

Examining the Relationship between Gender Roles and Attitudes towards Rape Victims among
Latino/as in the United States

Roshnee Vázquez

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
under the Executive Committee of the Graduate School of
Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
2013

© 2013

Roshnee Vázquez

All rights reserved

ABSTRACT

Examining the Relationship between Gender Roles and Attitudes towards Rape Victims among Latino/as in the United States

Roshnee Vázquez

The present study aimed to examine factors influencing attitudes towards rape victims among a sample of Latinos (N=312) and Latinas (N=427). The predictive role of gender role attitudes was the overarching factor of interest. The study utilized the constructs of machismo/caballerismo and marianismo in efforts to capture the most culturally-relevant understanding and manifestation of gender role attitudes for the population of interest. Machismo/caballerismo and marianismo are largely ignored in empirical research but quite prevalent in Latino theoretical literature. The study also aimed to investigate the applicability of acculturation, a variable commonly included in Latino research but overlooked in rape research.

The primary hypotheses tested in the study were whether the gender role attitudes of men and women would predict negative attitudes towards rape victims. It was proposed that higher levels of traditional gender role attitudes (i.e., machismo for males and marianismo for females) would predict higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Conversely, higher levels of caballerismo (i.e., less traditional male gender role attitudes) would predict lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Analyses revealed that gender role attitudes did not predict attitudes towards rape victims for either females or males in the sample. Among the female sample, social desirability was the only variable that significantly predicted attitudes

towards rape victims. Among the male sample, socioeconomic status was found to be the only significant predictor of attitudes towards rape victims.

Secondary hypotheses posited that degree of acculturation would affect the strength of the relationship between gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. This proposed moderating relationship was not tested as there was no significant relationship between the gender role and attitudes towards rape victims variables.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I	Introduction.....	1
Chapter II	Literature Review.....	9
	Socialization.....	10
	Gender socialization.....	11
	Gender roles.....	14
	Machismo and marianismo.....	17
	Variations in gender role endorsement: role of acculturation.....	23
	Consequences of gender role deviations.....	28
	Rape.....	30
	Psychological impact of rape.....	33
	Attitudes.....	36
	Rape myths.....	42
	Rape myths and gender.....	45
	Gender roles and rape myths.....	48
	Latino/s attitudes towards rape victims.....	53
	Statement of the problem.....	57
Chapter III	Method.....	64
	Participants.....	64
	Female sample characteristics.....	65
	Male sample characteristics.....	67
	Instruments.....	69
	Personal demographic sheet.....	69

	The Machismo Measure.....	69
	Reliability and validity estimates.....	70
	The Latina Values Scale-Revised.....	70
	Reliability and validity estimates.....	72
	Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans-II.....	72
	Reliability and validity estimates.....	73
	The Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale.....	74
	Reliability and validity estimates.....	74
	The Socially Desirable Response Set-5.....	75
	Reliability and validity estimates.....	75
	Procedure.....	76
Chapter IV	Results.....	78
	Preliminary analyses.....	79
	Female sample.....	79
	Male sample.....	82
	Hypotheses testing analyses.....	84
	Female sample.....	84
	Male sample.....	87
Chapter V	Discussion.....	91
	Gender role attitudes and negative attitudes towards rape victims.....	95
	Acculturation as a moderator variable.....	106
	Other variables considered.....	111
	Limitations of the study.....	117

Implications for mental health services.....	121
Directions for future research.....	123
Tables.....	126
Table 1. Female sample characteristics.....	126
Table 2. Male sample characteristics.....	128
Table 3. Means, standard deviation, and reliability - female sample.....	130
Table 4. Means, standard deviation, and reliability – male sample.....	131
Table 5. Inter-scale correlation matrix – female sample.....	132
Table 6. Inter-scale correlation matrix – male sample.....	133
Table 7. Means and standard deviation by ethnicity – female sample.....	134
Table 8. Means and standard deviation by ethnicity – male sample.....	135
Table 9. Multiple linear regression – female sample.....	136
Table 10. Multiple linear regression – male sample.....	137
References.....	138
Appendices.....	157
Appendix A. Invitation letter.....	157
Appendix B. Consent form.....	158
Appendix C. Demographic sheet.....	160
Appendix D. Latina Values Scale-Revised.....	163
Appendix E. Machismo Measure.....	169
Appendix F. Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale.....	170
Appendix G. Acculturation rating scale for Mexican-Americans-II.....	171
Appendix H. The Socially Desirable Response Set-5.....	172

Acknowledgements

“One looks back with appreciation to the brilliant teachers, but with gratitude to those who touched our human feelings. The curriculum is so much necessary raw material, but warmth is the vital element for the growing plant and for the soul of the child.” – Carl Jung

There is no way for me to adequately express my gratitude to those individuals that were instrumental in making this document possible. If it takes a village to raise a child, it also takes a village to graduate a PhD student.

First, I need to formally express my gratitude to my advisor and sponsor, Robert Carter, for his support throughout this entire process. Additionally, I thank the rest of my dissertation committee: George Gushue, James Corter, Diana Puñales-Morejon, and Marianne Yoshioka. Each of you provided the guidance and hope I needed to complete this task.

Next, I have to thank my amazing research team. Over the long journey you have been present and made our space (AKA “the office”) a second home to me. Nancy, Silvia, Sidney, Rudy, Karima, Pei-Han, Sinead, Keva, Jessica, Erin, Jill, Carrie, Bryant, Becki: a million thanks! You are all superstars! Also, heartfelt thanks to a powerhouse of amazing women, my cohort: Nancy, Debbie, Brenda, Melissa, Becky.

There are also some other important individuals that I was fortunate enough to have met during my experience at TC: Santos Vales, Elizabeth Fraga, Teraesa Vinson, and Dinelia Rosa. Thank you for your belief in me, your belief in my skills, and your unwavering presence during the journey to this victory.

This moment cannot be celebrated without recognition of my start at The College of New Jersey. It was the support of the Educational Opportunity Fund program and the dedication of James Boatwright that put me on the path to even get here in the first place. Mr. B – you and the

EOF program will always be in my heart. Also, I need to thank the women of Chi Upsilon Sigma, National Latin Sorority Inc. They provided me with a home away from home at TCNJ and a lifelong support system of brave women. Corazones Unidos Siempre.

There are a few people that need a special shout-out for being simply amazing. Silvia – thank you for planting the initial doctoral seed in my head and helping me believe it could actually happen. Danielle – thank you my “L.P.G.” for your unyielding and tender support. Nancy – if only I knew on interview day that I was looking at someone who I would share so much with and, despite an eventual 6 hour time difference and hundreds of miles between us, would remain so present in my life. Rudy – my west coast pana, thank you to the hundredth power for your open heart and invaluable friendship.

Thank you, thank you, thank you to everyone that completed my survey, passed on the link, or provided me a collection site. Also, thank you to the women who inspired this project.

Lastly, yet with utmost importance, I must thank my family for their love, warmth, and patience. Mami – ¡te quiero con todo mi corazón y te agradezco desde lo más profundo de mi alma todo lo que has hecho por nosotros! Tito – thanks for always saving the day and keeping me sane throughout various steps of this process.

And to future Latina/o scholars - ¡Tu también puedes!

DEDICATION

This document is dedicated in memory of my father, Adalberto Vázquez. His unrelenting, tenderhearted spirit, which I carry in my veins, made this milestone possible.

“If there ever comes a time when we can't be together, keep me in your heart, I'll stay there forever.” –Winnie the Pooh

Chapter I

Introduction

People are influenced by a variety of factors including family, peers, school, teachers, and the media. Individuals learn skills, behavioral patterns, values, cognitions, and the standards that are expected and accepted by their given culture. This learning process is referred to as socialization (Maccoby, 2007; Grusec & Davidov, 2007). The socialization process is a lifelong process, commencing in childhood and setting the foundation for future social learning. This powerful process provides the guidelines for acceptance into a given culture and is often associated with consequences if one deviates from desired socio-cultural expectations (Maccoby, 2007; Grusec & Davidov, 2007). An important element of any groups' socio-cultural socialization process is gender-based since there are critical roles for males and females in every society.

Gender socialization has garnered considerable attention in psychological research, given the salience of gender roles in life (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). There are usually differences in male and female gender expectations, with traditional roles placing men in positions of power and encouraging them to be assertive, aggressive, and competitive. Women are taught to be passive, nurturing, and subservient (Bechhofer and Parrot, 1991). In many traditional cultures, women are to be "pure" (i.e., virgins) before marriage while men are given more liberties regarding sexual behavior (Ramos Lira, Koss, & Russo, 1999; Holzman, 1994; Low & Organista, 2000). Furthermore, men are empowered to objectify women with little social consequence (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). In the majority of traditional societies, men's roles and attitudes dominate most social institutions (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992).

Most individuals abide by the gender expectations within their cultural context (Lorber, 2007); however there are some that diverge from these expected behaviors. Deviance from gender expectations may have consequences and can ultimately leave an individual viewed as undesirable by the community (Deutsch & Saxon, 1998; Casas, Wagenheim, Banchemo, & Mendoza-Romero, 1994; Lorber, 2007). For example, violation of gender roles can result in ostracism by family and community due to shame imposed on violator (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001), and the violator being a victim of violence (Herek, 1991) and/or discrimination (Sandfort, Melendez, & Diaz, 2007). Some groups that have faced consequences for diverging from traditional gender roles are women in roles of power in corporate America (Kawakami, White, & Langer, 2000), women in the military (Boldry, Wood, & Kashy, 2001), men pursuing careers in areas that are traditionally occupied by women (i.e., nursing, dance, early elementary school teacher), men who fill the role of stay-at-home dad (Heppner & Heppner, 2009), and the LGBT community (Herek, 1991; Sandfort, Melendez, & Diaz, 2007).

Violations of gender roles associated with sexual attitudes/behaviors have garnered the specific interest of some researchers (e.g., Sanchez, Crocker, & Boike, 2005; Ramos Lira, Koss, & Russo, 1999). Within the body of research examining sex and sexual attitudes, an area that has amassed considerable empirical evidence, albeit limited in perspective, is work on rape and rape victims. Given the insidious prevalence of rape throughout U.S. history and its salience today, understanding the potential impact of particular gender role endorsement has become imperative in understanding attitudes towards rape and specifically rape victims. Furthermore, in light of evidence documenting the devastating psychological impact rape has on its victims (e.g., Ullman & Filipas, 2001), research on attitudes towards rape victims has acquired a prominent place in

the psychological literature. On the other hand, research on attitudes towards rape victims has its limitations, particularly around its lack of diversity in study samples.

Rape is a common, yet serious, problem in the United States (Anderson, Cooper, & Okamura, 1997) that only in the past few decades has been systematically described as having traumatic psychological consequences (Petra, 2002). Rape is often defined as “sexual intercourse, including both psychological coercion and physical force” (Meadows, 2010, p. 97). Through the years, perceptions of what qualified as rape and how rape has been studied has changed extensively (Bechhofer & Parrot, 1991). More recent work (e.g., Ullman & Filipas, 2001) has identified a link between a lack of support for the victim or the victim’s receipt of negative messages (i.e., endorsements of victim-blaming and assailant-excusing beliefs about rape) and the severity of post-traumatic stress symptoms, whereby victims who receive more harsh messages about rape are more likely to develop more severe psychological symptomatology. This suggests that investigating attitudes towards rape victims would provide insight into one of the mechanisms that can potentially buffer or exacerbate symptoms. Additionally, this body of work highlights the importance of studying not only the experience of rape victims, but also attitudes held by the general public as findings suggest that societal views can have a significant negative impact on the mental health of victims.

Social psychologists have utilized the concept of *rape myths* as a tool to study the flux in attitudes around rape and rape victims. Burt’s (1980) work around rape myths is a prominent fixture in the social psychological literature on rape and has provided a way to examine differences in attitudes. Rape myths are conceptualized to be a part of the general culture and to be learned through the process of socialization. Rape myths are “prejudicial, stereotypes, or false beliefs about rape, *rape victims*, or rapists” (Burt, 1991, p. 26, italics added). Examples of rape

myths are beliefs such as “women who consent to going to a man’s apartment also consent to sex” and “only promiscuous women get raped” (Burt, 1980, p. 217). Rape myths have been instrumental in the study of attitudes towards rape victims and have provided a substantial amount of research. Generally, research (e.g., Nagel, Matsuo, McIntyre, & Morrison, 2005; Lee, Pomeroy, Yoo, & Rheinboldt, 2005; Fonow, Richardson, & Wemmerus, 1992; Schaefer Hinck & Thomas, 1999; Aosved & Long, 2006; Foley et al., 1995; Harrison, Howerton, Secarea & Nguyen, 2008) has found that men are often more likely to hold negative views towards rape victims (i.e., more rape myths) and women are less likely to hold false beliefs about rape (e.g., Fonow, Richardson, & Wemmerus, 1992). Appreciating the need to move beyond gender to capture the complex and significant role gender socialization has on cognitive and behavioral development, researchers have also examined the relationship between endorsement of rape myths and gender roles.

Generally, evidence has suggested that increase in beliefs of rape myths are related to more traditional gender role attitudes, less tolerant views of rape victims, and more victim-blaming (Harrison, Howerton, Secarea, & Nguyen, 2008; Quackenbush, 1989; Munge, Pomerantz, Pettibone, & Falconer, 2007). Along these lines, traditional gender role attitudes are believed to reflect the view that a woman’s actions (i.e., flirting, allowing a man into her home, being out at night) or inactions (i.e., not fighting back sufficiently, not avoiding behavior to decrease likelihood of attack) led to the assault. In this way, increased traditional gender expectations can create a sense of culpability for the female and serve as the foundation for rape myth formulation.

The utility of rape myths as a framework has been limited to mostly White college students; when persons of color have been included they often represent a small percentage of

the sample (Littleton, Breitkopf, & Berenson, 2007). When there are attempts to make samples more inclusive, they are often limited to comparisons between Black and White participants, with disproportionate percentages of other groups of color (Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990; Kane, 2000; De Leon, 1993). This is problematic as researchers have found racial/ethnic differences in gender roles (e.g., Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002; Bree & Tickamyer, 1995; Hill & Sprague, 1999; Kane, 2000; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). In addition, researchers (e.g., Giaccopassi & Dull, 1986; Lefley, Scott, Llabre, & Hicks, 1993; Lee et al., 2005) have purported significant differences in the gender role endorsement and attitudes towards rape victims among different racial and ethnic groups. More specifically, findings have suggested that people of color, particularly men of color, have less tolerant views of victims of rape, endorse more perceived culpability of rape victims, and question the credibility of rape victims. Furthermore, some research suggests that Latinos/as may express even less empathy for victims of rape (Jimenez and Abreu, 2003; Lefley, Scott, Llabre, & Hicks, 1993). Additionally, it has been suggested that acculturation levels can further impact views of rape victims whereby lower levels of acculturation have been associated with lower levels of empathy for rape victims (Littleton, Breitkopf, and Berenson, 2007). Along the same line, researchers (e.g., Jimenez and Abreu, 2003) have suggested that differences in Latino attitudes towards victims of rape may be indicative of more traditional gender roles linked to the Latino culture, specifically the concepts of *machismo* for traditional male gender roles and *marianismo* for traditional female gender roles. In light of recommendations put in place by the American Psychological Association (1993) and other scholars (e.g., Sue & Sue, 1999) that research be more inclusive and sensitive to the needs and social contexts of persons of color, these glaring limitations need to be addressed.

Current research has been instrumental in helping facilitate a dialogue around the pervasive issue of rape and in forming our understanding of people's attitudes towards rape victims. Yet, given evidence of differences in rape myth endorsement based on characteristics such as gender, gender role endorsement, race, and ethnicity, it is problematic that more research has not been dedicated to exploring the generalizability of findings. Also, existing research is limited in its use of measures that are often based on White, American notions of gender roles which may or may not be reflective of the complexity of gender socialization and roles among different racial/ethnic groups (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; De Leon, 1993). Despite exponential growth in research around attitudes towards rape victims during the 1970s and 1980s, there remain questions around the complex role of gender roles and assessment methodology (Kopper, 1996). The current study aims to address these problems.

In light of the psychological benefit of understanding attitudes towards rape victims given victims' increased risk for post-traumatic symptoms associated with negative societal messages and the documented salience of gender role attitudes, the purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between attitudes towards rape victims and gender role endorsement. Specifically, the current investigation is focused on attitudes towards female rape victims. The present study aimed to do so from a more culturally responsive perspective contrary to most of the existing literature. Given the impact of negative messages received by rape victims and statistics on rape reporting trends, it appears that further work is needed to understand the experience of Latino/as.

Latinas have been identified as having one of the lowest rates of rape reporting when compared to any other racial/ethnic group (Holzman, 1994; Low & Organista, 2000). It has been speculated that the lower rates of reporting are a result of socio-cultural factors, such as gender

roles (i.e., machismo and marianismo) that have been largely ignored in empirical research (Trinch, 2004). The significance of considering such culture-specific factors is vital as cultural resistance due to stigmatization of victims has been noted as one reason why rape is often not reported (Lee, Pomeroy, Yoo & Rheinboldt, 2005). Appreciating the complexity of individuals' socio-cultural worldview is important as it "affect[s] how we think, define events, make decisions, and behave" (Sue & Sue, 1999). Researchers (e.g. Crowell & Burgess, 1996; Smith & Cook, 2008; Ulloa, Jaycox, Skinner, & Orsburn, 2008) have suggested that future work in the area of rape consider the context and intersecting cultural identities under which people operate. "Without identification and assessment of the specific cultural variables that contribute to cultural differences, our understanding...is impeded" (Cowan & Campbell, 1995).

In general, scholars have recommended inclusion of factors such as acculturation, when conducting any research with Latino samples due to the significant role acculturation plays in influencing attitudes and beliefs (e.g., Torres-Matrullo, 1980; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002; Leaper & Valin, 1996). Preliminary empirical and theoretical works (e.g., Negy and Wood, 1992; Torres-Matrullo, 1980; Torres, 1998) suggest that acculturation may influence gender role attitudes. Thoroughly and comprehensively examining the views of the Latino community may help to create a greater balance in current reporting statistics (Smith & Cook, 2008) and perhaps assist mental health professionals in promoting a climate where the community is better able to receive necessary physical and mental health care.

For the aforementioned reasons, the current study aimed to address limitations in the literature, specifically around how gender roles have been measured, and examine potential moderating factors. Specifically, the current study examined the impact gender role attitudes have on attitudes towards rape victims. The study measured gender role endorsement using

scales specifically developed to measure machismo and marianismo, concepts of gender roles within the Latino population. As a way to address the complexity that exists within Latinos as a heterogeneous group (Low and Organista, 2000), the current study included acculturation as a potential moderating factor in the relationship between gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims.

Of note, the terms Latino and Hispanic will appear interchangeably within this document. There remains much contention around the use of the terms and such a debate is beyond the scope of the current study. Every effort was made to maintain the integrity of the language used by the authors with respect to how samples were described (i.e., Latino, Latina, Hispanic).

Chapter II

Literature Review

There is a body of evidence highlighting the likelihood of increased severity of post-traumatic stress symptomology among rape victims who are exposed to negative messages about their attack (e.g., Ullman and Filipas, 2001). As such, the current study aims to examine attitudes towards rape victims. Rape has been present and problematic throughout U.S. history and abroad. As a result, social scientists, including psychologists, have developed a body of research addressing this issue. While extensive in nature, gaps remain in the literature, particularly around representation of the experiences and attitudes of persons of color. This body of research is further diminished if we attempt to capture the attitudes and beliefs of Latinos. Given compelling statistics identifying Latinas as least likely to report an experience of rape to the authorities and researchers hypothesizing cultural resistance as a reason, evidence suggesting the strong relationship between traditional gender roles and negative attitudes towards rape victims, and findings of how gender roles may operate uniquely and more traditionally among Latinos by way of machismo and marianismo, the question remains why more research has not focused on prudent efforts to close this gap. This gap is particularly alarming given the call to create a more multicultural climate in the psychological research.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the literature on socialization and then specifically addresses gender socialization and gender roles. The gender socialization process provides the foundation for the current study on the relationship between gender roles and attitudes towards rape victims. The chapter then discusses acculturation in a multidimensional way and its role in research on Latinos. The chapter then moves to explore the potential

influence acculturation has on the relationship between gender roles and attitudes towards rape victims, which is the primary question of the current study.

Socialization

Socialization is the process of passing on the appropriate skills, behavioral patterns, values, and standards of a given culture (Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995; Maccoby, 2007; Grusec & Davidov, 2007). Parents, siblings, teachers, peers, and the media all serve as agents of socialization (Grusec & Davidov, 2007). While some researchers argue that parents are the most important agent in the socialization process (e.g., Grusec & Davidov, 2007), others (e.g., Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007) suggest that peers may have a greater impact in specific types of socialization, like gender socialization while perhaps the main role of parents is to delineate the parameters for children's socialization (Grusec & Davidov, 2007; Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995). In general, the aim is to instill within a child a set of desired behavioral habits that have frequently been transmitted through generations. Socialization also occurs as children watch behavior through social interactions, learn about themselves, and then match behavior that would help them be accepted in their social-cultural world (Grusec & Davidov, 2007; Wentzel & Looney, 2007).

Socialization is not a static process (Maccoby, 2007). It is fluid as cultures can change from generation to generation as a result of societal disturbances and changes such as war, technological developments, etc. Such changes require individuals to adapt to new circumstances (Maccoby, 2007). Changes may also occur as parents decide to maintain or reinterpret values for a variety of reasons (Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007). From a family system perspective, socialization is a bidirectional process by which families operate in different levels (i.e., individual family members) of systems and each level interacts and affects the other (Maccoby, 2007; Kuczynski

& Parkin, 2007). The levels work to maintain equilibrium within the family system and when one person, or level, acts out of the bounds of expectation, other members react to restore the desired balance. Ultimately, the source of power in the socialization process is the desire to emulate the actions of other members of one's in-group (Grusec & Davidov, 2007).

Human relationships are considered the conduit to understanding the socialization process (Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007). More specifically, interdependence is a primary feature affecting the socialization process and social interactions (Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007). In other words, the duration and intensity of the impact and relationship between parents and children, peers, etc. all play a role in the overall learning process of desired behavior and cognitions (i.e., socialization). Ultimately, culture plays an important role in understanding the dynamics in the socialization process, particularly in parent and child relationships (Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007). It is by way of cultural values and scripts that children learn what makes up a good relationship with others, including parents and ultimately their own extensions of family (Crockett, Brown, Iturbide, Russell, & Lee, 2008).

This sentence isn't clear. Perhaps: Cultural values dictated by a particular group reflect expected behavior of those who belong to that culture with respect to their many roles, including gender. Gender is considered one of our most salient socio-cultural roles (Bussey & Bandura, 1999) and one where the socialization process is complex and expectations can be rigid (Lorber, 2007). Gender role development has been considered fundamental, impacting the social and professional paths people work towards, the conceptions of self they carry, and the opportunities they are afforded (Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

Gender socialization

Scholars (e.g., Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007) suggest that peers may play the most impactful role in gender role socialization. Other scholars (e.g. Leaper & Friedman, 2007) address the combination of media, parental, teacher, peer, and social structural influences on gender role socialization. Parents and family are usually the first to begin the gender role socialization process (Fagot & Leinbach, 1989; Hill & Sprague, 1999; Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995) with media, teachers, and peers subsequently influencing behavior and preferences. Researchers have noted the strong influence parents have on their children's gender socialization. For example, Jacobs and Eccles (1992) found that parent's gender stereotypes impact not only their perceptions of their children's abilities, but the self-perception of the child. This was found even in the face of contrary evidence.

“Gender roles remain rich repositories of information for young humans regarding the range and parameters of the repertoire of behaviors that they must strive to learn” (Brown, 1986). Society teaches children the dichotomy of being male versus being female and gender-related associations that create a cognitive schema for gender material (Bem, 1981). Generally speaking, attitudes around gender roles are shaped by factors in an individual's childhood and continue to be shaped throughout adulthood (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995). While all individuals do not abide by traditional gender roles, most do "because the norms and expectations get built into their sense of worth and identity as [the way we] think, the way we see and hear and speak, the way we fantasy, and the way we feel" (Lorber, 2007, p. 101)

According to Leaper and Friedman (2007), from the time of birth, gender has a significant influence on the opportunities an individual may experience. The gender role development of children is embedded in a larger social context, along with other social factors such as race and ethnicity, and is enforced through gendered practices, preferences, and

expectations (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). Unfortunately, most of the research on gender socialization has focused overwhelmingly on White, middle class samples (Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995).

By the time children are one year old they can distinguish between gender-linked physical characteristics; by age two verbal indicators of gender distinction emerge; by age three children display knowledge of their gender; and between ages three and six, understanding of their gender and the gender of others becomes more stable and consistent (Leaper & Friedman, 2007).

Male children are often socialized to “act like a man” and be aggressive and competitive, but not emotionally expressive; while female children are generally socialized “not [to] make waves” and be passive, cooperative, docile, and warm (Levant, 1992; Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997; Bechhofer and Parrot, 1991). Additionally, women are taught to be reserved with respect to their sexual desires while men are expected to take initiative, be assertive and persist in attempts to fulfill sexual desires (Quackenbush, 1989).

