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**Sex-role orientation and its relationship to self-concept among
Puerto Rican women**

Cordova Duprey, Socorro, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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SEX-ROLE ORIENTATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO SELF-CONCEPT
AMONG PUERTO RICAN WOMEN

by

SOCORRO CORDOVA DUPREY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Psychology in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City
University of New York.

1988

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Abstract

SEX-ROLE ORIENTATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO SELF-CONCEPT
AMONG PUERTO RICAN WOMEN

by

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Advisor: Professor Anderson J. Franklin

This study investigated the relationship between self-concept and the variables traditionalism and androgyny in a group of Puerto Rican women. The total sample consisted of 124 women living in various zones in the metropolitan area of San Juan. This large sample was further subdivided into two subsamples: one consisted of sixty-seven women attending college and the other of fifty-nine women taken at random. All subjects were asked to answer three questionnaires, a short multiple question exercise, and a brief demographic form. The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale was used to measure self-esteem, the BSRI (Bem Sex Role Inventory) to measure androgyny and the Cole's Sex Role Scale to measure traditionalism.

No significant differences were obtained among the variables examined. Women with high self-esteem were not less traditional than those with low self-esteem. However, there was a significant difference in traditionalism between the college and the non-college sample with the non-college subjects being more traditional. Likewise, women with higher self-esteem were not more androgynous than sex-typed women or less traditional. In spite of the negative

results, additional analyses yielded interesting findings as it pertains to traditionalism. It was found that the more educated the subject, the more masculine and less traditional she was.

The negative findings are explained in terms of the inadequacy of the instruments used to measure these variables in populations different from American, middle-class samples. The development of culturally appropriate research instruments is advocated in order to make better predictions and application.

This dissertation is dedicated to the loving memory of my
grandmother,

Emilia Lopez de Duprey

Acknowledgements

Many people deserve recognition and appreciation for the help given to me throughout the preparation of this dissertation. First, I want to thank my aunts, Conchita, Selenia and Emma, for their unceasing support and actual cooperation in the collection of the data.

I also would like to thank other special women who throughout my personal and professional life have encouraged, illuminated me and contributed to the ideas developed in this study: Laura Leticia Herrans, from the University of Puerto Rico, my first psychology mentor; Kathy Gardner, Ph.D., friend and mentor; and Mary Mandis.

Thanks are also extended to the people who helped in the gathering of the data: Lester Allende, Professor of Psychology at Interamerican University; Carlos Victor Sosa, Professor of Psychology at Universidad del Sagrado Corazon; Judith Spindtz, pastor of The Redeemer Lutheran Church, and the gracious women in the congregation for their participation and their prayers. Other members of my family also helped to facilitate this part of the process: Che, Marines, and Julie. To all of them: Muchas Gracias!

I would like to thank the Commission for the Improvement of Women's Rights in Puerto Rico for sharing with me their documents, reports and statistics in their library. Special thanks are also given to Dr. O. Jackson Cole, Dean of the School of Human Ecology at Howard University, for his personal assistance in the scoring of his scale.

I am particularly grateful to Tomas A.J. de Echevarria, Simultaneous Translator at the United Nations for his expert assistance in the translation of the questionnaires.

Barbara Orsini, Ph.D. and Maria Rodriguez also helped in the translations.

Other people offered inestimable assistance in the form of much needed emotional support and guidance. Foremost among them is Ed Maynard, Ph.D., steadfast friend, and Dr. Manuel Trujillo.

I am greatly indebted to the members of my committee, especially to my chairperson, Dr. Anderson J. Franklin, for his consistent help and wisdom, for always being available, and for his patience. Special thanks are also given to Dr. Louis Gerstman for his invaluable help in analyzing the data and to Dr. Laurence Gould for providing challenging ideas and helpful suggestions.

Last, I would like to thank my readers, Dr. Florence Denmark, who offered important directives at the beginning of this study, and Dr. Sandra Samaniego of Lenox Hill Hospital for her kind cooperation. Bea Jacoby provided professional editorial assistance and Nurit Schwartzbaum, my friend, helped in the preparation of the manuscript.

Above all, I thank the Almighty for making it possible.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The last two decades have seen a renewed interest in women's issues and specifically in the psychology of women. This interest, in turn, has given impetus to active research activity and abundant publication. One of the areas studied and of great relevance to the understanding of women is the self-concept.

The self-concept as a single entity of study has been of special concern to psychologists since William James (1890). He believed that the self-concept was of vital importance to the understanding of human behavior. James talked about the "me" and the "I" as two parts of the same entity--the self as known and knower. He called the "me" the "empirical self" and subdivided it into three parts: the material me, the spiritual me, and the social me. The social me, according to James, grows out of the recognition that the individual receives from other people in his environment.

This idea of the self linked to the social structure was later echoed and expanded in Cooley's (1902) notion of the reflected or "looking glass self." According to this view, the individual's self-perception

is a reflection of the other's perceptions and evaluations of him, which in turn produce feelings either of pride or mortification.

McDougall (1908) believed that the self was molded by the social environment and that this molding affected his conduct accordingly. McDougall writes:

. . . the child's idea of his self early comes to be idea, not merely of his body, of certain bodily and mental capacities but also of a system of relations between the self and other selves, that is to say, he gets his idea of his self in large part by accepting the idea of himself that he finds expressed by others about him. (p. 160)

McDougall believed that the self-regarding sentiment, as he called it, played a most powerful and pervasive role in the life of man.

More recently, other psychologists have also devoted a great deal of attention to the self-concept construct. Of relevant concern for this study is the phenomenological approach developed by some theorists, especially by Snygg and Combs (1959). The phenomenologists underscore the role of the conscious self-concept in determining behavior. For Snygg and Combs the self is the consistent organization that the individual has about himself. It is the way he sees himself from his own vantage point. The self includes also an evaluative component, which determines the value or worth assigned to a series of qualities an individual has, e.g., good mother vs. bad mother, attractive vs. ugly. In the Snygg

and Combs formulation, the self is characterized by two important qualities: consistency and stability. "The self is the most stable portion of the individual's phenomenal field and is the point of reference for everything he does" (p. 122).

The influence of culture upon personality has been researched extensively by such writers as Murdock (1949); Mowrer and Kluchon (1944); and Ullman (1965). The basic conclusion of these works is that social and cultural factors play a crucial role in the development of the self-concept. Cultural prescriptions and standards regarding what constitutes appropriate or desired behavior are internalized, thereby influencing the self-concept. In addition, the individual in society belongs to a series of groups and statuses that determine the way he is treated by others. People with minority status (e.g., women and blacks) are accorded differential treatment that profoundly influences their self-concepts.

The self-concept is a construct that psychologists have found useful to explain certain complex human functions that are not readily observable. Self-esteem is the most important and powerful of the self-concept motives. Most of the self-concept research has concentrated on the measurement of global or overall self-regard, but also a great deal of research has been conducted to measure such specific variables as age,

ethnicity, social class, and sex as they influence the self-concept.

Within the area of women's studies, particular attention has been given to the way in which sex-role stereotypes affect the self-concept of women. It has been generally assumed that adjustment or adequate adaptation to the socially prescribed role is a sine qua non of mental health. According to this precept, individuals who adhere to their roles lead happier lives and experience less conflict and psychopathology. Recently, however, these assumptions have been questioned seriously and submitted to empirical study by an increasing number of investigators.

An early study of college women by Komarovsky (1946) indicated that rapid social changes have brought about contradictory expectations in the roles of women, thereby causing conflict. The influential work of Horner (1968) found that although her sample of college women students had a need to achieve, this desire was contaminated by the negative consequences associated with success.

From a psychoanalytic perspective, Clara Thompson (1974) goes further in observing that acceptance of the feminine role, with all the negative attitudes attached to it, might be an expression of submission rather than

of affirmation. She believes the role is pathogenic in itself.

The works of Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) stand out as among the first efforts to organize and systematize the knowledge within this field. In their attempt to submit many of these assumptions to empirical observation, they developed a questionnaire to assess the individual's perceptions of masculine and feminine behavior. Their findings were revealing. They found the existence of clearly delineated sex-role stereotypes both for men and women within American culture. These stereotypes favor more positively characteristics generally attributed to men (competence, rationality, assertion, etc.) while the female role was perceived as less desirable. Furthermore, they found that women incorporate this negative view of themselves "implicitly and uncritically" into their self-concept.

Similar evidence was obtained by Sanchez Hidalgo (1952) in Puerto Rico, who found that Puerto Rican women were more dissatisfied with their sex than men and experienced feelings of inferiority. The present study is an attempt to further investigate these findings as they occur in Puerto Rican culture at present.

Statement of the Problem

The questions attempted to be answered in this study are as follows:

1. How do Puerto Rican women perceive themselves?
2. How do they view their role as women?
3. What is the relationship between their self-concept and adherence, or lack of it, to the traditional role?
4. What is the relationship between self-concept, sex-role adherence, and androgyny?

Rationale

The rationale for this study rests on two basic assumptions. The first is the generally accepted tenet of mental health that people, in general, are motivated towards the preservation of their well-being and will strive to achieve a positive view of themselves. The second assumption derives from the experience of minority groups and draws on the parallels between women and blacks. Discussion of the first assumption follows.

Four types of empirical evidence to support the universal prevalence of a motive to maintain positive self-regard have been advanced by Kaplan (1975): people will tend to assess themselves more favorably than negatively (i.e., positive self-descriptions are more

frequent than negative ones); people with low self-esteem or in self-devaluing situations will react defensively or with behaviors that have enhancing functions; people with low self-esteem will experience subjective distress as evidenced by such various psychological disturbances as anxiety and depression; and, finally, people with positive attitudes about themselves will tend to maintain these attitudes, while people with negative attitudes will tend to change them to more favorable ones.

It would seem logical to conclude from the above and from the rest of the supporting literature that a social role that is pathogenic and injurious to one's self-conception will be rejected, and that individuals rejecting it would evince a more positive view of themselves than those embracing it.

Evidence of the negative effects of the traditional sexual role of women has been drawn from studies of the prevalence of mental disorders by sex. Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend (1976) found that although there are no consistent differences in the overall rates of mental disorders between the sexes, there are clear differences in terms of types of illnesses. Rates of anxiety and affective disorders are higher among women and rates of personality disorders as well as substance abuse are common among men. Suggesting that unidimensional concepts of psychiatric disorders should be discarded,

along with the false assumptions that derive from it, the Dohrenwends (1976) conclude that ". . . the important question then becomes, what is there in the endowments and experiences of men and women that pushes them in these directions?" (p. 1453)

Further evidence comes from the research on androgyny by Bem (1974, 1975, 1977) and others which has demonstrated that highly feminine individuals have lower self-esteem, while androgynous individuals--those possessing high levels of both feminine and masculine traits--are better adjusted and have higher self-esteem.

The second line of reasoning supporting a rationale for this study draws on the observed parallels between the minority group status of blacks and women. Gunnar Myrdal (1944), one of the first to examine the similarity, shows that both groups share certain political and historical characteristics that make them the target of discrimination: high visibility, the shared historical and legally sanctioned root of their underprivileged status; social myths about both groups that portray them as content in their roles; the expectation that they know and stay in their places; and the paternalism with which they are treated.

Expanding on the position by Myrdal, Helen Hacker (1951) states that while women do not fully qualify as a minority group because they do not share the subjective

criteria (i.e., feeling oppressed and identified with their group), they satisfied the objective criteria of being discriminated against. Hence, the appellation of minority group status is applicable to them. As individuals sharing minority group status, they show many psychological characteristics also present in other minorities, especially blacks--feelings of inferiority; self-hate, as evidenced by the introjection of the dominant group's stereotypes of them; and denigration of other members of their group. Hacker (1951) writes:

Since a person's conception of himself is based on the defining gestures of others, it is unlikely that members of a minority group can wholly escape personality distortion. Constant reiteration of one's inferiority must often lead to its acceptance as a fact. (p. 89)

Hacker (1975) reviewed her paper twenty years later and noted an increased consciousness among women of their minority status. This, nevertheless, she indicates, came as a result of the general unrest of the sixties (the Vietnam war, the civil rights movement). However, she believes the parallels are still valid. The majority of women have not developed an identification as oppressed members of society. The question then becomes: What has happened to those women who have developed feelings of minority group and shared oppression? Has their rejection of the feminine role as it still stands today led to increased feelings of self-worth?

