selection which compares Puerto Rican students with Mexicans about whom little is known in terms of demographic data, are recognized by the authors. They posit that it may well be that differences found are more a result

of dissimilarity in samples.

Meadow and Stoker (1965) in treating over 35 hospitalized Mexican-American females, find that the usual precipitant to these women seeking psychotherapy is the "macho" conduct of male family members. They describe the "syndrome" typified by "drinking, physical violence, and premarital and extramarital acting out." Frisbie (1973) in a study of militancy among high school students found that Mexican-American male youth were more likely to manifest a militant orientation than were females. And finally Hildalgo and Hildalgo (1976-1977) in a study of Puerto Rican lesbianism report that eighty percent of one hundred and nineteen males interviewed stated that "they would like to prove they could change" the lesbian's orientation to heterosexuality. These authors indicate that this response and male responses to "other questions" bear out the strong influence of machismo in Puerto Rican culture. However, the reader is left wondering what those "other questions" are.

Review of the research associated with the traditional perspective on machismo has demonstrated that there is a paucity of research, as well as a lack of strong empirical or operational foundations to the existing investigations. Consequently, the culturalist perspective offered in the following section warrants attention given its claim to redress these shortcomings.

Culturalist View

If there are two things that the literature reviewed thus far holds in common they are its essentially impressionistic nature and

focus on pathology. It is exactly this theme which is reacted to by the second major school of thought on the machismo concept, a school which could be called the culturally relativistic school or the Culturalist View. This orientation reacts strongly to the traditional (culture as barrier) approach wherein the problems of certain minority groups such as Blacks and Hispanics are seen as caused by poor child-rearing practices and extended family structures. It criticizes those traditional writers who conclude that Hispanic families impede separation and individuation of its members, and that this results in identity diffusion, disrespect of boundaries, and the creation of interlocking pathologies, collusion and folie a deux, trois, ad infinitum.

The culturalists advance the thesis that the barrier perspective is characterized by simplistic, value-laden essays that serve to reinforce and create stereotypes. Previous theoretical and clinical work is seen as mired in the cultural biases of Western, Anglo and Eurocentric orientations. Emphasis is placed on cultural factors as ego-integrative processes that serve to protect Hispanic families from engulfing Americanization (Monteil, 1970). Indeed it is posited that individuals become neurotic to the degree that they veer away from these traditional beliefs (Maldonado-Sierra and Trent, 1958). Consequently, traditional rituals and symbols are respected and utilized in facilitating the healthy functioning of these families in admittedly hostile settings.

Illustrative of this school are Ortego (1971), who raises questions regarding the characterization of the macho as "untrustworthy,

villanous, ruthless, tequila-drinking, and philandering," and Martinez (1973) who points to the fact that most of these machismo studies have focused mainly on Mexicans and indirectly on Mexican-Americans. He also complains of the interpretations of such behavior as being theoretically dated, and claims that these views are promulgating reinforcements of stereotypes at a time when recent studies are disproving previous findings. Padilla and Ruiz (1973), who figuratively translate machismo to mean "assertive masculinity," indicate that despite consensus of use, social scientists have yet to determine which specific behavioral referents may serve as an objective test of the validity of the machismo construct. Abad, Ramos, and Boyce (1974) join ranks with those who complain of the negative connotations the machismo construct has to non-Latin males and cultures. They state that to the Anglo, the very word conjures up pictures of domineering males abusing women, while to the Puerto Rican it represents "a desirable combination of virtues of courage and fearlessness in a man. A macho is the head and protector of his family responsible for their well-being and defender of their honor. His word is more reliable than any contract." This view of the macho is that which labels him proud as opposed to wild, dignified instead of disrespectful of the life of others, and reliable as opposed to untrustworthy. It is a view which accepts as its basis the traditions of the Puerto Rican way of life with its strong emphasis on respect. It is a view in which the Puerto Rican man knows the things for which he will be honored, and the things for which he will be despised and punished. Jimenez (1978) and Freire

(1978), a Mexican psychiatrist and a Puerto Rican psychologist respectively, have clinical experiences at opposite ends of the time pole; however, their formulation of the philosophical underpinnings of machismo are highly similar. They concur with Abad et al's description of machismo and how it is misunderstood by non-Hispanics. They both bemoan the fact that there have not been many established Hispanic clinicians examining the macho construct and encourage that this be remedied by the contemporary Hispanic researcher or clinician. Freire specifically suggests that the temporal conceptualization, locus of control, and ability to delay gratification of the lower socio-economic Hispanic male be explored in terms of these being confused with aspects of machismo. Jimenez recommends that more applied research be conducted into how Hispanic clinicians are utilizing their understanding of macho in psychotherapeutic treatment. Both Jimenez and Freire speak of the "positive" culturally syntonik values represented by the macho's code of behavior, and cite cases where this is apparent. Indeed, Jimenez models some of the macho behavior in his group work with Hispanic males in Boston's South End. In these groups, he assumes an assertive role and projects himself as someone who protects his clients, is responsible, and always respectful of others. The goal here is to portray the ideals of Hispanic male behavior which the group members need to strive towards, in order to provide them with the cultural guidelines by which they can validate their identities and self-worth. The assumption behind this method is that the psychopathology these Hispanic males are exhibiting are in part determined by the loss of cultural coping mechanisms. In essence this is the culture as strength perspective for Jimenez and Freire

(1978) both speak of the macho concept as one that has to do with perseverance in the face of adversity. They both de-emphasize the sex aspect of the construct and choose to focus instead on the concept of dignity which forms the basis of the macho's behavior. Freire speaks of it in Ericksonian terms, stressing the philosophical aspects of the construct. He sees it as "a channel by which people can structure their experience to build themselves; an organizing force that can be used in therapy; an ego ideal that can be used to strengthen superego capacities." This view of machismo as ego ideal versus ego defense has also been posited by Abad and Boyce (1979). In fact Abad has argued that utilization of the high value attached to machismo by Latin men could be fruitful in therapeutic practice (Abad and Suarez, 1974). They suggest that these ideals of "pride, honor, charisma, and leadership qualities" can be employed in the treatment of Puerto Rican alcoholics instead of attacked. This view is quite different from the oedipal and castration configurations that Temple-Trujillo (1974) states have been used to conceptualize the Chicano family, and which were described earlier. This view is quite different from that of writers who use the word macho to explain the epitome of male chauvinism (Allen, 1974; and Funell, 1974). Funell provides a good example of the ways in which the concept of machismo is taken out of its cultural context and applied to Anglo culture:

The narcissism associated with masculinity can also be seen in the Latin American counterpart of masculinity--machismo. the matador and male flamenco dancer are often used to illustrate the epitome of masculinity. Kate Simon, a Mexican specialist, links the two. 'Machismo is the defiance and

narcissism of the bullfight, the torero, saber, dancing a pavana with the dark bull of death.' Her description of the male flamenco dancer suggests 'his tight suit is outer skin for the taut body; tensed like a bow: his face is distant and noble, distorted in a very private pain.' The distant face of masculinity in the male flamenco dancer is not dissimilar to the distant face of the cowboy in the Marlboro ad. This same distance is found in the masculinity of men who are fathers--which contribute to the son's difficulty in successfully identifying with his dad (p. 80).

Mizio (1974) comments on the views held by individuals like Funell and urges us to reassess this type of ethnocentric definition of manliness amongst the Hispanic. She writes:

Machismo in its individualized expression must be viewed in the context of society denying a male his manhood by social castration. This situation has been found by social workers to create panic, confusion, marital discord, and breakdown of family ties.

....being a macho completo ('complete man') does provide... an avenue for gratification when there are few other opportunities for position or reward. This sense of being a macho must go hand in hand, however, with being able to be a provider and protector for one's family. It is not necessary for these functions to be a man's exclusive domain. It is recognized that government has taken over more and more family functions. Consequently, the family's authority in relation to such concerns as parental discipline and legal systems has increasingly lessened. The Puerto Rican male with no position, power, or status can be expected to be impotent in protecting his family in relation to these external systems. A principal strain on Puerto Rican family life is the disparity between the presumed dominance of the male and the actual facts of the situation.

Some women may experience contempt for their husbands because they can no longer view them as machos. A husband can be expected to strive to reassert his dominance, but in view of all the external pressure he will often in the end experience defeat and lose his sense of dignidad (dignity). But many a woman will be torn apart seeing the man she loves destroyed by forces over which he has no control (p. 82).

De La Cancela (1974) touches on the issues raised by Mizio in regards to the expectation of macho behavior by Latin women. He informs us of

his surprise at being responded to negatively by Latin women who felt that his position as a female medicine social worker (considered a female role) was not appropriate "manly" work. These women expected a real macho to be uninterested in such "feminine" concerns. Alvarez (1974) provides further reasoning on the idea of the macho operating in caricatured ways. He claims that these extremes of the norms of the Latino culture are termed the norm of the Latino male culture by non-Latins. In his view this is a misunderstanding of machismo and a case of cultural imperialism at best. Montalvo (1974) provides one of the few examples of how the misunderstood machismo construct operates in the treatment of clients by clinicians who have been indoctrinated with it. In casework with a Puerto Rican family, the family therapist interpreted the son's wish to drop out of school, and his father's insistence that he stay in school as classical signs of an oedipal entanglement, centering on the father's machismo. A confrontative interpretation to the effect that father feared he no longer would be the head of the home if his son or wife went out to work was met with the family's withdrawal from treatment. The mother reported at a later date to a sympathetic clinician:

They don't understand city Puerto Ricans. Look, many of our relatives, on my side as well as my husband's side, started out here by the woman going out to work during the beginning years, while the men stayed home and did some drinking between whatever little jobs they could get here and there and could not keep. Our families are not built only around the man. Instead of holding us away from jobs, many of our men easily and quickly let us out to get jobs. There is as much hembrismo (a term pertaining to the significant role of women, its centrality, and power in the culture) as machismo in them. Matter of fact, many of them are concerned we won't go out

fast enough. If you ask me, they count on it.

This man in the clinic must have been blinded by a lot of old Spanish movies. Maybe he has only worked with other Latinos, or with other Puerto Rican families who came here without living first in San Juan. Maybe he knows those who came here straight from the countryside.

In the beginning, I felt like my husband was taking advantage of me. I could not understand that it was really hard for him to find or keep a good job. I talked to a social worker about it, but all she wanted to deal with was how I allowed myself to be 'exploited' by my man. We could never really talk about his trouble getting and holding good jobs. So I stopped going at that time, and now what do we hear? The old business that he is afraid of losing his masculinity if my son works or if I work (p. 107).

Boulette (1975) states that machismo has been used to explain the marginal position of the Mexican-American. This she feels contributes to absolving institutional failure and oppression in dealings with Chicanos. It also amounts to blaming the victim. Such misinterpretations also perpetuate prejudices, stereotypes and beliefs that have not been supported by research or clinical experience. Ruiz (1975) counters prevalent beliefs that Mexican alcoholism is dictated by machismo. She emphasizes that though it is considered part of the mature male role to drink, the culture sanctions this only as long as the male retains control over his behavior. Hence, the alcoholic is not considered macho.

Padilla, Ruiz, and Alvarez (1975) contend that machismo could prove extremely valuable in creating more comprehensive therapies for the Hispanic population. Unfortunately these writers fall into the all too common trend of the culturalist school of suggesting changes without delineating how. Abad (1977) makes one of the scarce positive

statements regarding the usage of an adequate understanding of the macho ideal in therapy with Puerto Ricans. He suggests that the therapist appeal to the ideal in order to help an alcoholic come to terms with his problems. He suggests that the psychiatrist appeal to the idea of it being more macho to control his drinking than to have the drinking control him. Another suggestion explains the necessity of not eliminating machismo as would traditional psychotherapists. The rationale for this stance lies in the diminution of male self-esteem being conflictual in view of cultural sex role demands that the Latin male be macho. Thus the insidious elimination of machismo makes the client crisis-prone, and the function of traditional Anglo therapy suspect of oppressive political motivations (Dominguez-Ybarra and Garrison, 1977).

The culturalist literature reviewed provides a view of machismo which counters traditional psychoanalytic formulations that ignore cultural factors.

These authors address themselves to the lack of sophistication, value judgments, misunderstandings, and stereotypes that have characterized previous studies. In particular they point to the practice of conducting research on one Hispanic group and applying the results willy-nilly to all other groups. Collectively, the Culturalists identify positive as well as negative aspects to machismo, such as: courage, fearlessness, responsibility, and perseverance. They see the emphasis on negative descriptions of machismo as the result of ethnocentric investigations that promulgate concepts out of their respective

context. Instead of seeing the machismo behavior as the norm, these authors state it is but one expression of a rich cultural experience embodied in the concept of La Raza.

The Culturalists provide new theoretical explanations of the dynamics behind the macho's behavior, giving emphasis to the castrating force of an oppressive society that has no place for the poor, culturally different and much maligned individual. However, the works cited sometimes give the impression that macho behavior is justified given the differing value structures it represents to its adherents. In the following section research is presented that supports this cultural analysis.

Culturalist Research

The research which contradicts the ubiquity of machismo is related to Monteil's (1970) criticism of traditional research such as Diaz-Guerrero's being an unsophisticated, overgeneralized survey. Fromm and Maccoby (1970) also comment on the inadequacy of previous works, stating that their research in a limited area of Mexico did not seem to support Octavio Paz's non-specific assertion that all Mexican males are sadistic. Cortada de Kahan (1970) administered a battery of psychological tests and socio-economic questionnaires to 20 university students and 13 workers from slum areas of Buenos Aires, and found students less machista than the workers. Ruiz (1976) conducted one, if not the first, major research attempt at clarifying the machismo concept and pointing out its relevance to a clinical practice. She operated from the premise that the construct is widely misunderstood,

and sought to determine how machismo was perceived by Chicano social workers. Her sample consisted of all Chicano MSW social workers in the United States, 59 percent of which responded to her mailed questionnaire. The pertinent demographics reveal that her population was based in the Western part of the United States, was mainly male, under 40 years of age, married, Catholic, bi-lingual, and self identified as Chicanos. The scales which were developed to measure machismo were stories. These stories (cuentos) included partial traits of macho behavior as illustrated in her literature review. The subjects were asked to rate the cuentos into positive and negative categories, as well as to judge them in terms of modern or traditional qualities. In addition they were asked to rate them as they thought their parents would. Results indicate that the subjects saw their views more modern than their fathers who were reported to be more traditional than their mothers. In her study, Ruiz found that male subjects were more traditional than female subjects. All subjects were more tolerant of negative behaviors for other Chicanos than for themselves, and more tolerant of such behavior for Anglos but to a lesser degree. The limitations of this study lie in the fact that no definition of machismo was arrived at that provides a new understanding of the construct for the social scientist. Another limitation is that given that the subjects were social workers, their training and education might bias them to respond in ways different from the Chicano who would be seeking therapeutic help or from the average person. A third shortcoming is the fact that a self administered questionnaire

does not provide for the explication and clarification of vague responses. And lastly, the measurement of the attitudes of subjects' parents was too dependent on their memories and adequate appraisals of how their parents would indeed respond.

Cromwell and Ruiz (1979) conducted an intensive analysis of four major studies on marital decision-making within Mexican and Chicano families. They concluded that these recent studies collectively refute the hypothesis of macho dominance in decision-making, and state that machismo is a belief unsubstantiated by empirical studies, a myth that has been communicated through "simple descriptions or subjective impressionistic essays." The importance of these findings, according to these investigators, is that other components of the machismo myth are questionable, "since these components possess a certain internally consistent logic."

In summary, the culturalist researchers indicate that there are regional differences, as well as social class differences in the expression of machismo and that more modern and positive statements of it are evolving. They show that the concept can be operationalized, that the old versions of it when used in therapy can have untoward effects, and that it is not a concept, or behavior that applies exclusively to men. While these contributions are significant they also fall short of providing sufficient empirical evidence to effectively combat views of Anglo authors. This shortcoming may be a result of refusing to exploit Latin individuals via psychological research: a view popular in the early 1970's and still currently upheld. Another

contributing factor may be that a goodly number of these authors seem to have primary identification as clinicians rather than as researchers, and this may be truer of social workers and psychiatrists than it is of psychologists. However, the factor which most likely has delayed research is the recency of interest in the topic. This may be explained by the historical reality of the last decade in which the numbers of Hispanics in American psychological fields have significantly expanded.

Concluding Summary

This review has shown in part that Machismo as a psychological concept has been described in language that is partly enmeshed in clinical value judgments, that most of the work in the field does not directly explain the topic, and that there are more opinions than empirical facts. Because of the paucity of the psychological literature and given that machismo has entered the popular literature, the investigator decided to examine this literature as well as technical and scholarly journals and publications in different fields, such as anthropology, sociology, and literature, etc. I intend to explore whether in this literature there is information that has not been available in the psychological literature; and if there exists another perspective on the mental health implications of machismo.

Review of Non-Psychological Literature on Machismo

The first problem encountered in the review of pertinent non-psychological literature regarding machismo is how to classify it. The

many areas in which articles have been written include law, political science, education, population studies, sex role investigations, marriage and family studies, Latin American studies, Puerto Rican studies, Chicano studies, and women's studies. For purposes of convenience I have grouped the sex role data, the marriage and family data, and the women's data together under the heading of Male-Female Relations. Another grouping is that of Chicano, Puerto Rican and Latin-American under the rubric of Latino studies. Despite these headings it should be recognized that these studies can be cross referenced and that they indeed contain information that could be placed under more than one heading. In some cases the authors in this section have work which was reviewed under the rubric of Psychological Literature because many psychological authors have extended their scope outside of the traditional journals, books, and other publications associated with their field. The same relationship holds for the non-psychologists whose work is mainly represented in the following sections. Though these ventures outside of one's own field have great value as interdisciplinary work and contribute to a more holistic view of the individual, they can also transmit stereotypical views across disciplines.

Traditional Male-Female Literature

The Male-Female relationships literature is replete with references to machismo. Rainwater (1964) writes of the macho's insistence on taking his own pleasure in relation to women. Scott (1967) contends that aggression is deeply ingrained in the Puerto Rican culture's

definition of maleness. Stephens (1968) in a review of Oscar Lewis' La Vida sees the people as truly macho, since they are charged with dangerous energy. Tharp, Meadow, Lenhoff, and Satterfield (1968) see the macho changing less rapidly than his wife in his marriage role given his acculturation to American society. Penalosa (1968) writes that:

One frequently expressed notion is that machismo is a manifestation of orality. A great deal of Mexican "manly" behavior consists merely of verbal, that is, oral, behavior. Significantly, also, when the man is faced with frustrations in his attempts at demonstrating his manliness, he may regress and seek consolation in alcohol.

Williamson (1970) agrees with Penalosa's views regarding alcoholism amongst Latin Americans, seeing it as both cause and effect of "psychologically unstable relationships with the opposite sex. Sutherland (1971) describes the Chicana as a victim of machismo, and Cammarano (1971) writes of machismo, the tradition supporting the "double standard and sexual objectification of women, as still being in existence in Cuba even after the revolution, and that it manifests itself either as overt supremacy or patronizing attitudes. Olesen (1971) basically blames the Latin culture as the cause of "women's convent-like existence" in pre-revolutionary Cuba. White (1972) discerns a definite relationship between machismo, violence and war. Egg, Zamboni, Yanez, Girsi, and Dussel (1972) see the macho as believing he has more sexual energy than women and as such believing that he needs more than one woman to satisfy him. Such a man does not fall in love, as this is unmanly, instead he finds women and leaves them. If by chance he

should marry, it is because he has been "caught." Stassinopoulos (1973) describes sex as not being fulfilling for the woman who lives in a machista society. Howard (1972) reports that a Chicana psychotherapist explained to her that the Mexican male who comes to a clinic presents psychosomatic complaints, i.e., backaches, stomachaches, as his machismo does not allow him to express his pain verbally.

Kettlinger (1974) regards writer Norman Mailer as the main exponent of machismo and feels that such men are unable to enjoy the pleasures of sex unless it is of the "wham! bang! thank you mam!" category. Bernard (1975) sees the macho cult as unwholesome, and most harmful to women as it contributes to poor mental health as evidenced by depression among women. Rohrlich-Leavitt (1975) implicates machismo as a more overt and blunt version of the feminine mystique. Brake (1976) describes machismo as the domination of women as sexual property. Bianchi (1976) states that the Spanish word macho has certain connotations, i.e., brute power, "a kind of animal strength by which one creature controls another and thus establishes his self identity and place in the pecking order." Bianchi accuses the American communications media, particularly television, of perpetuating machismo. The reason this happens, according to Bianchi, is that the media controllers are egotistical males who reap rewards by promulgating these stereotypes. The lamentable fact is that they dig their own psychic graves with this stereotype which contributes to their "male bondage." Bustos (1976) comments that machismo is the male idea of his superiority to women, and that its expression has frequent aggressive compon-

ents. Jaquette (1976) explains woman participation in the labor force and lower visibility in the politics of Latin American countries, as resulting from the persistence of machismo. Layza de Hassenteufel (1977) particularizes Jaquette's argument to the case of Bolivia, and in examining the status of women in that "machista" country concludes that since the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores, the society was organized by and for males. Women never played a preponderant role, nor even an auxiliary one, in the political, economic or social development of Bolivia. By law women were considered equal to minors or mental patients, inasmuch as they could not effect any contract or other legal act without their husband's consent. Besides being unable to vote or act as a witness, the Bolivian wife was expected to be loyal to her husband following him wherever he went. In short, women in Bolivian society are exploited by lower wages than men, considered male property and organized as such, i.e., Economists' Wives Association, Lawyer's Wives Club, Military Wife groups. This then is machismo to this author, the institutionalization of which can be observed in beauty contests where women are spectator sport objects for men and public relations for sponsoring companies. It will be noticed that though this writer writes eloquently and convincingly of the subjugation of women, other than using the words, macho, machismo or machista as adjectives, there is nothing particularly Hispanic about her description. In essence, her comments apply, with some historical modifications, to American male chauvinism. Betzold (1977) uses the word macho in a similar manner when he equates it with the image sought by porno-

graphy magazine readers, i.e., Playboy, Hustler, Dude, or Stud. Haeberle (1978) links macho with demands on the sexual performance of males and defines it as "a fanatical, anxious pride in their [male] masculinity, which colors and restricts nearly all of their actions." Overall, the traditional male-female literature reviewed does not seem to differ significantly from other traditional perspectives. However, it does emphasize the burdens machismo causes women and suggests that males are similarly limited by the macho constellation. Unfortunately, research efforts in this area are not reported and hence the conclusions offered must be viewed tentatively. To what extent, this is true of the culturalist view in this male-female literature, remains to be explored in the following section.

Culturalist Male-Female Literature

In this literature, similar to the psychological literature there is an evident trend towards a reappraisal of the traditional literature on machismo.

Additionally, it is found that the authors doing the reappraising are often the very ones who previously wrote in perjorative terms regarding the concept. This fact is suggestive of the dialectical analysis the present work is arguing for. Olesen (1971) illustrates this point nicely. Whereas she had previously (Olesen, 1971a) explained the concept in judgmental terms, she later writes:

Machismo, however, must be understood as more than simply, to use the current phrase favored among the New Feminists of Women's Liberation, 'male chauvinism.' Its implications go

far beyond strictly sexual behavior, the nurturance of a double sex standard, the denial of the idea that women could enjoy the sex experience as well as men and reach into the very articulation of sex role identity and personhood....Also involved is hidalgoism, the courtly sense of nobility which implies honor and shame, values which are realized not only through male behavior, but very critically and importantly through the decorous, chaste, and discreet behavior of womenfolk in a particular male's life.

It would appear to be difficult for a Cuban male to be regarded as macho without the behavior or presence of womenfolk to ratify and shape that attribute for the man in question, even though he might in other areas be accorded the attributes of hidalgoism (p. 554).

Stevens (1973) expands on the importance of women in maintaining the macho pose when she describes the flip side of machismo, marianismo, as "the cult of female superiority which teaches that women are semi-divine, morally superior and spiritually stronger than men." She states that both syndromes are New World phenomena with their basis in Mediterranean cultures, and that both are at their peak only in Latin America. Concluding that machismo is a myth that has been perpetuated in part by Latin American women because it preserves a way of life which is advantageous to them, Stevens considers it ironical to regard Latin American women as dupes of the males in this system. Stevens, as does Olesen, redistributes the culpability for the perpetuation of this tradition, and both agree that women are also responsible for their own "victimization." In another vein Kinzer (1973) states the concept has been over exaggerated in explaining Latin America's high birth rate, because the observers are for the most part protestant North American males who see the world from their vantage points as male supremacists. She states that the construct has

achieved the status of near-dogma, since no discussion of Latin America is deemed complete without allusion to this supposedly encroaching belief which finds its way into family life, social structures, and almost every country in Latin America, i.e., Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Paraguay, Peru. As a final point she states that the studies which have existed have concentrated mainly on lower class populations, hence their generalizability is questionable.

The most important issue revealed by culturalist authors in the male-female literature is that the female is more a participant than a victim in the machismo syndrome. These authors question the traditional perspective of the burdensome qualities of machismo on women. Instead they contend that women actually profit from some aspects of the behavior. In the following section the culturalist research literature will be examined to see if there exists any support for this conclusion.

Culturalist research in the male-female literature. In redirecting attention from the theoretical male-female literature to the research literature it is necessary to point out that what is classified as research in this literature may not be similar to traditional notions of psychological research.

Research in the non-psychological field does not always take the form of empirical studies with operational definitions. Instead, the research often referred to is mainly bibliographic in nature or considers such concepts as machismo as after the fact variables.

Lewis (1959), reporting on his observations of two working class

neighborhoods in Mexico City, suggests that women play crucial roles in family relationships in spite of machismo. Otero (1968) reports that contrary to stereotypical statements about Mexicans, responsibilities and decision-making are jointly shared in conjugal situations. His results are based on a survey of family planning attitudes of 2500 couples and close to 300 community leaders in 3 urban and 1 rural region of Mexico during 1968. Cromwell, Corrales, and Torsiella (1973) in an analysis of cross-cultural self-reports from married couples in Mexico and the United States likewise found there were general and consistent trends toward egalitarianism in marital decision-making powers and influences. In an analysis of the portrayal of women in Latin American novels, Jaquette (1973) writes that machismo does not provide, in itself evidence of the oppression and powerlessness of the Latin American woman as most North Americans would think. Instead it is a social convention in which women have an invested interest, given that male immorality is necessary for female legitimacy, as it allows her to be morally superior. Hawks and Taylor (1975) found in a study that they conducted that though there was evidence of the patriarchal pattern of machismo being an ideal, it was never the norm. Subjects responded to a series of questions about who made the decisions and who took the action in the family, and their responses revealed the most common response to be that husband and wife decide or act jointly. The data represented by these 76 farm labor families reveal that egalitarianism far from being the exception is the rule. The implications are that previous studies which reported universal

dominance-submission patterns are questionable and did not account for possible role transformations. This is substantiated by Garcia (1975), who provides evidence that despite what previous researchers have indicated about traditional Mexican family values relegating females to second class status within the family, Mexican Americans polled by him felt that college is important for both boys and girls. D'ambrosio (1976) tested the hypothesis that because of their cultures and strict sex typing, Mexican boys and girls would violate gender typed activities less than Anglo boys and girls and their results failed to support this hypothesis. Mejia (1976) in a study of Anglo and Mexican American perceptions of parental roles also found that Mexican Americans did not adhere to published results of authoritarianism and traditionalism, or the submissive wife concept. Sloklin (1976) in a comparison of Anglo and Mexican American female college students found no significant differences between them in actual expressed sex role, or expressed role preferences. Fewer Mexican Americans saw themselves as only housewives and a higher percentage were employed than Anglo women. Villareal (1976) found that among Mexican Americans in South Texas, the higher the income and education level, the greater the tendency to dispel notions of machismo. Hamlin (1977) in a study of opinions towards the public school system found that educational expectations across three generations (Native born Mexicans, and first and second generation Mexican Americans) for both male and female children were highly similar in nature and quality. Lopez (1977) found that among immigrants from Mexico, documented (Resident Aliens) and undocumented, there was a

wide acceptance of diffusion of egalitarian roles. Urdaneta (1977) found in her sample population of Mexican American women in an urban setting in the Southwest United States, that machismo does not seem to play an important part in fertility regulation. Chahin (1978) confirms Urdaneta's findings with his own in which he found that sex of the subject did not have a significant effect on either the educational aspirations or expectations, or occupational goals, or orientations towards family procreation among Mexican American migrants. McCurdy (1978) found no support for the research hypothesis that adherence to traditional sex role relationships would be strongest for poor Chicano couples, when compared to poor Anglo and poor Black couples. In addition no support was found for the hypothesis that the stronger the traditional role relationships, the greater the degree of male dominance in marital decision-making. This is an interesting finding inasmuch as it raises the possibility that when class levels are equal the expression of masculine roles are similar across racial ethnic lines.

Conclusions regarding male-female literature. Before examining the Latino Studies literature, a pause will be made to briefly review what the Male-Female Relationship literature has revealed, and how this is similar or different from the psychological literature. Similar to the psychological literature it is found that the way machismo is looked at involves value judgments of the researchers. That its roots are in Mediterranean cultures seems to be one of the only facts on which researchers can agree. The characterization here, as in psychology,

ranges from that of the macho as selfish, dangerous, inflexible to that of him as egalitarian in his attitudes. Important psychological points culled from this literature that were not as obvious in the psychological works include the following suggestions: that when the macho presents himself as a psychotherapeutic candidate, he does so for somatic complaints; that the macho might have an oral character; that machismo affects women by contributing to their dissatisfaction with sex and promoting depression; and that macho men are restricted in their ability to enjoy non-genital sex. From another view, authors in this field claim, as do some psychologists, that there are class differences in the expression and severity of machismo, with the lower classes being more machista. Concomitantly, is the notion that the existing descriptions are overexaggerated due to Anglo researchers having conducted earlier studies, and that the machismo concept is an ideal and not the norm. In contrast is the fact that in this area more studies provide results contradicting earlier research. The most salient difference is the conclusion which places a shared responsibility on the female in supporting the machismo behavior; indeed, for the first time there is an indication that the woman is complice to submissiveness, that she might even encourage machismo in order to further her own gains and power in the family.

