SOCIOCULTURAL VALUES AND GENDER ROLE ORIENTATION IN GENDER ROLE CONFLICT WITH A SAMPLE OF LATINAS PURSUING HIGER EDUCATION AT A HISPANIC SERVING INSTITUTION

by

MARTA J. GONZALEZ

(Under the Direction of Edward A. Delgado-Romero)

The current study examined the relationship between sociocultural values (*e.g., marianismo, familism, ethnic identity*) and female gender-role orientation (*e.g., femininity/masculinity*) in gender-role conflict amongst Latina college students (N = 260) in higher education at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) in the Western United States. Two hundred and sixty Latina undergraduate ($n = 235$) and graduate students ($n = 25$) served as the sample. The majority of the Latinas in this sample were of Mexican descent (69%). The results indicated that Mexican American Latina College students who endorsed gender role attitudes of *marianismo* and adhered to the cultural value of *familism* experienced higher levels of gender-role conflict. Particularly, individuals who endorsed more *marianismo* experienced conflict with restrictive affectionate behavior (i.e., discomfort expressing feelings to another person) and individuals who adhered to *familism* experienced more conflict with success, power, and competition. Findings also indicated that ethnic identity was significantly and positively correlated to *familism* and gender-role orientation indicating that having a salient identification with the ethnic

group can influence gender-role orientation and adherence to the cultural value of familism. Correspondingly, individuals who endorsed *masculinity* experienced higher levels of conflict with success, power, and competition and those who endorsed *femininity* experienced less conflict in expressing emotions and affection for others. Implications of the research and recommendations for future research are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: Sociocultural Values, Gender Role Attitudes, Marianismo, Familism, Ethnic Identity, Gender Role Orientation, Femininity and Masculinity, Gender Role Conflict

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M.S., California State University Northridge, 2009

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2016

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December 2016

DEDICATION

This document is dedicated to the most influential people in my life, my son Darrin and my mother Hilda. Darrin, you were my inspiration for pursuing this degree. You accompanied me in this educational pathway as I role modeled and fostered the love for education. As a young child, you began to learn about higher education when you accompanied to some of my classes. As I embarked on the Ph.D. educational pathway, you decided to join me in a new experience although you were in the most important stage of your social identity development. Nevertheless, this experience was truly enlightening for both of us as we evolved as individuals. Darrin, you have been my strength and motivation to get through my educational journey. I'm so grateful to have a wonderful son!

To my mother Hilda de Leon ~ who instilled the love for learning and education in her children even though she could not go beyond elementary school due to her learning disabilities. She made many sacrifices for her children so they could have a brighter future and provided them with unconditional love. Mom, I am grateful for all your teachings, for role modeling your strength, and for being a devoted mother!

Thank you both for your love and support!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people helped me throughout this educational journey and I am deeply appreciative of their support. To my long time mentor, Dr. Carol Kelly, my heartfelt thanks for your mentorship, constant guidance and encouragement, and unconditional support throughout my educational endeavors. To Dr. Gabriela Chavira, thank you for your continuous mentorship, motivation, and support throughout my graduate educational pathway. I'm deeply thankful to both of you for helping me discover my potential, and for encouraging me to maximize it. You have been inspirational role models!

To my Dissertation committee, I would like to thank them for their time and commitment! To my Advisor and Committee Chair, Dr. Edward Delgado-Romero, I am deeply thankful for your guidance, understanding, for always being available to answer my questions, for challenging my ideas to further my growth, and for sharing your knowledge. I could not have done it without your support! To Dr. Rosemary Phelps and Dr. Brian Glaser, thank you for your kindhearted demeanor and support throughout this educational experience. It has been gratifying working with all of you!

To my dear friends and family who supported me throughout this educational pathway, I would like to thank them for their constant motivation and friendship. To the Faculty who allowed me to recruit participants in their classes, thank you for supporting doctoral students' research! My heartfelt thanks to the participants who volunteered for this study and who made this research possible!!!

Thank you all for your support throughout this educational endeavor!

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For over half a century, gender research (e.g., gender roles, gender-related differences) has been an area of great importance within the field of psychology in general. According to the scholarly literature, gender roles greatly influence the way individuals act, think, and behave (Bem, 1993), and gender related experiences influence the perceptions and expectations of self and others (O'Neil, 2008). The literature refers to gender roles as "specific behaviors that men and women enact congruent with the socially constructed ideals of masculinity or femininity" (Mahalik, Cournoyer, DeFranc, Cherry, & Napolitano, 1998, p. 247). Moreover, gender roles are acquired by each individual during his or her early life gender socialization experiences and culturally transmitted (Bem, 1993). Thus, the behaviors and/or attitudes that are acquired through childhood and adolescence can influence one's worldview of gender roles (Bem, 1993).

Traditionally, many societies have gender-role attitudes (i.e., an individual's belief) and gender-role ideology that each culture considers what is appropriate for males and females and socially prescribed gender-typed personality traits that are attributed to masculinity and femininity which can influence an individual's gender-role orientation or gender identity development (Bem, 1993; O'Neil & Egan, 1992). Generally, some of the characteristics associated with masculinity include assertiveness, competiveness, and forceful, whereas femininity is associated with gentle, compassionate, cooperativeness, and understanding (Bem, 1993). During the last four decades, researchers have examined

the relationship of masculinity and femininity and the impact on individual's psychological well-being. Some studies have shown a positive relation between masculinity and mental health variables such as better adjustment, lower depression, and higher self-esteem (Lippa, 1995), whereas femininity has been found to be unrelated or negative related (Bassoff & Glass, 1982) to mental health variables.

Nevertheless, other studies have shown that the endorsement of traditional and rigid gender-role attitudes (e.g., highly masculine or highly feminine) can have negative psychological effects (e.g., depression, anxiety, low self-esteem) for men and women (Davenport & Yurich, 1991; Mahalik, Englar-Carson, & Good, 2003; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991). Likewise, research findings have indicated that the rigid adherence to traditional and stereotypical gender roles in men and women can also contribute to negative psychological consequences such as higher levels of depression (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Good & Mintz, 1990; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991; Zamarripa, Wampold, & Gregory, 2003), higher levels of anxiety (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000; Zamarripa et al., 2003), and lower self-esteem (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991). While other research has shown that the rigid adherence to traditional and stereotypical gender roles can also contribute to the development of gender-role conflict (Mahalik et al., 1998; O'Neil et al., 1995).

Correspondingly, gender-role conflict became an interest in psychological research since the late 1970's. Gender-role conflict (GRC) refers to "a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences or impact on the person or others" (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986, p. 336). When a person encounters "rigid, sexist, or restrictive" gender roles that are learned during

socialization and are not well integrated, it results in gender-role conflict (O'Neil et al., 1995). The operational definition of Gender-Role Conflict has four psychological domains: (a) the cognitive domain (i.e., how people think about gender roles); (b) the affective domain (i.e., how people feel about gender roles); (c) the behavioral domain (i.e., how people act, respond, and interact with themselves and others because of gender roles), and (d) the unconscious domain (i.e., how gender role dynamics affect people's behavior and produce conflict) (O'Neil, 2008).

O'Neil's conceptual model of male gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1981) presented gender role patterns learned by men during gender role socialization which explained how men's psychological problems relate to male gender-role conflicts. Furthermore, O'Neil theorized that "men oppressed by rigid gender role socialization processes (i.e., sexism) limits them from being fully functioning individuals" (O'Neil, 2008, p. 359). The same conceptual model can be applicable to women particularly within cultures in which rigid gender role socialization continues to be marked by traditional gender role behaviors, attitudes, and expectations (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000; Zamarripa et al., 2003). Thus far, there is a wealth of research devoted to understanding the impact of gender-role conflict among men since its introduction which was originally created from observations of men.

O'Neil's model of gender-role conflict became an area of great interest in research and in clinical areas within the field of Counseling Psychology in the early 1990's. Over 230 empirical studies have been conducted using the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS: O'Neil et al., 1986) within the male population and 105 of those studies have been published in the psychological literature during the last 30 years (O'Neil,

2008). Nonetheless, most of the empirical studies on gender-role conflict have been conducted primarily on White heterosexual male college students. Thus, the research on gender-role conflict amongst women is scarce and reflected on few empirical studies.

Although the concept of gender-role conflict is important in the field of psychology of men and women, there is a dearth in the empirical literature about the examination of gender-role conflict particularly among women. The scarce literature that currently exists on gender-role conflict amongst women has mainly focused among Caucasian female athletes. Nonetheless, research findings have yielded mixed results. Some findings suggest that female athletes experience gender-role conflict when trying to fulfill both feminine and masculine gender roles (Desertrain & Weiss, 1988) and when an individual is unable to fulfill one or either role completely (Anthrop & Allison, 1983).

In addition, research findings indicate that female athletes perceived conflicting gender-role expectations based on their gender-role behavior (Fallon & Jome, 2007). Whereas other findings indicate that the conflict might not be related to gender-role behavior, but it might stem from the need of balancing multiple social roles (Jambor & Weeks, 1996). What lacks in the empirical literature is the examination of traditional gender-role attitudes specifically among women of color (e.g., Latinas) and how the endorsement of masculine and/or feminine characteristics may contribute to gender-role conflict particularly among women of color. Additionally, the gender-role norms and ideology within a particular culture (e.g., Latinas) and sociocultural values may play a role in gender-role conflict particularly amongst Latinas.

Given the diversity of the population in the U.S., the experiences of ethnic minority groups can be complex and the gender-role ideology and socialization

experiences may be unique to each ethnic minority population (Miville, Bratini, Corpus, & Diaz, 2013; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). For instance, Latinas/os are a diverse group of people from various countries and ethnicities with distinct social, political, historical and economic backgrounds (Delgado-Romero, Galvan, Hunter, & Torres, 2005; Falicov, 1998). Despite the differences within Latinos, there are general similarities that define the Latina/o population such as sociocultural values and religion, which in turn influence gender-role ideologies and strong gender-role expectations for men and women (Falicov, 1998; Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Montilla & Smith, 2006).

Within the Latina/o culture, scholars have identified commonalities with pronounced gender-role ideologies that dictate what is appropriate for a man or a woman as well as defined clear and rigid gender related behaviors and expectations for men versus women (Comas-Diaz, 1987; Marin & Marin, 1991; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002). For example, a male gender-role attitude for Latinos is enacted through the notion of *machismo* which is generally characterized by hyper masculinity, aggressiveness, and restricted emotions (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005) which two of those factors are measured by the gender-role conflict scale (e.g., hyper-masculinity and restricted emotions). *Machismo* refers to an extreme masculine gender role schema which can influence gender roles, gender values, and gender expectations (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000). Nevertheless, there is a positive aspect of *machismo* which is characterized by responsibility (i.e., being a provider and protector of the family), and honor (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005).

In the case of Latinas, the traditional gender role is enacted through the notion of *marianismo* which is generally associated with stereotypic attributes of femininity (e.g.,

being virtuous, nurturing, submissive, self-sacrificing, and dependent) based on a religious persona of the Virgin Mary (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). *Marianismo* refers to the female counterpart of machismo and the supposed ideal of true femininity that women are supposed to live up to such as being modest and virtuous (Gil & Vasquez, 1996). On the other hand, the positive side of *marianismo* is associated with being spiritually strong, dedicated, and capable (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010). Following more traditional gender-role ideologies (e.g., *machismo and marianismo*) and rigid stereotypic prescribed gender roles can result in increased stress and family conflict (Falicov, 1998; Gil & Vasquez, 1996). Moreover, studies indicate that traditional gender roles may be more apparent among first or second-generation college Latina/o students (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002).

Findings suggests that the Latina/o traditional gender roles in the U.S. society are changing (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002) as Latinas transform old traditions and expectations into new ones (Gloria & Castellanos, 2012). Nevertheless, gender-role socialization among many traditional Latino families may still continue to endorse gender-role attitudes that are marked by gender-related behaviors and expectations (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Particularly for Latinas, engaging in flexible gender roles within the mainstream culture may challenge the stereotypical cultural gender roles prescribed within the Latina/o culture that are inconsistent with female gender roles found in the dominant U.S. society (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005). Conversely, the conflict and issues that may arise from challenging their traditional gender roles can impact their psychological well-being (Falicov, 1998; Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000; Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Montilla & Smith, 2006).

Similarly, a cultural value within the Latina/o culture that may influence the beliefs about gender roles for Latinas is *familismo* (Falicov, 1998; Gloria & Castellanos, 2012; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). *Familismo* (i.e.,familism) is one of the most important culture-specific core value orientations among Latinas/os which refers to the behavioral manifestations associated with an individuals' strong identification and commitment to the family (i.e., *la familia*), strong feelings of loyalty and reciprocal connections, and maintaining close relationships and solidarity among members of the same family (Falicov, 1998; Marin & Marin, 1991; Montilla & Smith, 2006; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Marin, 1987; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Specifically within the Latina/o families, the concept of family is quite different in structure and composition from the mainstream culture which can include intact and/or single households to extended relatives (i.e., aunts, uncles, grandparents, etc.). Hence, *familismo* places a strong emphasis on family relationships as well as a strong value on childbearing which is a central part of the family life as well as the expected female gender role (Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004).

As the family becomes a source of identity for Latinas, it can cause potential conflict when trying to challenge Latina/o traditional gender roles (Delgado-Romero et a., 2005; Gloria & Castellanos, 2012; Gil & Vasquez, 1996). Nowadays, Latinas in the U.S. engage in more flexible gender roles and various occupational, educational, and family demands while managing cultural gender role expectations. As a result, a potential conflict may arise from not fullfilling completely multiple roles (e.g., family and work/school) impacting their pyschological well-being (Falicov, 1998; Gil & Vasquez, 1996). Therefore, learning about the challenges that Latina students may

encounter when negotiating multiple roles while trying to meet traditional and cultural gender role expectations is important to address in the literature given the rapid increase of the Latina population in the educational system.

Another sociocultural factor within the Latina/o culture that may influence the beliefs about gender roles is ethnic identity. Phinney (1992) refers to ethnic identity as the knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, values, feelings and membership to one's own ethnic group. Ethnic identity is a multidimensional construct that influences an individual's cognition, affect and behaviors that are created and altered through daily life experiences (Phinney, 1992). Having an affiliation of membership to an ethnic group can provide a sense of group belonging and can lead to a more salient ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992). Moreover, ethnic identity is multifaceted, dynamic, and adjusts across contexts over the life span (Phinney & Ong, 2007). As the Latinos in the U.S. acculturate, their ethnic identity evolves as they adapt to new environments (Comas-Diaz, 2001).

Although, ethnic identity has been linked to a positive relation on psychological well-being, scholars suggest that ethnic identity among Latinas/os should be examined in combination of other sociocultural factors (e.g., *familism*) and social contexts (Acevedo-Polakovich, Chavez-Korell, & Umaña-Taylor, 2013) in order to gain a better understanding of the development of ethnic identity particularly among the adult population. Nevertheless, there is limited research examining the relation of ethnic identity, sociocultural values (e.g., *familism*), and gender-role conflict particularly among Latinas. As the demographics of the Latina/o population continues to increase in the U.S., it is essential to examine how sociocultural factors such as traditional Latina/o gender-role attitudes and ideology (e.g., *marianismo*), Latina/o cultural values (e.g.,

familism), gender-role orientation (e.g., *masculinity*, *femininity*), and ethnic identity may play a role in gender-role conflict and how it can hinder or facilitate success among Latinas balancing and negotiating multiple gender roles between multiple cultural contexts.

Statement of the Problem

Within the field of psychology in general, researchers have extensively examined gender- role conflict predominately among males (O'Neil, 2008) across ethnic groups including Latino male students (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2003; Zamarripa et al., 2003). Even though the concept of gender-role conflict is relevant within the field of psychology of women, there is a dearth in the published literature about the examination of gender-role conflict particularly among women of color (e.g., Latinas). The published literature that exists on gender-role conflict among women has primarily focused among White female athletes (Anthrop & Allison, 1983; Desertrain & Weiss, 1988; Miller & Levy, 1996; Fallon & Jome, 2007). Thus far, the research that exists on gender-role conflict among the non-athlete female population is scarce.

Scholars have suggested that individuals can experience gender-role conflict when an individual is not able to completely fulfill one or either role (Anthrop and Allison, 1983), when trying to balance both feminine and masculine gender roles (Desertrain & Weiss, 1988), and when women perceived expectations in contrast with their gender role behavior (Allison, 1991). Other findings have indicated that women experience greater gender-role conflict in regards to gender related expectations that are inconsistent with their self-concept (Chusmir & Koberg, 1988; Koberg & Chusmir, 1989) and traditional Latina gender roles are inconsistent with female gender roles found in the

dominant U.S. society in general, and certainly in college populations (Castellanos, 2003; Delgado-Romero et al., 2005; Miville et al., 2013; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004).

Other studies indicate that women experience greater gender-role conflict with regards to domestic and occupational demands (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Gray, Zappert & Weinstein, 1985), and that a woman's gender role also plays a part in the career she chooses (Fassinger, 1990). Within the Latina/o culture, there is a pronounced gender role ideology and socialization that can influence Latina's personal and career decisions (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). For example, a conflict Latinas may face particularly among first-generation college students, is that parents expect them to stay close to home when choosing to pursue higher education forcing them to make decisions based on their gender roles and family duties (Rodriguez, Guido-Di Brito, Torres, & Talbot, 2000). Nonetheless, the examination of the endorsement of traditional gender-role attitudes (e.g., *marianismo*) and how gender-role ideology and gender-role orientation (e.g., masculinity, femininity) among Latinas may contribute to gender-role conflict remains largely unexplored in the published literature.

Equally as important, the influence of sociocultural values (e.g., *familismo*) on gender-role conflict among Latinas attempting to balance multiple gender roles is important to address. As more Latinas enter higher education, they are faced with balancing school demands, familial obligations, multiple gender roles, and cultural expectations. One factor that may affect Latinas while attempting to pursue higher education is the expectation to the family responsibilities such as taking care of siblings, a parent, grandparent or the entire family while attending to their educational demands (Gloria & Castellanos, 2013). *Familismo* is a collectivist worldview that places strong

feelings of loyalty to family members and a willingness to sacrifice for the well-being of the family (Marin & Triandis, 1987). As the family becomes a source of identity for Latinas, not being able to fulfill multiple gender roles may cause a potential conflict between family, work, and/or school. Subsequently, conflict between work and family, a variable of the gender-role conflict construct, has been negatively associated to mental health and a major predictor of depression (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2003) and anxiety (Zamarripa et al., 2003).

Similarly, ethnic identity is a sociocultural factor that may influence the beliefs about gender roles among Latinas. Ethnic identity is a construct that captures an individual's emotions regarding the importance of one's own ethnic membership and it adjusts overtime across contexts and experiences (Phinney, 2008). For Latinas/os in the U.S., ethnic identity is fluid (Suro, 2006) which continues to evolve across cultural contexts (Comas-Diaz, 2001). Scholars suggest that social contexts and developmental perspectives should be considered when examining ethnic identity of U.S. Latinas/os (Acevedo-Polakovich et al., 2013). Nowadays, the new generations of Latinas are struggling to gain more flexibility within the family and cultural gender roles as well as developing their own ethnic identity as they pursue higher education. Until now, there is limited published research examining the relation of sociocultural values (e.g., marianismo, familism, ethnic identity) and gender-role conflict particularly among Latinas and how it may play a role on gender-role conflict between family and school/work.

Despite the substantial literature on gender-role conflict among males and the impact on their psychological well-being, the examination of gender-role conflict among

the female population particularly among women of color (e.g., Latinas) who are balancing multiple social roles is absent from the literature given the growing U.S. Latina/o population. Understanding the ways in which gender-role attitudes (e.g., *marianismo),* gender-role orientation (e.g., *femininity, masculinity*), and sociocultural values (e.g., *familism, ethnic identity*), and may contribute to gender-role conflict seems important to address given the growing number of Latinas entering higher education while balancing and negotiating multiple gender roles in different cultural contexts.

Purpose of the Study

Research on gender-role conflict among women in general is scarce, but research on gender-role conflict amongst Latinas is limited. Therefore, the focus of the present investigation is to examine particular sociocultural values within a specific population that may potentially contribute to gender-role conflict among Latina college students while trying to meet their familial, personal, and educational demands. For the purpose of this study, *Latinas* are defined as women in the U.S. with ancestry and nationalities of different Latin American countries with varied cultures such as the Caribbean, North, Central, and South America, who do or do not necessarily speak Spanish.

The present study aims to examine the relation between female gender-role orientation (i.e., *femininity, masculinity*), female gender-role attitudes (e.g., *marianismo),* Latina/o sociocultural values (e.g., *familism, ethnic identity*) and gender-role conflict amongst Latinas in higher education at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). One goal of the present study is to explore the effect of each sociocultural variable (*marianismo, femininity/masculinity, famislism, and ethnic identity)* in relation to gender-role conflict among Latina college students. Of particular concern in the current study is the

examination of potential gender-role conflict amongst Latinas and how the endorsement of traditional female gender-role attitudes (e.g., *marianismo*) and Latino cultural values (e.g., *familism, ethnic identity*) may contribute to the development of gender-role conflict. The second purpose of this study is to examine whether gender-role orientation (e.g., *femininity, masculinity*) moderates the relationship of these variables (i.e., *marianismo, famislism, and ethnic identity)* that may correlate with gender role-conflict amongst Latinas. Similarly, this study aims to understand the influence of sociocultural factors (*i.e., ethnic identity, famislism)* and how they may contribute to gender-role conflict specifically among Latina college students.