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

The literature review will include:

1. An overview of research in the area of sex-role stereotypes in the United States in general; some studies of this problem among minorities; and those studies specifically investigating the relationship between sex-role stereotypes and self-concept.
2. A review of studies that establish a relationship between androgyny and self-concept.
3. Historical and socio-political background to sex-roles in Puerto Rico and an analysis of the research on sex-role stereotypes in Puerto Rico.

Sex-role Stereotypes

Webster's (1967) definition of stereotype underscores its most important attributes:

a standardized mental picture held in common by members of a group and representing an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude or uncritical judgment (as of a person, a race, an issue or an event).

Allport (1958) defines stereotypes as exaggerated beliefs which are used to justify our conduct in relation to members of a particular group. Brannon's (1978) parsimonious definition, based upon a review of the meanings given to the word in the psychological literature will be the one used in this study: "Stereotypes are essentially defined as those beliefs about a group which are widely shared within a given culture" (p. 666).

Sex-role stereotypes, then, refer to those attributes which most people believe characterize either sex. Brannon further adds that an examination of the literature indicates that gender stereotypes are similar to ethnic stereotypes, an observation that has been made by other writers as well. Other important features of stereotypes are that they are fairly constant over time and cultures, and that they are adopted by the stereotypes group as well.

The often cited similarity between ethnic and sexual stereotypes has been explained by Sunar (1978) using a functional paradigm. Basically, this paradigm asserts that in coercive relationships, the stereotypes of the powerless group serve various functions for the powerful group: knowledge--an interpretation of the world; ego-defense attitudes that protect the self-esteem of the powerful by attributing the behavior of the powerless group to their inherent nature and not to their

oppression; social adjustment--the use of attitudes to establish their social position. The social adjustment function leads to the creation of an ideology that serves to legitimize, i.e., to justify with a system of beliefs, the position of the powerful group and to impose a construction of reality that the powerless group adopts. A consistent observation in the literature of sex-role stereotypes is that women have accepted to varying degrees the prevailing sexual ideology.

Anthropological evidence of the pervasiveness of the sexual stereotypes across cultures is presented by Rosaldo (1974). She finds what she calls a universal asymmetry in the evaluation of the sexes. She demonstrates that in all societies the roles and activities of men are accorded higher status. Furthermore, men everywhere have power over women which they have legitimized culturally. Rosaldo believes that what underlies the asymmetry is an opposition between the domestic and the public spheres. Men are identified with the public life and because women bear and lactate children, they are identified (negatively) with domestic life. Under these circumstances, sources of power for women are available only if they transcend their domestic confines either by assuming men's roles or by creating their own society through solidarity with other women.

This notion of the separate spheres--public vs. private--is also stressed by Lipman-Blumen (1984) as a doctrine that has been used to justify the power differential of women and men. In her analysis of gender roles and power she states that an indispensable precondition for the exercise of power is the control of resources, especially those deemed most valuable and important for the functioning of society. Although both women and men make important contributions to society, men--by virtue of controlling the most valuable resources, including the social institutions--define what is valuable, thereby denying women's contribution equal status. An interesting hypothesis advanced by Rosaldo is that the status of women will be lower in those societies where the differentiation between the spheres is greater and where women are isolated from each other and subject to the authority of one man in the home. Conversely, egalitarian societies are those in which there is not a wide differentiation between public and domestic spheres and where there is equal involvement of the sexes in the domestic life of the home. Some support for this comes from Sunar (1982) in a study of female stereotypes in the United States and Turkey. She hypothesized that the female stereotypes would be similar in widely varying cultures; that the strength of the stereotype varies according to the power differential (i.e., the strength

of the stereotype will be greater where the power differential is greater); that women will accept more the prevailing stereotype in those cultures where the power differential is greater. The first two hypotheses were corroborated, indicating very similar stereotypic perceptions of women both by American and Turkish males, with greater difference between the sexes perceived by Turks. However, less agreement between Turkish males and females on the characteristics of women was found than within the American sample. This suggests less acceptance of the female stereotype by Turkish women. Therefore, it seems that the relationship between women's acceptance of the female stereotype and the power differential is not clear. A time-lag model explanation was offered to explain the divergent results: In spite of changing objective conditions the powerful group will resist changes and will adhere to the ideology, while the powerless group, which has much to gain, will embrace the change more readily. Basically, in America, men's conservative stance has caught up with female radicalism more. In Turkey, where the changes have been more recent, Turkish men are still holding on to the old stereotypes, while Turkish women have moved more quickly to abandon them. Sunar's study points to the need for further studies that help clarify the degree to which women of varying cultures, especially amidst rapidly

changing conditions, adhere to the traditional stereotypes and the psychological effects on their lives.

Sex-roles in the United States

McKee and Sheriffs (1957) conducted one of the earliest sex-role stereotypes studies to answer the question of whether there was "really" a difference in the way in which American people evaluate men and women. They used Sarbin's adjective checklist. They first asked 85 men and 93 women (introductory psychology students) to indicate in a rating scale what position described most closely their view of the "relative overall general worth" of men and women. The scale had statements from: 1. Women are greatly superior to men, to 7. Men are greatly superior to women. Half of the subjects answered a seven-point scale with a neutral point and the other half a six-point scale without a neutral point. In the second phase of the study they asked 50 men and 50 women to respond to the 200 Sarbin adjectives characterizing men and women under forced and unforced conditions. Their answers were scored favorable or unfavorable on the basis of the ratings of desirability of each adjective already made by a previous sample of students. For the last phase of the study they asked 55 men and 54 women to characterize males and females using an open-ended

procedure. An analysis of the total results indicated that under all conditions and using a variety of procedures men were more highly evaluated by a majority of both sexes, although both sexes were evaluated favorably. A greater number of favorable adjectives was also ascribed to males both by female and male subjects, while more unfavorable ones were ascribed to women.

In a following study McKee and Sheriffs (1957) examined the content of the stereotypes. Using the adjective checklist, they asked 50 men and 50 women students who had been in the preceding study to check those adjectives that were generally true of women and of men. (Half of the subjects began with women and the other with men.) Then, under forced conditions, the same subjects were asked to report for each adjective whether it was more true of women or men. The results showed that males and females attributed 30 favorable adjectives to men and only 21 to women. The stereotypes for both sexes also fell into two separate clusters. The cluster of male attributes emphasized straightforward and uninhibited style; competence, ability, and effectiveness; and action and vigor. The cluster of female stereotypes indicated social skills, warmth, and spirituality. In order to test the validity--degree to which the stereotypes correspond to self-descriptions-- the authors used a separate sample of 100 college

students and the adjective checklist under open-ended conditions. Several interesting findings emerged: a significant reduction in the number of characteristics used to describe the self vs. the stereotypes, especially by men, and a tendency by women to choose as part of their real selves a greater amount of stereotypic characteristics.

The results of the McKee and Sheriffs studies find further support in a study by Lunnenborg (1970) to examine the relationship between stereotypic thinking and self-descriptions. She administered 14 scales of the Edwards Personality Inventory to a normative sample consisting of 329 female college students and 203 male students. They were asked to answer the questionnaire according to how they would be described by people who knew them best. The experimental sample, which consisted of 162 males and 236 females, were asked to predict the answer most women or men would give in describing themselves. The experimental sample was divided in two groups: one receiving male stereotypic instructions and the other half female stereotypic instructions. The content and clustering of the stereotypes revealed striking similarity to those found by Sheriffs. Females were assigned higher scores on six scales (has cultural interests, plans and organizes things, kind to others, interest in others) that are similar to Sheriff's

clusters of warmth and emotional support and concern with spirituality. Likewise, the male stereotype was evident in the higher scores on seven scales (intellectually oriented, persistent, self-confident, enjoys being center of attention, carefree, is a leader and likes to be alone) emphasizing the qualities that fell in the Sheriffs male cluster of action, vigor, and effectiveness. The responses under the stereotype conditions were then compared to the self-descriptions of the normative data. It was found that under the stereotypic conditions the differences between the sexes increased dramatically. When subjects were asked to describe themselves, differences emerged on eight scales as opposed to differences in 13 of the 14 scales when they responded to the stereotype instructions. In other words, the stereotype conditions not only exaggerated but created additional differences as evidenced by five scales that did not discriminate between the sexes originally.

In the first of a series of studies Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) developed a questionnaire to examine the degree to which sex-role stereotypes affect the self-concept of men and women. The questionnaire was developed by asking two classes of undergraduate college students to list characteristics they considered differentiated men and women. A list of 122 adjectives

arranged in bipolar form emerged. The subjects were 154 college students (74 men and 80 women) from several New England colleges. The subjects were given instructions to mark in the instrument the degree to which they expected each item to characterize the average adult male. They were asked to go through the questionnaire again, this time marking all the items according to what they considered to characterize the average male. The third time, the students were asked to go through the questionnaire marking the items according to what they themselves were like. The order was counterbalanced by giving half the subjects the male instructions first and then the female instructions, and half the subjects the instructions in the reverse sequence. The self-instructions were always given last in order to establish the necessary masculinity-femininity frame of reference. Three groups of items emerged: 41 stereotypic items, 48 differentiating items and 24 nondifferentiating. The 41 stereotypic items were selected on the basis of an arbitrarily selected 75% or better of agreement (to indicate enough consensuality) in both samples. The difference between the mean typical femininity and masculinity response of each of the stereotypic items was found to be significant beyond the .001 level of probability in both samples as assessed by correlated t tests. The differentiating and nondifferentiating items

were established on the basis of whether the mean typical femininity and masculinity responses differ at the .05 level of probability. The stereotypic male-valued items included such characteristics as aggressive, independent, unemotional, objective, dominant, active, competitive, logical, likes math and science, etc., while some of the stereotypic female traits were does not use harsh language, talkative, tactful, gentle, aware of feelings of others, religious, appreciates art and literature, etc.

To assess desirability of each item in the Stereotype Questionnaire, the authors used a separate sample of 73 men and 48 women. They were asked which pole of each of the items indicated the more socially desirable behavior. The social desirability scores of both samples correlated .964 over 113 items, indicating that the groups agreed highly regarding which poles were socially desirable. The authors found a mean proportion of .650 agreeing that the masculine pole was more desirable on the 41 stereotypic items. Furthermore, of the 41, 29 (approximately 70%) were found to be male-valued and only 12 (30%) female-valued. The authors concluded that stereotypically masculine characteristics are perceived as more socially desirable more often than the female-valued ones, although this might be due to the

larger number of male vs. female traits positively valued.

In a subsequent study, Broverman et al. (1972) performed separate factor analyses on the masculinity and femininity responses made by female and male subjects to the Stereotype Questionnaire. Two separate clusters emerged: a "competency cluster" in the male-valued items comprising such attributes as independent, logical, active, etc., and a "warmth and expressiveness" cluster that includes such qualities as gentle, tactful, sensitive to the feelings of others, religious, etc.

This organization of sex differences in two separate "clusters" or "modalities" (expressive-instrumental, autocentric-allocentric, personal-impersonal) has been proposed by several authors. Of special consideration is Bakan's (1966) classification of two modalities that he feels characterize living things: agency and communion. Agency is individualistic and concerned with self-protection, assertion, and self-expansion. Communion pertains to the organism as it feels to be a part of a larger organism with which it feels one. According to Bakan, then, the goal of organisms is "to mitigate agency with communion" (p. 14). Bakan characterizes capitalism and aggressive masculinity as examples of unmitigated agency. Using Bakan's framework, Block (1973) conducted a study to examine the generality of stereotypes across six

different cultures--Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, England, and the United States. The results support the pervasiveness of the stereotypes as well as their dichotomy in terms of agency and communion. Ten adjectives characteristic of the male ideal were all agentic and none communal. The feminine ideal was reflected in seven adjectives representing communion and one agency. Analysis of the results cross-culturally further supports Bakan's thesis. In Sweden and Denmark--social welfare countries--less sex differences and agency was found as opposed to the United States where a greater emphasis on agency was found by both sexes on their description of their ideal selves.

