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**SEX-ROLE ATTITUDES AND ROLE CONFLICT
AMONG PROFESSIONAL PUERTO RICAN WOMEN**

by

NORMA I. COFRESÍ

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

1996

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SEX-ROLE ATTITUDES AND ROLE CONFLICT
AMONG PROFESSIONAL PUERTO RICAN WOMEN

Abstract

by

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This study examined whether the subject women's adherence to traditional sex-role attitudes contributed to role conflict and psychological distress. The methodology of the study included ethnographic interviews; the administration of the Inventory of Attitudes Toward Men and Women (Coles, 1974); the administration of the Home-Career Conflict Inventory (Farmer, Rooney, and Lissey, 1982); and the administration of the Brief Symptom Index (Derogatis, 1975).

The analysis of the relationship between sex-role attitudes and home-career conflict failed to yield a significant correlation. The analysis of responses to The Inventory for Men and Women confirmed that this sample perceived their mothers' sex-role attitudes to be significantly more traditional than their own. However, the difference in sex-role attitudes reported by the women for themselves in comparison to their mothers was not significantly correlated with home-career conflict. Additionally, the analysis of the relationship between home-career conflict and psychological distress failed to yield a significant correlation.

The qualitative analysis of the ethnographic interviews demonstrated the subjects included in their self-definition their roles as professional women and seemed to place a

high priority in obtaining success in this area. However, these same women did not relinquish their familial roles, most stressed the importance of successfully combining professional and home lives. As mothers, these women are committed to their children's well-being; as wives, they demand companionship and collaboration from their mates, but are willingly flexible in order to preserve their marriages; in their sexuality, they are active and expressive; in their households, they value neatness and order; and though they acknowledge the importance of the opinions of others, they want to be admired for following their own standards. In their efforts to redefine their roles, the women seem to retain traditional aspects, such as, the importance of motherhood and of keeping an orderly home; modify aspects of the traditional role ideal, such as the importance of being flexible in a marriage; and reconstruct what they consider out-dated sex-role practices, such as sexual passivity and sexual submission.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the following members of my family:

To my mother, a Puerto Rican woman, who taught me traditional sex-role ideals, but then pushed me to reach further than was ever possible for her.

To my comadre, Marie Martinez, who is always ready to provide advice, practical help, and helps me put things in perspective. There is no one else I know, who would take six weeks out of her life to drive me around Puerto Rico to conduct my study!

To my soul mate and life companion, Teo Feliciano, who has filled my life with love and laughter, and has always tirelessly and unconditionally supported my work.

Finally, I want to dedicate this work to my son, Sebastian. His presence in my life provided the initial spark for this work. Our relationship has allowed me to understand the rewards and hardships of mothering that the women in this study so eloquently describe.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Historically, Latina women have been stereotypically described as passive peasants or ghetto dwellers who have little vision of their lives beyond their roles as childbearers" (Zambrana, 1982, p.ix). Consonant with this view, empirical literature on Puerto Rican women has focused on traditional sex role expectations highlighting their roles as submissive wives and self-sacrificing mothers. Socialized to take care of others, Puerto Rican women are seen as inhibited in the expression of their needs and hindered in terms of their individual development (Comas-Diaz, 1982). This racist, sexist, and pejorative view of Puerto Rican women's role development continues in the literature despite of the changing roles of Puerto Rican women in the United States and on the Island.

Puerto Rican women on the mainland are increasing their average education levels; have been able to switch from operative jobs to white collar roles; and have a higher rate of employment in professional and technical jobs than other Hispanic groups in the United States (Bose, 1989). After 1962, in Puerto Rico, women have graduated from college in higher numbers than men and at the same time increased their participation in the traditionally male dominated disciplines of natural science and business administration (Almenas Velazco, 1987). In addition to increasing their educational levels, in the last three decades women in Puerto Rico have played an important role in public and academic life holding elected office and functioning as university department chairpersons (Fitzpatrick, 1987). In spite of their increased

educational, professional and political participation, there is a paucity of research documenting professional Puerto Rican women's development.

Traditional sex-role expectations for Puerto Rican women are based on the cultural ideal of Marianismo which defines women primarily in terms of their roles as wives and mothers. Marianismo stipulates subordination of women to the superior authority of men; that women be sexually chaste before marriage; and that they self-sacrifice in service of their children and families. These values may be at odds with the current reality of the lives of many Puerto Rican women.

As a consequence of modernization, including higher rates of participation for women in the labor force, the feminist movement and lowered fertility rates, various researchers in the United States and on the Island have documented changing sex-role expectations for Puerto Rican women (Torres-Matrullo, 1976; Munoz-Vazquez, 1979; Rosario, 1982; and Crespo, 1992). Since sex role expectations have an impact on how major life events such as marriage, parenthood, and career are negotiated, it is important to study changing sex-role expectations for professional Puerto Rican women in light of their markedly undocumented professional development.

Assuming that the demands of a professional role may compete with the demands of a familial role, Puerto Rican women may experience role conflict between traditional role expectation and professional development. Yet, professional Puerto Rican women may hold some aspects of traditional sex-role values and still participate successfully in the labor force. This study hopes to document the varied ways in which professional Puerto Rican women reconcile their traditional images of womanhood with their current

experiences as working women. In addition, it will investigate the relationship between sex-role expectations, role conflict, and psychological distress for professional Puerto Rican women. Specifically, this study aims to examine whether the adherence of professional Puerto Rican women to traditional sex-role attitudes will contribute to role conflict and psychological distress. Research in this area would document aspects of professional development for Puerto Rican women while substantiating their changing sex-role expectations. This is important so that mental health workers, educators, and policy makers can respond to the realistic, current needs of Puerto Rican women rather than to what may be outdated views.

OBJECTIVES

This study proposes to investigate the relationship of sex-role expectations, role conflict, and psychological symptoms of distress for professional Puerto Rican women. The primary questions to be investigated are:

1. How do professional Puerto Rican women perceive traditional sex- role expectations, and to what degree do they identify with them?
2. How do professional Puerto Rican women reconcile traditional sex- role expectations with the demands of combining career and family life?
3. To what degree do professional Puerto Rican women experience role conflict and/or psychological symptoms of distress?

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW:

Puerto Ricans: A Historical and Political Overview:

In 1897, Spain, which had lost almost all of its Latin American colonies earlier in the century, granted a charter of autonomy to Puerto Rico. This charter gave Puerto Rico a substantial degree of home rule which, however, was short lived. In 1898, the Spanish-American War was declared. On July 25, 1898, American armed forces landed in Puerto Rico establishing a military rule which ended in 1900 with the enactment of the Foraker Act that stipulated U.S. appointed governors. One of the first acts of the United States was to establish a system of education with the clear political goal of "Americanizing" the populace. In 1917, by decree of the Jones Act, the Puerto Rican people became citizens of the United States. This provoked mixed reaction among the people, who were divided in their feelings toward the United States. These feelings continue to be expressed in the positions held by the differing factions in the Island's political organization. One group, the "Estadistas" Party wants Puerto Rico to be eventually accepted as a state into the United States of America. Another group, the "Estado Libristas" wants to continue the current commonwealth status relationship to the United States, which grants limited home rule but subsumes most of the Island's government to laws imposed by the United States. Finally, a much smaller group, referred to as the "Independentistas," is in favor of political and economic independence for Puerto Rico.

With the American annexation of Puerto Rico, the Island's economy changed

from one based mainly on subsistence farming to a cash crop economy. In addition to coffee and tobacco plantations, U.S. companies established large sugar cane plantations, which led to the dislocation of a large number of Puerto Rican workers from the mountains to the coastal areas. Wages were low and usually paid in company script, which further deteriorated the conditions of the islanders.

In 1952 the United States allowed Puerto Rico to elect its first governor, Luis Munoz Marin, who remained such until 1964. Under his leadership, the Island was transformed from an agrarian society to an industrial one. In addition, education became available at all levels, which led to increased literacy rates throughout the Island. His main project, Operation Bootstrap, used tax credits to induce U.S. corporations to relocate to the Island and set up manufacturing businesses there. Although conceived as a way of providing Puerto Ricans with employment, this effort partly failed forcing large numbers of Puerto Ricans to migrate to the mainland. Most of the migration occurred in the decades of the fifties and sixties, but has continued to the present.

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, 3.3 million Puerto Ricans still reside on the Island, while 2.75 million live in the United States. Of these 1.25 million live in New York City (Lemann, 1991), making it the largest population of Puerto Ricans in any city, outside of San Juan, the capital city of Puerto Rico. Some of the other cities where Puerto Ricans have settled in large numbers are Jersey City, Newark, Patterson, Camden, Bridgeport, Philadelphia, Chicago, Orlando, Cleveland, and Lorain. This is not an inclusive list, as Puerto Ricans tend to disperse in a wide distribution as they settle in the United States (Fitzpatrick, 1987).

Puerto Ricans are the second largest Hispanic group in the United States, but their numbers have not been translated into political power. Forty years have gone by since the great migration of the fifties, yet all indicators show Puerto Ricans remain one of the worst-off ethnics group in the United States (Lemann, 1991). The persistence of poverty for Puerto Ricans is readily seen by looking at statistics which continue to reflect high rates of unemployment; high percentage of female headship of households; high rates of teen pregnancies; high welfare enrollment; widespread use of drugs and involvement in crime; and increased rates of prison population (Benmayor et al, 1992). In spite of the dismal situation for many Puerto Ricans in the United States, a large number of Puerto Ricans, particularly outside of the New York City area are doing quite well. Clara Rodriguez (1989) concludes from Falcon-Rodriguez's (1987) analysis of labor market standing for Puerto Ricans on the mainland in the decade of the seventies,

"that mainland born Puerto Ricans in New York are better educated and have a more favorable occupational distribution than those born on the island; mainland women participate in the labor force at rates as high or higher than those for non-Hispanic Whites; Puerto Ricans with a college education are employed as often as non-Hispanic Whites; and at the highest levels of education, approximate the characteristics of non-Hispanic Whites." (p.100)

She also notes improvements in semiprofessional and technical occupations, by both men and women, whether Island or mainland born and increased labor force participation of women in the last decade. These apparently discrepant views of Puerto Ricans have been explained by Joseph Fitzpatrick (1988) as reflecting a bimodal distribution of income for

Puerto Ricans on the mainland, with a large number of Puerto Ricans doing well in terms of income, education, and homeownership and an equally large number still left behind in terms of similar indices.

Research efforts have concentrated on the Puerto Ricans who have not been able to succeed by American standards. Often the explanations for these "failures" have focused on the pathological aspects of the culture (Wolf, 1952; Minuchin, 1960; Rothenberg, 1964; Lewis, 1965), taking little account of the social, political, economic, or historical forces involved. Not enough is known about the conditions that allow some Puerto Ricans to escape the cycle of poverty, or conversely, foster their economic or educational development.

Puerto Rican Women's Participation in the Labor Force:

Puerto Rican women have always worked, although not always as salaried laborers. During the time that Puerto Rico functioned as an agrarian society, its women participated alongside of its men in subsistence farming, in caring for farm animals, while also caring for home and children. With the advent of the cash crop economy fostered by the American-owned sugar cane, coffee, and tobacco plantations, women continued to work. During the sugar cane harvesting season, women cooked and carried meals to the men at the work sites. In the coffee farms, women were coffee pickers alongside of men. In the tobacco industry, women worked in the tobacco sheds getting the tobacco ready for rolling. In the tobacco industry, women were paid for their labor, but their tasks were considered less skilled, so they earned markedly less money than the men who did most of the hand rolling of the cigars (Barcelo-Miller, 1979. In addition to labor outside

of the home, women retained sole responsibility for housekeeping and child rearing.

As early as 1871, records show that a substantial number of Puerto Rican women worked outside of the home as domestics, seamstresses, peons, and day workers (Barcelo-Miller, 1979). However, it was not until the advent of the American-owned needlecraft industry that Puerto Rican women's income dramatically subsidized the Puerto Rican economy. From 1920 to 1939 the dollar amount of needlecraft goods imported by the United States rose from 2.3 million to 14 million (Zeluck, 1952 in Baerza, 1987). It was the second source of cash income for the Island. Although some women worked in small factories, most worked at home embroidering, crocheting, and sewing fine articles such as gloves, blouses, and hand rolled handkerchiefs. Some even wove fine "Panama" hats. These goods were later imported to the United States and sold for high prices in specialty shops along the eastern seaboard. Sadly, the work was paid by the piece, and women earned very little money for their efforts. Yet given the dire economic conditions of the Island, the money earned allowed families to supplement very meager incomes.

During the Spanish regime, and later, during the American rule, some women worked as teachers. Although only earning sixty percent of their male counterpart's salaries (Rivera, 1987), these were the first Puerto Rican professional women, who in spite of their low salaries had increased social status and the respect of their communities. In the early twentieth century some of these teachers migrated and joined the professional workforce in New York City. According to Virginia Sanchez Korrol (1980), a small percentage of migrant women from 1920 to 1940 were skilled, bilingual,

and formally educated. In New York City, they joined the work force becoming clerical workers, white collar workers, teachers, and librarians. Others, organized volunteer organizations, initiated business enterprises, or pursued artistic or creative talents by contributing to the journals or newsletters of the community. These women *"played pivotal roles in shaping and developing the dynamic Puerto Rican New York community"* (Sanchez-Korrol, 1980 p.170).

Although the great migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States started in the fifties, there already was a large community of about 100,000 Puerto Rican migrants in New York at the beginning of the century (Sanchez-Korrol, 1980). A large percentage of migrant Puerto Rican women worked. There were thousands of working and middle-class Puerto Rican women either combining traditional home lives with gainful employment such as needlecraft or childcare, or working outside the home in factories as seamstresses, domestics, laundresses, or as unskilled workers (Sanchez-Korrol, 1980). During the subsequent decades women continued to work both inside and outside the home. At home, although earning scant wages, women continued to do piece work for the needlecraft industry supplementing their husbands' meager incomes; others provided childcare for added income; while many took in lodgers to increase household budgets. Although these women identified themselves as "women of the home" (*mujer de la casa*), their roles as housewives was broadly defined to include activities and home based ventures designed to increase family income (Sanchez-Korrol, 1980). Out of the home, most women continued to work as factory operatives, and in other unskilled labor. In spite of their migration, and work participation, *"their image of dutiful wives, loving*

mothers, and respectful sisters and daughters remained paramount to their way of thinking.... In most fields of endeavors, decision-making remained male dominated and organizations continued to be male oriented. Yet subtle messages were filtering down to younger generations: women were not only mothers and wives; women also worked and were involved" (Sanchez-Korrol, 1979 p.56).

By 1950, 40 percent of Puerto Rican women were part of the U.S. labor force. This rate of participation was higher than for all other racial and ethnic groups, except for Japanese women. This was the highpoint of Puerto Rican women's labor participation. In 1960, 36.3 percent of Puerto Rican women worked, while in 1970 only 29.8 percent worked (Santana-Cooney & Colon, 1980). These reduced rates of participation have been partially explained in terms of changing job market configuration which requires increased level of education and specialized skills for employment opportunities. Although current participation of Puerto Rican women is about 34 percent, this is low when compared with other racial and ethnic groups. This lower rate of participation has been explained by some to be reflective of the increased numbers of Puerto Rican women that are single and head of household and stay home to care for their children perhaps influenced by traditional sex-role values. An alternate explanation holds that there has been a steady decline in low-skilled manufacturing jobs in New York and surrounding areas, limiting employment opportunities for the undereducated segments of the Puerto Rican population.

Working Puerto Rican women are more likely to still be married; have extended family supports; and have higher rates of education than non-working Puerto Rican

women (Figueroa, 1991). Puerto Rican women who are unemployed, and head of household, tend also to have young children. For some of these women, the traditional expectation to stay home to care for young children, may be a variable in their unemployed status. However, the consideration that traditional sex-roles may also interface with the fulfilment of family and career roles for professional Puerto Rican women has received scant attention in the literature.

Puerto Rican Women's Role Expectations:

"To a Latin, the world consists of a pattern of intimate personal relationships, and the basic relationships are those of the family. An individual's confidence, sense of security, and identity are perceived in the relationship to others who constitute the family" (Fitzpatrick, 1987, p.70). For Puerto Ricans the family is perceived as primary-- the emphasis is on the group, rather than on the individual (Garcia-Preto, 1982). In concordance with this, Puerto Ricans have a deep sense of family obligation, with primary responsibility to family and friends. This way of organizing extended family relationships and of subordinating individual identity to family identity has been called 'familism' in the literature.

Role expectations for Puerto Rican women are embedded within this tradition of family obligation. In fact, as Margarida Julia (1989) points out, familism is sustained largely through the ideology of "sacrifice", in which a "good woman" is defined by her self-abnegation and by placing family and community needs before her own. Thus a "good woman" is one who is selfless, and willing to "sacrifice" in order to insure the well-being of her family, including the well-being of her parents as they age.

Within the Puerto Rican family, girls and boys are taught two different codes of sexual behavior. Though the sense of family obligation is shared by all family members, strict demarcation of sex roles leave most of the burden of domestic life to women. From an early age, boys are socialized to follow the sexual code of behavior known as Machismo which defines men as having superior authority over women based on gender. Men are required to be good providers; are responsible for the economic well-being of their families; and are entrusted to protect the sexual honor of the women in their families. Conversely, Machismo is associated with sexual prowess and sexual power over women. Men are encouraged to be sexually aggressive; are given more freedom of movement; and are not expected to share in domestic responsibilities.

Girls, on the other hand, are socialized to follow the sexual code of behavior known as Marianismo, which stipulates subordination of women to the superior authority of men. Women are considered to be morally or spiritually superior to men which gives them the capacity to endure all the suffering and abuse inflicted by men (Stevens, 1977). Women are required to be chaste before marriage, and it is the responsibility of the men in their nuclear family to see that this is fulfilled (Fitzpatrick, 1982). Women are responsible for all homemaking responsibilities. They are also responsible for the care of the children, the aged, and the ill. Puerto Rican women's roles as mothers are highlighted, calling for self-sacrifice in favor of their children, but their roles as wives, daughters, sisters, and grandmothers are rigidly defined as well (Comas-Diaz, 1982).

The last few decades have brought about great changes in the lives of Puerto Ricans in the United States and on the Island which have had an impact on the structure

of the family and, consequently on sex-role expectations. Starting in the fifties, Puerto Rico's primarily agrarian society underwent a rapid transformation becoming one of the most highly industrialized in the Western Hemisphere (Lemann, 1991). Puerto Rican women have joined the work force in large numbers, and have gained access to increased educational opportunities as well. Other factors having an impact on the redefinition of women's roles include lower fertility rates and women's increased awareness of their own sociopolitical and economic inequality (Zambrana, 1982). The emergence of a larger middle class in Puerto Rico and the increased influence of the United States culture have also influenced the redefinition of women's roles (Fitzpatrick, 1987).

In spite of the many changes in the lives of Puerto Rican women, and their attempts to shift their roles to reconcile changing self-perceptions and the different demands of their current situations there remains evidence that traditional roles are still adhered to (Ramirez, 1974). Yet, there is also evidence that traditional patterns of behavior coexist with more egalitarian or modern practices (Munoz-Vazquez, 1979), and that there are differences in Puerto Rican women's definitions of self and their corresponding orientation toward care and responsibility (Margarida Julia, 1989). These findings suggest that Puerto Rican women vary in their adherence to traditional sex role ideals, and that sex role behaviors may also be undergoing rapid transition.

Torres Matrullo (1980) found significant relationships between level of acculturation, level of education, and sex role attitudes among mainland Puerto Rican women. Her findings suggest that traditional sex roles among migrant Puerto Ricans are changing toward a more egalitarian model due to the influence of acculturation to North

American values. However she found that basic family values, such as sacredness of motherhood and the preeminent role of children appear to remain the same. Professional Puerto Rican women may be conflicted between more egalitarian role models and traditional role models. For Puerto Rican professional women, work role demands may conflict with traditional sex role expectations. Yet, many Puerto Rican women, both in Puerto Rico and in the United States, fulfill professional and familial roles. How do Puerto Rican women reconcile these conflicting expectations?

Role Conflict and Psychological Distress:

Nevill and Damico (1974) define the concept of role as a set of expectations of how a category of individual should behave in a given situation and define role conflict as the difficulty in conforming to these expectations. Zalk (1990) in turn, defines role conflict as the attitudes and beliefs the individual has toward each of her separate roles and the degree to which those held for any one role are incompatible with those of any other roles. Barnett and Baruch (1985) add that role conflict “arises when the demands from two or more roles are such that adequate performance of one role jeopardizes adequate performance of the other(s)” (p.36). From Nevill and Damico's perspective, role conflict can be experienced within a role. For instance, the role of mother has a set of expectations, if the individual has trouble meeting those expectations, then she experiences role conflict. From Zalk's perspective, role conflict is experienced when two or more roles pose incompatible demands, as for instance, the role of mother versus the role of worker. Similarly, from Barnett and Baruch's perspective, role conflict occurs when the performance of one role actually affects the performance of the other, as for

instance staying up late with a sick child impeding the meeting of a work deadline for the next morning. In this study, all the above definitions were retained, in order to elucidate Puerto Rican women's experiences in regards to their traditional sexual-roles, but also on how traditional sexual roles impact on professional role development.

Zalk (1990) and Barnett and Baruch (1985) distinguish role conflict from role overload. Zalk describes role overload as the emotional and physical tension associated with feeling that one's responsibilities and demands require considerably more time than is available. Barnett and Baruch define role overload "as having so many demands related to one's roles(s) that satisfactory performance is improbable. Other investigators (Cooke & Rousseau, 1984; McBride, 1990) have documented the relationship between multiple role demands, role conflict, and role overload. Yet, other variables may be critical in mediating the complex relationship between these variables. In a study that examined women's involvement in multiple roles, Barnett and Baruch (1985) found that the quality of a woman's social experience and the balance between rewarding and distressing role attributes to be predictors of role overload, role conflict and anxiety. Adherence to traditional role demands that place most of the responsibility for homemaking on women may also contribute to role conflict and role overload. Thus, in a study that compared Mexican American women to non-Hispanic white women, Golding (1990) found that Mexican-American women who tend to hold more traditional roles than non-Hispanic White women, also tend to have the highest level of household strain and consequently of depression.