Significance and Contributions of the Study

Research on gender-role conflict among Latinas is almost non-existent. The results of this study intend to contribute to the limited empirical literature that exists on gender-role conflict among women of color but specifically amongst Latinas. The findings could be useful for identifying various psychological services that Latinas may need in the event they encounter gender-role conflict while negotiating multiple gender roles (e.g., school, family, and career) in various cultural contexts. Additionally, the findings of this study could be of assistance to students and professionals in various educational and counseling settings (e.g., career counselors, therapists, psychologists, and educators) when working with the Latina student population in helping them prepare for a successful educational pathway while attending to their psychological well-being. Hence, examining the relation of sociocultural factors (e.g., gender-role attitudes, cultural values, gender-role orientation, and ethnic identity) on gender-role conflict amongst Latinas can provide an understanding of the intersection of multiple identities (e.g.,

gender roles, gender identity, culture, and ethnicity) for negotiating and balancing multiple gender roles successfully while bridging two different cultural worlds (i.e., their own cultural group and the mainstream culture).

Definition of Terms

Androgynous – Individuals with a self-concept that allows them to freely engage in masculine and feminine behaviors demonstrating greater adaptability and flexibility as they do not feel constrained to specific masculine or feminine gender roles (Bem, 1974).

Biculturalism – A cultural orientation that results from the choices made by individuals navigating two distinct cultures (Torres, 2006).

Culture – A set of attitudes, values, beliefs, goals, practices, symbols, and behaviors that are characterized and shared by a group; transmitted through language, material objects, rituals, and institutions, and passed from one generation to the next (Gloria & Castellanos, 2013).

Ethnicity – An important means though which people can identify themselves which provides a sense of belonging and historical continuity (Falicov, 1998).

Ethnic Identity – The knowledge, perceptions, and ownership of the cultural traditions, behaviors, values and feelings of one's ethnic group in relation to the dominant culture (Phinney, 1992).

Familism or Familismo – The behavioral manifestations associated with an individuals' strong identification and commitment to the family (i.e., *la familia*), strong feelings of loyalty and reciprocal connections, and maintaining close relationships and solidarity among members of the same family (Falicov, 1998).

Gender Roles – Specific behaviors that men and women enact congruent with the socially constructed ideals of masculinity and femininity (Mahalik, Cournoyer, DeFranc, Cherry, & Napolitano, 1998).

Gender-Role Attitudes – An individual's belief of gender roles of what is considered appropriate for males and females (Bem, 1993).

Gender-Role Conflict – A psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences on the person or others and it occurs when a person encounters "rigid, sexist, or restrictive" gender roles that are learned during socialization and are not well integrated (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986).

Gender-Role Identity – the degree in which individuals are sex-typed as masculine or feminine, or non sex-typed as androgynous, and respond to culturally prescribed socialization practices (Bem, 1983).

Gender-Role Orientation or Identification – the extent to which an individual adopts and displays traits, attitudes, and behaviors normatively identified as male-typical or female-typical and do not have to do with the biological sex as such (Biller, 1968).

Latina/o – The term of the shortening of the Spanish word *latinoamericana* or *latinoamericano* (Comas-Diaz, 2001).

Latinas – A term when referring to females and a more inclusive term for people of Latin American origin (e.g., Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central and South America) who have indigenous roots residing in the United States who do not necessarily speak Spanish (Falicov, 1998).

Latinos – A sex neutral term when referring to a group containing both sexes and a more inclusive term for people of Latin American origin (e.g., Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central and South America) who have indigenous roots residing in the United States who do not necessarily speak Spanish (Falicov, 1998).

Machismo – An extreme masculine gender role schema which can influence gender roles, gender values, and gender expectations (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000).

Marianismo – The female counterpart of machismo and the supposed ideal of true femininity that women are supposed to live up to such as being modest and virtuous (Gil & Vasquez, 1996).

Sex-typing – The process in which society transforms male and female into masculine and feminine (Bem, 1981).

Sex-type individual – Someone whose self-concept integrates culture's definitions of masculinity and femininity and who has internalized societal norms regarding which personality traits males and females should possess and what the desirable behavior should be for men and women (Bem, 1974).

Women of Color – A term that refers to women of minority groups in the U.S. such as Latinas, Black, Native and Asian Americans (Perry, Vance, & Helms, 2009).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on gender-role conflict has by enlarge focused predominately among males across ethnic groups. Over the past 30 years, the majority of published research on gender-role conflict has extensively examined college and adult White males. During the last decade, studies have included African American, Latino, and Asian American males in addition to males in foreign countries. Those studies have indicated that higher levels of male gender-role conflict are significantly associated with men's psychological well-being (O'Neil, 2008). Whereas other studies have found that Gender Role Conflict (GRC) has been significantly related to anxiety, depression and lower self-esteem among Asian, African American, and Caucasian men, both college and adult samples (O'Neil, 2008). Hence, the extant literature that exists on gender-role conflict among men has indicated how socialized gender roles can have an impact on behavioral consequences on how men do or do not interact with others (O'Neil, 2008).

Although the concept of gender-role conflict is important within the field of psychology of men and women, the examination of gender-role conflict particularly among women within the empirical literature is scarce. During the last two decades, scholars have examined the construct of gender-role conflict among the female athlete population (Anthrop & Allison, 1983; Desertrain & Weiss, 1988; Fallon & Jome, 2007; Miller & Levy, 1996; Sage & Loudermilk, 1979). Research findings has shown that female athletes experienced gender-role conflict when they perceive gender role

expectations in contrast with their gender role behavior as female athletes attempt to enact both masculine and feminine gender roles (Desertrain & Weiss, 1988). Though, the limited research that exists about gender-role conflict among women has mainly focused amongst White female athletes.

Researchers began to examine women's gender-role conflict within the non-athlete population (Borthick, 1997; Newman, 1998; Silva, 2002). This new generation of researchers expanded the study of gender-role conflict among the non-athlete women population. They have postulated that women also experience gender-role conflict due to changes with their gender role self-concepts. Nonetheless, the examination of gender-role conflict among women of color particularly amongst Latinas is largely unexplored in the published literature. Specifically, what lacks in the empirical literature is the examination of the endorsement of traditional gender-role attitudes and how gender-role orientation or identity (e.g., masculinity/femininity characteristics) may play a role on gender-role conflict among Latinas. Moreover, the gender-role norms and ideology (e.g., marianismo, machismo) within a particular culture (e.g., Latina/o culture) that dictate what is appropriate for a man or a woman and have defined clear and rigid gender related behaviors and expectations for men versus women may influence gender-role conflict. Likewise, the sociocultural values (e.g., familism, ethnicity, and race) that may influence gender-role conflict amongst Latinas are imperative to address given the rapid growth of the Latina/o population in the U.S.

Hence, this literature review provides an overview of the theoretical framework that has emerged on Gender-Role Conflict (GRC) and the empirical research that has been generated for over 30 years. In addition, a review of the paucity of research on

gender-role conflict that has been conducted among women in general is provided. Subsequently, an examination on gender-role ideology and socialization is presented highlighting the gender role attitudes among Latinas (e.g., *marianismo*) including research conducted particularly among this population. Lastly, sociocultural variables specifically within the Latina/o culture (e.g., *familismo, ethnic identity*) that may play an essential role in the development of gender-role conflict are also discussed later in this section.

Theoretical Framework

Gender-Role Conflict Theory

The conceptualization of gender-role conflict originated from the Joseph Pleck's sex role strain model in the late 1970s. Researchers such as Pleck and Garnets began to study sex role strain as traditional gender roles were challenged by the feminist and women's movement of the 1970s which stimulated social change for both men and women. Pleck and Garnets (1979) referred to sex role strain as "the discrepancies between an individual's perception of one's personal characteristics and the standards from one's self deriving from sex role norms" (pp. 274-275). Described as an intrapsychic process, sex role strain occurs when a discrepancy exists between the true self and one's core beliefs that are rooted in culturally sex role norms which can lead to poor psychological adjustment (Pleck & Garnets, 1979). Pleck's sex role strain model, a primary stimulus of gender role conflict, hypothesized that (a) gender roles produce conflict for both sexes, (b) overconforming gender role stereotypes have severe consequences, and (c) that prescribed gender roles can be detrimental to psychological

well-being for both men and women with regards to work and family roles (Garnets & Pleck, 1979).

According to Pleck's sex role strain paradigm, gender roles are inconsistent as well as contradictory which are defined by gender role stereotypes. Further, Pleck (1995) postulated that violation of gender role stereotypes by many individuals can lead to negative evaluation from others and social condemnation. Pleck's sex role strain paradigm indicated three assumptions: (1) violation of gender roles can lead to negative psychological consequences, (2) certain gender role characteristics are psychologically dysfunctional, and (3) both sexes experience strain and conflict because of gender roles. These assumptions were based on three subtypes of gender role strain: (a) the self-role discrepancy model, (b) the trauma strain model, and (c) the socialized dysfunctional characteristics model.

The self-role discrepancy model suggests that individuals attempt to conform to the stereotypic gender role standards and they suffer consequences when they do not live up to those gender role norms. Second, the trauma strain model indicates that individuals can have traumatic experiences during their gender role socialization (e.g., separation from mothers/fathers or absent parents) which can have negative consequences. Third, the socialized dysfunctional traits or characteristics model suggests that individuals are socialized to have personality characteristics (e.g., masculine or feminine) based on gender roles that are psychologically dysfunctional and fulfillment of those gender role norms can have negative consequences (Pleck, 1995). Although this model was only hypothetical, the Pleck's sex role strain paradigm was fundamental in the study of gender-role conflict. Pleck's model also provided an understanding of the negative

effects of socialized gender roles, and offered a theoretical base for future empirical work on gender-role conflict in the lives of men and women.

Based on Pleck's sex role strain paradigm, O'Neil developed a model based on gender role socialization and the masculinity ideology and norms related to men's fear of femininity that led to gender-role conflict advancing the work of gender role strain among men. O'Neil's conceptual model of male gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1981) presented gender role patterns learned by men during gender role socialization which explained how men's psychological problems were related to male gender-role conflicts. In addition, O'Neil theorized that "men are oppressed by rigid gender role socialization processes (i.e., sexism) which limit them from being fully functioning individuals" (O'Neil, 2008, p. 359).

The model which has the most theoretical relevance to gender-role conflict is Pleck's dysfunctional strain model as it implies negative outcomes from endorsing restrictive gender role ideology. Similarly to Pleck's sex role strain, gender-role conflict is defined as "a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences on the person or others" (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986, p. 336). When a person encounters "rigid, sexist, or restrictive" gender roles that are learned during socialization and they are not well integrated, it results in gender-role conflict (O'Neil et al., 1995). Conversely, this conceptual model can be applicable to women of color particularly within cultures in which rigid gender role socialization and ideology continues to be marked by traditional gender role behaviors and expectations and when those gender roles are not well integrated can create gender-role conflict (Zamarripa et al., 2003).

Although O'Neil coined the term Gender Role Conflict (GRC) in 1981, the definition of GRC evolved from many empirical studies since its initial introduction. O'Neil and colleagues (1986) developed the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) to measure the various personal dimensions of gender-role conflict that may arise from learned gender roles which originated from observations with men. Initially, O'Neil et al., (1986) tested six theoretical patterns that contribute to gender-role conflict which produced four empirical patterns of GRC. Currently, the operational definition of Gender Role Conflict comprises of four psychological domains: (a) the cognitive domain (i.e., how people think about gender roles); (b) the affective domain (i.e., how people feel about gender roles); (c) the behavioral domain (i.e., how people act, respond, and interact with themselves and others because of their gender roles); and (d) the unconscious domain (i.e., how gender role dynamics affect people's behavior and produce conflict; O'Neil, 2008).

Empirical Research on Gender-Role Conflict

O'Neil's model of male gender-role conflict became of interest in research and clinical areas in the mid 1990's within the field of Counseling Psychology. A special section on men's gender-role conflict was published in the Journal of Counseling Psychology in 1995 which included two empirical studies on men's gender-role conflict and a scholarly critique. Since then, there has been a wealth of research devoted to understanding the impact of gender-role conflict among men using the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) which was created from observations of men. Although most of the studies have been conducted on White, heterosexual male college students, the

research on gender-role conflict among men has expanded to diverse populations during the last decade.

Most of the extensive research on gender-role conflict (GRC) during the last four decades has primarily focused on males. Over 230 empirical studies have broadly examined GRC using the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS: O'Neil et al., 1986) and 105 of those studies have been published in the psychological literature during the last 30 years (O'Neil, 2008). All of the studies have used the original Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al., 1986) which measures four factors of gender-role conflict: (a) Success, Power and Competition (SPC) refers to the personal attitudes about success and the emphasis that an individual places on achievement; (b) Restrictive Emotionality (RE) refers to an individual's difficulty expressing his/her own emotions and the discomfort expressing basic emotions to others; (c) Restrictive Affectionate Behavior (RAB) represents discomfort expressing feelings to another person of the same gender; and (d) Conflict between work and Family Relations (CBWFR) reflects on the level of distress experienced by individuals in balancing work, school and family relations that may result in physical and psychological health issues (O'Neil, 2008).

During the last two decades, researchers have widely examined gender-role conflict among men (O'Neil, 2008) including Latino male college students (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000; Zamarripa et al., 2003). O'Neil (2008) conducted a comprehensive review of the extensive empirical research completed on gender-role conflict among men of diverse ethnic backgrounds in the U.S. and all over the world for the last 25 years. Most of the empirical literature has primarily focused on examining the Gender Role Conflict construct as it applies to men and the relation to men's psychological distress.

Such studies have found that gender-role conflict has been negatively related to mental health (e.g., depression, anxiety) among Asian, African American, and Caucasian men, both college and adult men (O'Neil, 2008).

Research findings have also revealed that men who place more emphasis on success, power, and competition (i.e., a measure of their personal worth) tend to be more anxious and depressed regardless of their age (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995). Likewise, higher level of restrictive emotionality (i.e., a factor of gender-role conflict) among men has been correlated with depression (Good, Robertson, Fitzgerald, Stevens, & Bartels, 1996). Thus, the learned gender role norms and socialized gender role patterns and behaviors that create gender-role conflict for men may also create gender-role conflict for women (Zamarripa et al., 2003). Nevertheless, there is still a dearth in the published literature about the examination of gender-role conflict among women particularly amongst women of color. The scarce empirical research that exists on gender-role conflict amongst women has mainly focused within the female athlete population and primarily with Caucasian women. There is a little research examining gender-role conflict among women of diverse ethnic backgrounds. Thus, a review of the paucity of the empirical research on gender-role conflict that has been conducted among women of color within the non-athlete population is presented in the following section.

Gender-Role Conflict Research among Women

Gender-role conflict theory suggests that women can experience gender-role conflict when they perceive gender role expectations in contrast with their gender role behavior as women attempt to enact both masculine and feminine gender roles. In addition, gender-role conflict describes a woman's struggle with their self-concept that

derives from the discrepant expectations of masculine and feminine gender role behavior (Allison, 1991). Likewise, the scholarly literature has suggested that women experience greater gender-role conflict in regards to gender related expectations that are inconsistent with their self-concept (Chusmir & Koberg, 1986).

The concept of gender-role conflict has been of relevance within the field of psychology of men and women. Nonetheless, the empirical published literature on gender-role conflict among women is limited. One area in which gender-role conflict on women has been examined is among the female athlete population (Anthrop & Allison, 1983; Desertrain & Weiss, 1988; Fallon & Jome, 2007; Miller & Levy, 1996). It is assumed that women athletes experience gender-role conflict as they are expected to enact the masculine gender roles when participating in traditionally masculine athletic activities and yet expected to endorse the socially ascribed feminine gender roles (Desertrain & Weiss, 1988; Sage & Loudermilk, 1979).

Previous research on gender-role conflict conducted among the female athlete population has mostly used the Sex Role Conflict Scale by Chusmir & Koberg (1986) and the Athletic Sex Role Conflict Inventory by Sage & Loudermilk (1979). While research focused on gender-role conflict among female athletes has yielded mixed results, some findings indicate that female athletes experience gender-role conflict when trying to fulfill both feminine and masculine gender roles (Sage & Loudermilk, 1979), and when an individual is unable to fulfill one or either role completely, thus being judged as inadequate by the dominant reference group (Anthrop & Allison, 1983). Initially, Sage and Loudermilk (1979) examined the degree to which women college athletes participating in traditionally feminine and masculine sports perceived gender-role conflict

(i.e., the perception of conflicting expectations and orientations) and experienced gender-role conflict (i.e., the experienced role incompatibilities in enacting the roles of women and women athlete). The researchers found that 56% of the participants perceived some degree of gender-role conflict but only 44% of the participants experienced gender-role conflict. When compared women athletes in traditionally masculine and feminine sports, the groups did not differ significantly in the amount of role conflict that was perceived (56%, 57.2%; respectively). Nonetheless, women athletes who were participating in masculine sports reported experiencing greater gender-role conflict than the women athletes participating in feminine sports (45.1%, 34.2%; respectively). Similar results were found for the female high school athlete population. Anthrop and Allison (1983) also examined perceived and experienced gender-role conflict among the female high school athlete sample. The authors found that 66.2% of the respondents reported perceiving some gender-role conflict while 49.6% of the respondents experienced some gender-role conflict. Further, the amount of perceived role conflict did not differ by the type of sport played by the participants.

More recent findings indicate that female athletes perceived conflicting gender role expectations based on their gender role behavior. Fallon and Jome (2007) examined how female rugby players who were participating in a traditionally masculine sport perceived and negotiated gender-role expectations and role conflict. A qualitative design was used for this study in which eleven Caucasian, non-college rugby players between the ages of 25 and 38 were interviewed. Their findings indicate that female rugby players perceived discrepant and conflicting gender-role expectations based on their gender-role behavior. Participants also perceived and experienced gender-role conflict which was

manifested in various ways rather than on one specific form. Though, themes were found to be related to gender-role conflict such as (a) conflict about not being feminine enough and (b) conflict about managing perceptions of their masculinity and femininity), the level of the conflict that was experienced and the amount of distress was not assessed. Nevertheless, other findings indicate that the conflict might not be related to gender-role behavior, but it might stem from the need of balancing multiple social roles (Jambor & Weeks, 1996).

Conversely, the scarce research that exists on gender-role conflict among women which has examined the Gender-Role Conflict construct as it applies to women within the non-athlete population is reflected only in few studies (Borthrick, 1997; Newman, 1998; Silva, 2002). The Gender Role Conflict Scale for females (GRCS-F) was modified by Borthick (1997) by changing the pronouns from masculine to feminine from the original GRCS-I scale. This new generation of researchers expanded the study of gender-role conflict among women by exploring how the Gender Role Conflict construct applied to a woman's conflict. Particularly, Borthick (1997) and Newman (1998) postulated that women experience gender-role conflict due to the changes with their gender role self-concepts.

Borthick (1997) examined gender-role conflict among women of color using the original GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) and adapted the scale for female participants by changing the pronouns from masculine to feminine from the original Gender Role Conflict Scale. Borthick (1997) examined the relation between biological sex, sex role type (e.g., Masculine, Feminine, Androgynous, and Undifferentiated), gender role conflict, self-esteem, depression, sexual orientation, and suicidal probability in a young

female and male adult population 18-24 years. The sample population consisted of 621 males (31.4%) and females (68.6%) college undergraduate students. The participants' ethnicity was reported as Afro-American (36.2%), Caucasian (55.7%), and Other (8.1%). An important aspect of this study was the reported reliability (Cronbach's alpha) results for the four GRCS-F subscales (ranged from .81 to .86) indicating that the factors for the GRCS-F were comparable to those of the original GRCS. In addition, the findings indicated that depression, low self-esteem, and all the GRCS factors were significant predictors of suicide probability in this population. Though, there was no difference between male and female participants with high gender-role conflict on scores of depression or suicide probability. Both males and females were equally conflicted with conflict between work/school/leisure; however, males placed more importance than women on restrictive emotionality (RE) and restrictive affection behavior (RAB).