Latino Studies

The Latino Studies literature is one which combines many disciplines, and consequently often focuses on the topic of machismo in

diversified ways. This is particularly so of the Chicano and Puerto Rican literature. However, as an introduction to the area, one must acknowledge the existence of machismo in Middle America (Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama), South American (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru [Patch (1970), Moren and Donnel (1971)], Argentina, Uruguay) and the Caribbean (Puerto Rico, Cuba, [Martinez Alier (1971)] and the Dominican Republic [Lanz (1972)]). Quite illustrative descriptions of machismo are put forth in the Latin American area. Mafud (1966) writes of the missionary position in sexual intercourse being specifically machista coitus, for in no other aspect of feminine life is the macho expressing his absolute domination as he is in sex. Cunnilingus, "soixante-neuf," and fellatio displace this machista control over the woman's body, and as such are avoided. All of the machista's sexual behavior is centered on his erection, he disrobes to affirm his virility. The lack of an erection makes him less of a man; this is one of the reasons he experiences a great deal of anxiety before each sexual act. If the act is conducted with a prostitute or a casual lover, the anticipatory anxiety is even more intense. Mafud also believes that more violent behavior can take place with a prostitute because the machista needs to compensate for the weakness inherent in having sex with someone he has to pay. Adolph (1970) in a scathing critique of machismo in terms of its presence in Lima concludes that machismo has certain prerequisites, among them he lists: "physical strength, lack of sensitivity, progressive idiocy." He understands the phenomena to be nefarious in its

contribution to culture in the form of "imbecilic sportsmen," and bedroom snakes who with the first signs of graying hair adapt themselves to the prey they wish to snare. Adolph speaks of machos as holy males who think of hell as they introduce their penis into the woman who will serve to aggrandize them. They are the dormitory lions who bestow medals on themselves when they have more than three orgasms per hour, even if none of these is satisfying. Machismo has given the people of Lima miserable men who enjoy each instance that they cause a woman to cry, reveling in the fact that she "suffers for me": Adolph would have the reader believe that machismo has created record-breakers in the world of conquest, who leave behind them dissatisfaction and hatred towards men deposited in their spoils. In summary, he writes that it has created homosexuals who, in order to laugh with Freud, wish to punish their mothers or maybe rape the priest who imposed upon them the adoration of a virgin. In a later work, Adolph (1971) writes that among South Americans the most uncouth machismo exists among the middle and lower classes because of men's sense of alienation in society and in their occupations. Geyers (1971) sees it as a factor holding back Latin American progress. Baltra (1972) refers to it as an oppressive ideology, while Mejia Ricart (1975) lists 20 principal characteristics of machismo which he formulated based on his experiences in the Dominican Republic and other Latin American countries. These 20 aspects of the macho social role are divided into two groups of ten, the first being related to his sexual behavior and the other related to the individual's stance before society. The

traits as defined by Mejia Ricart are as follows:

1. Sexual Potency--the demonstration of great sexual effectiveness before oneself and before others.
2. "Donjuanism"--the predilection to possess an unlimited number of women, hopefully virgins, and supporting several women simultaneously.
3. "Parrandersimo"--the irrepressible desire to go out with male friends to ingest alcoholic beverages and seek out prostitutes.
4. Masculine ostentation--the partial or total exhibition of those parts of the body that characterize the masculine sex (the penis, hairy chest, muscles) be it in the emphasizing of his actions, the intonation of the voice, the manner of walking and other behaviors that are customary in men.
5. Coprolalia--the conscious usage of dirty language and obscene jokes.
6. Cult of virginity--defense of virginity in his sisters and close relatives and pride in deflowering others.
7. Sexual repression of women--relegating the woman overall to realizing a merely passive role.
8. Taboo on sexual themes--both men and women abstain from sharing with each other their sexual experiences and desires, with the exception of men with prostitutes.
9. Fertility--procreation of a large number of children, with a greater number of males than females.
10. Male fecundity.

His second list is as follows:

1. Stereotyping of masculine superiority over women in both physical and intellectual features.
2. Emotional rigidity--lack of intimate treatment of loved ones and the appearance of rigidity in critical situations. This is accompanied by a customary rude and discourteous attitude toward others.
3. Generational distancing--psychological distance between the man and youth who owe him respect and obedience.

4. Independence--stimulated by parents from childhood for the males, while obstacles are placed before all autonomous behavior strivings of daughters.
5. Aggression.
6. Wishes to be all powerful--the desire to reach and exercise social control in its different manifestations, such as political-military activities, as well as economic, social, and cultural ones. There is also a marked individualism in the macho's social actions.
7. Physical strength.
8. Personal valor--the capacity to face danger even when unnecessary.
9. Honor--identification of honor with the behavior of his wife and that of his daughters, rather than with his own, the condescending treatment of the weak and the courteous treatment of women who are not his own.
10. Excessiveness in economic matters--the excessive expenditure of money before strangers to the point of causing daily problems in intimate life, the point being to impress and appear economically capable.

Mejia Ricart comments that his observations have led him to believe that there is an attenuation of machista attitudes amongst the upper classes, as they seem to be more egalitarian in outlook. He traces the origins of the phenomena to the Western Greco-Roman culture and to traditional Catholicism, particularly the Catholicism of Middle Europe, Spain and Portugal. Respectively, these two origins contribute to the attitudes of masculine superiority and discrimination towards women. In addition, he claims that the primitive conditions of life and the organization of economic production in Latin America are of such a nature that physical force is the most important factor in life. This has contributed to the man seeing himself as the only one who can control any situation. In the case of certain Latin American countries,

e.g., Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina and the Dominican Republic, whose economies have traditionally rested on agrarian factors, machismo has probably had greater possibilities to reinforce machista attitudes, even though the conditions of life in the modern sectors of those very countries tend to attenuate those traits. With recognition of this attenuating force, Mejia Ricart concludes that machismo as a sociocultural phenomenon will tend to disappear, or at least lessen with the passing of years. He then lists six factors that will contribute to this occurrence; these are: (1) increasing urbanization; (2) economic development which promotes women taking more active roles in the economic life of a society; (3) lowering the un- and under-employment of women; (4) automatization of labor, making physical strength less of the decisive factor in production; (5) the rebellion of educated women; and finally (6) the refinement of artificial insemination, birth control and abortion technologies will contribute to the decline of machismo. Mejia Ricart's closing statements examine the possibility that in post-industrial society, the social order will be semi-matriarchal and men will find themselves on the defensive against women with equal rights; where women will be more sure of themselves and in control of their reproductive capabilities; and will themselves make the most important decisions. If this is so, then Mejia Ricart suggests that men should be preparing themselves for a future Masculine Liberation movement. What Mejia Ricart means by this last comment is unclear as it is sufficiently vague to be interpreted as both progressive and reactionary. Readers are left wondering whether these men's

liberation movements are to encourage adaptation to necessary changes or serve as a power basis for resistance of them.

In summary, these general descriptions of Latin American machismo provide a traditional perspective. Dominance over women, sexual anxiety, and lack of intimacy combine with latent homosexuality and the capacity for violence to create the stereotypical macho. The following sections will show that Mexican and Puerto Rican machos are also judged by this standard.

Traditional Mexican and Chicano studies. As stated earlier, the area in which machismo has been written about most extensively in the United States is concerned with how it operates in the Mexican and Puerto Rican family structure. Given that these two groups comprise the largest minority groups in the United States other than Blacks, they have been subjected to much study, controversy, stereotyping, and rehabilitation.

Madsen (1964) wrote of the macho as being most consistent with the machismo pattern when he kept a mistress in a second household. Stevens (1965) warns that machismo is conducive to the formation of totalitarian leadership in the Mexican political arena. Hayden (1966) asserts that the macho's male individualism and hombria goes as far as to see the use of contraceptive devices as ample justification for punitiveness towards his wife. De Hoyo (1966) states that the transmission of machismo occurs through an amigo system and a number of informal rites of passage, such as street fighting. In his view, the macho is carefree, undomesticated, Don Juan-like, and prone to

devalue and disregard domestic responsibilities, particularly those pertaining to home life. Impulsiveness, strength and toughness are seen as the optimal manner of settling disagreements and relating to subordinates. Heller (1967) suggests that the high rates of assault and battery among Mexicans are perhaps reflections of machismo. Bullock (1970) feels that machismo "can lead to an emphasis on physical strength and a suspicion of an interest in education as unmasculine. Occupations requiring muscular prowess may have greater appeal than those associated with intellectual effort." As such, Bullock considers machismo as contributory to the "employment problems" of Mexican-Americans. Given previous and more recent analysis of the employment/unemployment dialectic (Garcia-Bahne, 1977) Bullock's cultural explanations approximate a denial of overt economic discrimination against Mexican-Americans. Meier (1972) likewise avails himself of questionable cultural analyses. In his work he concludes that Federal relief programs in the New Deal era of the 30's were less helpful to the Mexican American because of the males' reluctance to seek public help due to their pride and machista attitudes. However, he explains the high number of Mexican Americans serving in combat divisions during the Second World War as possibly caused by machismo and patriotism. He postulates that because of these factors a higher percentage of Mexican Americans "volunteered for the more hazardous branches." What might contribute to Mexican Americans being more patriotic than other ethnic groups is not delineated by Meier, making his argument highly suspect given the historically verifiable anti-Mexican attitude preva-

lent during the early decades of this century. Furthermore, his analysis ignores the economic realities which have served to make the Armed Forces more attractive to the working class in the United States. Offering a more "psychological" characterization, Barber (1972) sees machismo as a highly destructive narcissistic complex, which includes: extreme polarization of the sexes; the sanctification of the Mexican mother; a relative social acceptance of crimes of passion; and an ambience which prevents openness and trust. Likewise, Santamaria (1976) agrees that machismo is based on violence and narcissism. These theoretical formulations are corroborated by researchers like Paddock (1975) who, in his study of anti-violent versus "normal" communities in Mexico, found that the anti-violent communities differ from their neighbors in showing a near-absence of machismo, implying that "normal" communities are violent and machista. Further, he asserts that the subject's machismo seemed to underlie their verbal flirtations with a female ethnographer involved in the study.

To continue description of this literature would be repetitious, since much of this traditional perspective has been referred to in an earlier section. More important for present attempts is the examination of literature which takes the culturalist view.

Culturalist Mexican and Chicano studies. Herein, it is found that the Chicano literature has done a much better job of addressing the functional aspects of machismo than other research has. For instance, Gomez (1965) informs that in Mexico the legal nature of sexual relations between partners concludes that marriage is not sufficient

reason for a wife to be without protection from an abusive husband. The partner should have the right to decide whether or not to engage in sexual relations since legal equality of the sexes exists. This is an interesting piece of legislation from a country which is reportedly very machista. In addition, the literature is characterized by the efforts of those like Foster (1967) who includes in his definition of the macho, a non-quarreling seeking quality, and non-exploitative of sex trait. He includes women in his description of machismo and more keenly emphasizes the valor that is basic to the concept. Vernon (1967) likewise de-generalizes the concept of machismo when he writes that the paternalism, loneliness, and aggressiveness evident in Mexican businessmen is not so much the result of machismo as of the social tensions which any developing country seems vulnerable to. He points to the fact that similar cults of masculinity among industrial leaders were apparent in England in the early nineteenth century, as well as in America during the same period, and during the past two decades. Burma (1970) compares the Mexican American subculture with the culture of poverty and concludes that in both there is a certain male pride in being masculine. To call it machismo among Mexican-Americans is accurate, yet to translate this into American terms is difficult given its connotations of virility, pride and a "self-concept of personal worth in one's own eyes as well as those" of one's peers. The manifestations of machismo differ with the individual and these differences are of some significance. He writes:

It is of practical significance that an acceptance by the Mexican American community of machismo leads to a differ-

ential attitude towards male juvenile delinquency. Mixed with what both Mexican Americans and Anglos consider delinquent acts is other behavior which the Mexican American community sees primarily as a young male proving his manhood, reaching for adulthood, sowing his wild oats, or 'getting it out of his system.' Whatever you wish to call it, to the Mexican American community this boy is not doing anything which will interfere seriously with his later becoming a good husband and father and provider. The middle-class Anglo community, which makes the laws and enforces them, may see the same behavior as clear delinquency leading, unless punished and stopped to a life of crime, degradation, and worthlessness (p. 24).

In another vein, Aguilar (1973) asserts that the Chicana has taken on macho characteristics, i.e., being vocal, aggressive, and an effective community organizer, in order to reaffirm her civil rights. While Armas (1975) examines the development of the macho concept in the Anglo-American psyche, and writes of how the Latino male has been seen to be either the cool, smooth Latin lover or the arrogant stud. He finds Women's and Gay Liberation to be painting the picture of the Latino as a chauvinist pig who does not care, better yet, is incapable of warmth or humanism. He admits to the existence of chauvinism among Mexican males but he does not see this as equivalent to machismo, which in his opinion is something different from misogyny and which exists in different cultures in similar ways. The machismo he speaks of is one that is "the foundation of daily interaction between people and the world around them." In addition to the mix of Indian and Spanish precursors to machismo, he cites the Arabic and Jewish influences also interwoven with the Spanish legacy for centuries. Commenting on the fact that others have seen in the bullfight workings of machismo, he admits to the fact that the bullfight is the arena in which the individual is

confronted with the aloneness of death, and judgment on how he acts in that encounter, values a show of dignity, integrity, and grace. It is not manliness which is being tested here, but the ability to confront one's finality and existence with honor. This aggressive seeking-out of a testing ground is not synonymous with violence, but is consistent with the concept of respect in which one strives to attain this from others. This need for respect Armas sees as a territorial imperative that is as important for humankind as it is in all forms of animal life. In this manner Armas utilizes a Darwinist sociologist perspective akin to that of Tiger (1969), who understands human male behavior to be part of a species-specific patterned propensity. The fact is that the Mexican does not disrespect death as some others have stated, instead he celebrates and accepts death as a stage in the life process. A cycle which only recently has been gaining attention from organized American psychology (Kubler-Ross, 1969, 1975). The sexism that exists in Chicano culture is no different from the sexism that exists in other cultures. To Armas the outdoors person, the womanizer, the hunter, and the brawler are not machos. Nor is male domination at the core of the macho system, though there are Mexican males who mistreat their wives. These chauvinist expressions have more to do with individual instabilities than they do with Mexican culture. According to Armas, machismo has provided the Chicanos with the strength to deal with racism, classism, etc.

Hernandez (1976) writes that an important part of the Chicano male's concept of machismo is that of using his authority within the

family in a just and fair way, for if he misuses his authority he is subject to loss of respect from the community at large.

Gaitan (1976) comments on the increasing incorporation of the term "macho" into the English language and focuses her examination on the implications of this terminology. She explains that the word in itself represents "male breeder" in the plant and animal world, whereas in its social application it has both positive and negative aspects. Among the positive manifestations are: love of humanity, compassion for suffering, liberty for all, lack of concern for money, love of music and dancing, love of children, respect for children, modesty and reserve, liberal political orientation, respect for elders, good manners, and a willingness to fight when necessary. The negative aspects include: women seen as subordinate creatures created to make man's lot more comfortable and pleasurable, hero-worship-dictatorships, too much responsibility placed on the male to maintain his position, and the male being too modest and reserved for survival in today's society. Gaitan contends that while some positive and negative aspects seem to cancel each other, it is generally the individual who defines "macho" in the Chicano community; illustrative of this is the emphasis given to positive aspects when Chicanos speak about machismo versus that of the Chicanas who refer to the negative aspects. These different identifications create barriers to communication between Chicanos and Chicanas. Gaitan claims that though women did not invent machismo, to some extent they perpetuate it, giving as an example, the wife who feels neglected by her husband and caters to her son, such that

he in turn will place her on a pedestal. She argues that Chicanas must stop wishing their first-born to be males, as well as telling their sons that crying is unmanly. She also posits that perhaps the reformation and attack of the Spanish language from a feminist perspective is the greatest form of revolution. This is necessary since, "When we speak in the Spanish language we are in a man's world. The Spanish language uses male genders to include both male and female....If we would start emphasizing and making distinctions of the sexes when we speak the Spanish language, we could, perhaps, revolutionize the thinking, and perhaps, the behavior." Notwithstanding Gaitan's worthy and important observations, it is questionable whether reformation and attacks on a language can indeed be sufficient to change behavior. Additionally, her comments on the male bias of the Spanish language are inconclusive inasmuch as the majority of languages do the exact same thing that she accuses the Spanish language of.

Mirande (1977) concurs with both Armas and Gaitan's descriptions and characterizes these descriptions as one in which "the macho...is usually seen as actively combatting acculturation and assimilation." In Mirande's view this sympathetic perspective which defines machismo more in terms of family pride and respect than in terms of male dominance, besides dispelling many erroneous and negative stereotypes about the Chicano family, generates a positive set of stereotypes. Mirande's analysis is quite an interesting one in that he recognizes the dangers of a culturalist perspective; however, since he does not expand on these dangers or on other factors that later authors do, he still must

be characterized as adialectical. Then again, it would be unfair to label him a culturalist as he does not concentrate on "positives" or on functional interpretations of machismos meaning within a tolerant culture. Since he recognizes the duality of the concept as opposed to emphasizing one of its extremes, it might be best to consider him a dualist. This perspective may be conceived of as an intermediary moment between the culturalist perspective and a dialectical one. More will be said about this when the Puerto Rican Literature is examined as there is where the specifications of these perspectives¹ become clearer.

Chicano culturalist perspective in research. Examination of the research characteristic of the Chicano culturalist perspective reveals many studies which give empirical bases to the essayist-type theories of that school. For instance, Maccoby (1967) reports on socio-psychological work done with Erich Fromm since 1960 on Mexican national character. Using projective questionnaires, the Rorschach, Thematic Apperception Test and participant observations with 900 villagers, he came to the conclusion that Mexican social behavior is not sufficiently

¹Though the intent of the present work is to conceptualize the machismo concept from a dialectical perspective, the barriers imposed by language at times blurs this goal. Notice the use of the word perspectives and the parceling of them into traditional, culturalist, dualist, and dialectical. Though the argument is that there are no unitary modes of interpretation of machismo, the inexact nature of language forces this author to make static what in reality are moments. This problem is similar to the problem of Marxist philosophers who are forced to speak of "thesis-antithesis-and synthesis" in explaining dialectical thought. The danger here is the very reification of concepts into stages which these philosophers vehemently argue against.

explained by character studies. He felt that socio-economic reality was influential in fostering certain behaviors. Grebler, Moore, and Guzman (1970) examined the supposedly inhibiting qualities of machismo in terms of achievement among Mexican males via questioning men and women regarding husband and wife roles in the Mexican-American nuclear family. Their results made them question the common notions of machismo, for they showed that though men may still refuse to engage in housework, they had given up absolute control and had assumed feminine roles in the more important aspects of marital relationship and child-rearing. As does Vernon (1967), these writers point to the similarities between the male concepts of some Mexicans and the lower-class definitions of masculinity across ethnic groups in America. On the basis of six months of field research in Mexico Swartzbough (1970) reports that machismo varies according to class differences. He found that peasants affirm the ethos of masculine worth labeling it macho, while the upper class deny kindredness with the term but use instead the term power. Montenegro (1974) indicates that in her study of Mexican American women she found a rejection of the traditional dominant role of the husband and a belief that he was equally responsible in caring for the home and children. Stewart (1974) likewise found in her conversations with elderly Mexican American women that they rejected the submissive, passive, dependent role of women. Crago (1976) joins the ranks of the few who have conducted significant research on machismo. Her study was of three cultural groups, in which she employed an original three-part English/Spanish questionnaire measuring

academic and social roles/goals, perceptions, aspirations, and expectations among high school girls in southern California and Mexico. She operationalized the machismo construct based on literary descriptions and personal interviews. The findings of the study indicated that despite the strength of perceived machismo in the Mexican group, these subjects have high academic expectations. She concluded that this finding could be a result of acculturation to the changing sex role patterns of the United States, or/and a high degree of ethnic pride brought about by the Chicano identity movement. Cromwell (1976) studied decision making and traditional sex role stereotypes of Anglo, Black, and Chicano couples and found no significant differences among the dependent variables of power structure, patriarchy and sex role stereotype which could be attributed to ethnic group membership. Perez (1977) studied machismo in two cultures, the Mexican and Chicano, using thematic analysis of fifty corridos (Mexican ballads about men). The results indicate that the need for power is a salient theme of machismo; that the need for power and affiliation are frequently present in expressions of machismo; that machismo is above all a self-assertive manner of expressing the power motive; and that the Chicano expression of machismo is characterized by cultural conflict, while the Mexican expression is characterized by high risk-taking and aggression. Arron (1978) investigated the role of women in Mexico City from 1800 to 1857 as revealed in laws of that period, and concluded that although the ideal was that a woman be restricted at home, the law did not prescribe that. In reality, all women of different marital status

and socio-economic class levels actively participated in the city's life. Single and widowed women were given considerable legal rights and took part in the labor force in greater proportions than married women. It was also found that lower-class women fulfill traditional role of wife and mother more often than women of the elite. Mena (1978) found that equality between husband and wife was the norm among Mexican American families in Colorado. That these families gave their children equal freedom regardless of sex, that the average number of children was less than the average reported for these groups in other literature. From these results they concluded that the rural folk culture literature is not a valid description of the Mexican descent family of the Southwest and that it provides little more than sweeping generalizations.

Conclusions regarding Mexican and Chicano machismo literature. It has been seen that the literature related to Mexican, Mexican-American, and Chicano machismo has essentially reiterated the descriptions provided by the traditional and culturalist schools in both the psychological and sex role fields. In this Chicano literature the tendencies have been to see the culture as culprit (Olesen, 1971; Barber, 1972; and Santamaria, 1976) inasmuch as machismo is traced to "innate" qualities of Hispanics. Where this has not been the case, the literature has related the development of this behavioral pattern to the rise of industrial classes (Vernon, 1967) and examined its similarities to Anglo versions of masculinity among the lower classes, as well as its differences among classes (Grebler, 1970; Swartzbough, 1970). This

latter literature often questions the validity of the traditional perspective which claims that the macho does not achieve because of his behavior. Instead, they posit that systemic Anglo enclosure of social institutions has prevented upward mobility for the Mexican male. These authors claim that given this reality, the Chicano has no choice but to cling to macho ways, and to think otherwise is to blame the victim (Ryan, 1972). Such accusations are seen as politically motivated and biased by value judgments inasmuch as they reflect the tendency to judge Hispanic male behavior by dominant Anglo standards. Although this literature raises important class and socio-political considerations, it fails to adequately research these aspects. In addition, it often fails to recognize its own value judgments and political motivations, hence it rallies against the denigration of Chicano culture while only advocating "understanding" the roots of Hispanics. As such it often recommends the adjustment of theoretical perspectives rather than their change, and consequently falls into the danger of the justification of the positive aspects of machismo, while advocating--in not-intended ways--the maintenance of its oppressive structure. To some extent the Puerto Rican literature also suffers from this pitfall, although, herein is found the most advanced analysis of machismo from an emergent dialectical perspective.

Puerto Rican Studies

The literature that specifically pertains to the Puerto Rican macho is not as voluminous as that which focuses on the Chicano.

However, it is the most important literature to be analyzed given the study's intent to examine the conceptualization of machismo among a select group of Puerto Ricans.

Previous discussion of the machismo literature has identified a camp that argues that machismo is destructive (traditional) and that which argues it is integrative (culturalist). In addition, reference has been made to that literature which describes the positive aspects of machismo and acknowledges its negative aspects, the dualist perspective. This perspective provides a transitional moment between the culturalist and dialectical. Finally, there is the dialectical view which strives to discover the interactive, interconnected and contradictory aspects of machismo given a specific socio-historical context. An attempt to identify authors with one category as opposed to another will be made although this may create some confusion, given that this body of literature is in a state of flux. This in itself may be reflecting the flux of the personal and social changes which Puerto Ricans are undergoing.

Traditional Puerto Rican literature. Lewis (1963) states that machismo is the Puerto Rican form of chauvinism which persistently constructs and maintains a wall of psychological separation between the sexes at almost every point in life. He denounces the behavior as a dependency complex of Puerto Rican males in which they seek mother substitutes as marriage partners. Additionally, he states that there are many psychiatric indices suggesting that its virile manifestation hides a real tendency towards infantile dependency on feminine rule.

These factors interacting with tensions caused by sex role behaviors of parents seem to be, according to Lewis, related to a tendency towards premature marriage among Puerto Rican youth. These marriages are seen as the only way to successfully separate from parents, however, they almost always immediately fail, since the couples lack the necessary preparation to effect a fertile and permanent union. Rogler and Hollingshead (1965) report that the macho feels he must sustain his desire and capacity beyond those of the female during sexual intercourse. Wagenheim (1970) sees the male as asserting his freedom in "el viernes social" (social Friday), where on payday the macho lingers with the boys for drinks and socializing. Abrams (1974) posits that the Puerto Rican macho is an endangered species which is being threatened by the discovery of the Women's Liberation movement by Puerto Rican women. According to her, this cult of manliness cloaks the disguised truth of matriarchy which indirectly maintains power by manipulating men. The dependent macho is resentful of the new found identity of the Puerto Rican woman who has become aware of her social problems and is attempting to solve them. This emerging woman creates fear in the male and Abrams feels that this might contribute to an increase in homosexuality among Puerto Rican males, as the macho is confronted with certain social demands whereby he must "make it" with as many women as possible, yet he now meets women who may reject him. This male may find it easier to slip into a relationship with a likewise confused, insecure male. Galli (1975) claims that machismo is a factor of the Hispanic tradition that has a detrimental effect on the welfare

of every Puerto Rican, for it leads to sexual promiscuity, over population, venereal diseases, family breakdown, early marriage, and a variety of health related problems. Torres-Matrullo (1978) defines machismo as:

A traditional cultural value which reinforces the Puerto Rican man's superiority over women, physically and psychologically, and the man's need to demonstrate his maleness/virility by fathering children (particularly boys), seducing women, being waited upon by women, avoiding tasks that are considered feminine, enjoying sexual freedom, including extramarital affairs, negative attitudes towards birth control, and, in general being the unquestioned seat of authority in the home (p. 1).

Munoz (1978) suggests that further elaboration of the machismo complex requires the completion of additional psychotherapeutic work with Hispanic American males, nevertheless, he posits that it is "an outgrowth of the difficulties experienced by men in achieving and deepening intimacy, trust, and mutual dependency with their wives. The anxieties connected with these processes may lead to psychosomatic symptoms, physical aggressiveness against their wives, impotence, drunkenness, not to mention unfaithfulness." Christensen (1979) describes how the Puerto Rican mother replicates the cycle of machismo when she accepts the mischeivous macho behavior of her son.

Christensen claims such behavior though properly remonstrated is often perpetuated by the woman for she warns against it while secretly enjoying it. However, he does not provide any evidence for this assertion, other than his clinical experience, nor does he cite any empirical support.

The following section will examine the research representative of

the traditional perspective in an attempt to discover how the theoretical is buttressed by research.

Traditional research on Puerto Rican machismo. Stycos (1955) represents one of the earliest and most conclusive studies on machismo of the Puerto Rican variety to date. Though it is not reflective of the newer studies that attend to nuances of the concept, it is one of the few that provides more than a philosophical discourse on the topic. It is in essence the classic research study on Puerto Ricans that included machismo as one of its important variables. He queried 72 men on the concept and found that four out of every ten respondents gave the term a sexual referent, and about one out of ten cited courage. Stycos found that a significant group interpret the term in a negative vein, taking macho to be he who abuses women, self-aggrandizes and is drunkenly full of bravado. He finds the most striking way of encouraging the formation of machismo to be the adult adulation of the infantile penis by praise and physical manipulation. In his research he found that erections on the part of young children are supposedly praised by parents, as were all activities that were harmlessly aggressive or sexually tinted. The male child is waited on by his sister, and as he gets older he is expected to assume the role of guardian of her honor and virginity. As the male enters the realm of sexual relation, Stycos believes that the anxiety associated with proving his masculinity pushes him to get married earlier and to have a first child quickly. This is also important for it disproves sterility. It takes on an even greater significance when the sign of manhood is

taken to be the production of male offspring, in the case that female offspring are born first the male may continue to try fathering a male child for a very long time. Stycos also suggests that the male might be opposed to certain birth control devices such as the condom because he might think it more manly to have sex "au naturel."

Stycos labor is the only available research of the traditional perspective, as such it provides a weak foundation for the elaborate theoretical explanations generated by previous traditional authors. In the following sections, it will be seen that culturalist authors have similarly elaborated many theories with a somewhat better research record to support their views.

The new Puerto Rican literature. The new Puerto Rican literature refers to work that includes aspects of the previously identified culturalist and dualist perspectives, as well as an emergent dialectical view. In this section, this literature will be examined as a body given the difficulty in organizing its subtle distinctions. By grouping this literature, the erratic progression of thought on the topic of Puerto Rican machismo will be more recognizable.

Fernandez Mendez's (1955) interprets machismo as a political problem as opposed to a personal problem of men. Rohrllich-Leavitt (1960) states that the macho is the ideal toward which all men strive, yet under the cover of machismo the man is infantilely dependent on women, expecting his wife to be a mother substitute. Machismo is encouraged in the young male by teaching him to be responsible for his mother's good name. Sex is viewed as essential to the male so he marries early.