Bem (1985) conceptualizes the gender socialization process using gender schema theory. Gender schema theory describes the gender socialization process which begins in childhood when male and female children are able to cognitively encode and organize such gendered behavior. Through their gender socialization process a child internalizes gender role information and expectations based on his/her culture’s definitions of feminine and masculine (Quackenbush, 1989). The theory is understood as a learning process, not a fixed process, in that formerly internalized information can be modified, replaced, and/or adjusted given exposure to new socialization experiences (Casas, Wagenheim, Banchemo, & Mendoza-Romero, 1994). An emphasis of Bem’s theory is the idea that the gender socialization process, which she refers to as

sex-typing, is associated with the preservation of one's self-concept (Fagot & Leinbach, 1989). According to Bem (1985), individuals are motivated to abide by ascribed gender roles because this kind of adherence is linked to the maintenance of good self-esteem.

Gender Roles

Gender roles are culturally defined and differentiated by gender (Gibbons, Hambry, & Dennis, 1997; Kulis, Marsiglia, & Hurdle, 2003). They can be prescribed to self and others. They are integral elements of any culture (Su, Richardson, & Wang, 2010) and often expressed in terms of assertion (e.g. independence) or affiliation (e.g., interpersonal sensitivity), generally with male gender roles stressing self-assertion and female gender roles stressing affiliation (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). Gender role pressures appear to be more rigid for boys than girls as a girl's power status may improve if she engages in male-typed activities while a boy's status will ultimately decrease (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). Gender role attitudes introduce a value judgment attached to the roles men and women should take (Gibbons, Hambry, & Dennis, 1997).

Generally speaking, White American, middle class female gender roles attribute a focus on interpersonal relationships and meeting the needs of others, compliance, and avoidance of conflict and anger to "good" women (Brown, 1986). Additionally, they call for her to focus on her weight, have a clear vocational goal that she would relinquish for the family, and be ambivalent around her desire for sex and her sexuality (Brown, 1986). Females often exhibit more liberal gender role attitudes around women's roles when compared to men (Gibbons, Hambry, & Dennis, 1997). Generally, a traditional role of men in the U.S. encompasses the role of provider, with the expectation that the man will be the primary economic support of the family (Taylor, Tucker, Mitchell-Kernan, 1999).

While all cultures dictate ascribed gender roles, there are some scholars that argue that there are racial and ethnic differences between groups that could be of importance in understanding the potential impact of gender roles within specific racial/ethnic groups (Casas, Wagenheim, Banchemo & Mendoza-Romero, 1994; Kane, 2000). There is a body of research examining gender role differences by race and ethnicity. For example, scholars (e.g., Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002) have suggested that there are cultural and ethnic differences regarding masculinity. Others (e.g., Blee & Tickamyer, 1995) have suggested that the way in which gender roles are formed through gender socialization of children and how those ideas or roles may change over the lifespan (i.e., become more or less traditional) may differ across racial groups. For example, some scholars have asserted that there is greater gender neutrality in child socialization (e.g. Hill & Sprague, 1999) and more egalitarian gender roles (e.g. Kane, 2000; Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995) among Black Americans. Among Asian Americans, researchers (e.g., Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995) have noted that women are more likely to be submissive in public but vocal and demanding in private. In regards to Latinos, some scholars (e.g., Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Kane, 2000) have asserted that traditional Latino cultures are marked by strong gender role distinctions, particularly around sexual behavior, that include submissiveness and indulgence towards men (Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995). Furthermore, scholars have suggested that the impact of gender and gender role systems among Latinos may be particularly notable and different from other groups (De Leon, 1995), chiefly around expression of masculinity (Connell, 1996).

For example, in their study of gender roles and adjustment among White, Black, and Hispanic adolescents, Corby, Hodges, and Perry (2007) found differences between racial/ethnic groups in terms of reported gender role pressures. Their sample was comprised of 436 White,

260 Black, and 167 Hispanic adolescent males and females in southeast Florida. They found that Black and Hispanic children reported more pressure to conform to traditional gender norms of masculinity and femininity when compared to the White participants. In addition, there was a significant relationship between gender role attitudes and pressure and self-esteem. This relationship is congruent to the relationship between gender roles and self-esteem suggested by Bem's (1985) theory of gender schema.

Taylor, Tucker, and Mitchell-Kernan (1999) studied gender roles and provider role attitudes among a sample of White, Black, and Mexican American males. Generally, they found that the sample endorsed egalitarian ideology around the role of household provider. They did, however, find racial/ethnic differences. Among the participants of color, the authors found a higher perceived traditional responsibility to provide economically for their families when compared to the White American participants. At the same time the participants of color were more likely to acknowledge the need for the women in their families to work. The authors suggested that the increased traditional provider role ideology found among the participants of color, in light of their beliefs that the females in their families should work, may be a result of their experience of powerlessness in society. More specifically, given economic disadvantages faced by men of color, women of color are often required to work to help provide for the family and allow them opportunity to thrive. Perhaps their effort to maintain a sense of "manhood" in the home is a reflection of their loss of "manhood" in traditional masculine domains such as labor.

These findings support the notion of ethnic group variation in terms of culture, norms, and values (Carter & Cook, 1992) and specifically in terms of gender roles. Unfortunately, these

differences have received less attention in the gender role and identity literature (Corby, Hodges, & Perry, 2001).

This body of evidence and theory supports the argument to conduct the current study with the population of interest (i.e., Latinos) in a more culturally relevant way (i.e., using appropriate measures of gender role attitudes). In regards to examining gender role issues,

“the outer reality is the crucible in which gender role is forged; the internal reality indicates the meaning given to observable experiences. To have only one set of data generates incomplete information. In assessing, it is important not only to know what the lessons of gender were but also how and if they were learned and what meaning was given to that learning experience” (Brown, 1986).

Researchers recommend (e.g., Cowan and Campbell, 1995) that cultural and ethnic variations in beliefs about the causes of rape need to be more fully understood by addressing the function gender roles play within the context of a particular culture. These efforts aim to better grasp the complexity of attitudes towards rape victims, which is the focus of the current study.

Machismo and marianismo: Gender role concepts among Latinos/as

Examination of cross-cultural issues in the study of gender role attitudes points to the fact that cultural subgroups in the United States may have culturally-specific gender role beliefs (McHugh & Hanson Frieze, 1997; Vogel, Heimerdinger-Edwards, Hammer, & Hubbard, 2011).

Machismo is commonly presented as the Latino construction of masculinity (Carey, 2004).

Researchers (e.g. Ariciniaga, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey 2008) have considered how machismo is almost always characterized as something negative, aggressive, and hyper-masculine. More recently there has been a shift to associate machismo or masculinity among Latinos with a more varied set of characteristics including valiancy, protection of honor and family, strong work ethic, and being a good provider (McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000), in addition to traditionally negative views of heavy drinking and behaving in ways to

prove manhood (Galanti, 2003). Positive descriptors such as chivalrous, being respectful, being socially responsible, and having emotional connectedness have been thought of as *caballerismo*, an underlying construct of machismo among Latino men (Ariciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey 2008). Notwithstanding that variation, generally speaking gender role attitudes within the Latino culture adopt greater male dominance than do those within the mainstream American culture (Su, Richardson, & Wang, 2010.)

Latina femininity or *marianismo* has been characterized in the literature by moral and spiritual superiority, acceptance of male authority, and being better able to endure suffering (Torres, 1998; McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000). The ability to suffer or be self-sacrificing has been connected to the idea of being a ‘good woman’ (Root, 2001). Traditionally, Latinas hold a central position in the family, charged with serving as the caretaker, mediating conflicts, and preventing confrontation within the family (Low & Organista, 2000). On the other hand, some scholars (e.g. Gil & Vazquez, 1996) have suggested that marianismo has taken on a new shape with an emergence of self-assuredness, competence, and empowerment. While it has been speculated that marianismo has undergone transformation, there remains support that marianismo dictates that women who act like they enjoy sex, initiate condom use, and talk about sex lack virtue (Faulkner, 2003). For Latina women, the cultural message is that sex should only be initiated in long-term monogamous relationships with limited erotic exploration (Faulkner, 2003). While all women must negotiate societal messages around appropriate sexual behavior, Latinas must juggle both the Latino and American cultural perspective to be sexual but not too sexual, be sexy but not too sexy, and wait for men to initiate sexual feelings and behaviors (Faulkner, 2003).

Padilla and Baird (1991) provide evidence of traditional gender roles among Latinos in their investigation of sexual knowledge, sexual attitudes and sexual practices among male and female Hispanic adolescents. Their sample was comprised of 51 females and 33 males ranging in ages 14-19. Generation status of the sample was not reported. Results indicated that 80% of females and 70% of males agreed that having children was important, and strongly agreed that having a male child was important. In addition, 75% of females and 88% of males believed a female should be a virgin at marriage, although this was more common among the older participants. Men were not expected to maintain similar sexual modesty. These findings were found to fall in line with common traditional gender beliefs present in the Latino culture (Padilla and Baird, 1991; Crockett, Brown, Iturbide, Russell, & Lee, 2008).

Research has also examined the parent/child relationship to further understand gender socialization among Latinos. Crockett, Brown, Iturbide, Russell, and Lee (2008) studied the concept of a good parent-child relationship with a sample of 23 Cuban American male and female adolescents via focus groups. Their results revealed distinct trends in how the adolescents related and what they expected from their male and female parents. In terms of the father, females reported emotional support and males reported instrumental support as necessary for a good child-father relationship. Males identified the ability to talk to their mothers as an important characteristic of a good child-mother relationship. Similarly, females indicated that discussing secrets in confidence was important in the child-mother relationship. Generally, talk with fathers was described as less personal, with girls talking to fathers about sports and school and boys engaging in mostly small talk with occasional sharing of stories based on the father's childhood. Both genders reported non-verbal communication as the means by which their fathers' expectations were shared. Mothers were associated with "doing everything" (p 584) for their

children where fathers were linked to handling more global family issues in a somewhat distant capacity. Both roles were noted to be of equal importance in the eyes of the adolescents. This study illustrates the distinctions of gender roles and expectations in Latino families.

In a two-part study investigating gender socialization in Latino families, Raffaelli and Ontai (2004) found evidence of divisions in socialization across genders. In the first part of their study they conducted interviews, in English, with 22 Latinas. Most respondents were of Mexican origin (73%) and the rest were from other Latin American/Spanish-speaking Caribbean countries. The interviewees reported that daughters and sons tended to have different household responsibilities, specifically with girls being expected to help out extensively in the house. In addition, participants described parental expectations for them to behave femininely (e.g., play with dolls, wear dresses, wear earrings). Additionally, the expectation for feminine behavior grew stronger as girls grew older.

In the second part of their study, Raffaelli and Ontai used author adapted measures of gender role socialization, parental gender attitudes, family language use, family background characteristics and treatment of sons and daughters with a sample of Latino and Latina college students. The sample was comprised of 97 women and 69 men of varied generation status and ethnicities. Results indicated that young females were encouraged to play with traditional girl toys, do indoor housework, and wear their hair long. On the other hand, young males were encouraged to play with traditional boy toys and do outside housework. Firm restrictions were placed on young females as compared to young males. Lastly, mothers were more likely to encourage feminine behavior in daughters and fathers more masculine behavior in sons.

Despite the growing body of evidence of trends in gender roles among Latinos, empirical efforts have not adequately captured the cultural complexity of this group by use of culturally-

appropriate measures. Failure to use more adequate measures leaves room for possible misrepresentation of the gender role phenomenon among Latinos. Use of current, commonly used measures and methodologies suggest that gender roles are homogenous among different racial and ethnic groups (Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Kane, 2000; De Leon, 1993). However, because gender role attitudes scales have typically been constructed using White samples, their validity with persons of color has been put into question (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004).

Despite the growing body of research and debate around the existence of group differences around gender socialization and gender role attitudes, contrary results have also been noted. For example, De Leon (1993) investigated gender role identity among a sample of college students. The sample was comprised of White American students, Black American students, Puerto Rican students from the mainland U.S., and Puerto Rican students from the island. Participants completed a background questionnaire and the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974). In general, regardless of gender, ethnicity/race, income, and place of residence, the majority of the sample were more similar than different in terms of endorsed gender role. Specifically 51.4% of the males and females across racial/ethnic groups were classified as androgynous sex role type (i.e., neutral, socially desirable), indicating equal endorsement of feminine (i.e., affectionate, gentle, understanding, sensitive to the needs of others) and masculine (i.e., ambitious, self-reliant, independent, assertive) characteristics. The author suggested that results may be indicative of similar level of education and other variables to be expected with a college sample. Further analysis revealed that Black women endorsed more masculine traits. There were no significant differences between Puerto Rican students from the mainland and those from the island; however, female Puerto Rican students from the island had mean scores

closer to the Black females in the sample; and female Puerto Ricans from the mainland had mean scores closer to the White females in the sample. In regards to the men in the sample, no significant differences were found in terms of the masculine scales of the BSRI. Puerto Rican men, regardless of residence, were more similar to than different from the White and Black males. While there was no significant difference, Puerto Rican males, regardless of location, endorsed the highest percentage of female characteristics among male participants. The author noted that this finding was in opposition to commonly held views of traditionally masculine Puerto Rican men. She noted that perhaps this finding calls into question the cultural validity of the BSRI with Latino samples. Additionally, she postulates that this endorsement may be reflective of the strong sense of familism, interpersonal relationships, and concern for others common in Puerto Rican society, but manifested only as feminine characteristics in the BSRI.

The findings in the De Leon (1993) study support an examination of the validity of research including Latino participants but utilizing measurements that are commonly normed and based on White-American samples and values. Saez, Casado, and Wade (2009) have suggested that future work around gender roles among Latinos should be more specific to the complex, cultural experience of Latinos. When it comes specifically to Latinos, evidence suggests that gender roles operate uniquely among this population due to the influence of acculturation (Phinney & Flores, 2002). More specifically, researchers (e.g., Phinney & Flores, 2002) have found that higher endorsement of traditional gender role attitudes are negatively related to involvement in the mainstream culture (i.e., an element indicating a lesser degree of acculturation). In addition, researchers (e.g., Phinney & Flores, 2002) have found that lower gradients of traditional gender role endorsement are positively correlated to greater degrees of

proficiency and usage of English and having non-Hispanic friends (i.e., elements indicating a higher degree of acculturation).

Generally speaking, a review of the literature suggests that there are strict delineations of responsibilities and a lack of flexibility in gender role formation among Latinos (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001). However, there is also evidence of some deviation from these traditional roles. For example, some Latina mothers have been found to align with their daughters and allow them to go out or date without their father's knowledge (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001). In addition, while restriction on sex among Latinas is often presented in the literature, there is some recent work that has indicated more open views by parents around practices of sex and sexual expression (Villarruel, 1998), particularly when parents have lived in more urban setting with less emphasis on gender inequality (Gonzalez-Lopez, 2004). These differences are indicative of variations that may exist within Latino populations. An exploration of variables known to account for differences among Latinos is warranted. Comas-Diaz (1988) suggests that gender roles are impacted by cultural transitions and adaptations. *Acculturation* is a prominent variable in the psychological literature used to understand and explain variation among Latinos, particularly as a result of transitions and adaptation to new cultures. As a highly heterogeneous group, acculturation is one way we can delineate some differences among the group.

Variations in gender role endorsement: The role of acculturation

The concept of acculturation originally comes from anthropology and is used to describe the change that occurs when coming into contact with a new culture (Berry, 1980; Berry 2007). It is usually studied for two reasons: one, to serve as a control for societal and cultural change and two, to serve as a variable to capture the psychological phenomenon that occurs when two cultures meet (Berry, 2003; Taylor, Tucker, & Mitchell-Kernan, 1999). Acculturation has been

described as “one of the most significant psychological processes of psychosocial adaptation for many ethnic minority individuals, particularly those from immigrant backgrounds” (Zane & Mak, 2003, p. 58). It has been defined as “the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (Berry, 2007, p. 543). Berry (2007) describes this process as one of culture shedding and culture learning whereby an individual gradually loses some features of their native culture (e.g., attitudes, belief, values, language) and acquires features of a new culture, at times replacing or adding to original cultural features. Some adaptation occurs in attempts to cope with external demands of the new culture and society (Berry, 2007). Contemporary conceptualization of the acculturation process has clarified that accurate understanding of the acculturation change process appreciates the bi-dimensional aspect of the process where individuals retain varying degrees of the original culture and incorporate varying degrees of the new culture (Phinney & Flores, 2002).

While gender socialization is often associated with early childhood development, the gender socialization process is nonetheless a lifelong process. The rules of gender role beliefs can vary across different social contexts and during different periods in life (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Gender role attitudes could possibly be influenced by the relocation and acculturation to a new culture.

In terms of acculturation’s empirical applicability to the study of gender roles, Phinney and Flores (2002) assert that gender role attitudes provide insight into the acculturative process of Latinos as they have been found to be different between Latin American countries and the United States. When immigrants of Latin American countries arrive in the United States they are faced with gender roles that are different from what they are accustomed to and it is believed that

these differences dissipate over time (Phinney & Flores, 2002). Generally, there is evidence supporting the notion that gender role attitudes may change as individuals engage in the acculturative process and modify existing values (Marin & Gamba, 2003).

Researchers have built a body of evidence to support the relationship between acculturation and gender roles among Latinos. Generally, findings support the need for further exploration of gender role socialization and attitudes that may differ among Latinos due to the role of acculturation. For example, researchers (e.g. Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995) have suggested inclusion of acculturation in research for its potential role as an important indicator of male role attitudes among Latinos. Additionally, it has been speculated that the manifestation of machismo and marianismo are due to factors such as generation status (Torres, 1998), often used as an indicator of acculturation.

Torres-Matrullo (1980) studied gender role attitudes, acculturation, and mental health using a community sample of Puerto Rican males in Pennsylvania. The males ranged in terms of age, education, and occupational background. She used the Behavioral Acculturation Scale (Szapocznik and Scopetta, 1976) to measure acculturation and gender role attitudes, assessed via interview and a three-point self-assessment of values and goals around gender roles, work relationships, and family relationships. Analysis revealed that individuals with higher levels of acculturation expressed more non-traditional gender attitudes (i.e., more egalitarian) whereas lower levels of acculturation reported more traditional (i.e., double standard for male/female roles), culture-bound gender roles. In addition, college educated subjects endorsed less traditional gender roles in comparison to individuals with less formal education who reported more traditional gender roles.

Phinney and Flores (2002) studied acculturation and gender role attitudes among 170 Latino adults ages 18-78 from various ethnic backgrounds and generation statuses. They used author derived measures of sex role attitudes, language use and preference, and social networks (i.e., friendships). They found that more egalitarian gender attitudes were correlated with increased proficiency and usage of English and having non-Latino friends. On the other hand, increased proficiency and usage of Spanish and having more Latino friends was not a significant predictor of traditional gender attitudes. This finding was contrary to their hypothesis and was understood to suggest that an individual who becomes bicultural - being involved in the mainstream culture and adopting more egalitarian gender attitudes - can and may retain the Spanish language and Latino networks. While theoretical, this interpretation opens the door to examining the 'gray' area of the bicultural experience and is more in line with contemporary conceptualizations of the acculturation process. As expected, Phinney and Flores (2002) also found generation status to be a significant predictor of gender role attitudes. However, it was unrelated and less important than the other predictors such as language use and social networks. Consequently, the authors suggest that generation status alone should not be used as a measure for acculturation as it may not capture the complete spectrum of the acculturative process.

Ojeda, Rosales, and Good (2008) found that Mexican culturally oriented adolescents (age 15 – 19), as measured by the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II, endorsed more traditional male roles. Their study was comprised of 130 Mexican American males attending college in a university along the Texas-Mexico border. Participants ranged in ages from 17-42 with a mean age of 20 and were primarily second generation (i.e., U.S. born) (44%), followed by first generation (i.e., Mexico born) (22%), fourth generation (i.e., grandparents U.S. born) (18%), third generation (i.e., parents U.S. born) (8%), and lastly fifth generation (i.e., great

grandparents U.S. born) (8%). Endorsement of traditional male gender roles were measured across the entire sample. Using the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (1995) the sample subsequently was divided into Mexican cultural orientation and Anglo cultural orientation. The authors found Anglo cultural orientation and traditional gender role attitudes unrelated. The authors suggest that as men acculturate, they may gradually hold less traditional gender attitudes.

In their study of gender role attitudes, Su, Richardson, and Wang (2010) found that over generations Mexican Americans' gender role attitudes change. They utilized gender role data extracted from the 1972-2004 General Social Survey administered by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. They compiled data from gender role related data from 1,120 Mexican Americans and 26,574 European Americans. The investigators found that Mexican Americans' gender role attitudes evolved over generations when compared to the European Americans. The authors found little change in first and second generation Mexican American gender role attitudes. The most significant changes occurred in the third and fourth generations, where those participants showed more liberal or egalitarian gender role attitudes when compared to first and second generation participants. Despite these changes in gender role attitudes, Mexican Americans endorsed more conservative gender role views in the sample when compared to European Americans.

Evidence supporting the relationship between acculturation and gender roles is however not conclusive. For example, Torres, Solberg, and Carlstrom (2002) investigated whether machismo and masculinity represent a multidimensional construct with a diverse Latino male sample of 148 participants. Participants completed a variety of instruments to assess femininity, masculinity, conflict around gender roles, and acculturation to America. Contrary to what was

expected, acculturation was not related to gender role identity. The authors suggested that perhaps the relationship between acculturation and gender role is not linear as was measured but a multifaceted one. More specifically, they suggested that there may be particular ethnic or socioeconomic characteristics that were not tapped into and they also considered that the majority of the sample were either born in the U.S. or lived in the U.S. for more than 20 years. Ultimately, they concluded that the traditional views of gender that dominate the image of the Latino community represent only a small portion of that population.

While not definitive, the above noted research supports the current effort to explore the possible relationship between acculturation, gender roles, and attitudes towards rape victims.

Consequences of gender role deviations

Gender role socialization provides individuals with the beliefs and expectations of appropriate behavior in a given culture. As a result, gender-linked behavior is heavily socially sanctioned in most cultures (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). The degree to which people adhere to or deviate from culturally prescribed gender roles impacts how they are assessed by others (Brown, 1986). These reactions to gender role deviance provide important information for the concept of gender roles.

Most people abide by the standards put in place. One explanation for such compliance is the connection between attitudes towards gender roles and one's self-concept (Bem, 1981). Said another way, individuals learn what attributes are linked to their gender and ultimately themselves. This impact on the self-concept comes from the experience of determining how many of our preferences, attitudes, and personal attributes match what is ascribed to our gender. However, there are a number of individuals that deviate from the roles delineated by their culture for their gender. Such deviations often have consequences. Gender roles are enforced through

"informal sanctions of gender-inappropriate behaviors" by family, peers, etc. and by "formal punishments or threat of punishment by those in authority" should behavior deviate too far from what is socially accepted (Lorber, 2007, p. 97). It has also been documented (e.g., Casas, Wagenheim, Banchemo, and Mendoza-Romero, 1994; Sandfort, Melendez, & Diaz, 2007) that deviations from gender role expectations can have mental and physical health consequences, including depression and anxiety, sexual abuse, rape, and physical abuse. Ultimately these experiences of distress are likely to influence the gender socialization process.

One approach in understanding the consequences of gender role deviation has been to examine the experience of parents. For example, Deutsch and Saxon (1998) investigated the positive and negative messages parents receive from others when they either abide by or diverge from gendered role behavior. Their sample was comprised of 88 couples (all married except for one cohabitating couple) who were the parents of at least one child. They were predominantly upper middle class, half being recipients of a graduate degree and an additional 19% having a college degree. The investigators focused on the parents' contributions to outside, paid work and unpaid, household work (e.g., childcare, cleaning, cooking). Results from in-depth interviews revealed that men were criticized more for investing too much time at home and not enough on outside work as compared to women. Women were criticized when they placed relatively more importance to work outside the home and were thus perceived as not focusing enough on family. However, in light of such criticism the women in the study also described receiving praise for 'doing it all' (i.e., meeting at-home and out-of-home responsibilities). Men did not report this kind of praise. Both women and men reported receiving the most criticism from members of the same respective gender, in that women were criticized more by other women for not spending

enough time at home and men were criticized more by other men for not devoting enough time to their paid, out of the home work.

Researchers have noted in theoretical and empirical work the negative repercussions stemming from deviations from traditional gender roles. As stated earlier, individuals who violate gender roles are often judged harshly and treated poorly by their more conventional counterparts. Researchers have expanded this idea and considered different areas of psychological importance where attitudes around gender roles may have a significant impact.

Rape

Since the gender socialization process is one that occurs throughout the lifetime and influences a number of social interactions, gender studies and psychological researchers have examined various dynamics that are a part of our social world. Specifically, given the history of inequality among men and women, social scientists have examined the process of gender socialization, and specifically gender roles, to further understand the relationship between women and men. Given the inherent power and authority privy to men, particularly in traditional cultures, the impact of gender socialization is of great relevance. The power bestowed onto men and the docile behavior expected from women has created a landscape for social scientists to investigate different experiences between men and women; investigations which could prove to be of important social bearing.