Newman (1998) examined the relationship between gender role, gender-role conflict, depression, and self-silencing (i.e., the process of denial and disavowal of aspects of the self and response to gender role mandates) among male (n = 50) and female (n = 50) students, ages 21-35. Participants self-identify ethnically as White (85%) and Hispanic/Black/Asian (15%). The following self-report measures were used: the GRCS and the GRCS-F, the Self Silencing Scale, the Beck Depression Inventory-II, and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire. Based on the results of hierarchical multiple regressions, a positive relationship was found between self-silencing, gender role, gender-role conflict, and depression for men but not for women. The findings revealed differences on the GRCS scores on three of the four GRC factors (Success, Power and Competition; Restrictive Emotionality; and Restrictive Affectionate Behavior among

Men/Women) in which men scored significantly higher than women. On the four factors of the Gender Role Conflict (i.e., Conflict between work and family), both men and women reported experiencing equal amount of conflict. Newman (1998) reported reliability scores (Cronbach's alpha) of .92 for the GRCS-I and .89 for the GRCS-F. The researcher postulated that the relation between gender-role conflict and depression would be moderated by self-silencing; however, it was not confirmed. These results are limited in terms of generalizability as the majority of the sample population was White and educated individuals from urban settings. Further research on the construct of gender-role conflict and its generalizability to women of color (i.e., Latinas) is indeed greatly needed as the Latina/o population is rapidly increasing in the U.S.

Gender-Role Conflict Research among Latina Women

The examination of Gender Role Conflict (GRC) among the Latina/o population is scarce in the empirical literature. One study in particular investigated the gender-role conflict construct particularly among Latina/o college students. Silva (2002) examined the relation of gender-role conflict, gender role expectations, acculturation, ethnic identity, and worldview among 174 undergraduate Latina (n = 118) and Latino (n = 56) students at two universities in the Midwest and Southwest regions. There was no median age reported. Age was categorized in five groups with 86% of the sample population were 18 to 27 years old and the majority being single (72%). Ethnicity was determined by ethnic group (e.g., cultural heritage) and most of the participants (88%) identified as Mexican Americans. The majority of the participants indicated being bilingual (74%) and most of them (56%) were 1st and 2nd generation in the U.S. Self-report measures were used for this study. The Gender Role conflict Scale for males (GRCS-I) and

females (GRCS-F) were used to measure GRC. The Scale of Ethnic Experience (SEE) was used to measure ethnic identity and acculturation, and the Individualism Collectivism Scale (ICS) was used to measure worldview.

Results indicated that Latinos scored higher than Latinas on three of the four gender-role conflict factors (e.g., Success, power, competition, restrictive emotionality, and affectionate behavior). Further, there was not a significant difference between the scores among gender (i.e., Latinos and Latinas) on the Conflict between Work and Family factor of the GRCS. Although there were differences on gender role expectations between genders, Latina/o students did not highly endorse gender role expectations that may lead to gender-role conflict. Also, there was no significant relation between acculturation on gender- role conflict. Nevertheless, there was a positive significant relation between ethnic identity and gender role expectations for Latinas but not for Latinos. Moreover, the worldview concept of individualism was positively related to the variability of gender-role conflict but the concept of collectivism was not. One of the limitations of this study was that both scales (i.e., SEE and ICS) were found to be not reliable measures for bicultural participants in this particular sample. Also, the GRCS-I and GRCS-F scores were combined producing low reliability scores. Internal consistency scores (Cronbach's alpha) reported in this study for the GRCS-I and GRCS-F ranged from .65 to .69 for the combined four subscales, for the SEE ranged from .64 to .90 for the subscales, and for the ICS were .52 to .67.

In another study, Zamarripa et al. (2003) investigated the generalizability of the gender-role conflict construct and the applicability to women. Specifically, the authors examined whether the relationship between male gender-role conflict variables and

mental health (e.g., depression, anxiety) was generalizable to women. The sample population consisted of (N = 205) undergraduate and graduate men (n = 61) and women (n = 144) at a Midwestern university with a mean age of 24.6 years. Participants' ethnicity was combined for both genders and reported as 175 White, 6 African American, 6 Latina/o, 2 Native American, 10 Asian, and 6 other.

Several self-report measures were used including the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS), the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI), and the Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI). The authors revised the four subscales of the GRCS and developed a similar version to assess the four gender-role conflict constructs with women. The first three subscales of the GRCS were named as appropriate success, inappropriate success, and restrictive emotions. Furthermore, the authors modified the GRCS by changing pronouns that referred to specific gender and made it neutral. For example, "I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a man" was changed to "I worry about failing and how it affects *me*." They also modified items that assessed restricted affection for same-sex (male–male and female–female) on the GRCS and GRCS-F respectively, as well as added items assessing restricted affection for opposite sex (male–female and female–male) on both versions of the GRCS, respectively. Therefore, there were four versions of the GRCS subscale that assessed restriction of affection. The Cronbach's alpha reported for the four revised subscales for the GRCS for women were .53 for appropriate success, .61 for restrictive emotion, .84 for inappropriate success, and .80 for work/family conflict and for men were .65, .89., .85, and .83, respectively.

As predicted by the authors, the findings for this study indicated that men showed more restricted affection and emotionality, and greater appropriate and inappropriate

success than women. This suggests that men are socialized differently emphasizing on success, power, and competition over emotionality. Further, regression analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between the conflict variables and mental health. Restrictive emotionality was predictive of depression for both men and women, whereas inappropriate success was predictive of depression for women only. Although there were no differences between genders on the conflict between work and family, the major predictor of depression and anxiety was conflict between work and family for both men and women. The purpose of this study was to explore the applicability of the gender-role conflict construct to women as well as the generalizability to women in general. The low reliability scores for two of the revised subscales did not provide strong evidence. Moreover, the sample population for this study was not entirely representative of the general female population in the U.S. More research on gender-role conflict and how it applies to women is important to address given that the subscale of conflict with work and family was a major predictor of depression and anxiety for both men and women.

Even though the limited empirical literature among the female athlete and non-athlete female population has expanded the understanding of gender-role conflict among women, the examination of gender-role conflict among women of color (e.g., Latinas) is almost non-existent in the literature given the growing U.S. Latina/o population. Hence, there is a great need to explore the construct of gender-role conflict and its applicability to women in general. As women enter various professional fields, they must apply skills that may be perceived socially as masculine ascribed characteristics (e.g., assertiveness, competitiveness); however, those personality traits are necessary to succeed in professional careers within the U.S. society. The clash between meeting professional and

social expectations may create a conflict for women who are trying to meet their own cultural expectations (e.g., gender role expectations) and achieve in the modern world (Gil & Vasquez, 1996). Until now, the examination on female gender-role orientation (e.g., masculinity and femininity traits) and how gender-role attitudes may correlate with gender-role conflict (e.g., success, power and competition; work and family conflict) among women of color still remains unexplored in the published literature. A review of the empirical literature on female gender-role orientation as well as the limited empirical research among women of color is discussed next.

Gender-Role Orientation and Gender-Typed Characteristics

Gender roles are defined as "specific behaviors that men and women enact congruent with the socially constructed ideals of masculinity and femininity" (Mahalik, Cournoyer, DeFranc, Cherry, & Napolitano, 1998, p. 247). According to Bem (1993), masculinity and femininity are constructs inculcated by society into men and women in various ways and with specific traits/characteristics that are associated with maleness or femaleness. Generally, some of the gender-typed characteristics associated with masculinity include assertiveness, athletic, competitiveness, independent, ambitious, and forceful, whereas femininity is associated with compassion, cooperativeness, affectionate, gentle, warm, and understanding (Bem, 1974). These socially prescribed gender-typed personality traits attributed to masculinity and femininity can influence an individual's gender identity and/or orientation (Bem, 1993; O'Neil & Egan, 1992).

Gender identity refers to the degree in which individuals are generally sex-typed as masculine or feminine, or non sex-typed as androgynous (andro = male, gyne = female) and how they respond to culturally prescribed socialization practices (Bem,

1974). Sex typing is known as the process in which society transforms male and female into masculine and feminine (Bem, 1981). Thus, a sex-type individual refers to someone whose self-concept integrates culture's definitions of masculinity and femininity and who has internalized societal norms regarding which personality traits males and females should possess and what the desirable behavior should be for men and women. Whereas, androgynous individuals have a self-concept that allows them to freely engage in both masculine and feminine behaviors demonstrating greater adaptability and flexibility as they do not feel constrained to specific masculine or feminine gender roles (Bem, 1974). Conversely, gender-role orientation (GRO) refers to the extent to which an individual adopts and displays personality traits, attitudes, and behaviors normatively identified as male-typical or female-typical and do not have to do with the biological sex (Biller, 1968). Both gender-role identity and gender-role orientation have been used interchangeable in the literature. For the present study, gender-role orientation will be used when referring to an individual's adapting and/or displaying socially desirable masculinity or femininity personality traits, attributes, or behaviors.

Gender Role Orientation Research

For over half a century, gender research has been an area of interest within the field of psychology. Masculinity and femininity scales were initially developed to measure personality traits believed to be related to masculine and feminine gender roles under the assumption that masculinity and femininity were in the opposite ends (Oswald, 2004). To facilitate empirical research on psychological androgyny, Bem (1974) challenged the initial assumption of bipolarity (i.e., either masculine or feminine) postulating that the constructs of masculinity and femininity were empirically and

conceptually independent. Bem (1974) hypothesized that healthy men and women could be "androgynous" possessing similar characteristics and argued that (a) individuals could possess a number of traits from each side (i.e., masculinity and femininity) and that (b) individuals could show various levels of traits based on responses to different contextual events, situations, and appropriateness. Furthermore, Bem's gender schema theory (1981) proposes that individuals who develop their own guidelines for gender roles are psychologically healthier.

Designed to assess "the extent in which the culture's definitions of desirable male and female attributes is reflected in an individual's self-description" (Bem, 1979; p. 1048), the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974) was created to assess masculine and feminine gender roles separately and to provide a measure of androgyny. Items for the BSRI were selected from college students' ratings on 200 personality traits desirable for a man and for a woman in the Western society. The results were based on 400 *t*-tests and the most desirable adjectives were selected. The original BSRI (Bem, 1974) initially included 60 adjectives. Soon after, Bem (1981) constructed the BSRI short form which includes 30 items. The BSRI classifications include masculinity, femininity, androgynous, or undifferentiated which depends on which form is used (long or short).

During the last four decades, the BSRI has been one of the most widely used self-report measures in all areas of gender research within the field of psychology (Oswald, 2004). Over 900 empirical studies have used the BSRI to measure perceptions of gender roles. Moreover, the BSRI has been the measure of choice for gender-role orientation research (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). Although, research has suggested that gender roles have changed since the creation of the BSRI, Oswald (2004) assessed whether the BSRI

still measured what it was originally developed to measure (i.e., perceptions of masculinity and femininity traits). The BSRI short form was selected for this sample. The study included a sample of (N = 182) ethnically diverse working adults (56%) and college students (44%) who were recruited on campus and work locations. The majority of the sample was comprised of women (62%). Participants' ethnicity included 82 % Euro-Americans, 10 % Latinos, 7 % African Americans, and 1 % Asians. Participants' age ranged from 18 to 71 years with a mean age of 30.9 years. As expected, the results revealed that most of the participants categorized themselves related to their sex. Most of the female (54%) participants categorized themselves as Feminine whereas most of the male (51%) participants categorized themselves as Masculine. Androgynous was the second largest category for both males (40%) and females (29%). However, there was no significant difference in mean age among the categories suggesting that generational differences did not emerge for this sample.

One area in which female gender-role orientation has been explored within the empirical psychological research is within the sports socialization. Sport participation has been a form to cultivate the development of masculine characteristics in athletes which can also lead to the achievement of a masculine gender-role identity among males (Anthrop & Allison, 1983). On the other hand, female athletes can be perceived as less feminine than the female non-athletes (Desertrain & Weiss, 1988). Thus, the combination of the societal expectations of femininity, personal gender values, and the perceived incompatibility of being a female athlete can result in gender-role conflict (Anthrop & Allison, 1983; Desertrain & Weiss, 1988).

Miller and Levy (1996) examined gender-role conflict, gender-typed characteristics (i.e., masculine and feminine traits), self-concepts, and sport socialization in female athletes (n = 76) and non-athletes (n = 69). Although the subject of this empirical study may not be of interest in the present research, the findings among the female college population may provide insightful information for the current study. One hundred and forty-five female college undergraduates served as the sample population. The female non-athletes were recruited from Introductory Psychology classes. The majority of the non-athletes (90%) and the athletes (82%) identified as White, and the rest identified as Hispanic (6%) and Native American (4%). The participants were between the ages of 18 and 22 with a mean age of 21.45 years. Gender-role conflict was measured using the *Sex Role Conflict Scale* (Chusmir & Koberg, 1986) and the *Athletic Sex Role Conflict Inventory* (Sage & Loudermilk, 1979). The *Personal Attributes Questionnaire* (PAQ) was used to measure masculinity and femininity.

Results indicated no significant differences among athletes and non-athletes in their reported amounts of gender-role conflict. With regards to the gender-typed characteristics, female athletes rated themselves as significantly more masculine than female athletes and female non-athletes rated themselves more feminine than female athletes. However, participants' reported masculinity did not correlate significantly with the reported amounts of gender role conflict. Findings also revealed that female athletes exhibited significantly higher positive athletic competence and body image concept than non-athletes. The participant's body image for both athletes and non-athletes were significantly related to their amount of gender-role conflict but the level of distress was not assessed. Since the female athletes were collapsed into one inclusive group, the

group differences between female athletes engagement in distinct sports was not assessed. These findings suggest that female non- athletes experience the same amount of gender-role conflict as female athletes. It is possible that employing masculinity attributes may moderate the effect of gender-role conflict among women specifically among the factor of success power and competition.

In another study, Choi, Herdman, Fuqua, and Newman (2011) examined the relationship between gender role dimensions derived from the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and the 4 dimensions of gender-role conflict represented on the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) among a sample of (N = 400) gay men from 39 states in the U.S. Even though the sample population in this study may not be of interest in the present research, the psychometrics used for this sample may provide insightful information for the current study. Participants were recruited from GLBT college organizational listservs. Participants' age ranged from late teens to 50 years (89%). The majority of the participants had a least some college education (99%) and most of them were single (57%). There was no ethnicity reported for the participants. The short-form of the BSRI was used to measure gender-role orientation and the GRCS for males was selected to measure gender-role conflict. The BSRI consisted of 30 items and 3 subscales (Masculinity Scale = 10 items, Femininity Scale = 10 items, and Social Desirability = 10 filler items).

Correlational analyses revealed that femininity was negatively correlated with Restrictive emotionality (RE) and Restrictive Affectionate Behavior (RAB). Results indicated that gay men whose scores were higher in femininity experienced less conflict in expressing emotions and affection for men. There was a positive relationship between

social masculinity and Success, Power, and Competition (SPC) indicating that participants whose scores were higher on social masculinity tended to experience greater levels of conflict with the SPC dimension. Moreover, a positive correlation between personal masculinity and SPC was reported. However, there was a negative correlation between personal masculinity with RE and with RAB. In addition, multiple regression analyses were performed to explain the dimensional relationship between the two sets of variables (i.e., BSRI scores and GRCS scores). Results indicated that all three regression equations were statistically significant. Specifically, findings revealed that SPC was the major variable associated with social masculinity. The findings suggest that the construct of gender-role conflict, as measured by the GRCS for males, stems from a negative and unhealthy side of socialized masculinity and that social masculinity reflects an undesirable aspect of masculinity.

Over the last four decades, researchers have extensively examined the relationship of masculinity and femininity, and the impact on individual's psychological well-being (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). Other empirical research has suggested that men who possess predominantly high masculine but low feminine traits tend to experience greater gender-role conflict whereas men who possess high feminine but low masculine traits tend to experience less gender-role conflict (O'Neil, 2008; O'Neil et al., 1986). Moreover, Mahalik et al., (1998) suggested that the rigid adherence to traditional masculinity and femininity can lead men and women to a negative psychological state in which deep-rooted socially ascribed gender-roles may result in detrimental consequences for the individual which can contribute to gender-role conflict. Particularly within the Latina/o culture, there are ingrained gender-role ascriptions that dictate gender-specific

related behaviors for men and women. Thus far, the relation of gender-role orientation and gender-role conflict among Latinas has not been explored within the empirical literature given that Latina women may employ both masculine and feminine characteristics to succeed in the modern world. Further research on the relation of gender-role orientation and gender-role conflict among women in general may provide additional information about the complexity of the multiple gender role identities among the female population. An examination of the gender-role ideology and socialization amongst Latinas is presented in the following section highlighting the culturally gender-role attitudes (e.g., *marianismo*) including the empirical research that has been conducted among women of color particularly among Latinas.

Gender Role Ideology and Socialization

Gender-schema theory suggests that children as early as infants begin to categorize people and organize their observations of gender based on what the culture dictates is appropriate for boys or for girls (Bem, 1993). Consequently, children learn to differentiate what is expected of them on the basis of gender. As children learn their roles in every culture, they also learn the behaviors that go with them and what they should do (Basow, 1986). Subsequently, adolescents acquire the necessary knowledge to construct their gender roles through implicit and explicit gender related socialization experiences from parents, educators, and the mass media. Acquired by each individual during his/her early life gender socialization experiences as well as culturally transmitted, gender roles greatly influence the way individuals act, think, and behave (Bem, 1993) and gender related experiences influence the perceptions and expectations of self and others

(O'Neil, 2008). Hence, the behaviors and attitudes that are acquired through childhood and adolescence can influence one's worldview of gender roles (Bem, 1993).

Historically, many societies have gender-role attitudes (i.e., an individual's belief) and gender-role ideology that each culture considers what is appropriate for males and females (Bem, 1993). Given the diversity of the population in the U.S., the experiences of ethnic minority groups can be complex and the gender-role ideology and socialization experiences may be unique to each ethnic minority population (Miville, Bratini, Corpus, & Diaz, 2013; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). For instance, Latinas/os are a diverse group of people from various countries and ethnicities of distinct social, political, historical and economic backgrounds (Delgado-Romero, Galvan, Hunter, & Torres, 2005; Falicov, 1998). Despite the heterogeneity of Latinos, there are general similarities that define the Latina/o population such in terms of sociocultural values (e.g., *familismo, ethnicity*) and religion, which in turn influence gender-role ideologies (e.g., *machismo* and *marianismo*) and strong gender-role expectations for men and women (Falicov, 1998; Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Montilla & Smith, 2006). In addition, it has been posited that Latinas undergo a faster gender role transformation than males which can create family, relational, and identity conflicts (Espin, 1999; Hernandez, 1996). Yet, little attention has been given to the gender role socialization and parental practices among the Latina/o population.

Gender Role Beliefs and Attitudes within the Latina/o Culture

Scholars have identified commonalities with pronounced gender-role ideologies within the Latina/o culture that dictate what is appropriate for a man or a woman as well as defined clear and rigid gender related behaviors and expectations for men versus women (Comas-Diaz, 1987; Marin & Marin, 1991; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, &

Gallardo-Cooper, 2002). The empirical literature indicates that many Latino parents socialize their children with gender-role attitudes that are marked by traditional gender-related behaviors and expectations and that parental socialization practices are the best predictor of gender role attitudes (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). For example, a male gender-role attitude for Latinos is enacted through the notion of *machismo* which is generally characterized by hyper masculinity, aggressiveness, and restricted emotions (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005) which two of those factors are measured by the gender-role conflict scale (e.g., hyper masculinity and restricted emotions). Machismo refers to an extreme masculine gender role schema which can influence gender roles, gender values, and gender expectations (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000). This idealized masculine gender role is characterized with being independent and dominant (Comas-Diaz, 1987). On the contrary, there is also a positive aspect of *machismo* which is characterized by responsibility (i.e., being a provider and protector of the family), and honor (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005).

Existent research has shown that the rigid adherence to traditional and stereotypical gender roles in men and women can contribute to negative psychological consequences such as higher levels of depression (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Good & Mintz, 1990; O'Neil, 2008; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991; Zamarripa, Wampold, & Gregory, 2003), higher levels of anxiety (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000; Zamarripa et al., 2003), and lower self-esteem (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991). Furthermore, the pressure to conform to the masculine gender role ideology dictated by society may cause distress and gender-role conflict among men (O'Neil, 2008). With regards to Latinos, gender-role conflict has correlated with the GRC factors of success,

power, and competition, and conflict between work and family (Leka, 1998). Whereas other research has found that higher levels of *machismo* and restrictive emotionality (RE), a factor of Gender Role Conflict, have been significantly associated with higher levels of depression and stress among Latino males (Fragoso & Kashubeck (2000).

Fragoso & Kashubeck (2000) investigated the relations among masculine ideology (e.g., *machismo*), gender-role conflict, and mental health (e.g., depression and stress) among Mexican American males. The authors examined whether machismo and gender-role conflict interacted with depression and stress. The sample consisted of 113 Mexican American males from campus organizations at a southwestern public university (n = 18) and from the local community (e.g., catholic churches (n = 54) and (n = 41) neighbors and friends of the first author). The mean age was 38.4 years and 69% of the participants were married. Approximately 69% were born in the U.S. and 31 % were born in Mexico. The majority (56 %) of the participants had completed at least some college. The following self-report measures were used for this study: Machismo subscale of the Multiphasic Assessment of Cultural Constructs Short Form, the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS), the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans II (ARSMA-II), the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D), and the Hispanic Stress Inventory (HSI).