The macho role is in conflict with the good family man role. The more acculturated the family, the less likely they will define boys as aggressive and girls as passive. Likewise the disappearance of the fondling of the boys genitals is occurring, particularly in New York, as opposed to San Juan. The stereotypes which require the boy to be aggressive and macho are also less operative in New York, for the boy learns to channel aggression in political and economic ways not just macho activities. Sanchez Hidalgo (1960) sees the Puerto Rican family system as having changed from a patriarchal to a biarchal authority pattern, with both spouses being politically, economically, and intellectually equal, with the sharing of functions and responsibilities. Beck, Hill, and Stycos (1960) report that the so-called tension of the macho to have many children is found to be relatively small among Puerto Ricans. Fitzpatrick (1971) describes machismo as another aspect of personalism---a basic value of Puerto Rican culture. Personalism in the Puerto Rican culture, as in other Latin cultures, is a form of individualism which focuses on the inner worth of the person. La Ruffa (1971) has serious reservations about the past and current usage of terms such as machismo in that social scientists have stressed what they believe to be the excesses of the Puerto Rican male's sexuality, and this emphasis is nothing more than a value judgment which has seriously skewed any comprehensive analysis of the concept. Marques (1972) claims that machismo was the last cultural bulwark from which Puerto Rican men could still combat the collective docility of Puerto Ricans, and that this criollo version of the fusion and adaptation of the two

secular concepts of Spanish honor and the Roman pater familiare has been destroyed in part by the educated Puerto Rican female social worker. Wells (1972) writes that machismo influences the action style which is traditionally considered desirable and almost indispensable in a Puerto Rican political leader. He comments that its repercussions go beyond those of sexual aggressivity and power for it implies an energetic personality, which is strong-willed, brave, and self-confident. In his opinion these qualities and the "macho" mode of action constitute the norm not only for the authentic machos but also for men of all walks of life, classes and occupations. Mintz (1973) finds it difficult to accept statements linked with machismo as totally accurate descriptions of what is characteristically Puerto Rican. Feeling that the term has been much used by writers who are so unreserved as to state that it is part of the national culture of Puerto Rico, he claims that "it has nowhere received the serious analytic and qualifying attention it deserves." His own view is that class differences and rapid social change conspire to invalidate any such generalizations. Arguing from a similar dialectical vantage point, Lopez (1973) states that calling Puerto Rican machismo a form of sexism is to err greatly for this does not take into account the many forces operating in the construct. He feels it to be composite of some of the most reactionary and most progressive socio-cultural forces figuring in the Puerto Rican nations' social development. Besides sexism, machismo has another foundation: self respect which is socially oriented and based on the idea of responsibility to one's family. Lopez traces the history of machismo

to the Spanish legacy which had definite prerequisites to attaining full manhood: intelligence, good manners, gentility, charity, and Christianity; and being a caballero (gentleman). In the colonial situation of Puerto Rico, however, this developed into an emphasis on the physical aspects of manliness since it behooved the Spanish colonizers to keep their subjects ignorant and working hard to enrich their colonial empire. The brutality of this physical machismo is related then to the exploitation of the Puerto Rican in the labor process. De-emphasizing their intellectual capacity meant that they could work as animals and would not revolt against the Spanish. In addition, this machismo helped maintain a distance between the sexes which kept them from using each others' talents to better their lot by destroying the system that oppressed them. The separation was so successful that being a woman became being a slave to a slave. With the passage of the island into American rule, the nationalist forces served to make the people self assertive and gave them hopes of identity. The emphasis on the physical waned and now men could be intellectuals who struggled for liberation. Thus the birth of the new man occurred, even though the legacy of sexism remained. The Puerto Rican outside of Puerto Rico however, did not have the same identity movement forces operating on his behalf such that the old forms of machismo continued in the oppressive slums of New York and the ghettos of Chicago. With no national identity available to transform it, machismo found expression in the street gangs of the 50's and 60's. However, the recent radicalization and profound social changes going on in Puerto Rico, and among

Puerto Ricans in the mainland United States have begun to purify the old concept of machismo. The need for assertion is not as prevalent, since the Puerto Rican now has an identity. The young Puerto Ricans recognize the stupidity and oppressiveness of fighting among themselves and are now ready to fight for the nation. In Lopez's eyes, as the Puerto Rican strengthens his culture and recognizes his worth, he acknowledges the important role of women and thereby lessens sexism.

Diaz (1976) details what Lopez stated in general terms regarding the origins of machismo by explaining that in the exportation of the machismo ideology to the colonies the Spaniard lost his interest in arts and letters, for his emphasis was on the physical strength necessary to mine gold and silver. These brutal aspects were emphasized so that the colonized male would lose respect for his female companion and exploit her for her reproductive capabilities, thereby increasing the population of workers, slaves and the colonized who would serve their Spanish masters. Diaz in a manner akin to Lopez persuasively argues that current considerations of machismo are simplistic and incomplete given their emphasis on one aspect of the behavior pattern, in his view a consideration of its dual aspects is not only preferable but mandatory. He posits that an understanding of its negative characterizations may explain the outmarriage phenomena among Puerto Ricans. He writes that there are many Puerto Rican men who having recognized that the "victims" of machismo are both strutting males and martyred women:

perceive Puerto Rican women as weak and dependent. Many such Puerto Rican men, especially middle class, suffer from the

illusion that the solution is to marry non-Puerto Rican women. They assume the Anglo wasp woman is more intellectual, more self-sustaining, and less demanding....Some Puerto Rican women marry Anglo men under similar assumptions that they are kinder, better fathers, more gentle and better economic providers (p. 8-9).

The implications of Diaz's allegations are troublesome and particularly so since he does not explore them. If it is accepted that the promulgation of the machismo ideology is a deliberate attempt on the part of the existing Anglo social order to negatively stereotype the Latin male, then its effects, if Diaz is correct regarding outmarriage, is to contribute to a cultural genocide wherein the victims become their own executioners. Lopez's outlook, as is Diaz's, is tinged heavily with the socio-political interpretation of the status of the Puerto Rican nation as a colony. It is important to note that the United States has been continuously asked to de-colonize the Puerto Rican nation by no less an authority than the United Nation's De-colonization Committee. Lopez's analysis, though political, is one that has also been applied by others than political scientists. Frantz Fanon (1963), a Black psychiatrist, wrote in a similar vein in terms of the African's experiences under French colonization. Fanon's underlying mode of interpretation points to the pecking order that exists in the animal world, and in the human world wherever there are some stronger than others. Applied to the Puerto Rican male this analysis suggests that given the oppression he experiences at one level of this hierarchal arrangement of power, he is apt to seek another target at the bottom of the pyramid, the closest one often being his mate. Supportive of this analysis is Albert Memmi's (1965) assertion that the oppressed individual often

adopts the attitudes of the oppressor towards those with whom he or she relates. Steiner (1974) reports that in an interview with the Minister of Education of the Bronx Young Lords, Connie Morales, he was informed that Puerto Rican men attempt to overcome their social and economic castration by sexually acting out, although this is at the expense of women. Machismo becomes the only pride one can have when the barrios have male youth who are unemployed, unskilled, uneducated, humiliated and angry. Though women hate the sexist part of it, they understand the wounds their men sustain. When all freedom, including the most important political ones, have been taken away from a man, he is naturally insecure in his masculine identity and national identity. The only possession then becomes his woman, and he fights to have her as valiantly as he can. However, such dependency functions to make women serve as a displacement for the normal aggression he harbors his oppressors. In another interview, Steiner learns of the evolution of machismo to a higher level, where males are not the sole leaders, where they participate in the housekeeping, and more importantly where they struggle for their independence.

Mizio (1977) states the macho role must be understood in its extremes within the context of a man being castrated by society. Such understanding however does not make it excusable in its exploitation of women. Badillo Ghali (1977) and Gomez (1977) both make the observation that machismo is looked down upon by Anglo therapists, and Gomez takes it a step further in arguing that this pejorative view has entered the realm of the Puerto Rican's daily experience inasmuch as

currently whenever any woman in Puerto Rico wishes to hurt a man at the gut level all she has to tell him is that he's a machista or that he suffers from machismo. In this way what was before a compliment has almost turned into an insult. The term is so popular that it appears in all printed material from serious scholarly journals to those devoted to pornography. In his opinion, Gomez feels that in certain circumstances machismo has an adaptive healthy property. In a more recent work Gomez (1979) writes:

Nowadays, when a Puerto Rican man publicly voices his machismo he exposes himself to find his statement is detrimental for his own masculinity. On the other hand Puerto Rican machismo is less tyrannical in comparison with American machismo portrayed by an increasing number of wife beaters, an expression of physical abuse which is vanishing in Puerto Rico (p. 41).

Inclan (1979), a Puerto Rican psychologist, analyzes the machismo concept from a Marxist perspective and as such establishes himself among the very few psychologists who have sought to apply this particular type of analysis to the Puerto Rican. He examines how the concept was sustained by the development of capitalism in Puerto Rico. Claiming that with the advent of capitalism there occurred a division of labor between what was done in the home and what was done for a salary, he shows how before this split was created the Puerto Rican man, and his family worked together to satisfy their basic needs. It was a time when there were no bosses to whom one had to be accountable. However, this changed with industrialization, since bosses now employ others for the production of materials. Women are excluded for the most part from this sphere of production and they are maintained at home doing their usual work and forced to assume responsibility for the maintenance of

adequate personal relations in the family. That is to say that while their work at home is seen as having little value because it is thought of as not contributing to the production of materials or surplus value, they are expected to create a refuge to which the husband can return. De La Cancela (1979) expands on the descriptions provided by Inclan and explores the conflicts that are generated by the emphasis on the production of material goods within the capitalist structure. Writing that machismo allows only one manner of achieving self-esteem which is being involved in the production of materials, he concludes that without a job, the Puerto Rican man is not considered a real man. While stating that the macho label has been used in a discriminatory manner against Puerto Rican males, and that the North American description is a partial myth, he also cautions against the error of seeing it as a solely positive phenomena. Although he recognizes the "positive" aspects that being macho may have, De La Cancela points out two major difficulties. He identifies the emotional rigidity that can accompany machismo, and how machismo functions as an ideology for capitalist society. Analyzing how the experience of migration has been one whereby near penniless men and women have been forced to leave their homeland for the "better life" of the mainland; he explores how the economic aid offered these individuals creates as many problems as they are supposedly meant to solve. He looks at the welfare system in the United States and its miniature version in the island and concludes that it creates conflict between the Puerto Rican man and his family. This system gives money to the man's children and his wife for their liveli-

hood but denies it or offers less to them if the husband is in the home. Such factors often result in the abandonment of the home by the Puerto Rican male who believes his family will be better off without the economic burden he causes them. In other instances, the man lives a dual existence of being both a present and absent family figure, inasmuch as he is forced to hide from the welfare workers during the day and return home at night. In still other cases the man psychosomatizes in order to maintain his honor for sickness is unconsciously experienced as an honorable way of receiving economic aid in the form of social security and disability payments. This then becomes a manner in which his dignity is bought by the system for the paltry sum that is his monthly handout. In a later work, De La Cancela (1979b), attempts a general analysis of the impact that capitalist structures have on his own sense of manhood and concludes that the system makes the unemployed male feel less of a man than his working peers even though the system can only function when unemployment is built into it.

De La Cancela's conclusions as well as those of the other theorists in the culturalist-dualist-dialectical field have been mostly based on theoretical notions. In the following section the research affiliated with these views will be examined.

The new research on Puerto Rican machismo. In examining the research on Puerto Rican machismo which questions the ambiguity and definitions of previous findings, the following three research endeavors seem to be the only ones available in the literature.

Hill (1959) wrote that given his interviews of 322 males in Puerto

Rico there is no overwhelming evidence of strong conscious anxieties to prove virility or that the fear of sterility is prominent. In addition these males were predominantly small family oriented, even more so than their wives. The conclusion reached by Hill was that machismo exists primarily sociologically, that is by reputation. He particularizes the critique to be especially true of the Puerto Rican intelligentsia. Safa (1964) provides a framework for gaining an understanding of the politics of machismo. She writes that the Puerto Rican male's authority is undermined by the Public housing and welfare system which encourages the breakup of families via institutionalizing support to female based households. It is possible that given this situation the male acts in the only way he knows how to save his dignity, by emphasizing his manhood.

Pico (1979) having defined machismo as that set of attitudes, beliefs and behaviors that result from the belief that one sex is superior to another states that it is a cultural phenomena originating in economic conditions but transcending these to become both cause and effect of those economic conditions. In this way machismo legitimizes the existing inequalities in society. Having made this assertion she reports on a study conducted from 1976 to 1978 which involved an analysis of the graphic content and themes of the textbooks utilized by the Program of Spanish and Social Studies in the first six grades of the public education system, as well as almost all the private schools in Puerto Rico and many of the bilingual programs in the United States. The hypothesis of this research being that textbooks possess the

strength and capability to form not only the capacity of reading but also beliefs, attitudes and values in students. These textbooks transmit information about behavior patterns, cultural aspirations, economic, political and social values, and models of gender roles. Recognizing this the investigators created a nine-page questionnaire that analyses the graphic content of the books, which included the number of persons and their professions or employment, and games and infantile activities. The study revealed that even in stories where members of the animal kingdom are depicted, masculine animals are represented in greater numbers than feminine animals. More significant was the finding that even animals are assigned characteristics and roles proper to their sex. The analysis of the Basic Series of Spanish, published between 1963 and 1973, revealed that girls and women are presented as inferior to men, both in numbers and characteristics, i.e., wives follow their husbands. In the social studies textbooks, they found that when emotions are expressed, feelings of tenderness are usually expressed by feminine figures. The concept of women which is derived from the illustrations in this series is that of consumer, the person in charge of buying necessary articles, clothing, and food. Men are depicted as workers who obtain from the ocean and land the products useful for life.

From these illustrations one derives the unreal concept of women's dependency on male work to satisfy their needs. Additionally, the investigators were confronted with the fact that the communities presented to the child reader, and with which the authors hope the child-

ren will identify, are unfamiliar communities in the Puerto Rican experience. For example, rural communities with red barns with chimneys which in no way resemble the fincas of Puerto Rican ruralities. In the analysis of history textbooks, the investigators found that when the colonization of Puerto Rico is written about, no mention is made of the large numbers of Spanish women who immigrated to the island and establish themselves independently of men. The only mentioning of women that occurs is those wives or mothers of illustrious leaders of certain movements. That is to say, the depiction is that of the traditional self-denying woman who experiences great satisfaction by the success of her son and/or husband. When describing Greek democracy, no mention is made of the fact that women were not citizens and could not participate in the government of the polis, nor could they attend assemblies, nor participate in juries. In addition to the analysis of texts, the investigators conducted a survey of 128 female elementary school teachers from the School District of San Juan. These teachers were interviewed utilizing a questionnaire divided into several parts: 1) asking questions regarding the teacher's beliefs, expectations, and behavior towards boys and girls in the classroom; 2) asking them to create a list of adjectives that best describe the expected behavior of boys and girls, and of a good student regardless of sex; and 3) measures of to what point the teacher adheres to traditional concepts of sexual roles. Additionally, classrooms were observed to see if the classroom environment and the teacher student interaction contained stereotyping of sexual roles. The results attributed

to boys were "aggressive, athletic, agile, rough, active, gentlemanly, courteous, curious, disobedient, careless, stubborn, hard, dominant, extroverted, strong, firm, restless, impulsive, rude and virile." Whereas females were described as "liking work, quiet, careful, affectionate, delicate, sweet, docile, selfish, educated, feminine, humble, judgmental, clean, obedient, respectful, modest, silent, soft, submissive, still and timid." It was also discovered that 45% of the adjectives assigned to a good student coincide with those assigned to males, whereas 110% applied to girls. Another finding was that teachers tend to use a stronger tone and non-verbal forms of discipline when they scolded males, i.e., hitting with a ruler, pulling their hair, shaking or grabbing their heads. The investigators concluded from their survey and analysis that in a changing society these static role depictions become straitjackets which impede the individual's growth and her/his intellectual and physical preparation to confront life problems. In addition, the absence of women and their stereotyping in textbooks contribute to the child's internalizing the existing social order in her/his mind as something unchangeable. The omission and deformation of the historical experience of half of humanity can likewise create a false impression in students and make them incapable of understanding the future struggles of women in search of equality. Pico also emphasizes the importance of teachers, particularly preschool and elementary teachers, as one of the most important factors in eliminating sexual role stereotypes in education, for their expectations mold the conduct of the students in their classroom and can reinforce and strengthen

machista cultural patterns. Warning that when a distorted or limited vision is presented in the classroom, it acquires legitimacy and authority, she suggests that genderless words be used for writing history, i.e., human being, person or scientists, versus men of science. This is very important since in her opinion language is not merely a method of communication, it is a way of expressing ideas, beliefs, shared behavioral models and cultural aspirations. Certainly the intensity and scope of this study exceeds the typical research reported on the topic. However, her study suffers from several lamentable shortcomings.

First, she does not elaborate on her assertion that machismo is a cultural phenomena; second, she does not specify the economic conditions which give rise to machismo; third, she equates the concept with sexism; fourth, she does not explore the serendipitous finding that the communities depicted bore little resemblance to the Puerto Rican reality. This particular finding could have been explored in terms of the assimilationist Anglocentric ideology it represents; and fifth, she does not explore the finding that teachers tend to assign unstudent like adjectives to males more frequently than females, as well as to physically punish males more often. This finding certainly can be related to the reported macho predilection to denigrate education. One can easily see how such treatment at the hands of educators can predispose the male to experiencing school more traumatically, both in terms of physical pain and embarrassment. What contributions this particular disciplining method may make to the early and high drop-out

rates of Puerto Rican males from schools is a legitimate future research question.

In summary, although the theoretical and research components in Puerto Rican literature are not vast, they move towards a more critical analysis of the Puerto Rican male vis a vis the macho concept. Thus it provides us the beginnings of a more critical and dialectical profile.

Towards a Dialectical Perspective

The literature reviewed has in part shown that machismo, macho, and machista are Spanish words that have been used interchangeably amongst themselves as well as with male chauvinism and sexism. It has also been seen that there is a body of authors and researchers who disagree with this trend. These authors have been labeled culturalist when they emphasize the "positive" and more functional attributes of machismo to the exclusion of negatives, and dualist when they describe machismo as a double-sided coin. The dialectical label has been sparsely applied inasmuch as most authors do not put emphasis on interaction, conflict, change, and on the socio-historical context. I will show in this section that the argument for a dialectical analysis of machismo is an emergent and important one.

Arguing for a dialectical perspective requires a look at the historical factors in the Western psychology camp that necessitated its development. For decades the Hispanic person has been judged by the majority culture in a negative, stereotypic manner: his or her family life was deemed disorganized, pathogenic and in need of reform and

their intellectual capabilities were seen as genetically deficient or culturally deprived. The result of such views was a "person-blame" approach which implied that Hispanics were sick. The Hispanic psychologist, however, balked at the ethnocentricity evident in a psychological field that judges people from a white middle-class criterion. He or she quotes findings from other cultures that challenge the ubiquity of mainstream culture and class biases. A new perspective is presented which stresses the importance of a culturally relativist approach. The new emphasis is in respecting the culture of the "client" and not violating its sanctity as "tradition." Transcultural and cross-cultural research became the new passwords in the old game of delving into psyches. The new approach involves looking at differences between cultures, between white and Black culture, between American and Latin and any other ethnic/racial group that lends itself for comparison. However, the missing component of this "cultural revolution" is analyzing how culture is a product of the prevailing social order, and of how it reflects a process of internalization. As Colins (1977) indicates in his paraphrasing of Paulo Freire: "the oppressed 'house' the oppressor within their consciousness." So if we are concerned with an oppressive social order, then it follows that we must examine the culture that emerges from it. This view, a dialectical one to be sure, demystifies the sanctity of the cultural perspective. It questions the defensive use of culture as a viable expression of the experiences of an oppressed people without also examining the structure of that social reality. It opens for examination how the poor, non-white, oppressed

individual has evolved life patterns through history that reflect his or her dominated and subjugated reality. A reality in which the Third World not only had its history dominated by others but its meaning was also defined by others. In fact:

The Third World could adequately be described as the 'object' world par excellence, it is the world which was 'discovered,' invaded, subjugated, governed, then educated, converted and 'assisted' by another. The purpose of this systematic concern and action was its pacification (de Veiga Continho, 1972) (p. 10).

This pacification is apparent in traditional psychological conceptualization regarding Hispanics and it is apparent in approaches implemented within Hispanic psychology. While the traditional view has suffered from its philosophical base in metaphysical, mechanistic, and reified empiricism, the ethno-psychological approach seems in danger of falling into this abyss. As Riegel (1976) has pointed out, there is a "preference for stable traits, abilities, or competencies deeply rooted in Western psychological thinking." The individual is seen as a non-changing individual in a changing world. The same can be said of the culture concept among Hispanic psychologists, it is treated as if culture were static, adialectical, and as such unresponsive to historical changes. We speak of the cultural differences of our people as if they are irrevocable basic traits of our collective personalities. As Camayd-Freixas (1979) has indicated, placing individuals "in one category poses the ever present danger of failing to be aware and understand differences that make it impossible to apply unitary means of treatment. The danger is over generalization, and oversimplification." Zavala (1979) has spoken of the nationalistic conception that we are

losing our culture, without viewing that there might be some things that need to be lost." It can be argued, thereby, that culture needs to be looked at as a dynamic expression of a changing social reality. That is to say that culture must be seen neither as barrier nor as strength, that it must be placed within a socio-historical context, relate to class levels and viewed as dialectical phenomena. Arguing that the problem with the ethnic culture is that ethnicity gets confounded with the realities of life in certain socio-economic classes, the dialecticians conclude that culture is viewed as if it existed in a vacuum. Families are seen as if they are tied to static, inherent cultural traditions and as such the relevance of the external host society's effect on Hispanic families is obscured. Nothing that idealization of culture in the name of preserving it is simplistic, limiting and reifying, these workers make efforts to avoid replacing stereotypes with new ones (Garcia-Bahne, 1977). They recognize that exclusion and isolation from the mainstream of American society provides for the maintenance of traditions, and they note that as class levels approach the middle- and upper-classes there are greater similarities between the Hispanic and American family. They state that even with these similarities, differences remain that prevent the Hispanic middle class family from ever being a mirror image of the Anglo family. And that in lower class families where traditional models are adhered to, modifications have been made since these families cannot escape the integrative and disintegrative effects of a rapidly changing society. The concluding argument is that while

distinct, Hispanic culture is dynamic and dialectical, being in a constant state of change and interaction. Interaction with the host society has often resulted in negative stereotypes about Hispanics being internalized by Hispanic families such that those who do not make it in the "American way of life" begin to believe that they are responsible, becoming blind to the structural barriers that exist towards their "making it." This has the effect of perpetuating exploitation and domination of Hispanics who though often colonized, function as colonizing units themselves.

This analysis as applied to machismo reveals that the position of the Hispanic man in the employment-unemployment relationship which defines American capitalism is often marginal. Those who are able to get jobs find that the pay is so low that they are forced to have their families apply for public assistance. Welfare policies are such that a needy family can receive greater benefits if the husband is missing, which leads to fathers being reported as not being in the home so that more money will come into the household. In other cases it contributes to the breakup of the family for the father sees himself as an economic burden to this family and takes it upon himself to remedy the situation and maintain his self respect by abandoning the family. Welfare downgrades the value of men in the family at the same time it institutionalizes unemployment among women. For those men who do not wish to give up their self respect and who are lucky enough to have secured a job there are problems as well. First, having a job does not guarantee a living wage, and secondly, since the economic strategy is such that

only lower level jobs will be made available to these men, they are found working at strenuous physical labor or monotonous impersonal work. These types of jobs leave a man with little energy to relate to his family as husband and father. The result is that they tend to emotionally encapsulate themselves from their wives and assume authoritarian, dominant roles with their children in the interest of being effective parents. In this manner they faithfully reproduce their own work roles where they are ordered and bossed around. Dominant social psychological literature has looked at this state of affairs and has related it to the cultural pattern of machismo. They are joined in their efforts by the clinicians who interpret the problem in terms of the man's underlying inferiority complex and hatred of women. This scholarly reasoning leads to the Hispanic man being labelled as tryannical. But in my own analysis the fault with the explanation lies in its reducing a complicated relationship to analysis on the level of the individual.

A much more fruitful approach would be to examine how machismo replicates the existing social order through "identification with the aggressor" (Cintron-Ortiz, 1973). Instead of explaining the large number of children in Hispanic families solely by emphasis on the macho's need to prove his virility, these "experts" should take into account the socio-historic conditions that more succinctly explain this phenomena. Conditions which include the strong influence of Christianity on birth control practices as well as a rural agrarian background that demanded a large size family to increase the volume

of harvest undertaken. Such factors may still be in operation for a different set of reasons, for as Brown (undated xerox) reports, children are looked to in one's old age when there is a society that provides little chances for savings or old age insurance. Additionally, the Puerto Rican male may not favor birth control practices because of the negative experience such procedures are associated with. Experiences which include the fact that the United States health care system is responsible for the permanent sterilization of one third of all the women in Puerto Rico (Venceromos Brigade, 1975). Instead of pejoratively labeling the macho as someone lacking the intimate capacity to relate to women, could it be that his reported tendency to have all male social contacts reflect a method in which men collectively give each other the worth that is denied them by an oppressive social system. Could it be that this is how these men commiserate? In a similar manner questions can be raised regarding the reported emphasis on respeto (respect) among Puerto Rican males, for it too might be a cultural tendency that stems from a tradition and experience that reflects a colonial ideology. Can respeto then be viewed as an ideological tool to keep the colonized in line? Instead of focusing their attention on the culture of the Puerto Rican and consequently mystifying the workings of machismo, present and future investigators would profit from heeding the warnings of scholars who choose not to make unfounded cultural generalizations. As Lopez-Garriga (1978) has pointed out, the attitudes and behaviors singled out as cultural traits among Hispanic women are doubtful when other studies of family life in

European countries describe women in an equivalent way. In a similar manner, I must question the extraordinary attention that is given to the machismo concept when any analysis of societies will show that most cultures have been patriarchal in intent if not form. As Tiger (1969) has shown, women have been depreciated in many cultures, in England they are considered a jinx at sea, and in Judaism, they are considered impure, cursed and must be separated from men in temples.

Schneider (1969) while seeking to explain the development of male dominance as a sociological construct and examining the emphasis on honor and shame in certain societies, also describes machismo-like phenomena. In particular he highlights the importance of honor for the man in a Sicilian town. He writes:

A man wants to be taken seriously. His claim to honor is a claim to potency, and, I would argue, of vital importance to him in as much as its denial is a threat to his identity as a man. He uses personal honor to protect himself against the indignities which others impose upon him (p. 144).

In Western Sicily, the fragmentation of power and the provisory and rather uncertain quality of its distribution create a social climate in which honor is not only salient and problematic, it is almost a preoccupation (p. 145).

Schneider delineates that the code of honor that the Sicilian operates under includes the requirement that one should not be taken as a fool, that one be able to present as dignified, potent, trustworthy, and loyal:

A father's capacity to protect his family from the incursions of others is equally important to the increment of respect which is bestowed upon him. This is particularly true with regard to his wife and daughters. In some ways women constitute a part of his patrimony; they like land and houses are subject to overlapping claims. All the more so because women

are thought to be unable to protect themselves from the demands of men...The norm makes it clear that the boun padre ought to ensure that his women respect him and do not unduly expose themselves to other men. At the same time, he must also ensure that other men respect him to the extent that they would not dare intrude in his domain. The crime of honor can be understood, if not justified in this context, for the seduction or rape of a man's woman is the ultimate denial of respect, and the cuckold is not just a man without honor but dishonored and no longer a man. It is difficult to render the sense of the Sicilian I'omu (a man) as it is embodied in the codes of honor. That it is intimately related to potency, to the capacity to provide for and protect, is perhaps best understood in terms of the rich vocabulary for "Nonman"; un saccu vacanti (an empty sack), or un nuddumiscatucei nenti (a nobody mixed with nothing).

The isolated and overly protected woman, and the crime of honor occurs less frequently in contemporary Sicily than in the past. In fact, it is necessary to understand that codes of honor are not immutable...Much depends upon the setting and the actors, and rarely is there complete agreement on the honorability of a given act...Similarly, the guarded self-assertion with which a padre di famiglia confronts the world has a special meaning for his family and close friends which others may not share. An aggressive husband will be described by his wife in amused adoration as torbido, or mischievously self-willed. To many others, he is prepotente, a self-willed bully. Whether he represents the epitome of social honor or a distasteful parody of it depends upon who makes the judgement (p. 148-149).

Schneider (1971) states that concern with honor arises when the definition of a group is problematic and that this is true of Mediterranean societies, for in these societies access to resources is limited, and hence competition exists. In such conditions social boundaries are difficult to maintain and loyalties are questionable. The end result is an emphasis on power, and power comes from strength and strength comes from numbers. Hence, families seek to propagate their power via having many sons for they are necessary as the force to protect and enrich one's holdings. Sons allow one to retaliate violations to person

and property, and they are manpower that save the family the cost of hired help. This whole pattern then repeats for each newborn male, such that tensions arise when the sons marry and begin to operate on behalf of their own new families. Father and son thus are pitted against each other in the quest for power, brothers are distant from each other, and the only enduring bonds are those between a mother and her child. Women have attention focused on them for a premium is placed on large families, it is up to them to bear the sons that make the family viable. They are therefore resources as well, and hence open to kidnapping, abductions, elopements, and capture. Women are currency and are exploited for their reproductive capacities. Since they must be guarded over, father and son place interest in their behavior, and consequently their competition lessens.