The influence of the stereotypes is so pervasive that it has permeated the conceptions and standards of mental health made by clinicians. Boverman et al. (1970) used the Stereotype Questionnaire to investigate the conceptions of mental health held by clinicians and their parallel stereotypic judgments. Seventy-nine practicing clinicians (psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers) were divided into three different groups, each with different instructions. One group was asked to describe a mature, adult man; another group a mature adult woman; and a third to describe a healthy and competent adult. The authors hypothesized that the clinician's judgments of mental health would differ as a

function of the sex of the person judged and that these differences would reflect prevailing sex-role stereotypes. Their second hypothesis predicted a double standard of mental health. In other words, the standard of mental health for an adult will resemble behaviors associated with males rather than females. Both hypotheses were confirmed. A comparison of the clinician's masculinity and femininity scores indicated that on 25 of the 27 male-valued stereotypic items, the masculinity health scores exceeded the femininity scores. On seven of the 11 female-valued stereotypic items, the femininity health score exceeded the masculinity score, while on four of the feminine-valued items, the masculinity health score exceeded the femininity score. Thus, clinicians ascribed socially desirable masculine characteristics more often to healthy men than to women. Further analysis of the comparison of the mean adult, male, and female health scores using t tests revealed no significant differences between the healthy adult and health masculinity ratings. However, both the healthy adult and male ratings were significantly higher than the feminine score. Judged by the standard of health, men are healthy while women are not. The authors speculated that this double standard of mental health derives from the adjustment notion of mental health, which asserts that health consists on adjustment to one's environment.

The paradox for women is that in order to be considered healthy, they have to adopt behaviors and norms that are in essence pathological.

In a study conducted by Spence et al. (1975), the Personal Attributes Questionnaire--a revision of the Rosenkrantz's questionnaire--was administered to 248 male and 282 female college students from the University of Texas. Other measures used were the Attitudes Towards Women Scale and the Texas Social Behavior inventory to assess self-esteem. Subjects were asked to rate themselves and then to compare the typical male and the typical female on each of the 55 bipolar items comprising the scale. Then they divided the ratings into male-valued, female-valued, and sex-specific items. t tests analyses of each of the typical male and typical female ratings yielded significant departures from the midpoint of the scale (point of no difference) in all 55 items, but when the mean self-ratings of the two sexes were examined, significant differences were found in the direction of the stereotype, on 35 items. Thus, the students' perceptions of the typical male and female were more sharply differentiated than their self-conceptions, although their self-ratings were in accordance with the stereotype data.

Sex-role Stereotypes among Minorities

Bayton, Austin, and Burke (1965), in one of the earliest studies using all black subjects, investigated the perceptions that a minority group has of itself and of the majority group. Specifically, they were interested in studying the perceptions of racial characteristics in the dimensions of race and sex. The subjects were 240 (120 females, 120 males) black students at Howard University. The students were divided into four groups of 60 and were asked to answer the items on the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey as they thought the average Negro male or Negro female would. They performed a three-way analysis of variance for the ten scales and found significant stereotypic effect on three of the scales: the average female was higher in sociability and the average male in emotional stability and masculinity.

Crcvitz and Steinman (1980) conducted a study to assess the change between 1960 and 1970 in the perceptions of black and white college students of women's familial roles. The 1960 sample consisted of 219 females (95 black, 124 white) and 177 males (81 white and 96 black). The black students attended a private college in the South and the white students public colleges in the North. The 1970 sample consisted of 320 females (138

black, 182 white) and 267 males (104 black, 163 white). The black students attended a predominantly black university and the white students a predominantly white public institution. The subjects responded to the MAFFR Inventory of Feminine Values, which consists of 34 items, seventeen of which denote a family orientation and the other 17 self-achievement. The items are organized on a five-point scale ranging from "completely agree" to "completely disagree." The female subjects responded to three forms of the inventory that measure how they view their own familial role, their ideal role, and their view of the male's ideal woman's role. The male subjects responded to a form that assessed their role of the ideal woman. A three-way analysis of variance was performed on the scores of the form's "woman's perception of man's ideal woman" and form's "man's perception of ideal woman." The self and ideal scores across the ten years indicated that black women were significantly more self-achieving than white women. However, both black and white women saw their ideal selves as more traditional than their actual selves. In regard to the "male ideal woman," both black males and females conceptualize her as more independent and assertive throughout the decade. White men also conceptualized their ideal woman as more independent but their counterparts, consistently over the ten year period, indicated that their men really wanted a

more traditional woman. In general, the study points to a more assertive and independent black woman in contrast to a more conservative white woman and to less agreement between white female and males in their view of the "ideal woman."

In a study to compare the sex-role attitudes of black and white women and to debunk the myth of the black matriarchy, Gump (1970) administered the Fand Inventory to 77 black college women attending Howard University and Morgan State College and 40 white college women attending the University of Maryland. The Fand Inventory of sex-roles measures two dimensions--a self dimension, which reflects self-achievement and an "other" dimension, which measures identity derived from fulfilling the needs of others. Two separate scores, traditional and non-traditional, were obtained by summing individual scores. Black women obtained a mean traditional score of 38.82. White women achieved a 29.90 traditional score vs. a 43.90 nontraditional score. A further analysis of the factors comprising the scale yielded results that the author interpreted as the black women's being more submissive, compliant, and willing to define themselves in terms of their husbands. This seems a dubious and overblown interpretation in view of the small sample. Also, the Crovitz and Steinman study reviewed above pointed out that their white sample of women remained

until the decade of the seventies "the most traditional group, even more so than the white males themselves" (p. 173). In view of this, it is questionable whether the white women on the Gump study achieved such a degree of liberalization in such a short period of time. The author could have commented on the closeness of the traditional and nontraditional scores of the black woman, which is an evidence of her better ability to combine both roles without experiencing much conflict. This finding has been supported over and over again by other investigators.

Sex-role Stereotypes and Self-Concept

The relationship between sex-role stereotypes and self-concept has been established on the basis of the correspondence between the ratings in self-descriptions and the stereotypes of each sex. As the review of the studies above indicates, there is a consistent overlap between the way females and males see themselves and their stereotypic view of their own sex. Both women and men adopt as part of their identity substantial aspects of the stereotype. Since more masculine characteristics are more highly valued, the male stereotype carries more weight. In the Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) study, the comparisons between the femininity responses and self-concept did not differ significantly, leading the authors

to conclude that since the self-concepts are so similar to their stereotypes, women also incorporated into their self-concept the negative characteristics associated with it.

While a certain degree of correspondence between the self-concept and adoption of socially prescribed sexual norms seems necessary, high identification by women with the traditional role appears maladaptive and not conducive to high levels of self-esteem. Gump (1972) conducted a study to investigate the relationship between sex-role concepts, ego strength, happiness, and achievement plans in a sample of 162 senior college students. She administered the Fand Inventory, the Elation-Depression Scale to assess well-being and Barron's Ego Strength Scale. She found that the majority of the women endorsed pursuing the roles of wife and mother, along with work outside of the home, as necessary for their personal fulfillment. These women also obtained the highest scores on ego strength. The author concluded that ego strength is inversely related to the adoption of the traditional female sex-role alone.

Similar results are found in a study by Vaught (1985) to examine the relationship of sex-role identification and ego strength to sex differences in the rod-and-frame test. The rod-and-frame test, the Gough femininity scale, and the Barron's Ego Strength Scale

were administered to 90 male and 90 female freshman psychology students from St. Louis University. He found that as the subject's sex-role identification, regardless of sex, approached the feminine mode they became more field-dependent. High ego strength was related to field-independent responding. Thus, a more masculine identity and high ego strength influence the perceptions of individuals along a field-independent way. Individuals with higher ego strength are more capable of resisting external pressures and in this way can make independent judgments.

Bedeian and Zarra (1977) examined the effect of sex-role orientation on self-esteem, achievement, and internality in a sample of 98 undergraduate females enrolled in a management course. Subjects took the revised Fand Inventory, the Mehrabian achievement scale for females, Coopersmith's abbreviated self-esteem inventory, and Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control Scale. No significant differences were found between the self-esteem scores of the traditional and nontraditional subjects. However, nontraditionals scored higher on achievement and demonstrated a higher correlation between their self-esteem and their view that success depends on them rather than on external sources.

The high correlation of achievement and self-esteem for women was further supported in a study by Stericker

and Johnson (1977) to examine the relationship between sex-role identification, self-esteem, and achievement. The subjects, 159 females and 153 males, college students at the University of Chicago, responded to the Rosenkrantz questionnaire, the Tennessee Self-concept scale, of which only the Total Positive score was assessed, and the Mehrabian achievement scale. Again, no significant differences were found between the self-esteem scores of women and men. But in both groups a significant and positive relationship was found between self-esteem and achievement, with this association being stronger in the female group. The relationship between sex-role stereotype and self-esteem revealed that the more masculine females were higher on self-esteem than the more feminine. A multiple regression analysis performed on the data with self-esteem as the dependent variable showed that a combination of both high achievement and masculinity was associated with the highest levels of self-esteem in women. Of all the feminine subjects, the masculine, high achievers had the higher self-esteem, even higher than the high achiever and feminine women. The authors concluded that based on their findings, there is an "inverse" relationship between self-esteem and adherence to the traditional role.

In the Spence et al. (1975) study reviewed earlier, the correlation between self-descriptions and stereotype scores was modest, suggesting according to the authors that "sex-role conceptions do not distort self-concepts." (This result could be attributed to the self-esteem measure that they used, which is loaded on masculine traits.) However, they found interesting relationships between self ratings and self-esteem: highly significant positive correlations between self-esteem and masculinity for both sexes as well as between femininity and self-esteem for both men and women, with the relationship between self-esteem and the male-valued items being stronger. The fact that both masculinity and femininity were associated with self-esteem led the authors to suggest that both components are involved in determining an individual's self-concept. Accordingly, they postulated that androgyny--the possession of a high degree of both feminine and masculine traits--may be the most adaptive and desirable mode of functioning. The authors divided their sample into four groups: undifferentiated (those having few characteristics of either sex), sex-typed (those having the characteristics of one sex predominantly), androgynous (those having a high proportion of both masculine and feminine characteristics), and cross-sex typed (those having a high degree of characteristics of the opposite sex). Using

this classification, they found that androgynous subjects had the highest self-esteem, followed by those subjects high in masculinity. Undifferentiated subjects were the lowest in self-esteem.

The literature reviewed above supports the problem investigated in this study, namely the existence of clear-cut, sex-role stereotypes in American society; the favorability of male characteristics as opposed to females'; and the strong relationship between self-concept and sex-role stereotypes. However, some major limitations were noted. The first has to do with the instruments used. With the exception of the Rosenkrantz questionnaire, which was constructed specifically to assess sex-role stereotypes, most of the others were idiosyncratic scales or instruments that were designed to measure other types of variables. It is possible that the results could have been affected by the particular measure used. A related point is that most instruments have a built-in effect which tends to exacerbate the differences between the sexes by arranging the items in a bipolar form. The other limitation concerns the samples used. Most studies used white college students, who by virtue of being in college belong to the middle and upper classes and come from upwardly mobile environments. The scarce research on black women already points to

interesting differences that can emerge in other ethnic and socioeconomic groups as well.

The Concept of Androgyny

The word androgyny is derived from the Greek roots andro (man) and gyn (woman), and it describes a person who has both masculine and feminine characteristics. As expounded by Bem, it is the viable alternative to the existing traditional view that a high level of sex typing is the healthy and appropriate standard of behavior. Contrary to this assertion, in her research Bem has found that androgynous individuals are better adjusted and healthy because of their ability to respond to each situation they encounter rather than to respond with a stereotypic behavior. Bem (1978) argues from a political-feminist position for the abolition of rigid sex-role standards that limit human behavior and for a conception of mental health free of the negative influence of stereotypes. Bem has constructed a questionnaire to test her convictions empirically and has conducted a series of influential studies on the construct "androgyny".

Some of the most important findings from Bem's experiments indicate that the traditional roles do restrict the behavior of people along the lines of the current stereotypes, while androgynous individuals

display more flexibility and adaptability when asked to perform tasks which, although outside of their sexual realm, are appropriate to the situation at hand.

However, Bem's contention that androgynous individuals are healthier and better equipped to function in society has given rise to a series of experimental studies geared to finding out whether this is true. Others more skeptical have asked whether the opposite is not the case. In other words, would not androgynous individuals be those with serious emotional problems and gender confusion. Because of its centrality to the personality of the individual, self-esteem has been used frequently as a parameter of health to investigate this relationship.

Androgyny and Self-esteem

In order to investigate whether androgyny is associated with identity confusion and lack of personality integration, Orlofsky (1977) administered the BSRI, a measure of ego development based on Erikson's theory which identifies four statuses: identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and identity diffusion; and a Likert-type scale in which subjects reported on several aspects of self-esteem to 111 college students of both sexes. It was found that a masculine orientation in males and females was associated with

identity achievement. Androgynous orientation in men was slightly associated with identity achievement and in females with identity achievement or moratorium. The undifferentiated subjects were the most characterized by identity diffusion. The findings for self-esteem revealed that masculine and androgynous subjects of both sexes were the highest in all the dimensions of self-esteem. Feminine typing resulted in low self-esteem in most dimensions except attractiveness. However, even there, the scores of feminine women were not higher than those of androgynous or masculine women. The author concluded that androgyny is associated with high levels of self-esteem and identity resolution. Sex typing appears to be beneficial for men and detrimental for women, for whom cross-typing leads to higher levels of self-esteem and identity achievement.