As hypothesized by the authors, findings indicated that higher levels of machismo were associated with higher levels of depression and stress. Furthermore, higher levels of gender-role conflict were associated with higher levels of stress. Specifically, the Restrictive Emotionality subscale was significantly related to depression. The acculturation variable was also related to stress. However, there was no relation between

machismo and gender-role conflict. It may be possible that the concepts of the machismo construct included in this Machismo subscale may not be related to the various ways of conflict measured by the GRCS. The sample population was rather small and not randomly selected as most of the participants were within the same members of the family and/or neighbors. Neither the sample was representative of the general Latino population in the U.S. as it was conducted only among Mexican American males in a particular local area. Limited research exists on the construct of machismo and the relationship to gender-role conflict. Therefore, further research is needed with regards to the gender-role ideology (e.g., *machismo and marianismo*) among Latinos in general and its relation to gender-role conflict.

Gender Role Beliefs of Marianismo

The idealized traditional feminine gender role for Latinas is enacted through the notion of *marianismo* which is generally associated with stereotypic attributes of femininity (e.g. sense of duty, chastity, passivity, modesty, virtuosity, self-sacrificing) based on a religious persona of the Virgin Mary (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). *Marianismo* is a term coined in 1973 by the political scientist Evelyn Stevens to point out the subordinate position of women in Latin America and to refer to the cultural idealized beliefs and gender role norms and expectations of Latina women emphasizing the nurturing role and being the pillar for the family (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010; Gil & Vasquez, 1996). Likewise, the scholarly literature has suggested that characteristics of marianismo include gender role expectations of Latinas to be socialized as dependent on the family, self-sacrificing, and maintaining family honor (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Furthermore, following more traditional

gender-role ideologies (e.g., *machismo and marianismo*) and rigid stereotypic prescribed gender roles can result in increased stress and family conflict (Falicov, 1998; Gil & Vasquez, 1996).

Scholars postulate that *Marianismo* is a multidimensional construct which comprises of negative and positive aspects (Castillo et al., 2010). Positive components of *marianismo* are characterized with being spiritually strong and the family pillar, whereas some of the negative components are associated with being virtuous and chaste, self-silencing and subordinate (Castillo et al., 2010). Rodriguez, Castillo and Gandara (2013) examined the positive and negative aspects of psychocultural factors (e.g., *marianismo*) associated with Latina adolescents' academic achievement intentions. Principally, the authors were interested in examining the influence of the positive and negative components of *marianismo* on Latina's academic achievement among Latina high school students (N = 98) in South Texas. The participants' age ranged from 14 to 19 years old with a mean age of 16.5 years. The majority of the participants were first-generation born in the U.S. The Marianismo Beliefs Scale (MBS; Castillo et al., 2010) was used to measure the positive and negative components of Marianismo by classifying the five subscales into Positive (i.e., Spiritual Pillar subscale and Family Pillar subscale) and Negative aspects (i.e., Virtuous and Chase subscale, the Subordinate to Others subscale, and the Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony subscale). The Cronbach's alpha scores obtained in this study for the Positive Marianismo Beliefs Scale (PMBS) were .84 and .90 for the Negative Marianismo Beliefs Scale (NMBS). The following self-report measures were also used for this study: the Academic Motivation Scale, and the Ambition subscale. The authors hypothesized that positive and negative aspects of *marianismo* would relate

to academic achievement. Nonetheless, correlational analyses revealed that only the positive aspects of *marianismo* (e.g., being the family and spiritual pillar) were related to academic motivation suggesting that Latinas who endorse positive gender role beliefs are more likely to be motivated to do well academically.

On the other hand, previous research has suggested that the concept of *marianismo* is related with health outcomes (Cianelli, Ferrer, & McElmurry, 2008) and intimate partner violence (Moreno, 2007). Nonetheless, recent findings have indicated that marianismo is related to depressive symptoms (Piña-Watson, Castillo, Ojeda, & Rodriguez, 2013) among Latina college women. Piña-Watson et al., (2013) examined marianismo beliefs and its association to depressive symptoms with family conflict as a mediator among 170 Mexican American college students from a southern, Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). Participants' age ranged from 18 to 30 years with a mean age of 20.54 years. With regards to generation level, 22.4% were first-generation Mexican Americans (i.e., children that immigrated to the U. S. from Mexico), 35.8% were second-generation (i.e., born in the U.S. of parents that immigrated from Mexico), 20.0% were third-generation (i.e., children of parents native to the U. S. that have a Mexican ancestral background), 10.9% were fourth-generation (i.e., individuals who have grandparents of Mexican descent and were born in the U.S.), and 10.9% were fifth-generation (i.e., students who are of Mexican descent and have great-grandparents native to the U.S.).

Participants were recruited in their classrooms and completed a demographics survey. The following measures were administered: the Kessler Psychological Distress Scale; the Marianismo Beliefs Scale (MBS), and the Family Conflict Scale. The correlational analysis revealed that marianismo beliefs were significantly correlated with

depressive symptoms. The authors hypothesized that marianismo beliefs would significantly and negatively predict parent conflict. Though, the findings showed a significantly positive relation between marianismo and parent conflict. Moreover, results from the mediation analysis indicated that parent conflict significantly mediated the relation between marianismo and depressive symptoms. The findings contribute to the understanding of the traditional gender role beliefs and ideology of marianismo and the impact on psychological distress. Moreover, the findings suggest that Latinas who endorse more traditional gender role beliefs may display behaviors that are contradictory to the U.S. mainstream culture which promotes individualism and independence and often can lead to bicultural conflict and distress (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2004).

Most recent research examined the associations of machismo and marianismo with negative cognitive-emotional factors (e.g., symptoms of anger, depression, anxiety, and cynical hostility) in a sample of Hispanic adults (Nuñez, González, Talavera, Sanchez-Johnsen, Roesch, Davis, Arguelles, Womack, Ostrovsky, Ojeda, Penedo, & Gallo, 2015). The authors were interested in examining if the relationships between gender roles, specifically the constructs of machismo and marianismo, and negative cognitive-emotional factors were modified by the sociocultural variables (e.g., gender, acculturation, ethnic background). The sample consisted of 4,426 Hispanic female adults who were randomly selected from the census group blocks in several states (e.g., California, Florida, Illinois and New York) in areas concentrated specifically by Hispanics and socioeconomic status (SES). Eligible participant's age ranged from 18-74 years with a mean age of 42.31 years.

Participants completed a sociocultural assessment battery administered through a 1-2 hours interview. The following measures were administered: the center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale, the Spielberger Trait Anxiety Inventory, the Spielberger Trait Anger Scale, the Cook Medley Cynicism Scale, the Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics, the MAN for Health Survey, and the Marianismo Beliefs Scale (MBS). The Cronbach's alpha internal consistency coefficients reported for the Marianismo Beliefs subscales were Family Pillar = .78, Spiritual Pillar = .79, Virtuous and Chaste = .80, Subordinate to Others = .79, and Silencing Self to Maintain Harmony = .82. The authors hypothesized that a) the endorsement of traditional beliefs of machismo and marianismo would relate to higher levels of negative emotions and cognitions and 2) that such associations would remain even after adjusting for sociodemographic factors (e.g., age, income, marital status, etc.). The results showed that specific aspects of marianismo (i.e., family and spiritual) and aspects of traditional machismo were correlated with higher levels of negative cognitions and emotions (i.e., depression, anger, anxiety, and cynical hostility). These findings contribute to the understanding of the importance of traditional gender role socializations on cognitive-emotional factors. Moreover, the findings suggest that endorsing more traditional gender roles correlate to negative psychological well-being among Latinos across a diverse background regardless of gender, ethnic background, and level of acculturation to the U.S. mainstream culture.

As Latinas try to engage in flexible gender roles within the mainstream culture as well as having a family and a career, they may challenge the stereotypical social and cultural gender roles prescribed within the Latina/o culture (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005; Falicov, 1998). The conflict and issues for Latinas that may arise from challenging

their traditional gender roles may impact their psychological well-being (Falicov, 1998; Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Montilla & Smith, 2006). Through the "Maria Paradox," Gil and Vasquez (1996) describe the personal and the interpersonal conflict that arises for first-generation Latina women between endorsing cultural traditional gender roles (e.g., *Marianismo*) and engaging in more flexible gender roles within the modern culture. Gil and Vasquez (1996) point out that the Marianista ideology has defined the worldview of Latina women for centuries including a place in society, interpersonal relationships at various levels, and women's self-image.

Nowadays, an increasing number of Latina women are joining the professional field in the U.S. and are expected to achieve in the modern world and compete with men in job settings to succeed. As a result, they begin to challenge the *Marianista* ideology. Consequently, the cultural clash between sustaining the old traditions and meeting the new world's expectations can have a deep impact and consequences on a Latina's sense of self (Falicov, 1998; Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Until now, the examination of Latino traditional gender roles (e.g., marianismo, machismo) and the relation to gender-role conflict still remains largely unexplored within the published literature considering that more women are engaging in multiple roles and that gender role experiences can occur behaviorally, cognitively, and emotionally (O'Neil, 2008).

In sum, traditional Latina gender roles are inconsistent with female gender roles found in the dominant U.S. society in general, and certainly in college populations (Castellanos, 2003; Delgado-Romero et al., 2005; Miville et al., 2013; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Although, evidence suggests that the Latina/o traditional gender roles in the U.S. society are changing (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002) as Latinas transform old traditions and

expectations into new ones (Gloria & Castellanos, 2012), traditional gender roles may be more apparent among first and/or second-generation college Latina/o students (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Nonetheless, gender role expectations and cultural values may be of a particular significance for Latinos. Perhaps, Latino men and women place an importance on maintaining the traditional gender role ideology (e.g., *marianismo* and *machismo*) in order to ensure continuance of cultural traditions and values (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Thus, it is important to examine the influence of sociocultural values (e.g., *familismo*) on gender-role conflict among Latinas attempting to balance multiple gender roles given that *familismo* places a strong emphasis on family relationships and a strong value on childbearing which is a central part of the family life as well as the expected feminine gender role (Falicov, 1998; Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004).

Cultural Values within the Latina/o Culture

Familism (i.e., Familismo)

A well-documented and culture-specific core value orientation within the Latina/o culture that may influence the beliefs about gender roles for Latinas is *familism* (Falicov, 2006; Gloria & Castellanos, 2012; Marin & Marin, 1991; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Marin, 1987). *Familism* (i.e., familismo) refers to the behavioral manifestations associated with an individual's strong identification and attachment as well as commitment to the nuclear and extended family (i.e., *la familia*), strong feelings of loyalty and reciprocal connections to the family, and maintaining close relationships and solidarity among members of the same family (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003; Marin & Marin, 1991; Montilla & Smith, 2006; Sabogal et al., 1987; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Initially proposed by Burgess, Locke and Thomes (1963),

the term *familism* (i.e., *familismo*) was defined as the "complete integration of individual activities for the achievement of family objectives" (p.35). Correspondingly, *familism* is viewed as the cultural group norm which originates from the collectivist worldview emphasizing on interdependence and self-sacrifice to the group such as the family (Triandis & Trafimow, 2001).

Although the concept of family is universal, the attitudes and beliefs about family may be culture specific. Within the Latina/o families, the concept of family is quite different in structure and composition from the mainstream culture which can include intact and/or single households to extended relatives (i.e., aunts, uncles, grandparents, etc.). Furthermore, both men and women are expected to maintain the cultural value of *familism* which is determined by the cultural prescribed gender norms. For instance, Latinos show their adherence to *familism* by being the family leader and protector as well as the financial provider (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005), whereas Latinas display their adherence to *familismo* by providing emotional and physical support, caring for the housework, and childbearing (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Consequently, Latinas who endorse more traditional ideology and higher adherence to *familism* may self-sacrifice for the family by assuming the family caretaking responsibilities over professional and educational opportunities (Cofresi, 2002; Gloria & Castellanos, 2013; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Likewise, Latinos who endorse more traditional ideology and higher adherence to *familism* may assume the financial responsibilities for the family and may choose employment over education (Gloria & Castellanos, 2013; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004).

Familism is a multidimensional construct that comprises of behaviors, attitudes and social norms and is generally measured in two domains (Lugo Steidel & Contreras,

2003; Marin 1993; Sabogal et al., 1987). Scholars have posited that the central aspects of *familism* are mainly captured through the behavioral and attitudinal domains (Marin 1993; Sabogal et al., 1987). The behavioral aspect of *familism* refers to the specific behaviors associated with attitudes about the family which are manifested through behaviors such as visiting relatives, calling family members on the phone, helping with child rearing or providing financial help (Sabogal et al., 1987). Whereas, the attitudinal aspect of *familism* refers to the beliefs about family, a strong identification with the nuclear or extended family, and feelings of reciprocity, loyalty, and solidarity with members of the family (Marin & Marin, 1991; Sabogal et al., 1987). Conversely, research indicates that attitudinal *familism* among Latinos has shown to be more stable than behavioral *familism* over generations, acculturation level, country of origin, and language preference (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003; Sabogal et al., 1987).

Most of the social sciences research has primarily explored the construct of *familism* through attitudinal measures (Esparza & Sanchez, 2008; Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003; Sabogal et al., 1987). The self-report measures that are used to assess the construct of familism typically reflect the level of adherence in which individuals endorse the essential components of familism such as having a sense of commitment and responsibility to the family, valuing familial interconnectedness, regarding family as the primary source of support (i.e., emotional and moral), maintaining harmony among family members and family honor, and subjugation of self for the benefit of the family (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003; Sabogal et al., 1987). In addition, George (1986) suggested that proximity (i.e., the belief that family members feel obligated to maintain

closeness with the family) is an important aspect of the construct of *familism* to be considered in research.

Empirical research on the construct of familism has been associated with higher academic outcomes (e.g., effort and motivation) and lower truancy among high school seniors (Esparza & Sanchez, 2008), psychological health among college students (Campos, Aguilera, Ullman, & Dunkel Schetter, 2014), and work-family conflict among professional Latinas (Gelder, 2012). For instance, Esparza & Sanchez (2008) examined the role of attitudinal familism among 143 Latino high school students' academic grades, effort, motivation, and truancy at an urban, public high school. The participants' mean age was 17.87 years and consisted of 52% of girls and 48% boys. Almost one third of the participants were first generation (32%), but the majority was second generation (51%). The participants completed the following measures: the Attitudinal Familism Scale was used to assess students' beliefs and attitudes toward the family; the Cultural Identity Scale for Latino adolescents was used to measure acculturation; Pintrich and DeGroot's scales were used to measure academic motivation; and academic effort was measured with Murdock, Anderman, and Hodge's four-item scale. Academic achievement and truancy was assessed by students' school records of GPA and total number of classes missed. Parent's educational level was assessed with open ended questions about the level of education completed.

Standard linear regression analyses were conducted to examine whether higher levels of attitudinal familism predicted adolescents' academic outcomes. The findings indicated that familism did not predict total motivation, expectancy for success, intrinsic value, or GPA. However, higher levels of familism predicted greater academic effort and

lower truancy among this sample. Further, hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted to assess whether parents' educational level influenced the relationship between familism and academic outcomes. Results revealed that only the mother's education level moderated the relationship between familism and GPA. Moreover, there was not a significant interaction between father's educational level and familism on each of the academic outcomes. The results of this study show that familism plays a valuable role in student's academic effort and lower truancy, and that mother's education can be influential between familism and academic achievement. It is possible that Latinas are socialized to adhere to stronger beliefs about prioritizing the family's welfare due to traditional gender role ideology within the Latino culture (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004).

More recently, Campos et al. (2014) examined how familism (e.g., through the family closeness and support) contributed to psychological health. It was hypothesized that familism would contribute to better psychological health through closeness to family members and social support. The sample consisted of 1,245 university male and female students of diverse cultural backgrounds (Latino = 218; European = 294; and Asian = 733) from two educational institutions in California. The majority of the sample was women (80%) and the mean age was 19.93 years. Among the Latino (80%) and Asian (72%) students, the majority was second generation and the European sample was third generation (90%). Participants were administered two self-report measures of familism (The Attitudinal Familism Scale by Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003; and the Familism Scale by Sabogal et al., 1987). In addition, family closeness was assessed with the Inclusion of Self in Other (ISO) Scale and the Medical Outcomes Study (MOS) Social Support Survey was used to measure social support. Psychological health was assessed

with the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS), the Rand Mental Health Inventory, and the Center for Epidemiologic Studies – Depression Scale (CES-D).

Structural equation multiple-group modeling analyses revealed that familism and also closeness contributed to better psychological health only through the associations to perceived social support. Although familism was not directly linked to psychological health, perceived support was found to be directly linked to better psychological health. This indicates that family support plays a key role to psychological health. Moreover, the effects did not vary by cultural background. Similar to previous empirical literature, Latinos reported the highest levels of familism of the three groups. It might be that Latinos are socialized to prioritize family over self (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004) which can lead to higher familism as a group (Schwartz, 2007). Also women reported higher levels of familism, higher support, and poorer psychological health than men. These findings contribute to the study of familism in understanding the implications of the associations of familism0 with positive and negative outcomes of family closeness when family is prioritized over self.

In another study, Gelder (2012) examined the influence of cultural values and gender role attitudes on experiences of work-family conflict among 203 professional Latinas from a diverse cultural background and representing a wide range of professional occupations. Participants' age ranged from 25-59 years and 80% of them reported having children. With regards to educational level, 43.6% reported having a Bachelor's degree, 40.2% had a Master's degree, and 16.2% indicated having a Doctoral Degree.

Participants completed the following measures: the Latina Values Scale-Revised, the Attitudinal Familism Scale, the Individualism-Collectivism Scale, the Work-Family

Conflict Scale/Family-Work Conflict Scale, the Family Stressor Scale, and the Job Stressors Scale. Hierarchical regression analyses revealed significant main effects for job and family stressors and individualism on levels of work-family conflict but no main effects were found for collectivism, familism, or gender role attitudes. Moreover, results also showed that collectivism appeared to moderate the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict and familism moderated the relationships between job and family stressors and work-family conflict. On the contrary, results did not reveal a significant moderating effect for gender role attitudes.

Based on the empirical literature, familism has yielded mixed results. Familism appears to play a beneficial role with regards to academic achievement (Esparza & Sanchez, 2008) and psychological health (Campos, Aguilera, Ullman, & Dunkel Schetter, 2014). Nevertheless, other research findings show that familism can moderate the relationship between work and family conflicts among professional Latinas (Gelder, 2012). An essential component of the construct of familism is having a sense of commitment and responsibility to the family (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005; Esparza & Sanchez, 2008; Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003; Sabogal et al., 1987). As more Latinas enter higher education, they are faced with balancing school demands and familial responsibilities, multiple gender roles, and cultural expectations. Latina women are depicted as women who often sacrifice for the interest of the family both nuclear and extended family of origin. One factor that may affect Latinas while attempting to pursue higher education is the expectation of responsibility to the family such as taking care of siblings, a parent, grandparent or the entire family while attending to their educational demands (Gloria & Castellanos, 2013).

As the family becomes a source of identity for Latinas, not being able to fulfill multiple ascribed gender roles may cause a potential conflict between the family, work, and/or school. Subsequently, conflict between work and family, a variable of the gender-role conflict construct, has been negatively associated to mental health and a major predictor of depression and anxiety for men and women (Zamarripa et al., 2003). Until now, the role of attitudinal familism and gender-role conflict has not yet been explored in the empirical literature given that familism is a core value orientation within the Latino culture that empathizes on prioritizing the family's welfare over self. Equally, another sociocultural factor within the Latina/o culture that may influence the beliefs about gender roles attitudes and cultural values is ethnic identity.

Ethnic Identity among Latinos

Ethnicity is known to be a vital force in the United States and a main form of group identification for many people (McGoldrick, 1982). Moreover, ethnicity determines family patterns and belief systems, patterns the thinking, feeling, and behavior, and provides a sense of commonality among groups "transmitted over generations by the family and reinforced by the surrounding community" (McGoldrick, 1982; p. 4). McGoldrick (1982) defined ethnicity "as a powerful influence in determining identity" which provides a sense of belonging and historical continuity (p. 5). Fundamental to one's identity, ethnicity involves unique family customs, celebrations, foods that are eaten, religious ceremonies that are shared, and family traditions which are passed on for generations (McAdoo, 1993). Thus, having an affiliation of membership to an ethnic group can provide a sense of group belonging and can lead to a more salient ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992). On the other hand, a more

salient identity to an ethnic group may also influence gender role beliefs and ideology as well as cultural values (Falicov, 1998; McGoldrick, 1982).

Most of the empirical research on ethnic identity has been grounded specifically on the social psychological (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and developmental perspectives (Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1993). Based on the social identity perspective, Tajfel (1981) defined ethnic identity as "the part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his/her knowledge of membership of a social group in which the value and emotional significance is attached to that membership" (p. 255). Nevertheless, the work of Erik Erikson on ego identity formation was the foundation for the psychological study of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1993). Erikson (1968) defined identity as "a process located in the core of the individual and her/his communal culture" and indicated that ethnic identity develops overtime through a process of "observation and reflection" (p. 22). Consequently, Marcia (1980) elaborated on the work of Erikson and created a personal identity model which focused on two processes: Exploration/Crisis and Commitment and include four statuses (i.e., Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Achievement) that describe the absence or presence of crisis and commitment.