The history of objectification and violence towards women has initiated theoretical and empirical discussions and exploration of different forms of violence, including sexual assault. More specifically, rape, impact of rape on victims, and societal attitudes towards rape victims, has become a prominent fixture in gender and psychological studies. According to Bechhofer and Parrot (1991), socialization of boys and girls is the culprit behind the rape culture (i.e., a

culture that supports rape myths and subservience of women) in the United States. It has been suggested (e.g. Quackenbush, 1989) that the rape culture in the United States supports rape in both subtle and non-subtle ways in the form of male and female scripts.

Incidents of rape and negative societal attitudes towards rape victims have remained prevalent throughout history (Anderson, Cooper, & Okamura, 1997). A review of the literature reveals that approaches to the study of rape, rape victims, and attitudes towards rape victims have evolved over the decades. What has remained consistent is that rape remains a societal problem in the United States that can have a significant and detrimental impact to both physical and psychological health. Negative psychological problems associated with rape include symptoms of fear, helplessness, shock, disbelief, guilt, humiliation, embarrassment, anger, self-blame, flashbacks, avoidant behavior, depression, sexual dysfunction, insomnia, impaired memory, and increased vulnerability to suicidal ideation and attempts (Meadows, 2010). Potential medical problems rape victims may face include risk of acquiring sexually transmitted diseases, chronic headaches, fatigue, decreased appetite, and eating disorders. Medical issues specific to female victims include risk of pregnancy and menstrual pain (Meadows, 2010). Despite the documentation of such consequences some individuals continue to “misunderstand the tragic consequences of rape and trivialize its horror and pervasiveness” (Anderson, Cooper, & Okamura, 1997, p. 296). Additionally, examination of the traumatic psychological consequences of rape began only in the last few of decades (Petra, 2002).

Rape can occur between strangers or intimate partners of all races, ages, and social classes. While both men and women can be victims of rape, women are more likely to be sexually assaulted in their lifetime (Norris, 1992). In addition, most individuals report having been raped or sexually assaulted as younger and middle-aged adults (Norris, 1992). It is common

for rape victims to know their attacker and to experience a threat to their life, two significant risk factors for developing PTSD (Friedman & Marsella, 2001). Furthermore, rape is one of the most highly stigmatized victimizations as seen in depictions and reflections of rape and rape victims in the media, the community, and the justice system (Kaukinen & DeMaris, 2009).

One survey found 1 in 6 U.S. women and 1 in 33 U.S. men have experienced an attempted or completed rape of any kind as a child and 18% of women and 3% of men have experienced a completed or attempted rape over the course of their lifetime (Meadows, 2010). Currently, the lifetime prevalence of rape and/or attempted rape among college-aged women is somewhere between 21% and 33% (Kalof, 2000; Rozee & Koss, 2001). Additionally, investigations have looked at rape prevalence rates among racial/ethnic groups to further understand this societal problem. Kalof's (2002) study of female sexual victimization among Hispanic, Black, White, and Asian female undergraduates, found Hispanics reported the highest experience (26%) of attempted rape while in college. Prevalence of completed rape while in college was highest among White participants (24%) followed by Hispanic participants (21%), Asian participants (19%), and Black participants (18%). According to the U.S. Department of Justice (2000), the rate of rape among Black women is higher than any other group and they are the most likely to report their experience to the police. While the rates of Latinas being raped are comparable to other racial groups, their rates of reporting are significantly lower (Holzman, 1994; Low & Organista, 2000). These findings suggest that there is more underreporting among Latinas.

Low & Organista (2000) suggest that ethnic loyalty and empathy for racism experienced by Latino men could be two reasons for low reporting among Latinas. Additionally, they suggest that degree of acculturation may temper their reporting. They stipulate that a less acculturated

Latina may be more modest about sexual experiences and less likely to report. Be that as it may, these differences warrant further exploration as perhaps they are indicative of a cultural dynamic that has not been fully examined. Specifically, when it comes to mental health treatment, such cultural differences are important as they can shape a person's psychological perspective.

According to Carter (1995, p. 23), when

“factors that shape one's identity are excluded from the therapeutic process, therapy may be ineffective: it can be difficult to assess the client, to conceptualize the problem, and to form [a] theoretical orientation and be able to see the patient as a unique individual in the context of his or her group membership.”

Definitions of rape and terminology for different kinds of rape have evolved over time. A thorough examination of this evolution is beyond the scope of the current study. Original common law definition of rape was the “unlawful carnal knowledge of a woman, by a man not her husband, without her effective consent” (Torres, 2008, p. 2). Currently, the National Crime Victimization Survey defines rape as “sexual intercourse, including both psychological coercion and physical force” (Meadows, 2010, p. 97). A challenge of examining the rape literature has been the variation in terminology. How scholars define rape can vary from study to study, particularly in studies across decades, making it difficult to compare findings, as what qualifies for rape in one study may not in another. This has been most impactful on the research focusing specifically on the victims of rape.

While research focusing on rape victims is significant and has provided much of the information garnered around the mental health consequences of rape, an equally important area is general societal attitudes towards rape victims particularly in light of the impact negative messages have on the mental health of victims (Ullman and Filipas, 2001; Davis, Brickman, and Baker, 1991).

Psychological impact of rape

Experience of rape is one of the greatest indicators for the development of post-traumatic stress disorder (Acierno, Kilpatrick, & Resnick, 1999; Saxe & Wolfe, 1999; Norris, 1992; Bourdreax, Kilpatrick, Resnick, Best, & Saunders, 1998; Gilboa-Schechtman & Foa, 2001). In the case of rape and sexual violence, the prevalence of PTSD diagnosis has been estimated at 25%-70% of victims (De Girolamo & McFarlane, 2001). In addition, victims are also more likely to endorse other Axis I diagnosis including obsessive compulsive disorder, major depression, and simple phobia (Bourdreaux, Kilpatrick, Resnick, Best, & Saunders, 1998; Gilboa-Schechtman & Foa, 2001; Kaukinen & DeMaris, 2009). As such, research on rape has a significant impact to the mental health community. The findings of Ullman and Filipas (2001) highlight the important and detrimental role negative views can have on rape victims, their recovery, and ultimately the importance of future work in this area.

Ullman and Filipas (2001) studied victim characteristics that could predict PTSD symptomology using a community and college student sample of sexual assault victims. Of their total sample (N=323), approximately half of the participants were White (52%), about 26% were Black, 6% were Hispanic, 6% were Asian/Pacific Islander, and about 10% were bi/multi-racial. They found membership in an ethnic minority group, greater incidence of sexual victimization, and lack of disclosure of sexual victimization to be related to victims' reports of receiving negative social reactions from others regarding their rape. Moreover, negative reactions from others led to increases in the severity of PTSD symptomatology endorsed by rape victims in the study.

In addition, in their study of supportive and unsupportive responses to rape victims, Davis, Brickman, and Baker (1991) found that greater reported amounts of unsupportive behavior and messages was related to poorer adjustment of rape victims. Through qualitative

methods, the researchers asked rape victims to indicate the severity of a variety of symptoms they had experienced post-rape and complete an inventory of supportive and unsupportive behaviors of others experienced by the victim post-rape. Their sample was comprised of 105 adult females of which 60% were Black, 24% were White, and 9% were Hispanic.

A point to draw from these studies is that ambiguous or potentially unsupportive messages received by rape victims, particularly victims of color, increase the likelihood of poorer psychological adjustment and other negative mental health outcomes. This work illustrates that further work in the area of attitudes towards rape victims is warranted given the potential negative mental health consequences associated with poor support. More specifically, the studies suggest that when victims of rape receive increased amounts of unsupportive or negative messages from others, whether it be family, friends, or in some cases law enforcement (Kaukinen & DeMaris, 2009), they are more likely or vulnerable to development of post-traumatic stress disorder, other Axis I disorders, and/or poorer overall adjustment post-rape. When we consider the variety of individuals a rape victim may encounter post-attack (e.g., police, doctors, nurses, social workers, psychologists, family, and friends), the importance of looking at general public views becomes clearer. This comprehensive approach can assist in uncovering potential socio-cultural factors that may shape the attitudes of the countless people victims of rape interact with immediately after their attack and for years to come. Such knowledge can begin to guide future examination on how these attitudes affect communication with rape victims, effectiveness of services rendered, and recovery time of victims.

To provide a framework by which to better assess and investigate attitudes towards rape victims, a brief review of the attitude formation literature is warranted. It lays the foundation for the current study in addressing important questions such as: How flexible or rigid are attitudes?

What factors can impact or influence attitudes? Negative attitudes towards rape victims have permeated society for decades and remain an issue today (Robinson, 2008; Farmer & McMahon, 2005; Bechhofer and Parrot, 1991).

Attitudes

Understanding norms, roles, social groups, organizations, and larger political structures have all been identified as important elements for understanding attitude formation, maintenance, and change (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). The study of attitudes has carved a longstanding place in social science research due to its reach into important issues such as attitude-consistent behavior, social conflict, discrimination and selective perception (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Attitude is defined as “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 1) where the concept of evaluation means “the imputation of some degree of goodness or badness to an entity” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 3). Attitudes emerge only once an evaluative response has taken place (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Evaluative responses include overt and subtle responses that can be cognitive, affective, or behavioral in nature. All evaluative responses produce a psychological tendency to respond with a similar degree of evaluative judgment to similar, future objects.

Evaluative responses create attitudes that fall into three categories: cognitive, affective, and behavioral. Cognitive attitudes are those whereby an individual would have thoughts about an attitude object (i.e., the stimulus being evaluated). Domain relevant information is retrieved and the appraisal is primarily based around cognitions, with emotions playing a secondary role (Edwards, 1990; Millar & Millar, 1990). Affective attitudes describe the experience of an individual having feelings or emotions towards the attitude object. Affective reactions are the primary influence on the individual and the main source of the cognitive appraisal (Edwards,

1990; Millar & Millar, 1990). Relevant information is accessed after the fact to confirm or support the initial attitude. Lastly, behavioral attitudes refer to attitudes that inform an individual's actions towards the attitude object (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Cognitive attitudes are the focus of the current study.

Cognitive evaluations can fall into two categories. They can be covert where they are inferred or perceived. They can also be overt where the individual expresses them directly. Attitudes may be positive, negative, or neutral which allows psychologists to measure them along a continuum. Cognitive attitudes are also conceptualized as beliefs (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Generally, when an attitude object is evaluated positively, individuals are more inclined to associate it with positive attributes. Likewise, when an attitude object is evaluated as negative, individuals are more inclined to associate it with more negative attributes. It is assumed that cognitive attitudes are the product of a cognitive learning process whereby individuals acquire information about an attitude object through various methods, including direct and indirect experience. Beliefs are then formed based on the learned information. If these beliefs are accepted, an attitude is formed (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

According to Katz (1960), attitudes meet psychological needs. One kind of psychological need is referred to as utilitarian function. Utilitarian function provides an explanation for attitude utility in that people can use attitudes to support their own interests and secure positive outcomes and prevent negative ones (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Another function, knowledge function, provides a standard frame of reference which allows people to see the world as a meaningful, stable, organized place (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). The externalization function provides an ego-defensive function that helps people cope with emotional conflicts and defend their self-image (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Under the value-expressive function, attitudes are a means for

expressing personal values and vital aspects of our self-concept. Lastly, the social adjustment function serves to facilitate, maintain, and disrupt relationships. This occurs when individuals either express attitudes agreeable with group norms or incongruous to norms. Unacceptable attitudes threaten relationships while agreeable ones foster and maintain them. While originally attitudes were believed to serve multiple functions simultaneously, they are now believed to generally have a primary function that stands out beyond the rest (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

Attitudes have been understood as a type of schema or cognitive structures of organized knowledge based on prior experience (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Schema allows people to represent and organize information they encounter. Similarly, attitudes allow individuals to organize and simplify their experiences. They “engender meaning upon the world; they draw lines about and segregate an otherwise chaotic environment; they are our method for finding our way about in an ambiguous universe” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 590). This organization and simplification occurs when experiences with an attitude object lead to associations of characteristics and thoughts (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Considering attitudes as analogous to schema suggests that attitude formation follows a comparable information processing method.

Attitudes themselves are not observed but instead inferred from observable responses (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). In the past scholars asserted that attitudes are absolutely learned, but more contemporary scholars (e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1993) contend that the understanding of attitudes should be flexible to include the notion that some attitudes are malleable or can be unlearned. For example, researchers (e.g., Edwards, 1990) have found that affective attitudes may be more vulnerable to persuasion than cognitive attitudes. While it has been argued that attitudes are vulnerable to persuasion in the face of opposing positions, it has also been suggested that attitudes may shift in the absence of attack (Millar & Millar, 1990; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

Cultural truism refers to a body of attitudes that are widely shared within a given culture that are rarely attacked or questioned. Scholars (e.g. Eagly & Chaiken, 1993) challenge the notion that less scrutinized beliefs are less permeable, suggesting instead that because they are less likely to be under attack people have less practice generating information to defend their position. Given the pervasive nature of cultural truisms, individuals are less prepared to defend and ultimately more susceptible to question or alter their position. This shift is not necessarily seamless; if attitudes are linked with an individual's valued reference groups, underlying resistance towards attitudinal change is likely (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Attitudes are considered correct or valid based on the extent that they are in line with the larger group's beliefs, opinion, and attitudes (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). According to Festinger (1957), people have a need to evaluate their beliefs and use others to assist in this process.

Fluctuation in attitudes may be a difficult shift if they are linked with other attitudes and cognitions because such change would also require change of corresponding attitudes and cognitions (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Moreover, Brehm (1966) suggests that when individuals perceive that their freedom to engage in some behavior or maintain a certain attitude is challenged or in jeopardy, they experience a state of reactance where they become motivated to restore their freedom. This may be most relevant in American society, where people's need to be free to adopt a position of their liking is paramount (Stewart & Bennet, 1991). Brehm (1966) suggests that even subtle pressures to adopt new or opposing attitudes can trigger reactance. Nonetheless, a varying degree of flexibility exists in attitude maintenance.

The current study supports the analogous relationship of attitudes and schema. As such, consideration of Bem's gender schema theory helps conceptualize how attitudes may be formed and maintained in respect to gender roles, a primary focus of the study. Her theory provides a

framework for examining the cognitive processing of gender information (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Bem's (1985) gender schema theory describes the process, beginning in childhood, when an individual is able to cognitively encode and organize gender appropriate skills, behaviors, and self-concepts. Gender schemas are cognitive structures consisting of an individual's knowledge and attitudes about gender-related issues (Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995). A gender schema includes knowledge of what being a male or female means, the behaviors associated with each gender, and the cognitions and emotions associated with each (Helgeson, 2002). The more salient or available the schema, the more individuals are expected to attend to, encode, and retrieve gender-related information (Frable & Bem, 1985; Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Gender schema theory describes the process by which we acquire gender roles, *not* the content of those roles (Helgeson, 2002). According to Bem (1981, p. 356),

“...individuals are seen as processing information in terms of and conforming to whatever definitions of masculinity and femininity the culture happens to provide, it is the process of partitioning the world into two equivalence classes on the basis of the gender schema, not the contents of the equivalence classes, that is central to the theory.”

In this way gender roles are conceptualized as dependent and determined by a given culture. This makes gender schema theory the most useful theory for understanding the development of gender socialization across racial/ethnic groups (Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995).

Generally, gender schema theory stipulates that the world is divided into masculine and feminine categories (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). It suggests that children's attention and behaviors are guided by an internal motivation to conform to gender based cultural standards (Levy & Carter, 1989). Gender or sex-typing, as Bem (1981) refers to it, is a result of a schematic process. Gender schematic individuals are those who have generalized readiness to process information on what she refers to as sex-linked categories and endorse preference to this

basis of categorization. On the contrary, individuals who do not use this basis of categorization are referred to as gender aschematic (Deaux & Kite, 1993). The degree to which a person becomes gender-typed depends on their gender socialization history, including preferences, behaviors, and self-concept developed during childhood (Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995).

Frable and Bem (1985) tested the validity of gender schema theory in a two-part study, in which a total of 192 subjects were used. Ninety –six college students were asked to listen to a series of voice recordings while photographs of speakers were simultaneously projected onto a screen. Once they heard all recordings the subjects were presented with verbatim excerpts of the recording and the photographs that had been projected. The participants were asked to match the excerpt with the photograph of the speaker. The other 96 were similarly asked to listen to audio recordings of individuals speaking but they were exposed to photographs of individuals from different racial backgrounds. All participants were asked to complete the Bem Sex-Role Inventory to categorize their degree of gender-typing. Using this scale, gender role classification or gender typing, is based on median splits of masculine and feminine scales. Scores above the median score of both scales are androgynous and scores below are undifferentiated. The authors found that gender-typed individuals were more likely than androgynous or undifferentiated individuals to categorize on the basis of gender.

Levy and Carter (1989) conducted a series of interviews with 83 27-63 month old, White, middle class boys. Using several interview schedules, including parts of the Sex Role Learning Inventory, they found that the children's schematization was related to gender role stereotypes. The children were able to identify differences in gender and activate gender specific schema to then make attribution to different genders via toy preference and selection.

Casas, Wagenheim, Banchemo, and Mendoza-Romero (1994) used Bem's theory of gender schema to understand machismo, the concept of masculinity commonly associated with the Latino culture. They suggest that a child socialized in a traditional Hispanic household with traditional gender roles will assume such roles and preserve what the authors call "macho-oriented" (Casas, Wagenheim, Banchemo, and Mendoza-Romero, 1994, p. 322) beliefs and behaviors in efforts to prevent injury to their self-concept. Such injury could cause distress and manifest itself in mental or health problems for them and their families.

As described above, cognitive attitudes are attitudes where an individual forms thoughts about a stimulus being evaluated. An example of cognitive attitudes is the concept of *rape myths*. Burt (1980) introduced rape myths as a way to describe the prejudicial attitudes associated with rape and rape victims. Rape myths have been used extensively for decades to empirically investigate attitudes towards rape and rape victims.

Rape myths: A way to study attitudes towards rape victims

Despite decades of debate around discussions of rape, and specifically rape victims, it is generally accepted that rape is a complex issue privy to rape myths. It has been argued that endorsement of rape myths negatively impact how individuals view and/or judge rape victims (Burt, 1980; Dye & Roth, 1990). The term rape myth has been used extensively in the psychological research to understand the negative beliefs about rape, and specifically rape victims, held by all members of society. Prior to the conceptualization of rape myths, most research on rape focused exclusively on field work experiences with victims of rape through different kinds of rape crisis support services (Burt, 1991). A meta-analysis conducted by Anderson, Cooper, and Okamura (1997) revealed that prior to the mid-1970s, psychological research on rape was scant. The mid-1970s marked the beginning of an exponential growth in

this area. By 1991, the amount of publications in journals on rape since 1974 had increased by eight times (Anderson, Cooper, and Okamura, 1997).

The work of Burt (1980) was one of the first of its kind, creating a shift in the rape literature to highlight the need to also examine how societal structures support victimization of women and the tendency to excuse perpetrators and blame victims. The notion of rape myths created a mechanism to understand popular negative societal beliefs about rape victims and how they operate (Burt, 1991). Burt (1991, p.26, italics added) has defined rape myths as “prejudicial, stereotypes, or false beliefs about rape, *rape victims*, or rapists.” Low and Organista (2000) argue that rape myths emerge from traditional gender roles and values within a given culture. Examples of rape myths are beliefs such as “a woman who consents to going to a man’s apartment also consents to sex” and “only promiscuous women get raped” (Burt, 1980, p. 217). Rape myths have been linked to one’s definition of rape whereby the stronger the endorsement of rape myths the more restrictive the definition of rape (Burt, 1991). This restrictiveness may lend itself to harsher views towards victims of rape.

Burt (1980, 1991) has suggested four classifications of rape myths. First, there are those beliefs that endorse the idea that “nothing happened” (i.e., no rape occurred). Such rape myths suggest that women make up rape accusations in an effort to cover up refusals or rejections by men. These kinds of rape myths also include the idea that the accusations are based on wishful thinking that the men desired them. Essentially, the “nothing happened” rape myths contend that rape is often the sheer fantasy of the female victims. The second category of rape myths supports the notion that “no harm was done” to the alleged victim. This idea acknowledges that while sex did occur, no harm was intended. In these cases, rape is minimized to being “just sex” with no force, violence, humiliation, or life-threatening nature to it. Such beliefs are based on the notion

that women are seen as sexually available, with no legitimate right to refuse sexual advances. In addition, this group of myths supports perceptions that only “bad girls” (i.e., those that deviate from female gender roles of being sexually modest) are raped (Dye & Roth, 1990). The third group of myths can be colloquially described as “she wanted it,” suggest that women want, invite, or like the experience of coerced sex. These myths are deeply rooted in a cultural idea that a woman “never means no.” The fourth group of myths refutes rape on the basis that the woman deserved or did something to provoke the forced sex. In this case it is acknowledged that forced sex occurred, however the onus of responsibility falls on the woman. As a result, the rape is negated as it was the victim’s fault. Flirting, being considered “a tease,” dressing attractively, entering the assailant’s apartment, working late night shifts, or engaging in kissing, petting or any other close physical contact leads to the notion that the forced sex was the victim’s fault as she led on the assailant (Burt, 1991; Dye & Roth, 1990).

Rape myths are often activated at rape trials. Rape myths are activated by the introduction of topics such as sexual history (Donovan, 2007), drinking, and dress (Burt, 1991) in efforts to influence juries’ perceptions of rape victims. The goal is to present the woman as sexually promiscuous or provocative, thus culpable for the rape or to dismiss that a rape even occurred. Despite restrictions implemented by rape shield laws, this information is nonetheless brought up in various ways and is often successful in encouraging scrutiny of a female victim (Burt, 1991). In legal proceedings, jurors are often reluctant to make a conviction if it is revealed that the woman went to the perpetrator’s home, invited him into her home, or used/s substances (i.e. drugs, alcohol) (Roze & Koss, 2001; Lefley, Scott, Llabre, & Hicks, 1993).

The role of rape myths in trials illustrates the importance of research looking at attitudes towards rape victims since such beliefs can be erroneous and have a substantial impact on

victims (Edward & Macleod, 1999). Beyond studying rape myths within the context of trials, researchers have also tested Burt's (1980) concept of rape myths from other perspectives to gain an understanding of the contextual factors that may influence attitudes towards rape victims. One approach that has garnered considerable focus is examination of gender differences in attitudes towards rape victims. This line of research led to research examining gender role attitudes as a more comprehensive manner in which to understand gender. Gender role attitudes have maintained a prominent place in contemporary rape literature (Anderson, Cooper, & Okamura, 1997).

Rape myths and gender

Gender has been found to have a significant influence on attitudes towards rape victims in a number of studies (Anderson, Cooper, Okamura, 1997). In general, research has found men to be more likely to hold more false beliefs about rape (i.e., rape myths), to more often blame victims of rape, and to show less empathy to rape victims (Anderson, Cooper, Okamura, 1997; Nagel, Matsuo, McIntyre, and Morrison, 2005; Lee et al, 2005; Fonow, Richardson, & Wemmerus, 1992; Schaefer Hinck & Thomas, 1999; Aosved & Long, 2006; Foley et al., 1995; Harrison, Howerton, Secarea & Nguyen, 2008). Scholars (e.g. Foley et al., 1995) have suggested that perhaps the reason males are more likely than females to blame a female for being sexually assaulted comes from an attitude that men are unable to control their sexual urges and as a result, a woman is responsible to protect her chastity as well as the behavior of her dates.

Jimenez and Abreu (2003) conducted a study looking at perceptions of rape among White and Latino undergraduate students. Their sample was comprised of 165 Latino (80 men and 85 women) and 171 White (80 men and 91 women) undergraduate students. The Latino sample was predominantly of Mexican descent with a smaller percentage representing other ethnic

backgrounds from Central and South America and the Caribbean. Using the Rape Empathy Scale (1982), the Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale (Ward, 1988), and the Rape Myths Acceptance Scale (Burt, 1980), they found men to report more rape-tolerant attitudes (i.e., endorse more rape myths) and attribute more victim blame as compared to women in the study. While women in the sample generally endorsed less rape myths and held more positive attitudes towards victims, examination by race indicated higher rape myth endorsement among Latinas in the sample.

Nagel, Matsuo, McIntyre, and Morrison (2005) looked at gender differences in their study focused on attitudes towards victims of rape. Their sample was comprised of 104 males and 101 females of which approximately 78% were White and 23% were Black. The age of participants ranged from 18 to over 80 years old and the majority of the sample had at least a college degree. Using the Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale (Ward, 1988), they found that the men in the sample were significantly less sympathetic of victims of rape as compared to females in the sample. Further analysis revealed that Black men held the least sympathetic views, followed by White males, Black women, and lastly White women.