Instead of a global role conflict definition, Farmer (1984) specifically refers to

home-career conflict. Based on the notion that "*many women have been socialized to believe that they cannot combine home-making and a career and do both well*" (p. 664), she believes that home-career conflict results for women when they value both homemaking and career roles *and* at the same time view these roles as incompatible. She also makes a distinction between home-career conflict and role overload. From her perspective home-career conflict is mediated by internalized conflict-laden values, whereas role overload is mediated by externalized task management difficulties. She believes that both home-career conflict and role overload are learned conditions. However, she believes that women need first to resolve home-career conflict, before they are ready to learn home-career management strategies that would allow them to reduce role overload.

This study's primary focus is to document the relationship of sex-role expectations and home-career conflict for professional Puerto Rican women. However, since this is an exploratory study, the view that role conflict and role overload may be related variables is retained. Additionally, research findings that indicate that social supports and the balance between rewarding and distressing aspects of a role may mediate role conflict are considered in this study..

In the United States, as in Puerto Rico, there has been a change in women's roles as a consequence of increased educational opportunities, work force participation, and the feminist movement. Phyllis Moen (1992), describes American women's roles as being in transition. She adds that there is enormous diversity in the way that American women organize their lives in relation to the work/home conflict. Some employed

mothers feel conflicted about their jobs and wish they were full time homemakers, particularly when they must work, and get little financial rewards. Conversely, some homemakers want to work outside the home, but lack the education, job skills, or child-care arrangements to make employment feasible. Still other women have resolved work/family conflict by accommodating one to the other. A growing number are strongly committed to their jobs and are reluctant to forgo career opportunities for family obligations.

Interested in the investigation of the particular ways in which couples accommodate to the work/family conflict, Arlie Hochschild (1988) examined the lives of 50 dual-career couples in the San Francisco area over an eight year period. She noticed that in the attempt to solve the work family dilemma, both men and women develop "gender strategies." Gender strategies are based on gender ideologies which are culturally specific notions of gender and/or based on cultural ideals about gender. For women, gender ideology will determine what sphere (home or work) is most desirable in terms of gender identification and how much power is wanted in the marital relationship (less, more, or the same amount).

Based on her study, Hochschild identified three types of marital ideologies that both men and women draw on to formulate their gender strategies. Traditional women, even though they may work, want to identify with home activity or family roles and want their husbands to be primarily identified with their work. Additionally, traditional women are comfortable to allow their husbands more power in the marital relationship. Egalitarian women want to identify with the same spheres as their husbands (work) and

want an equal amount of power in the marriage. Transitional women, on the other hand, combine aspects of both traditional and egalitarian ideologies. Women who hold a transitional marital ideology want to identify with both work and home. However, they expect their husbands to identify mainly with their work roles.

Significantly, she found that "*there were contradictions between what people said they believed about their marital roles and how they seemed to feel about those roles.*" (p. 16)

Moen proposes that career-oriented women are the most likely to experience conflict between work and home suggesting that such conflicts occur when a woman is absorbed in her job at the same time that she is highly invested in mothering. Beckman (1978) also found that professional women appear to see employment and parenthood as more conflicting than do non-professional women. The reasons given for this are that for professional women, employment makes greater demands in terms of time and effort and also, that professional women perceive children as more limiting to employment than non-professional women.

Similarly, Benmayor et al (1992) found that for Puerto Rican women the option of quality childcare was a factor in their decision to return to work or not. These researchers also describe a pattern of work interruption for Puerto Rican women while their children are young. It may very well be that Puerto Rican women, like other women faced with the work/home dilemma, find children limiting to employment, and that professional Puerto Rican women with children may feel conflicted about work, particularly if insecure about the quality of childcare.

Latina women's roles in the United States are also undergoing rapid transition. Zambrana (1982 p.ix) states *"Changing family roles for Latina women in the United States have increased their responsibilities which has led to increased stress and cultural conflicts."* According to Comas Diaz (1982), traditional role expectations can motivate Puerto Rican women to achieve despite cultural and sociopolitical barriers. She believes that traditional sex role expectations can pressure Puerto Rican women to fulfill all cultural expectations in a multiplicity of roles potentially leading to role conflict. In a similar vein, Christensen (1975) describes Puerto Rican women as typically persevering, achieving, ambitious in many ways, and possessed of strong determination. He states that the Puerto Rican woman is *"... often pulled apart by the contradictions between the values of her society and her own personal values and aspirations. Societal values such as machismo, the thrust toward motherhood, and the ostensibly Spanish patriarchal character of the culture often come into conflict with the woman's personal values.For the professional woman, at least, and probably for most working women on the island, the possibility for fulfillment at work often conflict with the cultural and personal expectations of a mother, wife, or daughter."* (Christensen, p.94)

In spite of the potential for role conflict and psychological distress that the enactment of multiple roles may promote, there are benefits to be obtained from working outside the home. Accordingly, the Governor of Puerto Rico's Commission on Women's Affairs (1992) reported both benefits and drawbacks experienced by working women on the Island. On the positive side, working women may enjoy increased economic freedom; higher self-esteem; increased sense of self control, and an increased sense of

social support attributed to increased contacts facilitated by multiplicity of roles. On the other hand, Puerto Rican women who work are subject to increased stress attributed to difficulty in negotiating multiple roles; lack of perceived support from partners, families and society; the excess amount of work at home and at the work place; and identity confusion (working person vs. homemaker).

Although Puerto Rican women's work experiences affords them opportunities for achievement, public recognition, economic power, and a greater sense of self-determination their management of multiple roles may be problematic. As career women, professional Puerto Rican women may be susceptible to role conflict and psychological distress. Their susceptibility to role conflict and psychological stress is probably exacerbated by the multiplicity of traditional sex role demands and inadequate social and familiar supports.

Elizabeth Crespo (1991) uses the concept of multiple identities to explain Puerto Rican women's experience. She also addresses the notion that not only do women have conflicting sex-role expectations, but that they are assigned conflicting sex role behaviors from different cultural institutions. She highlights that these conflicting sex role perspective are sometimes taught to women by the same person--their mothers! Rather than seeing the contradiction in Puerto Rican women's lives, and in the roles that stipulate their behavior as problematic, Crespo understands these contradictions and dissonances in Puerto Rican women's lives as descriptive of the *"wholeness and complexity of women's lives."* (p.13) Instead of seeing Puerto Rican women as passive victims of the different role identities that they bear, she sees them as active negotiators of the lives they

lead.

In striving to describe the experience of Puerto Rican women's lives, researchers point to both the limiting aspects of their roles, but also to complexity in their response to role and life demands. It is the hope of this researcher to document an aspect of this complexity by studying professional Puerto Rican women's negotiation of the familial and professional roles.

Summary:

Traditional sex role expectations for Puerto Rican women rigidly define their identity in terms of multiple roles of care, responsibility and obligation. A "good woman" is defined by her self-abnegation and willingness to sacrifice for the good of her family. Most research on Puerto Rican women has focused on the cultural proscriptions to self expression for women, and tended to see traditional role expectations as potentially pathogenic. Current feminist researchers rather than focusing on the so-called pathogenic aspects of traditional role expectations, focus on the complexity of responses that Puerto Rican women make as they live their lives (Benmayor et al, 1992, Crespo, 1992, and Margarida Julia, 1989).

Economic and sociopolitical changes not only have had an impact on women's role in the United States, but also on Puerto Rican women's role expectations on the Island. Faced with the need to work, yet continuing with traditional homemaking responsibilities, women are redefining their roles. This redefinition seems to combine traditional Marianista sex-role expectations with demands for egalitarianism. It can be expected that this would result in psychological distress. Career women who are highly

invested in their work while also being highly invested in having traditional families, may be at risk to increased role conflict and psychological distress. It is important to study Puerto Rican women's negotiation of traditional family life and professional work demands.

HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY: The following hypothesis will be tested.

1. There will be a positive relationship between adherence to sex-role attitudes and role conflict for professional Puerto Rican women.
2. There will be a positive relationship between Professional Puerto Rican women who show a high discrepancy between what they perceive to be traditional sex-role attitudes (as measured by their perceived mothers' responses to the Coles Inventory for Sex-role Attitudes for Men and Women) and their own sex-role attitudes (as measured by their own responses to the Coles Inventory for Sex-role Attitudes for Men and Women) and role conflict.
3. Furthermore, there will be a positive relationship between the degree of role conflict and the amount of psychological distress.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The study combined quantitative and qualitative methods in an attempt to better understand the variables to be studied. The methodology of the study included the administration of The Inventory of Attitudes Towards Men and Women (Coles, 1974), the administration of The Home-Career Conflict Measure (Farmer, Rooney, & Lissey, 1982); and the administration of The Brief Symptom Index (Derogatis, 1975) and an ethnographic interviews; The ethnographic interview was used to gain a broad, holistic understanding of professional Puerto Rican women's experience. Using the inductive approach, the author explored the concerns and perceptions that professional Puerto Rican women have about their roles. The quantitative instruments were used to more narrowly study the relationship between sex role attitudes, role conflict, and psychological distress for professional Puerto Rican women. The study is specifically interested in finding whether professional Puerto Rican women's adherence to traditional sex role values will contribute to role conflict and increased psychological symptomatology. By combining both qualitative and quantitative strategies in the research design, the author is looking to see whether there is consistency between Puerto Rican women's phenomenological experience of their roles, and the empirical measurement of the variables sex-role attitudes, role conflict, and psychological distress.

DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECTS:

The sample consisted of 31 professional women residing in Puerto Rico, varying in age between 28 and 53 with an average age of 40.1. All women were of Puerto Rican

descent; most held advanced educational degrees, and all except one, were involved in full time professional careers. They held a variety of professional positions, including eleven lawyers of which, six were in private practice, four were executive directors of agencies, and one was a corporate executive officer; four Ph.D.'s in academia; three M.D.'s in private practice; two additional CEO's, one dentist in a government clinic; a veterinarian in private practice; a licensed psychologist in private practice; a licensed social worker in a community agency; an architect in private practice; and four middle managers, a pharmacist, and a sales director in a corporate setting.

All the participants were mothers whose children varied in ages from infant to young adult. (Mean age of children = 10.1) Two of the women were pregnant. Twenty-two of the women were married -- three of these for the second or third time, one was living with a partner, five were divorced, and three had never been married. Although more than half of the women felt supported by their significant other in terms of child rearing and homemaker responsibilities, only five reported that their husbands shared fully in the housework. The majority reported doing the housework themselves, sometimes with paid help or with partial help from spouses and other family members. In terms of child care, 9 reported care in the home by a family member, 5 reported paid care in the home, 5 reported day-care, 2 reported after-school care, and 12 reported no need for child care. (Demographic data is summarized in Tables 1, 2, and 3.)

RECRUITMENT PROCESS.

Participants were recruited through personal and telephone contact, but also by contacting Universities and professional organizations in Puerto Rico. Subjects were told

they were participating in a study about women's opinions about Puerto Rican life today. The biggest problem in recruitment was in scheduling time for the interviews as most of the women contacted were extremely busy. However, scheduling at their convenience permitted 31 out of the 45 women contacted to participate. Of the 14 women contacted who did not participate in the study, 6 were excluded from participation because they were not mothers; 3 declined because they were leaving shortly on scheduled vacations; and 5 refused participation because of lack of interest or time.

PROCEDURES:

Each subject was met individually in their workplace or in their homes and some time was spent meeting informally with each participant to promote rapport and gather demographic data. At times, this included meeting husbands, children, and parents present both in the participants' homes and in their work places. Each participant was asked to sign a consent for the study, which included information about the voluntary nature of participation, a guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality in terms of disclosed information, and a consent to allow audio-taping of the ethnographic interview.

Participants were told that they could withdraw at any time from the study. Since the Coles' Inventory of Attitudes Toward Men and Women was administered twice, once from the subjects' point of view and once from what they perceive to be their mothers' point of view, the administration of the two versions was also alternated to control for the order effect. The order of the administration of the quantitative instruments was also varied to also control for the order effect. Additionally, half of the women in the sample completed the ethnographic interview before completing the quantitative measures, while

the other half completed the quantitative measures before the ethnographic interview. After the conclusion of the data gathering, subjects were asked if they had any questions or concerns, and told that if these come up later they could contact the researcher. After the conclusion of the data gathering, subjects discussed their impressions and concerns about the research project. Most expressed satisfaction with their participation and the relevance to their lives of the research topic. More than a few, requested copies of the results once the data was analyzed.

INSTRUMENTATION

The Inventory of Attitudes Towards Men and Women:

The Inventory of Attitudes Towards Men and Women (Coles, 1974) assesses sex-role stereotypes. It consists of thirty-four Likert-type items with six responses that alternate from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The items were drawn from eleven content areas identified in the existing literature on sex-typing and child rearing patterns. Findings from previous studies that assessed sex-role stereotyping were also taken into account in the composition of the inventory items. The items tap the different expectations that operate for males and females such as the maintenance of virginity, responsibilities in the home, the importance of mothering, etc., and differentiate between subjects in terms of traditionalism. Internal reliability, as measured by alpha coefficients, was found to exceed .90 when the results of the whole sample were compared with subsamples. The inventory was developed using multi-ethnic college students, including Black and Puerto Rican students. Given the high internal reliability of the instrument, and the multi-ethnic composition of the instrumentation sample, this scale is appropriate to be

used with Puerto Rican women. A Spanish translated version of the scale was given. (Appendix 1) The instrument was translated by a bilingual federal employee in Puerto Rico who routinely translates U.S. government documents in the course of her duties. To insure accuracy of the translation the instrument was then translated back into English by another bilingual person experienced in doing translations.

The Inventory was administered twice. The first time, subjects were asked to answer it in terms of their own beliefs. The second time, the subjects were asked to answer it in terms of how they perceive their mothers would answer. The resulting data was analyzed both for the "self" and for the discrepancy between what the subjects perceive to be their mothers' sex-role attitudes and their own reported sex-role attitudes.

The Home-Career Conflict Measure

The Home-Career Conflict Measure (Farmer, Rooney, and Lissey, 1982) is a four item projective measure similar to the Fear of Success Measure developed by Matina Horner (1968). It provides 4 cues to which women are instructed to respond with 4 stories that include a description of the situation, what led up to the situation, what the feelings of the participants are, and what the outcome is. The respondents were given 4 minutes in which to write their responses to each cue. The stories were then scored for positive and negative affects, positive and negative events, and level of activity of the women in the stories. (See Appendix 3 for Coding Scheme.) This measure operationalizes role conflict as the depiction of negative affects, negative events linked with increased amount of time spent out of the home. Thus, women experiencing role conflict were expected to depict high negative affects, high negative events, and to link

these with increased amount of time spent out of the home. Reliability of .92 or better have been obtained for raters scoring the measure, while validity data has been reported indicating that the measure discriminates ($p < .05$) between women experiencing conflict and those experiencing no conflict (Farmer, Rooney, and Lisse, 1982).

Two Puerto Rican and bilingual graduate students in Psychology were recruited to code the data obtained from this administration of The Home- Career Conflict Measure. After independently examining the coding manual provided by the test maker, the two independent raters met and discussed the coding criteria. The raters met again to compare their respective ratings after independently coding the measure. The initial agreement rate between both sets of coded data was 93%. Disagreements in scoring were discussed and a score was agreed upon by both raters. The combined rating was then used in the study.

The reliability of the ratings was assessed by the method of raw agreement (Hartman, 1992). As described above, one of the drawbacks of this method, is that it does not account for the possibility that agreement for the ratings were achieved by chance. Careful attention to the descriptions of the categories in the coding manual, and a careful examination of the differences in answers, hopefully minimized the possibility that the categories for the responses were decided by chance.

The author added an additional cue related to the Puerto Rican value of familism to the four already provided by the measure. This cue is similar to the other four cues in format, but addresses familism, the responsibility toward family dimension of traditional sex-role expectations for Puerto Rican women. Since Puerto Rican women, as other

Latina women, are socialized to feel responsible for the care of parents as well as their children and their spouses, it is important to investigate whether in fact adherence to this value is prevalent and whether it produces role conflict. In addition the names of the women in the cues were changed to reflect Puerto Rican heritage (i.e. Peggy to Margarita). A Spanish translated version of the instrument given. (Appendix 2) The instrument was translated by a bilingual federal employee in Puerto Rico who routinely translates U.S. government documents from English to Spanish in the course of her duties. To insure accuracy of the translation the instrument was then translated back into English by another bilingual person experienced in doing translations.

The Brief Symptom Inventory:

The Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI) is a brief form of the Symptom Checklist-90-R and it is designed to reflect the psychological symptom pattern of psychiatric, medical and normal individuals. It is a 53 item self report symptom inventory with a five point response set ranging from not at all distressed to extremely distressed. Subjects are asked to rate how much they were distressed by a variety of situations within the past seven days. Some examples of the items are: How much were you distressed by... nervousness or shakiness inside?... poor appetite?... and feeling inferior to other? Nine symptom dimensions and three global indices can be assessed. The nine primary dimension scores are: Somatization, Obsessive-Compulsive, Interpersonal Sensitivity, Depression, Anxiety, Paranoid Ideation, and Psychoticism. The three global indices are: Global Severity Index, Positive Symptom Distress Index, and Positive Symptom Total.

The internal consistency reliability for the symptom dimensions (Cronbach's

alpha) ranges from a low of .71 on Psychoticism to a high of .83 on Obsessive-Compulsive. The test-retest reliability ranges from a low of .68 on Somatization to a high of .91 on Phobic Anxiety. A variation of alternate form reliability is also presented using a group's correlation scores with the SCL-90R. These correlations range from .92 on Psychoticism to .99 on Hostility, which show that this instrument is an adequate substitute for the SCL-90. Concurrent validity has been established for the measure using correlations with the Wiggins content scales and the Tryon cluster scores on the MMPI. These correlations range from .30 to .72.

Norms are provided for psychiatric, medical and normal populations.

Interpretations for this study will be based on female non-patients norms. The three global indices were used to measure psychological distress for the participants in the study. A Spanish translated version of the test was given. (Appendix 3) The instrument was translated by a bilingual federal employee in Puerto Rico who routinely translates U.S. government documents from English to Spanish in the course of her duties. To insure accuracy of the translation the instrument was then translated back into English by another bilingual person experienced in doing translations.

Ethnographic Interview.

Ethnographic interviews have been found to provide a broader understanding of the subject's world view and of the subject's view of the variables to be studied. (Ruderstam & Newton, 1992) In this study the ethnographic interview was designed to explore professional Puerto Rican women's changing perception of sex-role expectations and their level of identification with the same. Additionally, the interview was designed

to elicit the varied influences on sex-role behaviors and to document the ways in which professional Puerto Rican women manage their roles as professionals with their roles as mothers. The ethnographic interview was composed of eight broad questions about different aspects of sex-role ideals and actual sex-role behaviors. (See Appendix 5 for summary of ethnographic questions.)

The Definition of the Ethnographic Interview Coding categories

The interviews were performed in Spanish, audio-taped, and subsequently transcribed verbatim. The interviews were coded by noting consistent themes and by recording the different categories of responses given by the participants. Attempts were made to organize the data in terms of the general categories of traditional sex-roles views, egalitarian sex-role views, and transitional sex-roles views suggested by the literature (Torres-Matrullo, 1978; Muñoz-Vazquez, 1979; and Hochschild, 1988) and as supported by this particular data set.

For example, traditional categories included answers that stated that the ideal Puerto Rican woman always places her children's needs first; allows the husband to make most decisions in the home; de-emphasizes her own sexuality; is responsible for all the housework with high standards in terms of housekeeping; and believes that it is important to be seen by others in her social group as a good wife and mother, self-sacrificing, sexually conservative, and as keeping a clean and orderly house. An egalitarian answer stated that the ideal Puerto Rican woman takes good care of her children, while also taking care of her own needs; makes decisions on her own, or make joint decisions with her husband; is more liberal in terms of sexual mores; shares

housework with husband, with more relaxed standards in terms of household responsibilities; and takes less into consideration what her reputation in the community might be. A transitional response included both traditional and egalitarian elements or demonstrated changing views from traditional to egalitarian. Although, in general the interview data provided support for these categories, they proved insufficient to collapse all the data. For some of the questions, other categories were informed by the specific content of the responses.

The global categories of traditional, egalitarian, and transitional were kept in mind as the data was examined for other categories. For each interview question, the first step was to select from the transcribed interviews the text corresponding to the subject's answer to that specific questions. For each specific question, all these text entries were compiled together. A list of categories was then generated for each question, grouping each specific response by major topics referred to by the subjects. The initial categories were then refined until considered adequate to reliably represent that set of responses. All the subjects' answers were then coded to these finalized categories.

Questions 1 and 2, were analyzed concurrently as the questions elicited responses from similar and related domains. However, once the data was coded into categories, a comparison was made between the set of responses for question 1 and the set of responses for question number 2. This was done to compare the subjects' description of their sex-role ideals/behaviors to what they described as their mothers' sex-role ideals/behaviors. This was done individually for each subject, but also for the entire subject group. In Appendix 1, the coding criteria for the ethnographic interview is

presented. It consists of the coding categories generated for each question followed by examples for each coding category . Two or more examples were chosen for each category to demonstrate the richness and variety of the responses. Some examples are verbatim translations from Spanish to English of the answers given by the women in the study. To highlight the relevant aspect of the response's , many of the examples were condensed keeping the essential meaning unaltered. However, the coding of the data was done with the original transcribed data, and not the abridged examples shown here for illustration. Additionally, verbatim translated examples of the responses for each category will be provided in Chapter IV (Results).