Similarly, Phinney (1992) drew from Erikson's theoretical model of identity development and created an ethnic identity model on exploration and commitment stages. Phinney designed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) to assess the different aspects that would capture the process of ethnic identity (e.g., an individuals' underlying sense of ethnic identity, a sense of belonging to an ethnic group, and participation of cultural practices of a particular ethnic group). In the identity exploration stage, discovery and learning about one's ethnic culture takes place which is

essential to the process of ethnic identity formation. On the other hand, commitment and affirmation are considered to be the most important elements of ethnic identity which is characterized by a sense of belonging to the ethnic group and affirmation of one's own group membership (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Defined as a multidimensional construct, ethnic identity captures an individual's emotions including the knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, and values to one's own ethnic group regarding the importance of one's own ethnic membership in relation to the dominant culture (Phinney, 1992). According to Phinney and Alipuria (1990), ethnic minority group members attribute greater importance to their own ethnicity than the members of the dominant culture. Correspondingly, Phinney & Ong (2007) propose that ethnic identity focuses on the notion of self-identification with an ethnic group and is an important factor to be verified on a measure with the population that is being studied. For instance, an ethnic identification pattern for Latinos stems from their national origins and manifested with allegiance to Latino issues and a strong sense of community (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005; Suro, 2006).

Although, ethnic labels among Latinos/Hispanics may vary by language and generation, the ethnic identification remains (Comas-Diaz, 2001; Marin & Marin, 1991). However, many Latinos may prefer pan ethnic terms instead of country of origin. The terms *Latino* and *Hispanic* have been used interchangeably in the literature and will be used similarly in this study. *Latino* is derived from "Latin America" but the term Latin Americans do not refer to a race, whereas *Hispanic* is derived from the Spanish word "*Hispano*" referring to various populations that shared a common ancestry from Spain or from language, Spanish (Marin & Marin, 1991). The term *Latino* is considered a more

inclusive term that respects the diverse national origins of Latin Americans and their immigrant history and settlement in the United States and is gender specific (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005). Therefore, it is important to recognize that there is a unique ethnic identification for Latinos in the U.S.

Additionally, ethnic identity is dynamic and constructed through experiences across various contexts over the lifespan (Phinney, 2006). For Latinas/os in the U.S., ethnic identity is known to be fluid (Suro, 2006) as it continues to evolve across cultural contexts over the lifetime (Comas-Diaz, 2001). As Latinos in the U.S. acculturate, their ethnic identity continues to evolve in different contexts as they adapt to new environments. Based on the literature, acculturation is a process of perceptions and affect and it is mostly measured by language development and friendships (Marin & Marin, 1991; Phinney & Flores, 2002; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Whereas ethnic identity involves the process of defining oneself within a larger social context which in turn provides individuals with a coherent sense of self (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bamaca-Gomez, 2004). Thus, ethnic identity may be a better indicator of adjustment for college students as they are at some level acculturated by the time they enter college (Berry, Phinney & Flores, 2002). Particularly, Latina college students (73%) attending a Hispanic Serving Institution have self-identified as Bicultural on Acculturation scales (Gonzalez, 2009).

Ethnic identity has been associated with greater academic achievement (Ong, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006) and psychological well-being (Iturbide, Raffaelli, & Carlo, 2009) among Latino college students. Ong et al. (2006) conducted a longitudinal study to examine the protective influence of psychological and family factors on academic

achievement among 123 Latino college students (*n* = 84 females, *n = 39* males) from various cultural backgrounds attending an ethnically diverse university in southern California. Participants were recruited during their freshman year. The average age for the participants was 18.02 years and most of them were second generation immigrants (*n* = 90, 76%). Scales for family interdependence and parental support were created for the study. Ethnic identity was measured with the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale (MEIM) and the internal consistency reliability for the study was .91. Results from correlational analyses indicated that Latino students who reported higher levels of ethnic identity and family interdependence experienced greater academic achievement.

Iturbide et al. (2009) investigated whether ethnic identity moderates the relation between acculturative stress and psychological adjustment. The sample consisted of 148 college students (67% females) from two institutions in California and one institution in Texas. The majority (77%) self-identified as Mexican or Mexican American aged 18 to 30 years old. Most of the participants (84%) had been born in the U.S. Several self-report measures were completed by the participants: The Societal, Attitudinal, Familial, and Environmental Acculturative Stress Scale (SAFE), the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale (MEIM), the Center for Epidemiologic Studies–Depression Scale, and the Rosenberg's Self-esteem measure. Reliabilities reported for the MEIM were .84 for exploration/affirmation and .73 for commitment/achievement. Bivariate correlations revealed that females reported higher levels of affirmation than males. Moreover, acculturative stress correlated negatively with self-esteem and positively with depression for female students. Likewise, acculturative stress was positively associated with depression for male students. Group ethnic orientation was positively associated with

self-esteem for male students only. Regression analyses indicated that ethnic affirmation/belonging and ethnic identity achievement moderated the relation between acculturative stress and depression among female students at low but not at high levels of acculturative stress.

Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs)

A Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) is a segment of the higher educational institution in the U.S. In order for an educational institution to be designated as an HSI, the institution must have at least 25% or more of Latina/o undergraduate students enrolled full time. To qualify for Title V funding, the HSI institution must meet two additional criteria: (1) to be accredited and nonprofit and (2) at least 50% of the Latina/o undergraduate students are low income. Once an HSI is determined to be eligible, the proposal for funding can be submitted (Contreras, Malcom, & Bensimon, 2008). There are 293 HSIs in the U.S. and the majority of them are two-year institutions (Arredondo, Gallardo-Cooper, Delgado-Romero, & Zapata, 2014). Most of them (54%) are located in California, Texas, and New Mexico (Contreras, Malcom, & Bensimon, 2008). In addition, half of Latino undergraduate students attend Hispanic Serving Institutions and this context is important in understanding how Latino students navigate through environmental and sociocultural issues.

In summation, ethnic identity is a multidimensional construct that influences an individual's cognition, affect and behaviors which are created and altered through daily life experiences across multiple contexts (Phinney, 1992). Ethnic identity has been associated with being a protective factor for Latino college students on academic achievement (Ong et al., 2006) and college adjustment (Berry et al., 2002). Besides, an

achieved ethnic identity promotes greater psychological well-being among members of ethnic minority groups (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990) and in particular among Latina college students (Iturbide et al., 2009). Similarly, having a more salient identity to an ethnic group may influence specific gender role ideologies and cultural values (Falicov, 1998; McGoldrick, 1982). Conversely, ethnically diverse individuals who may have a strong ethnic orientation to groups other than their own may experience bicultural conflicts due to the incongruities of societal and cultural values between cultures which may result in poor psychological adjustment. Specifically, for Latinas/os in the U.S., ethnic identity is fluid (Suro, 2006) which continues to evolve across cultural contexts through daily life experiences (Comas-Diaz, 2001). Therefore, scholars suggest that ethnic identity among Latinas/os should be examined in combination of other sociocultural factors (e.g., *familismo, marianismo*) and social contexts (Acevedo-Polakovich, Chavez-Korell, & Umaña-Taylor, 2013) in order to gain a better understanding of the development of ethnic identity particularly among the college adult population.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methodology utilized in the present study is outlined in this chapter. Specifically, the following areas of the methodology are addressed in the next sections: the research design, including the sample population and the procedures that were followed for data collection; a description of the measures that were used for this investigation, each of the hypotheses that were tested, and the statistical analyses that were utilized to analyze the data collected.

Research Design

The present study aimed to examine the relationship between female gender-role attitudes (*e.g., marianismo),* female gender-role orientation (*e.g., femininity*, *masculinity*), Latino cultural values (*e.g., familism*), ethnic identity and gender-role conflict amongst Latinas attending higher education at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). This was an exploratory study that utilized multiple regression analyses (a) to examine which variables (*i.e., marianismo, familism, femininity/masculinity, and ethnic identity*) may correlate to gender-role conflict; and (b) to examine the effect of each variable (*marianismo, femininity/masculinity, familism and ethnic identity)* on gender-role conflict among a sample of Latina college students at an HSI.

Participants

In this study, undergraduate and graduate Latina/Hispanic students from a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) in the Western U.S. served as the sample population.

The major criterion for the women who participated in this exploratory investigation was to self-identify as Latina or Hispanic. *Latina* and *Hispanic* are panethnic terms used interchangeably when referring to the sample population in this study. Additionally, participants were provided with an opportunity on the demographics questionnaire to identify their specific ethnic origin which more closely identifies their cultural or national heritage (i.e., Chicana, Mexican, Central American, South American, and the Caribbean). These choices provide more specific information about the ethnic variability of the women within this sample. Another requirement for the participants in this investigation was to be 18 years of age and older enrolled at least in one course at the participating Hispanic Serving institution.

Data Collection Procedures

Prior to recruiting participants for this study, the researcher requested permission to research human subjects from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Georgia and the participating institution in the Western U.S. Once IRB approval of the research was obtained by both institutions, the researcher contacted professors in various colleges and student organizations via email to request permission to recruit volunteers for this study in their classrooms and/or extracurricular meetings. Data was collected at the participating Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) in the Western U.S., in various undergraduate and graduate courses within the Social and Behavioral Sciences, Health and Human Development, Education (e.g., Child and Adolescent Development, Counseling, Family Studies, Social Work, and Psychology). Participants were asked to voluntarily participate in the current study. They were provided with a brief introduction as to the purpose of the study, IRB aproval information, and information about the

researcher. After the consent form was read and agreement was indicated, participants were given a packet that included a short demographic questionnaire and five measures (i.e., the Gender Role Conflict Scale for females, GRCS-F; the Bem Sex-Role Inventory Short Form, BSRI; the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, MEIM; the Marianismo Beliefs Scale, MBS; and the Attitudinal Familism Scale, AFS). The sequence of the instruments varied in order to control for order effects. More detailed information about each of the measures is discussed later in the section of the Instrumentation.

Instructions for completing the instruments were given orally and were also included in writing in the survey packet. The expected time of completion for the measures took approximately 20-25 minutes. All the surveys were collected from the participants by the researcher at the end of the class session or the extracurricular meeting. Then, the participants were debriefed upon completion of the surveys. It was up to the professors decision to offer course credit for participating. Nonetheless, no other compensation was given to the participants for participating in this study.

Instrumentation/Measures

Demographics Questionnaire

A brief and detailed questionnaire was used to collect demographic information from the participants. The demographic questionnaire consists of relevant variables such as age, relationship status, ethnic self-identification, educational level, educational major, country of birth, parent's birthplace and education, generational status, languages spoken, religious preference, sexual orientation preference, and family income.

In addition, respondents were provided with an opportunity to identify their ethnic background which more closely identified with their cultural or national heritage (i.e.,

Chicana, Mexican, Central or South American, and the Caribbean). Particularly, this open-ended question provided more specific information about the ancestral origin of the Latina women within this sample. The respondents were asked to circle and/or write in the corresponding answers that best applied to them on the demographics questionnaire.

Measure for Gender Role Conflict

Gender Role Conflict is defined as "a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences on the person or others" (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986, p. 336). When a person encounters "rigid, sexist, or restrictive" gender roles that are learned during socialization and they are not well integrated, it results in gender-role conflict (O'Neil, 2008). The operational definition of Gender-Role Conflict comprises of four psychological domains: (a) the cognitive domain (i.e., how people think about gender roles); (b) the affective domain (i.e., how people feel about gender roles); (c) the behavioral domain (i.e., how people act, respond, and interact with themselves and others because of their gender roles); and (d) the unconscious domain (i.e., how gender role dynamics affect people's behavior and produce conflict; O'Neil, 2008).

The *Gender Role Conflict Scale for females* (GRCS-F; O'Neil et al., 1986) was selected to measure gender-role conflict. The original GRCS was developed by O'Neil et al. (1986) to measure various dimensions of gender-role conflict. This instrument has been used in over 230 empirical studies to assess Gender Role Conflict among men (O'Neil, 2008). For this study, the Gender Role Conflict Scale for Females (GRCS-F) will be used to measure GRC among Latinas. The GRCS for females was modified by Borthick (1997) from the original GRCS by changing the male pronouns to female

counterparts (i.e., he-she, men-women). This self-report instrument has the original GRCS questions which consist of 37 items measuring four factors: (a) Success, Power, and Competition (SPC), (b) Restrictive Emotionality (RE), (c) Restrictive Affectionate Behavior between Women (RABBW), and (d) Conflict between work and Family Relations (CBWFR).

Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement to each question and will respond on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 6 (*strongly disagree*). Examples of the questions in each subscales are: Success Power and Competition (i.e., "Making money is part of my idea of being a successful woman," "I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a woman"); Restrticive Emotionality (i.e., "I have difficulty telling others I care about them"); Restrictive Affectionate Behavior between Women (i.e., "Affection with others makes me tense"); and Conflict Between Work and Family Relations (i.e., "My school or career affects the quality of my leisure or family life," "My needs to work/study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like). The subscale scores are computed by summing item scores and higher scores represent higher levels of conflict.

O'Neil (2008) has reported internal consistencies and retest reliabilities ranging from .72 to .86 for the four GRCS subscales. Among the female college population, Borthick (1997) examined the relation between biological sex, sex role type (e.g., Masculine, Feminine, Androgynous, and Undifferentiated), gender role conflict, self-esteem, depression, sexual orientation, and suicidal probability among Caucasian and African American female college undergraduate students. Coefficient alphas for the four GRCS-F subscales ranged from .81 to .86 for this population indicating that the factors

for the GRCS-F were comparable to those of the original GRCS. Also, Newman (1998) examined the relationship between gender roles, gender-role conflict, depression, and self-silencing (i.e., the process of denial and disavowal of aspects of the self and response to gender role mandates) among 50 male and 50 female college students. Reliability scores (Cronbach's alpha) for this sample were .92 for the GRCS-I and .89 for the GRCS-F.

Specifically with the Latina college student population, Silva (2002) examined the relation of gender-role conflict, gender role expectations, acculturation, ethnic identity, and worldview among 174 undergraduate Latina (n = 118) and Latino (n = 56) students at two universities in the Midwest and Southwest regions. Internal consistency scores for the GRCS-F ranged from .65 to .69. Results indicated that Latinos scored higher than Latinas on three of the four gender-role conflict factors (e.g., Success, power and competition, restrictive emotionality, and affectionate behavior) and both Latinos and Latinas experienced the same amount of conflict between Work and Family. Furthermore, Illes (2011) conducted a confirmatory factor analysis of the GRCS-F with a sample of 142 Latina college students. The results revealed that the four factors of the GRCS-F fit the data adequately for the sample. The author reported a Cronbach's alpha of .92 for the total GRCS-F scale and for the subscales reliabilities at .86, .88, .85, .82 for success, power, and competition; restrictive emotionality; restrictive affectionate behavior between women; and conflict between work, family, and leisure, respectively. For this exploratory study, the means for the four individual subscales were 3.86 (SD = .80) for the Success Power and Competition (SPC), 2.87 (SD = 1.13) for the Restrictive Emotional Behavior (RE), 2.57 (SD = 1.00) for the Restrictive Affectionate Behavior

(RAB), and 3.92 (*SD* = 1.15) for the Conflict Between work and family (CBWF). The overall coefficient alpha for the GRCS-F with the sample in this study was .92 and the subscale alphas were: SPC = .82, RE = .89, RABB = .82, CBWF = .83, respectively.

Measure for Gender Role Orientation (Masculinity and Femininity)

Gender-role orientation (GRO) refers to the extent to which an individual adopts and displays traits, attitudes, and behaviors normatively identified as male-typical or female-typical and do not have to do with the biological sex (Biller, 1968). The *Bem Sex-role Inventory Short Form* (BSRI; Bem, 1981) was selected to measure gender-role orientation as it is one of the most widely used instruments in all areas of gender research within the field of psychology. The BSRI measures femininity and masculinity separately and yields a measure of androgyny. Items for the original BSRI were selected from college students' ratings on 200 personality traits desirable for a man and for a woman in the Western society. The results were based on 400 *t*-tests.

The BSRI-Short form is a 30-item Likert-type scale which provides a score for femininity (F) and masculinity (M). The femininity part comprises of 10 traits (i.e., *tender, affectionate, understanding, and compassionate*) that are traditionally viewed more desirable for women than for men. The masculinity portion comprises of 10 traits (i.e., *forceful, independent, competitive, and assertiveness*) that are traditionally viewed more desirable for men than for women. The remaining 10 items consists of 10 neutral characteristics. Respondents are asked to indicate how well each item on the scale describes them using a 7-point scale ranging from 1(*never or almost never true*) to 7 (*always or almost always true*). Since the BSRI measures masculinity and femininity independently as two dimensions, it allows respondents to indicate their level on each

dimension (i.e., masculine or feminine = high on one and low on the other one; androgynous = high on both dimensions; undifferentiated = low on both dimensions). Furthermore, Bem (1981) recommended that for the purpose of research, individuals should be classified on the basis on a median split into the four different gender role groups.

During the last four decades, the BSRI is one of the most widely used measures of gender research (i.e., masculinity/femininity) which has been used in over 900 empirical psychological studies of gender related research (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). The BSRI long and short forms have shown an acceptable internal consistency ranging from .84 to .87 (Bem, 1981). Further, Campbell, Gillaspy, and Thompson (1997) conducted confirmatory factor analyses of the long and short forms of the BSRI on 791 graduate and undergraduate students' responses at a large university in Texas. Participants' ethnicity consisted of Caucasian (82.9%), Hispanic (9.5%), African Americans (4.2%), and other (2.4%). There were slightly more women (50.9%) than men and the mean age reported was 20.23 years. The authors reported reliability coefficients for the short form .82 for males and .89 for females; and for the long form .85 for males and .81 for females.

Similarly, Choi, Fuqua, and Newman (2007) examined the structural validity of scores from the BSRI and conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). The sample consisted of 665 graduate and undergraduate students at a Midwestern university and the majority were women (59%). Participants' ethnicity consisted of Caucasian (77%), African American (14%), Hispanic (2%), Asian (3%), and Other (4%) with a mean age of 30.29 years. Coefficient alphas reported for this sample were .86 for the BSRI-M (masculine traits) and .83 for the BSRI-F. The research findings indicate that the BSRI

continues to be a good measure for the college students' sample. Particularly for this study, the BSRI had a mean score of 5.17 (*SD*=.67). The mean score for the femininity subscale was 5.54 (*SD* = .87) and for the masculinity subscale was 4.80 (*SD* = .95). Coefficient alphas reported for this sample were .86 for the BSRI-M (masculine traits) and .88 for the BSRI-F (feminine traits).

Measures of Sociocultural Values

Measure for Marianismo

Marianismo is a multidimensional construct that refers to the cultural idealized beliefs, gender role norms, and expectations of Latina women emphasizing the nurturing role and being the pillar for the family (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010; Gil & Vasquez, 1996). The *Marianismo Beliefs Scale* (MBS, Castillo et al., 2010) was selected to measure Latina's gender role ideology and attitudes as it comprises of both positive (e.g., *family pillar, spiritual pillar*) and negative (e.g., *virtuous and chaste, subordinate to other, self-silencing to maintain harmony*) aspects of *Marianismo*. The MBS (Castillo et al., 2010) is a validated instrument that measures the extent to which a Latina may believe she should endorse and/or sustain the cultural learned traditional female gender roles encompassing the multidimensional construct of *Marianismo*. This scale is comprised of 24 items in five subscales classifying the subscales into Positive (i.e., Spiritual Pillar subscale and Family Pillar subscale) and Negative aspects (i.e., Virtuous and Chase subscale, the Subordinate to Others subscale, and the Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony subscale) of Marianismo.

Examples of the questions on each of the individual subscales of the MBS include "Latinas are the main source of strength for the family" and "Keep the family unified"

(Family Pillar), “Latinas should have children after marriage,” and “Be Faithful to their partner” (Virtuous and Chaste), “Latinas should show respect and obedience to men” (Subordinate to Others), “Latinas should not express their needs to the partner in order to maintain harmony in the relationship” (Silencing Self to Maintain Harmony,” and “Latinas are the spiritual leaders of the family” and “Responsible for the spiritual growth of the family” (Spiritual Pillar). Moreover, respondents will be asked to rate their level of agreement to each question on a 4-point response ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 4 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores are indicative of the endorsement to the traditional gender-role ideology and attitudes of *marianismo*.

The Marianismo Beliefs Scale has demonstrated strong validity among the Latina college population. Castillo et al. (2010) conducted a confirmatory factor analysis on the MBS and reported subscales coefficient alphas of .77, .79, .76, .78, and .85, respectively for the five subscales among the Latina college population. Likewise, Piña-Watson et al., (2013) utilized the Marianismo Beliefs Scale (MBS) to examine marianismo beliefs and its association to depressive symptoms and family conflict among 170 Mexican American college students. The findings indicated that marianismo was related to depressive symptoms among Latina college women. The Cronbach’s alpha internal consistency coefficient reported for the MBS was .85.