Johnson, Kuck, and Schander (1997) studied the relationship between gender and attitudes towards rape and rape victims. Their sample was made up of 149 undergraduates (approximately 42% female and 58% male) of which about 79% were White, about 19% were Black, and the rest were identified as “other.” Through analysis of self-administered instruments, the authors found that a great portion of the sample endorsed rape myths that blamed the victim. More specifically, in terms of gender, they found that a greater proportion of males endorsed rape myths and were more likely to blame the victim as they believed that rape can be prevented as long as women do not provoke the attack, that women secretly want to be raped, and that a women’s past reputation is an important factor in assigning blame and culpability. About half of

the male participants, as compared to about 25% of females, were also more likely to deny the female's experience of victimization, believing that men have sexual urges they cannot control. About 32% of male participants, compared to 15% of female participants, believed that a man has the right to sexual intercourse if a female allows any kind of sexual contact. The authors concluded that men may be more likely to believe in rape myths that blame the victim and justify sexual aggressiveness.

Kopper (1996) investigated the relationship between gender, rape myth acceptance, and attitudes around victim blaming. She used a sample of 534 undergraduate students of which 355 were female and 179 were male. The sample was predominantly White (94%), followed by African American (2%), Asian (1%), Hispanic (1%), and the last 1% was comprised of individuals identified as "other race." They were provided with a rape scenario and then asked to complete a number of measures including the Rape Myths Acceptance Scale and the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. As expected, she found that women in the sample endorsed less rape myths as compared to men. In addition, men and women found to endorse less rape myths were also less likely to blame rape victims, more likely to blame the perpetrator, and less likely to believe the attack could have been prevented.

Contrary results have also been noted. For instance, Schwartz and Lundgren (1989) investigated gender differences around victim blaming and culpability. Their sample consisted of 91 females and 89 males from a medium-sized Midwestern university. They were asked to read a scenario and complete a series of measures including the Attitudes towards Rape Victim Scale (ARVS). Demographic breakdown of the sample was not provided. They found that 85% of the sample did not blame the victim in the scenario and there were no significant gender differences. The last finding in particular was contrary to the large body of research indicating significant

gender differences in attitudes towards rape victims. While there were no significant differences, males did however place more blame and responsibility on the victim depicted in the scenario than females, with the authors suggesting future examination of gender role attitudes as possibly a clearer indicator of potential differences.

Burczyk and Standing (1989) examined gender and its relationship to attitudes towards rape victims. They used a sample of 144 undergraduate students of which 72 were male and 72 were female. No other demographic information was provided. They presented participants with profiles (i.e., vignettes) of female and male victims of rape and profiles of females and males who were not victims. Participants were then asked to rate the profiles using the Bem Sex Role Inventory which includes descriptors such as “ambitious”, “strong personality”, “promiscuous”, and “irresponsible.” The authors found that rape victim profiles were not rated lower by men when compared to females as was expected. In addition, male participants rated female rape victim profiles more positively than female non-victims. The authors suggested that this contradictory finding suggested a ‘sympathy effect’ on behalf of the men in the sample.

Gender roles and rape myths

Reliance on gender as a demographic variable does not capture the complexity of the gender socialization process and learned gender roles. A shift to the use of gender role attitudes is found in the literature, as it pertains to understanding attitudes towards rape victims.

Traditional gender role attitudes have been found to be an important correlate of support of rape myths among men and women (Burt, 1991; Anderson, Cooper, & Okamura, 1997). Some scholars (e.g. Ulloa, Jaycox, Skinner, & Orsburn, 2008) suggest that traditional gender roles of male dominance and female submissiveness create an unequal power dynamic that can lead to aversive behaviors, including dating physical and/or sexual abuse. Researchers (e.g., Jimenez

and Abreu, 2003; Lefley, Scott, Llabre, & Hicks, 1993, Anderson, Cooper, & Okamura, 1997) have also suggested that cultural beliefs of masculine and feminine gender roles may be significant factors for understanding attitudes towards rape and rape victims in the United States. In addition, conservative gender role beliefs have been correlated with sexual coercion by male partners (Marin & Gomez, 1996).

Munge, Pomerantz, Pettibone, and Falconer (2007) investigated the influence of gender roles around fidelity on perceptions of marital rape among 160 female college students from a Midwestern university. Approximately 72% of the sample was comprised of White students, about 18% were Black, about 3% Asian, about 1% Hispanic, and approximately 4% self-identified racially as “other.” Participants were presented with rape vignettes between a husband and wife and asked to determine whether the wife or the husband was responsible for the rape. When the wife was depicted as unfaithful (i.e., violating gender roles), participants found her to be more responsible for the rape as compared to the scenario of the faithful wife. On the other hand, fidelity status was not found to have a significant effect on perceptions of the husband’s responsibility.

Harrison, Howerton, Secarea, and Nguyen (2008) studied the effect of gender role violations on attitudes towards rape victims with 123 college students (61 women and 57 men) from a northern California university. The sample was made up of 48 White students, 5 Black, 23 Asian, 16 Hispanic, 7 multi-racial, and 19 who self-identified as “other race.” They found that after reading a vignette where the female rape victim violated gender roles (i.e. was promiscuous, intoxicated), participants endorsed more negative views against her as compared to vignettes where the female rape victim conformed to gender roles (i.e. was sexually chaste).

Both of these studies highlight the expectations of female and male behavior and the judgment made when normative behavior is violated.

Quackenbush (1989) studied gender role attitudes and perceptions of rape and rape victims. The sample was comprised of 90 college males from universities in the state of Washington. Using the Bem Sex-Role Inventory the sample was divided into masculine, undifferentiated, and androgynous (i.e., neutral, socially desirable) gender-typed categories. The author also used vignettes and the Rape Responsibility Questionnaire (1981) and the Rape-supportive attitude scale of Burt's (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance instrument. Results indicated that masculine and undifferentiated gender-types endorsed more rape supportive attitudes and the undifferentiated group indicated that the victim in the vignette was responsible for the attack more so than the other two groups. Masculine gender-typed participants also held the victim more accountable than androgynous gender-typed males.

In their study of the relationship between gender and attitudes towards rape and rape victims, Johnson, Kuck, and Schander (1997) also assessed the impact of gender role. With their sample of 149 undergraduates (approximately 42% female and 58% male; 79% were White, about 19% were Black, and the rest identified as "other") and through analysis of self-administered measurements, they found traditional gender roles were related to views of rape and victims. More specifically, they found that greater endorsement of traditional gender roles were associated with greater adherence to rape myths and increased victim blaming. Nearly 30% of the traditional gender role participants, including males and females, believed that a rape victim could have prevented the attack compared to roughly 7% of the sample that endorsed more liberal gender roles. In addition, around 46% of the traditional gender role sample agreed that men have sexual urges they cannot resist compared to 21% of the liberal portion of the sample.

Lastly, about 32% of the traditional gender role sample agreed that a man has a right to sexual intercourse if a female allows any sexual contact as compared to 9% of the liberal sample. This study highlights how more salient gender roles can be to the discussion of attitudes towards rape victims, above and beyond simply looking at gender.

While several studies have found gender roles to be a significant predictor of attitudes towards rape victims, others have found slightly contrary results. For example, Szymanski, Devlin, Chrisler, and Vyse (1993) examined if gender roles were related to attitudes towards rape with a sample of 528 undergraduates from a college in the Northeast. While they did not provide any racial/ethnic demographic information, the authors stated that the college has a minority population of 12.5%. Using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), the Attitudes towards Women Scale (Spence et al., 1973), the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Burt, 1980), and the Attitudes towards Rape Questionnaire (Fields, 1978), they found that gender, not gender role endorsement, predicted attitudes towards rape, rape myth endorsement, and rape victims. Men had more negative attitudes towards woman and stronger rape myth beliefs and attributed greater blame to rape victims as they were more likely to believe the victim had done something to provoke the incident when compared to females. Men were also more likely to view the female less favorably after the attack.

Kopper's (1996) investigation of the relationship between gender, rape myth acceptance, and attitudes around victim blaming also measured the extent to which participants endorsed traditional gender role attitudes. Again, her sample included 534 undergraduate students of which 355 were female, and 179 were male. The sample was predominantly White (94%), followed by African American (2%), Asian (1%), Hispanic (1%), and the last 1% was comprised of individuals identified as "other race." Participants completed a number of quantitative

measures, including the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, after reading a written rape vignette. She found that traditional gender role endorsement, among male and female participants, did not predict increased blame of rape victims as expected. The author suggested that findings might be the result of an issue with the measures, noting that one of the measures was recently revised and perhaps not privy to extensive use. She recommended further research regarding the relationship between gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims using a varied set of measures and assessment tools. Like other studies with similar findings, Kopper used the Bem Sex-Role Inventory published in 1974. Kopper's note about the examining measurement may be indicative of the need to assess whether commonly used measures of gender roles are still relevant. Furthermore, it lends itself to a charge for researchers to use more relevant, culturally-appropriate measurements.

While these studies have taken slightly different approaches in their use of gender role attitudes to understand attitudes towards rape victims, they provide some support of the impact of gender roles. We can generally contend that perceived violations of gender norms by women leads to more negative and less empathetic views towards them as victims of rape. A shortcoming of this area of research is that gender roles are often operationalized and measured in different ways. More consistent approaches should be applied when measuring gender roles to offer a better point of comparison. In addition, researchers should be mindful of the cultural relevance of gender role measures for different racial/ethnic groups. Considering the growing body of research suggesting racial/ethnic differences in gender role socialization and attitudes (e.g., Casas, Wagenheim, Banchemo & Mendoza-Romero, 1994; Kane, 2000; Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002; Bree & Tickamy, 1995; Hill & Sprague, 1999; De Leon, 1995; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004), research using gender role attitudes to examine attitudes towards rape victims

should make greater efforts to recruit samples accordingly and employ culturally-relevant measures. It is important to keep in mind that psychological researchers and scholars have been charged ethically and professionally to focus research attention to matters of race and ethnicity in the promotion of social justice in the field (American Psychological Association; Sue and Sue, 1999).

Latino/a attitudes towards rape victims

While research has generally considered the impact of gender roles among the Latino population, much of the research focusing specifically on gender roles and rape attitudes have been based on measurements of gender attitudes normed on White American samples (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004) and representations of Latinos in these samples are relatively limited (De Leon, 1993). This is problematic because even slight differences in the meaning and ascription of gender roles can lead to misleading findings, resulting in a conundrum of determining real or any differences among groups (Gibbons, Hamby, & Dennis, 1997). In addition, most research on gender attitudes including Latinos in their samples assume homogeneity among all Latinos and do not account for variations in beliefs based on a variety of variables, including demographics and measurements of acculturation (Leaper & Valin, 1996). From a socialization perspective, the empirical study of how Latino-based cultural beliefs translate to gender socialization remains in its infancy (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Scholars (e.g., Villarruel, 1998) have identified however, socio-cultural factors such as gender roles as important links to be studied in examining sexual behaviors, and ultimately rape and attitudes towards rape victims, among Latinos. Despite the body of research highlighting machismo and marianismo, empirically or theoretically, in the Latino psychological literature there is an absence of their use in predicting attitudes towards victims of rape. Given the evidence of the relationship between attitudes towards rape victims

and gender role endorsement using more Eurocentric approaches to gender roles, one can argue that more culturally relevant concepts of gender should be applied to add to this area of research. It is prudent for researchers to conduct more work with Latino populations to fully understand this phenomenon from a more culturally competent perspective, also considering which instruments are more appropriate for this population.

While research looking specifically at gender roles among Latinos and attitudes towards rape victims is limited in scope, there is work examining gender roles and Latinos in different, related areas. This body of work begins to highlight the unique salience of gender roles among the Latino population. For instance, Ulloa et al. (2008) studied attitudes about violence and dating among Latino/a adolescents. The sample was comprised of 869 participants with ties to Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central America, and South America. Using the Acceptance of Dating Violence Scale (2000), items from the Bidimensional Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (1996), and an author derived scale for gender role egalitarianism, the authors found that males were more likely to endorse dating norms accepting violence or abuse. They also held fewer gender egalitarian views when compared to the female participants.

Noland (2006) conducted a study examining the relationship between gender roles and communication about sex. The sample was comprised of 17 Puerto Rican male and 25 Puerto Rican females. The sample age ranged from 19-56 with a mean age of 26. The sample also ranged in terms of socioeconomic status and partnership status (i.e., single, married, divorced, widowed). The investigator found that gender roles significantly affected communication about sex among participants. In addition, subjects reported that gender roles influenced their cognitions and expression about sex. The role of machismo and marianismo was a reoccurring theme across surveys, with the importance of virginity noted.

In regards to the use of gender roles to investigate attitudes towards rape, which is the focus of the current study, Cowan and Campbell (1995) suggested that cultural and ethnic variations in beliefs about the causes of rape need to be more fully understood in terms of the function gender roles play in a given culture and understood within the context of sexuality of that particular culture. The limited nature of empirical research in this area represents a gap in the literature examining racial/ethnic differences in attitudes towards rape victims. While Latinos may be included in data samples, they are rarely the group of interest or one of the main groups of interest as they are in the few studies noted above. While there is some support theoretically or anecdotally of a possible relationship, the closing of this empirical gap is slow moving. While still in its fledgling stages, there is some, albeit limited, research that has dedicated some focus to attitudes towards rape victims and gender role attitudes among Latinos.

Lefley, Scott, Llabre, & Hicks (1993) investigated attitudes towards victims of rape using an author derived scale of sexuality and rape with a sample of African American, Hispanic, and White females from a rape treatment center. Hispanic participants were found to be most punitive towards the victims in the vignette. In addition, they found Hispanics to attribute the most victim blaming beliefs to their ethnic communities and White the least. In an effort to understand the findings, the authors suggest that traditional gender role socialization commonly attributed to Hispanics could explain their findings. In other words, perhaps the Hispanic participants in the study adhered to more traditional gender role attitudes resulting in their more punitive and less empathetic attitudes towards rape victims.

In addition, Jimenez and Abreu (2003) investigated attitudes towards victims of rape among a sample of White and Latino college students. Using the Rape Empathy Scale (1982), the Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale (Ward, 1988), and the Rape Myths Acceptance Scale

(Burt, 1980), the authors found that White women in the sample had more positive attitudes towards victims of rape and held less rape myths when compared to Latinas in the study.

Similarly to Lefley et al., (1993), the authors believed that the ethnic differences were related to more traditional gender role attitudes commonly linked to the Latino culture.

Others have found different results. For example, Fischer (1987) looked at differences among Hispanic and White male and female students regarding attitudes towards rape and rape victims. The sample was comprised of 200 White students and 90 Hispanic students. By way of self-administered, author derived and standing instruments the author found a relationship between gender roles, acculturation, and attitudes towards rape and its victims. More assimilated Hispanic women tended to be subject to less traditional gender role attitudes and were less likely to engage in victim blaming. Bicultural/bilingual Hispanic men were least likely to blame a male rape perpetrator but held similar views about rape (i.e., more accepting of act) in general similar to more assimilated Hispanics as compared to White men. While potentially informative, one of the difficulties in interpreting these results is that author derived measures and operationalization of acculturation and gender roles entertain the question of validity of the items.

Of relevance is the fact that the Latino population has grown exponentially in the United States and is projected to grow even further (Abriando-Lanza, Vasquez, & Echeverria, 2004), with recent estimates projecting that by the year 2020, more than one out of every five children in the United States will be of Latino origin. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1999). It has been documented that the experience of Latinos in the United States is unique given that they are racially and ethnically heterogeneous, experience different modes of entry into the United States, contend with varying acculturation issues related to language and generation status, and experience different stressors or challenges based on immigration status (Marger,

2006; Borrell, 2005). In addition, the conflict around balancing both Latino and American values has been documented (Phinney, et. al., 1990; Bianchi, Zea, Poppen, Reisen, & Echeverry, 2004). Despite evidence of the heterogeneity of the Latino population, most research on Latinos treats them as a cohesive group and often uses Mexican/Mexican-American samples (Gomez, 2000). While there is a great amount of research in the area of attitudes towards rape victims, most of the research in this area has focused on the attitudes of White college women with less known about Latinas (Littleton, Breitkopf, & Berenson, 2007). This is important as Latinas are the group with the lowest rape reporting rates of any other racial/ethnic group (Holzman, 1994; Low & Organista, 2000). While empirically inconclusive, there may be cultural factors influencing reporting patterns that ultimately can influence overall attitudes towards rape victims.

Given the documented relationship between gender roles and attitudes towards rape victims and suggestions as to the unique way gender socialization occurs and is manifested among Latinos it appears that there is an empirical gap to be addressed. There is an absence in the literature around the concepts of gender roles among Latinos and its potential impact on attitudes towards rape. The current study aims to address this gap by utilizing a more culturally sensitive measurement for gender roles in investigating the relationship between gender roles and attitudes towards victims of rape among Latinos. Using instruments with great cultural salience best assesses the domains and elements that are relevant for a particular culture (Gibbons, Hamby, & Dennis, 1997). A more culturally-relevant approach to understand gender roles among Latinos is to examine the notions of machismo and marianismo as measures of gender role endorsement.

Statement of the Problem

While gender socialization, specifically gender roles attitudes, has garnered considerable attention, less effort is evidenced in the examination of gender role attitudes from a more culturally appropriate approach (Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Kane, 2000; De Leon, 1993; McHugh & Hanson Frieze, 1997; Vogel, Heimerdinger-Edwards, Hammer, & Hubbard, 2011). This is problematic given recommendations for “a healthy level of criticism” around methodology and operationalization in research with diverse groups (McKean Skaff, Chesla, de los Santos Mycue, & Fisher, 2002, p. 306). It has been noted that attitudes associated with one’s gender are some of the most salient parts of one’s identity (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). Thus, gender has been used to understand a variety of constructs in social, clinical, and counseling psychology research. One specific area that has used gender quite extensively is research focusing on attitudes towards rape victims. Research has indicated that there is a relationship between gender roles and attitudes towards rape victims in that greater report of egalitarian views are related to greater empathy for rape victims (Harrison, Howerton, Secarea, & Nguyen, 2008; Quackenbush, 1989; Munge, Pomerantz, Pettibone, & Falconer, 2007). While the body of research in this area is substantial, there are gaps that warrant further study.

First, people of color often represent small percentages, if even present, in studies (De Leon, 1993). Given the evidence of differences in gender attitudes, further work needs to be done to consider differences between racial/ethnic groups. “Research assumptions that are based on one segment of society cannot remain the rule if researchers accept the heterogeneity of society in general and American society in particular” (Reid, Haritos, Kelly, Holland, 1995, p. 94). There is a growing body of research (e.g., Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002; Bree & Tickamyer, 1995; Hill & Sprague, 1999; Kane, 2000; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004) that has found

differences in gender attitudes among different racial/ethnic groups. Most research however compares Whites and Blacks, with groups such as Latinos often being ignored. This is striking given that there is considerable evidence alluding to greater traditional gender roles among Latinos as compared to Black and White Americans and that such views have been associated with attitudes towards rape and other related constructs.

In a similar vein, Latinas have the lowest rates of rape reporting even though their experience of being raped is comparable to other racial/ethnic groups (Holzman, 1994; Low & Organista, 2000). As well, Latinas subscribe to more rape myths and depending on degree of acculturation level, may not even classify a sexual assault as rape even when it fits the legal definition (Low & Organista, 2000). This is important to the field of psychology as victims' hesitance to report their experiences of rape has been linked to detrimental mental health implications (Meadows, 2010). Given the statistics on reporting, this may be even more problematic for Latinas. This warrants further exploration, by way of examining Latino/a attitudes towards rape victims, to investigate whether there are cultural reasons for resistance to report and ultimately receive services needed to assist in both the physical and mental health recovery of such an experience. For instance, Low and Organista (2000) have hypothesized that ethnic loyalty and empathy for Latino men may play a role in Latinas' low rate of reporting rape.

In addition, considering that gender attitude measurements are traditionally based on White American norm groups and based on White American values, it is unclear whether the current research on gender attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims fully captures the beliefs of their participants of color (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004), and in the case of the current study Latino attitudes (De Leon, 1993). "Providing systematic scientific evidence regarding women's and men's role choices and attitudes requires the development and

systematic use of reliable and valid measures of gender-role attitudes” (McHugh & Hanson Frieze, 1997, p. 13). As culture of origin varies, so does the meaning of gender and the construction of gender roles (Brown, 1986). Furthermore, when studies have included Latinos/as in their sample, they often treat this portion of the sample as a homogenous group despite evidence of the heterogeneity of the Latino community. In addition, little research has examined Latinos’ attitudes towards attitudes of rape while accounting for differences in acculturation, a factor that has been suggested for use in research with Latinos as it accounts for significant differences in those attitudes and beliefs. It is important to capture the nuanced complexity of acculturation as well, in order to utilize it as an effective, multifaceted tool to understand differences in Latinos and their attitudes.

Researching attitudes towards rape victims has a direct contribution to the field of psychology. Scholars have found that when victims receive negative messages from family, friends, and their greater community they are more likely to develop greater self-blame for their attack and are more likely to develop post-traumatic stress symptomology. This suggests there is a relationship between attitudes towards rape victims and negative mental health outcomes. As a result, research on attitudes towards rape can provide insight into one of the mechanisms that can potentially buffer or exacerbate symptoms and help in the consideration of appropriate interventions for rape victims. Findings could potentially identify issues that need to be addressed in psychoeducational groups, family therapy, couples counseling and individual treatment. In addition, results could provide suggestions for the creation of conditions what could facilitate and encourage disclosure and recovery of victims (Smith & Cook, 2008). “Culturally competent rape services acknowledge the lived experience of the Latina victim while clarifying both the conflicts and benefits of biculturality” (Low & Organista, 2000, p. 145). Scholars (e.g.

Ulloa et al., 2008) have already identified the importance of identifying cultural correlates of dating abuse and violence. Such work would assist in identifying groups at risk for such victimization and the possibility of creating more responsive prevention programs. In addition, researchers (e.g. Smith & Cook, 2008) have suggested that future work be done in identifying the influence of cultural and societal messages about sexuality and the possible effects of negative messages. The current study hoped to close some of the gaps in the current body of research.

This study aimed to examine gender role attitudes and its relationship to attitudes towards rape victims. Acculturation, conceptualized as a two-dimensional process, was included as a potential moderator to this relationship. The main research hypotheses for the study were as follows:

- **Hypothesis 1a.** Higher levels of female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo) will be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Lower levels of female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo) will be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims.
- **Hypothesis 1b.** Acculturation will moderate the relationship between female gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. More specifically, this relationship is expected to be stronger for participants who endorse greater degrees of acculturation.
- **Hypothesis 1c.** Higher levels of conflict around female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo-conflict) will be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Lower levels of conflict around female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo-conflict) will be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims.
- **Hypothesis 1d.** Acculturation will moderate the relationship between conflict around female gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. More specifically, this

relationship is expected to be stronger for participants who endorse greater degrees of acculturation.

- **Hypothesis 2a.** Higher levels of machismo male gender role attitudes will be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Lower levels of machismo male gender role attitudes will be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims.
- **Hypothesis 2b.** Acculturation will moderate the relationship between machismo male gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. More specifically, this relationship is expected to be stronger for participants who endorse greater degrees of acculturation.
- **Hypothesis 2c.** Higher levels of caballerismo male gender role attitudes will be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Lower levels of caballerismo male gender role attitudes will be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims.
- **Hypothesis 2d.** Acculturation will moderate the relationship between caballerismo male gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. More specifically, this relationship is expected to be stronger for participants who endorse greater degrees of acculturation.

Additional questions examined for each gender were:

- **Question 1.** Will higher levels of socioeconomic status be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims? Will lower levels of socioeconomic status be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims?

- **Question 2.** Will ethnicity (i.e., ethnic region) be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims?
- **Question 3.** Will higher levels of social desirability be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims? Will lower levels of social desirability be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims?

Chapter III

Method

The online version of the survey used for the current study was constructed using SurveyMonkey, an online survey site. SurveyMonkey offers SSL (secure sockets layer) encryption, technology used to protect private information exchanged via the internet and works through a cryptographic system to secure a connection between the survey respondent and a server (Survey Monkey, 1999-2011). The current study aimed to utilize the online version of the survey given research on participants' likelihood to disclose. For example, in their study of college students' willingness to disclose information, Hancock, Thom-Santelli and Ritchie (2004) found that participants lied most during telephone interactions (37%), followed by face-to-face contact (27%), instant messaging (21%), and lastly email (14%). They speculate that this finding supported the idea that perceived distance decreases discomfort that can be associated with lying. Similarly, Ross, Rosser, Coleman, and Mazina (2006) found that although individuals may feel freer to be dishonest in daily online interactions, individuals are more likely to be truthful in online, research interactions.

In the current study, the web-based interface linked participants in the current study to the survey via a link that was distributed primarily in electronic mail format. A total of 929 individuals logged on to the online version of the survey. Of the 929 participants, 666 individuals completed the study in its entirety and identified their race or ethnicity as Latino/Hispanic. These online participants were included in the analysis. Additionally, 73 participants, identifying themselves racially or ethnically as Latino/Hispanic, completed the paper and pencil version of the survey. Of the total 739 participants, 312 were male and 427 were female.

Participants

Seven hundred and thirty-nine adults participated in this study, 42.2% ($n=312$) were male and 57.8% ($n= 427$) identified as female. Participants' age ranged from 18 to 67 years with a mean age of 29.24 ($SD=8.74$). As separate measures were used to measure gender roles, the data set was split by gender with all preliminary and main analysis conducted separately.