Reliability of the Ethnographic Interview Coding Categories:

After the coding categories had been established for all the eight questions in the ethnographic interview, the reliability of the ratings was assessed by the method of raw agreement (Hartman, 1992). One of the drawbacks of this method, is that it does not account for the possibility that agreement for the ratings were achieved by chance. Careful attention to the descriptions of the categories in the coding manual, and a careful examination of the differences in answers, hopefully minimized the possibility that the categories for the responses were decided by chance.

The questions were coded the first time by the author. Subsequently, a bilingual (English and Spanish) master's level sociology graduate not familiar with the development of the coding categories was recruited to re- code the interviews. For each question, the coding categories were presented in detail to the independent coder. The responses from a few subjects were then rated together as a rating exercise until the

independent coder reported a fair understanding of the coding scheme. The independent coder then coded each of the questions separately. The author and the interviewer then met to compare the agreement between the two sets of coded data. The initial agreement rate between the coders for the whole data set was 66%. After going through the problematic categories, the author and the independent coder came to an agreement as to the appropriate category for the data. In all cases, agreement was reached by discussions and clarification of the differences in points of view. It is important to note, that for the coding of the ethnographic interview, both the author and the independent coder were blind to the quantitative data results.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter will present the results of the study. It is organized as follows: a brief summary of the quantitative results for each of the instruments used in the study; the hypotheses of the study; the qualitative results, and additional findings.

Quantitative Results

A. The Inventory of Attitude Toward Men and Women:

As described in the methodology section, this instrument was administered twice, once from the subjects' point of view and once from what they perceived to be their mothers' point of view. Although the administration of the two versions was alternated to control for the order effect, subsequent examination of the data indicated that statistical analysis would not add meaningful information to the analysis of data and therefore was omitted. (The order of the administration of the other quantitative instruments was also alternated. The order of the administration of the interview and the quantitative measures was alternated as well.. This resulted in five different orders of administration, with 6 subjects per specific order type. The small size of each group is too small to provide sufficient power to the statistical analysis of the order effects.)

The possible total score for the 34 questions on The Inventory of Attitudes Toward Men and Women ranged from a low of 34 to a high of 204. The scores were weighted such that the higher the score, the higher the measured "traditionalism." Thus a score approaching 204 indicated more traditional sex-role attitudes and a score approaching 34 indicated less traditional sex-role attitudes. The mean score of 58.32

indicates that, in general, the women in the sample were not very traditional in their sex-role orientation. This contrasts, with the women's traditional depictions of their mothers, mean score of 125.26.

Scores for questions 35 to 40, which addressed the traditional sex-role value of "familism" were weighted in a similar fashion and ranged from 6 to 36. A score approaching 36 indicated adherence to the traditional sex-role expectations for family obligation, while a score approaching 6 indicated less adherence to the traditional sex-role expectations to familism. The mean score of 13.3 indicates that, in general, the women in the sample did not adhere to the traditional sex-role ideals of familism. However, they depicted their mothers as to be more traditional in their upholding 'familism' sex-role expectations. (See Table 4 for a summary of the results for The Sex-role Attitude Inventory for Men and Women.)

B. The Home-Career Conflict Measure:

Women experiencing role conflict were expected to depict high negative affects, high negative events, and to link these with increased amount of time spent out of the home. Three scores were computed for each cue (affect, event, activity). Scores of +2 in each of these categories indicated home-career conflict. (See Table 5 for a summary of coding scale for these scores). The three scores were added for each cue to obtain a total score for each clue.

The possible total score for each of the cues on the The Home-Career Conflict Measure ranged from a low of -6 to a high of =6. The scores were weighted such that the higher the score, the higher the measured "home-career conflict." For each

individual cue, a score approaching 6 indicated more home-career conflict and a score approaching -6 indicated less home-career conflict. Additionally, the scores for all of the cues were added to obtain a total home-career conflict score. The possible total score for The Home-Career Conflict Measure ranged from a low of -24 to a high of =24. The scores were weighted such that the higher the score, the higher the measured “home-career conflict.” Thus a score approaching 24 indicated more home-career conflict and a score approaching -24 indicated less home-career conflict. Although the scores (Cues 1-4) for the women in the study ranged from a low of -4 to a high of 20, in general, the women in the study scored in the low range of the home-career conflict continuum. (Mean = 4.71, S.D. = 5.094). Note that an additional cue (Cue 5) was added to the instrument to assess for the traditional sex-role value of “familism.” (See Table 5 for a summary of home-career conflict scores.)

C. The Brief Symptom Index:

Nine symptom dimensions and three global indices were assessed on the BSI. The three global indices are: Global Severity Index, Positive Symptom Distress Index, and Positive Symptom Total. The three global indices were used to measure psychological distress for this study. A raw score was computed for each of the global indexes and then transformed into a t-score based on non-patient norms provided by the test maker.

The Global Severity Index (or GSI) combines information on numbers of symptoms and intensity of distress. It provides the most sensitive single indicator of the respondent’s distress level. The women in this study had a mean score of 57.7, with

S.D. = 8.8 on the GSI index.

The Positive Symptom total reveals the number of symptoms the patient reports experiencing, and when used in conjunction with the other global indexes helps communicate the extent of the individual's emotional distress. The women in this study had a mean score of 56.6, with S.D. = 10.29 on the PST index.

The Positive Symptom Distress Index provides information on the average level of distress the respondent experiences. The women in this study had a mean score of 58, with S.D. = 8.7 on the PSDI index.

The test makers suggest that a GSI score greater than or equal to a T- Score of 63 on the non-patient norms would indicate positive for psychiatric disorder. The average mean for the GSI (Mean = 57.7) suggests that as a group, the women in the sample did not show psychological distress. However, the GSI scores for the group varied from 39 to 71, with 10 of the women scoring at 63 or above, indicates that almost a third of the women in the sample scored positive for psychological distress. (See Table 8 for a summary of BSI results.

Hypotheses 1:

D. The relationship between sex-role attitudes and home-career conflict:

Hypothesis 1 stated that there would be a positive relationship between adherence to traditional sex-role attitudes and role conflict for professional Puerto Rican women. Pearson r correlations were done to test the relationships between the subjects' sex-role attitudes as measured by the Inventory for Sex-role Attitudes for Men and Women and the subjects' role-conflict as measured by The Home-Career Conflict

Measure. However, a significant correlation was not found between these two measures ($r = -0.06$, $p = .75$). The first 4 cues depict different situations of potential conflict for a working mothers, whereas cue 5 depicts a situation of potential conflict related to the familism or family obligation (See Appendix 2 for a summary of the cues). Given the potential for different responses for each of the 5 cues, separate Pearson r correlations were done to test the relationship between the subjects' sex-role attitudes and each of the 5 cues in The Home-Career Conflict Measure. The correlation coefficients were not significant on cues 2 through 5, but minimally significant for cue 1 ($r = -.36$, $p = .0488$). It is important to note, that though significant, the correlation between sex-role attitudes and cue 1 was negative, and therefore, this finding failed to support hypothesis one.

In summary, there was no significant relationship between sex-role attitudes and home-career conflict, except for a minimally significant negative relationship between sex-role attitudes and cue 1. (See Table 7 for a summary of correlations between sex-role attitudes and role conflict).

E. Hypotheses 2:

Discrepancy between subjects' and mothers' sex-role attitudes and home-career conflict:

Hypothesis 2 stated that professional Puerto Rican women who show a high discrepancy between what they perceive to be traditional sex-role attitudes (as measured by their perceived mothers' responses to the Inventory for Attitudes Toward Men and Women and their own sex-role attitudes (as measured by their own responses to the Inventory for Attitudes Toward Men and Women would also show increased role conflict. In general, the subject's reported less traditional sex-role attitudes for

themselves (Mean = 58.32), than for their mothers' (Mean = 125.26). A matched sample t-test showed that the discrepancy between the subjects' own sex-role attitudes and what they perceived to be their mothers' sex-role attitudes to be significantly different (Discrepancy Mean = 66.94, S.D. = 31.77, $t = 11.73$, $p < .01$). However, the correlation between the discrepancy measure and the home-career conflict measure was not significant ($r = 0.139$, $p = .455$). Additional correlations between the discrepancy measure and each cue of The Home-Career Conflict Measure, were not significant.

In summary, although the discrepancy between the subjects' sex-role attitudes and the reported sex-role attitudes for the mothers' proved to be significant, there was no significant correlation between the discrepancy measure and sex-role attitudes. (See Table 8 for a summary of the correlations between the discrepancy measure and the home-career conflict measure.)

F. **Hypotheses 3:**

Home-career conflict and psychological distress:

Hypothesis 3 stated that there would be a positive relationship between the degree of role conflict and the amount of psychological distress. This hypothesis was tested by doing correlations between each of the three global indices of the Brief Symptom Index and the Home-Career Conflict Measure. None of these three relationships was found to be significant. (See Table 9 for a summary of the correlations between the home-career conflict measure and the BSI Global Indexes.)

Additional correlations were done to test for the relationships between each of the three global indices of the Brief Symptom Index and each of the individual cues of

the Home-Career Conflict Measure. None of these relationships were found to be significant, except for the correlation between the GSI and Cue 4 ($r = .48, p = .006$).

In summary, there was no significant relationship between home-career conflict and psychological distress, however there was a significant relationship between the subjects' distress level and the cue that showed a woman leaving her baby with a man, (presumably the baby's father).

F. Additional Findings:

1. Familism:

The literature review provided support for the idea that role expectations for Puerto Rican women are embedded within a tradition of family obligation or "familism". To test the relationship of "familism" to traditional sex-role attitudes as measured by Coles' Inventory for Sex-role Attitudes for Men and Women, a linear regression was done ($R^2 = .42$). A t-test on the correlation coefficient showed a significant correlation between familism and sex-role attitudes; $t(29) = .644, p < .05$, two tailed. The correlation coefficient between the reported "familism" for the mothers and the reported sex-role attitudes for the mothers' was also significant ($r = .39, p = .026$).

To test whether, in fact, adherence to the value of "familism" contributed to role conflict, scores for the questions (34 - 40) on familism were computed. A Pearson's correlation showed that there was no significant relationship between familism and home-career conflict ($r = -.097, p = .60$). An additional cue (Cue 5) on "familism" was added to the 4 cues provided by The Home-Career Conflict Measure. Scores from Cue 5 were added to the scores computed for Cues 1 to 4. No significant correlations were

found between this combined score (Cues 1 to 5) and sex-role attitudes ($r = -.12$, $p = .52$), or when the relationship between Cue 5 and sex-role attitudes was examined ($r = -.19$, $p = .31$) (See Table 10 for a summary of the correlations between Familism and home-career conflict.)

2. Depression and Anxiety:

The literature reviewed found evidence linking household strain to depression among traditionally oriented women (Golding, 1990). Additionally, the literature points to a relationship between role conflict and anxiety (Barnett and Baruch, 1985). To evaluate whether home-career conflict was linked to depression among the women in the study, a linear regression was done between the Depression Symptom Dimension of the BSI and the Home Career Conflict Measure, ($r = .059$, $p = .74$). However, when the five cues were looked at independently, a significant correlation was found between depression and Cue 4 ($r = .57$, $p = .01$). Similarly, linear regressions between the Anxiety Symptom Dimension of the BSI and the Home Career Conflict Measure, showed no significant correlations. However, when the five cues were looked at independently, a significant correlation was found between anxiety and Cue 4 ($r = .37$, $p = .04$). (See Table 13 for a summary of the correlation between home-career conflict and anxiety and depression.

Multiple regression analysis:

A multiple regression analysis was done to examine the effects of demographic variables (age, average age of children, level of education, hours worked outside the home, perceived support from mother and father, husband's education level, childcare

support, and housework help) and sex-role attitudes. Of these variables only three proved significant predictors of sex-role attitudes (average age of children, number of children and housework help). Traditional sex-role attitudes were predicted by younger children, more children, and less help in housework. (See Table 12)

Additional regression analyzes were done to examine the effects of the demographic variables listed above and home-career conflict, and to examine the effects of the demographic variables and psychological distress. In both cases, the predictor variables failed to significantly predict the criterion variables.

Qualitative Results:

The results for each of the eight ethnographic interview questions will be presented next. For questions 1 and 2, the results will be reported concurrently in order to facilitate the comparison of the subjects' own sex-role ideals and what they reported to be their mothers' sex-role ideals. Questions 1 and 2 were each divided into 6 sections. Initially, each question was asked to elicit the sex-role ideal, and then probed separately for the sex-role ideal of "mother", "wife", "sexuality", "domestic responsibilities", and "reputation". Chi-square tests were done to compare differences between what the subjects' reported to be their own sex-role ideals and what they reported to be their mothers' sex-role ideals. Chi-square tests results are presented for each of the 6 sections (See Table 13).

The definition of the categories for each of the ethnographic questions was provided in Chapter III (Methods), along with examples of each category. Verbatim translated transcriptions of examples for each category will also be presented in this

section to illustrate the richness and variety of the responses.

Although the women were asked to describe sex-role ideals, many described sex-role ideals and/or sex-role behaviors. For this reason, the term sex-role expectations will be used in this study to denote both sex-role ideals and sex-role behaviors, however, whenever possible a distinction between the two terms will be made.

1. General Definition of Role Ideal:

The responses from Question 1: “Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman?” and the responses from Question 2: “Describe your mother’s notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman?” were coded in “Traditional”, “Egalitarian”, and “Transitional” categories”.

Traditional:

1 (3%) out of the 30 women in the study described their sex- role ideal in a traditional manner. The following is the only traditional answer provided for the question: "Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman?"

“For me, in spite of how supposedly active I am in my profession, for me the ideal Puerto Rican woman should be a full time mother and a part-time worker.”

In contrast, 25 (83%) of the women reported traditional sex-role ideals for their mothers! The following is an example of a traditional answer to this question when answered from the mother’s perspective:

“Her impression is, well she is a woman of the house, who dedicates all her time to her children, that cleans everything for her children, that she does everything for them, that she self-sacrifices for them. That is her way of being, and it is also

what she believes to be the ideal for a perfect woman."

Egalitarian:

9 (30%) out of the 30 women in the study described their sex- role ideal in an egalitarian manner. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

" She has been able to achieve independence, she is someone who has her own job, she has her own individual goals. And she strives to meet these goals."

However, only 1(3%) of the women reported traditional sex-role ideals for her mother.

The following example is for the only egalitarian answer this category:

"My mother..., She is a person who is also very open-minded. To a certain extent, she is even more liberal than I am. She believes that the ideal woman is the one who has the same rights as a man. And has been able to function and develop herself fully as a human being."

Transitional:

20 (67%) of the women in the study described their global sex-role ideals to be in transition. The following are examples of a transitional sex-role answers given by the women in the study when asked to describe their own sex-role ideal.

"Oh, my God... a woman that is able to realize her professional goals, that can realize herself as a wife and as a mother and is able to enjoy it all..."

"Well, an educated person, that can work professionally, that can have children, and a husband that will share with her in the caring of the children... [She should also] have time to dedicate to her children and to fulfill her professional obligations."

"The ideal Puerto Rican woman is extremely intelligent, with an astute personality, that enjoys life,is a first class professional, that meets all her goals, that achieves not only in the professional sphere, but in the personal sphere as well. That within her achievements is included an intact family, made up of husband and children....and a family that supports her professionally."

Only 4 (13%) of the women in the study reported sex-role ideals in transition for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

At this time in her life, I think that she would say that women should let go of domestic tasks. However, when she brought me up, she had, she had conflict because she had to follow a traditional role and also work. This contradiction cost her a lot. Now she would change to a more liberal position."

Significant differences were found for the subjects' report of their own global sex-role ideal than for what they reported to their mothers' global sex-role ideal, Chi-square (2, n = 30) = 39.22, p < .01)

1a: Mothering Domain:

The responses for Question 1a: "Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a mother?" and the responses for Question 2a: "Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a mother?" were coded in "Traditional", "Egalitarian", and "Transitional" categories.

Traditional:

6 (20%) out of the 30 women in the study described traditional sex-role ideals for the mother's role. The following is an example for an answer in this category:

"...is a woman dedicated primarily to bringing up her children and her children go before anything else in most occasions. (She)...is a fighter and she is affectionate. I would say that as a mother the Puerto Rican woman is exceptional."

In contrast, 24 (80%) of the women reported traditional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"Oh, in this I can tell you that she is dedicated in body and soul to her children. That is her foremost priority. When my dad was alive, well, her priority were her children and her husband. Her own needs were last, if at all."

Egalitarian:

6 (20%) out of the 30 women in the study described egalitarian sex-role ideals when asked to describe the Puerto Rican mother. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"In that of being a mother, I believe that children should be brought up by both parents to be independent, that they should make their own decisions in life, that one should guide them to see life as something positive, not be fearful."

Only 1(3%) of the women reported egalitarian sex-role ideals when she answered this question for her mother. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"She did not separate her role of mother from her other roles. She was a good mother, but she expected my father to share with parenting."

Transitional:

18 (60%) out of the 30 women in the study described transitional sex-role ideals for the mother's role.

"Well, look, I understand the mother's role to be very important. She helps in the development of her children and helps them overall to gain their independence. She helps them achieve clear goals early in life and help them to direct their lives in that direction."

5 (17%) of the women reported transitional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers.

"As a mother, she should be understanding. Her ideal is that a woman should show her children affection, care for them, provide them with an education, and teach them moral values."

Significant differences were found for the subjects' own report of their ideal for Puerto Rican mothers, than for what they reported to be their mothers' ideal for Puerto Rican mothers. Chi-square (2, n = 30) = 21.72, p < .01)

1b: Marital Domain:

The responses for Question 1b: "Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a wife?" and the response-s for Question 2b: "Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a wife?" were coded in "Traditional", "Egalitarian", and "Transitional" categories.

Traditional:

4 (13%) out of the 30 women in the study described traditional sex-role ideals for

the wife role. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"She should make time to separately meet her role of mother and her role of wife. As a wife she should meet all of her husband's needs."

In contrast, 24 (80%) of the women reported traditional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"She would say that the ideal wife is the one that has everything clean, orderly, has the food ready, the clothes cleaned and ironed, that is waiting for her husband when he gets home from work. That if the husband says we have to move to Florida for x or y reason, well the woman has to go where her husband decides.[] To a certain extent, she is even, even servile to her husband. The decisions are made by the husband and the wife follows. There are very few decisions that she can make on her own."

Egalitarian:

18 (60%) out of the 30 women in the study described egalitarian sex-role ideals for the wife's role. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"Well, she has to be a person that is clear on that times have changed, For me, between husband and wife there is no longer this mandate that says that the man has more rights than a women, they have the same rights. They are both in the same boat, so to speak, and I day we both have equal responsibilities. Once we are married, we can't say, well the office is for you, and the house is for me, but we have equal division. I don't accept that in my house, my husband is more

important than I am, I carry equal weight, I am equally as important. Between us it is fifty-fifty."

Only 1 (3%) of the women reported egalitarian sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is the only example of an answer in this category:

"Well, first of all, she does not believe in cooking. She has refused to take on the role of housewife. But, she also never worked. She had seven children, and spent her time caring for her children, until now, that she works outside of the house. She refused to do any housework. She was not a worker, but she was also not a housewife. She believes that a woman should have the choice to choose what roles she wants to take on in and out of the house. She has always refused to submit or to feel as if she has to submit herself."

Transitional:

8 (27%) out of the 30 women in the study described transitional sex-role ideals for the wife's role. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

" Well, as a wife she is also good, in most instances she is sacrificing. However, things have changed, the culture...I would say that progress and industrialization and all that, well have changed things. And of those women who submitted themselves to everything their husbands said, well look, there are few left, but I would say that in general they are acquiescent and good wives."

Correspondingly, 5 (17 %) of the women reported transitional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer

in this category:

“Oh my God, well, she is attentive to her man, to her husband in terms of his dinner and his comfort, but she believes that it is important to share or collaborate with the husband, to be a companion.”

Significant differences were found for the subjects' report of what they thought the ideal Puerto Rican wife should be like and what they reported to their mothers' sex-role ideal for a Puerto Rican wife. Chi-square (2, n = 30) = 30.19, p < .01)

1c: Sexual Domain:

The responses for Question 1c: “Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a wife?” and the responses -for Question 2c: “Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her sexuality?” were coded in “Traditional”, “Egalitarian”, and “Transitional” categories. Additionally, the category of “Discussed with mother” was added to account for whether or not subjects had discussed sexual issues with mother.

Traditional:

None (0%) of the 30 women in the study described traditional sex-role ideals in the sexual domain. In contrast, 23 (77%) of the women reported traditional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

“Oh, I don't know, in this one, I would have to say that I don't really know, because this is a taboo subject for my mother. Well, let me say that I don't know...my mother divorced my father when I was twenty. He remarried, and she

went to live out of the Island, she was away for ten years and I have never known her to have somebody else. She is pure and chaste, she has a way of being like that of forty years ago! As you know, when woman were very careful to never have sexual relationships out of the house, only with her husband. That is her mentality, so that no one would have anything to negatively say about her."

Egalitarian:

22 (73%) out of the 30 women in the study described egalitarian sex-role ideals in the sexual domain. The following is an example of an answers in this category.

"A woman who is willing to discuss what she feels, what she likes, what she doesn't like and share in that way with her companion so that she can have a satisfying sexual relationship. The woman that is quiet, the one that says "I do it to please my husband", that one is destined to fail because sexuality should be enjoyed."

In contrast, none (0%) of the women reported egalitarian sex-role ideals in the area of sexuality when they answered this question for their mothers.

Transitional:

8 (27%) out of the 30 women in the study described transitional sex-role ideals for the sexual domain.

"Well, I believe that there should be respect between the couple, and sex should not be performed outside of a committed relationship to the extent that is possible..However, within that relationship one can be active, firm in such a way to satisfy oneself without needing to go outside of the relationship."