Schneider's work raises questions about the cultural specificity of machismo, for the description provided is quite similar to that of the Hispanic male. It suggests that what perhaps are better explanatory factors in understanding this mode of male relating, are rural, agrarian and social class features. Indeed it is this questioning of the overemphasis on machismo, that most dialectically minded authors agree on. De Jesus Guerrero (1977), for example, writes that it is understandable that any man in any society is machista for he has had great historic models such as Aristotle who saw women as no more than inferior men and Napoleon who said nature dictated women to be slaves, property, and no more than child bearing machines. It is not that dialectical authors are approving machismo or arguing against the presence

of its sometime brother male chauvinism in the Hispanic culture, the point is that using Spanish words for Anglo interpretations is ethnocentric at least and racist in its extreme. Additionally, the simplification of machismo to crude expressions of Don Juan-latent homosexual dynamics is what dialecticians rally against. Noting that this "stud/faggot" characterization is oppressive when it is applied to Hispanics, they seek to understand the function the usage of the term has. Proceeding from what Zavala (1979) has called the importance of "contextualizing these studies to the ideological frame of reference of the author," individuals such as Nieves Falcon (1970) write that intellectual and academic typing of people, dignified by scientific trapping is not much more than sophisticated versions of common group prejudice. And Ramirez (1979) claims that machismo is an invention of social scientists which apologizes for ineffectively understanding the Puerto Rican, within a context ignoring the workings of capitalist society. Additionally, Arreola (1976) concludes that the efforts to find men or to define machismo as the principal enemy of women reflects a tendency to ignore class divisions and thereby discourage class consciousness and class struggle. Arreola (1976b) observes that presently the bourgeoisie and state apparatus seem determined to make the women issue one of their concerns, reducing it to those aspects that are considered least explosive, and threatening to the survival of that system. It is because of this that official statements dedicate themselves, above all, to talking of changes in relation to the legal status and labor situation of women. These officials speak at great length about

machismo and mental attitudes thereby appealing to cultural explanations and superstructures to explain the feminine condition, as well as that of the exploited classes. Arreola understands these statements to be partial attempts to individualize problems and obscure class divisions, and to not only inculcate state ideology but to disorganize the working woman. It is this type of convenient analysis that dialecticians condemn, for it can result in a radical feminism wherein "The dividing reality is not economic class but sexual class. The battle lines are drawn between men and women, rather than between bourgeoisie and proletariat. The determining relation is to reproduction, not to production" (Einsenstein, 1979). Nash and Safa (1976) have indicated that such false consciousness results in the demand for equality within a given structure of inequality and translates into bourgeoisie feminism which operates to obscure issues as Bond (1979) and Syzmanski (1976) have so aptly stated. These perspectives, in their opinion, function more as part of the problem than as a part of the solution. Such feminism becomes an ideology unto itself, a type of female chauvinism that is primarily concerned with the psychological distresses of middle class wives who live as appendages to their husbands, and are concerned with discrimination and exploitation in the professional fields. Utilizing a socialist feminist approach, dialectical authors seek to avoid the pitfalls of bourgeoisie radicalism. This type of feminism "analyzes power in terms of its class origins as well as its patriarchal roots" (Einsenstein, 1979). It permits an analysis of machismo which recognizes that machismo antedates the advent of class society, without

negating the impact of modern capitalism in further developing it. It is a Marxist analysis in that it seeks to understand the role of the family in the capitalist order. Its conclusions being that the family is economically essential to capitalism given that it reproduces a labor force while also creating consumers. The family functions as an ideological tool that indoctrinates notions of individualism, free enterprise, liberty and equality as basic values, though such views conflict with socio-economic actualities (Einsenstein, 1979; Garcia-Bahne, 1977).

Finally, the family serves as an escape valve for the release of job-related tensions. Illustrative of these views are the writings of Arreola (1976b) who states that under capitalism it is indispensable that "someone" revitalize the labor force daily, maintaining the workers in the best of possible conditions so that they may adequately complete their job responsibilities. This "someone" must also fulfill one of the most important ideological functions for the system: the imposition on children from the most tender age, and on the family group in general, the respect of the established order and the existing values. In Arreola's view who can better fulfill this function than the mother, the woman who by virtue of her "innate" qualities is a natural candidate for the job. Additionally, this woman, mother and wife must uphold the dignity of and respect the rights of her husband who orders rest and convenience in the home. Nash and Safa (1976) likewise paint a picture of the family as refuge from the hostile world outside, as a sort of private shelter from the public world of

work. Along these lines Pearson (1974) states:

Men hide inside their family shells from the harshness of the outside world there they cut its bewildering complexity down to size. Indeed, some argue that our culture insists that men should retreat from the public realm as an arena in which to fashion their identities into the private spheres of familism and sexuality as the proper place for finding and constructing life meanings (p. 147).

This retreat into the family and into sexuality interacts with sexism to create a situation in which the woman is an object, a commodity, and a reward in the capitalist system for a job well done. However, such conclusions would be adialectical if they did not acknowledge the potential for conflict created by this familial organization. As Christoffel and Kaufer (1970) have indicated:

Wives must often bear the brunt of their husband's anger and dissatisfactions on the job. Frustrated by the economic treadmill they must run on, working men all too often come to view their families as burdens and blame them, rather than the exploitation of capitalism, for their discontent (p. 317).

In limiting the husband's role to that of provider he is gradually reduced to a workhorse whose inability to provide enough money causes overwhelming pressures and unbearable tensions in families that are "solved" by men leaving their homes (Anonymous, 1979). Cintron-Ortiz (1973) additionally proposes that due to capitalist society's requirement that every adult must compete against every other in the labor market, antagonistic feelings arise out of the competition between husbands and wives for scarce jobs. This antagonism also serves the function of displacing aggression onto each other instead of channeling it in class action towards the actual source. It becomes part of a divide and conquer strategy that keeps men and women relatively harmless to

capitalism (Syzmanski, 1976).

In summary, the dialectical perspective is one that employs an inter-causality rather than a single causality model to explain the machismo phenomena. It operates from the premises that socio-economic factors are the most important contributing factors to the development of macho attitudes and behaviors and that this phenomenology will not change from one day to another on its own. Such changes require real effort on the part of government, men and women so that we may realize that it is not men as social entities who are the barrier to women's self realization. What influences the role of men in society is a structure that maintains traditions and establishes norms while creating the means to impose its decisions (de Jesus Guerrero, 1977). That structure is capitalism which encourages rigid sex roles because it facilitates the docility of the labor force necessary for its survival (Rubbo, undated xerox). Professional fields such as mental health are seen as likely to reinforce these structures, inasmuch as their role has often been one of "improving the productivity of workers (and firing the redundant ones), limiting social unrest, and supporting private profits" (Ralph, 1979).

The dialecticians also argue against the incrimination of Hispanic culture by mental health specialists for they recognize that culture is not homogenous and without contradictions. "Culture is contradictory, it is always contradictory even in the case of the most simple societies" (Pabon, 1974). As such culture contains elements of constantly changing interactions that reflect the existing social order.

The dialectical philosophy sees psychological phenomena as interactive with socio-historical reality and contends that it is "incorrect to think of structures as given/invariable for they are socially created and selected from a set of alternatives" (Camayd-Frexias, 1979). In the case of machismo, the dialectical analysis reveals that there is no purity to the concept, that the fact is that there does not exist a machismo which is unique or absolute. Instead there is a machismo corresponding to each society and to each period of history (Romero-Buj, 1970). Examination of those periods and societies reveal that the psychological forces behind it are similar to those that make the poor white of the American south the most aggressive of racists, that made the proletariat German the most violent, anti-semite, and on a global scale often makes the worker who has become a boss more oppressive than he who always was in power. This dynamic is related to the man's alienation and series of humiliations experienced in his social and work life (Adolph, 1977). As such the personal problems of men and women relating are political problems (Hanisch, 1971), and one must avoid blaming the victim even while recognizing his internalization of the oppressor (Fanon, 1963).

Summary

In summary, the general traditional definition across disciplines describes machismo as an attitude and behavior that Hispanic men hold and practice which upon analysis reveals deprecatory views of women, strained relationship with male peers, patriarchal familial arrange-

ments, sociopathic tendencies, and hidden low self-esteem. Machismo has also been seen as contributing to excessive population growth, high divorce rates, illegitimacy, warfare and revolution. This definition can be divided into several components that respond to specific domains of behavior: a) Male-Female Relationships and Roles; b) Male-Male Relationships; c) Parenting Roles; d) Impulse Control; and e) Inferiority. These are the five major domains most authors investigate and discuss when writing about machismo. Three of these areas are better explained than the others, the Male-Female Relationships and Roles; Male-Male Relationships, and Impulse Control. The other two areas are usually mentioned in any article on machismo but are often the least well explained or illustrated, this is particularly true of Inferiority.

The literature on Male-Female Relationships and Roles represents the macho as a libertine (Bermudez, 1955), who is sexually aggressive (Rogler and Hollingshead, 1965; Meadow and Stoker, 1965; Rainwater, 1964; De Hoyo, 1966; Minuchin, 1967; Stoker and Meadow, 1974; and McCarthy, 1977) and a jealous, promiscuous woman chaser (Galli, 1975; Ander-Egg, Zamboni, Yanez, Birsi, and Dussel, 1972). Women are alternately seen as sex objects (Bermudez, 1955; Aramoni, 1961; and Brake, 1976), who are to be protected (Rohrlich-Leavitt, 1960) or feared (Bermudez, 1955; Abrams, 1974; and Ramirez and Parres, 1957) or hated (Aramoni, 1972). Male superiority and dominance is preached and women are expected to exhibit obedience towards their demanding husbands (Fox, 1973). Males are anxious to prove their virility and so

they hold strong anti-birth control views (Stycos, 1955; McCarthy, 1977) which may include punitiveness towards the wife who uses birth control (Hayden, 1966). Additionally, the macho male is likely to have problems with sexual potency, since he experiences a great deal of anxiety before each act and is unable to enjoy sex without intercourse. These males also tend to see household work as emasculating. In addition, their anxieties about virility force them into early marriages (Stycos, 1955; Galli, 1975; and Rohrlich-Leavitt, 1960), in which the relationships between the spouses are inevitably marred by the husband's extramarital affairs and his inability, to truly experience love (Madsen, 1964; Stoker and Meadow, 1974; Sheehy, 1977) or by his ambiguous son-husband role and his wife-mother expectations (Minuchin, 1967; Rohrlich-Leavitt, 1960).

In summary, it can be said that the macho has conflictual relationships with women (Torrey, 1972; Barber, 1972; and Lewis, 1963) which are oppressive (Baltra, 1972; San Martin, 1975) inasmuch as they are based on the beliefs that women are unimportant (Aramoni, 1972) and passive (Fox, 1973). Dynamically the roots for this perspective seem to lie in the ambivalent attachments the macho has to his mother and the fear he has of women (Marina, Maldonado-Sierra, and Trent, 1958; Aramoni, 1972; Barber, 1972; and Ramirez, 1968). Additionally, it is posited that macho behavior is a reaction formation against latent homosexuality and dependency.

The Male-Male Relationship literature is that which states the macho engages in "all-male" social relationships with the avoidance of

social relationships with women (Penalosa, 1968; Minuchin, 1967) even though he is unable to be intimate with other men (Goldberg, 1976) without drinking heavily to lessen his anxieties about closeness (Aramoni, 1961; Meadow and Stoker, 1965; and Minuchin, 1967). Indeed, the only way the macho can achieve self-esteem for himself and the esteem of other men is by sexual boasting (Fox, 1973).

The Parenting literature is that which states that the macho father has strained relationships with his children, that he feels displaced by them (Minuchin, 1967) and that he expects greater privileges and authority as a father in comparison to the mother (Rendon, 1974). The macho has a preference for male children (Cappon, 1975) yet the father-son relationship is usually the most distant one in the Hispanic home (Penalosa, 1968; Funell, 1974).

The Impulse Control literature is that which states that the macho is uncooperative (Aramoni, 1961), irresponsible (Stoker and Meadow, 1974), impulsive (De Hoyos, 1966), sadistic (Cappon, 1975), exploitative (McCarthy, 1977), physically violent (White, 1972; Meadow and Stoker, 1965; Aramoni, 1961; Brake, 1976; and Santamaria, 1976), and generally criminal and delinquent since he has problems with authority figures (Barber, 1972; Aramoni, 1961). Moreover, the macho disrespects life (Aramoni, 1961). The other side of the impulse control issue is that of too much control, that is, emotional rigidity and inability to truthfully express feelings. Supposedly this contributes to a high degree of psychosomatic complaints among machos (Goldberg, 1976; Howard, 1973; and Barber, 1972).

The Inferiority Complex literature states that the macho is sensitive to insult or affront, and that he compensates for his deep feelings of insecurity with false bravado and excessive use of alcohol (Giraldo, 1972; Kiev, 1968; Aramoni, 1972; and Penalosa, 1968).

The culturalist view of machismo has been seen to include the following: macho is an ideal for which Latin men strive since the macho is reliable, courageous and respectful; he is seen as the provider and persevering protector of his family who shares responsibility and decision making with his wife; he also takes an active interest in childrearing; and having no strong anxiety to prove his virility he is small family oriented. Macho men are not seen as the norm of Hispanic culture and machismo is viewed as result of the social castration of men (Gibson, 1975). It is seen as being encouraged by women and manifested in different ways according to the actor's social class and place of origin.

A review of the non-traditional literature has led me to several conclusions, among them being the following: it is possible that the confounding of several factors have served to obfuscate the machismo issue. These factors are 1) religious affiliation of many Hispanics, as the nominal adherence to Catholicism or fundamentalist or Evangelical Pentecostal sects might have some effect on the use of contraceptives instead of men trying to prove virility; 2) the behaviors that are non-democratic and attributed to machismo might be more a result of the class status of the subjects than the ethnic cultural aspects, that is to say some of these behaviors might be more a function of

lower class status than something ingrained in the national character of a people; 3) the higher birth rate might be due to a lack of information about contraceptive devices, or a lack of money to purchase them; 4) the distance that supposedly exists between the Hispanic child and his father which is attributed to machismo might be no more intense than the distance that exists between non-Hispanic male children and their fathers given the negative reinforcement which society as a whole has given this behavior up until very recently. Given this fact the self disclosure of males to their mothers instead of their fathers should not be interpreted as something solely restricted to the Hispanic cultures but as something that many cultures support. Along with this support comes the reinforcement of sexist attitudes by women, such that the sexism that might exist among Puerto Rican men is not solely a product of their neurotic male culture but a product of men and women indirectly or directly teaching and supporting the idea that adequacy as a man means dominance and superiority over women.

The analysis of the literature which I have made is one which points to the fact that Anglo discrimination against the values of the Puerto Rican culture is class and ethnic discrimination. The macho orientation toward experience seems to be one which the male has adopted to maintain a sense of integrity in a world that keeps shifting. And that the very concept shifts with the individual's placement in changed contexts, such that the macho that was in Puerto Rico is not the macho that is in New York. And that in viewing these different transformations and variants, we need to distinguish which characteris-

tics are essential and which are contingent. This task becomes more difficult when concepts such as machismo are abstracted into daily ordinary vocabulary and are extended to cover phenomena which are quite different. This has happened with machismo and male chauvinism. These extrapolations have occurred to such a scale that some Anglo authors actually believe it is normal for Hispanics to be violent. Such myths of machismo might be as mystical as that of the Black matriarchy which is based on half-truths. It seems that machismo might be a response pattern that some Hispanics have developed much in the same way that Vontress (1971) states some Black males have tended to exaggerate the most obvious, external signs of masculinity in response to their economic disfranchisement in this country.

Given the research objectives previously stated, I have accomplished my goal; that being, arriving at the social science definition of machismo. I now seek to distinguish how my study adds to or expands this definition. I believe one area which needs further study is the problem of the similarity of the social science definition to that of the lay definition. I will attempt to do this by creating a questionnaire that includes items reflective of the different domains of the social science definition and querying subjects as to their views.

In addition to the attitudinal aspects of machismo, I will attempt to measure behavioral components as well, so that not only will subjects be asked to tell the investigators what they believe, but they will also tell them what they do. Based on the cultural and dialectical views expressed, I make the following prediction: that the role

behavior of the macho is understood in terms of who makes the description, as such it is expected that a Puerto Rican man will be more likely to see positive aspects to machismo than a Puerto Rican woman. If this is the case a Puerto Rican sample will simultaneously describe the macho as positive and negative when provided questions based on the summarized descriptions stated above.

My questionnaire will attempt to tap the previously outlined domains, but its emphasis will be on the Male-Female Relationships and Roles domain. In addition, the questionnaire will attempt to assess if a sense of alienation from American society exists for the subjects given that certain authors have related machismo with economic discrimination (Maccoby, 1967; Fernandez-Mendez, 1955; and Lopez, 1973).

C H A P T E R I I I
METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Introduction

The general purpose of this chapter is to present the methods and procedures of the study. For the purposes of presentation the chapter has been divided into five sections, namely, description of the null-hypotheses, description of the subjects, description of the research instrumentation, description of the procedures, and treatment of the data.

Statement of the Null-Hypotheses

The general null-hypotheses stated for testing in the study are as follows:

H1) The Puerto Rican male's concept of what is macho does not significantly affect his interpersonal relationships.

H2) The Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo does not significantly affect his concept of parenting.

H3) The Puerto Rican male's self-concept or view of himself in the world does not significantly affect his investment in machismo through manifested acts.

H4) There is no discrepancy between the Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo with that provided by the dominant social science literature.

Description of Subjects

The subjects were twenty Puerto Rican males and twenty Puerto Rican females who were matched on the following demographic variables: age, residence, educational level, and income level. The composition and characteristics of the sample was based on the following rationale:

1) The sample as described conforms to the United States Census Bureau 1976 report on the average demographic characteristics of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

2) Small sample size is preferred in exploratory research where promising leads or alternatives are sought as one can stay closer to the data (Issac and Michaels, 1971; Selltitz, Wrightman and Cook, 1976).

3) The time factor involved in the administration of the interview (two hours) and the timetable for completion of the study made it necessary to reduce the number of individuals who could be interviewed.

In particular, the subjects were males and females between the ages of 18 and 21 years of age, who had no more than a high school education, and who earned less than \$8,000 in the past year. In addition, all of these individuals resided in the Northeastern part of the United States. These variables were deemed representative of the 1976 United States Census findings which reported that out of the total Puerto Rican population 35% resided in the Mainland United States and of these 1,671,000 persons, the majority (1,126,410) lived in the Northeastern section of the United States, with 24,561 living in Massachusetts (Boston, 7,335). The median age of the Puerto Rican is 19.4 years as compared to 28.6 for the total U.S. population, and the average salary

is \$7,479 (77%) with the remaining 32.6% living on Federally provided incomes totalling less than \$2,400 per year (U.S. Bureau of the Census: Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States; March, 1975, Series P-20, No. 283, August 1975). It was also ascertained to what extent the respondents travelled between the Mainland United States and Puerto Rico, as well as where the subjects were born and raised in order to gauge what effects these factors might have had on their responses.

Description of the Research Instrumentation

For this study the simplest method of attaining information regarding machismo (i.e., going directly to the people who are in a position to have this information and asking them) was used. This is in contrast to previous research in the literature, where this simple method is rarely employed. The interview schedule (Machismo Attitude and Behavior Questionnaire [MABQ], see Appendix B) used in this study was a combined Likert type, true-false statement, and open-ended question format which followed a well defined structure resembling the format of an objective questionnaire, allowing for clarification and elaboration within narrow limits, i.e., interviewers were to repeat the question if the reply was not to the point. The schedule was meant to measure attitudes and behaviors consistent with either traditional, cultural, or dialectical views of machismo. The schedule consisted of 245 items, each of which consisted of a question that the subject had about a minute to respond (see Appendix B for copy of interview).

This large number of items was selected to guard against the "Ten

Questions Quick and Dirty" approach that previous authors have been accused of (Monteil, 1970). The verbatim response to each item was recorded graphically onto the schedule itself by the interviewer. The rationale for the use of an interview schedule as opposed to a subject completed questionnaire was based on three concerns: one, there was a question of how literate our subjects were; two, the interview permits greater depth of disclosure; and three, there is a lack of adequate instrumentation in this area. The interview allows for probing to obtain more complete data and to explore more deeply into the motivation of respondents. There is also the opportunity of substantiating that questions are understood before responses to them are scored. It also makes it possible to establish and maintain better rapport with subjects which is an important consideration in this type of research (Selltiz, Wrightman, and Cook, 1976; Isaac and Michaels, 1971). This issue of rapport also influenced the decision to choose graphic recording of responses, as it was felt that with this particular population and the nature of the questions which required highly personal responses, a tape recording of the answers could probably contribute to loss of rapport, masked answers, and suspicion. The combination of forced choice responses and open-ended response alternatives was modeled after the format of the University of Michigan's National Survey of Black Americans Questionnaire. This combination guards against the "superficial, artificial" and possibly intimidating or threatening nature of forced-choice items (Isaac and Michaels, 1971) while also providing for anecdotal information which is essential when

the issue to be explored is complex (Selltiz, Wrightman and Cook, 1976). The interview schedule is an original instrument which includes items from the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (1942), and Guerin's Revised Locus of Control Scale (1975) which were modified to meet the specific characteristics of the present sample and research aims. The entire interview schedule was designed to be administered in approximately an hour and a half. The directions given to the subjects were as follows:

We are doing a study on the things that affect the life situation of the Puerto Rican male, as we have little knowledge regarding the feelings of such men. Many people, including community leaders, service workers, as well as neighborhood residents such as yourself will be interested in the results of this study. I think that you will find the questions interesting, as they are related to things that might affect you and Puerto Ricans across the nation. Therefore, I know that you will give each and every question your full attention and careful thought. The major focus of this interview is on concerns of Puerto Rican men in the areas of social relationships, especially in relation to women. If you find that you do not wish to complete the interview then feel free to let me know. If you wish, you may obtain a copy of the completed report by leaving your name and address.

The administration of this interview did not differ in any way from standardized methods of administration.

The schedule was designed to cover fairly comprehensively the range of behaviors that the literature correlated with machismo. The schedule is divided into domains reflective of the dominant social science definition of machismo, and it is expected that subjects will respond in terms of their attitudes--what they think, and of their behavior--what they do. Besides tapping into the individual's beliefs regarding machismo and behaviors that are characteristic of machismo,

a section of the questionnaire is devoted to gauging the sense of alienation the subject has from the host society of the United States since a number of authors cite alienation as a contributory factor to machismo. In total there are five sections to the interview labelled and defined as follows:

1) Demographics--This section is meant to solicit information regarding the origins of the subject and her/his marital, educational and occupational status as well as that of her/his parents.

2) Masculine Identity--This section in the case of the male subject will aim at identifying ways in which the subject sees himself as a typical or atypical macho, as well as providing a sense of traditional role behaviors exhibited by subject. Questionnaire construction provides male subjects with the option of identifying themselves as macho when responding to questions or refusing to answer if they did not view themselves as macho. In the case of female subjects, their responses on this section are to be given from the point of view of the male as opposed to hers. In other words, she is to respond as she thinks a male would respond not as a woman would respond. The rationale for having women respond from the male viewpoint on most of these sections is best illustrated by using the example of birth control (which is explored by questions in the next section) and its relation to machismo; the question "What do you think of birth control?" when asked of a male will give us some indication of his investment in machismo, however, when we ask a female she will report her beliefs which have more to do with her view of women and the control of their bodies in contrast

to her perception of a man's response. When she is asked to report from the male point of view she will be reporting knowledge gained from personal interaction with Puerto Rican males and their attitudes towards birth control, i.e., she is reporting her understanding of what Puerto Rican males would respond which suggests how Puerto Rican women perceive the Puerto Rican male in his male role. In addition the female response becomes a way of comparing male-female viewpoints on machismo.

3) Child Rearing--This section solicits the subjects' parenting experiences with his own children and child rearing practices he may have been exposed to by his parents. Here again the female subject is expected to assume the viewpoint of the male.

4) Male-Female Relationships--This section gauges the extent and nature of the Puerto Rican male's relationships with women, whether these women be wives, lovers, or friends. Attempts are also made at determining whether subjects hold stereotypical notions of proper behavior for women and male-female interaction. Female subjects are asked to answer as the typical Puerto Rican male would.

5) Alienation--This last section attempts to assess the subject's sense of estrangement from personal control of his destiny. It means to highlight how the subjects view their interactions with non Puerto Ricans. Women respondents structure their answers from a male perspective.

Since this instrument does not have validity or reliability data, it was field tested to demonstrate some index of validity or reliabil-

ity. Validity was established by construct (theory based) methods and face validity. The subjects used in this field test were six Puerto Rican males who had resided in the Boston area for anywhere between eight months to twelve years with the majority (four) being here under two years time, and who were between twenty years (one), and twenty-one years (five). These six subjects were all born and raised in Puerto Rico in either a town (Pueblo) (two) or rurality (Campo) (four) of the island. Their incomes ranged from a low of \$001-999 (two) to \$3,000-4,999 (one), with three subjects having incomes between \$1,000-2,999, and their educational levels ranged from an eighth grade education (one) to high school graduates (two), with the modal response being partial high school (three). The majority (five) felt that the mainland United States was a good (three) or fairly good place to live (two). Four considered their homes to be in Puerto Rico and identified themselves as Puerto Ricans, while two consider Boston their home and identify as Puerto Rican Americans. All but one of the subjects is unmarried and have never been married, and of these three have no main romantic involvement presently. Five out of six are presently involved in some kind of training program, and out of these three are in some skills occupational training, with one person involved in clerical training and educational training programs each. Four out of six had fathers who were farmers while the fathers of two subjects were skilled workers. Fathers of subjects had less than seven years of education in three cases, two were unknown, and one went to junior high school. All the mothers of subjects were housewives, four of them

having less than seven years of education, and one with partial high school and the other with a junior high school education. Three of the subjects have not returned to Puerto Rico since they have been here, while one subject last travelled to the island one to two years ago, and another last visited five to six years ago.

The results of the field test indicate that on the Masculine Identity domain of the interview schedule, which theoretically is one of the most important domains described by the dominant social science literature, the males responded in a manner that contradicts the null hypothesis. The analysis indicates that the average response(5) defines the macho as someone who thinks himself superior to others whereas an hombre (man) was overwhelmingly (100%) described as a family man. The subjects would not like to be called macho since they associate vulgar mannerisms with this label (four) or that it signifies a violent uneducated person (only one subject claimed he would not mind being called a macho depending on how the word was used). The average response indicates that the macho is described as a troublemaker (three) or as a show off (two). Only one person said the macho was a responsible person. However, five out of six subjects could not identify particular types of machos they disliked, and all six felt similar to other machos with four reporting responsibility as a common trait. Four out of six indicated that there were good things that came from being macho with three representing it as the ability to confront problems. All stated there were also bad things that came from being macho with three saying these bad things included

showing off. Five out of six felt they were different from other machos in some way, three of these saying they behaved differently.

Only two subjects agreed that they had more male friends than females. Four of six agreed that they felt close to their male friends. Half agreed that men enjoy themselves the most when drinking together and that when among themselves men mainly talk of women they have seduced with two subjects in disagreement and one neutral. Fifty percent agreed they felt uncomfortable around homosexuals, while the rest disagreed with this statement. Half were neutral on whether it was important to be a macho, while two agreed.

Five out of six felt it was permissible for a man to cry and four said they did cry if emotionally injured. All six agreed that it was all right for a man to feel doubt, disappointment, need for love and tenderness and that they themselves often had felt this way. Five felt it is all right for a man to sweep floors, clean dishes, and take care of housework and all six claimed that they themselves did these things. Five subjects disagree with the following items from the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory Masculinity-Femininity subscale: "I am strongly attracted by members of my own sex" and "I have often wished I were a female." Five disagreed with "I like mannish women," and with statements claiming that it is important to be physically very strong in order to be considered a man, and that the size of a man's genitals indicate how much of a man he is.

Half felt neutral about preferring to work with women, while two were in disagreement. In defining the most important qualities in a

man two subjects fell in each of these three categories: supporting family, respecting women, and being respectful men. Three claim they learn to be macho from their life experiences. Fifty percent believe one shows machismo by being capable and working hard, two believe you show machismo by being masculine in behavior and one subject believed that it is manifested by acting tough. Four of six agreed with a negative description of the macho, while all six subjects were evenly split in agreement and disagreement with a positive description of the macho. All subjects felt they were about as masculine as other men.

From these results it was concluded that this part of the instrument measured what it was meant to, for in these findings we do not see the corroboration of the social science definition of macho as a totally negative being. Nor do we see the macho glorified in solely positive terms, instead we see an emerging picture of the Puerto Rican male that has both negative and positive aspects. A picture that includes a distaste for the macho label as well as an identification as a macho. In addition, a self-view and behavioral report of these males does not corroborate the stereotypic picture of the macho as alienated from their male friends and their own feelings, or steeped in latent homosexuality or strict sex roles.

The results of the childrearing section of the instrument were as follows: half of the subjects reported some distance between themselves and their fathers, while the other half describe the relationship as one of closeness. Five of six subjects characterized a close

father-son relationship as one in which there was a sharing of life views and problems with mutual respect. Four of six subjects felt very close to their mothers, with two of these emphasizing that the close mother-son relationship was characterized by mutual understanding and another two stating that in such a relationship the son adores the mother. Four out of six subjects reported their parents got along well. Only two subjects had children. Four subjects were against birth control claiming that it was murder (three) or harmful to the health of women (one). Five did not feel it was macho to use birth control, and four did not personally use birth control. Four of six claimed their father was an important figure in their lives and that they had male models while growing up, the remaining subjects were separated from their fathers through divorce or death. Three of those subjects whose fathers were alive claimed that they had a fair to good relationship with their father, and all of these subjects claimed their father was an important figure in the family. Five of six subjects disagree with statements emphasizing the importance of male children versus females. Five subjects claimed that their mother was a personally important figure with three of these stating they had a good relationship with her even though they had occasional disagreement, and two subjects emphasizing that mother defended them against father's strictness while one subject claimed a distant relationship. All subjects agreed on the importance of their mother as a family figure. Subjects overwhelmingly (100%) agreed that it was important to teach their children things that would help them know what it is to be

macho, with four stating that this was helpful in confronting problems. An equal number felt that one shows a son to be a macho by providing him with good counsel and love. Fifty percent claimed a good father educates his children and one subject said he is a family man. Each of the following categories with regard to opinions on abortion received two subjects: disagree with abortion, reasons unstated; disagree with abortion as it is considered a crime; and agree on the utility of abortions.