Female sample characteristics. All demographic information for the female sample can be found in Table 1. Some ethnic groups had less than two participants per cell; therefore regional ethnic group categories were constructed for the purposes of analysis. This categorization allowed for exploration of differences along ethnic identification and has been used in other studies (e.g., Borrell, 2005). Categories were created along geographic locations of Latin American countries. More specifically, participants who identified themselves ethnically as Puerto Rican, Cuban or Dominican were grouped into the Caribbean group; participants who identified an ethnic background originating in a country between Mexico and Panama were grouped into the Central American group; and participants who identified as Colombian or an ethnic background originating in a country east or south of Colombia were grouped into the South American group. Those who identified ethnically as American or indicated a multi-ethnic Latino background were grouped in the USA/Multi-ethnic Latino group. Approximately 36.4% ($n=155$) of the female sample comprised the Central American regional ethnic group, 32.9% ($n=140$) of the sample comprised the Caribbean group, 16.9% ($n=72$) of the sample comprised the USA/Multi-ethnic Latino group, and 12.9% ($n=55$) of the sample comprised the South American regional ethnic group.

The majority of female participants self-reported their race as Hispanic/Latino (90.6%, $n=386$). The second largest racial designation was Bi/Multi-racial (6.1%, $n=26$), followed by White (3.1%, $n=13$), and Black (.2%, $n=1$). Self-designations were selected from a list of pre-

determined categories based on racial categories. While Hispanic/Latino is generally not considered a race, it was listed as a race option in the current study given the literature (e.g., Amaro & Zambrano, 2000; Mays et al., 2003; Borrell, 2005) noting the complexity and inconsistency around racial identification within the Latino population and in an effort to provide more options for participants. A majority of female participants identified as second generation (58.2%, $n=248$) meaning they were born in the U.S. by immigrant parents. The next largest group was first generation (25.4%, $n=108$) meaning they were born outside of the U.S. Participants who were third generation comprised 11% ($n=47$) of the sample and fourth generation or higher participants comprised 5.4% ($n=23$) of the sample.

Most participants self-reported a socioeconomic status of either working class (46.7%, 199) or middle class (46%, $n=196$). A little over 4% of the sample identified as lower/poor class (4.5%, $n=19$), followed by 2.8% of the sample ($n=12$) identifying as upper class.

Female participants had a fair amount of education. The majority of respondents (24.6%, $n=105$) had earned a college degree, 23.9% ($n=102$) had some college, 18.8% ($n=80$) earned a master's degree, 12.7% ($n=54$) had some graduate school, 6.8% ($n=29$) earned a high school diploma, 5.6% ($n=24$) had a doctorate degree, 4% ($n=17$) had an associate's degree, 2.3% ($n=10$) had some other professional/terminal degree, .5% ($n=2$) had a general educational diploma, .5% ($n=2$) were eighth grade graduates, and .2% ($n=1$) of participants attended high school but did not receive any diploma. The majority of female participants reported their marital status as single and/or engaged (65.3%, $n=278$). The next largest group identified themselves as married/having a domestic partner/cohabitating (28.9%, $n=123$). A little over 5% (5.9%, $n=25$) of the sample identified as separated/divorced/widowed.

Lastly, female participants represented all geographical regions of the country, with the largest percentage of respondents (54.2%, $n=231$) coming from the Northeast region (e.g., Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware). About 16% (16.7%, $n=71$) of the sample represented the Western region (e.g., California, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii), 15.7% ($n=67$) represented the Southern region (e.g., Texas, Florida, Georgia, Virginia), and 11.5% ($n=49$) of the female sample represented the Midwestern region (e.g., Illinois, Nebraska, Montana, Ohio).

Male sample characteristics. All demographic information for the female sample can be found in Table 2. Similar to the female sample, some ethnic groups among the male sample had less than two participants per cell; therefore regional ethnic group categories were constructed for the purposes of analysis. Following the same categorization pattern, the majority of the male sample comprised the Caribbean regional ethnic group (41.2%, $n=129$). A little over 205 (20.4%, $n=64$) of male participants made up the Central American group, followed by about 18% (18.8%, $n=59$) comprising the South American group. About 18% (17.9%, $n=56$) of the male sample comprised the USA/Multi-ethnic group.

The majority of male participants self-reported their race as Hispanic/Latino (89.5%, $n=280$). The second largest racial designation was Bi/Multi-racial (5.8%, $n=18$), followed by White (4.5%, $n=14$), and Black (.3%, $n=1$). As with the female sample, self-designations were selected from a list of pre-determined categories based on racial categories. As with the female sample, while Hispanic/Latino is generally not considered a race, it was listed as a race option in the current study given the literature (e.g., Amaro & Zambrano, 2000; Mays et al., 2003; Borrell, 2005) noting the complexity and inconsistency around racial identification within the Latino population and in an effort to provide more options for participants.

A majority of male participants identified as second generation (57.8%, $n=181$) meaning they were born in the U.S. by immigrant parents. The next largest group was first generation (30.4%, $n=95$) meaning they were born outside of the U.S. Participants who were third generation comprised 8.6% ($n=27$) of the sample, and fourth generation or higher participants comprised 3.2% ($n=10$) of the sample. Most male participants self-reported a socioeconomic status of middle class (53.7%, $n=168$). The second largest group identified as working class (35.8%, $n=112$), followed by lower/poor (9.9%, $n=31$) and upper class (.6%, $n=2$).

Male participants also had a fair amount of education. The majority of respondents (29.7%, $n=93$) had earned a college degree, 22.7% ($n=71$) had some college, 18.8% ($n=59$) earned a master's degree, 7.3% ($n=23$) earned a high school diploma, 7% ($n=22$) had some graduate school, 7% ($n=22$) had an associate's degree, 3.2% ($n=10$) had a doctorate degree, 2.9% ($n=9$) had some other professional/terminal degree, .6% ($n=2$) had a general educational diploma, and .6% ($n=2$) of participants attended high school but did not receive any diploma.

The majority of male participants reported their marital status as single and/or engaged (60.1%, $n=188$). The next largest group identified themselves as married/having a domestic partner/cohabitating (35.1%, $n=110$). A little over 4% (4.8%, $n=15$) of the sample identified as separated/divorced/widowed.

Lastly, male participants represented all geographical regions of the country, with the largest percentage of respondents (66.8%, $n=209$) coming from the Northeast region (e.g., Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware). A little over 16% (16.6%, $n=52$) of the sample represented the Southern region (e.g., Texas, Florida, Georgia, Virginia), 8.3% ($n=26$) represented the Western region (e.g., California, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii), and about 7% (7.7%,

$n=24$) of the male sample represented the Midwestern region (e.g., Illinois, Nebraska, Montana, Ohio).

Instruments

Personal demographic sheet. Participants completed a Personal Data Questionnaire. This questionnaire asked questions regarding age, gender, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, income, marital status, generation status, place of birth and current state of residence. Additionally, it asked parents' income and highest level of education.

The Machismo Measure. The Machismo Measure (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008) was used to assess gender role endorsement of male participants in the sample. It is a 20-item scale consisting of two subscales, Machismo (i.e., more traditional notion of Latino gender roles characterized by concepts such as aggression and hyper-masculinity) and Caballerismo (i.e., more contemporary notions incorporated into Latino gender roles characterized by concepts such as valiancy and being a good provider), developed exclusively for use with male Latino participants. Examples of items include: "Real men never let their guard down;" "The family is more important than the individual;" and "A real man does not brag about sex." The items were adopted after review of literature dealing with machismo and traditional folklore and interviews with a community sample of Mexican and Mexican-Americans and tested on a predominantly Mexican and Mexican-American male ($n=403$) sample that also included Latino men from other ethnic backgrounds ($n=74$) with varied educational levels, ages, and time in the U.S. Arciniega et al. (2008) reported the following internal consistency estimates: .84 for Machismo and .71 for Caballerismo. The Machismo Measure is scored by calculating the mean score of each subscale, machismo and caballerismo. The higher the mean score the more machismo or caballerismo is endorsed.

The Caballerismo subscale of the Machismo Measure was found to correlate to ethnic identity in that a stronger sense of ethnic identity was related to higher endorsement of caballerismo. Arciniega et al. (2008) understood that finding to follow the theoretical notion of caballerismo to be one of strong ethnic pride and honor. In addition, the Machismo subscale of the Machismo Measure was found to relate to alexithymia scores in that men with higher scores of machismo also endorsed higher scores on a measure of alexithymia. The authors concluded that this relationship also fell in line with ideas behind traditional machismo that are indicative of difficulty with awareness of one's emotions and the emotions of others. The investigators determined validity for the instrument with a community sample of predominantly Mexican and Mexican American men and recommended that further work be done with Latinos of other ethnic backgrounds.

Reliability and validity estimates. To date there are no other published articles using the Machismo Measure and therefore there is no documented validation information.

For the current study, the internal consistency reliability for the Machismo subscale of the Machismo Measure, as assessed by Cronbach's alpha, was .77 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .765$). The internal consistency for the Caballerismo subscale of the Machismo Measure as assessed by Cronbach's alpha, was .67 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .665$). Additionally, correlation analysis found the Machismo subscale to significantly correlate with the Caballerismo subscale ($r = .29, p = .00$).

The Latina Value Scale-Revised. The Latina Value Scale-Revised (Melendez, 2004) was used to assess gender role endorsement of *female* participants in the sample. This is a revised version of the original Latina Values Scale created by Rivera-Marano (2000) as a product of her dissertation. One of the limitations of the original measure was that it was normed with a college sample and determined to have some limitations in use with more diverse, community

samples. Melendez (2004) revised the scale as part of her dissertation requirement to accommodate use with community samples. The main 28-item scale, available in English and Spanish, was created to assess *marianismo*, traditionally used to assess gender role attitudes of females in the Latino culture and characterized by concepts such as moral and spiritual superiority, acceptance of male authority, being the caretaker, and being better able to endure suffering. The measure was developed using a multi-ethnic Latina sample for use exclusively with Latinas. There is also a smaller subscale, the Conflict Subscale, which taps into the participant's experience (i.e., conflict) completing the LVS-Revised.

Examples of items include: "I often take on responsibilities having to do with my family;" "Being seen as a 'good' person by others is very important to me;" and "I have allowed partners to take sexual liberties with me even when I did not want to." The LVS-R is scored by calculating a mean score using all items for an overall score and a conflict subscale score using the second part of each question (i.e., "Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?") to calculate mean. Using an ethnically diverse sample (i.e., Latinos from various ethnic backgrounds including Puerto Rican, Dominican, Ecuadorian, Colombian, Spanish, Venezuelan, and Mexican), Melendez (2004) reported an internal consistency estimate of .94. Internal consistency for the Conflict Subscale was reported to be .95. A correlation of .64 was reported between the LVS-Revised and the Conflict subscale. Scale development of the LVS-Revised included psychometric analytical work with the Marin Acculturation Scale (MAS; Marin et al., 1987) and the Silencing the Self Scale (SSS; Jack, 1991). The MAS is used to measure acculturation among Latinos and the SSS measures specific schema about making and maintaining intimacy and interpersonal/intrapersonal behaviors. The LVS-Revised was found to strongly and positively correlate to the SSS ($r=.63$). A non-significant relationship was found

between the LVS-Revised and the MAS. Melendez (2004) understood this to mean that highly acculturated Latinas may most likely experience varying degrees of marianismo. She also suggested that the sample was not very acculturated given that a significant portion of the sample completed measures in Spanish. While language use is not a recommended, comprehensive way to examine degree of acculturation, it is often used as an indicator, as evidenced by Melendez, to suggest acculturation level.

Reliability and validity estimates. To date the LVS-Revised has not been used in any empirically published studies and therefore there is no documented validation information.

For the current study, the internal consistency reliability for the Marianismo subscale of the LVS-Revised, as assessed by Cronbach's alpha, was .87 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .870$). The internal consistency reliability for the Marianismo-conflict subscale of the LVS-Revised, as assessed by Cronbach's alpha, was .95 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .946$).

Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II. The Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II; Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995) will be used in the current study to measure acculturation level among participants in the sample. A revision of the original ARSMA, the ARSMA-II is a two-part questionnaire aiming to capture the four types of acculturation suggested by Berry (1980): assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. Part 1 consists of 30 items that measure a participant's involvement in Mexican culture (17 items) and Anglo culture (13 items) by examining cultural practices, language proficiency and preferences, social affiliation, and ethnic identification. The ARSMA-II uses a 5-point Likert scale format. Items related to the Mexican culture are added to create a Mexican Orientation subscale (MOS) and items related to Anglo culture create an Anglo Orientation subscale (AOS). Part 2 consists of 18 items that assess a participant's acceptance of attitudes and

behaviors in Mexican culture (6 items), the Mexican American culture (6 items), and the Anglo culture (6 items). Three marginality subscales capturing Mexican, Mexican American, and Anglo culture are also included and based on cultural acceptance items. These have less empirical backing and were not used in analysis. Internal consistency for the AOS subscale of the ARSMA-II was reported as .83 and .88 for the MOS subscale of the ARSMA-II. The measure was determined to be positively correlated with socioeconomic status and generation status by the authors. No gender differences were noted.

To score the ARSMA-II a mean score is calculated for all items in the Anglo Orientation Scale and the Mexican Orientation Scale. The mean score of the Mexican Orientation Scale is then taken away from the Anglo Orientation Scale mean for a linear acculturation score. Additionally, the authors have prescribed cut-off indications for levels of acculturation to be interpreted by linear scores.

Reliability and validity estimates. Ojeda, Rosales, and Good (2008) used the ARSMA-II with a Mexican American sample in their study investigating SES, male role attitudes, and acculturation. They reported good reliability with an alpha coefficient of .90 for the MOS subscale and .69 for the Anglo subscale. Garnst, Dana, Der-Karabetian, Aragon, Arellano, and Kramer (2002) used the ARSMA-II with an ethnically diverse, Latino (ethnically unspecified), community sample in their study of mental health outcomes. They reported adequate reliability with an alpha coefficient of .62 for the overall ARSMA-II, .89 for the MOS subscale, and .92 for the AOS subscale and found acculturation to be related to ethnic identity and mental health outcomes.

For the current study, the internal consistency reliability for the ARSMA-II among the male sample, as assessed by Cronbach's alpha for the AOS, was .71 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .705$).

Among the male sample, Cronbach's alpha for the MOS subscale was .80 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .789$). Among the female sample, Cronbach's alpha for the AOS subscale was .69 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .689$). Among the female sample, Cronbach's alpha for the MOS subscale was .86 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .862$).

The Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale. The Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale (ARVS; Ward, 1988) is a 25 item measure of favorable and unfavorable attitudes towards rape victims, with emphasis on victim blame, credibility, deservingness, denigration, and trivialization. This measure specifically addresses views of victims as opposed to attitudes towards rape in general or rape tolerance. This measure will also be used to assess attitudes about rape victims. Sample items include "A raped woman is a less desirable woman;" "Sexually experienced women are not really damaged by rape;" and "Intoxicated women are usually willing to have sexual relations." In her construction and validation of the measure, Ward reported Cronbach's alpha of .83. Factor analysis revealed the ARVS is a unidimensional instrument. She also found the ARVS to positively correlate to measures of adversarial sexual beliefs, sexual conservatism, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and negative attitudes towards women. The original sample was representative of participants from the United States and Singapore. It is unclear whether Latino/as comprised any part of the U.S. portion of the sample.

Reliability and validity estimates. Jimenez and Abreu (2003) used the ARVS in their study of the relationship between race, gender, and perceptions of intimate partner rape. They reported strong validity and reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of .85 with a sample of 165 Latino (ethnically unspecified) and 171 White American undergraduate college male and female students. They found both Latino and White American men and Latinas to hold less tolerant views of rape victims and be more accepting of rape myths.

For the current study, the internal consistency reliability for the ARVS among the male sample, as assessed by Cronbach's alpha, was .67 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .669$). Among the female sample, Cronbach's alpha was .53 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .532$).

The Socially Desirable Response Set-5. The Socially Desirable Response Set-5 (SDRS-5; Hays, Hayashi, & Stewart, 1989) is a 5-item measure of socially desirable response sets that was developed to provide a shorter yet psychometrically sound measure. In light of the nature of the content of the current study (i.e., negative attitudes towards rape victims) and previous research addressing social desirability as an issue with the topic (e.g., Farmer & MacMahon, 2005) a measure of social desirability will be included. Items reflect common concerns of clinicians around self-reported information. The questions are responded to on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = definitely true to 5 = definitely false). Three of the five items are reverse scored. Higher scores are indicative of greater social desirability. Hays, Hayashi, & Stewart (1989) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .66 with a development sample of outpatients as part of a medical outcome study and .68 with a longitudinal sample of the same study.

Reliability and validity estimates. Hagendoorn, Sneeuw, and Aaronson (2002) used the SDRS-5 in their study of medical patients' self-reported quality of life in relation to their tendency to compare themselves to others medically more vulnerable. They reported a Cronbach's alpha of .74 among a sample of White Dutch cancer patients. Validity information regarding use of this measure with Latino samples is unknown, although the authors have suggested the SDES-5 to be applicable with a variety of groups.

For the current study, the internal consistency reliability for the SDRS-5 among the male sample, as assessed by Cronbach's alpha, was .41 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .411$). Among the female sample, Cronbach's alpha was .27 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .273$).

Procedure

Approval to begin the study was first sought from the Teachers College, Columbia University Institutional Review Board (IRB). After approval was received, participants were recruited via online and paper and pencil sampling. The primary investigator contacted Latino based organizations throughout the United States via electronic mail with a cover letter of the intent of the study and an invitation for participation. The letter indicated that as a web-based study, a link would be sent to the membership, either directly or through forwarding by the designated Director, Director of Communication, Secretary, or Administrative Manager of Latino based organizations included sororities, fraternities, psychological/counseling associations, community agencies, and other social organizations catering to Latino clientele. Additionally, once participants completed the survey they were encouraged, but not required, to forward the survey to anyone they believe would qualify and be interested in participating. Moreover, data was also collected via paper and pencil packets to increase variation in the sample. The indicated organizations and groups were also advised that there was a paper and pencil version of the survey and asked if the principal investigator could visit their site to collect data or send materials with return postage.

Online data was collected via online software (www.surveymonkey.com). The first page was comprised of a consent form with their rights as a participant, including their option to withdraw from the study at any time, confidentiality of information provided, and how data would be stored (e.g., password protected). Once they completed this portion, they were directed to the personal demographic sheet. Once they completed the personal demographic sheet, participants were directed to the appropriate gender role measurement. If participants indicated male as their gender, they were redirected to the Machismo Measure of gender role attitudes. If

participants indicated female, they were redirected to the Latina Values Scale-Revised. Once the gender role measures were completed, all participants were directed to complete the rest of the measures for the study: the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II, Attitudes toward Rape Victim Scale, and the Socially Desirable Responding Set-5. At the conclusion, participants came to a debriefing page where they were provided with contact information of the principal investigator and resources they may refer to for further assistance. Paper and pencil versions of the survey were prepared in advance by gender.

Chapter IV

Results

Means, standard deviations, and inter-scale correlations of each measure were run separately by gender as distinct gender role measures were used. Tables 1 and 2 depict demographic information for the female and male sample, respectively. Tables 3 and 4 show the means, standard deviation, and instrument reliability information for the female and male samples, respectively. Table 5 shows the means, standard deviations, and inter-scale correlations for both subscales of the Latina Values Scale (i.e., female gender role and female gender role conflict), both subscales of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (i.e., AOS, Anglo-orientation scale, and the MOS, Mexican-orientation scale), ethnicity by region, the Socially Desirable Responding Set-5, and the Attitudes toward Rape Victim Scale for the female portion of the overall sample. Means, standard deviations, and inter-scale correlations for both subscales of the Machismo Scale (i.e., Machismo and Caballerismo), both subscales of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (i.e., AOS, Anglo-orientation scale, and the MOS, Mexican-orientation scale), Attitudes toward Rape Victim Scale, and the Socially Desirable Responding Set-5 for the male portion of the sample can be found in Table 6. Table 7 reports means, standard deviations, and correlation information by social class and ethnicity for all the psychological variables of interest in the study using the female portion of the sample. Table 8 reports the mean, standard deviation, and correlation information by social class and ethnicity for all the psychological variables of interest in the study using the male portion of the sample.

The data were examined for normality and the presence of outliers. Several outliers were found but since the inclusion or exclusion of these outlying observations did not affect the results, all observations were retained. Graphic test and examination of the Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov (K-S) test statistics were used to evaluate the standard regression assumptions of normality, homoscedasticity and linearity. The Shapiro-Wilk test compares the distribution with a comparable normal distribution. It tests the hypothesis that the distribution of the sample is the same and the distribution of a population with the same mean and standard deviation. The Shapiro-Wilk test is more commonly used with small sample sizes but can be used with larger samples as well. The K-S test is recommended with larger sample sizes (i.e., above 50). Significant results of either test statistic indicate non-normality. There were a number of significant values, indicating some non-normality of the data.

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine if there were any main effects by socioeconomic status and ethnicity within responses to gender role attitudes, acculturation, attitudes towards rape victims, and social desirability. As with the means, standard deviations, and inter-scale correlations, a multivariate analysis of variance was conducted for each gender. Socioeconomic status and regional ethnicity (e.g., Caribbean, Central American and South American) were included as independent variables and scores for gender role attitudes, attitudes towards rape victims, acculturation, and social desirability were included as dependent variables. Of note, gender role conflict scores were included in the female sample analysis.

Preliminary Analyses

Female sample

Correlation analysis revealed that social desirability was the only variable significantly related to the dependent variable, negative attitudes towards rape victims ($r = -.12, p = .02$). Neither the female gender role variable, marianismo ($r = -.04, p = .44$), or the female gender role conflict variable, marianismo-conflict ($r = -.08, p = .09$), were significantly correlated with the dependent variable of interest, negative attitudes towards rape victims. Also of note, neither the AOS (i.e., Anglo-orientation scale) acculturation variable ($r = -.03, p = .53$) nor MOS (i.e., Mexican-orientation scale) ($r = .05, p = .29$) was significantly correlated with the outcome variable, negative attitudes towards rape victims.

As per recommendations by Cone and Foster (1993), a separate analysis of variance (ANOVA) was examined where there was a significant MANOVA main effect. A one-way MANOVA revealed a significant multivariate main effect for socioeconomic status (Wilks' $\lambda = .927, F(15, 1101.87) = 2.04, p = .01$) measured by self-report of identifying as poor, working, middle, or upper class. Given the significance of the overall test, the univariate main effects were examined. Significant univariate main effects for socioeconomic status were obtained for female gender roles (i.e., marianismo) ($F(15, 403) = 4.17, p = .01$). More specifically, upper class participants reported lower female gender role scores (i.e., endorsed less marianismo) when compared to other SES groups ($M = 76.27, SD = 5.50$). Additionally, working class participants reported greater female gender role scores (i.e., endorsed more marianismo) when compared to all other SES groups ($M = 93.33, SD = 1.24$).

Further examination revealed that among upper class participants, U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinas reported greater marianismo attitudes ($M = 89.50, SD = 9.19, n = 2$) as compared to upper class South American Latinas ($M = 77.00, n = 1$), Caribbean Latinas ($M = 76.57, SD = 15.90, n = 7$), and Central American Latinas ($M = 62.00, SD = 16.97, n = 2$). Among the working

class subset of the female sample, Central American Latinas reported greater marianismo attitudes ($M = 95.72$, $SD = 13.79$, $n = 25$) as compared to working class Caribbean Latinas ($M = 94.83$, $SD = 15.41$, $n = 71$), working class South American Latinas ($M = 91.50$, $SD = 20.31$, $n = 24$), and working class U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinas ($M = 91.25$, $SD = 13.40$, $n = 75$).

Significant univariate main effects for socioeconomic status were also obtained for female gender role conflict (i.e., conflict around marianismo reported) ($F(15,403) = 3.04$, $p = .03$). Follow up ANOVAs also showed significant socioeconomic status differences in female gender role conflict scores in that upper class participants reported lower female gender role conflict scores (i.e., endorsed less conflict around marianismo reported) than any other group ($M = 62.54$, $SD = 7.76$). Additionally, working class participants reported greater female gender role conflict scores (i.e., endorsed more conflict around marianismo reported) than any other group ($M = 81.02$, $SD = 1.75$).

Further examination revealed that among upper class participants, U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinas reported greater marianismo conflict attitudes ($M = 85.00$, $SD = 1.41$, $n = 2$) as compared to upper class South American Latinas ($M = 75.00$, $n = 1$), Caribbean Latinas ($M = 63.14$, $SD = 22.48$, $n = 7$), and Central American Latinas ($M = 27.00$, $SD = .00$, $n = 2$). Among the working class subset of the female sample, Caribbean Latinas reported greater marianismo conflict attitudes ($M = 83.47$, $SD = 19.35$, $n = 71$) as compared to working class Central American Latinas ($M = 83.00$, $SD = 22.11$, $n = 25$), working class South American Latinas ($M = 80.33$, $SD = 21.35$, $n = 24$), and working class U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinas ($M = 77.27$, $SD = 21.47$, $n = 75$).