Similarly, 7 (23 %) of the women reported transitional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"I don't have an idea, don't have an idea. I imagine her to try to please her mate, I imagine that she pleases her mate. She never talked to me about this. I am her only daughter, I have male siblings, but I am the youngest. My mother, for example... I lived with my son's father for a year before getting married, and she accepted this, with a few reservations at first, but later quite easily. With some of my friends that have also lived with men before marriage, which I think is normal today. She has accepted it, without a problem. Because of this, I see my mother as a before and after, because before when I was very young, like for any other mother of the sixties and seventies, it was unthinkable that women would live with a man outside of marriage. But, later, I believe, that she overcame this, she understood, and assimilated it. In the same manner, she has accepted divorce."

Discussed with mother:

23 (77%) of the women reported that they never have had a discussion about sexual matters with their mothers. 7 (23%) of the women reported that they in fact, had discussed sexual matters with their mothers, however for 3 of these same women, the discussions they had with their mothers focused on sex as sinful or a necessary evil.

Significant differences were found for the subjects' report of their own sex-role ideal for sexuality than for what they reported to their mothers' sex-role ideal for

sexuality, Chi-square (2, n = 30) = 38.76, $p < .01$)

1d: Domestic Responsibilities Domain:

The responses for Question 1d: “ Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her domestic responsibilities? and the responses for Question 2d: “ Describe your mother’s notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her domestic responsibility? were coded in “Traditional”, “Egalitarian”, and “Transitional” categories.

10 (34%) of the 30 women in the study described traditional sex-role ideals in the domestic responsibility domain. The following is an example of an answer in this category.

"I would say that the Puerto Rican woman, even though this should not be so, tries to keep her house in the best condition possible. Whether that means doing it all herself or getting help to do it. It is important to keep your house in a good condition, that food be shopped for and cooked, and that clothes are cleaned...all those household projects."

On the other hand, 17 (57%) of the women reported traditional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"Well, in the same way that she dedicated herself to her husband and to her children, she dedicated herself to the house. Her life, her interests, her activities revolved around these three elements. She never worked outside the home, she was always in the home dedicated herself to fulfilling these tasks."

Egalitarian:

6 (20%) out of the 30 women in the study described egalitarian sex-role ideals in the sexual domain. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

“Well, the ideal woman needs to teach those around her to share in those tasks. In the same way that she gives and does, others have to give and share those tasks. She need to know how to teach those responsibilities, because it should just be ‘mom’ who does it all, or ‘my wife should do it all’ just because she is a woman.”

On the other hand, 2 (6%) of the women reported egalitarian sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

“In the house, she taught everybody to do something because she also worked out of the home. We were four males [siblings], and me, a female. She did not believe that I should have additional tasks because of being female. The guys, each one had tasks, they had to clean clothes, they had to clean the bathroom, they had to water the garden, they had to cut the grass. Even more, on the weekends, they had to iron their clothes. Of note, is that my brothers are all very good husbands.”

Transitional:

14 (47%) out of the 30 women in the study described transitional sex-role ideals for the wife’s role. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

“As a wife, the reality of it is, that even though I would like equality in household tasks, I have not been able to get that. I have realized that either I accept or I

explode. In that way I have been able to adapt to the reality of a married life, that I will not be able to share household tasks. We are different in how we visualize household responsibilities."

Similarly, 11 (37 %) of the women reported transitional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"Since she is the one who is there all day, she is in charge of everything, that it goes well. She, at least, had my father who was also advanced in his views. They helped each other out, they shared some of the tasks. When my father worked, she did it all. However, now that my father is retired, they divide the household tasks."

No significant differences were found for the subjects' report of their sex-role ideal for domestic responsibilities than for what they reported to their mothers' sex-role ideal for domestic responsibilities, Chi-square (2 , n = 30) = 4.18, p < .013)

1e: Reputation Domain:

The responses for Question 1e: " Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her reputation ? and the responses for Question 2d: " Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her reputation? were coded in "Traditional", "Egalitarian", and "Transitional" categories.

Traditional:

7 (23%) of the 30 women in the study described traditional sex-role ideals in the reputation domain. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"One always has to follow the rules of the community in which one lives. There is a difference between what one can do at home with one's husband and children, but in public one does what is expected by society. One has to be a good wife, mother, neighbor, and everything else that you have to do."

In contrast, 24 (80 %) of the women reported traditional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following are examples of answers in this category:

"Pure, saintly, chaste, that she has not faults. She lives closed up in a cocoon. That is the good woman, the pure and chaste one."

"She should be flawless, that is her concept. That she is the best possible in each of her roles. And that she be admired by others, that she gives no reason for any negative comments about her."

Egalitarian:

5 (17%) out of the 30 women in the study described egalitarian sex-role ideals in the reputation domain. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"She is a person that lives how she wants to live. That is what I respect. If that makes her happy, doing what she wants, then I respect that. Maybe other people think differently than I do, but this is what I think. I don't judge anyone from my own parameters."

On the other hand, only 1 (3%) of the women reported traditional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"She never care about what people said about her, about her reputation. When she separated from her husband, she used to tell us that people would tell her, 'Oh, but he was such a good man, why in the world did you leave him,' but, she would answer: ' People have never done anything for me, therefore, I don't have to give anybody any explanations about my actions. My mom was quite a mixed, she was born in 1900, and she had a lot of the old ways, however she was able to accept and live with more modern tendencies. That's why I think that she was able to brings us up and help us go forward, the way that she did."

Transitional:

18 (60%) out of the 30 women in the study described transitional sex- role ideals in the domestic responsibility domain. The following are examples of answers in this category:

Transitional:

"Within her social group, she should be a person of integrity, that values herself for who she is, not for what her background is or who her family is. She should be valued for her efforts, for her way of thinking, for her values."

"In terms of reputation there have been many changes. This Puerto Rican community does not follow those old norms. One has more liberty. The ideal Puerto Rican woman understands that she chooses her standards in terms of what she thinks is correct for her and she is willing to back this up with her actions --to defend her position. But not in the sexual area, in this area women have not made much headway. However, in terms of her general reputation there has been

more movement..."

"About that what I can say is that we are taught since we are very young that it is very important the impression that others might have of you. I would say that yes, the Puerto Rican woman is very conscious of certain things, what one can do and what one can't do....But, there have been drastic changes in society so that things are not the same as when we were growing up. As a consequence women sometimes break barriers and don't care what might be said of them in order to be happy and feel satisfied. And I agree with that, because there are times when you can't live by other people's standards..."

On the other hand, 5 (17 %) of the women reported transitional sex-role ideals when they answered this question for their mothers. The following is an example of an answer in this category:

"My mother believed that a person should not be guided exclusively by public opinion, that one should not be satisfying other people's standards, nor socially being guided by definitions imposed by others. But all of that was very different from the life she chose to have. She married a very traditional person, quite dominant, and all her ideas were truncated."

Significant differences were found for the subjects' report of their sex-role ideals about reputation than for what they reported to their mothers' sex-role ideals about reputation.

Chi-square (2 , n = 30) = 19.34 , p < .01)

Summary for Chi-square results:

In summary, significant differences were found between what the subjects

reported to be their own sex-role ideals and what their reported perceptions of their mothers' sex-role ideals in each of 5 domains (global sex-role ideal; mothering; marital; sexuality; and reputation). No significant differences were found between what the subjects reported to be their own sex-role ideal about domestic responsibility, and what they reported to be their mothers' sex-role ideal in the same domain.

2. Similarities and Differences from Sex-Role Ideal:

The responses for Question 3: "How are you different or similar to the ideal Puerto Rican woman?" were coded in the categories "Similar", "Different", and "Similar and Different".

Similar:

13 (43%) of the women in the study stated that they were similar to the ideal Puerto Rican woman. An example of an answer in this category was:

Similar:

"Well, I consider myself pretty close to what I consider to be the ideal for a Puerto Rican woman, and that is that she strive and work hard for the well being of her family, that she work hard in benefit of the social good, and obviously to do so, from a professional and scientific vantage point, which in my case happens to be medicine. And that she combines all those roles. I believe, for my part that at least I am striving to reach this."

Different:

14 (47%) of the women in the study stated that they were different from the ideal Puerto Rican woman. An example of an answer in this category was:

"According to my mother, I am very different. In fact, I think that my mother has learned a lot from me and that I have been able to change her vision of things. My mother is one of those persons, who until recently used my father's last name. My mother makes breakfast, lunch and dinner and she serves my father his meals. I don't do any of that. If he gets home and there is dinner, good, if not, then make some. I am one of those persons that believe that if women have to support the household in the same ways as men, well, the household chores should be shared as well."

Similar and Different:

3 (10%) of the women in the study stated that they were similar in some aspects of their sex-role behavior to the ideal Puerto Rican woman, but were different from the ideal in other aspects of sex-role behaviors. An example of response in this category was:

Similar and Different:

"I am similar, in my customs, like I already told you, in taking care of my family, in my marriage, in child rearing. I believe that children need a mother to care for them, to be attentive to them, to a certain extent to overdo it in this area. I am very protective of my child, because I believe that it is a responsibility that I have chosen. I am different, in that I have been able to become independent, I have a job where I can show leadership. At home, I am more traditional, but at work I am less traditional."

3. Influences on Sex-Role Expectations and Behaviors:

The responses for Question 4: “ If you are different from what the sex-role ideal indicates how do you explain it?” were coded in the categories “ Family of Origin”, “ Husband and Current Life Circumstance”, “ Social, Educational, and Cultural Influence”, and “ Personal Attributes and Characteristics ”. Although some of the women answered this question by referring to just one category of responses, most of the women interviewed gave answers in more than one of the following categories. A “Mixed category” *was* added to account for this.

Family of Origin::

7 (23%) of the women stated that their sex-role ideals and behaviors were influenced by the example, encouragement, or support of the mother, the father, other family members, and/or traditional or religious upbringing. An example of an answer in this category follows:

“Well, I believe that one greatly receives, what one receives from one’s parents, one filters it, and there are things that one evaluates and says” I don’t want to do that.” There other areas where it is more difficult to reject what one has received from one’s parents.” There are things about my mother’s life that I don’t share, and I realized from an early age that I did not share these things and that her’s wasn’t the kind of life that I wanted to have. [] But, I do notice that though there are differences between what my mother did with her life and what I have done with mine, there are a series of things that I learned from her, and that, stayed in my head. I notice this more, in the area of domestic responsibilities, where I assume more that I myself think reasonable.”

Husband and Current Life Circumstance:

4 (13%) of the women stated that they were influenced in their sex-role ideals and behaviors by the husband's support of professional activities, or conversely the husband's traditional orientation in family roles and/or their current life circumstances. Examples of answers in this category follow:

"The ideal is not always what is real, and that is what happens. When you say that ideally you would like to be a certain way, but in order to be that way it will take a lot of work or it will bring me many problems in my marriage. To avoid that I give up a lot of things, even if know I am in the right, I don't have to demonstrate it at all times. At the same time, I can be happy with my husband without him feeling so threatened. In reality, some things compensate for others. You give a little of yourself, so that the other person gives a little of themselves. And that is how you reach agreement."

"Circumstances, and those around me, do not permit me to see the ideal person, or woman. Maybe I have too much work outside of the home, and I get home and I have too much to do, maybe because I don't have anyone to help me. I don't like to have an outside person help me. This doesn't allow me to be the ideal woman."

Social, Educational, and Cultural Influence:

2 (7%) of the women mentioned that her sex-role ideals and behaviors were influenced by exposure to varied social, educational and cross-cultural ideas.

"In my particular situation , at age fifteen, I had already traveled three-fourths of

the world. Before starting at the University, I went to the United States, and lived there for a year. I have lived in the Dominican Republic. I have lived in Europe. I have been helped by witnessing other idiosyncracies or ways of life. This has formed my character. I am not awed by things that most Puerto Ricans are awed by."

Personal Attributes or Characteristics:

None (0%) of the women in the study used this category exclusively, but used it in addition to other categories. However, this category was kept to account for answers that stressed personal attributes such as rebelliousness, assertiveness, independence, or masculinity, in addition to other categories, to account for particular sets of sex-role behaviors. The following example is one in which stressed personality as a determinant of sex-role expectations, juxtaposed with a traditional influence from the mother.

" My character is different than anyone else in my family. And I believe that my character overcame other things, imposed itself on other things. And I developed my things, well because of me. Do you understand? I am very independent, and I obtained my own balance of what will I take from my mother, what from or my father, what do I think will be good for me, and what will I get out of life. When I am in the street , I make sure to be myself. To a certain extent, it has been a difficult fight because if I had just listened to my mother, I would be like a nun."

E. Mixed Categories:

A total of 17 (57%) used a combination of the above categories. (The percentages used refer to the entire sample.) 2 (7%) mentioned that they were influenced in their sex-

role behaviors by both family of origin influences and current family circumstance. 4 (13%) mentioned that they were influenced in their sex-role behaviors by their family of origin and by exposure to varied social, educational, and cross-cultural ideas. 3 (10%) mentioned that they were influenced in their sex-role behaviors by their family of origin and by personal attributes or characteristics. 2(7%) mentioned that they were influenced in their sex-role behaviors by the combined influences of family or origin, current family circumstances, and exposure to social, educational, and cross-cultural ideas. 1(3%) mentioned that she was influenced in her sex-role behaviors by the combined influences of family of origin, exposure to social, educational, and cross-cultural ideas. And 1(3%) mentioned that she was influenced in her sex-role behaviors by the combined influences of family of origin, exposure to social, educational, and cross-cultural ideas, and by personal attributes or characteristics.

4. Impact on Professional Life

The responses for Question 5: “How does your home life impact on your professional life?” were coded in the following categories: “Positive Effects”, “Negative Effects”, “Mixed Positive and Negative Effects”

Positive Effects:

6 (20%) of the respondents described positive effects or intrinsic benefits that as women they experience in their professional or work participation. An example of an answer in this category follows:

“I understand that women have a special sensitivity, like their senses are more open to, to take in certain things, to be more open to certain things. It is not that I

think men are less, however, they are not very maternal. Maybe the word is not as sensitive, but we, as woman can demonstrate sensitivity, just because we are women. We can be more expressive. Enter into the more intimate domains of a person, that I think that if I was male, it would be more difficult for me to address certain issues. This is particular to my profession. I have male friends, psychologists and social workers, that are good at what they do. But sometimes their clients give feedback that they prefer to work with women, because women understand some things better than males.

Negative Effects :

15 (50%) of the respondents described the negative effects and/or the difficulties that as women they experience in their professional or work participation. An example of an answer in this category follows:

“In my field, when you are a woman, one has to struggle against disagreeable forces, many challenges. There are very few, very few, agreeable challenges. One does not like to be treated like an object. Even if one likes admiration, all women like to be admired, well sometimes that same admiration can make you feel badly. In my profession, as a women, it has always meant, that one has to give the maximum. Because things are always, always made more difficult for you.”

Positive and Negative Effects:

9 (30%) of the respondents described both benefits and the difficulties that as women they experience in their professional or work participation. An example of an answer in this category follows:

“In the case of the female lawyer, one confronts marked discrimination. Sometimes, it is in favor of women, but in the majority of cases, it is against women. In some circles it is possible to obtain certain things that might be more difficult for a man. In other circles, there exists discrimination. In those circles in order to be accepted, to feel worthy, one has to struggle, make an effort to show that one is a capable as a man.”

5: Impact on Family Life

Question 6:

The responses for Question 6: “How has your professional status influenced your family life?” were coded in the following categories: “Positive Effects”, “Negative Effects”, “Mixed Positive and Negative Effects”

Positive Effects:

6 (20%) of the women described in their answers positive effects or intrinsic benefits to family life from professional or work participation. An example of an answer in this category is:

“My husband and I share the same profession. So if we have to discuss ideas about some job, we can do it at dinner, or when I am cooking. That is good, it doesn't interfere in our family life. If there is a night that I need to work additional hours, he understands. I understand when he needs additional work hours.”

Negative Effects :

17 (57%) of the respondents described the negative effects and/or the difficulties

to family life from professional or work participation. An example of an answer in this category is:

"I don't have enough time to give my children all the time that they need, or enough time for the home. Many times, I am behind in my work at home, and I get very mad at myself. And sometimes, I am very angry at home because of that, because I don't have enough time to give to my children, and I suffer a lot, because many times I see them playing by themselves. And I feel that I should give them more time, but I have to do other things."

Positive and Negative Effects:

7 (23%) of the respondents described both positive and negative effects to family life due to the professional or work participation. An example of an answer in this category is:

"Well, you always feel the claim, the complaint, that 'Mom, is not with me, you hear that complaint until they are mature. Then, you get admiration that is so important, now we have gotten to the point of understanding. My kids tell me: 'Mom, I know that you are not with me, but we have never been without water, electricity, food, or telephone.' My eighteen year old son tells me that, he is at the level, where he finally understands. He tells me: 'I know that you work to gives us what we need. I have been to friends' houses with both parents living there, but they have had their electricity cut off. This has never happened here.'

6. Management of Multiple Roles:

The responses for Question 7: "How do you manage to combine your family and

professional roles? ” were coded in the following categories: “ Success in Managing Multiple Roles “ and “ Difficulties in Managing Multiple Roles: ”

Success in Managing Multiple Roles:

13 (43%) of the respondents conveyed a general sense of success in managing multiple roles and delineated strategies for successful integration of their home and family roles, such as time management and the recruitment of support by family or others. An example of an answer in this category is:

“I escape, I make lunch dates with my husband, and instead of going to a restaurant we go home. We both block time in our calendars, so that if I have to go on a work related trip he goes with me, and if he has a work trip, then I make a halt in my agenda and I go off with him. Sometimes I take a few days off work, and go off with my husband and my son to the beach. We play with our calendars in order to make time together, but also to find a middle point. I’ll say ‘I have this to do’, and he then does whatever needs to be done.”

Difficulties in Managing Multiple Roles:

17 (57%) of the respondents mentioned their strategies for combining home and family roles, but also stressed areas of difficulty, strain, stress, or tension in the meeting and balancing the multiple demands of their various roles. The following example of an answer in this category is from a divorced mother of two young children:

“In the past, well I did not have any other choice but to run to pick up the kids, make dinner, attend to my husband, and I had so many things to do that by 11:00 p.m., when I went upstairs I was exhausted to then start again the next day.”

Sometimes not to get any sleep if the kids were sick, it was not easy. I tried to find the way of doing everything, to find outside support. Now that I am by myself, I can manage things better. Now I leave work, pick up my children at my parent's house and have dinner there. By the time I get home, the kids are fed and bathed, so I can spend time playing with them, bathe, and sleep. Now it is easier for me. I don't have the responsibilities of a wife."

7. Satisfaction and Regrets in Combining Family and Career:

The responses for Question 8: "Has it been worth it to you (to combine family and career)?" were coded in the following categories: "Worth it", "Worth it, with regrets", and "Other."

Worth it:

19 (63%) of the respondents reported that they felt that their career/family resolution was worthwhile and mentioned as a source of their satisfaction the rewards of family life, the rewards of a professional life, or the rewards in combining the two. An example of an answer in this category is:

"Yes, I believe that it is worth it. Both things are important and makes one happy. Happiness is not outside of you, it is inside of you. To the extent that in the search of your own happiness, you can also make others happy, then that contributes to your own well-being."

Worth it, regrets:

10 (30%) of the respondents also that their family/career resolution was worthwhile, but additionally described difficulties or regrets in their particular way of

combining family and career. An example of an answer in this category is:

“Well, I believe that yes, that it is a necessity both that it is worth it, because one can enjoy a better life from the material point of view. You can have more comforts at home, you children can go to private schools... I think that it is more worth it, than not worth it. If I did not work, if I did not have my profession, then I would be at home all the time listening to crying, screams, fights, and this and that. I would not understand the value of a professional life. For me it is worth it to work, however if one had many children, I don't know whether it would be worth it. One has to think about these things before one decides that one wants a full time profession. Sometimes, one learns this too late. Maybe I should have had less children.”

Other:

1 (3%) of the respondents stated that she still has not decided whether it is worth it for her to combine family and career. The following is her answer to the question: “Is it worth it?”

“That is what I have not answered myself yet, I am still trying to answer that question. That depends a lot on how my son has behaved that day. [Laughs] It is more complicated than that, There are times when I would like to spend more time with him. Truly, the way I see it, he is growing so rapidly that I get overcome with feelings to know that in the afternoons, he has to go from school to another place, and doesn't get home until after 6:00. I would like in some way to harmonize the situation. I would like to be able to come and work in the house

after a certain hour, in order to be here. However, I have to think about the economic necessity of providing him with the best education possible. I would like for him to enjoy sports, and other things that I never had.

(See Tables 13 and 14 for summary of results for ethnographic interview.)

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This chapter will discuss the results and implications of the study. It is organized as follows: a brief summary of the research questions, discussions of the quantitative and the qualitative findings presented in Chapter IV, the limitations of the study, suggestions for further study, and conclusions. The research hypotheses will be specifically addressed by the discussion of the quantitative findings. The discussion of both quantitative and the qualitative findings will address the research questions.

Summary of research objectives:

This study investigated the relationship of traditional sex-role expectations, role conflict, and psychological symptoms of distress for professional Puerto Rican women.

The primary questions investigated were:

1. How do professional Puerto Rican women perceive traditional sex- role expectations, and to what degree do they identify with the same?
2. How do professional Puerto Rican women reconcile sex- role expectations with the demands of combining career and family life?
3. To what degree do professional Puerto Rican women experience role conflict and/or psychological symptoms of distress?

Quantitative Findings:

This section will focus on the quantitative finding for the study, but will also address the contribution made by the qualitative results described in Chapter IV to understanding the quantitative findings.

Hypotheses 1:

The analysis of the relationship between traditional sex-role attitudes and home-career conflict in a relatively small sample of professional Puerto Rican women failed to yield a significant correlation overall, but found a minimally significant negative relationship between sex-role attitudes and cue 1 which depicts a woman at home in front of a typewriter, with a child in a high chair, and a pot of food on the stove.