Additionally, Rodriguez, Castillo and Gandara (2013) examined the positive and negative facets of psychocultural factors (e.g., *marianismo*) associated with Latina adolescents’ academic achievement intentions among 98 Latina high school students. The Cronbach's alpha scores obtained in this study for the Positive Marianismo Beliefs Scale (PMBS) were .84 and .90 for the Negative Marianismo Beliefs Scale (NMBS).

Conversely, the MBS has been used among the Latina/o adult population. Nuñez et al., (2015) examined the associations of machismo and marianismo with negative cognitive-emotional factors (e.g., symptoms of anger, depression, anxiety, and cynical hostility) among 4,426 Hispanic female adults. Participant's age ranged from 18-74 years with a mean age of 42.31 years. The results demonstrated an acceptable internal consistency for each of the Marianismo Beliefs subscales (Family Pillar = .78, Spiritual Pillar = .79, Virtuous and Chaste = .80, Subordinate to Others = .79, and Silencing Self to Maintain Harmony = .82). Specifically for the current study, the overall Cronbach's alpha internal consistency coefficient for the MBS with this sample was .90 and for the subscales were: Family Pillar = .72, Spiritual Pillar = .83, Virtuous and Chaste = .82, Subordinate to Others = .82, and Silencing Self to Maintain Harmony = .88, respectively.

Measure for Familism

Familism (i.e., familismo) refers to the behavioral manifestations associated with an individual's strong identification, attachment, and commitment and responsibility to the family, strong feelings of loyalty and reciprocal connections to the family, and maintaining close relationships and solidarity among members of the same family (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003; Marin & Marin, 1991; Montilla & Smith, 2006; Sabogal et al., 1987; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). The self-report measures that are used to assess the construct of familism in the social sciences research typically reflect the level of adherence in which individuals endorse the essential components of familism (i.e., regarding family as the primary source of support, valuing familial interconnectedness, having a sense of commitment and responsibility to the family, maintaining harmony

among family members and family honor, and subjugation of self for the benefit of the family (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003; Sabogal et al., 1987).

The *Attitudinal Familism Scale* (AFS; Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003) was selected to measure the construct of familism. The AFS is a validated instrument that measures the extent to which individuals endorse the essential components of familism and the attitudes regarding one's family. It is a self-report inventory comprised of 18 items with four subscales: *familial support* (i.e., the belief that one should provide emotional and financial support to other family members in need), *familial interconnectedness* (i.e., the belief that one should maintain emotional and physical closeness with family members), *familial honor* (i.e., the belief that one should maintain the family honor), and subjugation of self for family (i.e., the belief that one should sacrifice one's own needs for the family). Examples of the questions on the scale are: "Parents and grandparents should be treated with great respect regardless of their differences in views," "A person should be a good person for the sake of his/her family," "Aging parents should live with their relatives," "A person should rely on his or her family if the need arises," "A person should often do activities with his/her immediate and extended family," and "A person should always support members of the nuclear and/or extended family if they are in need even if it is a big sacrifice."

Respondents will be asked to rate their level of agreement to each question. A 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) will be used for this study. The scores from the four subscales are averaged into a total mean score ranging from 1 to 5. Higher scores are indicative of a stronger adherence to the Latino *familismo* ideology and an increased endorsement of attitudinal familism. Lugo

Steidel & Contreras (2003) developed the measure and conducted validity analyses among the U.S. Latino adult population. The authors reported Cronbach's alphas of .83 for the overall scale, and for each factor were .72 for Familial Support, .69 for Familial Interconnectedness, .68 for Familial Honor, and .56 for Subjugation of Self for Family.

In addition, Schwartz (2007) examined the applicability of familism among an ethnically diverse sample of 318 undergraduate students (28% men and 72% women) in the Miami area. The majority of the sample identified as Hispanic (62%) and the mean age was 20.1 years. The Attitudinal Familism Scale was used for this study. Schwartz conducted a confirmatory factor analysis on the familism scores with the Hispanic participants and reported a Cronbach's alpha of .82 for this sample. Similarly, Esparza & Sanchez (2008) examined the role of attitudinal familism among 143 Latino high school seniors' academic grades, effort, motivation, and truancy at an urban, public high school. The Attitudinal Familism Scale was used for this study and a high internal consistency reliability of the entire scale reported for the sample was .83. A more recent study, Campos et al. (2014) examined how familism, through the family closeness and support, contributed to psychological health among college students. The authors utilized the Attitudinal Familism scale to measure familism. A Cronbach's alpha of .83 was reported for the Latino sample (n = 173). Furthermore, Gelder (2012) examined the influences of cultural values (i.e., familism) on experiences of work-family conflict among 203 professional Latinas. The author used the Attitudinal Familism Scale to measure familism. An alpha coefficient of .89 was reported for the sample of professional Latinas. Particularly for the current study, the Cronbach's alpha for the overall AFS scale

was .83 and for the subscales were .68 for Familial Support, .65 for Familial Interconnectedness, .59 for Familial Honor, and .61 for Subjugation of Self for Family.

Ethnic Identity Measure

Ethnic identity refers to the construct that captures an individual's emotions including the knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, and values to one's own ethnic group regarding the importance of one's own ethnic membership in relation to the dominant culture (Phinney, 1992). Described as a multidimensional construct, ethnic identity is considered to be an essential characteristic among members of minority groups which influences an individual's cognition, affect and behaviors that are created and altered through daily life experiences (Phinney, 2003). Moreover, ethnic identity is dynamic and develops across contexts over the life span (Phinney, 1992).

The *Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure Revised* (MEIM-R, Phinney & Ong, 2007) was selected to assess ethnic identity as it is one of the most widely used measures of ethnic identity. The MEIM was originally designed by Phinney in 1992 to assess the different dimensions that would capture an individual's ethnic identity process (e.g., exploration of one's ethnicity, a sense of belonging and commitment to one's ethnic origin group, and the involvement in the cultural practices of one's ethnic group). The MEIM-R (Phinney & Ong, 2007) is a revised six-item version of the MEIM (Phinney, 1992) and consists of two subscales: Exploration (i.e., refers to the behaviors) and Commitment (i.e., refers to the attitudes). Each subscale is comprised of three items. Examples of the questions for each subscale are: exploration "I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group" and "I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better"; and for commitment "I have a

strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group" and "I feel a strong attachment toward my own ethnic group."

Respondents will be asked to indicate the level that best describes their attitudes and behaviors related to their ethnic group on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5) with 3 as a neutral position. The ethnic identity scores from the 6 items are calculated into a total mean score for the whole scale or for each of the subscales. Phinney and Ong (2007) recommend that a total score as well as subscale scores should be used for the MEIM to assess ethnic identity. An open-ended question that elicits the respondent's ethnic-label precedes the six items. Higher scores are indicative of a stronger ethnic identity achievement. Lastly, the MEIM concludes with a list of the appropriate ethnic groups that are provided for participants to indicate their own and their parent's ethnic backgrounds.

In addition, the MEIM-R has been found to be an appropriate measure of ethnic identity across heterogeneous ethnic groups consistently demonstrating good reliability above .80 across a wide range of ages (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM-R has been used extensively with Latinos and has demonstrated excellent reliability for the youth ($\alpha = .81$; Phinney, 1992) and ($\alpha = .74$ to .90) for the college population (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Within the minority college population, Phinney & Ong (2007) conducted confirmatory factor analyses of the MEIM-R with a heterogeneous sample of college students from an urban and ethnically diverse university. The majority of students identified as Latinos (51%). The results revealed that the MEIM was an adequate fit for the data and the Cronbach's alphas reported for the subscales were .76 for exploration, .78 for commitment, and for the combined six-item scale was .81. Similarly,

Iturbide et al. (2009) investigated whether ethnic identity moderates the relation between acculturative stress and psychological adjustment among 148 college students (67% females). The majority (77%) of the participants self-identified as Mexican/Mexican American. Reliabilities reported for their study were .84 for exploration and affirmation, and .73 for commitment and achievement. Specifically for the current study, the Cronbach's alphas for the combined six-item scale was .86.

Research Questions

In order to gain a better understanding of the role of sociocultural factors (*i.e. marianismo, familism*o, *masculinity/femininity, ethnic identity*) on gender-role conflict amongst Latinas, the proposed study addressed the following questions:

1) What are the relations between Latino sociocultural values (e.g., *marianismo, familism, ethnic identity*), and female gender-role orientation (i.e., *femininity, masculinity*) in gender-role conflict amongst Latina college students?
2) Which sociocultural variables/factors (e.g., *marianismo, femininity/masculinity, familism, ethnic identity*) have a main effect on gender-role conflict among Latina college students?
3) Will gender-role orientation (e.g., *femininity, masculinity*) moderate the relationship between the sociocultural variables (i.e., *marianismo, familism, and ethnic identity)* on gender role-conflict?

Data Analyses

Data from the surveys were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, version 22.0. Descriptive statistics were conducted on the demographics data (e.g., age, ethnic self-identification, educational level, generational status, marital status,

religious preference, etc.) to provide a more detailed description of the diversity of the participants in this study.

Preliminary Statistical Analyses

Preliminary analyses were conducted to obtain descriptive information about each of the variables (e.g., GRCS-F, BSRI, MBS, AFS, and MEIM) included in the present study. To assess for test reliability, Cronbach's alpha coefficients were calculated for the gender role conflict scale and subscales, and for each of the four scales (i.e., BSRI, MBS, AFS, and the MEIM) the corresponding subscales measuring the predictor variables. Moreover, a preliminary multiple regression analysis were conducted to determine if specific demographic variables (e.g., age, relationship status, ethnic self-identification, educational level, educational major, country of birth, parent's birthplace and education, generational status, socio-economic status, occupation, religious preference, sexual orientation preference, and family income) are significant predictors of or account for any significant amount of the variance in gender-role conflict. Any of the demographic variables that were determined to have a significant relationship with the criterion variable (Gender-Role Conflict) were included as control variables in the main analysis. To determine whether there is a significant relationship among the variables of interest, preliminary multiple regression analyses were conducted to explore the relations between the dependent variable (DV = GRCS) and the set of independent variables (IV = the BSRI scores, the MBS scores, the AFS scores, and MEIM scores) while controlling for the demographic variables that were found to have a significant relationship on the criterion (GRCS).

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis

This exploratory investigation examined the effect of sociocultural values (i.e., Marianismo, Familism, and Ethnic Identity) and the moderating effect of Gender-Role Orientation between the relationship of the predictor variables (Marianismo, Familism, and Ethnic Identity) and the criterion (Gender-role conflict). Based on the literature, hierarchical regression is suggested for exploring moderation because of the flexibility in the options that allows the variables to be entered into the equation in a particular order and it provides the opportunity for partitioning the variance of each independent variable (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). In order to reduce potential multicollinearity between the predictor variables and interaction terms, all main effect variables will be centered prior to performing the hierarchical multiple regression analyses (Aiken & West, 1991; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Thus, hierarchical regression analyses will be conducted to test both main effects of the predictor variables (Marianismo, Familismo, and Ethnic Identity) on the criterion variable (Gender-role conflict) as well as to explore the moderating effect of gender-role orientation on the relationship of each of the predictor variables on the criterion variable (gender-role conflict).

Research Hypotheses

Specific hypotheses addressing each general question will be addressed individually.

Hypothesis 1: *Marianismo* will be related to gender-role conflict such that individuals who endorse negative aspects of *marianismo* will correspond to higher levels of gender-role conflict.

Hypothesis 1.1: *Marianismo* will be related to gender-role conflict such that individuals who endorse aspects of marianismo will correspond to higher levels of gender-role conflict among the dimension of success, power, and competition.

Hypothesis 2.1: Gender-role orientation (*i.e., masculinity*) will be positively related to gender-role conflict such that endorsement of masculine orientation will experience higher levels of conflict particularly among the dimension of success, power, and competition.

Hypothesis 2.2: Gender-role orientation (*i.e., femininity*) will be negatively related to gender-role conflict such that individuals who score higher on feminine orientation will experience less conflict on gender-role conflict particularly among the dimensions of restrictive emotionality and restrictive affective behavior.

Hypothesis 2.3: Gender-role orientation (*i.e.,* androgynous) will not be related to gender-role conflict such as individuals who endorse an androgynous orientation will experience less conflict particularly among the dimensions of success, power and competition, and conflict between family and work/school.

Hypothesis 3: *Familismo* will be negatively related to gender-role conflict such that adherence of *familismo* will correspond to higher levels of conflict between family and work/school.

Hypothesis 4: Ethnic identity will not be related to gender-role conflict and higher levels of ethnic identification to the group will not correspond to higher level of gender-role conflict.

Hypothesis 5: Higher levels of adherence to cultural values (e.g., familism) and gender role attitudes (e.g., marianismo) will correspond to higher levels of gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of conflict with family/work.

Statistical Power or Significance

A power analysis was conducted to determine the minimum amount of participants necessary for this study. Results of the power analysis (Cohen, 1988) suggest that the minimum sample size of 232 would be required to achieve a statistical power of .80 in order to detect a medium effect in a hierarchical regression model ($R2$ for main effect .05 and $R2$ for main effect and interaction .10) using a significance level (alpha) of .05.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The present study examined the relationship between sociocultural values (*e.g.*, female gender-role attitudes *of marianismo, familism,* ethnic identity) and female gender-role orientation (*e.g., femininity/masculinity*) in gender-role conflict amongst Latina college students in higher education at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) in the Western United States. Regression analyses were used to: (a) examine which variables (*i.e., marianismo, familism, femininity/masculinity, and ethnic identity*) may correlate to gender-role conflict; and (b) to examine the effect of each variable (e.g., *marianismo, femininity/masculinity, familism and ethnic identity)* on gender-role conflict among this particular sample. The major inclusion criterion for the women who participated in this exploratory study was to self-identify as Latina/Hispanic or any other term related within this ethnicity (e.g., Chicana and/or Mexican American). Another inclusion criterion for the participants in this study was to be 18 years of age and older enrolled at least in one course at the participating HSI. The participating HSI has a current enrollment of 42% of Latino Students and a total student population of 41,548 for the current year.

Data Collection

Potential participants were recruited through courses and extracurricular meetings (e.g., students' associations). The researcher contacted professors from various colleges via email to seek permission to visit classrooms. Faculty within the colleges of Educational Psychology and Counseling (e.g., Early Childhood, Marriage and Family

Therapy), Behavioral and Social Sciences (e.g., Psychology), and Health and Human Development (e.g., Child Development, Family & Consumer Sciences) allowed recruitment of potential participants in their classrooms. Similarly, student organizations were contacted via email to seek permission to recruit potential participants in their meetings. Of all the student organizations contacted, only two of them responded to the email invitation and allowed the primary investigator to come to one of their meetings to recruit potential participants. Potential participants were informed about the nature and the significance of the study as well as the contributions the present study would add to the limited empirical literature about this particular population. They were also informed that the participation was completely voluntary. Course credit was not offered by the professors since the research was exclusive to students of a specific ethnicity and not applicable to all the students in the participating classrooms. No other incentives were offered to the participants for this study.

The participants who volunteered to participate in this study were given a consent followed by a packet that included five measures: the Gender Role Conflict Scale for Females (GRCS-F, O'Neil et al., 1986); the Bem Sex-Role Inventory Short Form, (BSRI-S; Bem, 1981); the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM-R, Phinney & Ong, 2007); the Marianismo Beliefs Scale (MBS, Castillo et al., 2010); and the Attitudinal Familism Scale (AFS; Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003). In addition, participants were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire. The sequence of the instruments in each survey packet varied for each participant in order to control for order effects. Surveys were then collected from the students by the researcher at the end of the class session or at the end of the extracurricular meeting. Out of 270 surveys that were distributed, 263

(96%) were returned. Missing data was addressed by using the mean of non-missing items and any participants who had more than 25 % of missing items on a measure were dropped from the study (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Two participants were dropped for missing all the data on a measure and one participant was dropped for not meeting the inclusion criteria. The sections in this chapter describe the demographic statistics providing a more detailed description of the diversity of the participants and it presents the correlations among the variables of interest that were examined. Furthermore, the results of the multiple regression analyses that were conducted to test each of the hypothesis and each research question for the present study are discussed in the following sections.

Descriptive Statistics

Data obtained from the survey responses were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, version 22.0. Descriptive statistics were conducted on the demographics data (e.g., age, ethnic self-identification, educational level, generational status, marital status, religious preference, socioeconomic status) to provide a more detailed description of each of the participants. The participants who served as the sample population for this study were 260 Latina/Hispanic college students. Most of the participants (91%) were recruited in classrooms and 9% were recruited in extracurricular meetings. Of these participants, 90% of them were undergraduates (n = 235) and 10% were graduate (n = 25) students at an HSI in the Western U.S. Within the target population, almost half (49.2%) reported being between the ages of 18 and 21 followed by ages of 22 and 26 (37.3%). The majority of the participants reported being single in a

relationship (59.2%), followed by single in no relationship (29.2%) and 90% of the participants reported having no children.

With regards to ethnicity, a majority of the sample population identified with the global panethnic terms of either Latina or Hispanic (63%), while 37% used a specific term such as Mexican American and Chicana. Approximately 88% of the participants indicated that they were U.S. born. Most of their parents were from Mexico (mothers 67% and fathers 70%). Almost half (47%) of them reported speaking both English and Spanish equally whereas others (45%) reported speaking English better than Spanish. In addition, most of the sample population reported having a close relationship with their parents (84%), their siblings (80%), and with their partner/spouse/significant other (78%).

Regarding educational attainment, the majority of the participants were the first ones (78%) in their family to attend college and 20% were a second-college generation. Most of the participants reported their majors as Child and Adolescent Development (39%), Psychology (24%), Counseling and Sociology (10%), Family Studies and Consumer Sciences (9%), and Public and Health Administration (7%). The majority of the participants defined their sexual orientation as heterosexual (93%) and 7% reported being homosexual or bisexual. Furthermore, almost 2/3 of the target population reported their religious preference as Catholic (67%) followed by Christian (15%). Lastly, the socioeconomic status reported by the participants was equally distributed as working class (49.6%) and middle class (50%). Table 1 summarizes the complete listing of the demographic profile and characteristics of the target population which are listed below.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Target Population (N = 260)

Variable	N	Percentile
Ethnic Self-ID		
Latina/o	109	41.9
Hispanic	55	21.2
Mexican American	74	28.5
Chicana	22	8.5
Age		
18-21	128	49.2
22-26	97	37.3
27-30	18	6.9
31-39	14	5.4
40-49	3	1.2
Relationship Status		
Single in a relationship	155	59.6
Single no relationship	76	29.2
Cohabitating/Married	29	11.2
Children		
Yes	26	10.0
No	234	90.0
Religious Preference		
Catholic	175	67.3
Christian	39	15.0
Agnostic/None/NA	44	17.7
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual	241	92.7
Non-Heterosexual	19	7.3
Educational Level		
Undergraduate	236	90.4
Graduate	25	9.6
Educational Major		
Child Development	100	38.5
PSYC/COUNS/SOC	88	33.8
FCS/Public Health	41	15.8
Other Majors	31	11.9
Generation in the U.S.		
Born outside the U.S.	45	17.3
First U.S. Born	199	76.6
Second/Third/Fourth	16	6.1
College Generation		
First	203	78.1
Second	51	19.6

Third/Fourth	6	2.3
Socioeconomic Status		
Working Class	129	49.6
Middle Class	130	50.0
Upper Middle Class	1	0.4

Preliminary Statistical Analyses

Preliminary analyses were conducted to obtain descriptive information about each of the variables (e.g., GRCS-F, BSRI, MBS, AFS, and MEIM) included in the present study. To assess for test reliability, Cronbach's alpha coefficients were calculated for the gender role conflict scale and subscales, and for each of the four scales (i.e., BSRI, MBS, AFS, and the MEIM) and the corresponding subscales measuring the predictor variables. The dependent variable was gender-role conflict as measured by the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al., 1986) with a mean score for the total scale of 3. 32 (*SD* =.78). The means for the four individual subscales were 3.86 (*SD* = .80) for the Success Power and Competition (SPC), 2.87 (*SD* = 1.13) for the Restrictive Emotional Behavior (RE), 2.57 (*SD* = 1.00) for the Restrictive Affectionate Behavior (RAB), and 3.92 (*SD* = 1.15) for the Conflict Between work and family (CBWF). The means for the SPC and CBWF subscales of the GRCS for Latina college students in this sample were within normal reported ranges for college students (O'Neil, 2008). Nonetheless, lower means for Latina college students were found in this study for the RE and RAB subscales.

Gender role attitudes as measured by the *Marianismo Beliefs Scale* (MBS, Castillo et al., 2010) resulted in a mean score of 2.13 (*SD* = . 43) for this sample. The means for the five Marianismo Beliefs subscales are 3.14 (*SD* = .24) for Family Pillar,

2.52 (*SD* = .36) for Virtuous and Chaste, 1.55 (*SD* = .29) for Subordinate to Others, 1.42 (*SD* = .32) for Silencing Self to Maintain Harmony, and 2.21 (*SD* = .22) for the Spiritual Pillar. The means for the first four MBS subscales for Latina college students in this sample were within normal reported ranges for Latina College students (Castillo et al., 2010) with the exception of lower means for Latina College students were found in this study for the Family Pillar subscale. Nonetheless, only the total MBS scores were used for this analysis.