In a following study, Orlofsky (1978) examined personal adjustment and behavioral adaptability in a sample of 111 college students. He used the BSRI, the subjects' stories to five TAT cards, which were rated along a continuum of 0 to 4 (from no affect content to developed affect), to measure affect cognition. To measure assertiveness, the Adult Self-Expression Scale, a five-point Likert test scale was used. As additional measure, the Omnibus Personality Inventory Scales to assess adjustment was used. The data regarding

behavioral adaptability confirmed Bem's findings that androgynous individuals displayed greater adaptability than sex-typed and undifferentiated subjects. Sex-typed subjects performed well only on those tasks that were appropriate to their sex and had low scores on those that were opposite. However, the data on personal adjustment differed from the author's previous study in that only sex-typed subjects had high levels of adjustment. Cross-sex typing in females did not lead to higher personal adjustment, while feminine-typed females were as well-adjusted as androgynous females. The author, while observing the contrasting results, does not explain the discrepancy but cautions about making interpretations because of the small number of the sample.

A frequent finding in the literature of androgyny is the association of masculinity with psychological adjustment. This has led many authors to postulate that it is the masculinity component rather than the balance of both masculine and feminine traits that is responsible for the better adaptability and health of individuals. Erdwins, Small, and Gross (1980) conducted a study to assess this. The subjects were 52 male and 84 female psychology students, who answered BSRI, Tennessee Self-Concept test, and Taylor's Manifest Anxiety Scale. Males consistently had a greater overall self-esteem, less neurotic scores, and less anxiety as measured by the Taylor scale. In

regard to the four sex groups, androgynous and masculine subjects obtained the highest self-esteem scores, followed by feminine and undifferentiated subjects who showed the highest indices of maladjustment. The authors concluded that the high self-esteem scores of masculine subjects along with their reported lower levels of anxiety gave further support to the belief that it is masculinity that is crucial for personality adjustment.

A study by Flaherty and Dusek (1980) was conducted specifically to shed some light on this controversy. The subjects were 162 male and 195 female college students. The instruments used were the BSRI and a self-concept scale with four factors: adjustment, achievement, congeniality/sociability, masculinity-femininity. In order to assess the contribution of masculinity and femininity on each of the self-concept factors, multiple regression analyses were performed. The results indicated that the degree of masculinity or femininity on self-concept depends on the aspect of self-concept that is measured. Therefore, if the measure reflects a masculine orientation, masculine and androgynous individuals will do better. But if the measure reflects a feminine orientation, androgynous and feminine subjects will have higher scores. In this study, the androgynous subjects scored higher on adjustment. In the achievement dimension, which is masculine in orientation, the

androgynous and masculine subjects performed better than the feminine and undifferentiated subjects. In the expressive cluster of congeniality/sociability, androgynous and feminine subjects scored higher than masculine and undifferentiated. The overall results confirm Bem's theory of the better flexibility of the androgynous subjects. The main advantage of this study is the proposition and demonstration that using multidimensional measures of self-esteem might yield more interesting and valuable results. Also, that it is important to specify which aspects of self-esteem are being measured in order to make adequate conclusions.

Another study that addresses this issue is the one conducted by Whitley (1983). The purpose of the study was to find out whether a relationship does exist between sex-role orientation and self-esteem. If the relationship exists, another question to answer was whether it varies as a function of the self-esteem and sex-role measures used. An analysis of the present three models used to explain the relationship between sex-role and self-esteem was conducted to test their adequacy: the congruence model, which equates psychological well-being with adherence to traditional roles along gender lines; the androgyny model, which states that well-being is fostered by possessing high levels of masculinity and femininity, and the masculinity model, which poses that

well-being is associated with a predominantly masculine orientation. The author conducted a meta analysis, which is a statistical method used to combine and analyze the findings of different studies. The results pointed to the adequacy of the masculine model over the others, although the author cautions that this finding can be a result of the measures used. The congruence model received no support. An analysis of the measures revealed that the size of the effects of both masculinity and femininity varies as a function of the sex-role instrument used. For example, the Personal Attributes Questionnaire was found to tap more into masculinity. Likewise, there are some self-esteem measures that appear to be masculine oriented, like the Janis-Field Feelings of Inadequacy Scale and the Texas Social Behavior Inventory. The latter measures a dimension of self-esteem--social self-esteem, which deals with assertiveness in social situations, a predominantly masculine trait. Measures of global self-esteem, in contrast, are less related to masculinity. The results of the meta analysis corroborated the existence of a relationship between self-esteem and sex-role.

Hinrichsen, Follansbee, and Ganellen (1981) used the five empirical scales of TSCS, as measures of mental health, to examine the differences in self-esteem between androgynous, sex-typed, cross-sex typed, and undifferen-

tiated females and males. The empirical scales on the Tennessee measure General Maladjustment, Neurosis, Personality Disorder, and Psychosis. In addition, nine other dimensions were analyzed. To classify the groups, the BSRI was used and administered to 142 male and 107 female psychology students. Androgynous subjects scored consistently higher on the 12 out of the 13 scales where main effects were found. They evinced the highest degrees of overall self-esteem and satisfaction with self and showed the least pathology. However, sex-typed subjects scored higher than androgynous subjects on the personality integration scale and cross-sex typed females scored higher, although not significantly so, than androgynous subjects on the Self-Satisfaction, Physical Self, and Social Self scales. The authors interpreted these results as being a function of the sex of the subject and concluded that these discrepant findings imply that Bem's propositions might have been too general.

The study by Nevill (1977) also found a very strong relationship between androgyny and well-being. The TSCS was also used as a measure of health and the Personal Orientation Inventory. The BSRI was used to assess sex-roles. The procedure by which the sample was chosen, as well as the resulting sample itself, mars the study considerably. Of 1,000 questionnaires mailed to

individuals picked at random from the city directory of a southeastern university town, only 128 answered, of which 86 became the final sample--51 females and 35 males. In addition, she divided the group into only two groups--androgynous and nonandrogynous. Thus, the results are hardly generalizable. However, they are consistent with previous studies: in the majority of the scales, the androgynous subjects scored higher than the nonandrogynous, suggesting that they have higher self-esteem, are more adaptable and have less pathology.

The research on androgyny and self-esteem strongly supports this study by corroborating in a substantial way that androgynous individuals have higher self-esteem than sex-typed (traditional) individuals. These studies have demonstrated that adherence to the traditional sex-roles by women is negatively related to health. Rather, the rejection of this model with, apparently, the adoption of more masculine characteristics incorporated into the self-concept is more adaptive.

As with the research on sex-stereotypes, the literature of androgyny suffers from the same sampling problems. After reviewing numerous studies one is tempted to ask: Is androgyny an American college student phenomenon? Or does it operate in the population at large? With the exception of Nevill, none of the studies attempted to draw their sample from more

heterogeneous groups. It could also be argued that American white college students--a select group--already have higher levels of self-esteem and androgynous qualities. Another issue concerns the measures of self-esteem used. The variety of self-esteem instruments makes the comparison of results among studies difficult. Also, most of the studies do not specify the aspects of self-esteem being measured. As some of the studies have demonstrated, some aspects of self-esteem are more closely related to sex-role orientation than others.

Historical and Socio-Political Background to Sex-Roles in Puerto Rico

The history of the active participation of the Puerto Rican woman in the public life of her country belies the generally accepted stereotype of her submissiveness and dependency. As has been previously noted, stereotypes serve to preserve the position of the oppressor by attributing to the inherent nature of the oppressed attitudes and behaviors that the coercive situation has itself produced. Within the smaller circle of man-woman oppression in the Latin American machista tradition and, then, within the wider circle of American capitalistic exploitation, the evidence indicates that the stereotypes have served their function well. However, there is some indication that they have outlived their usefulness. A brief look at the historical process

by which Puerto Rican women have struggled to come to terms with their unequal status will further help to dispel these myths.

During pre-capitalistic days, Puerto Rican women performed small jobs around the home and farm that brought supplementary income to the household. However, their role was not as important as the males' because they were not directly involved in the manufacture of articles for sale. With the advent of capitalism at the turn of the century, through the occupation of the United States, women's participation in the work force increased. This came about as the result of the introduction to the island of manufacturing industries that employed women. Their participation was mostly felt in two industries--tobacco and needlework. According to Isabel Pico (1976), during the first 30 years of this century women's labor participation rose from 9.9% in 1899 to 26.1% in 1930, the highest so far. The shift from home to work, with women working alongside men, brought about profound changes in the position of women in the family and in Puerto Rican society.

The exploitative and inhuman conditions women experienced at work helped develop a sense of solidarity and class consciousness among them. Women started to express and acquire power through the labor unions. Various women's organizations emerged within the unions,

producing many militant women leaders. Luisa Capetillo was the most prominent of all, advocating women's rights and improved working conditions. She wrote a book in which she endorsed the idea of dual roles for women. The women's struggle found support in the platform of the Socialist Party, which promoted their right to vote. However, the Socialist Party abandoned its commitment to the workers when they compromised themselves in a bizarre coalition with the Union Republican Party--a party which represented the interests of the moneyed class. This, however, did not defeat women workers who, according to Silvestrini-Pacheco (1979), continued to stage massive protests and strikes during the recession years, when the economic situation in Puerto Rico hit bottom.

Ironically, the struggle that the working women so painfully had fought was taken over by the middle-class women who became involved in the suffragist movement. The women's struggle fell apart along class lines. The working women were alienated from the petit bourgeois women's exclusive suffragist concern. Furthermore, they felt, quite correctly, that if the right to vote was granted they would remain disenfranchised because of their illiteracy. In 1932, the vote was granted to literate women alone. Later, in 1936, voting rights were granted to all. Further impetus to the participation of Puerto Rican women in the public sphere came about as a

result of the economic programs of the forties. These government sponsored programs provided incentives for United States manufacturing industries to settle in the island. Most of these industries manufactured apparel and utilized large numbers of women while leaving a considerable percentage of the male working population unemployed. The newly acquired economic independence of women drastically altered the power relationship between the sexes and undermined the basis of the male supremacy--the ability to provide.

The impact of women's progress was felt in all aspects of Puerto Rican culture, but it was beautifully recorded in the literature of the time. In 1950, according to an analysis of the role of women in Puerto Rican literature by Rodriguez (1979), Puerto Rican women became protagonists. Prior to that they had played minor roles and always stayed in the background. Now women took the forefront. This development, however, was not well received by the male intelligentsia of the country. Rene Marques, one of the most brilliant writers of this time, viewed the Puerto Rican woman as the embodiment of American imperialism, who carried with her the instrument of the male's castration. Marques portrayed a defeatist, hopeless attitude of the man vis-a-vis the woman. These views found vent in two important works--an essay called El Puertorriqueno Docil (1977), which caused a furor when

first published, and a story called En la Popa Hay un Cuerpo Reclinado (1983), in which the protagonist castrates himself after killing his wife. Seda (1980) believes that in blindly following the American pattern, Puerto Rican women run the risk of masculinization rather than liberation. While he agrees that the structure of the traditional Puerto Rican family was "arbitrary" in so far as the authoritarian and repressive character of the father and the martyred, submissive role of the mother, he feels that a new structure which is based on the cultural tradition and needs of the country should be developed.

Indeed, it has been said that Puerto Rican women have jumped more readily onto the American bandwagon while the men have staged passive resistance. This is hardly surprising if viewed within a context of oppression, where a powerless group will seek a palatable alternative to their condition, while the oppressor will not budge an inch even if, as in this case, it means giving up his status to another more powerful oppressor.

The high achievement motivation of Puerto Rican women has been observed by many investigators. A personal account of the phenomenon comes from Christensen (1975), who taught and was head of the Counseling Program in the Department of Graduate Studies at the University

of Puerto Rico from 1962-1972. He noted that males saw less value in education while females

. . . identify with the educational structure and view it as a form of power. . . . Education is virtually the only escape hatch for the modern Puerto Rican female to leave her often stereotyped and limiting role, and so this factor is logical.
(p. 92)

Christensen feels that Puerto Rican women are experiencing stress because they are unwilling to let go of their traditional role while at the same time they are embracing the career role.