The analysis of these results indicate that the subjects described their parents' relationship in a favorable manner which contradicts traditional literature on the topic. Additionally, though subjects seem balanced in their reports of intimacy with fathers, the modal response indicated that fathers are seemingly important figures in the male's personal development and family life. This is in contradistinction to that literature which states that fathers are relatively unimportant in Hispanic family life. Birth control and abortion attitudes seem to be traditional but none reveal the emphasis on proving virility which others have equated with these attitudes, and in a similar manner the macho concept is seen as an important one to transmit to both male and female children.

In the area of male-female relationships subjects in the majority (five) state they have good female friendships, with at least half of these being of one to two years duration. All of these friendships are characterized by subjects providing advice and helping with problems, while in four of these cases the female friend reciprocates in like

manner. Though all these relationships involved sharing of life views, only two are characterized by subjects freely discussing all their problems with their friends, while in four of the cases the female friend does this. Fifty percent of the subjects perceive themselves as being fairly helpful in problem solving, while the rest do not. And three subjects perceive their relationship as equal in terms of dependency on each other. All subjects agree that men can have close female relationships that are not complicated by sexual attraction and four have such relationships.

Subjects are equally divided between accepting a smarter wife or lover and not doing so. Five feel that men must dominate women, while four report it is personally important to them to do so. Five feel that a macho can fall in love and an equal number have fallen in love themselves. Five believe it is not proper for a man to physically discipline his wife, and only one person does. All six disagree with the statement that one should beat one's wife on occasion to show her who's the boss. Half believe it's permissible for men to have extra-marital affairs while half do not. None believes it is macho to have such affairs. Three subjects think the greatest difference between men and women is anatomical, whereas only one subject believed that men are sexually freer. Five believe that women should not be as sexually free as males and an equal number did not believe that men are more intelligent than women. Five of six claimed that they had many or a few (2) female friends. Half are moderately in favor of women's liberation, with two of the rest being neutral and one strongly opposed. Five

do not believe that a woman should unquestionably obey her husband and do believe that the best student regardless of sex should be given educational opportunities. Half claimed that men have the real power in the family, while two believe women do and one stated there was equal sharing of power. All subjects disagreed with the necessity of keeping a mistress, and four thought that wives replace mothers.

The analysis of these results reveal that these subjects have many contradictions in attitudes towards women. On the one hand, they are much more liberal than one would expect if one accepts traditional caricatures of the Hispanic male , while on the other hand they reveal themselves to hold very traditional views. These results suggest attitudes, reflective of the workings of a dialectical process.

The information obtained in the Alienation section of the interview shows that five of the subjects not only worry that their income is not enough to live on but have also used a social service agency. Three of these have used such agencies for mainly training purposes and received help from these agencies with three getting the desired training. Three subjects felt they were treated well at these agencies and all agreed that the agencies provide important aid. Politically, 50% of the subjects are apolitical with two identifying with mainland political parties (i.e., Democrats or Republicans) and only one subject with an island based political party identification (i.e., Socialistas). Five subjects describe themselves as poor individuals who have a hard time making ends meet. Half live in neighborhoods where Puerto Ricans constitute at least 50% of the population, two

subjects lived in mainly white neighborhoods and one in a mainly black area. Four subjects work where mainly other Puerto Ricans work and one works in a mainly Black setting. The following in the order presented were listed as contributing the most to success in America: Training (4); Race (3); Economic Conditions, Class, Personal Drive and Ambition, Health (2); and English (1). The most important of these are seen as: Training (3); Health (2); Race and English (1). The following were listed as personal obstacles: Training (3); Economic Conditions (2); Race, Education, and English (1). The most important obstacles were: Race and Economic Conditions (2); and Ability and Training (1). All subjects agreed that they held different values than Anglo males, 50% stating they were more patriotic, two saying they were more respectful, and one claiming Americans were more liberal. Half claimed there was a difference between being a macho here and being one in Puerto Rico, and the other half did not believe so. Four stated the Puerto Rican man has less control than his Anglo counterpart, with three of these claiming Americans were better off economically and one saying Americans were more organized. The greatest worry of 50% of the subjects was related to their economic survival, with two worried about returning to Puerto Rico, and one concerned about racism. All subjects agreed (one strongly so) that you need connections to make it. Half agreed that "some people just don't get any breaks or have any luck" while the rest disagree with this view. Fifty percent agree that "some people just don't like you no matter how hard you try," one subject was neutral on the matter and two disagree. All subjects felt: they often

lacked control over their personal lives; that "Puerto Ricans are discriminated against"; that "whites have more opportunities"; and that "whites are favored."

These results tend to suggest that the males interviewed felt their economic situation was a dire one and were willing to seek aid to overcome this situation. Inasmuch as a combination of personal and mainly socio-economic factors were seen as barriers to a better life situation, these subjects seemed to focus on personal solutions and worried about systemic factors such as socio-political issues of racism and discrimination. As a body the results suggest that these men though alienated from their surroundings, are attempting to redress those issues that they see within their personal control. However, their political consciousness is not being translated into effective political action.

This field study also suggested changes in the wording of certain items in order to clarify ambiguous or easily misinterpreted questions. Appropriate additions, deletions and modifications were made, and after expanding the items so that females could be interviewed, the final interview was agreed upon by the two interviewers and a consultant.

Description of the Procedures

The subjects for the study were mainly obtained from eleven social agencies in the Boston and Northampton areas of the State of Massachusetts. The investigators made personal contact with the directors of these agencies in several ways. First, a letter was

mailed to the agency stating the reason for the study (see Appendix A). Secondly, after a few days a follow-up letter and phone call was made to reaffirm the importance of the study and the value of the agency's contribution to this important study (see Appendix A). Thirdly, personal interviews were set up with those agencies who agreed to the study as well as those who did not, to obtain information regarding their interest or lack of interest and other possible subject referrals. In addition, publicizing of the ongoing investigation was made in a community newsletter, a community controlled close-circuited television station, posting of notices in neighborhood housing projects, and finally word-of-mouth advertising by Hispanic service providers in their work and professional circles. All individuals who assisted in securing subjects expressed an interest in receiving copies of the completed study.

The interviews were conducted by the author and an associate, a Puerto Rican female doctoral level student in Clinical Psychology. Both investigators were matched in terms of ethnic background, educational level, socio-economic status, and state of residence. Interviews were conducted at the convenience of the subjects, and they took place in either the subject's home, or the agency. The interview was conducted in English or Spanish or any combination thereof depending on the language preference of the subject. Particular attention was paid to establishing and maintaining rapport with subjects such that investigators consciously avoided threatening the respondent and were sensitive to exposing the subject to criticism or placing them in

awkward positions. This was done even though the interviewers did not represent an outside establishment and were well equipped to understand the life and language of the subject. It was explained that the interview was not a test, and that there were no right or wrong answers. For the purpose of rapport and informality interviewers dressed casually. Additionally, in order to avoid the exploitative aspects of minority research (Zinn, 1979) the reciprocity research method suggested by Zinn was utilized. This method translates into spending time after the interview with the informants, listening to their concerns, and providing assistance when solicited, if possible. Subjects were not informed this would take place before they completed the interview in order to avoid biasing their responses. Assurance of anonymity of responses were made before, during, and after the interview.

One rater was used in the study whose task was to codify the open-ended responses into categories that reflected the overall or general tone of the actual response of subjects. The rater was an upper level undergraduate psychology major who received both academic credit and financial remuneration for her participation in the research project. Her qualifications included the ability to read Spanish. She was trained by the author and his associate to code each response into one and only one category which was almost anecdotal in wording to the observed response. In the eventuality of a combination response she was instructed to code it in terms of the first codable part of the response. A category of other was to be used for rare and infrequent

responses. Overall the resulting codes were constructed by tabulating the most frequent responses given, were mutually exclusive, and were in part derived from the theoretical requirements of the study. After the entire group of cases was processed, a second person then coded every fifth case, in order to provide a check on accuracy of coding. In general, there was very high agreement among coders (95%), and as such this increases the validity of the instrument. There was only one case in which there was a substantial problem in coding. Upon exploration with the main coder it was revealed that the error was reflective of her language usage and cultural difference from the sample. (The coder was Colombian while the sample was Puerto Rican.) In order to check for verification in transformation of codes onto data cards, card keypunch verification was utilized.

Treatment of the Data

The data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The sub-programs used included: Frequencies, Crosstabs, and NPAR tests. The main statistical procedures were descriptive statistical methods, i.e., mode, correlation coefficient, chi-square, cramer's v, and tau b, where applicable. The minimum level of confidence was established at .05. Additionally, confidence levels between .06 and .20 were reported as "approaching significance" following suggestions in the literature that this be done in exploratory research (Isaacs and Michaels, 1971; Selltitz, Wrightman and Cook, 1976; and Welkowitz, Ewen, and Cohen, 1976).

C H A P T E R I V
S T A T I S T I C A L A N A L Y S I S O F R E S U L T S

This chapter will present the results of the statistical analysis of the data. The chapter will be divided into sections which correspond to the hypothesis presented with an introductory overview of demographic data. The manner of presentation will be the hypothesis-analysis-summary style wherein the hypothesis is presented, followed by a summary of the statistics relative to the hypothesis.

Demographics

Analysis of selected data relative to demographic characteristics of the sample indicated that as a group subjects were born in Puerto Rico (90%), had a mean age of 20 years, were raised in small towns in the island (47%), earned under \$1,000 in the past year (52%), and have no more than a partial high school education (49%), and have not travelled to Puerto Rico since they have been in the mainland United States (69%).

The breakdown of the subjects according to sex indicated that more males (10%) than females (0%) were born in the mainland United States; and more females (65%) than males (30%) were raised in a small town on the island; that more females (60%) than males (45%) earned under \$1,000 in the past year; that more females (61%) than males (37%) had a partial high school education; and that more females (76%) than males (63%) have not travelled to Puerto Rico since they have been in the

mainland United States.

Macho Concept

Null hypothesis number one stated that there will be no significant effect on the interpersonal relationships of the Puerto Rican male by his concept of machismo. Before this hypothesis could be tested, it was first established that a concept of macho does exist which includes a description of macho attitudes and behavior. The statistical procedure employed to test for significant differences in the conceptualization of macho and its description was the NPAR-TEST Chi-Square (SPSS Update).

Analysis of the data indicated that the subjects, both male and female, were able to answer questions related to the acceptance of the macho as a reality. Further analysis reveals significant differences on 19 of the items and no significant differences on 10 of the items. Of these non-significant items, 1 item approached significance. In the significant findings, there were 5 items in which males had significant responses and females did not and 7 items in which females had significant responses and males did not.

Subjects when not broken down by sex describe the kind of men who call themselves macho (Item B1a., 50%) as men who feel superior to other men and feel that the macho label is not a word they or Puerto Rican men would want to be called as it is a vulgarism that describes an animal and not a person (Item B2b., 59%). Seventy-nine percent of subjects believed they or Puerto Rican men are different from many

other machos (Item B7) with forty-two percent of these stating they are different in some ways as they do not beat women but are alike in others as they stand up to problems (Item B7a.). Subjects felt that some of the ways they or Puerto Rican men were similar to other machos were in their responsibility as workers or family members (Item B5., 32%); and that there were good things that came from their or Puerto Rican men being macho (Item B6., 72%). They also thought there were bad things that came from their or Puerto Rican men being macho (Item B6b., 85%). Those bad things being that they were show-offs who believed they were always right and knew it all and who are the only ones who can order people around (Item B6c., 53%). Sixty-two percent of all subjects agreed that for them or for Puerto Rican men it is important to be a macho (Item B8f.). Forty percent claim that Puerto Rican men or they themselves were taught to be macho completos by their father (Item B10.) and fifty-one percent believe that a macho completo shows he is one by being capable, a good provider, responsible, dutiful, and hard-working (Item B11.). Seventy-three percent of the subjects do not think it is macho to use birth control (Item C15a.), 90% believed that as parents they or Puerto Rican men help their children know what it is to be macho (Item C24.) and 64% of all subjects believe that as parents they or Puerto Rican men tell their children that they must confront their problems, be brave and fearless, must stand up for their rights, and be respectful towards others so that the children will know what it is to be macho (Item C24a.). A little over 29% claimed that they or Puerto Rican fathers do this to help their

children avoid confusion in the future (Item C24b). They believe this gives them a basis to depend on and help them form good characters. Over 54% claimed that they or Puerto Rican men show their sons to be macho completo by the example they set, that is, their attitudes and conduct towards friends, women and wife (Item C25.). A little over 38% claimed that they or Puerto Rican men as macho husbands feel that they must be good to their wives, dedicating time to them and not making them suffer, loving them and demonstrating it, being tender and not jealous (Item D1.). The majority of subjects (92%) do not think that a macho can fall in love (Item D23.), and 62% believed there is a difference between being a macho completo in the United States versus being one in Puerto Rico (Item #9.).

An analysis of these results by sex indicated that: significantly more males (56%) than females (45%) described the kind of men who call themselves macho as those who feel superior to other men; significantly more males (37%) than females (10%) did not like the macho label because it signifies a violent, uneducated person; significantly more females (80%) than males (65%) felt that Puerto Rican men would say there are good things that come from being macho; significantly more females (65%) than males (35%) believed that Puerto Rican men will agree that it is important to be macho; significantly more females (55%) than males (22%) believe that Puerto Rican men are taught to be macho completo by their father; significantly more females (83%) than males (63%) think it is not macho to use birth control; significantly more males (20%) than females (0%) claim they do not teach or tell their

children things that will help them to learn what a macho is. Significantly more males (94%) than females (40%) believe that they, as Puerto Rican fathers, should tell their children that they must confront their problems in order for the children to know what it is to be macho; significantly more females (60%) than males (0%) believe Puerto Rican males teach their children what it is to be macho because they were taught this by their own parents and they wish to continue such customs for that is all they know; significantly more females (74%) than males (33%) believed that Puerto Rican men teach their sons to be macho completo through their examples; and finally, significantly more males (15%) than females (0%) believe the macho cannot fall in love.

In this section, the relationship between certain demographic items and certain items measuring macho concept, will be presented as discovered by cross-tabulation.

One item relative to macho concept which was analyzed by cross-tabulation was "What are some of the ways you/Puerto Rican men feel you/they are like other machos?" The rationale for singling out this question was that I wanted to know the extent to which subjects consider themselves or perceive the Puerto Rican man as macho.

In this case the analysis was 2 x 5 type, where the first item (sex) was dichotomous (male and female); and the second item (B5.) had the following five levels: none; responsible; can fight and confront problems; same anatomy; and superiority. Significant differences were found between macho concept and sex, it was found that 40% of male subjects saw their similarity to machos as sharing a sense of

responsibility while 47% of female subjects perceive the macho as identifying with other machos in terms of anatomy. In the next analysis the design was a 5 x 5 type, where the first item (A9.) had 5 levels of income (under \$1,000; \$1,000-2,999; \$3,000-4,999; \$5,000-6,999; and \$7,000-8,999) and the macho concept item (D1.) had five levels: family man, good to wife; dominates wife; none; and depends on definition). The summary of the cross-tabulation is presented in Table 1. As can be seen from Table 1 significant differences were found between macho concept and income, such that individuals who earned under \$1,000 believed macho husbands feel they should dominate their wives, and those earning between \$1,000 - \$4,999 believe the macho husband feels he should be good to his wife.

The third cross-tabulation involved education (Item A14.) as a demographic item with three levels (high school grad; partial high school; and junior high school) and the second measure of macho concept (Item D23.) was dichotomous (yes and no). The analysis was therefore 3 x 2 and the cross-tabulation is summarized in Table 2. As can be seen from Table 2 there were significant differences between education and macho concept. The results indicate that the higher the educational level the higher the percentage of people who believe the macho can truly love.

The fourth cross-tabulation involved type of city (Item A6.) with four levels and the macho concept measure (Item D23.) was dichotomous (yes and no). The analysis was 4 x 2 and results are summarized in Table 3. As can be seen from Table 3 there were significant relation-

TABLE 1

Cross-Tabulation of Income Level by Macho Husband Concept

Item A9.: What was your total income in 1978, considering all sources such as salaries, profits, wages, interest, and so on?	Item D1.: When you think of yourself/Puerto Rican men as husband, what feelings do you have/think they have as a macho husband(s)?						
	Family Man	Be Good To Wife	Dominate Wife	None	Depends on Definition	χ^2	p<
Under \$1,000	1 6.3%	4 25%	10 62.5%	1 6.3%	0	37.631 df = 16	.001
\$1,000 - \$2,999	3 30%	6 60%	0	0	1 10%		
\$3,000 - \$4,999	0	3 60%	1 20%	1 20%	0		
\$5,000 - \$6,999	0	0	0	0	1 100%		
\$7,000 - \$8,999	0	0	0	1 50%	1 50%		

Cramer's V = .526; Tau B = .019; p < NS; Pearson's R = .338, p < .025

TABLE 2

Cross-Tabulation of Subject Education by Macho Love Concept

	Item D23: Can a macho fall in love?		χ^2	p <
	Yes	No		
High School Graduate	12 100%	0	6.81 df = 2	.045
Partial High School	17 94.4%	1 5.6%		
Junior High School	4 66.7%	2 33.3%		

Cramer's V = .414

TABLE 3
 Cross-Tabulation of Type City Raised In by Macho Love Concept

Item A6.: Were you brought up mostly in the country, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city?	Item D23.: Can a macho fall in love?		χ^2	p <
	Yes	No		
Campo	6 66.7%	3 33.3%	10.833 df = 3	.012
Town	19 100.0%	0		
Small City	7 100.0%	0		
Large City	4 100.0%	0		

Cramer's V = .527

ships between type city and macho concept. This finding indicates that no matter where subjects were raised they believe that the macho can really fall in love.

When all the preceding cross-tabulations were done according to the sex of subjects the following results were obtained: among males when income and macho concept (family man; good to wife; dominates wife; none; and depends on definition) were cross-tabulated there were no significant differences. The probability, however, does approach significance ($p < .16$) (see Table 4). This finding is in line with the results of the combined male-female cross-tabulation on the same item; among males when education (high school grad; partial high school; and junior high school) were cross-tabulated with macho concept (yes and no) there were no significant differences (see Table 5). The probability does approach significance ($p < .17$); and these results are also in line with the results obtained for combined male-female cross-tabulations on this item.

When the results were examined in terms of females the cross-tabulations indicated: that when income (under \$1,000; \$1,000 - \$2,999; \$3,000 - \$4,999; and \$5,000 - \$6,999) was cross-tabulated with macho concept (family man; good to wife; dominates wife; and depends on definition) there were significant differences between income and macho concept (see Table 6). These results are consistent with general findings when both male and female scores are combined yet they reflect that at income levels of under \$1,000, females more greatly consider macho husbands to be dominating their wives (66.7%) than males them-

TABLE 4

Cross-Tabulation of Income Level by Macho Husband Concept for Males

Item A9.: What was your total personal income in 1978, considering all sources such as salaries, profits, wages, interest and so on?	Item D7.: When you think of yourself/ Puerto Rican men as a husband, what feelings do you have/think they have as a macho husband?					x ²	p <
	Family Man	Be Good To Wife	Dominate Wife	None	Depends on Definition		
Under \$1,000	0	2 28.6%	4 57.1%	1 14.3%	0	16.768 df = 12	.158
\$1,000 - \$2,999	1 16.7%	4 66.7%	0	0	1 16.7%		
\$3,000 - \$4,999	0	1 50.0%	0	1 50.0%	0		
\$7,000 - \$8,999	0	0	0	1 50.0%	1 50.0%		

Cramer's V = .573
 Pearson's R = .40
 p < .052

TABLE 5

Cross-Tabulation of Subject Education by Macho Love Concept for Males

	Item D23.: Can a macho fall in love?		x ²	p <
	Yes	No		
High School Graduate	7 100%	0	3.528 df = 2	.171
Partial High School	6 85.7%	1 14.3%		
Junior High School	3 60.0%	2 40.0%		

Cramer's V = .430

TABLE 6

Cross-Tabulation of Income Level by Macho Husband Concept for Females

Item A9.: What was your total personal income in 1978, considering all sources such as salaries, profits, wages, interest, and so on?	Item D1.: When you think of yourself/ Puerto Rican men as a husband, what feelings do you have/think they have as a macho husband?				x ²	p <
	Family Man	Be Good To Wife	Dominate Wife	Depends on Definition		
Under \$1,000	1 11.6%	2 22.2%	6 66.7%	0	24.690 df = 9	.003
\$1,000 - \$2,999	2 50.0%	2 50.0%	0	0		
\$3,000 - \$4,999	0	2 66.7%	1 33.3%	0		
\$5,000 - \$6,999	0	0	0	1 100%		

Cramer's V = .695

Tau B = -.095

Pearson's R = .171

p < NS

p < NS

selves do (see Table 4).

Clearly, these results indicate that there is a working concept of macho; I then proceeded to examine what effect this working concept would have on interpersonal relationships.

Null Hypothesis One: Interpersonal Relationships

Testing null hypothesis number one involved the specification of what is meant by interpersonal relationships. What I mean by interpersonal relationship is the quality of the relationship and attitudes towards such relationships that Puerto Rican men have with other males and with females, whether friends or lovers. It will be noticed that Table 7 lists items which tapped interpersonal relationships of both males and females. Analysis of the data in Table 7 indicated significant differences on 23 of the items and no significant differences on 36 of the variables. Of these non-significant items 9 approached significance. In the significant findings, there were 2 items in which males had significant responses and females did not and 9 items in which females had significant responses and males did not. When males and females responses to items tapping relationships with males are considered in combination, the results indicated that 55% of all subjects (male and female) agreed that most of their or Puerto Rican men's friends are males as opposed to being women (Item B8a.); that they or Puerto Rican men feel close to their male friends (Item B8b, 57%); that men enjoy themselves the most when they are drinking together (Item B8c, 47%); that when together men mostly talk about the

TABLE 7

Significance Levels of Male, Female and Total Responses to
Items Related to Interpersonal Relationships

Type Relationship	Item Number (p<)		
	Male	Female	Total
Male-Male	B8a(AS); B8b(.001); B8c(AS); B8d(AS); B8c(AS); B8m(.038)	B8a(.000); B8b(AS); B8c(.035); B8d(AS); B8e(.000); B8m(.000)	B8a(.000); B8b(.000); B8c(.000); B8d(.019); B8c(.000); B8m(.000)
Male-Female Friend	D2(AS); D2a(AS); D3(.000) D4(.001); D5(.001); D6(NS); D6a(NS); D7(AS); D7a(AS); D8(.002); D20(.002); D20a(.025); D37(NS)	D2(.002); D2a(.028); D3(.000); D4(.010); D5(NS); D6(NS); D6a(NS); D7(NS); D7a(.011); D8(.003); D20(.000); D20a(.007) D37(NS)	D2(.001); D2a(.000); D3(.000); D4(.000); D5(.000); D6(NS); D6a(NS); D7(AS); D7a(.002); D8(.000); D20(.000); D20a(.001); D37(.002)
Male-Female Lover	D9(AS); D10(AS); D11(NS); D12(NS); D13(AS); D13a(NS); D14(NS); D14a(NS); D15(AS); D16(AS); D17(AS); D18(AS)	D9(NS); D10(AS); D11(NS); D12(NS); D13(NS); D13a(NS); D14(NS); D14a(NS); D15(NS); D16(NS); D17(NS); D18(NS)	D9(NS); D10(NS); D11(.020); D12(NS); D13(AS); D13a(NS); D14(.020); D14a(.034); D15(.018); D16(NS); D17(AS); D18(NS)

AS = approaches significance

NS = not significant

TABLE 7 (CONTINUED)

Type Relationship	Item Number (p<)		
	Male	Female	Total
Male-Female Lover	B19(NS); D21(NS); D22a(AS); D24(.007); D24a(NS); D24b(NS); D24c(NS); D24d(NS); D25(.007); D26(.025); D26a(AS); D28(NS); D29(NS); D29a(NS); D29b(NS); D30(NS); D30a(NS); D30b(NS); D31(AS); D31a(NS); D32(NS); D33(NS); D34(NS); D39(AS); D39a(NS); D42(.000); D43(NS); D43a(NS)	D19(NS); D21(NS); D22a(.000); D24(.000); D24a(.005); D24b(NS); D24c(AS); D24d(NS); D25(NS); D26(.000); D26a(NS); D28(NS); D29(NS); D29a(NS); D29b(NS); D30(NS); D30a(NS); D30b(NS); D31(NS); D31a(NS); D32(NS); D33(NS); D34(NS); D39(.000); D39a(.003); D42(AS); D43(.000); D43a(NS)	D19(NS); D21(NS); D22a(AS); D24(NS); D24a(.000); D24b(NS); D24c(NS); D24d(NS); D25(NS); D26(NS); D26a(AS); D28(NS); D29(NS); D29a(NS); D29b(NS); D30(NS); D30a(AS); D30b(NS); D31(NS); D31a(NS); D32(NS); D33(NS); D34(NS); D39(NS); D39a(.000); D42(AS); D43(.004); D43a(AS)

women they have seduced (Item B8d., 47%); that they or Puerto Rican men feel uncomfortable in the company of a homosexual person of their own sex (Item B8e., 65%). And that they or Puerto Rican men are not very strongly sexually attracted by members of their own sex (Item B8m., 65%).

An analysis of these results by sex indicated that: significantly more females (75%) than males (35%) agreed that most of the Puerto Rican man's friends are males as opposed to being women; significantly more males (60%) than females (55%) agreed that they felt close to their male friends; significantly more females (60%) than males (35%) agreed that men enjoy themselves the most when they are drinking together; and that significantly more females (80%) than males (50%) agreed that Puerto Rican men feel uncomfortable in the presence of homosexuals.

When items dealing with interpersonal relationships with female friends are analyzed the results indicated: that 77% of all the subjects have a good friend who is a Puerto Rican of the opposite sex (Item D2.); that 52% of these friendships are from one to two years in duration (Item D2a.); that 87% of these friendships are one in which the subjects help the friend with problems, giving advice, sharing life views, doing favors and trust them (Item D3.); that 84% believe their friends do the same things for them (Item D4.); that 97% think that the relationship is mutual (Item D5.); that 85% of those subjects that have friends who discuss their problems with them feel that they are generally helpful to them (Item D7a.); that 74% of those subjects believe it is possible for a man and a woman to have a close relationship that

is not complicated by sexual attraction (Item D20.); that 77% of all subjects do have close relationships with Puerto Rican members of the opposite sex which are not complicated by sexual attraction (Item D20a.); and that 55% of all subjects believe that they or Puerto Rican men have at least one or two close friends of the opposite sex exclusive of present lovers (Item D37.).

An analysis of these results by sex indicated: that significantly more females (85%) than males (70%) reported that they have a good friend who is a Puerto Rican of the opposite sex: that significantly more females (53%) than males (50%) state that these friendships are at least one to two years in duration; that significantly more males (7%) than females (0%) reported that they did nothing for their friends; and that significantly more females (90%) than males (80%) feel they are generally fairly helpful to their friends when they discuss their problems.

When items concerned with interpersonal relationships with lovers or spouses are analyzed the results indicated: 89% of those subjects who have mates of some sort claimed that their mate helps them with problems, giving them advice, showing love and worrying about them, caring and protecting them, and generally helping out any way they can (Item D11.); that 89% of those subjects with relationships have mates who discuss most of their problems with them (Item D14.); that 87% of these romantically involved subjects feel that they are generally very helpful when their mates discuss problems with them (Item D14a.); that 78% of these subjects feel that they and their partners equally derive

the same things from the relationship (Item D15.); that 61% of those subjects who believed that he or the Puerto Rican man thinks he has the right to physically discipline their wives believe that this is permissible in their view whenever the wife does something wrong like doing things the man does not like, disrespecting him, being negatively influenced by her female friends, going out with other men, or going against his orders (Item D24a.); that 62% of those subjects who believed that the Puerto Rican man thinks women should unquestionably obey their husbands believe that he explains himself by saying that as the man of the house who works and brings food and money into the house he should not have to explain anything to his wife (Item D39a.); and that 72% of all subjects believe that Puerto Rican men expect their wives to take the place of their mothers (Item D43.).

An analysis of these results by sex indicated significant differences between males and females in response to only three items, these being that significantly fewer females (58%) than males (75%) believed that Puerto Rican men discipline their wives whenever they go against his orders; that significantly more females (68%) than males (54%) believed that Puerto Rican men expect their wives to unquestionably obey them because they are the breadwinners at home; and that significantly more females (90%) than males (55%) believed that Puerto Rican men expect their wives to take the place of their mothers.

It will be seen that the remainder of the questions relating to relationships with mates are found to have no statistical significance, additionally Chi-square values for these items were rather low. These

Chi-square statistics and significance levels were questionable for the most part, since the number of subjects with relationships was so small that cells often had frequencies less than minimum expected cell frequencies.

One of the items relative to macho concept (Item B6.) and one item relative to interpersonal relationships (Item B8b.) was analyzed by cross-tabulation.

In this case, the analysis was a 2 x 4 type in which the macho concept item (Item B6.) was dichotomous (yes and no) while the male interpersonal relationship item (Item B8b.) had 4 levels (agree; neutral; disagree; and strongly disagree). The summary of the cross-tabulation is presented in Table 8. As can be seen from the cross-tabulation summarized in Table 8 no significant differences were found between macho concept and interpersonal relationships as measured by these two items. The probability, however, does approach significance ($p < .06$). When this cross-tabulation is broken down by sex, it is seen that in the case of females, significant differences are found (see Table 9).

These findings suggest that there is some relationship between subjects having or thinking Puerto Rican men have close male friendships and the extent to which there are good aspects to being macho. Those subjects who think there are good aspects agree Puerto Rican males have close male friends (69%), while those who do not see good aspects to macho disagree that they or Puerto Rican males are close to male friends. This relationship seems to be particularly true for females.