The overall finding conflicts with a prior study that found for women of Mexican descent a positive relationship between sex-role traditional sex-role attitudes and household strain. (Golding, 1990). The difference between these two findings may be explained by the fact, that in Golding's study, the dependent variable was household strain and in the present study, the dependent variable was home-career conflict. Household strain and home-career conflict may assess different aspects of the experiences of working women. As defined by Farmer (1984), the dependent variable home-career conflict measures for incompatibility between homemaking and career roles, when both sets of roles are valued. The women in the present study scored in the low range continuum for home-career conflict, which suggest that many of them do not view their family and career roles as incompatible. This was further borne out by the qualitative data finding in this study, that professional Puerto Rican women define their sex- role ideal as one which combines family and career. The ethnographic interview also found evidence that some women in the study experienced difficulties in the management of multiple roles. In fact, one of the underlying complains of most of the women in the study was lack of time to devote to their multiple responsibilities. Thus,

the women who value both family and career, may see these roles as compatible, yet, experience role overload when stressed for lack of time or inadequate supports.

As stated above, there was a minimally significant negative correlation between sex-role attitudes and cue 1 which depicts a young mother in front of a typewriter with a young child sitting by her in a high chair and a pot of food cooking in the background. For the women in the study holding traditional sex-role attitude of the overall importance of mothering, working at home while taking care of your child may be seen as an adequate solution to the family-career dilemma. This finding is consistent with prior research (Benmayor et al, 1992) that Puerto Rican women interrupt work when their children are small and child care is perceived to be inadequate. Additionally, the lack of variability in the results of The Inventory of Attitudes for Men and Women may explain the failure of the study to show a significant relationship between sex-role attitudes and role conflict for this sample of women.

Hypothesis 2:

The study also found that this sample of women perceived their mothers' sex-role attitudes to be significantly more traditional than their own sex-role attitudes. This finding supports the work of other investigators (Munoz-Vazquez, 1979; Torres-Matullo, 1980) that have found that sex-role attitudes are in transition for Puerto Rican women. However, the difference in sex-role attitudes reported by the women in the study for themselves in comparison to their mothers was not significantly correlated with home-career conflict. This finding suggests that in spite of the rapid transition in sex-role attitudes (in this case, from one generation to the next), changes in sex-role attitudes per

se are not indicative of home-career conflict. Other variables, such as the quality of social support and the balance between rewarding and distressing role attributes (Barnett and Baruch, 1985), may in fact be more directly related to home-career conflict. This may be true for the women in this study, since many of them reported benefits from both home and professional participation, in addition to support from family and paid others.

Although there was a significant correlation between familism and traditional sex-role attitudes for the women in the study, and between the reported familism and the reported traditional sex-role attitudes attributed to the mothers, there was no significant relationship between familism and home-career conflict. In fact, the direction of the relationship was negative. Examination of the content of the familism cue, in addition, to statements made by some of the women in the ethnographic interview suggest that familism is not a source of conflict for this particular set of women because many of them perceive their extended families as a source of support, rather than as sources of additional demands. Thus, for the women in this sample, home-career conflict may be ameliorated by the support they receive from their extended families.

Hypotheses 3:

Additionally, the analysis of the relationship between home-career conflict and psychological distress failed to yield a significant correlation. However, there was a significant relationship between the distress level and Cue 4 of the Home-Career Conflict cues that depicted a woman waving good-bye to a baby held by a man. Examination of the relationship between anxiety and depression and Cue 4 also proved significant. Since, this was the only cue in the series that included a young infant and a man, it may

be that for this sample of women home-career conflict is operant when children are small. This would support Benmayor et al (1992) findings that Puerto Rican women interrupt work when their children are small and child care is perceived to be inadequate. Another possibility is that women responded to this cue with distress because of the implicit role-reversal exemplified by a woman leaving a child in a man's care. It may well be that the idea of leaving a young child in the care of a father is threatening to some of the women in the sample because of their high investment in the mothering role (see qualitative analysis). It would be interesting to explore whether distress would be elicited by a cue that suggested leaving a young child in the care of another woman.

Discussion of qualitative findings:

The ethnographic interview addressed the first research question: "How do professional Puerto Rican women perceive traditional sex- role expectations, and to what degree do they identify with the same?" by asking the participants in the study to describe their mothers' notions of the ideal Puerto Rican woman and also asking them to describe their own sex-role ideals. Since the literature suggested rapid changes in sex-role expectations as a consequence of recent social changes, the investigator believed that the subjects would describe their perception of traditional sex-role expectations when questioned about their mothers' sex-role ideals. This was borne out by the data. Additionally, analysis of what the women in the study believe to be their mothers' sex-role ideals in the "global dimension", as well as in the dimensions of "mothering", "marital", "sexuality", "domestic responsibilities", and "reputation" supported the idea that perceptions of traditional sex-role ideals are still operative, in spite of, or in addition

to more current sex-role expectations or behaviors.

In response to the question, "How would your mother describe the ideal Puerto Rican woman?, most participants described their mothers as communicating or modeling traditional sex-role attitudes for Puerto Rican women. The following is an example of a mostly traditional answer given by one of the women (# 27) to describe her mother's sex-role ideals. It is presented here to demonstrate that in describing their mothers' sex-role ideals, many of the women in the sample simultaneously compared their mothers' sex-role ideals and behaviors to traditional sex-role expectations.

"Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman?"

"My mother is very traditional, my mother would answer that the ideal Puerto Rican woman should be one who consecrates herself to the rearing of her children and to the exclusive care of her family."

"Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a mother?"

"Well she is a sacrificed woman, she would sacrifice herself entirely for her children. She would sacrifice her own interests and her own pleasures and preferences in order to be able to provide what the children and the husband want. That is how she lived her life."

"Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a wife?"

"The same. Her role is to please her husband and to provide him with whatever environment he desires."

"Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her sexuality?"

"I believe that for her sexuality was more on the level of pleasing or in the function of the other person, not for herself."

"Did she talk to you about this?"

"No, that is my perception of her".

"Was it a taboo subject?"

"She never talked about that theme, no."

"What were her beliefs about virginity, about extramarital relationships, and about this type of thing?"

"Well, my mother never married my father. In that sense, she did some things that were not looked on as proper in society at that time. And, she herself evaluates her actions as not being good. She did it, but she did not believe that it was a good thing."

"Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her domestic responsibilities?"

"Well, she would say that basically those are the responsibilities of the wife and the mother."

"Everything?"

"Ah, yes! The house, the house has to be very clean. One has to cook everyday, and one has to serve the meals."

"Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of the reputation that she should have in the social group in which she moves?"

"She worries a lot about this, she is more worried than I am. She is very attuned

to what people may say about her. Yes, others' opinions of her a source of concern..”

The second part of this first research question explored to what degree were the subjects of the study identified with traditional sex-role expectations. Before addressing this question directly, a point needs to be made here, about the subjects' perception of their mothers' identification with sex-role ideals. For most of the subjects in the sample, these two points of view were similar — their mothers' traditional sex-role ideals coincided with their sex-role behaviors. Other subjects, however, described contradictions between their mothers' sex-role ideals and their mothers' sex-role behaviors. (In most cases, these answers were coded as “transitional” as they combined aspects of traditional and egalitarian sex-role ideals.) In the previous example, Subject # 27 describes her understanding of her mother's sex-role ideals and what she observed to be her mother's sex-role behaviors. From the subject's perspective, in most instances, her mother's sex-role ideals matched her mother's sex-role behaviors. Specifically, in this example, the mother's actions are in accord with her traditional sex-role ideals in the areas of mothering, but there is a discrepancy between her traditional sex-role ideals about proper sexual conduct and how she lived her life. Conversely, in other case examples, the mothers were described to believe in egalitarian sex-role ideals, but were characterized to have lived their lives according to traditional sex-role expectations. In the following example, Subject #10, describes the contradiction between her mother's traditional behavior as a wife, and her egalitarian beliefs about marital roles.

“As a wife, she was self-sacrificing, self-sacrificing. However, when one asked

her, the answers that she gave were that the woman should develop herself fully and widely. She believed that a woman should be able to invite a man out, should have an independent life, that housework should be shared with the husband when she worked out of the house. But, the reality of her life was very different from that. She was not able to make real what she thought. What she thought was different from what she believed."

This contradictions between sex-role ideals and sex-role behaviors for the prior generation is further addressed by Subject # 31, who describes her mother as promulgating traditional sex-role ideals, living aspects of her life in a non-traditional manner, yet down-playing those non-traditional behaviors in order to meet traditional sex-role expectations.

"As a woman of her house, that is not spending a lot of time outside the home. That she is a woman who is dedicated to her home primarily. This, in spite of the fact, that in practice, she was a woman who worked and that she went after an education, including a master's degree. However, she always subordinated this part of her life to her other roles.

Thus, though the majority of the women in the study described traditional sex-role ideals for their mothers, some of the subjects in the sample identified contradictions between their mothers' sex-role ideals and or their sex-role behaviors. Additionally, some subjects described egalitarian and transitional sex-role ideals and behaviors for their mothers.. This suggests that sex-role expectations were already in transition for some of the mothers of the women in the sample. This further suggest, that some of the women in

the sample learned non-traditional sex-role ideals and/or learned to behave in non-traditional ways by following their mothers' verbal and/or non-verbal examples! This finding supports Elizabeth Crespo's assertion that women learn contradictory sex-role expectations from their mothers.

In sharp contrast to their perceptions of mostly traditional sex-role ideals by their mothers, the majority of the women in the study described their own sex-role ideals as transitional or egalitarian. The most discernible pattern between what the women in the study reported to be their own sex-role ideals and those they reported for their mothers was "traditional mother, transitional daughter." Another way of explaining the relationship between the reported contradictory sex-role expectations for the mothers and the daughters' sex-role ideals came from Subject # 10. In attempting to integrate the contradiction between her mother's egalitarian ideals and traditional practices with her own more transitional sex-role ideals, she described a process in which daughters are encouraged by their mothers to live out their egalitarian aspirations.

"I believe that it is common that you may be part of the first generation of breakthrough, that maybe in our case were already talked about, but had not been operationalized. In our case, we are living these values, even if we don't have any models or support. Because in reality, my mother was not a model in terms of her life style. She was more an inspiration in terms of emotional encouragement, saying: 'Go ahead and do it, you can do it, keep going, I believe in you.' However, her encouragement was accentuated by her contradictions, because she herself, lacked confidence. She herself was depressed. One could

see the contradictions. So in reality, we have a lot that still needs definition, because we have never had the experience of doing it this way."

1. How do professional Puerto Rican women perceive traditional sex- role expectations, and to what degree do they identify with them?

The question to what degree professional Puerto Rican identify with traditional sex-role expectations was best answered by examining the answers to the first question of the ethnographic interview which inquires about the subjects' sex-role ideals and probed in terms of the dimensions of "mothering", "marital", "sexuality", "domestic responsibilities" and "reputation". As presented in Chapter IV, these results support previous research that has found that sex-role expectations are in rapid transition for Puerto Rican women and that in fact, traditional values co-exist with more egalitarian ones for many Puerto Rican women. Additionally, this study found that the women in the sample perceive their sex-roles ideals to be different from those of their mothers. Most of the women in the sample described their mothers to have traditional sex-role ideals. In contrast, they described their own sex-role ideals as transitional (blending egalitarian and traditional values), and/or egalitarian. This suggests that sex-roles can shift in just one generation! In addition to the structural societal changes described in the literature review that may have made this rapid shift in sex-roles expectations for women possible, it is also feasible that given their roles as professional women, the women in this sample *want* to see themselves as different from their exclusively family oriented mothers! In this regard, it is interesting to note that some of the women in the sample reported that they took an active part in helping their mothers abandon out-dated

views.

1. Global Definition of the Role Ideal:

The most salient change in sex-role expectation for the sample of women studied seems to be in their self-definitions. Although traditional sex-role expectations define Puerto Rican women primarily in terms of their roles as mothers and wives, 97%, the overwhelming majority of the women in the study, defined their sex-role ideals in terms of their professional identities and/or in terms of their capacity to successfully combine a professional life with family life. The majority of the women in the sample also defined their sex-role ideals in terms of personal attributes such as self-confidence, assertiveness, goal-directedness, and intelligence, rather than by the traditionally defined attributes of self-sacrificing and submissiveness. Particularly striking was the fact that when asked to describe their sex-role ideal, the overwhelming majority of the participants first, made statements about the Puerto Rican woman's capacity to establish an identity for herself outside the home proceeded by statements about her capacities to combine career and family life. As Puerto Rican women have become better educated and established professional careers outside the home, it is no longer enough to be defined by the familiar roles. Rather, than abandon traditional sex-role definitions entirely, professional Puerto Rican women seem to have expanded sex-role definitions to account for their higher education and professional achievements and to include in their sex-role definition the personality traits necessary to succeed in the public sphere..

1a. Mothering Domain:

In terms of their roles as mothers, all of the participants of the study described

importance they gave to being mothers. Although 20% of the participants described the traditional sex-role ideal of sacrificing for their children, 60% of the women in the study stressed the importance of caring for children, showing them love and affection, and fostering their development. The more egalitarian of the group stressed the importance of shared parenting and of bringing up children-- male and female -- to be independent and goal-directed. The latter seems to be a change from the traditional notion of stressing family needs over individual goals or needs. This may be a function of a shift from an agrarian society to a post-industrial one, but it may also reflect changes in cultural values due to the influence of more individualistic oriented North-American culture.

1c. Marital Domain:

In terms of their roles as spouses, the responses varied from traditional to egalitarian, with 87% of the answers shared by those with egalitarian and transitional views. The most striking change in sex-role ideals in this area for this group of women, seems to be in the area of marital relationships — no longer do these women see themselves as submissive or subservient to their husband, but define their relationships in terms of companionship, collaboration, and equality. However, more than a few of the respondents expressed the desire for more egalitarian relationships with their spouses, but felt limited by their spouses' traditional sex-role behaviors and attitudes. This suggests that sex-role expectations may be changing more rapidly for women, than they are for men.

1d. Sexuality Domain:

In terms of their sex-role ideals about sexuality all of the respondents discussed

the importance of mutuality in sexual relationships and the importance of women receiving as well as giving sexual pleasure. In this regard, the women in the sample have rejected the the traditional prescription of passive sexual submission, in favor of active sexual participation. This, is spite of the fact, that many described their mothers to be very traditional in their sexual expectations and inhibited in their sexual expressions. In the domain of sexuality, it was interesting to note that none of the women gave traditional answers for themselves in describing their sex-role ideals, and none, gave egalitarian answers in describing their mothers' notions about sexuality. Given the mothers' traditional sex-role ideals about sexuality, it was not surprising that most of the women in the sample had never discussed sexual issues with their mothers. The marked change in sexual ideas and behaviors may be a function of the sexual revolution on the sixties and of the feminist movement. However, it is also possible that mass media emphasis on sexual fulfillment may also have helped shift sexual values for the women in the sample.

1e. Domestic Responsibilities Domain:

In response to their ideals about domestic responsibilities, the women in the sample were on the most part traditional and transitional in their orientation. Most of the women in the sample reported relatively high standards for housekeeping, and many described household tasks as the responsibility of women. It was only in this domain, that the women in the sample reported relatively similar values to their own for their mothers. Like for their mothers before them, it may be that keeping a clean and orderly house remains a source of pride and gratification for women. Additionally, many of the

mothers were reported to work outside of the home. It may also be that work or career involvement may motivate working women to find other alternatives to doing all the housework themselves. Similar to the marital domain, many women in the transitional category described the wish to have shared housekeeping with their spouses or partners, but admitted that it was hard to get the husbands to comply. Rather, than making this an issue for dissension, many sought other alternatives. Although a few of the women reported full-time and part-time help, more than a third of the sample did the housework themselves. It is no wonder that in other parts of the interview, many of these same women described difficulty making time for all of the demands their multiple roles entailed.

1e. Reputation Domain:

Traditional sex-role expectations also stipulate the importance of a woman's reputation. In order to be considered a good and worthy woman a woman's behavior must be flawless in each of the dimensions of the sex-role ideal. Although most of the women in the sample admitted to the importance of being well regarded by their social groups, they also emphasized the importance of women being able to live by their own standards and being valued for their achievement. This is the most salient change noted in this domain. Less change was noted in terms of what is acceptable in sexual behaviors, most respondents noted the importance in society of "proper sexual comporment". For many of the women in the sample, professional status was closely associated with personal reputation. Thus, improper sexual behavior would not only affect a woman's status within her social group, but affect her professional standing. This was made clear

by one of the respondents who stated that it was important to keep a good reputation, because "*each person carries with her a history*", which will not only have an effect on her personally, but will also have an effect on her family and career.

Questions 3 (How are you similar or different to the ideal Puerto Rican woman?) and Questions 4 (If you are different from the ideal Puerto Rican woman, how do you explain it?) of the ethnographic interview further delineated the answer to the first research question: "How do professional Puerto Rican women perceive traditional sex-role expectations, and to what degree, they identify with the same? The following two sections will focus on the discussions of the results for questions 3 and 4.

2. Similarities and Differences from Sex-role Ideal:

As noted in the results chapter (see Chapter IV, p.), question 3 was designed to directly probe the respondent's sense of their identification with traditional sex-role ideals. However, the ambiguous wording of the question prompted the subjects to respond in a variety of ways. Some of the subjects compared themselves to their own stated sex-role ideals which varied for each subject and for each domain from traditional to transitional to egalitarian; others compared themselves to traditional sex-role ideals or to the traditional sex ideals embodied by their mothers; and for some, it was unclear what the comparison criteria was. Although the answers to this question were broadly divided into the categories "Similar", "Different", and "Similar and Different", it is difficult to make any generalization about this particular set of data because it was hard to clearly establish for each subject, what their individual comparison criteria was. However, the variation in the subjects' comparison criteria in and of itself, may be indicative of

changing sex-role ideals for professional Puerto Rican women.

3. Influences on Sex-Role Ideals and Behaviors:

Question 4 of the qualitative interview was asked to elicit professional Puerto Rican women's understanding of what has influenced them in departing from traditional sex-roles. Since many of the respondents' sex-role ideals and behaviors varied in orientation from traditional, to egalitarian, to traditional, the categories that emerged for this question described the different sources of influence for sex-roles, regardless of sex-role orientation. Many of the women described being influenced by their mothers, their fathers, other family members, and traditional and religious upbringing. Although some women described their sex-role ideals and behaviors as directly influence by family of origin variables, other women described taking an opposite stance to the sex-role values modeled by their families. Some also described the influence of their current family circumstances on their sex-role behaviors, including the husband's traditional or non-traditional stance as important in deciding whether traditional or non-traditional sex-role behaviors would be carried out. This again points to the importance of the husband's stance in deciding whether a woman will actualize more egalitarian sex-role behaviors or not. As one woman in the study pointed out:

" To be a professional woman , there are compromises that one makes. Clearly, one has to have a husband who cooperates, one has to have children that cooperate, there has to be a family dynamic of mutual respect and cooperation. If not, then nothing is possible. If one can get that, then there is no problem. In Puerto Rico, many professional women have to go through divorces, they can't

get the husband to understand. The husband may not understand what one has to do, the many trips that one may need to take. In my case, we have achieved until now, until now, a certain balance.”

Many women also described that they have been influenced in their sex-role ideals and behaviors by others in their generation or peer groups, by exposure and participation in the feminist movement, and by exposure to other cultural and social values gained through travel and literature. The women in this sample are well-traveled and well-read. However, it can be speculated that women of other social and educational backgrounds in Puerto Rico may have similar influences as well given exposure to different sex-role ideals through mass media and through the pattern of circular migration to the United States common among many Puerto Rican families.

Finally, many women attributed their sex-role ideals and behaviors to personal characteristics and preferences, such as rebelliousness, assertiveness, independence, and masculinity. It may be that these women see themselves as actively defining their sex-roles, rather than passively accepting traditional sex-role definitions. Since many of the women described being influenced by more than one of the above categories, it may be that women sift through different versions of sex-role expectations and decide which particular set fits their own particular preferences and family circumstances. This explanation complements Elizabeth Crespo's assertion that Puerto Rican women are not passive victims of the different role identities that they bear, but active negotiators of the lives they lead.

2. How do professional Puerto Rican women reconcile traditional sex-role expectations

with the demand of combining family and career life?

The ethnographic interview addressed the second research question: “How do professional Puerto Rican women reconcile traditional sex-role expectations with the demand of combining family and career life by asking the participants in the study to describe the impact of their status as women on their professional roles (Question 5); to describe the impact of their professional roles on their family life (Question 6); to describe their success in combining family and careers (Question 7); and to describe if their efforts at combining family and career are worth it to them (Question 8). In that in response to these questions, the women in the sample also described their difficulties in meeting both home and career demands, these questions also indirectly addressed the third research question: To what degree do professional Puerto Rican women experience role conflict?

4. Impact on Profession Life

This question was asked to determine how professional Puerto Rican women reconcile the demands placed on professional life given their other roles as women. In response some of the women described the positive effects that they derived from professional participation. Some asserted that “intrinsic female characteristics” such as sensitivity and interpersonal relatedness actually accorded them professional advantage. Other women described the negative effects from professional or work participation. Some focused on the difficulty of professional advancement because of the demands from family roles, while others described sex-discrimination and sexual harassment experienced in the work place. A third group of women described both positive and

negative impact from professional participation. Together these findings support the Governor of Puerto Rico's Commission on Women's Affairs (1992) report that found both benefits and drawbacks experienced by working women on the Island. More specifically, the women who described the difficulty in professional advancement given their family demands may also be experiencing role conflict as described by Barnet and Baruch (1988) Zalk (1990). As noted in the discussion of the qualitative findings, the quantitative measure used in this study may not have been adequate to measure home-career conflict in practicing professional mothers.