Another observation of the high achievement of Puerto Rican women comes from Acosta Belen and Sjostrom (1979). Examining the statistics of women's participation in the educational process, they report that not only are women represented at all educational levels, but proportionally they exceed men at the higher levels of education. At the University of Puerto Rico, the enrollment of female students as well as number of degrees granted is higher for female students than for males. This pattern is similar at other institutions of higher learning in the island. The authors are prompt to observe that the educational advantages of women have not translated into similar success in the employment area. In spite of being a majority in the population (51%) and better educated, their participation in the labor force as of 1977 was 1.8% as opposed to 30.5% for males. Thus,

in terms of employment, women have suffered a major loss from the high levels of the 1930's (26.1%). In addition, women are segregated in such occupations as teaching and nursing, while being grossly underrepresented in such prestigious and income-producing professions as law, medicine, and architecture. Other indices of discrimination are their low salaries, when compared with those of men doing similar jobs, lack of promotional opportunities, and limited access to high level executive positions in government. According to Pico (1975), the progress of women has been stymied by anachronistic laws anchored in a machista ideology. To remedy this situation, the Commission for the Improvement of Women's Rights (Comision para los Asuntos de la Mujer) was established in 1973. The commission conducts research and public hearings, proposes legislation, and sponsors a very active and effective program of community education.

Sex Roles in Puerto Rico

Sex-roles in Puerto Rico are clearly defined and are characterized by some very specific elements typical of Latin American cultures, of which Puerto Rico is part. Within this tradition, the Catholic church has had a significant impact in the development and shaping of sexual attitudes and behaviors. Specifically, it has emphasized the role of a supreme father vis-a-vis a

suffering mother, fashioned after the Virgin Mary. Williamson (1970) believes that the Catholic church has fostered patriarchalism, which, in turn, has been legitimized in a legal code favoring males. The message to women has been that they should emulate virtues associated with the Virgin Mary--forbearance, patience, and humility. In the Latin American countries he studied, women adopted masochistic resignation to male dominance and had low self-esteem. Their status derived only from having children, especially boys. In spite of this, he found that in two small samples of women in Bogota and in Santiago, women were more religious, more conservative in their political ideology, and less oriented to change than men.

Stevens (1973) states that the roles of machismo and marianismo are played out in counterpoint and serve complementary ways of satisfying basic needs between the sexes. Within this system, the woman plays the role of mater dolorosa. She finds martyrdom in childbirth and redemption in her ability to withstand the "ostentatious cruelty" of men. From this, she derives her moral superiority and sees herself as semi-divine and spiritually stronger than men. Her saintliness is predicated on the "natural" weakness and wickedness of men. In this symbiotic relationship, the woman has no power per se but derives it from her moral superiority and uses it in

indirect and manipulative ways. A central element in the marianismo cult is the observance of virginity prior to marriage and chastity afterwards.

This same complementarity of roles in Puerto Rican culture has been observed by Sanchez Hidalgo (1973). In a paper entitled Machismo vs. Mamismo, he notes the presence of machismo alongside the adoration of the mother. He describes machismo as a male prerogative of unrestrained sexual behavior with a compulsive need to prove manhood by engaging in multiple conquests. Mamismo is the exaggerated veneration of the mother, which is also encouraged by her. The particular dynamics of this relationship, with men outside of the home engaging in extramarital affairs, leads to isolation and loneliness in women. In order to compensate for this, the Puerto Rican mother overprotects her sons, whom she seeks as allies against the father. This, in turn, creates excessive dependency and other pathological effects in the personality structure of the Puerto Rican male.

In an early study of family and fertility in Puerto Rico, Stycos (1952) describes this pattern of male domination and female subordination. There is sharp differentiation of roles with the male, who is the wage earner, being dominant in the economic and political spheres, and the woman being relegated to the home. While the male derives pride from virility and fatherhood

(i.e., having as many children as possible in and out wedlock), the female takes pride in proving that she is not machorra (barren). Among his sample of lower class rural women, Stycos observed negative attitudes towards sex along with sublimation and repression of sexual needs. Sex was seen as an obligation or duty to be performed for the benefit of the male. Accordingly, women desired fewer children than men.

Woolf (1952) studied rearing practices in three Puerto Rican subcultures and found the same subordinating of females to males. Women's main roles in those three groups were the same--wife and mother. A woman must have children, the sooner the better, in order to fulfill her role in the community. Preferably, the first born should be a boy in order to satisfy the father's need to prove his virility. Women are cloistered and indoctrinated from childhood to observe strict rules of modesty. The virginity cult and chastity after marriage were also observed. In all three subcultures, Woolf found fear and revulsion of sex and a rejection of the female role through abortions. There was also a tendency on the part of the women to have ataques (conversion symptoms) and to somatize.

A similar pattern of child-rearing practices was found by Landy (1959) in a study of 18 lower class rural families. He observed the double standard of sexual

behavior, cloistering of females, modesty, and the virginity cult. The roles of women were wife and mother. There was a division of labor by sex with men working in the fields and women assuming most of the responsibilities of the home. Although they saw housework as their duty, they considered it demeaning work. Likewise, they had rejecting feelings towards children, probably owing to their being totally responsible for birth control. Interviews with the women revealed that although resigned to their roles on the surface, they had concealed aspirations for more independence and ability to earn money. Safa (1974) observed the same differentiation where women were confined to the domestic labors while men were wage earners. However, as of the time of her writing, she had already sensed a sign of unrest in her sample as demonstrated by the high rate of marital instability. She reported this was owing to an increasing unwillingness on the part of women to tolerate the abuse of men. Safa attributed this to the increased financial independence obtained as a result of new economic opportunities.

Although this was a sign of increased assertiveness, it did not lead to total shedding of the traditional roles. Ruth Burgos Sasscer (1980), then president of the Commission for the Improvement of Women's Rights, reported that in spite of all the

unquestionable progress of women in the last decades, the roles of women in Puerto Rico remain very much the same-- wife and mother. Even when women work, employment outside the home is taken "just in case"--a backup to possible male desertion. Women are still subordinated to men at home and work. She cites the cases of executive women and Ph.D.'s who hand in their paychecks to their husbands and ask for their permission to attend social functions. The married woman must always meet the needs of her husband and children before her own. Sasscer comments on the difficulty of changing deep-rooted attitudes.

Empirical Research on Sex-Role Stereotypes in Puerto Rico

An early study by Sanchez Hidalgo (1952) hypothesized that because of their secondary position in Puerto Rican society, women would evince feelings of inferiority. The subjects were 80 male and 80 female students at the University of Puerto Rico. They were asked to answer the following question: "If you had the opportunity to return to earth after death, what form would you choose: man, woman, animal, plant, or object?" He found highly significant differences between the sexes. Only 28 out of the 80 female subjects wanted to come back as a woman, while 74 of the masculine subjects desired to continue as men. Women's reasons for

preferring the masculine sex were various: to enjoy freedom; not to suffer; not being cloistered; no children; etc. Sanchez Hidalgo concluded that the Puerto Rican woman needs, in addition to protection (notice the author's own sexist bias), more opportunities to develop her abilities and talents.

Recognizing the rapid change in Puerto Rican society brought about by rapid industrialization and association with the United States, Fernandez-Marina et al. (1958) conducted a study to find out to what extent the traditional family values of Puerto Rican society had changed to reflect more Americanized values. The authors believed that Puerto Rican values would still be more similar to those of Latin American cultures. The study was done based on a previous study by the Mexican psychiatrist Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero to test these same assumptions within his culture. Three basic areas were examined: patterns of affection, patterns of authority, and differential evaluation of the sexes. The authors revised and adapted Diaz-Guerrero's questionnaire to measure family values. The subjects were 240 female and 254 male freshman students at the University of Puerto Rico, most from upwardly mobile, middle class, and Catholic homes. In the findings, the mother emerged as the prime affectional figure. Women had more equalitarian view of their roles, while men subscribed to the

concept of male supremacy. Consistent with Sanchez Hidalgo's study, women were found to be more dissatisfied with their role than men. While only 29% said it was better to be a woman, 34% stated that many women would prefer to be males. This was in contrast to a solid 80% of male respondents who reported it was better to be a man. The authors concluded: "Life for the woman is not as happy as for the male" (p. 175). They further concluded that although Puerto Rican family values were still more in accord with those of Latin American culture, there were some changes pointing to Americanization. Of special concern to them was the undermining of the male authority, which could contribute to difficulties in interpersonal relationships between the sexes.

In another study (1960), the same authors investigated whether Puerto Ricans who adhere more to traditional beliefs would express greater psychopathology than those who did not. The subjects were 16 University of Puerto Rico students who had psychiatric help and who had been diagnosed as neurotic. They were individually matched with two other University non-patient students on the basis of 11 criteria that were deemed to be closely related to the acceptance of family beliefs. An adaptation of Sarbin's checklist was used to measure pathology and the revised Diaz-Guerrero questionnaire to

measure family values. As opposed to Diaz-Guerrero, who found more psychopathology in his subjects who adhered more to traditional beliefs, this study found that the control group was more accepting of the traditional family beliefs than the experimental group. The authors concluded that subjects who were changing values more quickly were experiencing more stress than those who were moving away from traditional values at a slower pace. The divergent results were explained in terms of the different samples and the types of changes experienced by each society. According to the authors, social changes in Mexico have occurred naturally and within the context of the culture. By contrast, changes in Puerto Rico were imposed by a government policy which, in turn, introduced many elements inconsistent and foreign to the national culture. This, the authors assert, might lead the ego to develop "makeshift" defenses that are not adequate to forestall a neurotic disorder.

These two studies pose major problems. The first has to do with the samples used. As reported by the authors themselves, Diaz-Guerrero did not provide any information regarding his sample. But they chose a select, middle class sample, too small and probably younger than the Diaz-Guerrero's. Since the results were not analyzed by sex, it is not possible to ascertain the response of female subjects (on second study). In

addition, no information was provided regarding the types of neurotic disorders suffered by the subjects in the experimental group.

Fernandez-Pol (1978) conducted a replication of this last study and used a sample of lower class Puerto Ricans in order to address the difficulty of sampling. Two samples were selected: one group of 117 psychiatric patients from Bellevue Hospital in New York, 57 diagnosed as neurotic and 60 as psychotic, unskilled, with limited education (less than eighth grade) or command of English and on welfare. The control group were 107 subjects obtained from a welfare center because of their similarity to the experimental group. In addition, two other samples of non-patients were used: 55 lower class employees at Bellevue and 38 middle class employees at the Migration Division Office of the government of Puerto Rico. The instruments were a demographic questionnaire and the Diaz-Guerrero questionnaire. Her results were consistent with the Fernandez-Marina et al. (1958) findings. Lower class Puerto Rican non-patients were more accepting of traditional beliefs than patients. Also, the middle class non-patients were significantly less accepting of traditional beliefs than the lower class. The author concluded that "there is evidence that an inverse relationship exists between adherence to Latin American beliefs and the development of psychopathology"

(p. 726). She postulated that the higher degree of nonconformity in the middle class subjects was owing to their greater similarity in background to middle class Americans and to their exposure to such social movements as the women's liberation movement, to which lower class subjects were not exposed as much. It is unfortunate, for the purpose of this study, that the author could not amplify this last point. A breakdown of subjects by sex would have provided more information. For example, did female subjects adhere more or less to traditional roles? Were there differences between female patients and non-patients in terms of adherence or lack of it? Another flaw in this study is that the author did not present the method of diagnosis for patients. Chances are that they were diagnosed with the methods and instruments used in these facilities and not with a primarily research tool such as Sarbin's checklist, as in the Fernandez-Marina study.