TABLE 8

Cross-Tabulations of Good Macho Concept by Close Male Relationship

Item B6.: Are there any good things about you/Puerto Rican men that came from your/their being macho?	Item B8b.: I/he feel(s) close to my/his male friends.				χ^2	p <
	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree		
Yes	20 69.0%	2 6.9%	7 24.1%	0	7.270	.063
No	3 27.3%	2 18.2%	5 45.5%	1 9.1%	df = 3	

Cramer's V = .426

TABLE 9

Cross-Tabulation of Good Macho Concept by Close Male Relationship for Females

Item B6.: Are there any good things about you/Puerto Rican men that come from your/their being macho?	Item B8b.: I/he feel(s) close to my/his male friends.			χ^2	p <
	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree		
Yes	11 68.8%	2 12.5%	3 18.8%	6.458 df = 2	.039
No	0	1 25.0%	3 75.0%		

Cramer's V = .568

Having found that the majority of items dealing with interpersonal relationship were not significantly related to the Puerto Rican male concept of machismo, Null Hypothesis Number One was not rejected. With this established, I move on to the examination of the next hypothesis.

Null Hypothesis Two: Parenting

The second null hypothesis stated that there will be no significant effect on the Puerto Rican man's concept of parenting by his concept of machismo. By parenting is meant those attitudes and behaviors which the Puerto Rican man has as a father and those attitudes and behaviors he attributes to his own parents.

The significance levels related to parenting concept are presented in Table 10. The analysis of the data in this table indicated significant differences on 23 of the items listed and no significant differences on 9. Of these 9 non-significant items, 2 items approached significance. In the significant findings, there were 4 items in which males had significant responses and females did not and 8 conditions in which females had significant responses and males did not.

Subjects overall answered the 13 questions that measure their or Puerto Rican men's interaction with their own parents as follows: 34% of the subjects said that they or Puerto Rican men were very close to their fathers (Item C1.); of those subjects whose fathers were alive 39% said they or Puerto Rican men were in contact with their fathers several times per month (Item C2.); 42% of those same subjects said that they or the Puerto Rican man initiated most of the contact (Item

TABLE 10

Significance Levels of Male, Female and Total Responses to
Items Related to Parenting Concept

Type Concept	Item Number (p<)		
	Male	Female	Total
Interaction with Own Parents	C1(.005); C2(NS); C3(NS); C5(.000); C6(NS); C7(AS); C9(.001); C16(.005); C18(AS); C19(.000); C21(.000); C22(.000); C23(NS);	C1(AS); C2(.005); C3(NS); C5(.019); C6(.000); C7(.021); C9(.006); C16(NS); C18(.000); C19(NS); C21(.000); C22(.035); C23(NS)	C1(.014); C2(.043); C3(.026); C5(NS); C6(.000); C7(NS); C9(.000); C16(.000); C18(.000); C19(.000); C21(.000); C22(.000); C23(NS)
Relations with Own Children	C1a(.000); C5a(.045); C10(.003); C11.1a(NS); C11.1b(NS); C11.1c(NS); C11.2a(NS); C11.2b(NS); C14(NS); C15(.019); C15b(.007); C20(.007); C20a(NS); C26(NS); C27(NS); C27a(NS); C28(AS)	C1a(.000); C5a(AS); C3(.029); C11.1a(NS); C11.1b(NS); C11.1c(NS); C11.2a(NS); C11.2b(NS); C14(.000); C15(.021); C15b(.012); C20(NS); C20a(.032); C26(AS); C27(.003); C27a(.005); C28(AS)	C1a(.000); C5a(.000); C3(.000); C11.1a(AS); C11.1b(NS); C11.1c(AS); C11.2c(NS); C13(.009); C14(.000); C15(.030); C15b(.000); C20(NS); C20a(.014); C26(.002); C27(.001); C27a(.000); C28(.016)

C3.); 60% of all the subjects responded that they or the Puerto Rican man is very close to his mother (Item C5.); 46% claimed that they or Puerto Rican men are in contact with their mothers several times per week (Item C6.); 59% of the subjects responded that generally their parents got along fairly well (Item C9.); 92% of the subjects reported that for them or for Puerto Rican men the father was an important figure in their lives (Item C16.); 62% stated that their or Puerto Rican men's relationship to their father was good to very good and that he was a sharing and friendly person with them (Item C18.); 97% responded that for them or Puerto Rican men the father was an important person in the family (Item C19.); 92% of all the subjects responded that for them or Puerto Rican men their mother was an important person in their lives (Item C21.); and 72% of all the subjects claimed that their or Puerto Rican men's relationship with their mothers was good and that though there were occasional disagreements on some things there always was a lot of love (Item C22.).

When these results were examined in terms of sex the following findings emerged: significantly more males (57%) than females (15%) stated that they had a very close relationship with their fathers; significantly more females (58%) than males (14%) claimed that the Puerto Rican man had contact with his father several times per month; significantly more females (75%) than males (16%) stated that Puerto Rican men contacted their mothers several times per week; significantly more males (17%) than females (0%) felt that their father was not an important figure in their lives; significantly more females (65%) than

males (59%) felt that the Puerto Rican man had a good and sharing relationship with his father; and significantly more males (6%) than females (0%) felt that their father was not an important person in the family.

Analysis of the combined male-female results relative to the Puerto Rican man's relations with his own children indicated that: 72% of all subjects described a close father-son relationship as one in which each shares his problems with the other and understands each other's view (Item C2a.). The relationship is marked by trust, friendship, love, acceptance, respect; 49% described a close mother-son relationship as one in which the son adores the mother telling her everything in confidence, and depending on her advice (Item C5a.). The relationship is marked by the son's affection towards the mother and his aiding her with problems, defending her and satisfying her material needs; 81% of all subjects do not have any children (Item C1a.); 64% of those males who are fathers and all of the females believed that compared to other fathers they know they or Puerto Rican men are doing as good a job as most men are doing as fathers (Item C13.); 82% of these same subjects believed that they or Puerto Rican men enjoy or like being fathers about as much as other fathers they know (Item C14.); 30% of all subjects believed that they or Puerto Rican men are against birth control because it is not natural and goes against religion since it is murderous and criminal (Item C15.); 79% claim that they or Puerto Rican men do not use birth control (Item C15b.); 55% of all subjects claim that their or the Puerto Rican man's idea of a good father is

one in which the father is primarily a family man who does not abandon his family and who wants the family to feel unified (Item C26.). He is responsible at home and with his children, spending time with them and taking them out to different activities; 86% of those men who are fathers and all the women claimed that they or Puerto Rican men are available to do things with and teach their children (Item C27.); 81% of these claimed they were available to show their children the right path by studying, playing and talking with them, as well as teaching respect, self defense and social comportment (Item C27a.). These things were accomplished through respect and advice; and 67% of the subjects claimed that they or Puerto Rican men were against abortion because it takes a life away, is a sin, and against the purpose of marriage which is procreation (Item C28.).

Analysis of these same results by sex indicated: that significantly more males (35%) than females (22%) felt that a close mother-son relationship was characterized by mutual understanding, support, tenderness, respect, confidence, and attention; significantly more females (84%) than males (67%) believed that Puerto Rican men enjoy being fathers the same as other fathers do; significantly more females (16%) than males (0%) believed that Puerto Rican men were not available to do things with their children; and significantly more females (83%) than males (67%) believed that the Puerto Rican father is available to show his children the right path by studying, playing, and talking with them.

Three items relative to macho concept and three items relative to parenting were analyzed by cross-tabulation. In the first instance,

the analysis was a 4 x 2 type, where the first item (B1a.) had 4 levels of macho concept (superior; aggressive and uneducated; stands up to problems; and dominates women) and the subjects parenting view measure (Item C20.) had two levels (yes and no). The summary of the cross-tabulation is presented in Table 11. As can be seen from the cross-tabulation summarized in Table 11 no significant differences were found between the kind of men who call themselves macho and child sex preference. The probability, however, does approach significance ($p < .20$).

In the next cross-tabulation the analysis was a 5 x 2 type in which the macho concept (Item B5.) had five levels (none; responsible; can confront problems; same anatomy; and superiority) and the subject parenting concept (Item C20.) was dichotomous (yes and no). The summary of the cross-tabulation is presented in Table 12. As can be seen from the cross-tabulation in Table 12 no significant differences were found between the ways in which subjects identified themselves or Puerto Rican men as similar to other machos and child sex preference. The probability ($p < .10$), however, does approach significance which is important because such a trend suggests that individuals whose macho similarity is conceived as superiority prefer male children to female, whereas those who deny any kindrance to macho traits claim to have no sexual preferences.

In the third cross-tabulation, the analysis was a 5 x 5 type in which the macho concept (Item B5.) had 5 levels (none; responsible; can confront problems; same anatomy; and superiority) and the subjects

TABLE 11

Cross-Tabulation of Macho Description by Male Child Importance

Item B1a.: What kind of men call themselves <u>macho</u> ?	Item C20.: Is it more important to have male children than it is to have female children?		χ^2	p <
	Yes	No		
Feel Superior	10 55.6%	8 44.4%	4.60 df=3	.203
Aggressive Uneducated	4 66.7%	2 33.3%		
Stands up to Problems	3 60.0%	2 40.0%		
Dominates Women	7 100.0%	0		

Cramer's V = .357

TABLE 12

Cross-Tabulation of Similar Macho Characteristics by Male Child Importance

Item B5.: What are some of the ways you/Puerto Rican men feel you/they are like other machos?	Item C20.: Is it more important to have male children than is is to have female children?		χ^2	p <
	Yes	No		
None	2 25.0%	6 75.0%	7.738 df = 4	.101
Responsible	6 50.0%	6 50.0%		
Can Confront Problems	1 50.0%	1 50.0%		
Same Anatomy	8 72.7%	3 27.3%		
Superiority	4 100.0%	0		

Cramer's V = .457

relationship with his own parents measure (Item C1.) had five levels (very close; fairly close; fairly distant; distant; and neutral). The summary of the cross-tabulation is presented in Table 13. As can be seen from the cross-tabulation summarized in Table 13, no significant differences were found between macho concept and parent relation. The probability, however, does approach significance ($p < .14$). These findings suggest that individuals who do not feel similar to machos in any way felt very close to their fathers, those who felt they were responsible machos felt fairly close to their fathers, those who felt similar to other machos in their problem confronting abilities felt fairly distant to their fathers, as did those who felt their macho similarity was based on anatomy or sense of superiority.

In the fourth case, the analysis was a 2 x 3 type, where the macho concept was dichotomous (Item B6.) (yes and no) while the parenting view measure (Item C14.) had 3 levels (more; same; and not as much). The summary of the cross-tabulations is presented in Table 14. As can be seen from the cross-tabulation summarized in Table 14, no significant differences were found between the enjoyment had in being a father and whether subjects felt good things were derived from a macho identification. The probability, however, does approach significance ($p < .14$), suggesting that subjects who felt there were good things that came from being macho were likely to feel Puerto Rican men enjoy fatherhood as much as other males do.

When these cross-tabulations were examined in terms of sex differences, it was found that in the second case both males and females

TABLE 13

Cross-Tabulation of Similar Macho Characteristic by Close Father Relationship

Item B5.: What are some of the ways you feel you/Puerto Rican men feel you/they are like other machos?	Item C1.: How close would you say you/he are/is to your/his father?					x ²	p <
	Very Close	Fairly Close	Fairly Distant	Distant	Neutral		
None	6 75.0%	1 12.5%	0	1 12.5%	0	22.124 df=16	.139
Responsible	3 30.0%	5 50.0%	1 10.0%	0	1 10.0%		
Can Confront Problems	0	0	2 100.0%	0	0		
Same Anatomy	3 27.3%	2 18.2%	4 36.4%	1 9.1%	1 9.1%		
Superiority	1 25.0%	0	2 50.0%	0	1 25.0%		

Cramer's V = .397; Pearson's R = .372, p < .013; Tau B = .360, p < .005

TABLE 14

Cross-Tabulation of Good Macho Concept by Father Role Enjoyment

Item B6.: Are there any good things about you/Puerto Rican men that come from your/their being macho?	Item C14.: Compared to other fathers you know, how much do you/they like or enjoy being a father?			χ^2	p <
	More	Same	Not As Much		
Yes	2 11.8%	15 88.2%	0	3.968 df = 2	.137
No	1	3	1		

Cramer's V = .424

approached significance when the levels of the macho concept were 4 and not 5. However, they still show no significant differences between macho concept and parent relationship. The summary of these cross-tabulations is presented in Tables 15 and 16.

As a whole the findings related to interactions between macho concept and parenting were significant and as such the second null hypothesis was rejected, and attention was now focused on examination of results in light of the third hypothesis.

Null Hypothesis Three: Self Concept

Null hypothesis number three stated that there will be no significant effect on the macho behavior of the Puerto Rican male by his self concept or view of himself in the world. By behaviors is meant those manifestations of conduct which have been attributed to the macho by social science descriptions. Many of these have already been addressed in the previous two hypotheses and as such will not be specifically considered in testing this particular hypothesis. The items related to macho behavior which will be considered are listed in Table 17. The analysis of the data in Table 17 indicated significant differences on all items, with significant differences between males and females evidenced on one item in which females did not score significantly and males did.

Further analysis reveals that when subjects are taken as a whole the results indicated: that 65% of all subjects agreed that they or Puerto Rican men cry when they are injured (Item B8h.); that 80% of all

TABLE 15

Cross-Tabulation of Similar Macho Characteristic by Close Father Relationship for Males

Item B5.: What are some of the ways you feel you/ Puerto Rican men feel you/ they are like other machos?	Item C1.: How close would you say you/he are/ is to your/his father?					χ ²	p <
	Very Close	Fairly Close	Fairly Distant	Distant	Neutral		
None	5 71.4%	1 14.3%	0	1 14.3%	0	16.60 df=12	.165
Responsible	3 50.0%	1 16.7%	1 16.7%	0	1 16.7%		
Can Confront Problems	0	0	2 100.0%	0	0		
Same Anatomy	2 66.7%	0	0	1 33.3%	0		

Cramer's V = .554
 Pearson's R = .194

p < NS

TABLE 16

Cross-Tabulation of Similar Macho Characteristic by Close Father Relationship for Females

Item B5.: What are some of the ways you feel you/ Puerto Rican men feel you/ they are like other machos?	Item C1.: How close would you say you/he are/is to your/his father?				χ^2	p <
	Very Close	Fairly Close	Fairly Distant	Neutral		
None	1 100.0%	0	0	0	15.229 df = 9	.084
Responsible	0	4 100.0%	0	0		
Same Anatomy	1 12.5%	2 25.0%	4 50.0%	1 12.5%		
Superiority	1 25.0%	0	2 50.0%	1 25.0%		

Cramer's V = .546

Tau B = .424

Pearson's R = .443

p < .024

p < .037

TABLE 17

Significance Levels of Male, Female and Total Responses to Items Related to Macho Behavior

Item Number	Probability Less Than		
	Male	Female	Total
B8H	.000	AS	.000
B8J	.000	.000	.000
B8L	.000	.000	.000
D23a	.002		

subjects agreed that they or Puerto Rican men sometimes feel doubt, disappointment, need for love and tenderness (Item B8j.); that 42% of the subjects disagree or felt that the Puerto Rican man would disagree with a statement that he swept floors, cleaned dishes, and took care of housework (Item B8l.); and that 85% of male subjects stated they had fallen in love (Item D23a.) at some time in their lives.

When these results are analyzed according to sex, it is discovered that significantly more males (75%) than females (55%) admitted that Puerto Rican men will cry when injured; and that while 80% of females felt the Puerto Rican man would state he did not do housework a full 75% of males stated they did.

The self concept or view of the Puerto Rican male in the world was measured by questions that addressed themselves to the Puerto Rican male's view of his personal and political control, his political identification and appraisal of his economic reality, and value differences in comparisons to Anglo males. Table 18 lists those items that reflected these concerns. The analysis of the data in Table 18 indicated significant differences on 14 of the items and no significant differences on one of the items. Further analysis indicates that in these 14 items males and females scored significantly on all items except for 2 items in which female responses were significant and males were not.

The findings taken as a body indicated that: 82% of the subjects worry that their total family income will not be enough to meet their family's expenses and bills (Item E1.); that 62% of all subjects

TABLE 18

Significance Level of Male, Female and Total
Responses to Items Related to Self-Concept

Item Number (p<)		
Male	Female	Total
E1(.007); E5(.032); E11(.000); E4(AS); E8(.007); E8a(AS); E10(NS); E10a(NS); E12a(.008); E12b(AS); E12c(AS); E12d(.001); E12e(.006); E12f(.002); E12g(.007)	E1(.002); E5(.000); E11(.000); E4(AS); E8(.002); E8a(NS); E10(AS); E10a(AS); E12a(.019); E12b(.027); E12c(.000); E12d(.000); E12e(.001); E12f(.047); E12g(.000)	E1(.000); E5(.000); E11(.000); E4(.000); E8(.000); E8a(.019); E10(NS); E10a(.001); E12a(.000); E12b(.000); E12c(.000); E12d(.000); E12e(.000); E12f(.000); E12g(.000)

believed that the statement that best describes their situations is the following: "I am poor but usually have enough money to buy food and pay the rent (Item E5.), 82% think that the greatest worry that men like themselves or Puerto Rican men are faced with is one related to the economic conditions of the future (Item E11.). That is to say they worry that they will have to steal to survive and wonder if they will find and maintain a job that will help them progress economically and have adequate housing; 45% of subjects describe themselves as apolitical (Item E4.); 82% of subjects do believe that there is a difference between what they or Puerto Rican men value and what an Anglo does (Item E8.); 35% believe that the difference is that Americans are more liberal as they allow their wives to work and they are not interested in having many children (Item E8a.). American women are freer to come and go as they please and the men are more understanding of women's needs and more faithful to their women and less demanding of them; 54% of those who believe that Puerto Rican men have less control over their lives when compared to American men see this difference as being the fact that Americans are better off economically and as such have better food, health, education, homes and employment (Item E10a.). Additionally, the American male has no language obstacles. Puerto Ricans in comparison have less opportunities and educational attainments as well as language differences. The Puerto Rican is disadvantaged, dependent on welfare and social service agencies to help him, and as a poor person is at the mercy of others; 60% of the subjects agree with the statement that "Knowing the right people is

important in deciding whether a person will get ahead" (Item E12a.); 50% agreed with the statement that "People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just don't come their way" (Item E12b.); 55% of subjects agreed with the statement that "No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you" (Item E12c.); 67% of the subjects agreed with the statement that "Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking" (Item E12d.); 60% agreed with the statement that "The attempt to fit in and do what's proper hasn't paid off for Puerto Ricans. It doesn't matter how proper you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you are Puerto Rican" (Item E12e.); 50% agreed with the statement that "Many Puerto Ricans who don't do well in life do have good training but the opportunities just always go to whites" (Item E12f.); and lastly 57% agreed that "Many qualified Puerto Ricans can't get a good job, white people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble."

A breakdown of these results by sex revealed that: significantly more females (15%) than males (0%) neither agree nor disagree with the statement "People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just don't come their way"; and significantly more females (75%) than males (33%) agreed with the statement "No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you."

One of the items relative to self concept (Item E10.) and its relationship to one of the items relative to macho behavior (which was analyzed in previous sections) was analyzed by cross-tabulation. In this case the analysis was a 3 x 2 type, where the second item (Item

B11.) had the following levels: acting tough; masculine behavior; and capable worker. The summary of the cross-tabulation is presented in Table 19. As can be seen from the cross tabulation summarized in Table 19 significant differences were found. Those findings indicate that subjects who believe the macho completo shows his macho qualities by acting tough, also believe that compared to American men, Puerto Rican men have less control over their lives, while those that believe the macho completo manifests his macho qualities through being a capable worker do not believe he has less life control than American men. This finding suggests that there is a significant relationship between macho behavior and evaluation of life control.

Having found that all but one of the Chi-squares conducted to test for a relationship between macho behavior and self concept were significant, the third null hypothesis was rejected.

Null Hypothesis Four: Concept of Macho

Null hypothesis number four stated that there is no significant difference between the Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo with that provided by the dominant social science literature. As with previous hypothesis items reflective of this hypothesis have already been examined in a different light and as such will not be extensively re-examined here. The items which will be considered are listed in Table 20. The analysis of the data in Table 20 indicated significant differences on 14 items, with one item not significant. There were 3 items in which males responded in a significant manner and females did

TABLE 19

Cross-Tabulation of Macho Manifestation by Puerto Rican Life Control

Item B11.: How does a macho completo show he is one?	Item E10.: Compared to American men do Puerto Rican men have less control over their lives?		x ²	p <
	Yes	No		
Acting Tough	9 90.0%	1 10.0%	7.118 df = 2	.028
Masculine in Behavior	4 66.7%	2 33.3%		
Capable Worker	7 38.9%	11 61.1%		

Cramer's V = .457

TABLE 20

Significance Levels of Male, Female and Total Responses to Items
Related to Dominant Social Science Views

Item Number (p<)		
Male	Female	Total
B1c(AS); B9(NS); B8g(.000); B8i(.007); B8k(.001); B8q(.001); B14(.000); C17(.007); D22(.025); D27(AS); D35(AS); D36(.002); D38(NS); D40(.025); D41(.001)	B1c(.000); B9(.011); B8g(AS); B8i(.000); B8k(.000); B8q(.000); B14(NS); C17(.000); D22(.000); D27(.000); D35(.000); D36(.012); D38(.000); D40(.000); D41(NS)	B1c(.000); B9(.005); B8g(.000); B8i(.000); B8k(.001); B8q(.000); B14(.000); C17(.00); D22(.000); D27(.000); D35(.000); D36(NS); D38(.000); D40(.000); D41(.000)

not and 5 items in which the reverse occurred.

When the responses are examined as a whole it was discovered that: 80% of the subjects believed that the kind of men who call themselves hombre were family men who were authorities at home, attentive to their wives and children, and men whose simple lifestyle included knowing the proper way of treating women in general (Item B1c.); that the most important qualities in a man are, in the opinion of 57% of the subjects, those of being respectful gentlemen who are serious, responsible, courteous, sincere, just, honest, brave, humble, and sociable (Item B9.); that 50% of all subjects believe that it is permissible for a man to cry if he is injured (Item B8g); 82% agreed that it is all right for a man to feel doubt, disappointment, need for love and tenderness (Item B8i.); that 37% of the subjects believed that it is all right for a man to sweep floors, clean dishes, and take care of housework (Item B8k); that 48% agreed that it is important to be physically very strong in order to be considered a man (Item B8q); that 62% felt that they or Puerto Rican men are about as masculine as other men are (Item B14.); 87% stated that they or Puerto Rican men had a man available to them while they were growing up who they could do things with and learn from (Item C17.); 85% of the subjects agreed that it was important for Puerto Rican men to dominate women (Item D22.); 57% believed that Puerto Rican men felt the most important differences between men and women were that the man works outside of the home and can be freer, and he has greater sexual liberties while women are meant for the home and not for the street (Item D27.). Cleaning and childcare

are what women are meant to do and they have less rights than men, they second men's choices and must be submissive. A man must work and bring money into the house, he is the chief of the house and gives orders, he wears the pants at home and takes care of his wife; 80% of all subjects believed that the Puerto Rican man is not in favor of women having as much sexual freedom as men (Item D35.); 45% of all subjects were neutral when it came to answering what they or Puerto Rican men thought of women's liberation (Item D38.); 85% agreed that vocational and professional schools admit the best qualified students regardless of sex (Item D40.); and finally 90% of the subjects felt that men have the real power in the family.

A breakdown of these responses according to sex reveals that: significantly more females (95%) than males (65%) described the kind of men who called themselves hombre as family men; that significantly more females (65%) than males (50%) described the most important qualities in a male as those related to being respectful and an authority at home; that significantly more males (70%) than females (30%) agreed that men can cry; that significantly more males (60%) than females (10%) agreed that it was permissible for a man to do housework; that significantly more males (65%) than females (17%) disagreed with the statement that it is important to be physically very strong in order to be considered a man; that significantly more males (95%) than females (30%) felt they as Puerto Rican men were about as masculine as other men; that significantly more females (90%) than males (13.3%) stated that men would consider the most important sex differences

between males and females to be that men are freer and women are meant for the home; that significantly more females (95%) than males (65%) stated that men would not accept greater sexual freedom on the part of females; that significantly more females (60%) than males (30%) were neutral in describing the Puerto Rican male's reaction to Women's Liberation; and that significantly less males (80%) than females (100%) felt that the real power in the family belongs to the man.

The results of testing null hypothesis four demonstrated that all but one item failed to be responded to in a significant manner, as such this hypothesis was rejected.

C H A P T E R V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I will review the purpose, objectives, and literature. In addition I will analyze the hypotheses, discuss the data, put forth conclusions and implications, as well as qualify my inferences and make recommendations.

Review of the Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of the study was to examine the definition and concept of machismo that exists in academic circles versus that which Puerto Rican males and females have. The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To determine if Puerto Rican males would define machismo in a more dialectical manner than the dominant literature.
2. To demonstrate that machismo has both positive and negative implications, which operate in a unified manner.

Conclusions About the Literature

The literature reviewed was mainly descriptive with few cases found where the machismo construct was empirically investigated. At best the majority of the works cited were the author's value judgments, impressions, cultural misunderstandings, and negative stereotypes raised to the level of pseudo-scientific investigation. The majority of the research in machismo has been conducted by non-Puerto Ricans and

has been affected by their lack of knowledge of the culture. This has affected the growth of knowledge regarding machismo in a negative manner, since it has relegated the study of machismo to intrapsychic, psychodynamic methods focusing on pathology and has oriented writers away from exploration of socio-cultural and historical factors. That literature which has chosen to elaborate on the ego defensive aspects of macho behavior in terms of reaction formation and latent homosexuality has been challenged by a more recent culturally focused literature which claims the behavior pattern is ego integrative. Claiming that the previous literature is ethnocentric and biased these culturalists, as I have designated them, emphasized the social castration that gives rise to the behavior pattern. However, my analysis shows that even this new relativistic approach suffers from a lack of strong empirical bases and a lack of rigorous theorizing. Indeed, the greatest criticism that can be leveled at these culturalist authors is their coming dangerously close to glorification of those aspects of machismo which are delicately interwoven with an oppressive social structure. The present analysis strives towards an integration of the best of both of these perspectives and a sifting out of the oppressive and metaphysical in both systems. It goes beyond a mere dualism inasmuch as it recognizes the essentialness of one side of the macho coin to the existence of the other. The dialectical model which this analysis proposes has been put to the test in this study, as such it has avoided what other models have been accused of, i.e., making conclusions regarding machismo without empirically investigating those

conclusions. This research attempts to address the deficits in this area, and seeks to further refine that effort with its concerted attempts towards capturing the totality of the macho experience as perceived by one of the groups it is most attributed to.

Summary of Findings and Conclusions

To restate, the null hypotheses posed for testing in the study were:

H1) The Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo does not significantly affect his interpersonal relationships.

H2) The Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo does not significantly affect his concept of parenting.

H3) The Puerto Rican male's self-concept or view of himself in the world does not significantly affect his investment in machismo through manifested acts.

H4) There is no discrepancy between the Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo with that provided by the dominant social science literature.

The demographic data indicated that most subjects were born in Puerto Rico, raised in a small town, earned under \$1,000 in the past year and had not returned to the island since they first came here. Sex differences indicated that more males were born on the Mainland and more females were raised in small towns in Puerto Rico and earned less than \$1,000 in the preceding year.

The analysis of the data indicated that the first hypothesis which

dealt with the differences among macho concept and interpersonal relationships had the following results. Significant differences were found on 20 of 29 items measuring the existence of a macho concept among Puerto Ricans. This concept was one in which macho was described as someone who feels superior to other men and a label that Puerto Rican men would not wish to have applied to them as it has uncivilized connotations. Additionally, the Puerto Rican man was seen as being different from other machos inasmuch as he does not beat women, and similar inasmuch as he confronts problems and is a responsible family member and worker. These aspects are the acceptable attributes of being macho which are distinct from the unacceptable attributes which included ostentatiousness, cockiness, and authoritarian qualities. Despite the fact that the macho label was not aspired towards, it was agreed that it is important to be macho. Fathers are seen as teaching macho behavior and macho behavior is manifested through responsibility, dutifulness, hard work, and capable economic providing. Birth control is not seen as a concern of the macho and in terms of child rearing the macho concept is taught to both males and females so that children may learn to avoid future identity confusions, develop strong characters, confront problems, be brave, and respect others. Sons are taught how to be macho by the example fathers set. The role of the macho husband is to dedicate time to his wife, being demonstratively loving, and unjealous. However, it is thought that the macho can not really fall in love. Macho behavior is seen as being different in the United States as compared to Puerto Rico.

Male and female perceptions of the macho concept differed in that more males described macho as superiority; more males do not want their children to learn what macho is and more males do want children to learn to confront their own problems. Females differed from males in that they believed males would say there were good aspects to machismo; and that it was important to be macho. Females believed that macho behavior is taught by the father; and that males believe it is not macho to use birth control. Females also believed that males teach macho behavior to their children because their own parents did so and the male wishes to continue such customs. Moreover, females believe macho behavior is taught to sons through the example of their father. Additionally, cross-tabulations of a macho concept item with sex revealed significant differences. The results indicated that males saw their similarity to other machos primarily in terms of their sense of responsibility while females saw the Puerto Rican male as thinking his similarity to other machos was primarily anatomical.

Several other demographic items were cross-tabulated with macho concept items and the cross-tabulations as such suggested that those individuals whose income was under \$1,000 were more likely to see the macho concept of husband to include dominating one's wife; that individuals with at least a partial high school education believe that the macho was capable of seriously falling in love; that it did not matter whether individuals were raised in a small town or not, all subjects tended to believe that the macho is capable of falling in love.

Differences according to sex were evident with these cross-tabulations as it was discovered that males who earned under \$1,000 were more apt to say that macho husbands dominate wives and males who earn between \$1,000 - \$2,999 are apt to say that macho husbands are good to their wives; that males who are high school graduates tend to overwhelmingly believe that the macho can seriously fall in love; and finally that females who earned under \$1,000 were apt to believe that the macho husband dominates his wife in greater numbers than males did.