5. Impact on Family Life

Question 7: How do you manage to combine your family and professional roles was asked to determine how professional Puerto Rican women reconcile the demands placed on their family life given the demands placed by their professional roles. In response some of the women described the positive benefits to their family life from professional participation. The positive benefits described by this group of women in the sample included collaboration with husband or partner, increased financial benefits to the family, positive role modeling for children, and enhancement of the quality of parenting. These benefits to family life from professional participation are similar to those described by the Governor of Puerto Rico's Commission on Women's Affairs (1992) for working women on the Island. Some women in this group described family and work place support that allowed them to combine family and professional life without undue effect. However, other women in the sample focused on the negative effects to family life because of professional participation. A third group of women in the sample described

both positive and negative effects to family life from professional participation. The negative effects to family life described by these women included lack of time to meet family responsibilities, negative feelings because of difficulty meeting family and career obligations and inadequate supports. The women in the group who described negative effects to their family life may be experiencing role conflict and/or role overload as described by Barnett and Baruch (1988) and Zalk (1990).

6. Management of Multiple Roles:

Question 8: How do you manage to combine your family and professional roles?

This question was asked to determine how professional Puerto Rican women reconciled family and work demands. In answer to this question, some of the respondents conveyed a sense of success in managing multiple roles and delineated some of the strategies they used to integrate family and work demands, including the recruitment of support from husbands, family members, and others. Others, in spite of the use of time management strategies, described difficulty in meeting multiple role demands, sometimes because of inadequate supports by either family members or the work place. The women in the latter category seem to be experiencing role overload or role conflict which may be mediated by lack of adequate supports in the home or in the work place.

7. Satisfactions and Regrets in Combining Family and Career

Question 8: Has it been worth it to you (to combine family and career).

All the women, but one, stated that it was worth it to them to combine family and career. Many described the rewards from family life, the rewards from professional

participation, and/or the rewards of combining family and career. However, a third of the women, in addition to stating that it was worth it to them to combine family and career, also described some of their regrets or difficulties in combining the two. Some of the regrets included not having had children earlier in their lives, a sense of difficulty or burden in meeting both sets of demands, and missing out on family or work activities because of conflicting obligations. These results suggest that this group of women may be experiencing role overload or role conflict.

Overview of qualitative data findings:

In summary, an overview of the qualitative data in this study confirms prior research findings that point to the transition of sex-roles for Puerto Rican women. The women in the study described themselves as holding different sex-role ideals than those they described for their mothers. Whereas they mostly described their mothers to be traditional in their sex-role orientations, they described themselves to be mostly transitional and/or egalitarian in their sex-role orientation. The women studied include in their self-definition their roles as professional women and seem to place a high priority in obtaining success in this area of their lives. However, for the women studied this did not mean relinquishing their familiar roles, most participants stressing the importance of successfully combining professional and home lives. As mothers, these women are committed to the well-being of their children; as wives, they demand companionship and collaboration from their mates, but are willing to be flexible in order to preserve their marriages.; in their sexuality they are active and expressive; in their households, they value neatness and order; and though they value the importance of other's opinions of

them, they want to be admired for following their own standards. In their efforts to redefine their roles, the women in the sample seem to keep aspects of traditional roles such as the importance of motherhood and of keeping an orderly home; modify aspects of the traditional role ideal such as the importance of being flexible in a marriage; and reconstruct what they consider out-dated sex-role practices such as sexual passivity and sexual submission.

Although some certainly seemed stressed and overburdened by the multiple demands in their lives, most also expressed pride in their multiple achievements. These achievements were not seen as separate from their family life, but as an integral part of it. Not only are these women active in forging sex-roles more in keeping with their current realities, but they are working in their communities and within their families to break-down gender based barriers. Most importantly, they seem to be striving to guide their children in a similar direction.

Limitations of the Study:

The following section will focus on the limitations of the study which include those presented by characteristics of the sample, difficulties in instrumentation, and generalizability of the results. The first group of variables that may have affected the results of this study include the small sample size and the sampling process itself. The sample size, though adequate for the qualitative part of the study, was too small to provide sufficient power to the statistical analysis of the quantitative results. (Hartman, 1992) Therefore, it is possible, that with a larger sample a significant correlation may be found among the variables. Additionally, the small sample size may have also

contributed to the lack of variability in The Inventory of Attitudes Toward Men and Women and The Home-Career Conflict Measure which may have also contributed to the failure to get a significant relationship between the variables studied..

The women in the study were recruited through personal and telephone contact, and, therefore, may have been more homogeneous than a more widely recruited sample. In addition, most of the women in the study were urban dwellers, (the greater San Juan area of the Island), self-selected, and came from similar socioeconomic backgrounds (middle class professional). Professional women of different age cohorts, contrasted with the inclusion of non-professional women may have contributed to the findings and objectives of the study.

Finally, the questionnaires presented the usual limitations of paper and pencil tests. Furthermore, The Home-Career Conflict Measure was developed using young college women who may not have as yet committed to, or experienced, both family and career roles. In comparison, the women in this study were already experienced in both family and career, and many having already spent many years of their lives juggling both sets of roles. The Home-Career Conflict Measure was designed to discriminate for conflict when the home and career were both desired and seen as incompatible. The women studied, though stressed by multiple demands, did not seem to see home and career as incompatible. Another type of role conflict measure, or a measure to discriminate for role overload, may have been more appropriate for our purposes.

Suggestions for Further Study:

As discussed above, it would be interesting to replicate this study with a larger

and broader based sample to see if the results would change or be sharpened..

Additionally, it would be of merit to repeat this study with working, non-professional Puerto Rican mothers and with non-working Puerto Rican mothers, many of whom do not have the financial benefits and the emotional rewards implicit in professional status. It would also be interesting to include the actual mothers of the respondents to compare their self view with their daughters' perceptions of the prior generations sex-role attitudes.

Final Comments:

In the past, when describing sex-roles for Puerto Rican women, researchers pointed to the limiting aspects of their roles. Other researchers have pointed to transition in sex-roles for Puerto Rican women, and many researchers have focused on the richness and variety in sex-role identifications for Puerto Rican women. This study found all of the above to be true. In particular, when describing their mothers, many of the women in the study alluded to the limited life styles of the past generation. Yet, many of the women also seemed proud of and enriched by their mothers' total dedication to children and home. In fact, more than a few of the women were quick to point out, that ideally, women should be able to choose whether to stay at home or to combine family with career. Many felt it was wrong to devalue any woman for her choice to stay at home. Particularly clear, was the message that all women should be supported — those who stay at home, and those who choose to work and raise families as well. Although the sex-role ideal of Marianismo elevates the care for home, husband, and children over own welfare, the women in the study believe that women should be able to choose to stay at

home, or alternately to choose to participate in the work world for their own satisfaction.

For many of the women in the sample, it was not enough to contribute to society through their family involvement and career participation. Many talked about the obligation to participate in political and social groups in order to achieve the needed changes. This, again, points to the richness and variety in the lives of these women and the active stance they take vis a vis their roles. Puerto Rican women are actively involved in reconstructing and renegotiating the terms of family and social life.

Appendix 1

Clave: _____

Instrucciones:

Este inventario está compuesto de una serie de declaraciones que describen las actitudes y creencias que tienen diferentes personas sobre el papel que juegan las mujeres y los hombres en la sociedad. No hay contestaciones correctas ni incorrectas ya que todos tenemos derecho a nuestra opinión personal.

Después de cada una de las declaraciones aparece la siguiente lista de posibles contestaciones:

Completamente	Bastante	Levemente	Levemente	Bastante	Completamente
de acuerdo	de acuerdo	de acuerdo	en desacuerdo	en desacuerdo	en desacuerdo

Lea cada una de las declaraciones y escoja la contestación que mejor describa lo que usted piensa de cada una de ellas.

-- Debe hacerle un círculo a completamente de acuerdo si la declaración caracteriza sus creencias y actitudes definitivamente.

-- Debe hacerle un círculo a bastante de acuerdo si la declaración describe sus creencias y actitudes moderadamente.

-- Debe hacerle un círculo a levemente de acuerdo si la declaración describe sus creencias y actitudes levemente.

-- Debe hacerle un círculo a levemente en desacuerdo si la declaración describe unas creencias y actitudes levemente contrarias a las suyas.

-- Debe hacerle un círculo a bastante en desacuerdo si la declaración describe unas creencias y actitudes bastante contrarias a las suyas.

-- Debe hacerle un círculo a completamente en desacuerdo si la declaración describe unas creencias y actitudes intensamente contrarias a las suyas.

Conteste todas las declaraciones aunque no esté completamente segura de su contestación.

1. Es justo esperar que un hombre que trabaja también ayude con las tareas domésticas.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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2. En general, los hombres son más inteligentes que las mujeres.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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3. El verdadero significado de la feminidad es el éxito maternal.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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4. Una mujer podría funcionar tan efectivamente como un hombre en la presidencia de los E.E.U.U..

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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5. Si fuera obligatorio el servicio militar, las mujeres deberían ser reclutadas al igual que los hombres.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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6. Considero aceptable el que una mujer acompañe a un hombre al apartamento de él, aunque sea de noche.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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7. Las mujeres, por su naturaleza, están más interesadas en las cosas de la casa que los hombres.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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8. Una mujer puede realizarse aunque nunca se case.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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9. Aún cuando ambos esposos trabajen fuera, es a la mujer a quien le debe corresponder la planificación y preparación de las comidas.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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10. Los hombres no deben encargarse de la crianza de los hijos porque carecen de instinto maternal.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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11. Cuidar del hogar es primordialmente responsabilidad de la mujer.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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12. No tiene nada de malo el entregarle un(a) muñeco(a) a un varoncito para el juego.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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13. Existen buenas razones para que los hombres deban tener más libertad, prestigio y poder que las mujeres.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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14. La responsabilidad primordial del cuidado de los hijos no debe recaer sobre la madre si ella tiene empleo.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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15. El guardar la virginidad no es ni más ni menos importante para una mujer que para un hombre.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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16. Está perfectamente bien que un hombre le permita a una mujer pagar el taxi, comprar taquillas o pagar la cuenta.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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17. Algunas ocupaciones provocan demasiada tensión emocional para ser manejadas adecuadamente por las mujeres.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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18. Una mujer puede tener una vida completamente adecuada y realizada sin tener hijos.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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19. El rol tradicional de la mujer como esposa y madre conlleva una limitación innatural de sus energías y visiones.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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20. Las mujeres parecen estar inherentemente menos capacitadas que los hombres para el razonamiento lógico y científico.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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21. En general, los hijos de madres que trabajan fuera de la casa son tan normales como los hijos de madres que se quedan en la casa.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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22. Las reparaciones en el hogar son responsabilidad del esposo.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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23. Cuando un hombre y una mujer con credenciales idénticas compiten para un empleo o ascenso, el puesto debe ser otorgado al hombre.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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24. Las mujeres son menos capaces que los hombres de tomar decisiones y luego no abandonarlas.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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25. Las mujeres son tan racionales como los hombres.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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26. El lugar propio de la mujer es en el hogar.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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27. Si surge una emergencia en el hogar, la madre debe ser la primera en dejar el trabajo para ir a atenderla.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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28. Los hombres son mejores líderes que las mujeres.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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29. Las madres que trabajan no le dedican suficiente esfuerzo a su responsabilidad primaria: su familia.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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30. Tener relaciones sexuales antes del matrimonio es tan correcto o tan incorrecto para los hombres como para las mujeres.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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31. Las mujeres son tan capaces como los hombres de controlar sus emociones.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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32. Es bueno que haya alguna igualdad entre el hombre y la mujer pero principalmente debe ser el hombre el que decida los asuntos de la familia.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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33. Cuando una mujer se casa, no se le debe exigir que cambie su apellido.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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34. Las mujeres deben poder citar a los hombres a salir.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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35. Cuando un padre anciano se enferma, su hija o nuera debe tomar responsabilidad por su cuidado.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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36. Una mujer debe servirle las comidas a su pareja, particularmente si hay otras personas presentes.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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37. Una mujer debe aguardar a que su esposo inicie el sexo.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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38. Una mujer debe tomar responsabilidad por la apariencia de su esposo.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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39. Una mujer debe soltarlo todo para proveer la ayuda que pidan sus padres o hermano(a)s.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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40. Una mujer debe siempre sacrificar sus necesidades por el bienestar de su familia.

Completamente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Completamente en desacuerdo
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Appendix 2**The Home-Career Conflict Measure (Farmer, Rooney, and Lissey, 1982)****Indicaciones:**

- 1 **María, una madre joven, esta sentada frente a la mesa de la cocina con una maquinilla de escribir. Su hijo está sentado en su silla alta. En el trasfondo se puede observar alguna comida que se cuece sobre la estufa.**
- 2 **Marta está llegando a su casa al crepúsculo. Su hijo de ocho o nueve años se puede observar en el interior de la casa.**
3. **Julia está llegando a su casa a media tarde. Su hijo la espera.**
4. **Sylvia le está diciendo adiós con la mano a un hombre que sostiene en sus brazos al bebé de ella.**

Indicación adicional:

5. Carmen está llegando a una casa. Se puede observar a una pareja de personas mayores en el interior de la casa.

Para cada historia, al participante se le pedirá que responda a lo siguiente:

1. ¿Qué está pasando? ¿Quiénes son las personas?
2. ¿Qué ha llevado a esta situación? O sea, ¿qué ha sucedido en el pasado?
3. ¿Qué se está pensando? ¿Qué se está deseando? ¿De quienes son estos pensamientos o deseos?
4. ¿Qué sucederá? ¿Qué se hará?

Appendix 3

Score Code for the Home-Career Conflict Measure:**Score I: Affect**

- + 2 Negative affect or consequences in story to any person, no positive affect.
- + 1 Mixed negative affect, with negative affect coming at end of story.
- 2 Positive affect or consequences in story to any person, no negative affect.
- 1 Mixed positive affect, with positive affect coming at end of story.
- 0 No affect is scored when no affect, positive or negative is expressed.

Score II: Events

- + 2 Negative event (Disaster or Misfortune).
- + 1 Mixed negative event with negative event coming at end of story.
- 2 Positive event: Instrumental activity to improve situation or reduce negative affect.
- 1 Mixed positive event with positive event coming at end of story.
- 0 No negative or positive events.

Score III: Activity of woman outside the home

- 2 No reference to woman's activities outside the home, or in home other than child care, homemaking or other recreation.
- 1 Work of woman depicted as part-time activity outside or inside home (i.e., study, paid work, community activities,...woman works in home on novel or thesis).
- 2 Full-time employed work or study outside or inside home suggested by story.

Appendix 4

The Brief Symptom Index (Derogatis, 1975)**Instrucciones:**

Lo que sigue es una lista de problemas que las personas suelen tener. Por favor lea cada una cuidadosamente y hágale un círculo al número a la izquierda que mejor describa **EL GRADO EN QUE ESE PROBLEMA LA HA MOLESTADO O AFLIGIDO EN LOS ULTIMOS SIETE DIAS, INCLUYENDO EL DIA DE HOY**. Hágale un sólo círculo para cada problema y no deje ninguna pregunta sin contestar. Si cambia de parecer, borre bien la primera marca que hizo.

INDIQUE CUANTO SE AFLIGIO POR:

- | | |
|----------|-----------------------|
| 0 | <u>Nada</u> |
| 1 | <u>Muy Poco</u> |
| 2 | <u>Algo</u> |
| 3 | <u>Bastante</u> |
| 4 | <u>Mucho</u> |

1.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir nerviosidad o temblores internos
2.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir desmayos, vertigos o mareos
3.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener la idea de que otra persona puede controlar sus pensamientos
4.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir que otros tienen la culpa de la mayoría de sus apuros
5.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener dificultad en recordar las cosas
6.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse molesta o irritada con facilidad
7.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir dolores en el corazón o el pecho
8.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir temor en los espacios abiertos
9.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener pensamientos de terminar con su vida
10.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir que no puede confiar de la mayoría de las personas
11.	0	1	2	3	4	Inapetencia
12.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir temor de repente sin razón
13.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener brotes de mal genio que no pudo controlar
14.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir soledad aún estando en compañía de otros
15.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse obstaculizada de realizar tareas
16.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse sola
17.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse abatida
18.	0	1	2	3	4	No sentir interés por nada
19.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse temerosa
20.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse heridos los sentimientos con facilidad
21.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir que no le agrada a la gente o que son inamistosos
22.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse inferior a los demás
23.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir náusea o trastorno estomacal
24.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir que los demás la vigilan o hablan de usted
25.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener dificultad para dormirse
26.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener que cotejar y volver a cotejar lo que ha hecho
27.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener dificultad para tomar decisiones
28.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir miedo para viajar en autobús, metro, tren o carros públicos
29.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener dificultad para coger aliento
30.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir calenturas o escalofríos
31.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener que evitar ciertas cosas, lugares o actividades que te atemorizan
32.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir que la mente se le va en blanco
33.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir adormecimiento, entumecimiento o comezón en partes de su cuerpo
34.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener la idea de que debe ser castigada por sus pecados
35.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse desesperanzada con el futuro
36.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener dificultad para concentrarse
37.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir debilidad en partes de su cuerpo
38.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse tensa o excitada
39.	0	1	2	3	4	Pensar sobre la muerte o en su propia muerte
40.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener impulsos de agotar, herir o hacerle daño a alguien
41.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener impulsos de romper o destrozar las cosas
42.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse muy cohibida con los demás
43.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse inquieta en los gentíos
44.	0	1	2	3	4	Nunca sentir intimidad con otra persona
45.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir olas de terror o pánico
46.	0	1	2	3	4	Involucrarse frecuentemente en disputas
47.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse nerviosa al quedarse sola
48.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir que los demás no le dan el justo reconocimiento a sus logros
49.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse intranquila al punto de no poder estar quieta
50.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse sin valor propio
51.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentir que los demás se aprovecharán de usted si los deja
52.	0	1	2	3	4	Sentirse culpable
53.	0	1	2	3	4	Tener la idea de que hay algo malo con su mente

Appendix 5

Guía para la entrevista etnográfica

1. Describa su noción de la mujer puertorriqueña ideal.
 - a. ¿Cómo es la mujer puertorriqueña ideal como madre?
 - b. ¿Cómo es la mujer puertorriqueña ideal como esposa?
 - c. ¿Cómo es la mujer puertorriqueña ideal en términos de su sexualidad?
 - d. ¿Cómo es la mujer puertorriqueña ideal en términos de sus obligaciones domésticas?
 - e. ¿Cómo es la mujer puertorriqueña ideal en términos de la reputación que tiene en el grupo social en que se desenvuelve?

2. Piense en de su mamá. Piense en sus actitudes, sus valores y lo que podría enseñarle a sus hijas. ¿Cómo describiría ella la mujer puertorriqueña ideal?
 - a. ¿Cómo es la mujer puertorriqueña ideal como madre?
 - b. ¿Cómo es la mujer puertorriqueña ideal como esposa?
 - c. ¿Cómo es la mujer puertorriqueña ideal en términos de su sexualidad?
 - d. ¿Cómo es la mujer puertorriqueña ideal en términos de sus obligaciones domésticas?
 - e. ¿Cómo es la mujer puertorriqueña ideal en términos de la reputación que tiene en el grupo social en que se desenvuelve?

3. ¿Cómo es Ud. similar y/o diferente de la mujer puertorriqueña ideal?
 - a. ¿Cómo se asemeja y/o diferencia de la madre puertorriqueña ideal?
 - b. ¿Cómo se asemeja y/o diferencia de la esposa puertorriqueña ideal?
 - c. ¿Cómo se asemeja y/o diferencia de la mujer puertorriqueña ideal en términos de su sexualidad?
 - d. ¿Cómo se asemeja y/o diferencia de la mujer puertorriqueña ideal en términos de sus obligaciones domésticas?
 - e. ¿Cómo se asemeja y/o diferencia de la mujer puertorriqueña ideal en cuanto a su reputación?

4. Si es diferente a como dicta el rol de la mujer puertorriqueña ideal, ¿cómo lo explica?

5. ¿Qué impacto ha tenido sobre su vida profesional el hecho de ser mujer?

6. ¿Cómo interfiere en su vida hogareña el hecho de ser una profesional?

7. ¿Cómo se las ha ingeniado para combinar su vida hogareña con su vida profesional?

8. ¿Ha valido/vale la pena?

Appendix 6
Coding Categories for the Ethnographic Interview:

1. General Definition of Role Ideal:

Question 1: “ Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman?” And:

Question 2: “ Describe your mother’s notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman?”

This initial question was asked to obtain a broad ranging set of data that could address the participants’ sex-role ideal and their sense of their mother’s sex-role ideal. One purpose of the question was to assess whether traditional sex-role ideals were ascribed to, and if not, then to document current and/or emerging sex-role ideals. In answer to this question, three distinct categories emerged.

a): Traditional :

This category included sex-role ideals that referred unequivocally to traditional sex-role expectations or implied primary identification with the activities of the home (as a wife, mother, homemaker, or good neighbor). A traditional orientation focused on family and home life emphasizing traditional values such as self-sacrifice, and subordination of self to family needs. Additionally, a traditional orientation included the notion of the superior authority of the man in the public sphere, but also in the marital relationship. The following are examples of the traditional coding category:

“She is an excellent mother, she meets all her husband’s needs, and she takes good care of her household.”

“She is married, self-sacrificing, is flexible and accepting of difficult conditions for the well-being of the family.”

“ If she works outside the home, she does this to help her husband; she is

dedicated primarily to her home, and is subservient to her husbands needs.”

b) Egalitarian:

This category included sex-role ideals related to development of career or of self (rather than of family). An egalitarian orientation focused on career and emphasized educational and career goals and personal characteristics that contribute to professional success such as determined, competent, or goal-directed. Additionally, egalitarian answers included the importance of equality between men and women either within the home or outside the home; and the mention of the importance of spousal support in domestic tasks and/or in meeting professional roles. Examples of this category included:

“She is educated, independent, an accomplished professional, and is politically active and involved.”

“She is educated; she knows her rights and is able to protect/defend herself--she does not allow domestic violence. She values herself and is financially independent.”