A study of acculturation and psychopathology among Puerto Rican women in the United States by Torres-Matrullo (1976) attempted to explore the changes that Puerto Rican women experience as a result of acculturation, and to find out whether there was any relationship between these changes and personality adjustment. The author was specifically concerned with the conflicts in sex roles brought about by the

increasing American influence, which has given more power to women while undermining men's authority. The author believes that women suffer more stress in this "double-bind" situation, where they are still adhering to the traditional role of submission in a society that demands more assertion. The subjects were 72 Puerto Rican women living in New Jersey, 21 to 55 years of age and from a wide socioeconomic background. Subjects were divided into three educational backgrounds (elementary, high school, and college), and were further subdivided into low and high levels of acculturation. A demographic questionnaire and an interview were used to assess acculturation, sex-roles, self-perception, degree of conflict experienced, and goals, values, and degree of identification with Puerto Rican culture. Gough's adjective checklist was used to measure self-concept and personality adjustment and the Wittenborn Psychiatric Rating Scales, which had been translated and validated in Puerto Rico and used in cross-cultural research, used to measure pathology. The overall results indicated a strong adherence to traditional values as evidenced by the large percentage of traditional responses given even by the high acculturated subjects. Those low in acculturation were higher on the Wittenborn scales of depression, withdrawal, and obsessive compulsion. These subjects evinced poor self-image and personality

adjustment and were more submissive and dependent. The highly acculturated women presented a picture of overall health and personality adjustment. Differences were also obtained in terms of educational level, with those subjects who had less education exhibiting more symptoms of psychopathology. This study's main limitation lies in the nature of the instruments used and in the subjective manner used to determine psychopathology. While there are well-known and adequate instruments to assess sex-role stereotypes and traditionalism, the author relied on interviews and demographical data. In addition, she personally rated the Witterborn while the subjects were completing the questionnaires. Since it is not clear how this was done, on the basis of her report, the procedure seems highly questionable.

Ayendez-Sanchez (1976) studied sex-role attitudes among University of Puerto Rico students and professors. Her study had as a major goal to formulate changes in the curriculum which, in turn, would help to transform outdated role conceptions in Puerto Rico. The subjects were first, fourth, and graduate level students, who responded to a questionnaire developed by the author. The overall results pointed to a definite adherence to the traditional roles. Both sexes see women's principal roles as wife and mother, although women were more liberal in their views and did not see working outside of

the home as incompatible with these two roles. Women still feel subordinated to men and maintain quite traditional views regarding sexual conduct. Sixty-two percent of the virginity cult women endorsed it, although at the same time they felt that sexual freedom and fidelity should be the same for both sexes. On the other side, 63% of the men still held on to their machismo by approving the double standard, as compared with 37% of the women. Likewise, they saw their role as that of the provider and as their masculinity weakened by women going out to work. Although they favored equal education opportunities for women, they preferred that women center their activities around the home. In the same way, they accepted women's participation in the political sphere, although they thought this activity was more appropriate for them. Although women felt competent to exercise positions of leadership, they agreed with men that the position of governor should be occupied by a man. Overall, the study indicated an almost overwhelming support for the traditional roles, although women were more liberal in their attitudes towards themselves than men.

Pico (1979) conducted a series of studies sponsored by the Commission for the Improvement of Women's Rights to examine the extent of the influence of machismo in the elementary education in the island. The study analyzed

the thematic and graphic content of the textbooks used in the Spanish and social studies curriculum in private and public schools in Puerto Rico as well as in many bilingual programs in the United States. She found that the illustrations depicted men in such activities as exploring space, taming seas, and conquering frontiers, while women appeared illustrated as mothers, teachers, and salesgirls. The stories presented the masculine characters as fighting and challenging authority, while feminine characters were crying and victimized. She concluded that the textbooks convey a clear message to girls: be a good housewife. Furthermore, they transmit a narrow and stereotyped version of womanhood that can affect girls' personality development.

Another part of the investigation assessed the attitudes towards sex-roles in a sample of 128 elementary school teachers. The Cole's Sex-Role Rigidity Scale was used. The results indicated that the majority of the teachers had liberal attitudes regarding women in positions of power, participation of women in the work force, and equal participation of women and men in domestic chores and child care. However, they had traditional attitudes regarding sex. The virginity cult was endorsed by 61%. Also, while they felt that a woman can find satisfaction in life without having children,

most of them (59%) believed that a woman's best measure of success is her ability as a mother.

Acevedo and Rivera (1981) wanted to investigate how the single and married woman of the northeast of Puerto Rico perceives herself and others, what attitudes she has in terms of work and marriage, and what is her degree of assertiveness. The subjects were 193 married and divorced women ages ranging from 18 to 47 years of age. The sample was further subdivided into three groups: professional women, working class women, and housewives. They used a Likert-type questionnaire, which they developed to assess attitudes toward work outside the home, sexual roles and feminine stereotypes, and their perception of themselves as well as of Puerto Rican women in general. They hypothesized housewives as having more conservative attitude than the other two sample of women; working women being more assertive than professionals; younger women less conservative; and married women more conservative than divorced women. Significant differences emerged, with working women less in agreement with the traditional roles and being more assertive and liberal in their sexual attitudes. However, they saw the typical Puerto Rican woman as passive. Divorced women were more liberal in all areas, but no significant differences were found in terms of their perceptions of the Puerto Rican woman in general. The authors explained

the divergent perceptions of women between the way they see themselves and the typical Puerto Rican woman in terms of the pervasive effect that the stereotypes have had on women.

Colon (1977) studied notions of sexual role in Puerto Rican men and women. The subjects were 45 men and 45 women students at the University of Puerto Rico, and 45 married couples drawn from various civic organizations. Subjects answered a demographical questionnaire and the MAFFR inventory of sexual roles. The author hypothesized differences in the way people perceive their proper, actual, or ideal selves as a function of their sex, civil status, and years of marriage. Subjects responded to four forms of the MAFFR inventory: on the first, women answered the questionnaire describing themselves (self-perceptions); on the second, they answered in terms of their perception of the majority of Puerto Rican men; on the third in terms of what they considered man's ideal woman; and on the fourth in terms of their ideal man. Some of the findings indicated that women described their actual role with an active, extrafamilial orientation, while men described themselves with an intrafamilial orientation. Women, however, described men with an extrafamilial orientation. While men described women with an extrafamilial orientation this was less so than the women's self-perceptions. In

terms of ideal roles, women described the ideal man with an extrafamilial orientation, but men described their ideal women as significantly more active than women described their ideal man. Women described men's ideal women with an intrafamilial orientation, while men described their ideal women with an extrafamilial orientation. The authors concluded that Puerto Rican men and women are not in total agreement with the traditional sex-role stereotypes, and describe themselves as acting sexual roles that are different from the ones stipulated by Puerto Rican culture. Also, men and women are not in agreement regarding the sex-role conceptions the other sex has, suggesting a lack of communication between the sexes.

Gonzalez de Jesus (1978) examined the relationship between sex-role stereotypes, self-actualization, and problems of mental health in three groups of Puerto Rican women. She postulated that a self-actualized person will live by her own system of values and will not depend as much on others for her validation. Such persons will resist assimilation and will not go along with a society that is oppressive and oriented towards conformism. The author further challenged the notion of mental health that rests on adjustment and conformity to traditional standards of sex roles. The subjects were 60 women between the ages of 20 and 40 years old and residing in

the metropolitan area. Twenty subjects were university students, 20 were patients with diagnoses of anxiety and depression, and 20 were nonpatient housewives. The instruments were the Inventory of Personal Orientation by Shostrom, which measures self-actualization, and the MAFFR inventory. Five hypotheses were tested: 1. University students will have less traditional views of sex-roles; 2. Patients will have more traditional views; 3. Students will obtain higher scores on the Shostrom; 4. Patients will obtain lower scores on same instrument; 5. The higher the score on the Shostrom, the higher the degree of traditionalism. All hypotheses were corroborated. It was found that high scores on the Personal Orientation scale was related to greater rejection of traditional roles.

The literature of sex-roles in Puerto Rico is relatively new. Most of it has emerged during the past two decades. Prior to that, information regarding sexual norms and standards could be obtained mainly from anthropological and family studies. Most of these studies were done in the fifties with lower class, rural populations. Because of its newness, the research on sex-roles in Puerto Rico is limited. Furthermore, most of it is not published in academic journals. Instead, it is found summarized in a variety of such popular publications as newspapers and magazine articles; in public speeches; or

in unpublished masters theses and dissertations. When published, often studies are not described in detail and information is missing regarding instruments, procedures, and statistical analyses. Nonetheless, the articles reviewed support the main point of this study, namely, the existence of damaging stereotypes affecting the lives of Puerto Rican women. They also support the thesis of an increasing nonconformism on the part of women, albeit within a traditional cultural framework.

CHAPTER III

Methods

Introduction

This chapter will present the methods and procedures used in the study. The chapter has been divided into five sections: hypotheses, subjects, instrumentation, procedures, and treatment of data.

Statement of the Hypotheses

The hypotheses are stated as follows:

Hypotheses

- I. Women who have higher self-esteem will be less traditional than those with lower self-esteem.
- II. Women with higher self-esteem will be more androgynous than they will be sex-typed.
- III. Androgynous women will be less traditional than sex-typed women.

Description of Subjects

Two separate samples of subjects were taken. One consisted of 67 women attending college and the other of 59 women taken at random from various zones in the metropolitan area of San Juan, Puerto Rico. The college

subsample consisted of 51 students taking a course in introductory psychology at the InterAmerican University--Metropolitan Campus in Caguas. Of these 28 students were taking the first part of this course while 24 were taking the second part mostly in their sophomore and senior years. An additional subsample of 15 college students was drawn from a course in introductory psychology at Universidad del Sagrado Corazon--a private Catholic school in San Juan. In this subsample, the students were generally older than the sample at InterAmerican University. In addition, some of them worked.

The second sample of women students was drawn from five different sources in the San Juan metropolitan area: 15 were members of a Lutheran Church, most of them homemakers without a college education, although some had some college or clerical training; 15 lived in a barriada (ghetto) and had low socioeconomic status--homemakers on government subsidies; seven were employed in a government agency in vocational and clerical positions; ten lived in a middle class suburban urbanizacion; and twelve lived in a subsidized government housing project. This latter group contained more variability in age and occupation than the others, ranging from homemakers to law and medicine students. Overall, the ages of the women in the nonuniversity sample ranged from 21 to 87, while in the

university sample the ages ranged from 18 to 42, with a large concentration of students 19 years old.

Description of the Research Instrumentation

Three questionnaires, a short multiple question exercise, and a demographical form were used.

The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) was used to assess self-concept. The TSCS consists of 100 self-descriptive items which the subject uses to report how he perceives himself. Of the 100 items, 90 assess self-concept and 10 self-criticism, or the degree of openness or defensiveness in describing self. The subject chooses a response from five available options from "completely true" to "completely false." The scale yields a Total Positive score, which reflects the overall level of self-esteem and six additional measures continued in the six empirical scales: Defensive Positive, General Maladjustment, Psychosis, Personality Disorder, Neurosis, and Personality Integration. The norms were developed from a sample of 626 that included people from different parts of the country ranging in age from 12 to 68. It included equal numbers of both sexes and of black and white subjects in addition to representatives of all socio-economic, educational, and intellectual levels. Retest reliability for the Total Positive score was estimated at .92. Several of the TSCS scales correlate highly with

other well-established personality tests, as well as with various of the scales of the MMPI, the Taylor Anxiety Scale (-.70 with Total Positive score), the Cornell Medical Index (.50-.70), and an unpublished Inventory of Feelings. The scale is self-administering and can be completed in an average time of twenty minutes. The scale was translated into Spanish, translated back into English by two independent bilingual judges, and reviewed by three bilingual judges. The final version was reviewed by a professional translator.

The Inventory of Attitudes
Towards Men and Women

This inventory developed by Cole (1974), assesses sex-role stereotypes, and was developed using both minority (blacks and Puerto Rican) college students. It consists of thirty-four Likert-type items with six response alternatives from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The items were drawn from eleven content areas identified in the existing literature on sex-typing and childrearing patterns and on previous studies that assessed sex-role stereotypes. These content areas tap different expectations that operate for males and females such as the maintenance of virginity, rationality and logical thinking, responsibilities in the home, etc. A measure of internal reliability, alpha coefficient, was conducted for the whole sample and for each of the

subsamples yielding alphas exceeding .90. Based upon this, and on the multi-ethnic composition of the sample, this scale is appropriate to be used with samples composed of minorities. This inventory was translated using the same procedure as the TSCS and was additionally corroborated with other already existing translations. In this study, this scale will be called the Cole's Sex-Role Scale.

The BSRI (Bem Sex-Role Inventory) consists of sixty items: twenty feminine, twenty masculine, and twenty neutral. Subjects are asked to indicate in a scale from 1 to 7 (never or almost never true to always or almost always true) how well each characteristic describes them. Subjects taking the BSRI obtain two separate scores--masculine and feminine--derived by computing an average of their self-ratings on each of the masculinity and femininity items. Androgyny is determined by identifying those subjects who are above the median on both masculinity and femininity. The BSRI was translated into Spanish using the same methodology of the TSCS and the Cole's Sex-Role Scale.