Overall, the demographic data does not allow for sufficient analysis across income levels and education as there really was not a sufficient spread across these variables. However, the results do not suggest that a brutal machismo exists among this lower class sample.

Having established that there existed a macho concept among Puerto Ricans that differed somewhat according to sex, and to a lesser extent income and education, the analysis examined how those concepts affected the interpersonal relationships of males. Though specific cross-tabulations between each macho concept item and interpersonal item were not conducted because of time and expense, it was felt that the interpersonal items were so worded and sequenced that responses to them would necessarily reflect the macho concept of the subject. The analysis of the data relative to the interpersonal questions revealed that significant differences were found on 23 items. The items measured three aspects of interpersonal relationships; Male-Male; Male-Female Friend; and Male-Lover. The results indicated that Puerto Rican males

have mainly males as friends and that they feel close to these friends. These males enjoy themselves the most when drinking together and mainly converse about women they have seduced. Additionally, males feel uncomfortable in the presence of homosexuals and are not strongly sexually attracted by their own sex.

Differences in perceptions of Male-Male relationships were evident according to sex since more females felt that the Puerto Rican male had mainly male friends and that men enjoy themselves the most when drinking. Male-Female Friends results indicated that Puerto Ricans have good opposite sex friendships of some duration in which there is mutual sharing of problems, advice, favors, and trust. Additionally, it is felt that men and women can have close platonic relationships and such relationships are not the exception but the rule. Puerto Rican men are also seen as having at least one or two very close female friends. Differences by sex were found in that more females than males had opposite sex friendships of some duration in which they felt generally helpful to those friends. Male-Lovers data indicated that subjects claimed their mates helped with problems, gave advice, care and protection, discussed problems, and that subjects were generally helpful in return. Additionally, it was discovered that some subjects felt that the Puerto Rican man thinks it is all right to discipline his wife when she disrespects him, goes against his will or is unduly influenced by her female friends or has affairs. Also, some subjects thought the wife should unquestionably obey their husbands as the man is the breadwinner in the home. And lastly, it was felt that Puerto

Rican men expect their wives to replace their mothers.

Differences to these responses were present when sex was considered and these revealed that females felt that Puerto Rican males expected wives to unquestionably obey them as the breadwinners, and that Puerto Rican males expect their wives to replace their mothers. More males than females believed that men physically disciplined wives for disobeying them. Cross-tabulations of macho concept with interpersonal relationships were conducted and revealed no significant differences in the two cases considered. However, both cases did approach significance and as such suggested that those individuals who had opposite sex friends were likely to describe the macho as someone who felt superior, and that those individuals who claimed there were good things that came from being macho were likely to agree that males felt close to their male friends. This second cross-tabulation was found to be significant when considered by sex for females.

Given the foregoing results where there was a trend for some items on interpersonal relations to have significant differences and a greater number not to have significant differences, the first null hypothesis was not rejected. Therefore, we can conclude that the Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo does not significantly affect his interpersonal relationships.

In the writer's opinion these data suggest that the macho concept that exists among Puerto Ricans is a dialectical one in that what is considered as "macho" is experienced as containing both acceptable and unacceptable aspects. The concept differs according to sex and seems

to signify mainly traits of responsibility for males while for females it involves sex issues. These findings are corroborated by that literature stating that males emphasize the positive aspects of machismo while females emphasize the negative aspects (Gaitan, 1976). Additionally, this concept of macho has some impact on the everyday life experience of the Puerto Rican man in his role as father and seems to also play an important role in his behavior as friend or lover. It certainly impacts on the role of the male as a worker. As can be seen from the sense of responsibility which males emphasized when describing the macho, and how they related this responsibility to the ability to provide for the family through work. As such the concept is seen as inextricably interwoven with the productive capacities of the worker and consequently he may experience frustration in an economic system that finds a certain level of unproductive workers necessary to its survival (Staples, 1971). The contradictions apparent in identifying with the label and simultaneously finding it abhorrent is understood as partly reflective of the negative press that it has been given recently (Gomez, 1977). Such labeling and stereotyping common in the literature are suspected to be distortions of reality when the present findings are examined. The sexual preoccupations so easily attributed to the macho and condemned are difficult to discover in this sample (i.e., there is not one reported instance of fathers playing with or showing off their son's genitals nor are there high levels of extramarital or promiscuous activity). Additionally, the differences between male and female views are in my opinion that end result of the

socialization experiences provided for each sex and the competition encouraged in the labor market by the capitalist system. A competition that pits wife against husband, sister against brother, and friend against friend (Lopez, 1973). Following Cintron-Ortiz's (1973) lead I believe that the antagonism of views on machismo is reflective of that male-female antagonism stemming from the downgrading of traditional male roles and the conflicts of a competitive labor market. It should also be noted that while males had more positive views of macho they were not as positive as one would have predicted from the female pattern of responses (i.e., 80% of the females compared to 65% of the males felt that Puerto Rican men would say there are good aspects to being macho) which suggests these males were not glorifying the concept.

Though the data did not indicate significance in terms of macho concept and interpersonal relationships it did indicate differences in terms of interpersonal relationships alone. I have taken this finding to mean that there seem to be no difference in the quality of relationships between friends and lovers. Puerto Ricans seem to have both balanced relationships between friends where mates and friends equally depend on each other (Sanchez-Hidalgo, 1960; Otero, 1968; Cromwell, Corrales and Torsiella, 1973; Hawks and Taylor, 1975; Mena, 1978). Sex differences here again reflect the split of males and females along the positive-negative polarities, for though their views are not dramatically different from each other, females do tend to cast things in a less favorable light, i.e., 68% of the females compared to 54% of males believed Puerto Rican men expected their wives to unquestionably obey

them since they were the breadwinners. Additionally, the fact that very few of these 18-24 year old subjects were married contests that literature which claims early marriages are the rule among Puerto Ricans.

The second hypothesis which dealt with the differences among macho concept and parenting had the following results. Significant differences were found on 23 of 32 items measuring parenting. Parenting was divided into two categories one reflecting Puerto Rican male interaction with their own parents and the second Puerto Rican male interaction with their children. Results indicated that in Male-Parent interactions the Puerto Rican males had very close relationships to their own fathers and were in frequent contact with them. Such contact was initiated by the Puerto Rican male. In a similar manner it was discovered that Puerto Rican men have very close relationships with their mothers and are in more frequent contact with mothers than they are with fathers. Parent relationships were seen as generally well, and fathers were reported to be important figures in the personal development and family life of the Puerto Rican male. The relationship with the fathers was seen as being good to very good with sharing and friendliness common. Mothers were likewise seen as important figures in the personal and family life of Puerto Rican males, and the relationship was characterized as good and loving even if occasional disagreements did surface.

Differences according to sex were evident as more males claimed to have very close relationships with their fathers than women predicted;

and more males claimed that their fathers were not important personal or family figures than women predicted. Females on the other hand tended to more greatly feel that Puerto Rican males had more frequent contact with their mothers than actually was the case; and that Puerto Rican men had good and sharing relationships with their fathers.

Male-Children results indicated the close father-son relationship to be a mutually sharing and understanding one, marked by trust, respect, acceptance and friendship. A close mother-son relationship was seen as one in which the son adores the mother, confiding in her and depending on her advice. Additionally, the son is affectionate, protective and emotionally and economically supportive. The majority of subjects were not parents but those who were and all the females believed that Puerto Rican men compare favorably with other men in their roles as fathers. Males were seen as being against birth control. The idea of a good father is one of a man who is close to his family and fosters unity, as well as being responsible with his children and spending time with them. Puerto Rican men are seen as available to teach and do things with their children such as help with studies, play, teaching respect, self defense, and proper social behavior. The major teaching method seems to be giving good counsel and fostering respect.

Sex differences revealed that more males saw the close mother-son relationship as one of mutual understanding, support, and affection; and that more females saw the Puerto Rican male as enjoying fathering, as a caring family person and available to gear children towards proper behavior by studying and playing with them.

Additionally, cross-tabulations of macho concept with parenting were performed and the results indicated no significant differences between macho concept and parenting in any of the four cross-tabulations. However, in each case results did approach significance and as such suggested that subjects who described macho as equivalent to feeling superior were likely to state that Puerto Rican males feel it is more important to have male children than it is to have female children. Those subjects who felt they were in no way similar to other machos were likely to think that the relationship between the Puerto Rican male and his father was very close. Individuals who thought there were good things that came from being macho were apt to think that the Puerto Rican male enjoys being a father as much as other men; males who stated they were not similar to machos in any way responded that they had a very close relationship with their fathers; females who saw the similarity of Puerto Rican machos to other machos as being their sense of responsibility were likely to claim that Puerto Rican men had close relationships with their fathers while those who saw the similarities in terms of anatomy were likely to claim that the relationship was fairly distant.

Given the foregoing results in which 23 out of 36 cross-tabulations showed significant differences the second null hypothesis was rejected. Therefore, we can conclude that the Puerto Rican male's concept of machismo does significantly affect his concept of parenting.

The data on parenting indicated that contrary to the standard description of fathering among Puerto Ricans the subjects interviewed

revealed that fathers were indeed important figures in the family. They are available for many aspects of childrearing that go beyond the stereotypical disciplinarian role and indeed seem to reap as much pleasure as other men in this type of family involvement (Montenegro, 1974). The sex differences apparent once again reflected that females took a more traditional view of the Puerto Rican male than he reported. Females tended to see the males as less close to their fathers and much closer to mothers. The relationship with mothers were again interesting inasmuch as they not only included the stereotypical adoration of the mother by the son but also included the protectiveness and economical support of mother by the son. Of great interest was the finding that there was only a small number of individuals who believed that male children were preferable to females. This contradicts the general views reported in the literature having to do with the mainly male child sex preference of Puerto Ricans (Beck, Hill and Stykos, 1960). Additionally, no reports of feelings of displacement of the father by his children were evident, nor were greater privileges or authority attributed to fathers in comparison to mothers.

The third hypothesis which dealt with the differences among self concept and macho behavior had the following results. All items had significant differences and the results indicated that Puerto Rican males cry when they are injured, and sometimes feel doubt, disappointment and need for love. Puerto Rican males are not seen as doing housework and male subjects reported having seriously fallen in love at some time in their lives. Sex differences indicated that more males

admitted to crying than predicted by women, that more males admitted to doing housework than women predicted. Self concept measures indicated significant differences on 14 of 15 items and the results showed that Puerto Ricans worry that their family income will not be sufficient to cover their expenses. Their situation is described as one of being poor but usually able to pay the rent and buy food; that Puerto Rican men are most greatly confronted by worries that relate to their economic futures. Subjects also indicated that they are mainly apolitical. Additionally, there is a belief that there are differences between the values of the Puerto Rican man and that of the Anglo man, that difference being that Anglos are more liberal and faithful with their wives and less interested in large families. Puerto Rican men are seen as having less control over their lives than Anglos since Anglos are better off economically, more educated, and employed. It is also believed that connections are preconditions to success in this society, that often luck influences success more greatly than work does, that some people dislike you no matter how much one may try to be likable, and that sometimes they feel powerless over the paths their lives are taking. Additionally, it is felt that no matter how "proper" the Puerto Rican is he or she will still meet with serious discrimination, and that even if they have good training or qualifications, the opportunities always go to whites.

Differences according to sex were found in that more females were neutral in opinion to luck often influencing success greater than work and more females agreed that some people dislike you no matter how

likable one tries to be. Cross-tabulations were performed in terms of the differences among self concept and macho behavior and significant differences were found in one case, as such the cross-tabulations suggested that those individuals who felt that the Puerto Rican male manifests his machismo by being a capable worker were likely to see the Puerto Rican as not having less control over their lives than American men do.

Given that significant differences were found on all but one cross-tabulation the third null hypothesis was rejected. Therefore, we can conclude that the Puerto Rican male's self-concept or view of himself in the world does significantly affect his investment in machismo through manifested acts.

Data relative to self concept and macho behavior indicated that the Puerto Rican male is not as binded emotionally as the literature would have us believe. Indeed the Puerto Rican male is seen as capable of feeling defeated and more importantly expressing these feelings. The Puerto Rican male does recognize that his behavior in regards to women may be construed as more dominant than American males. He also recognizes the the American male is in a better position than he is given the economic conditions that both confront daily. Additionally, the impact of discrimination against Puerto Ricans and a favoritism towards whites makes these Puerto Rican subjects doubt the efficacy of hard work since in the long run, luck or connections will get you what you need. This socially learned attitude may explain the highly apolitical nature of this sample. Such feelings undoubtedly

must contribute to the lack of life control that these subjects reported. These data suggest that the perception on the part of subjects that whites are the ones who reap rewards in this system predisposes them to see not only discrimination but also racism as part and parcel of this society. As accurate and group identity reinforcing (Gurin and Epps, 1975) as this perception is there is the danger here of blaming all whites instead of analyzing the economic structures which give rise to white supremacists views.

The fourth hypothesis which dealt with the discrepancies between the Puerto Rican male concept of macho with that of dominant social science views resulted in significant differences on 14 of 15 items. Analysis of the data indicated that the label hombre was applied to family men who were seen as the authority in the home and who were properly attentive to their wives and children. The most important qualities in a man are his being respectful, gentlemanly, serious, responsible, courteous, sincere, honest, just, brave, humble and sociable. It is acceptable for a man to cry, feel doubt, disappointment and need for tenderness, and do housework. It is important to be physically very strong to be considered a man and that Puerto Rican men are about as masculine as other men, no more and no less. Male models who spent time with them and taught them things were available to Puerto Rican men while growing up. It was felt that Puerto Rican men find it important to dominate women and that they believed the greatest sexual differences to be that men are breadwinners who can enjoy greater sexual liberties while women are to be housebound. It was felt that

the Puerto Rican man is not accepting of Puerto Rican women having greater sexual freedom and is neutral in terms of Women's Liberation. It was agreed that Puerto Rican men are of the opinion that vocational and professional opportunities should be offered to the most qualified person independent of gender, and that men have the real power in the family.

Differences according to sex were evident as more females saw the hombre as a family man and listed important male qualities as being respectful and being an authority at home. Additionally, more females believed that males consider the most important sexual differences as women being housebound and males freer, and that males would not accept greater sexual freedom on the part of women. Finally, females believed more males to be neutral towards Women's Liberation and to feel that the real power in the family belongs to the man. In terms of male responses these indicated that more males feel it is permissible to cry than females thought, that more thought it was permissible for them to do housework, and that they were more likely not to think it was important to be physically very strong to be considered a male. Additionally, more males identified themselves as masculine as other men and less males believed the real power in the family belongs to men.

Given the foregoing results where all but five of the cross-tabulations yielded significant differences from the social science view, the fourth null hypothesis was rejected. Therefore, we can conclude that there is a discrepancy between the Puerto Rican males concept of machismo with that provided by the dominant social science

literature.

The data relative to the differences between the Puerto Rican concept of macho and that of social scientists indicated in my opinion that the subjects interviewed indeed held views that contested the dominant literature at the same time that some of their views were quite similar. The similarities were that Puerto Rican men are expected to be physically quite strong in order to be considered real men, that they find it important to dominate women and believe that as breadwinners they enjoy greater privileges than women especially in the area of sexual freedom. However, my interpretation of these results again notes the connection between these views and the emphasis on work and productivity. It will be noted that subjects spoke of male dominance and power in relation to the Puerto Rican male's role as breadwinner. The greater sexual liberties are then related to this role in a manner that brings to mind those authors who conclude that this realm of sexuality is offered as a reward to the male proletariat (Pearson, 1974). That is to say that the dictum of "a man's home is his castle" is not only meant to signify a sanctuary from the problems of work but also the only place he can exert the kind of hierarchical rule that he experiences everyday in the real world of labor. The emphasis on strength again comes as no surprise given the necessity of inculcating in the workforce the importance of attributes (i.e., physical strength; willingness to work overtime; loyalty to employer, etc.) that create greater surplus capital for the controllers (Lopez, 1973; Diaz, 1976; Inclan, 1978). Given the totem pole arrangement

of society where the hardest work and lowest pay is given to the most oppressed segment of society such strength is not only ideologically necessary but in a perversion of its exploitative capacity becomes an ideal to follow.

The dissimilarities indicated that Puerto Rican men define true masculinity more in terms of family authority and responsibility. The most important qualities being respect, sobriety, sincerity, bravery, humility and affableness. Additionally, the Puerto Rican male is seen as still being a male if he cries, feels doubt, disappointment or has tender needs and does housework (Steiner, 1974). There is no sense of Puerto Rican males being compelled to be super masculine beings and it is discovered that they do have adequate male models during their formative years. As such these results raise questions of those characterizations that paint Puerto Rican males as wholly belligerent, emotionally encapsulated, and overcompensated males. The sex differences evident again demonstrated that females hold more traditional views of males in terms of their acceptance of sex role changes. Not only were females apt to hold men to stereotypical descriptions of sexuality but they also revealed a willingness to see them fulfilling those roles of authority and responsibility which are oppressive to men.

In summary, the data differed from traditional social scientific definitions of machismo in that women are not seen in a uniformly depreciatory manner, relationship with male peers are not overly strained, nor is the machismo described by subjects correlated with warfare and revolution. In the Male-Female domain, no fears of women are reported

nor are problems with sexual potency delineated. Household work is not seen as emasculating, nor is the "cult of virginity" worshipped. On the other hand wife-mother expectations are found as well as prominent anti-birth control attitudes. On the point of wife-mother expectations the reader will do well to remember that such formulations are not unique to Puerto Ricans and indeed the whole of psychodynamic thought as exemplified by the Freudian and Neo-Freudian schools rest on such theories. In the Male-Male domain, there are reports of males feeling intimate with other men and though drinking is seen as an enjoyable male activity, there are no reports of heavy drinking or alcoholism among men (Galbis, 1977). Sexual boasting is practiced but further information regarding these same sex interactions were not sought for and as such these results should be seen as tentative. In the Parenting domain, strained relationships with children are not attributed to Puerto Rican males. In terms of the Impulse Control domain Puerto Rican males do seem sensitive to insult. Cultural views of machismo were upheld by these results inasmuch as the reliable, courageous, respectful, protector and provider roles of the Puerto Rican male were frequently described. Decision making was seen as being shared with wives as well as active interest in children (Sanabria, 1980). Dialectical views of the macho were also upheld in that regional differences were attributed to the behaviors and there was a sense of alienation from American society as subjects feel economically discriminated against. Additionally, the strong emphasis on the worker aspects of the macho role as opposed to honor and pride

virtues reflected an economic determinist analysis, as did the fact that Puerto Rican men seem to construct life meanings in their family through familism (Pearson, 1974).

Limitations of the Study

There were a number of problems and limitations that were encountered in the process of implementing this research study which should be considered when interpreting these data.

One of the problems encountered in this study was that there remained, even after modification, some questions that were unclear to subjects. This was particularly true of those questions that related to whether the subject was married or not. This was discovered when the discrepancies were noted between the number of subjects responding to questions that involved their spouses. This discrepancy may reflect the confusion of both respondents and interviewers in terms of usage of the spouse label, inasmuch as some respondents though unmarried spoke of their partners as spouses as did those who were consensually or common-law married. This lack of specificity may have had a significant effect on the results, since subjects could have responded to some questions as if they were married and others as if they were not. In replication of this study it is recommended that there be several checkpoints built into the schedule which will assess the subject's conception of his intimate relationship.

The second problem encountered is related to the first in that there was no way of controlling the number of married individuals

participating in the study prior to subject selection. This lack of control may have had a significant effect on the results, since the number of individuals who identified as married was quite small. As such this aspect of interpersonal relationships was not extensively addressed. In replication of this study it is recommended that concerted efforts be made to include equal numbers of married and unmarried subjects in the study.

A third limitation had to do with the specific characteristics of the data analysis model. It is strongly felt that the research as presented in this work represents the start not the completion of the analysis. A wealth of information still exists in the data that was not examined due to time and expense. The data could have been further analyzed by creating a scoring method that would have assigned weights to the response according to the view of machismo they represented. This would have made it possible to have summated scales where indexes are created and which allow for more sophisticated statistical analysis. In this manner, the nominal and ordinal data presented in this study could have been treated as interval or ratio level data, which would have provided more reliable measures of central tendency. With such data the analysis could have included analysis of variance, factor analysis, coefficient alpha, and stepwise multiple regressions. Additionally, there exists in the data certain conditional relationships, spurious non-correlations and other findings that may be more a result of statistical artifacts imposed by the model of analysis than a real indication of lack of significance. It is believed that atten-

tion to such details will improve the internal validity and reliability of the instrumentation as well as provide for greater extrapolation from the data.

The last qualifications that must be made in regard to this study are those that pertain to factors that limit the extent of legitimate generalization. In particular these are: the fact that limited information on male relationships with other males was structurally included in the questionnaire construction. As such the definitions of masculinity that emerge from these findings leave questions unanswered, i.e., the extent to which such definitions include concepts of intelligence, camaraderie, etc. In a similar manner the childrearing information sought did not explore specific childrearing practices, i.e., perceptions of parental preferences for males or females in terms of affection, the qualities valued in children, for example, obedience, or the issue of whether children should be explicitly taught to avoid opposite sex behaviors or attitudes; and the fact that interpreting the differences between female and male responses is dependent on the acceptance of male characterizations of themselves as valid. Finally, the consistency of the demographic variables selected for controlling the sample characteristics can be questioned given the fact that they represent data derived from a census report that is now ten years old and which was questionable even at the time of its being reported. Certainly with the 1980 census presently being conducted better demographic information pertaining to the current Puerto Rican population and circumstances should be available and utilized for

interpretation of the present findings.

Practical Implications

The results derived from this study have implications for the work of the mental health practitioner, whether he/she be a clinician, teacher, administrator or other. The data suggest that there may be ways in which service delivery to Puerto Rican males may be improved. Specifically, the data suggest that the definition that Puerto Rican males have of machismo is substantially different from that which is provided by the main social science fields. This is to say that Puerto Rican males define machismo mainly as traits of responsibility highly linked to their capacity for productive work, whereas social scientists see it as destructive male narcissism. As such it is highly possible that persons involved in applied practice are utilizing theories that serve to alienate the Puerto Rican male from seeking out their services. In essence, the stereotypical notions that mainly comprise the training literature of human services personnel, such as the focus on the exploitation of women by Puerto Rican men and the man's fear of loss of his masculinity, are in effect leading to discrimination against the Puerto Rican male, and as such not geared towards delivering services to Puerto Rican males. For example, Puerto Rican women in therapy may be counseled to rebel against their "oppressive" mates (Montalvo, 1974) without adequate attention being paid to the socio-economic structures that foster male "oppression." Consequently, asking questions regarding why Puerto Rican males do not attend psychotherapeutic

sessions involves assuming that there is something valid and not alienating which is offered to Puerto Rican males in those agencies. The analysis suggested by the results indicate that this is not the case, instead the Puerto Rican male is offered the opportunity to have his reality based concerns and socio-economically based problems moralistically interpreted in terms of his neurotic coping styles (Kovel, 1976) and cultural deficits (Sue, 1979). Given these realities it can be expected that Puerto Rican males will continue to be suspicious of therapy, after all why should they seek help from individuals who either overtly or covertly carry the same denigrating attitudes towards them as society as a whole has.

If therapy or mental health efforts are to be successful with the Puerto Rican male they must offer him something more than has been traditionally offered. The first issue to address is the socio-economic reality of the Puerto Rican male. As Gurin and Epps (1975) have noted in another vein, psychology operates as if minority individuals existed in a benign environment, assuming equal opportunities yet the "failure to build social structural and economic considerations explicitly into theory and practice does have serious consequences." The result is an "insistence by the therapist to have the client work on emotions or growth producing therapeutic agendas" (Gomez and Cook, 1978), which "may be stress producing in itself, and perhaps insulting to the client." The advice of exploring feelings is "useless and patronizing" (Cloward and Piven, 1975) when the therapist belongs to the culture with which the client finds himself in conflict. Given this

situation the therapist would do well to recognize that "a client's individual problems are not only an expression of his individual motivation and behavior in society, but also an expression of how society defines his life chances in a class society" (Pearson, 1975). As such the work of mental health practitioners is to serve as catalysts who aid the Puerto Rican male "to unravel unexpected layers of imposed otherness" (Gendzier, 1974). In my opinion this can be accomplished by adopting a dialectical counseling model.

To argue for a dialectical therapy model is to recognize that the Puerto Rican male is operating within a dialectical framework, certainly this is probable in the area of machismo given the findings that the Puerto Rican male has a dialectical view of the phenomena. A dialectical counseling model is one that looks toward the future and possibilities for change and is not tied to the past as a factor that fixates the individual to previous behaviors. It provides a more fluid picture of the Puerto Rican male experience and recognizes the contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies in all phenomena. It recognizes that all things, machismo being one of these, have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing. As Adams (1979) has stated "A dialectical change model assumes the possibility of great personal changes arising from opposing inner forces (i.e., contradictions)." It accounts for totality in change rather than mere reformism. People's behavior, therefore cannot be necessarily predicted from their past performance. In conception, the dialectical model should accomplish the following:

- 1) seek conflict and contradictions in the individual;
- 2) redefine life as naturally conflictual and contradictory;
- 3) help people see the confining effect traditional theories and values have upon them;
- 4) promote action versus non-decision;
- 5) define the client as an ally rather than as a client for as Freire (1970) has indicated if critical consciousness is to succeed it must be a process carried on by, and with, not for the person;
- 6) unmask and embarrass capitalist workings, that is to say, making the oppression the person feels "more oppressive" by helping him/her realize and be conscious of their oppression (Freire, 1970).

An outgrowth of adopting such a model would, in my view, lead to certain modifications in the way therapeutic work is carried out with Puerto Rican males. It would lead to the recognition that given the prevalence of anti-Puerto Rican male sentiment and ideology in the mental health field, a clearly pro-Puerto Rican male stance is needed. As Dodds, Fuentes, and Talmage-Bowers (undated mimeograph) have stated, "Above all, the psychologist must appreciate the fact that no cultural generalization necessarily applies--the client and the client's family are unique and that uniqueness must be learned and recognized by the psychologist." In a similar manner the mental health practitioner who is of the same culture and sex as the Puerto Rican male could serve as a role model for him, while providing a therapeutic relationship in which the balance of power is more evenly distributed, and where power relations that define the individual's existence in the world are not

recreated. This stance implies a political commitment to generate change rather than adjust the life circumstances of the Puerto Rican male. The emphasis is on solidarity with the client rather than attending only to individual symptomatology. This could be accomplished by legitimizing the father's role, "stressing areas of his expertise, finding legitimate means by which he can exert his authority appropriately. For example, a father and son can be encouraged to plan father/son activities together such as sports activity, a trip to father's place of work, or working on the family's car together" (Strayer and Haven, 1979). Or the therapist can speak to the positive aspects of macho encouraging the individual to be a real macho--that is to say "a person who has a handle on his life and is in control of his destiny" (Abad and Suarez, 1974; Ruiz, 1975; Padilla, Ruiz, and Alvarez, 1975; Abad, 1977; Freire, 1978; Abad and Boyce, 1979; Sanchez, 1979). As Ramirez (1979) has shown, the therapist can use the macho concept to engage the male in therapy aimed at alleviating familial or marital stresses. The male should be invited to participate in sessions for the invitation approach serves to counteract the negative experiences that the husband and/or father has already had at the hands of social institutions that place him in a subordinate position. Additionally, the dialectical approach offers an alternative to the individual blaming perspective of marital dysfunctioning. The focus can be on integrating husband and wife to combat their common enemy which among many working class families is class and socio-economic discrimination rather than each other.

In summary, the modifications suggested by the dialectical model encourage flexibility in the delivery of services such that the therapist aggressively reaches out to fathers, uncles, brothers, and males in family systems. The model is one in which the therapist is not office bound, he/she should visit the male in his own home and recognize that he/she is justifiably going to be suspected of representing alien, hostile, and impersonal institutions. The therapist should also recognize that flexibility in office hours will be necessary as many of the Puerto Rican males that might need therapeutic services are working during regular office hours. This fact combined with their generally proletarian status does not make it economically feasible for these males to visit service centers during the usual 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. arrangements. Those who have the responsibility of designing family programs and community mental health education programs would do well to attend to these suggestions. However, it should be recognized that even these attempts will not necessarily make such programs significantly more attractive to Puerto Rican males; as long as there exists socio-economic oppression in all other areas of life, it is to be expected that therapeutic programs will be perceived suspiciously.

The findings also have implications in terms of sex role inasmuch as machismo as a concept impacts on the sex role development of male and female Puerto Rican children. The results indicate that the Puerto Rican male takes an active interest in his children. As such the traditional sex-role identity perspective that states that Puerto

Rican males are unable to form adequate sex-role identities because fathers are unavailable to sons is suspect. This perspective basically puts forth the idea that persons develop their sex role identities through identification with or imitation of the parent of the same sex, and it claims that the Puerto Rican male's earliest relationship in infancy tend to be exclusively with their mothers. Thus Puerto Rican males are predicted to have greater difficulty attaining their sex role identity than do white males from intact families. The outcome of this insecurity is homosexuality or compensatory overconformity to the male role and macho behavior. My own analysis suggests that society as a whole imposes childrearing responsibilities on women, this is true in the case of Puerto Rican as well as non-Puerto Rican families. Therefore, most male children do not generally have a great deal of father availability and the generalizations put forth regarding Puerto Rican fathers are overstated and not unique. Additionally, the perspective emphasizes the role of the parent and does not include the possibilities for imitation and identification that the developing boy has in his contacts with uncles, godfathers, grandfathers, older brothers, and other males in the family system. From my analysis what is perhaps a more interesting finding is the type of availability that the Puerto Rican male can offer his son. The findings suggest that the father's role is basically teaching the child proper social behavior which encourages being assertive, and obedient. This emphasis on obedience has been addressed by writers who see in it the father's taking on an authoritarian dominant role as a result of wanting to be an

effective parent while having little energy to relate to his children due to his demanding job situation (Garcia-Bahne, 1977). The analysis here is that working class Puerto Rican fathers have little opportunity for freedom of choice in their jobs, and this frustrating condition finds an outlet in insistence on strict obedience on the part of their children. However, the appropriateness of this frustration aggression hypothesis can be questioned if the emphasis on obedience is essentially conceptualized as a teaching phenomena, i.e., the worker knows that in the job situation he must obey, so he trains his son, who will most probably also be working class, in the value of obedience to authority figures.