While there were no significant main effects by ethnicity, means and standard deviations of the variables of interest by ethnicity were examined to further understand the data. They can

be found in Table 7. In terms of the outcome variable of interest, negative attitudes towards rape victims, Central and South American Latinas have minimally higher negative attitudes scores, implying endorsement of more negative attitudes ($M = 51.81$, $SD = 8.02$), as compared to Caribbean Latinas ($M = 50.80$, $SD = 7.90$) and U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinas ($M = 50.28$, $SD = 9.22$). As far as acculturation scores, Central and South American Latinas had slightly higher scores ($M = .48$, $SD = .83$), suggesting greater acculturation as compared to Caribbean Latinas ($M = .34$, $SD = .76$) and U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinas ($M = .29$, $SD = .65$). With respect to female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo), Caribbean Latinas had slightly higher scores ($M = 92.63$, $SD = 15.61$), and thus greater endorsement of marianismo values when compared to Central and South American Latinas ($M = 90.46$, $SD = 16.09$) and U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinas ($M = 89.99$, $SD = 14.20$). As far as female gender role conflict (i.e., marianismo-conflict), Caribbean Latinas also had higher scores ($M = 79.97$, $SD = 20.69$), implying greater experienced conflict as a result of the degree of marianismo endorsed, as compared to Central and South American Latinas ($M = 76.82$, $SD = 22.40$) and U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinas ($M = 75.96$, $SD = 22.21$). In terms of social desirability, scores were almost identical across ethnicity suggesting that the same trend or effort to present in a socially desirable way, in accordance to social norms, was present in the current sample. U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinas had marginally higher scores ($M = 28.83$, $SD = 4.97$), followed by Caribbean Latinas ($M = 28.43$, $SD = 5.50$) and Central and South American Latinas ($M = 28.04$, $SD = 4.92$). Lastly, there was little difference in mean socioeconomic status among the female sample by ethnicity. Central and South American Latinas had a slightly higher average SES ($M = 2.59$, $SD = .58$) as compared to Caribbean Latinas ($M = 2.49$, $SD = .66$) and U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinas ($M = 2.34$, $SD = .62$).

Male sample

Correlation analysis revealed that socioeconomic status ($r = .13$, $p = .01$), both ethnicity dummy coded variables (Caribbean, $r = -.15$, $p = .01$ and Central/South American, $r = .17$, $p = .00$), and the AOS (i.e., Anglo-orientation subscale) variable ($r = -.14$, $p = .01$) were significantly related to the dependent variable, negative attitudes towards rape victims. Caballerismo was not significantly correlated with the dependent variable of interest, negative attitudes towards rape victims ($r = .05$, $p = .34$). Machismo was also not significantly correlated with the dependent variable ($r = .10$, $p = .07$). Of note, the MOS (i.e., Mexican-orientation subscale) variable of the acculturation measure was not significantly correlated with the outcome variable, negative attitudes towards rape victims ($r = -.09$, $p = .11$).

A one-way MANOVA revealed no significant multivariate main effect for socioeconomic status (Wilks' $\lambda = .96$, $F(15, 803.72) = .71$, $p = .78$) or ethnic region (Wilks' $\lambda = .92$, $F(15, 803.72) = 1.64$, $p = .06$). As a result no further univariate tests were examined.

While there were no significant main effects by ethnicity, means and standard deviations of the variables of interest by ethnicity were further examined. These results can be found in Table 8. In terms of the outcome variable of interest, negative attitudes towards rape victims, Central and South American Latinos has minimally higher negative attitudes scores, meaning endorsement of more negative attitudes ($M = 43.13$, $SD = 7.69$), as compared to U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinos ($M = 40.85$, $SD = 8.83$) and Caribbean Latinos ($M = 39.60$, $SD = 10.41$). As far as acculturation scores, U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinos had slightly higher scores ($M = .78$, $SD = .88$), suggesting greater acculturation, as compared to Caribbean Latinos ($M = .43$, $SD = .77$) and Central and South American Latinos ($M = .31$, $SD = .61$). With respect to machismo gender role attitudes, Central and South American Latinos have slightly higher scores ($M = 2.47$, $SD = .58$), meaning greater endorsement of traditional machismo values, when compared to U.S. and multi-ethnic

Latinos ($M = 2.44$, $SD = .65$) and Caribbean Latinos ($M = 2.42$, $SD = .62$). As far as caballerismo gender role conflict (i.e., greater scores suggest more valiant, less traditionally dominating male gender role concept), scores were very similar across the male sample with Caribbean Latinos having marginally higher average scores ($M = 4.08$, $SD = .47$) followed by U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinos ($M = 4.07$, $SD = .39$) and Central and South American Latinos ($M = 4.04$, $SD = .46$). In terms of social desirability, scores were fairly similar across ethnicity suggesting that the same trend or effort to present well and accommodate to socially acceptable responses was present in the current sample. Caribbean Latinos had slightly higher scores ($M = 28.12$, $SD = 5.99$), followed by U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinos ($M = 27.90$, $SD = 5.35$) and Central and South American Latinos ($M = 27.25$, $SD = 5.19$). Lastly, there was practically no difference in mean socioeconomic status among the female sample by ethnicity. Central and South American Latinos ($M = 2.46$, $SD = .64$) and U.S. and multi-ethnic Latinos ($M = 2.46$, $SD = .69$) had a slightly higher average SES as compared to Caribbean Latinos ($M = 2.45$, $SD = .71$).

Hypotheses Testing Analyses

Female sample

Regression analysis was used to examine the relationship among gender role attitudes, conflict around gender role attitudes, acculturation, socioeconomic status, social desirability, and attitudes towards rape victims. The criterion variable was total scores from the Attitudes towards Rape Victim Scale. The predictor variables were subscale scores from the Latina Values Scale (i.e., Marianismo and Marianismo-conflict), subscale scores from the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (i.e., Anglo-orientation scale and Mexican-orientation scale), and total scores from the Socially Desirable Responding Set-5. Main effects were found by socioeconomic status and were controlled for in the regression analysis. Additionally, dummy codes were

created for the ethnic regional groups (i.e., Caribbean, U.S./Mixed Latino, and Central/South American) for inclusion in the regression analysis. The overall variance explained by the seven predictors was 2.8% ($R^2 = .028$, $F(7, 411) = 1.708$).

Hypothesis 1a. Higher levels of female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo) will be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Lower levels of female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo) will be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Analysis. Examination of the beta weights did not find female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo) to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = .01$, $t = .15$, $p = .88$). This result is contrary to the hypothesized relationship between female gender roles and negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Hypothesis 1b. Acculturation will moderate the relationship between female gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. More specifically, this relationship is expected to be stronger for participants who endorse greater degrees of acculturation.

Analysis. Moderation analysis was not conducted because there was no significant relationship between female gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. This result is contrary to the hypothesized moderation between female gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. Acculturation has no moderation properties in this relationship. While not part of the original hypothesis, analysis using the acculturation subscale variables was conducted to explore whether they had any predictive value. Beta weights revealed the AOS variable (i.e., Anglo-orientation scale) not to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = .592$, $t = .615$, $p = .539$). Similarly, beta weights revealed the MOS variable (i.e., Mexican-orientation scale) not to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = .542$, $t = .779$, $p = .436$).

Hypothesis 1c. Higher levels of conflict around female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo-conflict) will be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Lower levels of conflict around female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo-conflict) will be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Analysis. Examination of the beta weights did not find conflict around female gender role attitudes (i.e., marianismo-conflict) to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = -.04, t = -1.80, p = .07$). This result is contrary to the hypothesized relationship between conflict around female gender roles and negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Hypothesis 1d. Acculturation will moderate the relationship between conflict around female gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. More specifically, this relationship is expected to be stronger for participants who endorse greater degrees of acculturation.

Analysis. Moderation analysis was not conducted because there was no significant relationship between female gender role conflict attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. This result is contrary to the hypothesized moderation between female gender role conflict attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. Acculturation has no moderation properties in this relationship.

Question 1. Will higher levels of socioeconomic status be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims? Will lower levels of socioeconomic status be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims?

Analysis. Examination of the beta weights did not find socioeconomic status to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = .21, t = 2.57, p = .01$). This result is

contrary to the hypothesized relationship between socioeconomic status and negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Question 2. Will ethnicity (i.e., ethnic region) be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims?

Analysis. Two dummy codes were created to transform ethnic region, originally a categorical variable, for the purposes of inclusion into the regression analysis. Examination of the beta weights found neither ethnic dummy code (i.e., DV_Caribbean and DV_CentralSouth American) to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = .53, t = .55, p = .58$; $\beta = 1.17, t = 1.16, p = .25$, respectively). This result is contrary to the hypothesized relationship between ethnicity and negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Question 3. Will higher levels of social desirability be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims? Will lower levels of social desirability be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims?

Analysis. Examination of the beta weights found social desirability to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = -.21, t = -2.57, p = .01$). These results indicate that greater levels of social desirability are associated with lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. This result supports the hypothesized relationship between social desirability and negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Male sample

Regression analysis was used to examine the relationship among gender role attitudes, acculturation, socioeconomic status, social desirability, and attitudes towards rape victims. The criterion variable was total scores from the Attitudes towards Rape Victim Scale. The predictor variables were subscale scores from the Machismo Measure (i.e., Machismo and Caballerismo),

subscale scores from the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (i.e., Anglo-orientation scale and Mexican-orientation scale), and total scores from the Socially Desirable Responding Set-5. Additionally, dummy codes were created for the ethnic regional groups (i.e., Caribbean, Mixed Latino, Central/South American) for inclusion in the regression analysis. The overall variance explained by the seven predictors was 6.8% ($R^2 = .07$, $F(7, 300) = 3.15$).

Hypothesis 2a. Higher levels of machismo male gender role attitudes will be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Lower levels of machismo male gender role attitudes will be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Analysis. Examination of the beta weights did not find machismo male gender role attitudes to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = 1.28$, $t = 1.44$, $p = .15$). This result is contrary to the hypothesized relationship between machismo male gender roles and negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Hypothesis 2b. Acculturation will moderate the relationship between machismo male gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. More specifically, this relationship is expected to be stronger for participants who endorse greater degrees of acculturation.

Analysis. Moderation analysis was not conducted because there was no significant relationship between machismo male gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. This result is contrary to the hypothesized moderation between male gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. Acculturation has no moderation properties in this relationship. While not part of the original hypothesis, analysis using the acculturation subscale variables was conducted to explore whether they had any predictive value. Beta weights revealed the AOS variable (i.e., Anglo-orientation scale) not to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = -2.18$, $t = -1.93$, $p = .06$). On the contrary, beta weights revealed the MOS variable

(i.e., Mexican-orientation scale) to be a significant predictor of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = -1.97, t = -2.15, p = .03$).

Hypothesis 2c. Higher levels of caballerismo male gender role attitudes will be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Lower levels of caballerismo male gender role attitudes will be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Analysis. Examination of the beta weights did not find caballerismo male gender role attitudes to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = 1.41, t = 1.17, p = .24$). This result is contrary to the hypothesized relationship between caballerismo male gender role attitudes and negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Hypothesis 2d. Acculturation will moderate the relationship between caballerismo male gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. More specifically, this relationship is expected to be stronger for participants who endorse greater degrees of acculturation.

Analysis. Moderation analysis was not conducted because there was no significant relationship between caballerismo male gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. This result is contrary to the hypothesized moderation between caballerismo male gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims. Acculturation has no moderation properties in this relationship.

Question 1. Will higher levels of socioeconomic status be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims? Will lower levels of socioeconomic status be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims?

Analysis. Examination of the beta weights found socioeconomic status to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = 1.74, t = 2.28, p = .02$). These results indicate that

greater levels of socioeconomic status are associated with greater levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. While a significant relationship was found, the results are contrary to the hypothesized relationship.

Question 2. Will ethnicity (i.e., ethnic region) be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims?

Analysis. Two dummy codes were created to transform ethnic region, originally a categorical variable, for the purposes of inclusion into the regression analysis. Examination of the beta weights found neither ethnic dummy code (i.e., DV_Caribbean and DV_CentralSouth American) to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = .64, t = -.44, p = .66$; $\beta = 2.80, t = 1.88, p = .06$, respectively). This result is contrary to the hypothesized relationship between ethnicity and negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Question 3. Will higher levels of social desirability be predictive of lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims? Will lower levels of social desirability be predictive of higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims?

Analysis. Examination of the beta weights found social desirability not to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims ($\beta = .06, t = .60, p = .55$). This result is contrary to the hypothesized relationship between social desirability and negative attitudes towards rape victims.

Chapter V

Discussion

Regrettably, rape maintains a ubiquitous presence in our society (Anderson, Cooper, & Okamura, 1997). It is only in contemporary history that empirical efforts have been made to understand the psychological impact of rape (Petрак, 2002) and the consequential role of negative messages about rape in the reporting and psychological recovery of rape victims (Ullman and Filipas, 2001). While the contributions of this emerging area of research are great, the area remains in need of further bolstering.

Traditional gender role attitudes have garnered considerable attention in the rape literature. One angle that has been used to explore factors related to victim blaming and other negative views towards victims of rape has been to focus on the role of gender and gender socialization. Gender socialization has been described as a significant process in our development. Gender roles are highly significant in our lives, whether we abide by them or not. Gender roles ascribe acceptable behaviors and characteristics for each gender. While there may be some similarities across cultures, there are differences in how gender roles are manifested and how deviance of roles is handled within different societies. When gender role violations are related to sexual behavior and beliefs, the violators can become susceptible to greater inquiry, criticism, and isolation.

Rape represents a phenomenon where the victims are under rather severe scrutiny. There is often an analysis of all the factors that lead to this kind of attack. This pattern is seen in a variety of societies but certain cultural factors have been identified as considerably significant in perpetuating such negative reproach. Generally, men have been found to have less empathetic views about rape victims. Researchers have gone further and examined gender role attitudes,

finding that gender in and of itself is too limited in scope to ascribe any predictive ability. This line of work has found that more traditional, conservative gender role attitudes have been associated with harsher attributions towards rape victims. This body of research has been instrumental in understanding and considering nuances of beliefs about rape victims. At the same time, it has been limited in its absence of racial/ethnic diversity within samples. Findings using narrow participant pools have then been used to draw assumptions that their attitudes are universal and characteristic of all people (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; De Leon, 1993). This is particularly alarming given the position of a number of researchers that purport differences in gender role attitudes and attitudes about rape victims across different racial/ethnic groups. They have found people of color to be harsher towards rape victims and have suggested that this may be due to greater subscription to traditional views. These cultural differences, however, have garnered little attention in the rape literature (Littleton, Breitkopf, & Berenson, 2007).

Feminist literature generally examines rape and rape perceptions through a lens of gender and power, ignoring racial/ethnic factors that color victim's experiences and responses to rape (Maier, 2008). This includes perceived support from family and friends. When efforts have been made to use more racially/ethnically inclusive samples (e.g., Nagel, Matsuro, McIntyre, & Morrison, 2005; Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997), they have often been restricted to comparisons between Black and White participants (Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990; Kane, 2000; De Leon, 1993). This lack of sample diversity is also evident in research looking at the relationship between attitudes towards rape victim and gender role attitudes (e.g., Munge, Pomerantz, Pettibone, & Falconer, 2007; Quakenbus, 1989; Szymanski, Devlin, Chrisler, & Vyse, 1993; Kopper, 1996). This deficit in sample diversity and representativeness is problematic given

research (e.g., Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002; Bree & Tickamyer, 1995; Hill & Sprague, 1999; Kane, 2000; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Giaccopassi & Dull, 1986; Lefley, Scott, Llabre, & Hicks, 1993; Lee et al., 2005) pointing to evidence of racial/ethnic differences in gender role attitudes. These methodological shortcomings put into question the generalizability of existing research as current research findings have used measures that are primarily based on White, American notions of gender roles.

While the cultural influences around perceptions of rape are empirically limited (Maier, 2008), evidence suggests further development is warranted. Additionally, this research has largely ignored the fact that some researchers have noted that Latinos may be more likely to have more negative views about rape victims (Jimenez & Abreu, 2003; Lefly, Scott, Llabre, & Hicks, 1993) and more traditional notions around gender roles. In general, research on Latinos has been described as “embryonic” and “inconclusive” (Villarruel & Rodriguez, 2003, p. 260).

The largely anecdotal scholarship around gender roles has conceptualized machismo/caballerismo and marianismo to characterize the unique elements of gender roles among this population. Machismo and caballerismo have been understood as both sides of traditional masculinity among Latinos encompassing hyper-masculinity and dominance and more positive notions of gender role concept including valiancy, being a provider, and being committed to the family. Marianismo has been understood as a feminine role among Latinas ascribing elements of sacrifice, purity, and commitment to others. To date, these specific concepts have not been used to explore attitudes towards rape victims among Latinos despite the significant role they play in the overall body of Latino research. Additionally, Latinas have been noted to have the lowest rate of reporting rape. This has garnered little focus in the rape literature

and points to a need to fill the void around cultural factors that may influence attitudes towards rape and rape victims.

An additional concept that has been ignored in the rape research, that has included Latinos in their sample, is acculturation. Acculturation has been identified as having some degree of influence in attitudes and beliefs among Latinos (Torres-Matrullo, 1980; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002; Leaper & Valin, 1996). Moreover, a growing body of research and literature (e.g., Negy and Wood, 1992; Torres-Matrullo, 1980; Torres, 1998) has suggested that acculturation may specifically influence gender role attitudes.

The present study aimed to build upon the body of research examining attitudes towards rape victims. The study aimed to focus on specific constructs that have been largely ignored in empirical research but nonetheless present in more theoretical literature. First, the study aimed to empirically examine the constructs of machismo/caballerismo and marianismo as a more culturally appropriate approach for understanding the role of gender role attitudes among Latinos/as. Second, the study investigated the applicability of acculturation, another variable largely ignored in rape research. Specifically, acculturation was hypothesized as a possible moderator between gender role attitudes and negative attitudes towards rape victims.

The primary hypotheses tested in the study were whether the gender role attitudes of men and women would predict negative attitudes towards rape victims. It was proposed that higher levels of traditional gender role attitudes (i.e., machismo for males and marianismo/marianismo-conflict for females) would predict higher levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Conversely, higher levels of caballerismo (i.e., less traditional male gender role attitudes) would predict lower levels of negative attitudes towards rape victims. Additionally, it was posited that degree of acculturation would affect the strength of this relationship. Preliminary analyses were

conducted to examine whether any demographic variables contributed to variation among the male and female samples. Such analyses revealed that socioeconomic status accounted for some difference within the female sample. No differences were found among the male sample. The main analyses were conducted using linear regression and tested the relationship among gender role attitudes, conflict around gender role attitudes for the female sample, acculturation, socioeconomic status, social desirability (i.e., tendency to respond in a highly desired way), and negative attitudes towards rape victims. The following will discuss the findings of the study, address limitations, and consider implications for future directions.

Gender Role Attitudes and Negative Attitudes towards Rape Victims

Multiple regression analysis using marianismo and marianismo-conflict as predictor variables and negative attitudes towards rape victims as the criterion variable found no significant results. In other words, there was no predictive relationship between gender role attitudes or conflict around gender role attitudes and negative attitudes towards rape victims among the female sample. Similarly, multiple regression analysis using machismo and caballerismo as predictor variables and negative attitudes towards rape victims as the criterion variable found no significant results. These findings suggest there was also no predictive relationship between gender role attitudes and their predicted attitudes among males. This finding was surprising given the body of literature that has indicated that gender role attitudes have a significant relationship with such attitudes about rape. Research (e.g., Quackenbus, 1989; Johnson, Kuck, Schander, 1997) provides evidence to suggest that both males and females would view rape victims more negatively if they endorsed more traditional gender role attitudes. While conflict around gender role attitudes has not been assessed in past research, one could suppose

that it would have some relationship, negative or positive, to views of rape victims given its link to gender role attitudes.

The current findings are significant in that they are contradictory to long standing notions around gender roles and attitudes towards rape victims, begging the question of how to explain such findings. The best way to understand the results is by look at the current sample with a critical eye. Both males and females in the sample are best described as bicultural; their acculturation scores are neither very Latino nor Anglo. Over 83% of females and 88% of males identified themselves as first and second generation in the U.S. They are all English fluent as demonstrated in their ability to complete the English-only survey. They are educated, with over 64% of females and over 61% of males holding a bachelor's degree or higher. The sample is primarily working and middle class with over 92% of females and over 89% of males identifying as belonging to either SES group. They reside primarily (75.2% of females, 66.8% of males) in the northeast region of the United States. Most males (41.2%) identified themselves as ethnically Caribbean (i.e., Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Dominican); most females identified as ethnically Central American (36.4%) but Caribbean ethnicity was a close second (32.9%). All of these demographics point to how the current sample is in many ways different from samples traditionally used in Latino research.

Despite evidence of the heterogeneity of the Latino population, most social science research on Latinos treats them as a cohesive group and often uses Mexican/Chicano samples (Gomez, 2000). Less attention has focused on Latinos from the Caribbean (i.e., Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic and Cuba) and South America (i.e., Columbia, Ecuador) who reside primarily in the Northeast region of the United States. Notably, this subset of Latinos has been

found to be the fastest growing in the country and represents significant growth rates in the Northeast region (Logan, 2001).

A review of a sampling of meta-analyses of Latino research underscores the scarcity in ethnic diversity in research. Many meta-analyses focus primarily on Latino student populations (e.g., Quintana, Vogel, & Ibarra, 1991). Other community-based samples are primarily comprised of Mexicans/Mexican-Americans. Priest and Denton (2012) reviewed data collected from the University of Michigan's Institute of Social Research from 2002-2003 addressing anxiety disorders among Latinos. There were 686 Mexican participants, 577 Cubans, 495 Puerto Rican, and 614 "other" Latinos. Instruments used were provided in English and Spanish; 58% of the participant pool completed Spanish-language instruments. Yoon, Langrehr, and Ong (2010) conducted a meta-analysis examining the use of acculturation as a predictive construct in the counseling psychology literature. They looked at 134 articles, noting half were college samples. Of the studies including Latinos, the ethnic designation was either Mexican or simply Latino. Mendelson, Rehkopf, and Kubzansky (2008) conducted a meta-analysis on depression among Latinos. They looked at 31 studies from 1981-2005. Nineteen of the studies did not report specific Latino ethnicity, 10 used exclusive or primarily Mexican/Mexican-American samples, 1 used a Puerto Rican sample, and 1 used a Latino Caribbean sample. This small sampling of meta-analyses illustrate that Latino research is generally based on a college sample, Mexican or Mexican-American samples, or makes no attempt or fails to report any attempt at questioning the assumed homogeneity of the Latino population. This meta-analysis provides some evidence to show the diversity gap within the Latino literature and entertain questions of the generalizability of the current body of Latino studies.

On the other hand, Torres et al. (2002) explored dimensions of machismo and gender identity. They had a sample of 123 Latino males, predominantly Mexican American and Puerto Rican, with a mean age of 36. Forty five percent of the sample was born in the U.S., about 55% had an income below \$30,000, and 37% had a college education. They noted that the ethnic diversity and education level of the sample were the two distinguishable factors of their sample in comparison to samples commonly seen in the Latino literature. Interestingly enough, they did not find acculturation to be a significant predictor of gender roles. Like the current sample, their sample deviated from the norm and found results contrary to commonly held beliefs about acculturation.

While there has been a greater effort to increase diversity in Latino research, more often than not findings and conclusions about the Latino community have been derived using solely Mexican and Mexican-American samples. Additionally, the samples have been overwhelmingly representative of the southwest region of the United States. While researchers (e.g., Delgado-Romero et al., 2005; Mazzula & Victoria, 2008) have noted the heterogeneity of the Latino community, this rhetoric does not appear to be informing research methodology at quite the same speed. Latino ethnicity, time in the U.S., the frequency and kind of contact preserved with the native country, language use with friends, language use with family, and fluency with English language are important factors to consider in order to appreciate the subtle and overt differences within the Latino community (Villarruel & Rodriguez, 2003). The current sample is predominantly of Caribbean ethnicity (i.e., Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican), with the greatest proportion coming from Puerto Rico. The experience of individuals from the Caribbean can vary substantially from Latinos from Mexico and other parts of Central and South America, such as how Puerto Ricans come to the U.S. with citizenship and are able to travel freely between the

island and the mainland. This is a markedly different experience from other Latinos. Meanwhile, the socioeconomic, geographic and political pressures that bring Latinos to the U.S., gravitating towards particular regional areas, where they may or may not have access to other Latinos, also greatly impacts their experience and belief system. While not definite, these belief systems may include ideology around gender roles, rape victims, and culpability in rape scenarios.

Additionally, the current findings shed light on how gender role attitudes are commonly understood. In some ways the literature on Latinos speaks to a very traditional perspective on cultural values. While this may be a general characteristic, the current sample highlights the danger of this perhaps gross generalization. Perhaps these traditional notions do not best characterize more bicultural segments of the Latino population. The current sample may personify the notions of biculturalism that have begun to forge their way in the Latino literature. The literature around biculturalism is primarily scholarship and when efforts were made to empirically test these theoretic notions, findings did not support the ideas.