The short multiple question exercise consisted of a replication of the Sanchez Hidalgo study. Basically it requested subjects to answer the following question by choosing one of five options:

If after dying you had a chance to come back to earth, what form would you choose?:

a) man; b) woman; c) animal; d) plant; e) object (specify)

Subjects were further asked to explain their selection in writing.

Procedures

The subjects were obtained through personal contacts. Letters were sent out requesting the assistance of the two instructors of psychology. They, in turn, made the necessary arrangements at their institutions. Another letter requesting cooperation and permission to gather data at the church was sent to the pastor of the Lutheran church.

For the college sample, the writer visited the classes, gave the instructions, and distributed the questionnaires herself. She was introduced to the students by the instructors as a fellow colleague who was gathering data for a doctoral dissertation. Subjects were asked to review the questionnaire in the presence of writer in order to clarify any questions. They were asked to answer all items and to omit their names. Subjects then took the questionnaires and returned them at the next session of the class.

For the noncollege sample, the writer went to the various sites herself with the assistance of personal contacts made in each of them. Basically the same procedure of administration as for the college students was followed. Some women were gathered while at the laundry room of their building; others while attending choir practice and Sunday school at the church; some were approached by the writer while sitting on their porches or walking in the streets of their barriada, while others were asked to participate while taking their lunch break at work. Still others were gathered independently and at random.

CHAPTER IV

Results

This chapter will present the rules from the statistical analyses. It has been divided into three parts which correspond to the hypotheses and another section which deals with additional analyses.

Hypothesis I

Hypothesis I stated that women who have higher self-esteem will be less traditional than those with low self-esteem. As can be seen from the results of the analyses of variance shown on Tables 1 and 2, there was no significant difference between the level of self-esteem and traditionalism ($F(1,123)=3.75$). However, there was a significant difference on traditionalism between the college student sample ($\bar{X}=83.18$) and non-college student sample ($\bar{X}=94.07$) with non-college subjects being more traditional ($F(1,123)=6.30, p<.01$). Table 2 shows that there is no significant interaction between self-esteem and the two groups ($F(1,120)=3.75, p<.06$). The direction of the results, however, suggests that possibly students with high self-esteem are less

traditional than students with low self-esteem and that nonstudents with low self-esteem are more traditional.

Table 1
Mean Scores of Students and Non-Students on
Traditionalism by Self-Esteem

	Low-Self Esteem	High Self-Esteem
Students	89.71 (N=31)	77.40 (N=35)
Nonstudents	92.07 (N=30)	96.21 (N=28)

Table 2
Analysis of Variance on Traditionalism
by Self-Esteem

Source	df	MS	F
Group (G)	1	3505.64	6.30*
Esteem (E)	1	654.80	1.18
GxE	1	2085.38	3.75
ΣM^2	120	556.06	

Hypothesis II

Hypothesis II stated that women with higher self-esteem will be more androgynous than sex-typed. Although the greater percentage of the population fell in the high self-esteem androgynous category, this was not significantly different from any other group. Therefore, Hypothesis II cannot be confirmed. The results of the Chi-square analysis are indicated in Table 3.

Table 3

Chi-Square Analysis of Variance of Sex-Type and
Androgynous Subjects on Self-Esteem

	Low	High	
Sex Typed	19% (15)	24% (19)	43% (34)
Androgynous	23% (18) (N=33) 42%	34% (27) (N=46) 58%	57% (45)

$\chi^2 = 0.02$

Hypothesis III

Hypothesis III stated that androgynous women will be less traditional than sex-typed women. The analysis of the data in the form of a t-test summarized in Table 4

indicates no significant differences in traditionalism between the two groups. Hypothesis III was not confirmed.

Table 4
Contrast Between Androgynous and Sex-Typed Women
on Traditionalism -- t Test Analysis

	N	X	50
Sex-Typed	34	84.82	25.88
Androgynous	45	82.07	21.26

t=0.52

Table 5 describes the composition and distribution of the samples in terms of the different variables studied. As shown, there were differences in terms of age and education. The nonstudent group was older and less educated. Also, there were differences in the groups on traditionalism, with the college group being less traditional oriented than the non-college group. No significant differences were found between the two groups on the overall measure of self-esteem.

Table 6 depicts how the variables interrelate. Two interesting findings can be observed. The first is that certain factors vary with age. That is, the older the

subject, the more conservative, less educated and less masculine. The other finding has to do with the large positive correlation between the Bem-Masculine and the Bem-Feminine scales.

Additional Analyses

Since the Cole's Sex-Role Scale seemed to show some potential as being important in this population, further analyses were carried out. A multiple regression was run and summarized in Table 7 using scores measuring traditionalism (Cole's Sex-Role Scale) as a dependent variable. As illustrated below, the most significant factor in traditional role orientation was education. The next contributor was the Bem-masculinity score which accounted for 36.7% of the explained variance and finally Personality Integration which accounted for 17.2% of the variance.

TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF VARIABLES FOR BOTH GROUPS AND THE TOTAL SAMPLE

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>STUDENTS</u> N=66		<u>NON STUDENTS</u> N=58		<u>t</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> N=124	
	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>SD</u>		<u>MEAN</u>	<u>SD</u>
1. AGE	21.86	4.47	39.15	14.42	9.25 _c	29.95	13.49
2. EDUCATION	14.89	0.95	13.76	3.08	2.84 _b	14.36	2.28
3. BEM MASC	100.53	14.74	94.05	15.58	2.38 _a	97.50	15.42
4. BEM FEM	100.08	12.70	107.17	13.52	0.38	107.65	13.05
5. COLES	83.18	22.60	94.07	25.22	2.54 _a	88.27	24.38
6. TOTAL P	354.85	31.98	357.98	32.43	0.54	356.31	32.10
7. PERSONALITY INTEGRATION	7.06	3.58	7.52	4.00	0.67	7.27	3.78

^a_p < .05, ^b_p < .01, ^c_p < .001, two tailed

Table 6

Intercorrelations Among the Variables

	2 EDUC	3 B MASC	4 B FEM	5 COLE'S	6 TOTAL P	7 P.I	8 GROUP
1. Age	-41 _c	-23 _a	-15	26 _b	00	14	64 _c
2. Education		18 _a	11	-51 _c	-04	29 _b	-25 _b
3. B Masc			55 _c	-41 _c	27 _b	08	-21 _a
4. B Fem				-17	20 _a	-10	-03
5. Cole's					-15	-30 _a	-22 _a
6. Total P						-05	05
7. P I							06

Decimals omitted for clarity

^a $p < .05$, ^b $p < .01$, ^c $p < .001$, two-tailed

Table 7
Multiple Prediction of Coles Score

Variable	Beta	Percentage of Variance	Percentage of Explained Variance
Education	-.407 ^b	17.8	46.1
Bem Masculine Score	-.324 ^b	14.1	36.7
Personality Integration	-.152 ^b	6.6	17.2
Total	R=0.620	38.5	100.0

^ap<05, ^b.001, two-tailed

Results from the Replication
of the Sanchez-Hidalgo Study

In 1952, Sanchez-Hidalgo conducted a study among 83 female and 80 male students at the University of Puerto Rico to investigate the effect of sexual differences in feelings of inferiority. In his sample he found that 33% of his women respondents preferred to come back as women while 46% indicated a male preference. These results contrast sharply with the ones obtained in the present study. A majority of the subjects in the total sample (84%) preferred to come back as women as opposed to 11% who wanted to come back as men. More subjects in the student group (12%) than in the nonstudent group (9%) chose the man alternative. The results of the total

sample in terms of percentages for the rest of the alternatives were as follows: animal (0.8), plant (2.4), object (0.8). Two per cent of the responses were too ambiguous or unspecific to categorize. The reasons given for choosing the woman alternative were overwhelmingly positive and can be broadly summarized as follows:

Biological Superiority and Privilege of Creating Life.

"It's beautiful being a woman. Specially to have the privilege of being co-creator with God."

"Women are able to have children, an ability men envy. This is a unique experience that men can't ever feel."

"The best God-given privilege; to be a mother."

Positive Personality Attributes:

"I believe that in spite of the disadvantages imposed by a machista society in which we have had to struggle, we have been able to overcome to a large degree many of the obstacles and have demonstrated ourselves to be doubly efficient than men. We work outside the home; have the responsibility and the direction of the home and children, plus church responsibilities."

"Women have more control and subtlety in solving problems."

"Because God gave women the best gifts: maternity, sensitivity, understanding, ability to love and serve. I like being a woman!"

Physical Attractiveness:

"It's a beautiful being. Not simple but delicate."

"I would like to be a woman because a woman is beautiful and sweet."

"It's the most beautiful thing in God's creation."

Intrinsic Satisfaction

"I am satisfied being a woman; of the role that I perform as a woman, mother and wife."

"I am satisfied being a woman and identify totally with my sex."

"I feel proud and satisfied."

"It's fun!"

In addition there were some women who expressed political reasons to come back as women: to redress the inequities, to enjoy better opportunities and to perform the role better:

"To see the progress achieved by women. Women would have achieved all the goals and will be occupying the majority of the most important positions in society."

"To diminish the unfair harassment against women and to establish mutual agreements between the sexes so that the world would be a happier place."

Reasons for the man choice:

To experiment:

"It would be a new, interesting experience."

"I would like to know the way they think."

"I would like to know the opposite pole."

To have more freedom:

"Men have more freedom."

"Because men have more freedom and everything they want."

"I like the freedom men feel."

To suffer less:

"I believe men suffer less."

"I believe that although there is enough equality, men suffer less and have more freedom."

CHAPTER V

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between self-concept and self roles as it presently occurs in Puerto Rican society. Specifically, the study attempted to answer the following questions:

1. How do Puerto Rican women perceive themselves?
2. How do they view their role as women?
3. What is the relationship between their adherence or lack of adherence to the traditional role and their self-esteem?
4. What is the relationship between self-esteem, sex-role adherence and androgyny?

In addition, this study intended to make a contribution to the body of research on sex-roles.

Review of the Literature

An examination of the problem cited above was undertaken by reviewing the literature of sex-roles stereotypes in the U.S. at large and among minority populations in particular; the literature of androgyny and the literature of sex-roles in Puerto Rico. The

literature of sex-roles in the U.S. supports the existence of clear cut sex-role stereotypes in American culture and the desirability of male characteristics in contrast to female's. Although a strong relationship was found between sex-role stereotypes and self-concept, it is not clear whether the stereotypes do in fact affect the self-concept of women. The studies reviewed are conspicuous in their neglect of minority subjects in their samples. Therefore their findings are characteristic only of their populations and conclusions should not be extended beyond them. A review of the few studies available where black subjects were used indicates different findings from those with white samples. This suggests the influence of cultural factors which are characteristic only of these groups. The literature of androgyny suffers from the same sampling deficiency. However, it demonstrates that androgyny is positively related to high self-esteem and that adherence to the traditional role is negatively related to mental health. Most recently, investigators of androgyny have observed that the adoption of more masculine characteristics is a greater contributor to health. Although the literature of sex-roles in Puerto Rico is relatively new and limited in scope, the studies reviewed support the existence of sex-role stereotypes in Puerto Rican culture with an increasing non-conformism on the part of women.

Review of the Hypotheses

The hypotheses to be tested were as follows:

1. Women who have higher self-esteem will be less traditional than those with lower self-esteem.
2. Women with higher self-esteem will be more androgynous than they will be sex-typed.
3. Androgynous women will be less traditional than sex-typed women.

Summary of the Hypotheses

Hypothesis I tested the proposition that women with higher self-esteem would be less traditional than those with lower self-esteem. No significant differences were found in this relationship. Therefore, Hypothesis I was not confirmed. However, a significant difference was found between the college and non-college group on traditionalism with the non-college sample being more traditional than the college group.