This analysis suggests that working class people tend to be subjected to the authority of others in the occupational realm: the occupational experience promotes a view of the world in terms of authority and influences them to stress this quality in their children. This phenomena of imposing upon children the respect of the established order and existing values is in all probability not limited to fathers. Though our data do not specifically answer the question if mothers also do this, a dialectical analysis would suggest this is so (Arreola, 1976). Besides the emphasis on obedience, fathers also emphasize that children, especially males, be assertive and able to stand up for their personal and family rights. This message of assertion in combination with the message of obedience makes for conflicting views and complications in the life of the developing Puerto Rican male (Marina, Maldonado-Sierra and Trent, 1956).

Suggestions for Further Research

Future studies in the area of machismo could administer the questionnaire to males who see themselves as bisexuals and those who identify as homosexuals. Though there were no individuals in this study who identified themselves as such there was one individual who made contact with the author after his participation in the study to discuss some feelings that had been raised in him by the homosexual advances of a friend. The greatest obstacle in carrying out a study of this type will be securing subjects who are willing to identify themselves as homosexual. As is true of the general population such admissions by Puerto Ricans are not easily made given the stigma society generally attaches to alternative sexual orientations. It is suggested that subjects be sought out from Gay Pride organizations which gradually seem to have brought some Puerto Ricans "out of the closet."

A second suggested study would involve the quantity and quality of exposure to the macho concept through the mass media. Numerous subjects as well as some of the literature reviewed made references to television personalities as John Wayne, songs like "Macho Man" by the Village People, and spoke of machismo among the Arabs and Iranians (Mattelart, 1976; Bianchi, 1976; Adolph, 1977; McCarthy, 1977; Gomez, 1977). My own sensitivity to such popular usage of the term increased as a result of the study and I have seen the term used in advertising to sell colognes, motorcycles, magazines, designer clothes, and even opera tickets. The method for such a study could include the use of a survey questionnaire sent to organizations that serve different age

groups and/or ethnic-racial groups.

A third study could be the exploration of the concepts of hembrismo, marianismo and guadalupanismo among Hispanics (Stevens, 1973). The methodology could be very similar to that utilized in the present study, one suggested difference is that the sample size be increased to at least 60 to avoid the possibility of sampling error.

A fourth study could involve modifications of the research instrument utilized in this study as follows: new questions could be created by looking at the responses given to open-ended questions in the present study. One can ask subjects to "talk about machismo" saying "anything they want to say about it." From their responses, themes and categories can be formed (Word, 1979). These changes would make the model of research, a more participatory one, a "dialogue" of sorts where issues are thematically generated as opposed to an overly structured format (Freire, 1973). It would also increase the possibility of a group interview, that is to say, eight to ten people discussing the theme with the participation of the researcher. This would possibly insure against the tendency of social scientists "to assume they know a great deal about what the people think before they have collected any data" (Nobles, 1974). Additionally, the instrument used in the present study could be modified to derive a shorter version of it, insuring that it be checked for its susceptibility to acquiescence, defensiveness and social desirability response biases. Concurrent validation of both the shorter and longer forms should also be attempted in terms of their relationship to other theoretically related measures

(Cole, 1979).

Some other studies could explore aspects of the machismo construct that have not been examined here but which have been raised by the literature review such as: the unconscious issues related to macho attitudes and behavior as revealed by projective tests (Cortada de Kahn, 1970); the relationship of machismo to certain aspects of authoritarianism; the specification of the component variables of a larger variable such as class to determine which element of class is crucial, i.e., income, economic power (bourgeoisie or proletariat), type of occupation (manual versus white collar) and educational level; the relationship of the macho views of Puerto Rican females to that of Puerto Rican female mental health workers; the effect of a series of lectures or consciousness raising talks regarding machismo on attitudes towards women as measured by pre- and post-testing and the effect of different religious perspectives on the reinforcement of macho attitudes especially the differences and similarities of the Pentecostal and Catholic churches. One might also want to probe still further by examining the relationship between machismo and the lack of educational ambition noted by some authors. It would be interesting to note whether the intervening variable is not machismo per se, as much as it might be the types of schools available to working class Puerto Rican males. Is it that these males attend slum schools where there is a presence of apathetic, hostile teachers? Is it that these boys tend to be exposed to teachers who stifle, rather than stimulate interest in intellectual matters and consequently they lose the desire to attend school?

Additionally, studies could address the contention that machismo leads to impotence given the performance-on-demand expectation inculcated by the image of a sexually expert macho, and the consequential fetishizing of the Puerto Rican male where he is viewed as a sexual object. There also would be merit in exploring whether the emphasis on the protection-of-women (Stycos, 1955), especially sisters and mothers, is related to the recognition that some Puerto Rican males have assumed exploitative, lumpenized aspects given their alienated, oppressed realities.

In conclusion, one thing can be definitely stated, and that is, that there still remains many unanswered questions. The mental health researcher has a wealth of issues to empirically explore regarding machismo: from the reported tendency to psychosomatize (Barber, 1972; Howard, 1972; and Goldberg, 1976) to its contribution to marriage outside of one's ethnic group (Diaz, 1976), from its possible relationship to psychopathology and the very high rates of schizophrenia, attempted and completed suicides, and paranoia evident among Puerto Rican males (Malzberg, 1956; Fitzpatrick, 1971; Monk and Warshauer, 1974; and LaVietes, 1979) to its evolutionary nature given class and cultural issues. This analysis has led me to conclude that given both its regressive and progressive nature the macho concept holds some clues to help the Puerto Rican man become the kind of man he may yet be (Bianchi, 1976). These clues can be deciphered with the help of social scientists if we take the words of Buss (1976) as our model:

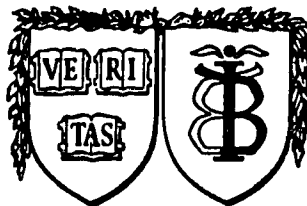
Social scientists should take seriously the adjective which modifies their discipline and take on the responsibility of

considering the individual in his/her social context. It is social reality which must be emphasized, understood, criticized and transformed, if the individual is to have the opportunity for self-development and self-actualization (p. 258-259).

APPENDIX A

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Department of Psychiatry



330 Brookline Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

August 2, 1978

Dear Colleague,

As you may know, researching the literature available on Puerto Ricans is oftentimes frustrating and unfruitful. The truth of the matter is that there is a lot of literature on those things that minimally interest you, and not enough on those things that maximally interest you. I presently find myself in this most unfortunate set of circumstances, so I have taken the liberty of addressing this letter to you in the hope that you will be able to help me out of this mess.

I am a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in Clinical Psychology at the City College of the City University of New York, and I am presently working on the literature review section of my dissertation. The topic I have picked is a study of machismo among Puerto Ricans and its effects on their mental health. After having gone through Psychological Abstracts and Dissertation Abstracts International, I have found that there is a paucity of articles, books, etc. on this topic. At this point I have decided that I will use references from whatever field I can, such that I am now interested in any literature in the fields of education, sociology, social work, Puerto Rican Studies, anthropology, Women's Studies, Comparative Literature, Spanish, Journalism, and of course Interdisciplinary Studies.

I am hoping that you will be able to provide me with such references. Of course, any reference supplied by you will be dutifully noted and acknowledged in my dissertation. I would also be interested in reading any published or unpublished manuscript of your own that includes discussion of this topic.

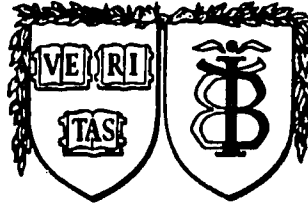
I sincerely thank you for your cooperation in this matter thus far and I hope to hear soon from you.

Sinceramente,

Victor De La Cancela

Victor De La Cancela
Psychology Division
Tel. 735-4733

Department of Psychiatry



*330 Brookline Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215*

January 19, 1979

Dear Director,

I have taken the liberty of addressing this letter to you in the hope that we may be mutually enriched by such contact. I am a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in Clinical Psychology at the City College of The City University of New York, and I am presently seeking subjects for my dissertation research. I am investigating Machismo among Puerto Rican males and its effect on their mental health, among other aspects. I am hoping that you will be able to provide me with subjects, in exchange for some mutually agreed upon service rendered by me to your agency, i.e. consultation, special presentations on minority mental health, etc.

The subjects I am seeking should be between 18 and 21 years of age, Puerto Rican, and from a low economic level, that is earning less than \$8,000/yr., and finally he/she should have no more than a High School education.

The general purpose of the study is to investigate whether the concept as understood by non-Puerto Ricans is grossly inaccurate and whether this has negative implications for the Puerto Rican in psychotherapeutic treatment. I hope to show that Machismo is not equivalent to male chauvinism and that it is defined in diverse ways by social scientists and lay people. (A summary of the study proposal is enclosed for your perusal.)

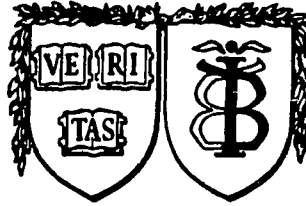
I would very much like to hear from you if you feel you may be able to aid me in my endeavors. I am willing to meet with you at a mutually convenient time to further explicate the study.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter thus far.

Sinceramente,

Victor De La Cancela

Department of Psychiatry



330 Brookline Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

October 23, 1979

Dear Director,

As a human service worker in the Hispanic community you are probably aware of the many myths, incorrect assumptions and stereotypes that are attributed to Puerto Ricans. It is because of this probable insight that I have taken the liberty to write you.

I am a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in Clinical/Community Psychology at the City College of the City University of New York, and I am presently working on my dissertation. The topic I have picked is a study of MACHISMO among Puerto Ricans and its effects on their mental health. I have selected this topic because there is very little critical literature in the field of psychology. I am hoping that you can suggest some articles, books, papers, etc. that deal with the topic.

In addition, I am hoping that you will be able to provide me with people I can interview. The individuals I am seeking are males and females, between 18 and 21 years of age, Puerto Rican, and from a poor or working class background (earning less than 8,000 dollars per year). One last requirement is that the person have no more than a High School education. Language facility in English is not required.

The general purpose of the study is to examine the machismo concept from the Puerto Rican perspective, that is by interviewing Puerto Ricans and by having Puerto Rican interviewers. This is important because most of the work in the area that has been done, uses hearsay material rather than talking to the people themselves, or is done by non-Hispanics. My research is aimed at providing a more realistic picture of the Puerto Rican situation.

I sincerely hope that you will contact me so that we may discuss at length the implications of this research. Please call

734-1300 ext. 462, 451, 383 Monday-Friday, 9am-5pm and leave a message or
354-7404 Monday-Friday 8pm-11pm.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter thus far.

Sinceramente,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Victor De La Cancela". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline.

Victor De La Cancela, M. Phil.
Assistant in Psychology

APPENDIX B

MACHISMO ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOR QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview Number _____

Interviewer _____

Date _____

Subject Sex _____

Introduction: Read to Everyone

We are doing a study on the things that affect the life situation of the Puerto Rican male, as we have little knowledge regarding the feelings of such men. Many people, including community leaders, service workers, as well as neighborhood residents such as yourself will be interested in the results of this study.

I think that you will find the questions interesting, as they are related to things that might affect you and Puerto Ricans across the nation. Therefore, I know that you will give each and every question your full attention and careful thought. The major focus of the questions is on concerns of Puerto Rican men in the areas of social relationships, especially in relating to women.

Section A: Demographics

A1. First, I'd like to ask you a few questions about yourself.
How long have you lived in the Mainland United States?

_____ Years _____ Months

A2. In general, how do you feel about living Here? Do you think it is a good place to live, a fairly good place, a bad place, or a very bad place to live?

1. Good 2. Fairly Good 3. Bad 4. Very Bad

A3. What is your date of birth? _____ / _____ / _____
Month Day Year

A4. Where were you born?
City and State _____

A5. And where did you live mostly while you were growing up?
City and State _____

A6. Were you brought up mostly in the country, in a town, in a small city, or in a large city?

1. Country 2. Town 3. Small City 4. Large City

A7. What city and state do you consider your home?
_____ (Obtain City and State)

A8. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Puerto Rican, an American, A Puerto Rican-American, or what?

1. Puerto Rican 2. American 3. Puerto Rican American
4. Other (Specify other) _____

A9. What was your total Personal income in 1978, considering all sources such as salaries, profits, wages, interest, and so on? Just give the letter of the correct box on this page.

- | | |
|---|---|
| A. <input type="checkbox"/> \$000 | F. <input type="checkbox"/> \$4,000-4,999 |
| B. <input type="checkbox"/> \$001-999 | G. <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,000-5,999 |
| C. <input type="checkbox"/> \$1,000-1,999 | H. <input type="checkbox"/> \$6,000-6,999 |
| D. <input type="checkbox"/> \$2,000-2,999 | I. <input type="checkbox"/> \$7,000-7,999 |
| E. <input type="checkbox"/> \$3,000-3,999 | J. <input type="checkbox"/> \$8,000-8,999 |

A10. Are you married, divorced, separated, widowed, or have you never been married?

1. Married 2. Divorced 3. Separated 4. Widowed 5. Never Married

A10a. How long have you been married? _____
Years
_____ Months

A10b. Do you have a main romantic involvement at this time?
1. Yes 2. No Go to Q. A14

A10c. Do you live with this person?
1. Yes 2. Sometimes 3. No

Interviewer Checkpoint

If R is married, go to Q. A11.

If R is separated, Divorced, Widowed, or Never married, go to Q.A14

A11. How many times have you been married? _____

A12. Is your wife/husband currently employed for pay?

A12a. What type of work does she/he do?

A13. What is the highest grade or level of training she/he completed?

Grades of School 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12

College 13 14 15 16 17 or more

Other _____

A14. How about you, what is the highest grade or level of training you've completed?

Grades of School 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12

Have you received a high school diploma? 1. Yes 2. No

A15. Are you currently involved in any training program or schooling?

1. Yes
↓

A15a. What type of training program or schooling?

2. No
↓

A15b. Have you ever been involved in a training program or additional schooling?

1. Yes 2. No

A15c. What type of training or schooling were you last involved in?

A15d. Have you ever received a special license or other certificate for completing a training program?

Section B: Masculine Identity

Ask Males: Now, I'd like to ask you some more general questions about yourself.

Ask Females: Now, I'd like to ask you some more general questions about Puerto Rican men's sense of self as men.

B1. People use different words to refer to Puerto Rican men. Some words that people use are Macho, Varon, and Hombre. We would like to know the differences between these words.

B1a. What kind of men call themselves Macho?

B1b. What kind of men call themselves Varon?

B1c. What kind of men call themselves Hombre?

Male: Are there any of these words that you would not want to be called?

B2. Female: Are there any of these words that Puerto Rican men would not want to be called

1. Yes

2. No → Go to B3

B2a. Which words?

B2b. Male (For each word mentioned) Why wouldn't you want to be called _____? (Specify word with reason)

Female: (For each word mentioned) Why wouldn't they want to be called _____?

B3. Suppose you were trying to describe a macho to a person who never saw a macho and knew nothing about them. How would you describe

a macho--I don't mean what they look like, but the kind of people they are?

B4. Are there any kinds of macho that you don't like so much?

1. Yes

2. No Go to Q.B5



B4a. What kinds of machos don't you like?

B5. Males: What are some of the ways you feel you are like other machos?

Females: What are some of the ways Puerto Rican men feel they are like other machos?

B6. Males: Are there any (other) good things about you that come from your being macho?

Females: Are there any (other) good things about Puerto Rican men that come from their being macho?

1. Yes

2. No Go to Q. B6c



B6a. What are they?

B6b. Males: Are there any (other) bad things about you that come from your being macho?

Females: Are there any (other) bad things about Puerto Rican

R. The size of a man's genitals indicate how much of a man he is. _____

Females: Now, I'd like to know whether you strongly agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements, as they relate to Puerto Rican men.

- A. Most of his friends are males as opposed to being women _____
- B. He feels close to his male friends. _____
- C. Men enjoy themselves the most when they are drinking together. _____
- D. When together men mostly talk about the women they've seduced. _____
- E. He feels uncomfortable in the company of a homosexual person of his own sex. _____
- F. It is important for him to be a macho. _____
- G. It is permissible for him to cry if he's injured. _____
- H. He cries when he's injured. _____
- I. He thinks it is all right for a man to feel doubt, disappointment, need for love, and tenderness. _____
- J. He sometimes feels doubt, disappointment, need for love and tenderness. _____
- K. He thinks it is all right for a man to sweep floors, clean dishes, and take care of housework. _____
- L. He sweeps floors, cleans dishes, and takes care of housework. _____
- M. He is very strongly attracted by members of his own sex. _____
- N. He has often wished he were a female. _____
- O. Usually he would prefer to work with women. _____
- P. He likes mannish women _____
- Q. He thinks it is important to be physically strong in order to be considered a man. _____
- R. He thinks the size of a man's genitals indicate how much of a man he is. _____

B9. What are the most important qualities in a man?

B10. Males: Who taught you to be a macho completo?
 Females: Who teaches a Puerto Rican man to be a macho completo?

B11. How does a macho completo show he is one?

B12. Some people have described the macho as uncooperative, irresponsible, impulsive, sadistic, violent and disrespectful of life. Do you agree with this definition?

1. Yes

2. No.

B13. Some people have described the macho as reliable, courageous, dignified, just, and honorable. Do you agree with this definition?

1. Yes

2. No

B14. Males: Compared to others of your sex, how masculine would you say you are.

Females: Compared to others of his sex, how masculine would you say the Puerto Rican man thinks he is. Much more. Somewhat more. About as masculine. Somewhat less. Or much less?

1. Much More

2. Somewhat more

3. About as masculine

4. Somewhat less

5. Much less

Section C: Child Rearing

Males: I'd like to ask you a few questions about your parents and yourself as a parent.

Females: I'd like to ask you a few questions about the Puerto Rican man as a parent, and his relationships with his parents.

C1. Males: How close would you say you are to your father? By close, I don't mean physical distance, but rather how close you feel to each other. Would you say very close, fairly close, fairly distant, or very distant?

Females: How close would you say he is to his father? By close, I don't mean physical distance, but rather how close they feel to each other?

1. Very close
2. Fairly close
3. Fairly distant
4. Very distant

Cla. How would you describe a close father son relationship?

C2. Males: (If father of R is alive ask following question)
How often are you in contact with--by either visits or telephone--your father. Would you say nearly everyday, several times a week, a few times a month, once a month, or less than once a month?

Females: How often would you say the Puerto Rican male is in contact with--by either visits or telephone--his father.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Nearly everyday | 2. Several times a week |
| 3. A few times a month | 4. Once a month |
| 5. Less than once a month. | |

C3. Males: Who does most of the visiting or telephoning, you or he?

Females: Who does most of the visiting or telephoning, he or the father?

- | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------|
| 1. R | 2. About equal | 3. Father |
|------|----------------|-----------|

C4. Ask males only: Where does your father live?

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. In this neighborhood | 2. In this city but not in your neighborhood |
|-------------------------|--|

3. In a nearby city or area 4. In this section of the country,
that is the Northeast.
5. Some other section of the country or out of the country

C5. Males: How close would you say you are to your mother?

Females: How close would you say the Puerto Rican man is to his mother?

1. Very close 2. Fairly close 3. Fairly distant 4. Very distant

C5a. How would you describe a close mother-son relationship?

C6. Males: How often are you in contact with your mother, by either visits or phone?

Females: How often would you say the Puerto Rican man is in contact with mother, by either visits or phone: Would you say nearly everyday, several times a week, a few times a month, once a month, or less than once a month?

1. Nearly everyday 2. Several times a week
3. A few times a month 4. Once a month
5. Less than once a month

C7. Males: Who does most of the visiting or telephoning, she or you?

Females: Who does most of the visiting or telephoning, she or him?

1. R 2. Nearly equal 3. Mother

C8. Ask males only: Where does your mother live?

1. In this neighborhood 2. In this city but not in your
neighborhood
3. In a nearby city or area 4. In this section of the
country
5. Some other section of the country or out of the country.

C9. In general, how well did your parents get along with each other? Would you say very well, fairly well, not very well, or not well at all?

1. Very well 2. Fairly well 3. Not very well 4. Not well at
all

C10. Do you have any children?

1. Yes

2. No → Go to Q. C15

C11. Could you tell me how old (each/he/she) is and where (each/he/she) is living now? (Obtain sex and age of each child and list one per line)

SEX (A)	AGE (B)	WHERE LIVING (C)
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____
6. _____	_____	_____
7. _____	_____	_____
8. _____	_____	_____
9. _____	_____	_____
10. _____	_____	_____

C12. Do you have someone who gives you advice about childrearing or helps you with problems having to do with your children?

1. Yes

2. No → Go to Q. C13

C12a. Who is that person? (Obtain relationship to R, Age, and sex)

Relationship to R _____ Age _____ Sex _____

C13. Males: Compared to other fathers you know, how good a job are you doing as a father?

Females: Compared to other fathers you know, how good a job is the Puerto Rican man doing as a father? Would you say better than most, about the same as most, or poorer than most?

1. Better 2. About the same 3. Poorer.

C14. Males: Compared to other fathers you know, how much do you enjoy or like being a father?

Females: Compared to other fathers you know, how much do they enjoy or like being a father? Would you say more than most, about the same as most, or not as much as most?

1. More 2. About the same 3. Not as much

C15. Males: What do you think of birth control?

Females: What do Puerto Rican men think of birth control?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

C20a. Why?

C21. Males: Was your mother an important person in your life?

Females: Do you think that the mother was an important person in the Puerto Rican's man's life?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

C22. Males: What was your relationship to your mother like?

Females: What do you think the relationship of the Puerto Rican man to his mother is like?

C23. Males: Was your mother an important person in the family?

Females: Do you think that for the Puerto Rican man the mother was an important person in the family?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

C24. Males: When you think of yourself as a parent, are there things you do, or things you tell your children to help them know what it is to be macho?

Females: When you think of Puerto Rican men as parents, are there things they do, or things they tell their children to help them know what it is to be macho?

- 1. Yes

C24a. What is that

- 2. No

C24c. Why is that?

C24b. Males: Why do you do that?

Females: Why do they do that?

C25. How can a father show his son to become a macho completo?

C26. Males: What is your idea of a good father?

Females: What is the Puerto Rican male's idea of a good father?

C27. Males: Are you available to do things with and teach your children?

Females: Are Puerto Rican men available to do things with and teach their children?

1. Yes

2. No

C27a. What?

C27b. Why Not?

C28. Males: What do you think of abortion?

Females: What do Puerto Rican men think of abortion?

Section D: Male-Female Relationships

D1. Male: When you think of yourself as a husband, what feelings do you have as a macho husband?

Female: When you think of Puerto Rican men as husbands, what feelings do you think they have as a macho husband?

D2. Male: Do you have a good friend who is a woman?

Female: Do you have a good friend who is a Puerto Rican man?

1. Yes 2. No

D2a. How long have the two of you been friends?

_____ Years _____ Months

D3. What kinds of things do you do for her/him?

D4. What kinds of things does she/he do for you?

D5. What kinds of things do the two of you do together?

D6. Do you discuss most of your problems with her/him?

1. Yes 2. No → Go to Q.D7.

D6a. In general, how helpful is she/he when you discuss your problems with her/him? Would you say very helpful, fairly helpful, not so helpful, or not helpful at all?

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Very helpful | 2. Fairly helpful |
| 3. Not so helpful | 4. Not helpful at all |

D7. Does she/he discuss her/his problems with you?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | 2. <input type="checkbox"/> No. → Go to Q-D8. |
|---------------------------------|---|

D7a. In general how helpful do you think you are when she/he discusses her/his problems with you? Would you say very helpful, fairly helpful, not so helpful, or not helpful at all?

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Very helpful | 2. Fairly helpful |
| 3. Not so helpful | 4. Not helpful at all |

D8. Sometimes between friends, one gets certain things from the relationship while the other gets different things out of it. Between you and your friend, who depends on the other most, you or your friend?

1. R 2. About equal 3. R's friend

D9. Males: (If R is married, or living with someone with whom he has a romantic involvement, ask the following):

Females: (If R is married or living with a Puerto Rican man with whom she has a romantic involvement, ask the following):

How well do the two of you get along? Would you say very well, fairly well, not so well, or not very well at all?

1. Very well 2. Fairly well 3. Not so well 4. Not very well at all

D10. How satisfied are you with your relationship? Would you say very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or very unsatisfied?

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Very satisfied | 2. Fairly satisfied |
| 3. Not very satisfied | 4. Very unsatisfied |

D11. What kinds of things does she/he do for you?

D12. What kinds of things do you do for her/him?

D26a. Have you had extramarital affairs?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

D26b. Is it macho to have extramarital affairs?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

D27. Male: What are the most important differences between men and women?

Female: What do Puerto Rican men think are the most important differences between men and women?

D28. Male: If R is married, living with someone, ask the following questions:

Female: If R is married, living with a Puerto Rican man, ask the following questions:

Do you discuss sexual matters with your partner at any time?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

D29. Is there anything in your life that you do not discuss with your partner?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

D29a. What?

D29b. Why not?

D30. Male: Do you forbid your partner anything? e.g. cosmetics, going out alone, dancing with other men, working outside of the home?

Female: Does your partner forbid you to do anything? e.g. cosmetics, going out alone, dancing with other men, working outside of the home?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

D30a. What?

D30b. Why?

D31. Have you and your partner had problems in your relationship during the past year?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No. → Go to Q.D33

D31a. What have you tried to do about it?

D32. Who makes the important decisions in your home, you or he/she?

- 1. R.
- 2. Both
- 3. R's partner

D32a. When I say important decisions, what kinds of things come to mind?

D33. How satisfied are you with the way those important decisions are made? Would you say very satisfied, pretty satisfied, not very satisfied or not satisfied at all?

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Very satisfied | 2. Pretty satisfied |
| 2. Not very satisfied | 4. Not satisfied at all |

D34. Are you satisfied with the way the work to be done around the house is split up between you and your partner?

- | | |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

D34a. Why is that?

D35. Male: Do you believe that women should have as much sexual freedom as men?

Female: Do Puerto Rican men believe that women should have as much sexual freedom as men?

- | | |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

D36. Male: Do you believe men are more intelligent than women?

Female: Do Puerto Rican men believe men are more intelligent than women?

- | | |
|--------|-------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

D37. Male: How many close friends of the opposite sex do you have?

Female: How many close friends of the opposite sex do Puerto Rican men have?

D38. Male: What do you think of Women's Liberation, are you strongly in favor, moderately in favor, strongly opposed, or moderately opposed to this Movement?

Female: What do Puerto Rican men think of Women's Liberation, are they

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Strongly in favor | 2. Moderately in favor |
| 3. Strongly opposed | 4. Moderately opposed |

D39. Males: Should women unquestionably obey their husbands?

Section E

E1. Do you ever worry that your total family income will not be enough to meet your family's expenses and bills?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

E2. Have you ever used a social service organization or some other helping agency?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No. → Go to Q.E3

E2a. Thinking about the last time you used one, why did you go?

E2b. Were they able to help you?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

E2b1. How did they help you? E2b2. Why were they not able to help?

<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>

E2c. How were you treated by the people there?

E3. How do you feel about social services in general?

E4. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1. Republican
2. Democrat
3. Independent
4. Other

E5. Which of the statements on this card best describes your situation?

- A. I am poor and have a hard time getting enough money to buy food or pay the rent.
- B. I am poor but usually have enough money to buy food and pay the rent.
- C. I have a pretty steady income, can always pay for food and rent and do not consider myself poor.
- D. I have a pretty good income and am able to buy extras and special things when I want them.

E6. When you think about the places where you have lived, gone to school or worked--were mostly Puerto Ricans or mostly whites there? As I mention each place, please answer--almost all Puerto Ricans, mostly Puerto Ricans, about half Puerto Ricans, mostly whites, or almost all whites?

	All PR	MOST PR	½PR	MOST W	ALL W
E6a. Your present neighborhood?					
E6b. Your past neighborhood?					
E6c. Your present work place, if employed?					
E6d. Your past work place?					
E6e. Schools you attended?					

E7. Which of these things do you think are responsible for successes in America?

1. Health
2. Ability
3. Training
4. Getting the right breaks out of life
5. Drive and ambition
6. Social class
7. Race
8. Economic conditions

E7a. Which is the most important?

E7b. Male: Which of these things has been an obstacle in your achieving success?

Female: Which of these things has been an obstacle in the Puerto Rican man's achieving success?

E7c. Which one is the most important?

E8. Male: Is there a difference between what you value as a Puerto Rican man and what an Anglo does?

Female: Is there a difference between what the Puerto Rican man values as a man and what an Anglo does?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

E8a. How so?

E9. Is there a difference between being a macho completo in the United States and in Puerto Rico?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

E9a. What is it?

E10. Compared to American men do Puerto Rican men have less control over their lives?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

E10a. Why?

E11. Males: What is the greatest worry that men like yourself are faced with?

Females: What is the greatest worry that Puerto Rican men are faced with?

E12. I want to know if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements.

- A. Knowing the right people is important in deciding whether a person will get ahead. _____
- B. People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just don't come their way. _____
- C. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you. _____
- D. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking. _____
- E. The attempt to fit in and do what's proper hasn't paid off for Puerto Ricans. It doesn't matter how proper you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you are Puerto Rican. _____
- F. Many Puerto Ricans who do well in life do have good training but the opportunities just always go to whites. _____
- G. Many qualified Puerto Ricans can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble. _____

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