For example, Mazzula (2009) set out to test the model of bicultural competence set forth by LaFramboise et al. (1993) and its relationship to psychological distress. At that juncture, the bicultural competence model had not been subject to any empirical analysis. Using a sample of 392 Latinos and Latinas, residing primarily (i.e., 90%) from New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. Findings failed to find significant paths between acculturation, collective self-esteem, and racial identity, and biculturalism. In addition, findings did not reveal a significant relationship between biculturalism and psychological distress. One interpretation offered by Mazzula (2009), influenced by the work of Nguyen and Benet-Martinez (2007), was that perhaps there are varying ways that one can be bicultural, resulting in a greater complexity in the construct that was not adequately considered.

Clearly the findings of the current study point to the fact that portions of the Latino community navigate in and out of both Latino and White American cultures. There is limited data that can explicitly speak to any conflict the current sample may be experiencing as a result, but the data does suggest that they are able to manage some balance in their ability to endorse behaviors and identity of the traditional Latino culture while demonstrating progress in more Anglo-oriented institutions, such as higher education.

In regards to the female sample specifically, the findings are quite interesting. Not only did gender role attitudes or conflict around gender role attitudes not predict negative attitudes towards rape victims, but their negative attitudes scores were also, on average, higher than male attitudes. This contradicts a significant body of evidence finding women more likely to hold more empathetic views towards victims of rape. One way to generally understand these gender-delineated generalizations is the idea that females are more likely to relate to rape victims because of perceived universality around the vulnerability to rape since they are women, supported by the idea of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The theory postulates that individuals categorize objects into “like” and “different” categories, attributes certain beliefs to one’s belonging in one group, and then support and attribute positive beliefs about the group one belongs to in efforts to main self-esteem. If we think about common findings around gender and attitudes towards rape victims it would make sense that females would be more empathetic. Rape victims are generally assumed to be female and are often victims to strong criticism. Given the possible “sameness” females may feel towards other females, they are more likely to be positive and empathetic towards rape victims in an effort to bolster the shared gender group to which they belong. This trend however was not seen in the current female sample. While the rape victim attitudes measure is worded in such a way that a female is the victim and a male the

perpetrator, the current female sample was in fact harsher to the hypothetical female represented in the items than were the males.

Latinas are commonly stereotyped as provocative, overly sensual, and curvaceous with form fitting clothing (Beltran, 2003; Lundstrom, 2006). They are often assumed to be sexually available, sexually adept, and sexually desirable (Molina Guzman & Valdivia, 2004). This stereotype can be quite a contrast to conservative, religious, family oriented values also often ascribed to Latinas (Faulkner, 2003). Latinas are often noted to have quite traditional attitudes around gender when compared to other ethnic groups (Maier, 2008). Religion is deeply rooted in the Latino culture (Gallo, Penedo, Espinosa de los Monteros, & Arguelles, 2009; Campesino, Belyea, & Schwartz, 2009) with the majority of Latinos reporting some religious affiliation (Gallo, Penedo, Espinosa de los Monteros, & Arguelles, 2009) or identifying religion as a part of their overall culture and daily lives (Garcia, Gray-Stanley, & Ramirez-Valles, 2008). Religion has been associated with conservative views (Feltey & Poloma, 1991; Scheepers, Grotenhuis, & Van der Slik, 2002), an emphasis on moral behavior (Garcia, Gray-Stanley, & Ramirez-Valles, 2008; Scheepers, Grotenhuis, & Van der Slik, 2002), and influential of behaviors and attitudes around sex and intimate relationships (Feather, 1991). The prevalent role of religion in the Latino culture is further evidenced in the construct *marianismo*, based on the Virgin Mary and the virtues of purity, motherhood, and sacrifice. Latinas are placed in a conundrum of hyper-sexual and virginal expectations. If we keep this in mind and apply it to the current sample, we may begin to at best speculate why the current female sample reported such unsympathetic attitudes to rape victims.

Religiosity is often associated with just world beliefs that assume there are preconditions for deserving outcomes (Hunt, 2000; Feather, 1991). These kinds of cultural values may be an

indicator of how Latinas in the sample feel about rape victims. On some psychological level, females in the current sample may have a greater need to rationalize that victims of rape did something to provoke the attack and if they avoid such indiscretions they can remain safe from being victimized. Additionally, they may be harsher to other females given the typecasting cited above. Latinas may feel more critical of other Latinas that may be perceived as supporting the stereotypes. This criticism may be perpetuated by more conservative views, resulting in a kind of “you asked for it” attitude.

Familism, another commonly noted construct important to the Latino culture, could also influence conservative views. Maintaining the honor of the family has been identified as an imperative within the community. When Latinas are sexually assaulted, they often experience a great distress around notions they are tainted and bringing shame to their families post-assault. It is often the victim, not the perpetrator, which receives the brunt of the disgrace (Maier, 2008). Despite the hyper-sexualized ideology imposed on Latinas, the values around sexual purity and honor are driving forces influencing Latina behavior (Maier, 2008). In Maier’s (2008) research with rape advocates, internalized shame and anticipated negative responses from families creates ambivalence and self-blame for many Latina rape victims.

Latinos are also subject to exaggerated standards of masculinity. They are often characterized as the ‘Latin lover,’ hyper-masculine, hyper-sexualized, dark haired and mustached (Molina Guzman & Valdivia, 2004). They often are labeled as dominant, promiscuous, and aloof, and are assumed to use alcohol excessively. On the other hand, Latino masculinity also calls for strength, responsibility, honor, and being a protector and provider (Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002). It is only recently that research has considered the complexity of masculinity in the Latino community. What is often missing however is an examination of how there may be

distinctions among different Latino ethnicities (Torres et al., 2002). The nuances of gender role identity have been poorly examined across Latino subgroups. Factors including exposure to egalitarian gender roles in the native country, positive adaptation to U.S. ideals around gender roles, and cultural flexibility can create subtle differences within the Latino group (Torres et al., 2002). These deficiencies have left Latinos to carry stereotyped notions in their representativeness in research. Torres et al. (2002) suggests that traditional ideals of masculinity may no longer be salient in today's society. Changing sociopolitical contexts, changes in labor force, and contradictory cultural values may be creating a change to the common notions of masculinity for Latinos, a change that has not been thoroughly examined by researchers. This may be evident in the current results that found all but one significant relationship between either male gender role attitudes with any other variables in the study.

It is important to note that the stereotypes and generalizations around the Latino community can lead to pigeonholing a multifaceted population. For example, researchers in the public health realm (e.g., Villarruel & Rodriguez, 2003) have warned that generalizations made around Latino's Catholicism, gender roles, sexual practices and parenting practices can jeopardize the health education of youth and negatively impact efforts to address HIV/AIDS in that community. They go on to stress that many of these perceived obstacles and driving ideology are not supported by empirical evidence, particularly notions around machismo and gender role ideology.

An additional factor to consider in interpreting the current findings is to examine the standard for rape attitudes research. Overwhelmingly, the findings and conclusions made in the rape literature are based on White, middle class samples. Very little work has branched out to include other racial/ethnic groups; when they have been represented, they comprise a small

proportion of the samples. Also, when samples have attempted at some diversity the comparisons are made between White and non-White groups, assuming homogeneity among all groups of color. The current study was modeled around assumptions that gender role attitudes predict attitudes towards rape victims, as has been the precedent in the literature. At first glance the current findings appear anomalous, as neither female nor male gender roles predicted or were related to negative attitudes. While there may be some issue or limitation with the sample used, the fact that the normative findings in this area are based on White, middle class values should be considered as the reason the current findings do not fall in line with the body of research in this area. The current findings may be highlighting significant differences in rape attitudes among different ethnic and socioeconomic groups. In effect the findings may be providing further evidence for cultural differences that not only impact certain attitudes but also examination of nuanced sociocultural factors as they may operate and influence in unique ways.

Not only is the majority of the existing data supporting the relationship between gender role attitudes and attitudes towards rape victims based on White, middle class samples but most of the research is somewhat dated. The review of the literature finds a boom in the research in this area took place in the 1980s and 1990s with considerably fewer contributions in the following decade. The assumed incongruence of the current findings may be a result of a changing social climate. While some elements of traditional gender roles have remained present over the years, there has been a significant evolution across the last few decades. Some of the literature used today to support the vital role of gender attitudes on attitude towards rape victims is 10-20 years old. The current findings may be evidence of a shift in the gender ideological climate and espouses the need for more contemporary research in this area.

Lastly, an additional assumption made in the study needs further examination. In some ways the current study was two studies in one. Different gender role measures were used for men and women resulting in two data sets and separate analyses. There are a handful of gender role measures that are gender neutral and are common in the rape attitude literature, but these measures are dated and have not received adequate attention to their validity with various ethnic/racial groups. For that reason they were not used in the current study and more contemporary, Latino-normed measures were used. The effort to be more culturally-relevant and appropriate resulted in the use of gender specific measures as a gender neutral Latino-normed or Latino-validated measure could not be identified. While using gender specific measures had its limitations (e.g., being able to compare gender scores), the driving assumption was that they would reveal more accurate information regarding the gender role attitudes of the current Latino sample. Given scholarship regarding the Latino culture, it was determined that it was important to tap into the more traditional gender role values of the community in the current research effort. The results, however, beg the question: Are the assumptions around the Latino community too broad? Are there nuances that the scholarship has not adequately addressed? Are these nuances being considered in empirical Latino research? In many respects the body of research dedicated to Latino issues is in fledgling stages making responses to these questions hypothetical at best. However, the current findings, contrary in many ways to assumptions made in the rape and Latino research, may provide a glimpse into the need for a more critical eye in Latino research efforts. Perhaps there is more overlap than previously thought and the need for gender-specific measures is unsupported.

There is a fine line between the application of cultural norms in multicultural and mainstream research and further perpetuation of stereotypes. Latinos in the U.S. are an

interesting group, multifaceted in many ways. Some Latinos are first generation in this country, coming to the U.S. with no English proficiency, little education, little access to resources, and in some cases undocumented status. At the same time you have Latinos in the U.S. for several generations, highly educated, with less or no Spanish proficiency, never visiting their 'native country.' Meanwhile, there are many Latinos somewhere in between these polar examples. The point to be made is that as Latino research develops and targets new segments of the population not well represented in the Latino literature (e.g., northeast, Caribbean decent, fairly-highly educated), the base of what is deemed normative for Latinos must expand and be more inclusive.

Acculturation as a Moderator Variable

It was hypothesized that acculturation would moderate the relationship between gender role attitudes and negative attitudes towards rape victims. Acculturation was understood in the current study as a combination of participants' beliefs and behaviors influenced by Latino culture and American culture. Acculturation could not be examined as a moderator variable as no relationship was found between gender role attitudes and these attitudes in the analysis using the male and female data sets. Further exploration uncovered that acculturation had limited predictive capabilities when looking at this relationship directly. No predictive relationship was found within the female sample with either subscale variable (i.e., Anglo-orientation subscale and Mexican-orientation subscale). On the other hand with the male sample, the Mexican-orientation subscale variable was found to be a significant predictor, having an inverse relationship with attitudes towards rape victims. There were no significant results using the male Anglo-orientation subscale scores.

Using cut-off scores proposed by Cuellar et al. (1995), the males and females in the current sample are what the authors would describe as integrated, high biculturals. This means

that they have successfully integrated cultural aspects of both American and Latino cultures. They feel a sense of identification and comfort with both groups. While highly integrated, both females ($t = 10.10, p = .00$) and males ($t = 10.59, p = .00$) have significantly higher scores on the Anglo-orientation subscale when compared to their scores on the Mexican-orientation subscale. In addition, while all analyses were conducted in gender specific data sets, further examination collapsed the data sets to examine differences between genders along the acculturation variables. These analyses revealed that females in the study had significantly higher degrees of Anglo-orientation ($t = -2.25, p = .03$) and Mexican-orientation ($t = -3.81, p = .00$) when compared to male scores.

Researchers have long purported that acculturation's role in research is prominent, regarding it as influential of attitudes. Given prior research on the influential role of acculturation, the results of the current study were in contrast to what was posited. Hypotheses in the current study would have expected a significant relationship between acculturation and the attitude criterion variable. There was also some inclination to suppose that acculturation would have been related to the gender role predictor variables that was also attitudinal in nature. Further motivation for the original hypotheses was based on the work of researchers (e.g., Phinney & Flores, 2002) that supported the idea that gender role attitudes differ considerably when comparing Latin Americans and White Americans, suggesting that this difference may be understood through the lens of the acculturation process. Caution has been recommended however around the explanatory significance of acculturation given its malleability (Phinney & Flores, 2002). Torres et al. (2002) found acculturation not to be related to gender role attitudes among a sample of Latinos. Their findings, like the current study, may have been considered to be in contrast to the evidence supporting acculturation's influential role in attitudes and

behaviors. The authors, however, did not describe the findings as surprising. Similar to commentary made earlier, the authors noted differences in their sample when compared to commonly used Latino samples as a possible explanation for this unexpected finding. They contest that Latinos' experiences of negotiating a dualistic understanding of their masculinity is not impacted by their acculturation level. They suggest that this struggle is impervious to acculturation as it is something salient to all Latinos. Furthermore, Torres et al. (2002) highlight that Latino men may feel a great ambivalence around the multi-dimensionality of their masculine expectations. This can in turn lead to stress that can be manifested in negative, behavioral consequences. The pressure to transcend negative behavior, which may be seen as supporting stereotypes, may play a greater role in one's relationship and understanding of their gender role above and beyond the degree of acculturation.

Acculturation, as a fluid process, allows for movement at different speeds across different dimensions (Lara, Gamboa, Kahramanian, Morales, & Bautista, 2005). It is important to appreciate this fluidity and understand that it can impact individual's reports on acculturation measures. This can make broad, definite conclusions difficult to draw. The results of the current study may be evidence to support this conservative approach to including and interpreting results of acculturation in research.

If we consider the females in the current sample, about 23% of them had some college education and 64% had a bachelor's degree, some graduate school, a master's degree, or some other advanced degree. The sample was also over 80% first or second generation in this country. Taken together, this group of women may have pressures to emulate the vision of an independent, hard working woman aimed for success. She may feel pressure to conform to such ambitious ideas in her effort to attain higher education and climb social ladders. As such, it may

be that she endorses more Anglo-orientated views in an effort to separate herself from more Mexican-orientation views that may be more affiliated with traditional views around women. Social desirability was a significant predictor among the female sample. This sample may have particular investment in preserving a “good face” and may want to present as they believe they should in accordance with social standards. If this were true then perhaps the Anglo-orientation and Mexican-orientation scores are not true indicators of their acculturation or good predictors of the female sample’s true attitudes towards rape victims.

At face value the significant predictive relationship between MOS and negative attitudes towards rape victims appears contrary to what is found in the literature. The current study found that as male participants’ orientation towards more Latino identity increases, their views towards rape victims becomes more empathetic, while the previous understanding of traditional Latino values would suggest that the more traditional the cultural views of an individual, the more negative or punitive their attitudes. Further examination of the male sample also revealed that they carry significantly more caballerismo views than machismo views ($t = 44.76, p = .00$). As a result, perhaps for the current sample their greater orientation to Latino identity (i.e., Mexican-orientation subscale) is related to their stronger caballerismo orientation to their gender role. This gender role would lend itself to more nurturing behavior, great value for respect, and pride in the role of protector. The more empathetic views towards rape victims may be influenced by these views.

As previously noted the current sample can be described as highly integrated biculturals. This suggests they easily navigate in and out of both American and Latino cultures. They hold in high regard comfort and identity in each culture. This degree of biculturalism may be influencing the current findings. Generally, researchers have purported that lower degrees of acculturation are

related to more traditional cultural views, which could be then linked to less empathetic attitudes towards rape victims. These generalizations are often made conceptualizing acculturation as a linear process (i.e., high versus low) which is contrary to the theory of acculturation as a bi-directional, fluid process. The current sample may have presented a challenge for this kind of linear conceptualization of acculturation as they are not low acculturated or high acculturated, instead highly bicultural with similar degrees of cultural orientation. Perhaps the current findings present a task for the acculturation research of how to interpret empirical findings in ways that are more in line with how acculturation is conceptualized. For this reason, the current sample's acculturation scores may not be generally predictive of their attitudes towards rape victims.

The norming sample of the ARSMA-II also deserves some attention. It was originally normed and has been used primarily with Mexican and Mexican-American samples. The original norming sample was comprised of a participant pool of Mexican, Mexican-American, and White non-Hispanic university students living in south Texas, representing 5 generation levels. For use in the current study, some changes had to be made around the language used in the measure to accommodate the multi-ethnic Latino sample used. The measure was used, despite this shortcoming, because of its ability to capture the bi-directionality of the acculturation process, mainly through its separate subscales. However, not only was the measure originally designed for Mexican and Mexican-American samples, but most studies examining the impact of acculturation have used predominantly or exclusively with Mexican and Mexican-American samples (Yoon, Langrehr, and Ong, 2010; Mendelson, Rehkopf, and Kubzansky, 2008). Very few studies have tested acculturation effects across different ethnic groups. This is problematic as the experience of different Latino groups can vary considerably. For instance, the concept of acculturating to the United States for an individual from Puerto Rico as compared to someone

from Mexico can be quite different. The fact that Puerto Ricans have U.S. citizenship upon arrival to the mainland makes their experience different from other Latino groups (Lara et al., 2005).

Along the same lines, the geographic location where individuals immigrate to can impact the acculturation experience. Some immigrants come to the United States and integrate mainstream American values fairly quickly while others migrate into cultural enclaves making the integrative process slower and less salient (Phinney & Flores, 2002). This factor is often not taken into consideration nor is the focus of empirical acculturation work. Contextual factors that are important to understand the acculturation experience include socio-political climate in native country, motivations for settlement, degree of stress experienced in migration (Betancourt & Regeser Lopez, 1993, access to opportunities to maintain contact with individuals of similar, native cultures, coping capacity, and outcome of acculturation process (Lara et al., 2005). For females in the sample these elements may be important factors in understanding their degree of acculturation. Furthermore, these may be factors that are most salient for them and thus influential in their attitude development and ultimately their attitudes towards rape victims.

Other Variables Considered

Outside of the main hypotheses driving the study, three questions were posited for exploration. One question focused on the relationship between social desirability and attitudes towards rape victims. Social desirability was understood in the current study as the tendency to provide responses motivated by the desire to make a good impression. Some researchers (e.g., Hebert, Ma, Clemon, Ockene, Saperia, Stanek III, Merriam, & Ockene, 1997) have suggested that social desirability plays a greater factor in situations where an individual experiences some conflict between their true preference and the socially desirable answer. In the current study,

results revealed that greater social desirability among female participants was predictive of less critical attitudes towards rape victims. Social desirability was also found to correlate negatively to marianismo and its related conflict. While not a primary focus of the current study, the measure of social desirability was included in the study given the subject matter of the study and evidence about resistance to discussions of sexual-related issues among Latinos/as (McKean Skaff et al., 2002). Diaz (1998) states that silence around issues of sex is prevalent in the Latino community and that there is motivation to avoid disclosure of issues that may be considered painful or shameful. Social desirability did not appear to have any relationship or predictive value among the male sample.

Analysis of the female data found that social desirability was the only significant predictor of negative attitudes towards rape victims. The significance around social desirability may be an example of *simpatía*, a cultural value deemed important in the Latino culture. *Simpatía* is “a highly valued relational style” based on “the search for social harmony” that emphasizes “expressive displays of personal charm, graciousness, and hospitality” (Sanchez-Burks, Nisbett, and Ibarra, 2000, p. 175). The Latino culture has been described as emphasizing harmony and social acceptance, and maintaining social support as an important cultural ideal (Holloway, Waldrip, and Ickes, 2009). Demonstrating *simpatía* is an “attempt to create a highly personable atmosphere as an end in itself” (Sanchez-Burks, Nisbett, & Ibarra, 2000, p. 175). By applying the principle of *simpatía* in their everyday interactions, Latinos/as attempt to promote positive social behaviors and avoid negative behaviors that might engender conflicts (Triandis, Marin, Lisansky, & Betancourt, 1984). Triandis, Martin, Linsansky, and Betancourt (1984) found that Latinos endorse more thoughts and feelings related to *simpatía* than did White American participants in their study of social interactions using different combinations of Latino

and White American dyads. Their finding suggests that while there may be something universal about wanting to present acceptably, there may be something uniquely manifested within the Latino community. It may be that the females in the study have been culturally socialized to honor the concept of *simpatía* and veered away from endorsing more negative attitudes towards rape victims that could be experienced as conflict-ridden and giving rise to tension, in order to maintain a pleasant, respectful, and conforming presentation. Given that the mean scores for attitudes towards rape victims was actually higher for women, this significant relationship underscores an interesting dynamic where the females in the current sample were invested in presenting more admirably but still reported attitudes more negatively than their male counterparts.

Alternatively, the role of education may be another way to understand the findings of the current study. It has been suggested that increased levels of education may increase the likelihood that individuals will conform to greater social norms. In a study looking at positions around equal opportunity policies, Krysan (1998) found that college graduates were more likely than less educated respondents to avoid reporting opposition to equal opportunity policies in a face-to-face interview. Krysan argues that because of the greater knowledge educated individuals have about the experience of disadvantaged populations and reasons why individuals may hold positions against opportunity policies, most notably racial prejudice, more educated individuals would not endorse their discordance with such policies. As a result, in the presence of an interviewer, some better educated respondents would conceal opposition to equal opportunity policies to avoid appearing racist.

For men, the findings did not support the hypothesis in that there was no significant relationship between social desirability and negative attitudes towards rape victims. While the

notion of *simpatía* is also relevant to Latino men, it may be less salient than as with women. Traditionally in the Latino culture, the women are held to a certain standard of conflict resolution, sacrifice, and commitment to the family. Men are given more room to exert their beliefs and act on them. While the tone of *simpatía* has been found more present in the Latino culture over all when compared to other cultures, it may manifest itself differently between men and women. There is some evidence (e.g., Hebert et al., 1997) to suggest that women are more likely to be motivated to provide socially desirable responses when compared to men. In addition, gender role socialization in the Latino culture generally promotes that women be more self-sacrificing and demonstrative of honor and duty to others where men are socialized to carry more authority. This may be important to consider given the suggestion of some researchers (e.g., Hebert et al., 1997) that social desirability bias may be most relevant when the respondent identifies response options as “good” and “bad.” Given gender socialization differences, this concept may be less salient for the men in the current sample. The evidence suggesting differences in social desirability by gender may be further supported by the current findings. The significant, predictive role of social desirability among females and the non-significant results among the male sample may best be understood as a manifestation of the gender difference.

Another question in the current study was about the relationship between socioeconomic status and attitudes towards rape victims. There was no significant relationship between the two variables among females. A significant relationship was found however with the male sample, in that higher SES was predictive of more negative attitudes. Both findings appear to deviate from some of the suggestions made in the literature. Past research has found that as socioeconomic status increases, individuals hold less negative attitudes towards rape victims. Greater SES has been linked to greater educational attainment that has been associated with greater tendency to

endorse more egalitarian views. More egalitarian views have been associated with greater empathy towards rape victims. Lower SES, associated with less education, is often associated with greater male dominant/female subservient views. These less egalitarian views are associated with less empathy towards rape victims. In both female and male samples, the socioeconomic range was limited with the overwhelming majority of the samples identifying as working and middle class. In regards to the female sample, the limited range of SES may be restricting the likelihood to detect any significant differences. With both samples, “greater” SES was no higher than middle class. This may not provide a broad enough reach to draw any comparisons to existing literature. The SES findings should be interpreted with caution as the reduced variance caused by such a limited range in the data can result in decreased sensitivity in the analysis that would reveal differences between the groups.

Additionally, for women in the sample, their socioeconomic status may not be a primary factor in their rape victim attitude formation. Other cultural factors related to gender may be more influential above and beyond SES. Rape is one of the few human experiences that cut across all cultures. Rape can happen at any time, to individuals of any race, any socioeconomic status, and regardless of whether you are in or outside of your home. With this in mind, the socioeconomic status of the females in the sample may be irrelevant to their attitudes about this experience and its victims. The perceived vulnerability around this experience may be more influential in their ideas around the culpability and susceptibility of rape victims.

Unlike the female sample, a significant relationship was found between SES and negative attitudes towards rape victims among men. The relationship was positive in that higher SES was predictive of greater negative attitudes towards rape victims. This result was interesting given research suggesting that as SES increases, individuals are less likely to endorse victim blaming

beliefs. Again, the findings should be interpreted with care given the limited range in the SES data. Be that as it may, we can think about what the results may tell us about the male sample. It is often believed that individuals of greater SES are more educated and as a result may have more exposure to more egalitarian views. Such egalitarian views lend themselves to more empathetic feelings towards rape victims. However, there is also evidence to the contrary. For instance, in their study of rape attitudes, Nagel et al. (2005) found that higher income or school attendance did not necessarily result in more sympathetic view of victims of rape.

The current findings may be a result of increased traditionalist views resulting from increased social class. One explanation for the contrary results may be that as Latino men progress up the social ladder, they may become more conservative. There is evidence to suggest that higher socioeconomic status is associated with increased conservative political views (e.g., Jetten, Haslam, and Barlow, 2012). Such views are often associated with conservative social views that may include issues around rape and its victims.