“She is someone who understands that she is equal to men; who works and is a professional, and who is politically active against the oppression of women.

c) Transitional:

This category blended both traditional and egalitarian orientations in a variety of ways. Prominent in this category, were answers that indicated a combined orientation toward family and career roles. In terms of power relations between the sexes, there was also a blend. For instance, transitional answers mentioned the importance of flexibility in male-female power relationships in order to meet family and/or career goals. Other

transitional answers indicated equality between the sexes in the work place, but directly or by implication, indicate less power for women within the home. Examples of answers in this category included:

“The ideal Puerto Rican women can combine all of her roles without conflict.”

“She is someone who feels supported by her family and spouse; has goals; and is able to combine family and career.”

“The ideal Puerto Rican woman is educated and intellectually developed. She is determined to succeed. And she is able to integrate successfully her professional and family life.”

1a: Mothering Domain:

Question 1a: “Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a mother? And:

Question 2a: “Describe your mother’s notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a mother?”

These questions were used to more narrowly probe the subjects’ conceptions of the sex-role ideal for Puerto Rican mothers. The question was asked twice, the first time to get a sense of each subject’s sex-role ideal for the mothers’ role, the second time to get a sense of their notion of the past generation’s ideal of motherhood as exemplified by their mothers. The following categories emerged for this question:

a) Traditional:

This category included sex-role ideal definitions in which the mother’s role was described as pre-eminent or primary, or if the traditional sex-role expectations of self-sacrifice, self-subordination, or self-denial were described. This category also included

the traditional sex-role belief that parenting is a woman's responsibility or domain.

Examples of answers in this category included:

"Her children are first and foremost."

"Self-sacrifices for her children, takes care of her children to the utmost extent of her abilities."

"The ideal mother is the one who is dedicated to her children. She is the one responsible for her children's education, moral values, and spiritual values."

b) Egalitarian:

This category included those answers in which mothering was described as an important aspect of a woman's life, but not the only aspect. Included in this category were answers that stressed the sex-role ideal of shared parenting. Also, included in this category were answers that emphasized fostering self-sufficiency and independence in children, as well as those that stressed the importance of teaching them egalitarian sexual values. Some examples of answers in this category included:

"Mother's role should not be seen as separate from the whole person. It should not be one of self-sacrifice, in fact, it should be integrated with her other roles."

"Parenting should be a shared responsibility with the father."

"She is someone who teaches her children to be independent, to find their own way in life, to believe in themselves."

"Teaches children the importance of women in society and in the family."

c) Transitional:

This category blended the traditional and egalitarian categories in a variety of

ways. The mother's role in children's development was acknowledged, but not highlighted as primary or pre-eminent. Instead, the focus was on parenting goals such as open and good communication; providing nurture and affection; serving as a role model and/or as a guide. Also included in this category were answers that acknowledged limits to a mother's time and resources, emphasizing instead the notion of quality time versus full time. Example of answers in this category included:

“She provides affection and she spends quality time with her children.”

“She shows leadership in her home and with her children. She is affectionate, understanding, and a good communicator.”

“She does the best that she is able to with what she has, yet she is insightful that she cannot perfectly meet all her roles.”

1b: Marital Domain:

Question 1b: “ Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a wife? And:

Question 2b: “ Describe your mother's notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman as a wife?

These questions were used to more narrowly probe the subjects' conceptions of the sex-role ideal for Puerto Rican wives. The question was asked twice, the first time to get a sense of each subject's sex-role ideal for the wife's role, the second time to get a sense of their notion of the past generation's ideal of wifeness as exemplified by their mothers. The following categories emerged for this question:

a) Traditional:

This category included descriptions of the wife's role as the pre-eminent or

primary role (at times equally important as role of mother, at other times more important than the role of mother). It also included description of the ideal wife as self-sacrificing, submissive, and subordinate to her husband.'s needs. Answers in this category portray the ideal wife as meeting all her husband's needs (food, housing, clothing, sexual, emotional, social). Included in this category were answers that described the ideal wife as financially or emotionally dependent on her husband. Also included in this category were answers that advocated for the sexual faithfulness of women, while "showing flexibility" for the sexual "peccadilloes" of men.

"She is loyal, she is submissive to her husband, and she takes care of all his needs."

"She is understanding, she is helpful to her husband in his career, she is subservient to him, and she takes care of him to the point of exhaustion."

"She is dependent on her spouse, she likes to be "taken care of" financially. She lives to be the center of her spouse's attention.

b) Egalitarian:

This category included answers that stress the importance of equality, partnership, and collaboration in the marital relationship. Answers in this category make explicit the expectation of mutuality in the relationship. Examples of answers in this category included:

"She is his companion, his partner. As a couple, they share activities, household tasks and child-rearing. They share their finances. It is relationship where they help each other."

“They share the same social, economic, and professional level. They also share their lives, including household responsibilities.”

“She has high self-esteem and has dignity in the relationship. She is not submissive or subordinate to her husband, in fact, she demands just treatment. In that she has self-respect, she demands collaboration from her partner.”

c) Transitional:

This category included answers that have both traditional and egalitarian elements. Included in this category are answers that imply egalitarian ideals or wishes on the part of the wife, but are modulated by a traditional stance on the part of the husband. Also included in this category are answers that indicate change in the sex-role ideal from traditional to egalitarian. The following are examples for this category.

“She shares with her husband, she is flexible in order to ultimately get what she wants. She is not someone who does what she wants exclusively, she adapts. She strives for balance in the relationship, but ultimately this will depend on the husband.”

She understands her husband’s professional and affective needs. She is the primary homemaker, but if possible, homemaking should be shared by both.”

“She is a good wife, she is self-sacrificing for his benefit, but things have changed so that now, only a few submit to everything a man says.”

1c. Female Sexuality Domain:

Question 1c: “ Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her sexuality ?

And:

Question 2c: “ Describe your mother’s notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her sexuality”

These questions were used to more narrowly probe the subjects’ conceptions of the sex-role ideal for Puerto Rican wives. The question was asked twice, the first time to get a sense of each subject’s sex-role ideal for the sexual role, the second time to get a sense of their notion of the past generation’s ideal of sexuality as exemplified by their mothers. The following categories emerged for this question.

a) Traditional:

This category included descriptions of the sexual role described as passive, inhibited, submissive, repressed and chaste. Included in this category were answers that stressed virginity before marriage, and the unacceptableness of “living together” before marriage. Also included in this category were mention of different sexual behavior standards for men and for women. Example of answers in this category included:

“She is someone who is pure and chaste. She believed that sex should only be practiced within the confines of marriage.”

“She is sexually passive. She is bothered by, but is tolerant of her husband’s infidelity. She stressed the importance of virginity and chastity.

“Sex is a taboo subject as she is not accepting of sex. She never showed or acknowledged sexuality in any way,”

b) Egalitarian:

This category included answers in which the sexual role is described as active,

uninhibited, expressive of affection, mutual, and enjoyable. In this category, answers that mention sexual freedom (outside of marriage, same-sex, or “living together) are also included. Answers that stress equal sexual standards for men and for women are also included in this category. Examples of answers for this category are:

“She can tell her partner what she likes and wants, but also what she doesn’t like or want. She enjoys sex and participates in it as a partner.”

“The more sexual the better.”

“She is passionate. She demonstrates affection and shares sexually with her partner.”

c) Transitional:

In this category, aspects of both traditional and egalitarian answers are given. Included are answers that stress sexual freedom, but only within the confines of the marriage. Also included are answers that describe sexual activity or competence as a way of keeping the marital relationship. Answers in this category include:

“She is daring and seductive in order to keep her husband interested and at home.”

“She is sexually competent and able to satisfy her husband’s needs. She understands the importance of birth control as a means of keeping the family stable.”

“Sexuality should only be practiced within the marriage. However, within the marital relationship, a woman should be active and firm to insure her own satisfaction.”

d) Discussions with mother about sexuality:

This category was added to account for whether or not subjects had discussed sexual issues with mother. In almost all cases, this information was offered spontaneously in order to highlight the fact that sexuality was taboo or repressed by the prior generation. Examples of answers in this category included:

“I am not sure what my mother thought about sexuality. She never discussed this topic with me.”

“She only talked about sex, to stress the sinful nature of it.”

“She never talked about it. A servant helped me when I first menstruated, and that was that.”

1d: Domestic Responsibility Domain:

Question 1d: “ Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her domestic responsibilities ?

And:

Question 2d: “ Describe your mother’s notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her domestic responsibilities?”

These questions were used to more narrowly probe the subjects’ conceptions of the sex-role ideal for domestic tasks. The question was asked twice, the first time to get a sense of each subject’s sex-role ideal for domestic tasks, the second time to get a sense of their notion of the past generation’s ideal for domestic tasks as exemplified by their mothers. The following categories emerged for this question:

a) Traditional:

This category included descriptions of the woman as fully responsible for household chores and/or was said to have high standards in terms of household maintenance. In this category, answers that allowed paid help, but still placed the responsibility of home management on women were also coded as traditional. Answers that described women as “de la casa” (bound to the home/house) were also coded as traditional. Examples of answers in this category are:

“ She believes that housework is a woman’s responsibility.”

“She believes in order and cleanliness and in the importance of creating a comfortable and pleasing home for her husband.”

“She keeps her house in order and gets her tasks done in a timely fashion. She makes sure that her husband’s clothes are in order. And she cooks all the meals.”

b. Egalitarian:

This category included answers that stressed that household responsibilities should be shared between spouses, and/ or by all family members according to age and abilities.. Answers in this category also described relaxed standards for household maintenance. Although, problematic because of the implication that women of less advantage are then responsible for housekeeping tasks, full time paid help was also included in this category. The reason for this, was that paid full time help allowed professional participation without the encumbrance of domestic tasks. Examples of answers in this category include:

“Responsibilities should be shared fifty-fifty by both spouses..”

“Does not do housework, has full time paid help.”

“Shared family responsibility, even the children need to help.”

c) Transitional :

This category included aspects of both traditional and egalitarian categories. For instances, answers that stated that responsibilities should be shared, but also stated that it hard, if not impossible, to get husbands to agree to this were included here. Also, included were answers that stated that some cooperation from partner is expected even if the full responsibility falls on the woman. Additionally, answers that indicated that a woman has changed in this regard from obsessively involved with housework, to less involvement were included. Examples of answers in this category included:

“I believe housework should be shared, but in my particular case it is a struggle to get my husband to help and do his share.”

“After work, dedicated to home and to doing all necessary chores. If possible, she gets help. She does the best that she can, but keeps up with her career as well.”

“Used to be important to me, but I have changed. Now housework is of secondary importance. It is important, but not as important as my career or my happiness.”

1e: Reputation Domain:

Question 1e: “ Describe your notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms of her reputation in the social group in which she moves.

And:

Question 2e: “ Describe your mother’s notion of the ideal Puerto Rican woman in terms

of her reputation in the social group in which she moves?

These questions were asked to more narrowly probe the subjects' conceptions of the centrality of reputation in Puerto Rican women's lives. The question was asked twice, the first time to get a sense of each subject's sex-role ideal for reputation, the second time to get a sense of their notion of the past generation's sex-role ideal for reputation as exemplified by their mothers. The following categories emerged for this question:

a) Traditional:

Included in this category were answers that indicated that it is important to be seen by others as highly functioning in the traditional sex-roles of wife, mother, homemaker. Answers that were included in this category stated that it is important to be seen by others as a good wife, as a good mother, as primarily motivated by family concerns; as sexually proper; as keeping a clean and orderly house; and dedicated or bound to the house "de la casa." Also included in this category is the importance of proper social behaviors, such as being well dressed, polite, and hospitable. The emphasis of all the answers in this category is positive evaluation by others, or externally driven role ideals. Examples of answers in this category included:

"A woman's reputation is first and foremost. Essentially, a person is what is said about that person. A person's reputation reflects her character. A woman should be without flaws in the public eye. A woman should guard against giving a bad reputation or giving cause for gossip."

“A woman should be sexually chaste, like a saint, pure. She should be a virgin until the day she marries.”

“ A woman should be known for her dedication to her husband and her family. Activities that take her out of the home should always be in the best interest of the family.”

b) Egalitarian:

Answers in this category emphasized that role behavior should be internally driven in the sense that each person is responsible for deciding what is proper and what is not. Also included in this category were answers that indicated that the opinions of others are not considered important as a deciding factor in a woman’s behavior.

Examples of answers in this category included:

“ ...does not think public opinion is important. People have not given me anything, I don’t owe them anything.”

“Each woman should be able to set her own standards of behavior.”

“Public opinion is not important. To evaluate a women in terms of public opinion is unfair to each woman’s specific context.”

c) Transitional:

Answers in this category included aspects of both traditional and egalitarian views. For instance, answers that allowed the importance of positive evaluation by others, but highlighted the importance of being seen as competent or successful in terms of career or professional role were included here. Also included were answers that acknowledged the importance of the opinions of others, but added that living up to or

guided by one's reputation can be limiting or a burden. Examples of answers in this category included:

“Although public opinion is important and one should be aware of social do's and don't, things have changed so that many women challenge social expectations to in order to get satisfaction and happiness.”

“One's public image is important. As I see it is important to maintain standards for behavior to avoid too much guilt. However, being guided exclusively by public opinion can be so very limiting and such a burden.”

“She is known to be honest and known as someone who provides good services. She commands respect and is known as equally good as other professionals.”

2. Similarities and Differences from Sex-Role Ideal:

Question 3: How are you different or similar to the ideal Puerto Rican woman?

This question was asked to elicit comparisons to traditional sex-role ideals, and thus, document changing sex-role behaviors. However, the ambiguous wording of the question prompted the subjects to respond in a variety of ways. While some subjects, did in fact, compare their sex-role behaviors to traditional sex-role ideals, others compared their sex-role behaviors to their own sex-role ideals. Others, in turn, compared their sex-role behaviors to their mother's sex-role ideals and/or behaviors. Further, for some of the subjects in the sample, it was unclear what the comparison criteria was! Given all of these difficulties with establishing coding criteria based on the original purpose in asking the question, other ways of establishing coding categories were examined. However, since the women in the study were able to convey whether

they thought they were “similar”, “different”, or “similar and different” from the ideal Puerto Rican woman, these three categories were retained.

The following categories emerged in answer to this question:

a) Similar:

In general, the answers in this category conveyed a sense of comfort with sex-role behaviors, regardless if the sex-role ideal was traditional, egalitarian, or transitional.

Examples of answers in this category included:

“I am similar. My priorities are the roles of mother and wife. I feel that I am a good mother and a good wife.”

“I try hard to reach that ideal. I work hard for my family, I work hard in my career to help others. I think that I do a good job in combining all my roles.”

b) Different:

Answers in this category contrasted the respondents role behavior with the ideal Puerto Rican woman and found them to be different. At times, these answers also conveyed a sense of inadequacy in fulfilling specific aspects of a role or in combining or balancing roles. Other times, even though the women described themselves as different, there was a sense of comfort with the sex-role behavior. Examples of answers in this category included:

“My circumstances and things that surround me do not permit me to be an ideal person, an ideal woman. Maybe, I have too much work out of the home and when I get home I have a lot of work to do, maybe because I haven’t looked for someone to help me. But, I don’t like to have outside help. This does not permit

me to be an ideal person.”

“From what I think the ideal woman should be, I think that I am different, because I have relegated my person and my needs to those of my family. “

”I see myself as different in terms of my relationship with my children, and in terms of the relationship that I have with my partner. Even in terms of the opportunity that I have had to make a career for myself. Many women don’t have the same options. I feel very stable in that sense. I do a job at a professional level, which for me has been a goal. I am also different in terms of how I dress and make my self up. Either I do it or I don’t. It’s not important to me.”

c) Similar and Different:

Respondents in this category stated that they were both similar and different to the ideal Puerto Rican woman. Some of the respondents, conveyed a sense of satisfaction with some aspects of sex-role behavior, but also conveyed tension, or conflict in other aspects of sex-role behaviors. Examples, of answers in the this category are:

“As a mother, I understand that the woman should meet all of the child’s needs in its rearing. I understand, that because of my role as a professional, I can’t always attend to my children’s needs. Yes, I try to communicate with them, that I meet all their financial needs...school..their health. When I leave work, I take them wherever they need to go, to the pediatrician, anywhere. But, I am not always there to teach them everything they need to know. In that, I am not the ideal person.”

“One thing is the ideal, but when one enters into relationships, well obviously,

one can't put everything one believes in into practice. I believe I am working toward that, I am leader, both at home, at work, and in the community. I have reached a certain level in terms of my education. In those areas, I have done well, because I like that, and I have worked hard in that behalf. There is an area in which I have not reached what I wanted to reach. And that is because my husband is 'machista'. There are things that have to be given up in order to gain other things. I have the ability to be more of a leader than I am, but in order to not threaten him with my personality, I give up a bit. And that is the tragedy, that is what keeps from reaching my ideals..."

3. Influences on Sex-Role Ideals and Behaviors:

Question 4: If you are different from what the sex-role ideal indicates how do you explain it?

This question was asked to elicit women's understanding of the influences on departing from traditional sex-role behavior. However, what emerged was an examination of the different sources of influence for sex-role behaviors. Understandably, most of the women interviewed gave answers in more than one of the following categories.

a) Family of Origin:

Included in this category were answers that stressed the example, encouragement, or support of the mother, the father, other family members, and/or traditional or religious upbringing. Examples of answers in this category were:

"My father, he is a very intelligent man, he stimulated my interest in intellectual

activities. He is a bit of dreamer. My mother, on the other hand, taught me to put ideas into practice.”

“I had an ultra-traditional upbringing.”

b) Husband and Current Life Circumstance:

Included in this category were answers that mention the husband’s support of professional activities, or conversely the husband’s traditional orientation in family roles. Also included were answers that stressed family or life circumstances such as divorce or illness. Finally, answers that mentioned the financial necessity to work, or the financial flexibility to work less hours were included here. Examples of answers in this category were:

“My husband is a very traditional man, consequently I am more traditional at home. By accommodating to his traditional ideas, I have more room to negotiate in other areas.”

“ My salary as a professional gives me flexibility about how many hours to work.”

c) Social, Educational, and Cultural Influence:

Included in this category were answers that mention the generational or cohort influences; exposure to the feminist movement; and exposure to other cultural values and social role conventions were included here. Examples of answers in this category were:

“From an early age, I traveled outside of Puerto Rico. That gave me exposure to other cultures and other ways of doing things.”

“Through my readings, I have been exposed to feminist and liberal ideas.”

d) Personal Attributes and Characteristics:

Included in this category were answers that stressed personal attributes such as rebelliousness, assertiveness, independence, or masculinity were included here. Also included were answers that mentioned personal preferences were included here.

Examples of answers in this category were:

“I was influenced by growing up with brothers, in many ways I am very masculine in my outlook.”

“I enjoy what I do, I like to work.”

4. Impact on Professional Life

Question 5: How does your home life impact on your professional life?

This question was asked to elicit information about the management of professional demands given the additional demands posed by family obligations. While some women in the study, addressed issues of difficulty or ease in combining both sets of obligation, other women in the study focused on the advantages or difficulties they experienced in the work place given their status as women. Others described adverse work conditions for women in their field. The following categories emerged for this question:

a) Positive Effects:

Answers in this category described the intrinsic benefits of female characteristic or female status to success in their particular field. Additionally, answers in this category focused on the positive benefits from professional participation such as pride in professional achievement. The following are examples of answers in this category:

“I have not really found any limitations or barriers. In fact, I feel proud of my

achievements.”

“ In general, women are more sensitive to others than men. As a woman, I understand my clients and can more effectively respond to their needs.”

“No, I don’t think that my being a woman has made a difference, I have achieved all my professional goals and demonstrated that I can compete in my area.”

b) Negative Effects :

Answers in this category described the negative effects from professional or work participation. Some answers focused on the difficulties in advancement in their profession because of mothering and family demands. Additionally, some answers focused on the adverse conditions the respondents experience in the work place, such as sex-discrimination and sexual harassment. The following are examples of answers in this category:

“Of course, it has been difficult. In my particular case, sometimes having to come to work when one of my children was sick, when they were little... I worried so much. That, of course has gotten in the way of my advancing--of being promoted.”

“Yes, it has been difficult. I have to work much harder than if I were a man. Sometimes you’re treated as a sex-object, sometimes there is out-right sexual harassment. You are always having to make others respect you and prove your worth.”

“While I have been able to advance professionally, I was the first with my educational background in the field. For that reason, I found, particularly when I

started, that my educational level and position was threatening to my co-workers, male and female.”

c) Positive and Negative Impact:

Answers in this category described both positive and negative effects from professional or work participation. Answers in this category included:

“As a woman, I have had access to opportunities denied men. However, discrimination is rampant in the field. Sometimes one is treated and made to feel inferior and unaccepted. I have had to work very hard to prove that I am as capable as a man.”

“ I would say that it is both good and bad. As a woman, I am often better able to form relationships with my clients. However, promotional opportunities are limited to women. At times, being a woman leaves you vulnerable to sexual harassment.”

“The many difficulties that I have encountered in my profession have sensitized me to issues of discrimination, therefore influencing my commitment to work against it. This definitely has made me stronger.”

5: Impact on Family Life

Question 6: How has your professional status influenced your family life?

This question was asked to elicit information about the management of family demands given the additional demands posed by a profession or career. The following categories emerged for this question:

a) Positive Effects:

Answers in this category described positive benefits to family life from professional or work participation. Some of the positive benefits described by these responses included sharing work concerns with husband or partner; financial benefits to the family of additional income; positive role modeling for children; and enhancement of the quality of mother-child relationships. Additionally, some responses allowed that professional life did not interfere with family life because of the support of husband and children, and the flexibility of work schedules. The following are examples of answers in this category:

“No, I don’t think that my working interferes. My husband and I share the same profession so we spend time in the evenings discussing each other’s work.”

“No, it does not interfere. My husband, he helps me to coordinate our home life and my professional life.”