Hypothesis I derives from the notion that a social role which carries negative prescriptions and demands will be experienced as oppressive. Therefore it is expected that such a role will be rejected by individuals who have high regard of themselves. These individuals will be more independent--will resist external pressure, live by their own set of values and will not conform to a self-devaluing situation. Support for this idea comes

from the history of emancipation of oppressed people from all over the world as well as from the findings of several studies on self-esteem and traditionalism: Gump (1972), Vaught (1965), Bedeian and Zarra (1977), Stericker and Johnson, (1977), Spence at al. (1977) and Gonzalez de Jesus (1978). The fact that the results in the present study are not consistent with those obtained above might be a function of the way in which the role is perceived now. In other words, the role might not be perceived negatively by women in this sample, thereby allowing them to derive sources of satisfaction and pride. If this is so, its endorsement would lead to a bolstering rather than a lessening of self-esteem. As Table 5 indicates, the mean self-esteem (Total P) measure of the total sample (356.31) fell well within the standard norms of the Tennessee (345.57). Further evidence of acceptance of self and role is found in the responses to the Sanchez-Hidalgo question. As opposed to his 1952 sample, the overwhelming majority of women in the present sample expressed satisfaction with themselves and their role. The acceptance of the role, however, is a function of changes in the role itself. As a result of socioeconomic changes in Puerto Rico within the last thirty years which have provided more educational and job opportunities to women, the role has incorporated more positive elements (i.e., independence, self-reliance,

assertiveness, etc.) hitherto absent and which makes it more acceptable now. Therefore Puerto Rican women can feel more positive about themselves and of their role as women.

Hypothesis II

Hypothesis II predicted that women with higher self-esteem will be more androgynous than they will be sex-typed. This is widely supported on research by Bem (1974, 1975, 1977) and many others. However, it did not bear out in this sample. Table 3 summarizes the findings. Although the androgynous group was higher on self-esteem--indicating a trend along the established findings--this difference was not statistically significant. An additional divergent and unexpected finding as it relates to the BSRI is reported in Table 6. This concerns the strong relation between the femininity and masculinity scores, this relationship is greater in the group with less education. In the original scale structure, the BSRI measures femininity and masculinity independently. The correlation between the two scales is almost zero. In our sample the correlation between the scales is high, suggesting that they are measuring the same thing. The discrepancy obtained between the samples suggests that the women in our sample had a particular way of responding which differed from the typical Bem

responding. This raises the question of the applicability of this inventory for this population. An associated problem within this sample has to do with the reading level required to answer the questionnaire. In the nonstudent sample some respondents, especially the least educated ones, expressed difficulty understanding the meaning of some of the adjectives. In sum, by its nature and structure, the BSRI is a limited instrument which measures a phenomenon so far demonstrated in the American white college middle-class sub-culture. While androgyny might exist in Puerto Rico, it probably means different things and is described in different terms.

The third hypothesis stated that androgynous women will be less traditional than sex-typed women. This was based on the observed qualities of greater independence and autonomy of androgynous subjects as opposed to the rigidity of sex-typed women. By definition, sex-typed women are more conservative and tend to adhere to the traditional role without modification. This hypothesis was not confirmed as indicated by the results shown in Table 4. There was no significant difference in traditionalism between sex-typed and androgynous women in this sample. Although our results do not validate this assumption, an interesting finding is revealed in the multiple regression analysis illustrated in Table 7. This concerns the high negative correlation between the

Bem masculinity score and traditionalism as measured by the Coles scale. That is, the more masculine-oriented the subject the less traditional. This finding is supported by an increasing number of androgyny researchers, some reviewed earlier. They have pointed to the masculinity component in androgyny as the one more closely responsible for well being. Masculinity has also been found to be associated with other important variables: ego strength and field independence (Vaught, 1965), high achievement and external locus of control (Bedeian and Zarra, 1977).

Discussion

Our analysis of the relationship between self-esteem, androgyny and traditionalism in a sample of Puerto Rican women failed to yield significant differences. However, some interesting general findings did emerge. We found that in terms of overall self-esteem our sample fell within the normal distribution and expressed an overwhelming satisfaction with their gender and their role. These findings have support from the works of Pico (1979), Christensen (1975), Burgos-Sasscer (1980), and other observers of Puerto Rican culture who have indicated the continued endorsement of Puerto Rican women of their role.

We interpret our results to mean that the Puerto Rican women in our sample feel good about themselves and value their traditional role as mothers and wives. They do not view their role as oppressive and therefore feel no need to reject it. Although there is a general sense of oppression, they have not translated this into self-devaluing appraisals or hopelessness. Rather, they seem to have adopted the "arrangement" proposed by Rosaldo (1974) of transcending the domestic sphere by becoming involved in the public affairs of their country and by developing solidarity with other women. In addition, they seem to have incorporated agentic dimensions to the role in order to better adapt to the exigencies of the socioeconomic realities of Puerto Rico today. In a sense they have developed their own version of androgyny by becoming flexible and adaptable when the situation has demanded it. Thus, the "masculinization" feared by Seda (1980) might be not an aberrant development but the healthy response to the personality requirements necessary to function in a capitalistic, male-oriented society.

Limitations of the Study

There were some problems encountered in the process of carrying out this study that could have affected the results in various ways. The first and most important

concerns the instruments themselves. With the exception of the Coles Sex-Role Scale, the other instruments were developed using more groups that included large concentrations of white middle-class students. Although the Tennessee included in its normative sample both black and white subjects from various parts of the country and of different intellectual, social, and economic backgrounds, its norms are "overrepresented" in the number of white subjects, college students and younger people in general. Also, the test which was constructed in the fifties, is outdated in the phrasing of some of the items, and was puzzling to the subjects.

The BSRI poses similar problems. This questionnaire was devised by selecting a number of adjectives that depict the characteristics considered socially desirable for men and women in American society. It is possible that a Puerto Rican sample would have chosen a different set of adjectives to describe the feminine and masculine qualities deemed desirable according to a Puerto Rican culture. In addition, another difficulty emerged in the translation of the adjectives themselves. In Spanish most adjectives end with the letter "a", connoting femininity, or "o", connoting masculinity. In order to not influence the subjects' responses, we included both endings with a slash (e.g., a/o or o/a).

However, we do not know in what way this affected actual responses.

Another problem encountered had to do with the selection of the groups studied. As it turned out, our "nonstudent" subsample contained a large number that had achieved more than a high school education (30 or 52% of the subsample). Our intention was to obtain a subsample of women who were older and not attending school. We achieved this in terms of age, since the average age of women in this subsample was older (39) than in the student group. Also, the majority had obtained their education prior to the study and were not attending school. But in general we did not adequately control for education. Another related point concerns socioeconomic status. With the exception of the fifteen women in the barriada, most of the respondents could be broadly classified as middle-class and living in urban areas. In future research of this kind we recommend a better effort at defining the composition of the samples and at refining all the variables to be studied.

Implications

One of the purposes in conducting this study was to make a contribution, albeit modest, to the body of research on sex roles. As it stands now, the field is virtually devoid of studies in which blacks and other

minorities are included. Our efforts were directed at expanding the field by testing variables, hitherto studied in American culture, in the Puerto Rican culture. This interest grew out of the personal experience of the writer, herself a Puerto Rican woman, and of her professional experience as a clinician working with large numbers of Puerto Rican women. We expected that our results would contribute to the understanding of some of the problems presented by these women. Although we realize that our sample, taken in Puerto Rico, differs in many important ways from the Puerto Rican women living the U.S. we felt justified in deriving at least some tentative conclusion from our findings. Despite our negative results some clinical and practical implications can be drawn. The clinical implications will be discussed first.

Clinical Implications

One of the most striking findings in our study is the continued adherence of Puerto Rican women to their traditional role. Our results support those of other researchers who have indicated that Puerto Rican women will place their traditional role as mothers and wives ahead of any other. We have sufficient clinical evidence to believe that the same attitude holds here on the mainland. This is an important fact that has to be taken

into consideration in the treatment of Puerto Rican women engaged in performing multiple roles.

Notwithstanding their enthusiastic endorsement of the role, we perceive a tone of spite and resentment in their voices, possibly at carrying so many obligations without male support. Their pride should be explored and not taken at face value. It could very well be not true pride, i.e., based on the intrinsic satisfaction of performing the role, but pride by default--gained at the expense of the male's. Because of this, it is very important for therapists to assess the existence of repressed or covert hostile feelings and to investigate the way in which they are or not handled. Several students of Puerto Rican culture (Rothenberg, 1964; Wolf, 1952) have observed that Puerto Ricans in general and women in particular have especial difficulty in the handling of aggressive feelings and they usually deal with them by somatization, hysterical conversion symptoms, depression with suicidal acting out or avoidance and externalization. The therapeutic task then is to help uncover these feelings in a nonjudgmental, supportive atmosphere and to teach better adaptive ways of expressing them.

Clinicians working with Puerto Rican working women should be cognizant of the variety of stresses these women experience at home, in the workplace and in their

communities. Therapy with them should be geared to help them understand and accept that they are in conflict. Then a careful assessment of the degree of conflict they are experiencing should be made in order to help them resolve it within the cultural context that is appropriate and comfortable for them. Further, the therapist should emphasize and make them aware of their own perceived ego strengths so that they can better utilize them in coping with the many conflicting expectations they encounter. Group psychotherapy with other women should be used to provide extra support and maximize solidarity with other women.

Unresolved covert feelings of hostility towards the male has serious implications not only for the treatment of women but also of men and families. We are concerned over the effects of "masculinization" and its possible repercussions on the Puerto Rican family. As the economic opportunities have increased somewhat for women, they have decreased drastically for men. This has altered the traditional balance of power between the sexes where the male reigned supreme. As clinicians we are bound to see more of the consequences of this phenomenon as it is expressed in various disturbances in couple and family relationships and should be ready to respond with the necessary techniques and understanding.

Practical Implications

One of the implications that derives from our study is that a pressing need exists for the development of adequate research tools geared to assess the behavior of minority people. We believe that the better predictive value of the Cole's scale with this population is a result of the composition of its normative sample which included black, hispanic, and white subjects. Its applicability is demonstrated by its wide use in Puerto Rico for similar studies. In view of this, we strongly advise against the use of "transplants" or translations, and advocate the design of culturally relevant instruments that incorporate the cultural norms and values that govern our behavior. Extrapolations or generalizations based upon research done in the U.S. with unrepresentative samples can be not only misleading but damaging. An additional positive finding that emerged from our study and that promises some applicability concerns the relationship between traditionalism and education. Prior research by Garriga (1976) using the Cole's scale also found that the more educated a subject the least likely to be traditional. Our findings with the masculinity part of the BSRI are promising and consistent with findings in the U.S. They also constitute a true contribution as we are not aware of any other study where the BSRI was used in Spanish with a

Spanish-speaking population. We feel that this deserves further exploration and will make several recommendations to follow.

Suggestions for Further Research

Does androgyny exist in Puerto Rico? On the basis of our findings we cannot say. However, something is "cooking" in regard to androgyny as evidenced by the idiosyncratic way in which our sample responded to the BSRI. In order to better understand this phenomenon, we are suggesting a study in which these responses are factor analyzed so that we can examine the dimensions in which the items loaded. This might provide clues as to what constitutes androgyny in Puerto Rico and would help explain the differences between our sample and the U.S. norm. A more ambitious suggestion would be the replication of Bem's (1974) construction of the BSRI in Puerto Rico. We are also interested in assessing the actual extent and possible influence of "masculinization" upon the family structure and the relationship between the sexes. We believe that this is a researchable problem that has important social and clinical potential.

As with the other instruments, we are also recommending the development of a self-concept measure more appropriate to measure this construct among minorities. We are advocating a test phenomenologically

oriented. That is, which would allow the subjects to describe themselves in their own words according to how they see themselves, their environment, and their relation to that environment. We believe that such a test would be more valid and useful than the ones presently used.

APPENDIX A

BRIEF DEMOGRAPHICAL DATA

Edad: _____

Sexo: _____

Ocupación: _____

Estado Civil: _____

Hijos: Si _____ No _____

Nivel Educativo: _____

Religión: _____

APPENDIX B

INSTRUCTIONS AND TENNESSEE SELF-CONCEPT SCALE

INSTRUCCIONES

Las declaraciones en este folleto son para ayudarlo a usted a describirse a si mismo en la forma en que usted se ve a si mismo. Responda a las declaraciones como si usted se estuviera describiendo a usted mismo. No omita ninguna. Lea cada declaracion cuidadosamente y luego seleccione una de las cinco respuestas ilustradas al principio de cada página. Escriba el número que mejor describa su contestación en el espacio de la columna a la derecha.

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These consist of pages:

Appendix B. Pages 105-110

Appendix C Instructions and Coles' Sex-Role Scale

P. 111-118

Appendix D BSRI Inventory P. 119

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APPENDIX E

SHORT MULTIPLE QUESTION EXERCISE

Conteste la siguiente pregunta:

Si después de morir usted tuviera otra oportunidad para volver a la tierra en la forma que usted escogiera, cual sería su selección?

- a. hombre _____
- b. mujer _____
- c. animal _____
- d. planta _____
- e. objeto (especifique) _____

A continuación, en forma breve, indique sus razones para justificar su selección:

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