Familism had a mean score of 3.58 (*SD*=.50) which was measured by the *Attitudinal Familism Scale* (AFS; Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003). The mean scores for the four individual subscales were 3.83 (*SD* =.36) for Familial Support, 4.24 (*SD* =.27) for Familial Interconnectedness, 2.48 (*SD* =.29) for Familial Honor, and 3.46 (*SD* =.25) for Subjugation of Self for Family. The means for the first four AFS subscales for Latina college students in this sample were within normal reported ranges for Latina College students (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003) with the exception of lower means for Latina College students were found in this study for the Familial Honor subscale. Nonetheless, only the total AFS scores were used for this analysis.

Additionally, the mean score for the total Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale (MEIM-R, Phinney & Ong, 2007) was 3.91 (*SD* =.73). Only the overall mean score was used for the analyses. Lastly, the moderating variable of Gender-role orientation was a dichotomous variable measured by the *Bem Sex-role Inventory Short Form* (BSRI; Bem, 1981) and had a mean score of 5.17 (*SD* =.67). In addition, the mean score for the femininity subscale was 5.54 (*SD* = .87) and for the masculinity subscale was 4.80 (*SD* = .95). Most of the participants scored within the feminine orientation (62%, *n* = 161),

14% (*n* = 38) scored within the Masculinity, and 24% (*n* = 61) within the androgynous orientation. The gathered psychometric data (e.g., means, standard deviations, reliability) of the study variables is presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Psychometric Properties of the Major Study Measures among the Sample (N = 260)

Scales	*M*	*SD*	(α)
MBS	2.13	0.43	0.90
AFS	3.58	0.50	0.83
BSRI	5.17	0.67	0.84
BSRI-F	5.54	0.87	0.88
BSRI-M	4.80	0.95	0.86
MEIM	3.91	0.74	0.86
GRCS-F	3.32	0.78	0.92
GRCS-SPC	3.86	0.81	0.82
GRCS-RE	2.87	1.13	0.89
GRCS-RAB	2.57	1.00	0.82
GRCS-CWF	3.92	1.15	0.83

Note: AFS = Attitudinal Familism Scale, BSRI = Bem Sex Role Inventory, BSRI-F = Femininity, BSRI-M = Masculinity, MBS = Marianismo Beliefs Scale, MEIM = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, GRCS-F = Gender Role Conflict Scale for Females, GRCS-SPC = Success, Power, and Competition, GRCS- RE = Restrictive Emotionality, GRSC-RAB = Restrictive Affectionate Behavior, GRCS-CWF = Conflict between Work and Family.

Bivariate Analyses

To determine whether there was a significant relationship among the variables of interest, correlation analyses among the main study variables were conducted to explore the relations between the dependent variable (DV = GRCS) and the set of independent variables (IV = the BSRI scores, the MBS scores, the PHFS scores, and MEIM scores) while controlling for selected demographic characteristics (e.g., age, marital status,

educational and generational levels). The results indicate that ethnic identity score (r = .25, p < .01) was significantly and positively correlated with the familism score. A significant and positive correlation between ethnic identity with gender-role orientation (r = .14, p < .05) was also found. Furthermore, there was a strong and positive correlation between familism and marianismo (r = .51, p < .01) and with gender-role orientation (r = .23, p < .01). Marianismo was also significantly and positively correlated with gender-role conflict (r = .12, p < .05).

Specifically, there was a significant and positive relationship with the Restrictive Affectionate behavior dimension (r = .20, p < .01). There was also a significant and negative correlation between gender-role orientation (r = -.17, p < .05) and gender role conflict. Specifically, a strong and negative correlation was found between gender role orientation and the dimensions of Restrictive Affectionate Behavior (r = -.29, p < .01) and Restrictive Emotionality (r = -.32, p < .01).

Additionally, there was a strong and negative correlation between the dimension of the *feminine* gender-role orientation and gender role conflict (r = -.33, p < .01) specifically between the dimensions of Success, Power, and Competition (r = -.14, p < .05), Restrictive Affectionate Behavior (r = -.39, p < .01) and Restrictive Emotionality (r = -.39, p < .01). The dimension of the *masculine* gender-role orientation had a significant and positive relationship with the dimensions of Success, Power, and Competition (r = .22, p < .01) and with Conflict between Work and Family (r = .13, p < .05). Pearson correlations among all of the relevant variables included in the analyses are illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3

Inter-correlations among Major Study Variables for the Target Population (N = 260)

Scales	1	2	3	4	5
1. MEIM	1.00				
2. AFS	.25**	1.00			
3. MBS	.10	.50**	1.00		
4. BSRI	.15*	.23**	.09	1.00	
5. GRCSF	.02	.10	.12*	-.17**	1.00

Note: *indicates that the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level; **indicates that the correlation is significant at the 0.01 level. MEIM= Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale; AFS = Attitudinal Familism Scale; MBS = Marianismo Beliefs Scale; BSRI = Bem Sex Role Inventory; GRCSF = Gender Role Conflict Scale for Females.

Multiple Regression Analyses

Preliminary analysis were conducted to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, and multicollinearity and homoscedasticity. A preliminary multiple regression analysis was utilized to determine if specific demographic variables (e.g., age, relationship status, level of education, religious preference, ethnic self-identification, socio-economic status) were significant predictors in gender role conflict. The results of the regression analysis in which the demographic variables were included as predictor variables and GRC as the criterion variable, did not make a significant contribution to the prediction of gender role conflict. Subsequently, multiple regression analyses were used to analyze all the hypotheses of the current study. Specific hypotheses addressing each general question are addressed individually.

Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1.1: *Marianismo* will be positively related to gender-role conflict such as higher endorsement to traditional gender-role attitudes (i.e., *marianismo)* will correspond to higher levels of gender-role conflict.

Analysis: As previously discussed, multiple regression analyses were conducted to explore the relations among the independent variables and the criterion variable. Marianismo was significantly and positively correlated with gender-role conflict (r = .12, $p < .05$) indicating that individuals who endorsed marianismo gender role attitudes experienced higher levels of gender-role conflict in this sample. Thus, hypothesis 1.1 was supported by the data.

Hypothesis 1.2: *Marianismo* will be negatively related to gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of success, power, and competition.

Analysis: The results of the regression analysis indicated that marianismo was not significantly correlated to the dimension of success, power and competition. Therefore, hypothesis 1.2 was not supported by the data.

Hypothesis 2.1: Gender-role orientation (*i.e., masculinity*) will be positively related to gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of success, power, and competition (SPC).

Analysis: The results revealed a strong and positive relation between the SPC dimension and the masculine gender-role orientation (r = .22, $p < .01$) indicating that endorsement of masculinity were positively associated with higher levels of gender-role conflict among the success power and competition dimension. Subsequently, hypothesis 2.1 was supported by the data among the target sample.

Hypothesis 2.2: Gender-role orientation (*i.e.*, *femininity*) will be negatively related to gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of restrictive emotionality and restrictive affective behavior.

Analysis: There was a strong and negative correlation between gender-role orientation (i.e., *femininity*) and gender-role conflict (r = -.33, p < .01) indicating that femininity was significantly and negatively associated with lower levels of gender-role conflict among the dimension of restrictive emotionality (r = -.39, p < .01) and restrictive affectionate behavior (r = -.39, p < .01). This means that individuals who endorsed a feminine gender-role orientation experienced less conflict in expressing emotions and affection for others. Thus, hypothesis 2.2 was supported by the data among this sample.

Hypothesis 2.3: Gender-role orientation (*i.e.*, androgynous) will not be related to gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of conflict between family and work/school.

Analysis: The results indicated that there was not a significant relationship between Gender-role orientation (*i.e.*, androgynous) and gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of conflict between family and work/school indicating that endorsing an androgynous gender- role orientation will result in low levels of gender-role conflict. Hence, hypothesis 2.3 was supported by the data among this sample.

Hypothesis 3: *Familism* will be negatively related to gender-role conflict and higher adherence of *familism* will correspond to higher levels of conflict between family and work/school.

Analysis: There was not a significant relationship between familism and the conflict between family and work/school dimension. Therefore, the hypothesis was not supported by the data.

Hypothesis 4: Ethnic identity will not be related to gender-role conflict and higher levels of ethnic identification of the group will not correspond to higher level of gender-role conflict.

Analysis: The results indicated that a salient ethnic identity is not related to any of the dimensions of gender-role conflict. As a result, the hypothesis was supported by the data.

Hypothesis 5: Adherence to cultural values (e.g., familism) and gender-role attitudes (e.g., marianismo) will correspond to higher level of gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of conflict with family/work.

Analysis: There was not a significant relation among these three variables. Thus, the hypothesis was not supported by the data among this sample.

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses

According to the literature (Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), hierarchical multiple regression is an effective way of exploring moderation as it allows variables to be entered into the equation in a particular order and provides the opportunity for separating the variance of each independent variable. In order to reduce multicollinearity between the predictor variables and interaction terms, all main effect variables will be centered prior to performing the hierarchical multiple regression analyses (Aiken & West, 1991; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Thus, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to test both main effects of

the predictor variables (Marianismo, Familismo, and Ethnic Identity) on the criterion variable (Gender-role conflict) as well as to explore the moderating effect of gender-role orientation on the relationship of each of the predictor variables on the criterion variable (gender-role conflict). Therefore, the independent variable of gender-role orientation was entered into a second model to examine the moderating effect on gender-role conflict among this particular sample. The results of the hierarchical regression analysis revealed that gender-role orientation did not appear to moderate the relationship between the variables on Gender Role Conflict and only accounted for 4.1% of the variance which was not significant ($R^2 = .041$, F (3, 255) = 2.41, $p < .01$).

In summary, the hypotheses on the endorsement of traditional gender role attitudes (e.g., *marianismo)* and gender-role orientation (*i.e., masculinity, femininity, and androgynous*) on gender-role conflict as well as ethnic identity and gender-role conflict were supported by the data for the target population. Contrary to hypothesized relationships, results did not indicate a significant effect of the endorsement of cultural values (*i.e., familism, marianismo*) on the dimensions of conflict between family, work and/or school. Furthermore, the hypothesis on marianismo and the dimension of success, power and competition was not supported by the data for this particular sample.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of the Study

Within the field of psychology in general, researchers have extensively examined gender- role conflict predominately among males (O'Neil, 2008) across ethnic groups including Latino male students (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2003; Zamarripa et al., 2003). The published literature that exists on gender-role conflict among women has primarily focused among White female athletes (Anthrop & Allison, 1983; Desertrain & Weiss, 1988; Miller & Levy, 1996; Fallon & Jome, 2007). Although the concept of gender-role conflict is relevant within the field of psychology women, there is a dearth in the published literature about the examination of gender-role conflict particularly among women of color. Hence, research on gender-role conflict among women in general is scarce, but research on gender-role conflict amongst Latinas is limited. Understanding the ways in which sociocultural values, ethnic identity, and gender-role orientation may play a role in gender-role conflict seems important to address given the growing number of Latinas in the U.S. and specifically entering higher education while balancing and negotiating multiple gender roles and identities in various cultural contexts.

The present investigation attempted to extend the limited literature that exists about sociocultural values, gender-role orientation, and gender-role conflict among Latina college students attending a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). Two-hundred and sixty Latina/Hispanic undergraduate and graduate students participated in this study.

Most of the participants (91%) were recruited in classrooms and the rest of the participants were recruited in extra curricular meetings (9%). The participants completed a survey packet that included five measures and a demographic questionanaire. Specially, the current study examined the relationship between Latina/o sociocultural values (*i.e., familism, marianismo*), ethnic identity and female gender-role orientation (*i.e., femininity, masculinity*) in gender-role conflict.

Particularly, one goal was to explore how the endorsement of traditional Latina female gender-role attitudes (e.g., *marianismo*) and Latino cultural values (e.g., *familismo*) contributed to gender-role conflict. The second purpose of this study was to examine whether gender-role orientation (e.g., *femininity, masculinity*) moderated the relationship of these variables (i.e., *marianismo, familism, and ethnic identity)* that may correlate with gender role-conflict amongst Latinas college students. In this chapter, the present study's findings will be summarized, the limitations of the study will be reviewed, and the potential implications of these findings for future research, training, and clinical practice will be discussed in the next sections.

Discussion of the Findings

Preliminary analyses were conducted to explore the relationships among the variables included in the study as well as to determine if any of the demographic variables in this study were associated with the criterion variable. Multiple regression analyses among the main study variables were conducted to explore the relations between the dependent variable (DV = GRCS) and the set of independent variables (IV = the BSRI scores, the MBS scores, the PHFS scores, and MEIM scores) while controlling for selected demographic characteristics (e.g., age, relationship status, educational and

generational levels, religious preference, sexual orientation, ethnic self-identification, socioeconomic status, and educational majors). Furthermore, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to test both main effects of the predictor variables (Marianismo, Familism, Ethnic Identity, and Gender-Role Orientation) on the criterion variable (Gender-role conflict) as well as to explore the moderating effect of gender-role orientation on the relationship of each of the predictor variables on the criterion variable (gender-role conflict). Each predictor variable on the criterion variable is discussed in the following sections.

Gender Role Attitudes

Specifically, it was hypothesized that *Marianismo* would be positively related to gender-role conflict such that participants who endorsed more traditional gender-role attitudes (i.e., more marianismo) would also report higher levels of gender-role conflict. Conversely, it was expected that participants who endorsed more non-traditional gender role attitudes (i.e., less marianismo) would also report lower levels of conflict. The results of the study supported the hypotheses.

Some factors that may contribute to the gender role socialization of Latinas who may adhere to traditional gender-related behaviors are parental socialization practices (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004) and generation level (Castillo et al., 2010). The majority of the participants in this sample are first-Generation College students and first-born in the U.S. who reported adherence to traditional gender role attitudes of marianismo. Moreover, most of the participants' parents were born in Mexico. As indicated by the literature, parents from Mexican descent tend to have a stronger gender role ideology and socialize their children with gender-role attitudes that are marked by traditional gender-related

behaviors (Castillo et al., 2010; Piña-Watson, Castillo, Ojeda, & Rodriguez, 2013; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Possibly, Mexican American women place an importance on maintaining the traditional gender role ideology (e.g., *marianismo*) in order to ensure continuance of cultural traditions and values (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Correspondingly, a strong negative correlation was found between religious preference and adherence to marianismo ($r = .27$, $p < .01$) within this particular sample indicating that religion may be correlated with gender-role ideologies and strong gender-role expectations for men and women (Falicov, 1998; Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Montilla & Smith, 2006).

Additionally, it was hypothesized that *Marianismo* will be negatively related to gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of success, power, and competition. However, this hypothesis was not supported by the data. A potential explanation may be the participants' educational majors. It is possible that undergraduate Latinas in undergraduate majors such as Child Development (CADV) and Family Consumer Sciences (FCS) may place less emphasis on success, power, and competition. Thus, the results might differ from Latina college students in undergraduate and graduate majors that may have a competitive aspect such as Business, Economics, Engineering, and Computer Science and students may place more emphasis on success, power, and competition on these particular majors.

Although not a hypothesized relationship, results indicated that marianismo was positively correlated to the GRC dimension of Restrictive Affectionate Behavior ($r = .20$, $p < .01$) meaning that participants who endorsed more marianismo experienced discomfort expressing feelings to another person. A potential explanation is that marianismo emphasizes on Silencing Self to Maintain Harmony and Latinas should not

share personal thoughts or needs in order to maintain harmony in the relationship (Castillo et al., 2010). This potential silencing may impact both the choice of major and the way that this particular sample of Latinas approached this research. It may well be that the act of going to college at this HSI is an indicator of success and some indicator of power.

Cultural value of Familism

With regards to familism, it was hypothesized that familism will be negatively related to gender-role conflict and adherence of familism will correspond to higher levels of conflict between family and work/school. Although familism had a mean score of 3.58 (*SD*=.50), there was not a significant relationship between familism and the conflict between family/work/school dimension. A potential factor that may have contributed to this outcome is the relationship status reported by the sample of being single and did not have children. Nevertheless, a significant positive relation was found between familism and the success, power, and competition domain ($r = .13$, $p < .01$) indicating that those who adhered to familism experienced more conflict with success, power, and competition. Lastly, it was hypothesized that higher adherence to cultural values (e.g., familism) and gender role attitudes (e.g., marianismo) will correspond to higher levels of gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of conflict with family/work.

Familism is a cultural value that emphasizes on the importance and centrality of family in one's life and marianismo emphasizes on being the main source for the family (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003). Conversely, the dimension of Conflict between work and Family Relations (CBWFR) reflects on the level of distress experienced by individuals in balancing work, school and family relations that may result in physical and

psychological health issues (O'Neil, 2008). The finding of this study did not support the hypothesis. A potential explanation for this outcome may be the lack of variability among the sample's age and relationship status. The women in the sample were between the ages of 18 and 25 and most reported being single. It is possible that the sample responses on the levels of distress in balancing school and family may have been influenced by their relational status of being single, not having children or being in a committed relationship. Perhaps the issues of balancing work, school and family are yet to come. Thus in the future, researchers may want to examine a broader range of ages and development or conduct longitudinal research on young Latinas as they navigate college.

Ethnic Identity and Gender-role conflict

With regards to ethnic identity, it was hypothesized that a salient ethnic identification of the group will not correspond to higher levels of gender-role conflict on any dimension. This hypothesis was supported by the data as the results indicated that ethnic identity was not related to any of the dimensions of gender-role conflict. The findings indicate that individuals who endorsed a salient ethnic identity indicating experienced less gender-role conflict. Although ethnic identity had a mean score of 3.91 (SD = 0.74), there was not a main effect on gender-role conflict. Higher scores are indicative of a stronger ethnic achievement (Phinney & Ong, 2007). It is plausible that attending a HSI institution may influence the responses on the ethnic identity measure. On the contrary, the findings revealed that ethnic identity was significantly and positively related to familism (r = .25, p < .01) such that having an ethnic identity achievement with the ethnic group can influence adherence to cultural values such as familism and female

gender-role orientation ($r = .14$, $p < .05$). Nonetheless, the results on ethnic identity and cultural values may differ from participants attending a Non-HSI campus climate might not reflect certain Latino sociocultural values (Gloria & Castellanos, 2003) which in turn may influence the participants' responses.

Gender-role Orientation

Gender-role orientation (*i.e., femininity*) was hypothesized to be negatively related to gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of restrictive emotionality and restrictive affective behavior. The findings revealed a strong and negative relation between gender-role orientation (*femininity*) and gender-role conflict ($r = -.33$, $p < .01$). In particular, higher endorsement of femininity were significantly and negatively correlated with the affective components of gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of restrictive emotionality ($r = -.29$, $p < .01$) and restrictive affectionate behavior ($r = -.39$, $p < .01$) meaning that individuals who endorsed femininity experienced less conflict in expressing emotions and affection for others in general. These results on the relationship between femininity and these gender-role conflict subscales are consistent with previous studies among heterosexual individuals (O'Neil, 2005) and among college gay men (Choi, Herdman, Fuqua, & Newman, 2011). Similarly, a significant and negative relation was also found between gender-role orientation and success, power, and competition ($r = -.14$, $p < .05$) indicating that those who scored higher on femininity experienced less conflict with success, power and competition. These findings suggest that embracing femininity might serve as a protective factor in reducing gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of success, power, and competition.

Moreover, it was hypothesized that gender-role orientation (*i.e., androgynous*) would not be related to gender-role conflict such as individuals who endorsed an androgynous orientation will experience less or no conflict on the gender-role conflict particularly among the dimensions of success, power and competition, and conflict between family and work/school. The results supported the hypothesis and indicated there was not a significant relationship between Gender-role orientation (*i.e.,* androgynous) and gender-role conflict particularly among the dimension of conflict between family and work/school, and success, power, and competition meaning that endorsing an androgynous gender- role orientation may result in lower levels of gender-role conflict. As indicated by the literature, individuals who endorsed an androgynous orientation have a self-concept that allows them to freely engage in both masculine and feminine behaviors allowing greater adaptability and flexibility as they do not feel constrained to specific masculine or feminine gender roles (Bem, 1981). Nonetheless, there has been relatively little attention in the empirical literature paid to androgynous Latinas and this is an area for future research. The following section will address the limitations of the present study.

Limitations of the Present Study

Several limitations are noted in this study. First, there is a dearth of research on gender role conflict amongst women in general and research on gender-role conflict amongst Latina women is limited. Due to the relative lack of empirical research in this area, it is difficult to compare the results of this highly specific sample with previous research. Therefore, the relationships explored in this study were mainly exploratory in nature, and largely based on theoretical conjecture rather than previous empirical studies

including similar variables. It is hoped that this study will spur further empirical research into this area.