“ No it is not a problem for me.”

b) Negative Effects :

Answers in this category described the negative effects to family life from professional or work participation. Some of the negative effects described by these responses included: not enough time for children, husband, or home; feelings of anger, guilt, sadness, self-doubt about lack of time with children, and relegated tasks. Other negative effects described included the difficulty in meeting both home and career responsibilities, sometimes because of inadequate financial supports.. The following are examples of answers in this category:

“Yes, it does it interfere. I don’t have enough time to help my son with his

assignments. I get home, I have to cook, I have to make sure everything is ready for the next day. It's not like mothers who don't work. When their children get home, they have all the house stuff done, then they have time to enjoy their kids."

"Of course, it interferes. It's a question of time. I don't have enough time to spend with my daughter, I don't have enough time to do all my tasks. I feel guilty about the tasks that I can't seem to get to. It's too many responsibilities for too little time."

"I don't have enough time to enjoy my family. The burden is too great."

c) Positive and Negative Impact:

Answers in this category described both positive and negative effects to family life due to the professional or work participation.

"I like it that my kids see me as a working woman, as someone capable of financially supporting a home, as someone with skills and abilities. They are a great support to me, they understand that I can't always be home for them. Yet, I miss them, I feel that I don't spend enough time with them.

"My husband is an engineer, and it's great to be able to tell him about my work, and to learn about what he does. However, when I am on call, or when something comes up, and I have to go... I miss spending time with my family."

"Although my time with my kids is limited because of my work out of the home, I make good use of the time that I have with them. I think that my working has

allowed me to give my children more freedom to make choices, to be independent.”

6. Management of Multiple Roles:

Question 7: How do you manage to combine your family and professional roles?

This question was asked to elicit a sense of each respondent’s adaptation to the demands of family and professional life. Most of the respondents described different strategies and sources of support in the day-to-day management of their roles. However, some added the difficulties and constraints that they experienced in their attempts to combine family and professional life. The following categories emerged for this question:

a) **Success in Managing Multiple Roles:**

Answers in this category conveyed a general sense of success in managing multiple roles and delineated some of the participant’s strategies for successful integration of their home and family roles. Some of the strategies reported were time management or careful scheduling of activities; and overall efforts at organization and structure. Additionally, respondents in this category described various sources of support, including husbands, extended family members, the children themselves, paid child care, and flexibility in the work place. Examples of answers in this category included:

“I am very organized, I keep a tight schedule for myself and my children. “

” I have outside help with my kids. On week-ends and nights I make sure that I finish my household tasks.”

“ I am very careful with my time. I don’t work as many hours as I could out of the home. “

“My husband supports me and helps with the kids and with housework.”

b) Difficulties in Managing Multiple Roles:

Answers in this category also delineated similar strategies for combining home and family roles. These included careful attention to scheduling and reliance on various sources of support. However, what was salient about answers in this category was that in addition to, or instead of, adaptation strategies, the respondents verbalized areas of difficulty, strain, stress, or tension in the meeting and balancing the multiple demands of their various roles. Additionally, the mention of the difficulty of meeting multiple demands because of lack of support by the husband, the family, or the work place was included here. Examples on answers in this category included:

“ I have had work that has kept me out until very late at night. When my children were small, I had a girl that helped me take care of them. I often felt guilty about not being there for them. For household chores, I have week-ends and nights. Sometimes, I wish that when I got home, dinner would be ready, because sometimes I get tired.”

“I limit my work hours in order to be home for my children. Yet, sometimes I have trouble deciding how much time to give to each of my roles as a professional, as a mother, and as a wife. “

”It is really hard to juggle both sets of responsibilities. I often work 13 to 14 hours a day in order to make sure that everything gets done. At times, the quality

of my work suffers.... There is never enough time.”

7. Satisfactions and Regrets in Combining Family and Career:

Question 8: Has it been worth it to you (to combine family and career)?

This question was asked to get a sense of each participant’s general sense of it being worth it to combine family and career. The following categories emerged for this question:

a) Worth it, no regrets:

Answers in this category stated that it was worthwhile to combine family and career and expressed satisfaction in career/family resolution by mentioning the rewards of family life, the rewards of a professional life, or the rewards in combining the two.

Examples of answers in this category included:

“Yes, it is. As a working woman, I have been, and continue to be, a role model for my daughter. It’s made her more independent, that if I had been at home.”

“ I feel complete or fulfilled by participation in all my roles. There is a specific satisfaction that I get from each of my roles--as a mother; as a wife, and as a professional woman.”

“Yes, it’s worth it to me. If by doing all these things, I make myself happy then I am more available for others. And working makes me happy.”

b) Worth it, regrets:

Answers in this category also expressed satisfaction in career/family resolution like in the above category, but additionally described some of the sources of regret in their particular way of combining family and career. Some of the sources of regret

included not enough time for children or family. Others lamented the lack of time for self care or career development. Additionally, others described that at times, they were overwhelmed with the dual demands. Examples of answers in this category included:

“Yes, it’s worth it. I enjoy a very high level of professional satisfaction. If I could do it differently, I would have had a child earlier in my career. As one gets older, one’s level of energy decreases. I’d like to have more energy to dedicate to bringing up my kids.”

“Yes, it’s worth it, because I am very satisfied with my life. It’s a life of stimulation and growth. It’s comforting to know that other women are sharing my general situation. But, at times, I get lonely for an intimate friend, another woman, to share dilemmas with. “Oh, yes! I definitely enjoy the stimulation provided by all my roles. However, it can be exhausting and overwhelming. Sometimes, I miss out on training opportunities, because it is just too much.”

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Total Sample

Characteristics	N	Mean	Median	St. Dev	Range
Age	31	40.1	38	5.5	28 - 53
Number of children	31	1.9	2	.9	1 - 4
Average age of children	31	10.8	8.7	6.8	1 - 25
Education level (# years)	31	20.9	20	1.7	17 - 23
Hours worked per week	31	43.7	40	13.0	20 - 80
Spouses' education level	29	19.6	20	2.86	11 - 27
Mothers' education level	31	13.1	15	5.58	0 - 19
Fathers' education level	30	15.5	17	5.07	3 - 23

Table 2
Summary of Occupation Type

Type of Profession	N=30	Percent	
Lawyer	11	35	
Ph. D. (Academia)	4	13	
Middle Management	4	13	
M.D.	3	10	
C.E.O.	2	6	
Dentist	1	3	
Psychologist	1	3	
Social worker	1	3	
Architect	1	3	
Sales Director	1	3	
Veterinarian	1	3	
Pharmacist	1	3	
<u>Total:</u>	31	98%	(Total < 100 due to rounding)

Table 3
Summary of Perceived Support from Parents, Husband, Family Members, and Paid Help

Characteristics	Yes (1)	No(0)	N/A(0)	Total
Perceived support:				
Mother	26	5	0	31
Father	21	6	4	
Spouse	20	6	5	
Actual Involvement of Husband:				
Childcare	18	8	5	
Housework	13	13	5	
Childcare arrangements: *				
	Yes (1)			
Husband	2			
Family member	11			
Paid help	5			
Day Care	5			
After school	2			
No need for childcare	12			
Housework: *				
Husband	5			
Family member	4			
Part-time paid help	11			
Full-time paid help	3			
Self	28			

Note: N = 30 , *(not mutually exclusive categories).

Table 4

Summary of results: The Inventory of Attitudes for Men and Women

Variable	N	Mean	Median	St. Dev	Min	Max
Subject Sex-role Attitudes	31	58.3	55	16.5	35	97
Subject Familism	31	13.3	12	6.8	6	29
Subject Total	31	71.6	75	21.4	41	126
Mother Sex-role Attitude	31	125.3	122	27.2	75	197
Mother Familism	31	28.5	30	6.4	12	36
Mother Total	31	153.7	149	31.5	98	233
Mother/Daughter Diff.	31	66.9	61	31.8	17	133
Familism Diff.	31	15.1	14	7.9	2	27

Note:

Familism scores reflect answers for questions 34 to 40 added by investigator to The Inventory of Attitudes for Men and Women.

Table 5

Summary of results: The Home-Career Conflict Measure

Variable	N	Mean	Median	St. Dev	Min	Max
Cue 1-4	31	4.71	4	5.094	-4	20
Cue 1-5	31	5.42	3	7.08	-6	26
Cue 1	31	1.161	2	2.115	-3	5
Cue 2	31	1.935	2	1.879	-4	6
Cue 3	31	1.258	2	1.807	-2	6
Cue 4	31	0.71	0	2.61	-4	6
Cue 5	31	0.613	0	2.952	-5	6

Table 6

Summary of results: The Brief Symptom Index : (Global Indexes)

Variable	N	Mean	Median	St. Dev	Min	Max
GSI	31	57.71	59	8.87	39	71
PST	31	56.61	59	10.29	30	75
PSDI	31	57.94	58	8.74	43	75

Table 7 Correlation Between Sex-Role Attitudes and Home-Career Conflict:

Subject	Cue 1-4	Cue 1-5	Cue 5	Cue 1	Cue 2	Cue 3	Cue 4
Sex-role Attitude	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite
Subject	-0.06008	-0.04895	-0.06597	-0.35685	0.0449	-0.12621	0.2886
Sex-role Attitude	1	0.7482	0.7937	0.7244	0.0488	0.8104	0.4987
Cue 1-4 Composite	-0.06008	1	0.94664	0.57094	0.4222	0.57624	0.61326
Cue 1-4 Composite	0.7482	0	0.0001	0.0008	0.018	0.0007	0.0002
Cue 1-5 Composite	-0.04895	0.94664	1	0.79236	0.31793	0.57819	0.59024
Cue 1-5 Composite	0.7937	0.0001	0	0.0001	0.0813	0.0007	0.0005
Cue 5 Composite	-0.06597	0.57094	0.79236	1	0.10645	0.39212	0.31938
Cue 5 Composite	0.7244	0.0008	0.0001	0	0.5687	0.0291	0.0799
Cue 1 Composite	-0.35685	0.4222	0.31793	0.10645	1	-0.09797	0.00619
Cue 1 Composite	0.0488	0.018	0.0813	0.5687	0	0.6001	0.9736
Cue 2 Composite	0.0449	0.57624	0.57819	0.39212	-0.09797	1	0.35861
Cue 2 Composite	0.8104	0.0007	0.0007	0.0291	0.6001	0	0.0476
Cue 3 Composite	-0.12621	0.61326	0.59024	0.31938	0.00619	0.35861	1
Cue 3 Composite	0.4987	0.0002	0.0005	0.0799	0.9736	0.0476	0
Cue 4 Composite	0.2886	0.57259	0.59088	0.45221	-0.0335	0.14561	0.17191
Cue 4 Composite	0.1154	0.0008	0.0005	0.0106	0.858	0.4345	0.3551

Note: Top line: Pearson r correlation; Bottom line: probability Two Tails. ; N=31 for all cells.

Table 8

Correlation between Mother-Daughter Sex-Role Attitudes Discrepancy and Home-Career Conflict

	Cue 1-4	Cue 1-5	Cue 1	Cue 2	Cue 3	Cue 4	Cue 5
Mother-Daughter	0.139	0.176	0.145	0.03	0.347	-0.121	.221
Discrepancy	.455	.343	.435	.8747	.056	.516	.231

Note: Top line: Pearson r correlation; Bottom line: probability Two Tails. ; N=31 for all cells.

Table 9. Correlation between Global Indices of BSI and The Home-Career Conflict Measure. Note: Top line Pearson r correlation; Bottom line: Probability, Two tails, N = 31.

	GSI	PST	PSDI	Cue 1-4	Cue 1-5	Cue 5	Cue 1	Cue 2	Cue 3	Cue 4
OSI	1	0.82992	0.25846	0.2371	0.21048	0.07705	0.06477	-0.1712	0.08179	0.47999
	0	0.0001	0.1603	0.199	0.2557	0.6804	0.7292	0.3571	0.6618	0.0063
PST	0.82992	1	-0.08323	0.18213	0.20661	0.15946	-0.1287	-0.18059	0.12024	0.48196
	0.0001	0	0.6562	0.3268	0.2648	0.3915	0.4902	0.331	0.5194	0.006
PSDI	0.25846	-0.08323	1	-0.00193	-0.08026	-0.1831	0.03843	-0.12201	-0.10862	0.17587
	0.1603	0.6562	0	0.9918	0.6678	0.3242	0.8374	0.5132	0.5608	0.344
Cue 1-4	0.2371	0.18213	-0.00193	1	0.94664	0.57094	0.4222	0.57624	0.61326	0.57259
Composite	0.199	0.3268	0.9918	0	0.0001	0.0008	0.018	0.0007	0.0002	0.0008
Cue 1-5	0.21048	0.20661	-0.08026	0.94664	1	0.79236	0.31793	0.57819	0.59024	0.59088
Composite	0.2557	0.2648	0.6678	0.0001	0	0.0001	0.0813	0.0007	0.0005	0.0005
Cue 5	0.07705	0.15946	-0.1831	0.57094	0.79236	1	0.10645	0.39212	0.31938	0.45221
Composite	0.6804	0.3915	0.3242	0.0008	0.0001	0	0.5687	0.0291	0.0799	0.0106
Cue 1	0.06477	-0.1287	0.03843	0.4222	0.31793	0.10645	1	-0.09797	0.00619	-0.0335
Composite	0.7292	0.4902	0.8374	0.018	0.0813	0.5687	0	0.6001	0.9736	0.858
Cue 2	-0.1712	-0.18059	-0.12201	0.57624	0.57819	0.39212	-0.09797	1	0.35861	0.14561
Composite	0.3571	0.331	0.5132	0.0007	0.0007	0.0291	0.6001	0	0.0476	0.4345
Cue 3	0.08179	0.12024	-0.10862	0.61326	0.59024	0.31938	0.00619	0.35861	1	0.17191
Composite	0.6618	0.5194	0.5608	0.0002	0.0005	0.0799	0.9736	0.0476	0	0.3551
Cue 4	0.47999	0.48196	0.17587	0.57259	0.59088	0.45221	-0.0335	0.14561	0.17191	1
Composite	0.0063	0.006	0.344	0.0008	0.0005	0.0106	0.858	0.4345	0.3551	0

Table 1.0 Correlation between the Familium and The Home Career Conflict Measure

Subject Familium	Mother Familium	Cue 1-4		Cue 1-5		Cue 1		Cue 2		Cue 3		Cue 4	
		Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite	Composite
1	0.39125	-0.09766	-0.1196	-0.18859	-0.20383	0.2714	-0.00093	-0.04515	-0.03223	0.8633			
0	0.0295	0.6012	0.5216	0.3096	0.2714	0.996	0.8094	0.8633					
0.39125	1	-0.01525	0.01698	0.01308	-0.11132	0.06896	0.31208	-0.18323					
0.0295	0	0.9351	0.9277	0.9443	0.551	0.7124	0.0874	0.3238					
-0.09766	-0.01525	1	0.94664	0.57094	0.4222	0.57624	0.61326	0.57259					
0.6012	0.9351	0	0.0001	0.0008	0.018	0.0007	0.0002	0.0008					
-0.1196	0.01698	0.94664	1	0.79236	0.31793	0.57819	0.59024	0.59088					
0.5216	0.9277	0.0001	0	0.0001	0.0813	0.0007	0.0005	0.0005					
-0.18859	0.01308	0.57094	0.79236	1	0.10645	0.39212	0.31938	0.45221					
0.3096	0.9443	0.0008	0.0001	0	0.5687	0.0291	0.0799	0.0106					
-0.20383	-0.11132	0.4222	0.31793	0.10645	1	-0.09797	0.00619	-0.0335					
0.2714	0.551	0.018	0.0813	0.5687	0	0.6001	0.9736	0.858					
-0.00093	0.06896	0.57624	0.57819	0.39212	-0.09797	1	0.35861	0.14561					
0.996	0.7124	0.0007	0.0007	0.0291	0.6001	0	0.0476	0.4345					
-0.04515	0.31208	0.61326	0.59024	0.31938	0.00619	0.35861	1	0.17191					
0.8094	0.0874	0.0002	0.0005	0.0799	0.9736	0.0476	0	0.3551					
-0.03223	-0.18323	0.57259	0.59088	0.45221	-0.0335	0.14561	0.17191	1					
0.8633	0.3238	0.0008	0.0005	0.0106	0.858	0.4345	0.3551	0					

Note: N=31 for all cells. Two Tails

Table 11

Correlation between Home-Caregiver Conflict Measure and Anxiety and Depression Dimensions of the BSI

	Cue 1-4	Cue 1-5	Cue 5	Cue 1	Cue 2	Cue 3	Cue 4	Anxiety	Depression
Cue 1-4 Composite	1	0.94664	0.57094	0.4222	0.57624	0.61326	0.57259	0.05901	0.06279
	0	0.0001	0.0008	0.018	0.0007	0.0002	0.0008	0.7525	0.7372
Cue 1-5 Composite	0.94664	1	0.79236	0.31793	0.57819	0.59024	0.59088	0.03923	0.10354
	0.0001	0	0.0001	0.0813	0.0007	0.0005	0.0005	0.834	0.5794
Cue 5 Composite	0.57094	0.79236	1	0.10645	0.39212	0.31938	0.45221	-0.02801	0.1362
	0.0008	0.0001	0	0.5687	0.0291	0.0799	0.0106	0.8811	0.465
Cue 1 Composite	0.4222	0.31793	0.10645	1	-0.09797	0.00619	-0.0335	-0.12259	-0.03859
	0.018	0.0813	0.5687	0	0.6001	0.9736	0.858	0.5112	0.8367
Cue 2 Composite	0.57624	0.57819	0.39212	-0.09797	1	0.35861	0.14561	-0.25688	-0.13055
	0.0007	0.0007	0.0291	0.6001	0	0.0476	0.4345	0.163	0.4839
Cue 3 Composite	0.61326	0.59024	0.31938	0.00619	0.35861	1	0.17191	0.12637	-0.01163
	0.0002	0.0005	0.0799	0.9736	0.0476	0	0.3551	0.4982	0.9505
Cue 4 Composite	0.57259	0.59088	0.45221	-0.0335	0.14561	0.17191	1	0.37222	0.25224
	0.0008	0.0005	0.0106	0.858	0.4345	0.3551	0	0.0392	0.171
BSI Anxiety	0.05901	0.03923	-0.02801	-0.12259	-0.25688	0.12637	0.37222	1	0.46652
	0.7525	0.834	0.8811	0.5112	0.163	0.4982	0.0392	0	0.0082
BSI Depression	0.06279	0.10354	0.1362	-0.03859	-0.13055	-0.01163	0.25224	0.46652	1
	0.7372	0.5794	0.465	0.8367	0.4839	0.9505	0.171	0.0082	0

Table: n=31 for all cells. Two Tails.

Table 12

Multiple Regression Analysis of the Effects of Demographic Variables of Sex-role Attitudes:

Predictor	Coef.	St. Dev	T	F
Constant	42.42	51.66	0.82	0.422
Age	1.20	0.95	1.27	0.219
Average age children	-2.46	1.03	-2.38	0.029*
Number of children	7.85	3.49	2.25	0.037*
Education level	1.82	1.93	-0.94	0.358
Number of hours worked per week	0.38	0.27	1.42	0.173
Support by Mother and Father	5.43	5.41	1.00	0.328
Husband's education level	0.43	1.20	0.36	0.722
Mother's education level	0.39	0.59	-0.67	0.514
Support with childcare	-7.042	5.19	-1.36	0.191
Support with housework	-11.16	4.17	-2.68	0.015*

Note:
R-Square = 57.0
*** Significant predictors of Sex-role Attitudes**

Table 13

Summary of Results for Ethnographic Interview (Questions 1 & 2):

Category	Self		Mother		Chi-Square
Global Role Definition:					
Traditional	1	(3%)	25	(83%)	39.22, (p < .00)
Egalitarian	19	(30%)	1	(3%)	
Transitional	20	(67%)	4	(13%)	
Mothering Domain:					
Traditional	6	(20 %)	24	(80 %)	21.72, (p < .00)
Egalitarian	6	(20 %)	1	(3 %)	
Transitional	18	(60 %)	5	(17 %)	
Marital Domain:					
Traditional	4	(13 %)	24	(1 %)	30.19, (p < .00)
Egalitarian	18	(60 %)	1	(3 %)	
Transitional	8	(27 %)	5	(17 %)	
Sexuality Domain:					
Traditional	0	(0 %)	23	(77 %)	38.76, (p < .00)
Egalitarian	22	(73 %)	0	(0 %)	
Transitional	8	(27 %)	7	(23 %)	

Category	Self		Mother	Chi-Square
Housework Domain:				
Traditional	10	(34 %)	17 (57 %)	
Egalitarian	6	(20 %)	2 (6 %)	
Transitional	14	(47 %)	11 (37 %)	
				4.18, (p = .125)*
Reputation Domain:				
Traditional	7	(23 %)	24 (80 %)	
Egalitarian	5	(17 %)	1 (3 %)	
Transitional	18	(60 %)	5 (17 %)	
				19.337, (p < .00)

Note:
 N = 30, df = 2
 * not significant

Table 14
Summary of Results for Ethnographic Interview (Questions 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8)

Question	Category	n, percent
# 3 (Comparison to sex-role ideal)	Similar:	13, 43
	Different:	14, 47
	Similar and Different:	3, 10
#4 (Influences on sex-role expectations)	Family of Origin	7, 23
	Husband, Current Family Circumstances	4, 13
	Social, Educational and Cultural	2, 7
	Personal Attributes and Characteristics	0, 0
	Mixed	17, 57
#5 (Impact on professional life)	Positive	6, 20
	Negative	15, 50
	Mixed	9, 30
#6 (Impact on family life)	Positive	6, 20
	Negative	17, 57
	Mixed	7, 23

Question	Category	n, percent
#7 (Management of Multiple Roles)	Success	13, 43
	Difficulty	7, 57
#8 (Home/career resolution)	Worth it	19, 63
	Worth it, regrets	10, 33
	Undecided	1, 3

Note: Not statistically analyzed.

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