Second, the unique characteristics of this sample may limit the generalization of the results. The sample consisted mostly of young Latinas, single (89%), and composed of undergraduate students (90%). Similarly, there was an uneven distribution of college-generation as most of the participants (78%) were first-time college students. These participants were representative of a segment of students who attend this HSI in the Western U.S. and there may be unique factors relative to the colleges in the HSI, or the recruitment and retention practices of the HSI that make this sample unique and thus limit generalizability. As mentioned above, as a cross-sectional study, this study did not capture the constructs as they unfolded – but rather produced a snapshot of the constructs at a point in time.

A significant limitation of this study was that most of the participants defined their sexual orientation as heterosexual (93%); therefore, the relationships of cultural values among a sample population of Latinas who identify as non-heterosexual could not be explored. Furthermore, Latinos are heterogeneous and highly diverse culturally. The Latinas in this study were treated as one group; therefore, limiting the generalizability of the findings to Latina subgroups. The majority of the Latinas in this sample were of Mexican descent (69%). Thus, the sample used may not be representative of Latina college students and the results may not be generalizable to other Latina college students in other parts of the United States.

Additionally, the study did not include a random sample since participants were recruited in classrooms with professors' approval which may increase the potential for

response bias as there may be underlying similarities in the characteristics of the women who agreed to participate in the study or had common career interests. Lastly, this study was a quantitative study where participants are limited to answer choices provided for them. Perhaps an open response format or interviews would be appropriate to gain a more descriptive experience and richer understanding about the gender role issues faced by Latinas attending higher education.

Implications

The focus of this study was to examine particular sociocultural factors within a specific population that may potentially contribute to gender-role conflict among Latina college students while trying to meet their familial, personal, and educational demands. This section will discuss the implications of the study's findings for research, education and training, and clinical practice.

Future Research

The results of this study intended to contribute to the limited empirical literature that exists on gender-role conflict among women of color but specifically amongst Latinas. The present study's findings add to multicultural research and provide important information about the significance of the sociocultural variables in influencing the ways in which gender-role conflict is experienced. Particularly, this study looked at a specific population (e.g., Latina college students) in a particular context. This study was conducted at a HSI where 42% of students are from Latino/Hispanic ethnic background. The cultural fit at the HSI may have influenced the participants' responses with regards to adherence to specific cultural values. Nevertheless, the results may differ from Latina college students attending a Predominantly White Institution (PWI) in which the

environment may not reflect certain cultural values, in turn, may influence the responses on the cultural specific measures.

Most of the participants in this study reported being of Mexican ancestral descent. Hence, sociocultural values among Latina College students whose parents' ancestral descent may be from Central and South America should be explored as their gender role socialization practices may differ from those of Mexican ancestral descent. Likewise, future consideration should be given to examine the experiences of sociocultural values of other Latinas who live in other parts of the country. The majority of the participants in this study were recruited in courses. Consideration should be given to examine the student population who are involved in extracurricular activities such as student associations and sorority clubs.

Moreover, students with declared majors in business, engineering, and computer science may be a focus for future studies to examine sociocultural values and gender-role orientation in gender-role conflict as these careers are predominantly among males which employ socially ascribed masculine traits. Another aspect is to have this study replicated with Latino males who are pursuing an undergraduate education as well as a post-graduate education and examine the factors that are encountered while pursuing their educational goals as well as to examine the similarities and differences affecting both genders. This study can also be replicated with non-college students whose cultural values may be influenced by other contextual factors such as closeness to family, and work and family stressors.

The present study also aimed to contribute to the scarce research that exists on gender-role orientation among Latina women, an area that has been overlooked in past

research. Most of the participants in this study identified as heterosexual and reported having a feminine gender-role orientation. Further exploration of the relationship of cultural values among androgynous Latinas and among Latinas who self-identify as non-heterosexual is important to address. Similarly, graduate students who may be balancing multiple roles and identities should be recruited in a future study. Second and later college generation Latina students also should be to examine generational sociocultural factors and how these may contribute to gender-role conflict and gender-role orientation.

Future research should also explore the unique experiences of single parents who are simultaneously participating in multiple professional and personal roles. Although not represented by this sample, Arredondo, Gallardo-Cooper, Delgado-Romero and Zapata (2014) indicate that households with a single Latina parent are the fastest growing type of family amongst Latino families. Similarly, this study can be replicated with a larger sample population of graduate Latinas or professionals who have children. In addition, future research should continue to explore the phenomenon of gender-role conflict and the influence of cultural variables and gender-role orientation with other ethnic groups.

With regards to the sociocultural constructs that were examined in this study, ethnic identity was measured with the short version of the MEIM (Phinney & Ong, 2007) which may not be specific enough for this group of Mexican American college students. Masculinity and femininity, measured by the BSRI (Bem, 1981) are not culture specific constructs but rather universal constructs. Contrairwise, marianismo and familism, measured by the MBS (Castillo et al., 2010) and the AFS (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003), are culture specific constructs which may capture a more accurate ideology and

adherence of these cultural values. Hence, future consideration should be given to utilize cultural specific measures such as the Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS, Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004) and the Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale (WIAS) which may capture the participant's attitudes and progression of developmental stages of ethnic identity and a woman's identity, respectively. Lastly, gender-role conflict, measured by the GRCS-F (O'Neil, 2008), is a generic measure of gender-role conflict with individual subscales. Perhaps a specific scale for conflict between family and work may better capture the influence of sociocultural values in the way that this particular conflict is experienced. Thus, the findings should be interpreted with caution.

Training

As the empirical research continues to evolve on sociocultural values among women of color, there is a growing need to implement educational interventions that are culturally sensitive but also inclusive (Sue & Sue, 2008). When implementing educational interventions to assist Latina college students, some factors should be taken in consideration. One core element of counseling psychology doctoral training is acquiring the knowledge on the social environment and being familiar with cultural conditions. Thus, having an understanding of the cultural traditions, gender role attitudes, the values that hold the Latino family together, and the influences the Latino family and culture have on the decisions of Latinas when pursuing higher education is important to address. Incorporating didactic and experiential components into graduate training can raise self-awareness among trainees and may increase awareness of cultural and contextual variables which may be salient to the experiences of Latina college students who are also managing multiple roles and identities in various cultural contexts.

Similarly, understanding the broader context and the unique factors that may influence gender roles attitudes can provide an understanding of the intersection of multiple identities for negotiating and balancing multiple gender roles successfully while bridging two different cultural worlds.

Practice

A core value of counseling psychology is the emphasis on strengths, resilience and positive coping. The findings of this study illustrate the strengths of the Latina college women who served as the sample. Most of the participants were first-college generation attending a HSI which is a sign of strength and success. By attending college and trying to manage sociocultural values and environmental factors as they pursue higher educations is a sign of resilience and positive coping. Empirically-based assertions that provide an understanding of the influence of cultural values within the context of gender-role conflict may provide imperative information for mental health professionals working with Latina College students. The empirical findings gained from the present study can be helpful to individuals working with Latina College students and may aid them in better understanding the cultural issues that can shape the ways in which gender-role conflict is experienced.

Conclusions

The present study aimed to explore the relationship of sociocultural values and gender-role orientation in gender-role conflict amongst Latina college students attending a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). Moreover, this study attempted to contribute to limited literature on gender-role conflict amongst Latinas and the influence of cultural value an area that has been largely overlooked in past research. Specifically, the study

aimed to increase the understanding of the implications of traditional gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo), Latino cultural values (i.e., familism) and gender-role orientation (i.e., femininity/masculinity) in gender-role conflict among this population. The present study's findings provide important information about the significance of these variables in influencing the ways in which gender-role conflict is experienced.

The findings revealed that *marianismo* was positively related to gender-role conflict such that participants who endorsed more traditional gender-role attitudes (i.e., more marianismo) reported higher levels of gender-role conflict. Conversely, participants who endorsed more non-traditional gender role attitudes (i.e., less marianismo) reported lower levels of conflict. In addition, familism was associated with the success, power, and competition domain indicating that those who adhered to familism experienced more conflict with success, power, and competition. Ethnic identity was significantly and positively related to familism and gender-role orientation such that having an ethnic identity achievement with the ethnic group can influence adherence to cultural values such as familism and female gender-role orientation. The findings revealed a strong and negative relation between gender-role orientation (*femininity*) and gender-role conflict. In particular, higher endorsement of femininity was significantly and negatively correlated with levels of gender-role conflict among the dimension of restrictive emotionality and restrictive affectionate behavior indicating that individuals who endorsed femininity experienced less conflict in expressing emotions and affection for others. A significant and negative relation was also found between gender-role orientation and success, power, and competition indicating that those who score higher on femininity experienced less conflict with success, power and competition.

In addition, this study is representative of a multicultural psychology research approach as it examined the unique characteristics of one specific group (i.e., Mexican American Latinas) and gave voice of that group that is underrepresented in gender-role orientation and gender-role conflict research (Hall, Yip, and Zárate, 2016). The findings of this study could be useful for identifying various psychological services that Mexican American Latinas may need in the event they encounter gender-role conflict while negotiating multiple gender roles (e.g., school, family, and career) in various cultural contexts. Additionally, the findings of this study could be of assistance to students and professionals in various educational and counseling settings (e.g., career counselors, therapists, psychologists, and educators) when working with the Latina student population in helping them prepare for a successful educational pathway while attending to their psychological well-being. Hence, understanding the influence of sociocultural factors (e.g., gender-role attitudes, cultural values, gender-role orientation, and ethnic identity) on gender-role conflict amongst Latinas in general can provide an understanding of the intersection of multiple identities (e.g., gender roles, gender identity, culture, and ethnicity) for negotiating and balancing multiple gender roles successfully while bridging their own cultural group and the mainstream culture.

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UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
CONSENT FORM

Sociocultural Values and Gender-Role Orientation in Gender-Role Conflict among Latina College Students

Researcher's Statement
I am asking you to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. This form is designed to give you the information about the study so you can decide whether to be in the study or not. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent." A copy of this form will be given to you.

Principal Investigator: *Edward Delgado-Romero*
Counseling and Human Development Services
edelgado@uga.edu
706-542-1812

Purpose of the Study
The purpose of the present investigation is to examine particular sociocultural factors within a specific population that may potentially contribute to gender-role conflict among Latina college students while trying to meet their familial, personal, and educational demands in various cultural contexts.

Study Procedures
In order to participate in this study, participants must be 18 years of age or older. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to …

- You will be provided with a set of 5 paper and pencil measures to complete for this study.
- Instructions for completing the instruments will be given orally and will also be included in writing in the survey packet.
- Completion of the instruments of this study should only take you between 20-25 minutes.

Risks and discomforts

- No deception is involved in this study and there are no known risks or discomforts in participation.

Benefits

- There are no direct benefits to the participant.

- The results of this study will advance the field of multicultural psychology and will contribute to the limited empirical literature that exists on gender-role conflict among women of color but specifically amongst Latinas pursuing higher education.

Incentives for participation
Participants will receive extra credit if the instructor allows it.

Privacy/Confidentiality
- All responses will be treated as anonymous and at no time will individuals be identified. Rather, all participants will be provided with a packet of instruments that is already numbered and that will be the only mode of data identification.

Taking part is voluntary
Participation is completely voluntary and therefore you may refuse to participate or discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

If you have questions
The main researchers conducting this study are *Edward Delgado-Romero* (*professor)* and *Marta Gonzalez* at the University of Georgia. Please ask any questions you may have now. If you have questions later, you may contact *Marta Gonzalez at margon13@uga.edu or* Professor Edward Delgado-Romero, Professor in the Counseling Psychology program, Department of Counseling and Human Development Services at *edelgado@uga.edu* or at *706-542-1812*. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Chairperson at 706.542.3199 or irb@uga.edu.

Research Subject's Consent to Participate in Research:
To voluntarily agree to take part in this study, you must sign on the line below. Your signature below indicates that you have read or had read to you this entire consent form, have had all of your questions answered, and freely consent to participate in this study.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Data Sheet/Questionnaire

(Please **Write or circle** the answer that best applies to you)

1) Age: _____ 18-21 ____ 22-26 ___ 27-30 ___ 31-39 ____40 – 49 ___50 – 59____

2) Educational level:
   a) Undergraduate (major)_____ Anticipated graduation date _____
   b) Graduate/Post (program)_____ Anticipated graduation date_____
   c) Doctoral student (program)_____ Anticipated graduation date_____

3) Relationship/Marital Status:
   a) Single - In a relationship? Yes ____ No ___
   b) Living with a Partner _____ Married _____
   c) Separated/Divorced – In a relationship? Yes ____ No ___
   d) Widowed – In a relationship? Yes ____ No ___

4) Do you have any children? Yes ___ No ___ How many? _____ Ages? _____
   If NO, do you have any siblings? Yes ___ No ___ How many? _____Ages?_____

5) What is your religious preference? _____

6) Family Socioeconomic status:
   Working class _____ Middle class _____ Upper-Middle class ____Upper class ____

7) How do you identify yourself ethnically?
   a) Latina
   b) Hispanic
   c) Chicana
   d) Other_____

8) Which one defines your sexual orientation?
   a) Heterosexual
   b) Non-heterosexual
   c) Bisexual
   d) Other _____

9) Which one defines your generation in the U.S.?
   a) 1st generation: You were born outside the United States
   b) 2nd generation: You were born in USA, either parent was born outside the United States
   c) 3rd generation: You were born in USA, both parents were born in USA, grandparents were born outside the United States
   d) 4th generation: You and your parents were born in USA and at least one grandparent was born outside the United States, but the rest were born in USA

10) What is your career major and/or goal? _____

11) Birth Country: Yourself _____
Mother _____ Father _____

12) What defines your college level generation? Circle check all that apply.
a) 1st generation to attend undergraduate school _____ *Graduate* school _____
b) 2nd generation to attend undergraduate school ____ *Graduate* school _____
c) 3rd generation to attend undergraduate school ____ *Graduate* school _____
d) 4th generation to attend undergraduate school _____ *Graduate* school _____

13) What language do you speak most often?
a) Spanish
b) Spanish better than English
c) Both Equally
d) English better than Spanish
e) English

14) How close of a relationship do you have with your relatives?

Parents	Siblings	Partner/Spouse/Significant other
a) Not close	a) Not close	a) Not close
b) Somewhat close	b) Somewhat close	b) Somewhat close
c) Close	c) Close	c) Close
d) Very close	d) Very close	d) Very close

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure Revised - (MEIM-R)

In the U.S., people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American, Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian, Mexican American, Caucasian or White, Italian American, and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be _____

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Neutral (4) Agree (5) Strongly agree

1- I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs. _____

2- I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group. _____

3- I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me. _____

4- I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better. _____

5- I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group. _____

6- I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group. _____

7- My ethnicity is _____
Hispanic or Latina, Mexican American, Chicana
Other (write in): _____

8 - My father's ethnicity is _____

9 - My mother's ethnicity is _____

Attitudinal Familism Scale (AFS)

These questions are about your thoughts and feelings about family. Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Neutral (4) Agree (5) Strongly agree

1) Aging parents should live with their relatives. _____
2) A person should live near his or her parents and spend time with them on a regular basis._____
3) A person should help his or her elderly parents in times of need, for example, help financially or share a house. _____
4) Children should always help their parents with the support of younger brothers and sisters, for example, help them with homework, help the parents take care of the children, and so forth. _____
5) A person should rely on his or her family if the need arises. _____
6) A person should always support members of the extended family, for example, aunts, uncles, and in-laws, if they are in need even if it is a big sacrifice. _____
7) Parents and grandparents should be treated with great respect regardless of their differences in views. _____
8) A person should often do activities with his or her immediate and extended families, for example, eat meals, play games, go somewhere together, or work on things together. _____
9) The family should control the behavior of children younger than 18. _____
10) A person should cherish time spent with his or her relatives. _____
11) Children should help out around the house without expecting an allowance. _____
12) Children younger than 18 should give almost all their earnings to their parents. _____
13) A person should feel ashamed if something he or she does dishonors the family name.
14) Children should live with their parents until they get married. _____
15) A person should always be expected to defend his or her family's honor no matter what the cost. _____
16) A person should respect his or her older brothers and sisters regardless of their differences in views. _____
17) A person should be a good person for the sake of his or her family. _____
18) Children should obey their parents without question even if they believe they are wrong. _____

Bem Sex-role Inventory (BSRI)

Rate yourself on each item using the scale below and indicate how well each item on the scale describes you from 1 (*never or almost never true*) to 7 (*always or almost always true*).

(1) Never (2) Rarely true (3) Almost true (4) Neutral

(5) Somewhat true (6) Almost always true (7) Always true

1. Tender _____
2. Warm _____
3. Gentle _____
4. Compassionate _____
5. Sympathetic _____
6. Understanding _____
7. Loves children _____
8. Affectionate _____
9. Soothe hurt feelings _____
10. Sensitive to the needs of others _____
11. Cheerful _____
12. Friendly _____
13. Soft spoken _____
14. Reliable _____
15. Likeable _____
16. Assertive _____
17. Dominant _____
18. Aggressive _____
19. Forceful _____
20. Independent _____
21. Strong Personality _____
22. Defend own beliefs _____
23. Willing to take a stand _____
24. Have leadership abilities _____
25. Willing to take risks _____
26. Helpful _____
27. Ambitious _____
28. Happy _____
29. Dependable _____
30. Tactful _____

Gender Role Conflict Scale for Females (GRCS-F)

Directions: In the space to the left of each sentence below, write the number which most closely presents the degree that you **Agree** or **Disagree** with the statement. There is no right or wrong answer to each statement; your own reactions are what is asked for.

Strongly Agree					Strongly Disagree
6	5	4	3	2	1

1.___ Moving up the career ladder is important to me.

2.___ I have difficulty telling others I care about them.

3.___ Verbally expressing my love to another person is difficult for me.

4.___ I feel torn between my hectic work schedule and caring for my health.

5.___ Making money is part of my idea of being a successful woman.

6.___ Strong emotions are difficult for me to understand.

7.___ Affection with others makes me tense.

8.___ I sometimes define my personal value by my career success.

9.___ Expressing feeling makes me feel open to attack by other people.

10.___ Expressing my emotions to others is risky.

11.___ My career, job, or school affects the quality of my leisure or family life.

12.___ I evaluate other people's value by their level of achievement and success.

13.___ Talking (about my feelings) during sexual relations is difficult for me.

14.___ I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a woman.

15.___ I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.

16.___ Women who touch other women make me uncomfortable.

17.___ Finding time to relax is difficult for me.

18.___ Doing well all the time is important for me.

19.___ I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.

20.___ Hugging others is difficult for me.

Strongly Agree					Strongly Disagree
6	5	4	3	2	1

21.___ I often feel that I need to be in charge of those around me.

22.___ Telling others of my strong feelings is not part of my sexual behavior.

23.___ Competing with others is the best way to succeed.

24.___ Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.

25.___ I often have trouble finding words that describe how I am feeling.

26.___ I am sometimes hesitant to show my affection to others because of how others might perceive me.

27.___ My needs to work or study keep me from my family and leisure more that I would like to.

28.___ I strive to be more successful than others.

29.___ I do not like to show my emotions to other people.

30.___ Telling my partner my feelings about him/her during sex is difficult for me.

31.___ My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, family, health, leisure).

32.___ I am often concerned about how others evaluate my performance at work or school.

33.___ Being very personal with others makes me feel uncomfortable.

34.___ Being smarter or physically stronger than other women is important to me.

35.___ Women who are overly friendly to me make me wonder about their sexual preference (men or women).

36.___ Overwork and stress, caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school, affects/hurts my life.

37.___ I like to feel superior to other people.

Marianismo Beliefs Scale

Instructions: The statements below represent some of the different expectations for Latinas. For each statement, please mark the answer that best describes what you **believe** rather than what you were taught or what you actually practice.

A Latina . . .	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Agree 3	Strongly Agree 4
1.) must be a source of strength for her family.	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.) is considered the main source of strength of her family.	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.) mother must keep the family unified.	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.) should teach her children to be loyal to the family.	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.) should do things that make her family happy.	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.) should (should have) remain(ed) a virgin until marriage.	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.) should wait until after marriage to have children.	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.) should be pure.	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.) should adopt the values taught by her religion.	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.) should be faithful to her partner.	☐	☐	☐	☐
11.) should satisfy her partner's sexual needs without argument.	☐	☐	☐	☐
12.) should not speak out against men.	☐	☐	☐	☐
13.) should respect men's opinions even when she does not agree.	☐	☐	☐	☐
14.) should avoid saying no to people.	☐	☐	☐	☐
15.) should do anything a male in the family asks her to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐
16.) should not discuss birth control.	☐	☐	☐	☐
17.) should not express her needs to her partner.	☐	☐	☐	☐
18.) should feel guilty about telling people what she needs.	☐	☐	☐	☐

19.) should not talk about sex.	☐	☐	☐	☐
20.) should be forgiving in all aspects.	☐	☐	☐	☐
21.) should always be agreeable to men's decisions.	☐	☐	☐	☐
22.) should be the spiritual leader of the family.	☐	☐	☐	☐
23.) is responsible for taking family to religious services.	☐	☐	☐	☐
24.) is responsible for the spiritual growth of the family.	☐	☐	☐	☐