The last question asked in the current study was around ethnicity and its relationship to attitudes towards rape victims. For both male and female samples, ethnicity was found not to be predictive of negative attitudes towards rape victims. The inclusion of ethnicity as a variable in the analysis was exploratory as there is no published evidence suggesting Latino ethnic group differences in attitudes towards rape victims. However, a recommendation of contributors to the Latino literature has been the examination of ethnic group differences to counter homogenous assumptions commonly made. While an effort to move towards more comprehensive methodology in research, the current findings may be illuminating the idea that ethnicity alone cannot explain attitudes. It may be that cultural values, possibly attributed to certain ethnic groups, should remain the primary focus of research regarding beliefs and behaviors.

While ethnicity as a predictor variable in the regression analyses was not a significant, it did correlate significantly to the attitudes dependent variable. Being Central/South American was related to more negative attitudes towards rape victims while being Caribbean was related to lower victim blaming attitudes. Ethnicity was categorized by region as the numbers of certain ethnic groups were too few to include in any analysis. Examining the makeup of the Central/South American and Caribbean groups may provide some direction to interpreting these results. The Central/South American group was comprised of all ethnic groups in any Central or South American country. The largest ethnic group represented in this category was Mexican/Mexican-American. Mexican/Mexican-Americans made up about 40% of the Central/South American group among men and about 98% of the Central/South American group among women. While Catholicism is quite popular in Latino countries (Ellison, Acevedo, & Ramos-Wada, 2011), its presence in Mexico and among Mexican culture is noteworthy (Lujan & Campbell, 2006). Catholicism places considerable value on purity of women and traditional views around sex. The greater endorsement of negative attitudes by Central/South Americans may be a result of this significant representation of Mexican/Mexican-American identified Latinos and Latinas. The conservative views often attributed to this ethnic group may be manifested in the greater endorsement of negative attitudes towards rape victims found in the current study.

Limitation of the study

One issue with in the current study was that the survey measures were not counterbalanced. This is problematic as it can present issues around order and fatigue effects. The order of the measures can have an influence in response patterns. In the current study, the survey began with demographic items, followed by gender role attitude items and introduced the attitudes towards

rape victim items at the end given the potentially sensitive response to the items. The last measure was the social desirability scale. Participants had the capability to go back and forth in both the paper-and-pencil and online versions of the survey. While there is no data that can attest to this it remains possible that once participants responded to social desirability items they could have returned to the rape victim attitude questions. The social desirability items could have motivated respondents to change responses that could have been deemed less acceptable or inappropriate. A significantly smaller portion of the data came from paper-and-pencil packets. This may have decreased the probability that participants changed responses given that online participants may have perceived greater anonymity than paper participants. While this probability remains unclear, it should be considered.

A similar pattern may have occurred with the gender role and rape attitudes items. The gender role attitudes items may have primed respondents to become more aware of their traditional or non-traditional views and influenced their support or dissent of victim blaming statements. Here too, participants could have gone back to change responses given their reactions to completing the rape victim attitudes measure after the gender role measure. Again, while there is no data to provide evidence of this it is nonetheless a factor to consider in future research.

Another issue related to lack of counterbalancing is that of fatigue effects. Given the order of the survey items, it is important to note that the items measuring the dependent variable in the study were at the tail end of the survey. The attitude towards rape victim items can also be considered some of the more challenging or provocative in the study. It is possible that fatigue could have set in by the time respondents reached these very important items. There is some data to help illustrate the probability of this point. About 27% of participants that logged on to the online version of the survey did not complete enough of the measure to be included in the

analysis. A significant portion of this 27% was missing data on all or the majority of the dependent variable items. Counterbalancing may have minimized some of the order effects and participant retention rates.

Another point to consider is that the survey was presented exclusively in English. Only three of the measures used have an official Spanish version available which would have meant extensive translation and validity work on the other measures. As a result, the decision was made to move forward with an English-only survey. The accepted limitation that came with this decision was the potential restriction around acculturation. Historically used to measure acculturation, language is now considered a crude, narrow indicator of this phenomenon (Kang, 2006). While it provides some information about an individual, it does not fully capture the complexity of navigating and identifying with either American or Latino culture. Be that as it may, one can consider that if someone is able to read and respond to inquiries in English they have some comfort at least with the language of the American culture. This ability to navigate an English-only survey may also be associated with length of time in the U.S. and/or education level. While there is evidence that, particularly in highly homogenous communities, certain pockets of the country do not necessitate English fluency, generally one would consider that individuals in the U.S. for longer periods of time would be more fluent English speakers. Also one would consider that fluent English speaking Latinos will have greater access to resources and education than monolingual, Spanish dominant Latinos. As a result, an English-only survey sets limits on the heterogeneity of Latinos/Latinas able to participate. By offering the survey English-only, Spanish-monolingual Latinos were excluded from the study. This segment of the population could have contributed a richer, greater degree of variability in the data that could have shed greater light on the factors influencing attitudes towards rape victims.

One of the aims of the study was to approach the examination of gender roles from a more culturally-relevant perspective, different from how it has traditionally been studied. As such, the Latina-normed Latina Values Scale-Revised (LVS-R) measure was used with the female sample and the Machismo Measure was used with the male sample to measure gender role attitudes. While the author of the LVS-R measure (Melendez, 2004) and the work of Gelder (2012) provide evidence to support the validity of the measure, it can be said that the measure is minimally validated given its lack of extensive use in published research. Similarly, the Machismo Measure's validity is limited in scope as the only published empirical article using the Machismo Measure is that of the original authors. They provide evidence for the validity of the measure but do note that future work should further investigate the generalizability of the measure to varying Latino samples. As discussed above the insignificant findings around the gender role measures deserves further analysis around the instruments. Work around their validity across various segments of the Latino population is warranted. Given the current absence around this kind of validity examination, their use in the current study remains a limitation and begs for caution in interpretation of the findings.

Lastly, a notable limitation was the underlying heterosexual scope of the study. The items of the attitudes towards rape victim measure are worded in such a way that they ask about the behavior of women and ideas about the rape of women. While females are commonly the victims of most reported rape, men can also be victims of rape (Coxell & King, 1996). Furthermore, rape also occurs in same-sex couples or groups (Scarce, 1997). Despite this greater reach in victimization, women remain the focus in rape research and in the eyes of society. While research on female rape victims at the hands of male perpetrators is important, it is often conducted with little acknowledgment that it represents one kind of rape experience and may not

account for other kinds of rape scenarios. For that reason, the current study is explicitly acknowledging this limitation in the research methodology.

Implications for Mental Health Services

The current findings add to the understanding and provide direction for further research around attitudes attributed to rape victims. These findings have important clinical implications. Rape victim interventions run the gamut of rape crisis hotlines, individual psychotherapy treatment, group therapies, and psychoeducation groups for family and friends. Factors found to influence the attitudes society holds towards rape victims are important in that they shed light on some of the issues that may impede a victim's sense of being understood and supported and their recovery from such a devastating experience. An emerging body of research (e.g., Ullman and Filipas 2001) provides some evidence around the relationship between victims' receipt of negative, critical attitudes and increased risk for post-traumatic symptoms.

Most rape education interventions take a generic, universal approach (McMahon, 2007). These approaches miss the contextual and cultural differences among rape victims of different backgrounds. Studies with rape victim advocates (e.g., Maier, 2008) have provided evidence to suggest that victims of different racial/ethnic groups face unique challenges in their recovery given cultural differences in how their support networks and their society react to their experience. Some researchers (e.g., McMahon, 2007) have suggested for instance that education programs may be best designed by gender to address problematic issues salient to different genders. Other researchers (e.g., Maier, 2008) have recommended greater diversity in staffing of rape victim advocates in efforts to communicate a sense of understanding and representativeness. Also, multicultural training has been advocated for different rape response personnel (Maier, 2008). The aim of these measures should be helping address the possible internalized, culturally-

informed beliefs that may prolong recovery and exacerbate psychological distress (Fetchenhauer, Jacobs, & Belschak, 2005).

Additionally, research focused on factors that can influence negative beliefs about victims of rape is also relevant to the development of training programs for mental health professions including psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, and counselors. Training of health professions (e.g., nurses) and first responders (e.g., emergency medical technicians, police officers) can also benefit from such research. They are a sampling of the service providers that make up the complex system rape victims come into contact with post-attack. At any junction, one of these providers can respond to rape victims with their internalized, negative biases. Such actions can impede the victims from completing a chain of services, discourage trust in other service providers, and potentially increase risk for further psychological complications.

Program development and training initiatives geared at identifying, understanding, and addressing victims' pressures to present well, reduce family shame, minimize conflict, or deal with internal or external conservative views may play a significant role in minimizing stigmas and creating greater access to care and aid in the victim's recovery. Research like the current study can help to slowly build evidence that may be used to provide support for the development of needed policies and procedures aimed to create spaces for greater disclosure and higher utilization rates among rape victims (Smith & Cook, 2008).

Given the particularly lower reporting rates among Latinas it would be imprudent to think that culture does not play a role in the experiences of Latina rape victims. Scholars (e.g. Ulloa et al., 2008) have already identified the importance of identifying cultural correlates of dating abuse and violence. Also, researchers (e.g., Maier, 2008) have provided evidence that rape advocates

find cultural nuances play a role in the access and care of rape victims. The clinical relevance of rape attitude research is clear but the area has far to go.

Directions for Future Research

This study focused primarily on one area of cultural identity - gender role attitudes - in its effort to understand attitudes towards rape victims. In the face of the current results there are some proposed recommendations for future work in this area.

It may behoove future researchers to consider a mixed-method approach to the research. Most of the work around Latino cultural values is theoretical in nature. Decisions of variables to include are based on these ideas that may or may not have empirical backing. It may be helpful for future researchers to engage some qualitative approaches in an effort to gather richer data to better inform quantitative efforts in subsequent work. Frese, Moya, & Megias (2004) identified the contribution of focus groups in this kind of research because it can discover data not readily available using existing standard measures. They found mixed methods (e.g., scales and focus groups) to be particularly helpful at highlighting culture-specific ideas about rape and rape victims. Multi-method research may include utilization of rape vignettes with discussions around what kinds of ideas participants draw upon in making attributions of blame. Qualitative measures may also be included to assess constructs such as social desirability that have some empirical grounding around their influence on attitude reports.

Additionally, future research on attitudes towards rape victims should make greater effort to focus on specific kinds of rape or clearly define the context of the rape. Attitudes towards rape victims may vary if the perpetrator is a stranger, friend, date, partner, or spouse. While one may assume that in the current study participants had in mind the common perception of rape where the perpetrator is a stranger, there is no way to confirm this or account for how that may or may

not have affected their attitudes about the victim. Specifying the context and perpetrator/victim relationship in future research may provide further data around this speculation. It may highlight trends around differences by gender, ethnicity, and other cultural factors given different rape contexts. Furthermore, it may shed light on cultural differences around what kind of situations are considered rape and what kind of contexts are considered culturally/socially acceptable.

A question that was not asked of the current participants was whether they themselves had been a sexual assault victim or if they knew a victim. Nagel et al. (2005) considered the importance of including such an inquiry in rape research and how this data may speak to the generalizability of findings. They postulated that individuals who have been raped or have family members who have been raped may respond more frequently to surveys about rape as compared to the general public. If this is the case then perhaps the current body of research is limited in capturing the opinions and beliefs of a segment of the population.

Lastly, McMahon (2007) suggests that measures examining rape myths and rape attitudes should move in a direction to address the more subtle myths that exist among certain communities. McMahon (2007) underscores the importance of focusing on subtleties that may exist within certain subsets within college populations. She recommends use of focus groups and individual interviews to increase access to important information that can be lost with the use of current measures. This suggestion can be applied to all populations as all groups have their own sub-cultures with norms that influence beliefs and behaviors. In a similar vein, others (e.g., Frese, Moya, & Megias, 2004) have also highlighted the need for intervention programs not only to address general beliefs about sexual aggression, but also to demystify ambiguities around sexual aggression, with the goal of communicating the idea that there are no circumstances in

which an individual loses their right to refuse sex. Further research on the nuances around rape attitudes would help facilitate this kind of program development.

Table 1

Female Sample Characteristics (N=427)

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	%
Regional ethnicity		
Caribbean	140	32.9
Central American	155	36.4
South American	55	12.9
USA/Hispanic/Latino/Multi-ethnic	72	16.9
Missing value	4	0.9
Self-identified race		
Hispanic/Latino	386	90.6
Bi/Multi-racial	26	6.1
White	13	3.1
Black	1	0.2
Generation status		
First generation	108	25.4
Second generation	248	58.2
Third generation	47	11.0
Fourth or higher generation	23	5.4
Socioeconomic status		
Lower/poor class	19	4.5
Working class	199	46.7
Middle class	196	46.0
Upper class	12	2.8
Education level		

Eighth grade graduate	2	0.5
Attended HS, no diploma	1	0.2
General education diploma (GED)	2	0.5
High school diploma	29	6.8
Some college	102	23.9
Associate degree	17	4.0
Bachelor degree	105	24.6
Some graduate school	54	12.7
Master's degree	80	18.8
Doctoral degree	24	5.6
Other profession/terminal degree	10	2.3
Marital status		
Single/engaged	278	65.3
Married/domestic partnership/cohabitating	123	28.9
Separated/divorced/widowed	25	5.9
Geographic location of U.S. residence		
Northeast region	231	54.2
Southern region	67	15.7
Midwest region	49	11.5
Western region	71	16.7

Note. Sample demographic information for all female participants (n=427, 57.8%) is presented above. All analytic work was done with a split gender sample as gender roles were measured with distinct male and female gender role measurements.

Table 2

Male Sample Characteristics (N=312)

Characteristic	<i>n</i>	%
Regional ethnicity		
Caribbean	129	41.2
Central American	64	20.4
South American	59	18.8
USA/Hispanic/Latino/Multi-ethnic	56	17.9
Race		
Hispanic/Latino	208	89.5
Bi/Multi-racial	18	5.8
White	14	4.5
Black	1	0.3
Generation status		
First generation	95	30.4
Second generation	181	57.8
Third generation	27	8.6
Fourth or higher generation	10	3.2
Socioeconomic status		
Lower/poor class	31	9.9
Working class	112	35.8
Middle class	168	53.7
Upper class	2	0.6
Education level		
Attended HS, no diploma	2	0.6

General education diploma (GED)	2	0.6
High school diploma	23	7.3
Some college	71	22.7
Associate degree	22	7.0
Bachelor degree	93	29.7
Some graduate school	22	7.0
Master's degree	59	18.8
Doctoral degree	10	3.2
Other profession/terminal degree	9	2.9
Marital status		
Single/engaged	188	60.1
Married/domestic partnership/cohabitating	110	35.1
Separated/divorced/widowed	15	4.8
Geographic location of U.S. residence		
Northeast region	209	66.8
Southern region	52	16.6
Midwest region	24	7.7
Western region	26	8.3

Note. Sample demographic information for all male participants (n=312, 42.2%) is presented above. All analytic work was done with a split gender sample as gender roles were measured with distinct male and female gender role measurements.

Table 3

Means, standard deviation, and instrument reliability using female sample (N=427)

	M	SD	Range	Skewness	Kurtosis	Reliability (α)
Marianismo	91.21	15.31	31-123	-.52	.44	.87
Marianismo-con	77.74	21.73	27-124	-.51	-.24	.95
AOS	3.85	.42	2.23-5.00	-.30	.55	.69
MOS	3.49	.58	1.65-4.71	-.25	.01	.86
Soc Desir	28.45	5.20	14-42	-.29	-.16	.27
Neg Att Rape	50.65	8.85	10-79	-1.18	3.69	.53

Note. Marianismo = Female gender role attitudes as measured by the Latina Value Scale-Revised; Marianismo-con = Conflict around female gender role attitudes as measured by the Latina Value Scale-Revised; Acculturation = Total acculturation score as measured by the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; Soc Desir = Tendency to report desirable responses as measured by the Socially Desirable Response Set-5; Neg Att Rape = Negative attitudes towards rape victims measured by the Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale.

Table 4

Means, standard deviation, and instrument reliability using male sample (N=312)

	M	SD	Range	Skewness	Kurtosis	Reliability (α)
Machismo	2.44	.61	1-3.9	.02	-.41	.77
Caballerismo	4.06	.45	2-5	-.61	1.41	.67
AOS	3.78	.46	1.92-5	-.36	.50	.71
MOS	3.32	.59	1.06-4.71	-.33	.44	.79
Soc Desir	27.67	5.68	10-42	-.61	.47	.41
Neg Att Rape	41.01	9.43	9-66	-.91	1.6	.67

Note. Machismo = Machismo male gender role attitudes subscale as measured by the Machismo Measure; Caballerismo = Caballerismo male gender role attitudes subscale as measured by the Machismo Measure; AOS = Anglo-orientation subscale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; MOS = Mexican-orientation subscale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; Soc Desir = Tendency to report desirable responses as measured by the Socially Desirable Response Set-5; Neg Att Rape = Negative attitudes towards rape victims measured by the Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale.

Table 5

Inter-scale correlation matrix using female data set (N=427)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Marianismo	1								
2. Marianismo-con	.62**	1							
3. AOS	.00	.01	1						
4. MOS	.08†	-.02	.10*	1					
5. Soc Desir	-.24**	-.22**	-.02	.02	1				
6. DV_Caribbean	.08†	.08	-.03	.02	-.00	1			
7. DV_Cent/South Amer	-.03	-.03	.10	-.06	-.05	-.50**	1		
8. SES	-.12*	-.11*	.13**	-.08	.10*	.03	.13**	1	
9. Neg Att Rape	-.04	-.08†	.03	.05	-.12*	-.01	.07	.06	1

Note. Marianismo = Female gender role attitudes as measured by the Latina Value Scale-Revised; Marianismo-con = Conflict around female gender role attitudes as measured by the Latina Value Scale-Revised; AOS = Anglo-orientation subscale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; MOS = Mexican-orientation subscale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; Soc Desir = Tendency to report desirable responses as measured by the Socially Desirable Response Set-5; DV_Caribbean = Dummy variable for Caribbean ethnic region; DV_Cent/South Amer = Dummy variable for Central/South American ethnic region; SES = Self-reported socioeconomic status; Neg Att Rape = Negative attitudes towards rape victims measured by the Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

† Marginal correlation ($p > .05$ but $< .10$)

Table 6

Inter-scale correlation matrix using male data set (N=312)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Machismo	1								
2. Caballerismo	.29**	1							
3. AOS	-.00	.06	1						
4. MOS	.03	.16**	-.04	1					
5. Soc Desir	-.13*	-.03	-.01	.03	1				
6. DV_Caribbean	-.03	.03	.06	.07	.06	1			
7. DV_Cent/South Amer	.03	-.04	-.10†	.11†	-.07	-.69**	1		
8. SES	-.03	.01	.07	-.05	.07	-.01	.00	1	
9. Neg Att Rape	.10	.05	-.14*	-.09	.03	-.15**	.17**	.14*	1

Note. Machismo = Machismo male gender role attitudes subscale as measured by the Machismo Measure; Caballerismo = Caballerismo male gender role attitudes subscale as measured by the Machismo Measure; AOS = Anglo-orientation subscale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; MOS = Mexican-orientation subscale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; Soc Desir = Tendency to report desirable responses as measured by the Socially Desirable Response Set-5; DV_Caribbean = Dummy variable for Caribbean ethnic region; DV_Cent/South Amer = Dummy variable for Central/South American ethnic region; SES = Self-reported socioeconomic status; Neg Att Rape = Negative attitudes towards rape victims measured by the Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

† Marginal correlation ($p > .05$ but $< .10$)

Table 7

Means and standard deviations for all variables on interest by ethnicity – female sample (N=427)

	U.S. and multi-ethnic		Caribbean		Central/South American	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Neg Att Rape	50.28	9.22	50.80	7.90	51.81	8.02
AOS	3.81	.41	3.84	.39	3.91	.44
MOS	3.52	.50	3.50	.58	3.43	.65
Marianismo	89.99	14.20	92.63	15.61	90.46	16.09
Marianismo-con	75.96	22.21	79.97	20.69	76.82	22.40
Soc Desir	28.83	4.97	28.43	5.50	28.04	4.92
SES	2.34	.62	2.49	.66	2.59	.58

Note. Neg Att Rape = Negative attitudes towards rape victims measured by the Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale; AOS = Anglo-orientation scale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; MOS = Mexican-orientation scale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; Marianismo = Female gender role attitudes as measured by the Latina Value Scale-Revised; Marianismo-con = Conflict around female gender role attitudes as measured by the Latina Value Scale-Revised; Soc Desir = Tendency to report desirable responses as measured by the Socially Desirable Response Set-5; SES = Self-report of socioeconomic status.

Table 8

Means and standard deviations for all variables on interest by ethnicity – male sample (N=312)

	U.S. and multi-ethnic		Caribbean		Central/South American	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Neg Att Rape	40.85	8.83	39.60	10.41	43.13	7.69
AOS	3.82	.46	3.80	.46	3.71	.45
MOS	3.04	.62	3.37	.60	3.40	.51
Machismo	2.44	.65	2.42	.62	2.46	.58
Caballerismo	4.07	.39	4.08	.47	4.04	.46
Soc Desir	27.90	5.35	28.12	5.99	27.25	5.19
SES	2.46	.69	2.45	.71	2.46	.64

Note. Neg Att Rape = Negative attitudes towards rape victims measured by the Attitudes towards Rape Victims Scale; Acculturation = Total acculturation score as measured by the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; Machismo = Machismo male gender role attitudes subscale as measured by the Machismo Measure; Caballerismo = Caballerismo male gender role attitudes subscale as measured by the Machismo Measure; Soc Desir = Tendency to report desirable responses as measured by the Socially Desirable Response Set-5; SES = Self-report of socioeconomic status.

Table 9

Multiple linear regression with the female sample: The relationship between the predictor variables Anglo-orientation, Latino-orientation, gender roles, social desirability, and ethnicity and the criterion variable attitudes towards rape victims (N=427)

Variable	B	β	R^2	ΔR^2	F
AOS	.46	.02			
MOS	.60	.04			
Marianismo	.01	.02			
Marianismo-con	-.04	-.11			
Soc Desir	-.21	-.14*			
DV_Caribbean	.39	.02			
DV_Cent/South Amer	.97	.06			
SES	.81	.06			
			.03	.03	1.69 (8, 410)

Note. * $p < .05$; AOS = Anglo-orientation subscale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; MOS = Mexican-orientation subscale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II ; Marianismo = Female gender role attitudes as measured by the Latina Value Scale-Revised; Marianismo-con = Conflict around female gender role attitudes as measured by the Latina Value Scale-Revised; Soc Desir = Tendency to report desirable responses as measured by the Socially Desirable Response Set-5; DV_Caribbean = Dummy variable for Caribbean ethnic region; DV_Cent/South Amer = Dummy variable for Central/South American ethnic region; SES = Self-reported socioeconomic status.

Table 10

Multiple linear regression with the male sample: The relationship between the predictor variables Anglo-orientation, Latino-orientation, gender roles, social desirability, and ethnicity and the criterion variable attitudes towards rape victims (N=427)

Variable	B	β	R ²	ΔR^2	F
AOS	-2.18	-.11			
MOS	-1.97	-.12			
Machismo	1.28	.09			
Caballerismo	1.41	.07			
Soc Desir	.06	.03			
DV_Caribbean	-.64	-.44			
DV_Cent/South Amer	2.80	.15			
SES			.08	.08	3.45 (8, 299)

*Note, *p < .05; AOS = Anglo-orientation subscale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; MOS = Mexican-orientation subscale of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II; Machismo = Machismo male gender role attitudes subscale as measured by the Machismo Measure; Caballerismo = Caballerismo male gender role attitudes subscale as measured by the Machismo Measure; Soc Desir = Tendency to report desirable responses as measured by the Socially Desirable Response Set-5; DV_Caribbean = Dummy variable for Caribbean ethnic region; DV_Cent/South Amer = Dummy variable for Central/South American ethnic region; SES = Self-reported socioeconomic status.*

References

- Ahrold, T. K. & Meston, C.M. (2007). Ethnic differences in sexual attitudes of U.S. college students: Gender, acculturation, and religiosity factors. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 39(1), 190-202.
- Aosved, A. C. & Long, P.J. (2006). Co-occurrence of rape myth acceptance, sexism, racism, homophobia, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance. *Sex Roles*, 55, 481-492.
- Anderson, K. B., Cooper, H., & Okamura, L. (1997). Individual differences and attitudes towards rape: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 295-315.
- Aranda, E. M., & Rebollo-Gil, G. (2004). Ethnoracism and the “sandwiched” minorities. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(7), 910-927.
- Arciniega, G. M., Anderson, T. C., Tovar-Blank, A. G., & Tracey, T. J. G. (2008). Towards a fuller conception of machismo: Development of a traditional machismo and caballerismo scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 55(1), 19-33.
- Asencio, M. W. (1999). Machos and sluts: Gender, sexuality, and violence among a cohort of Puerto Rican adolescents. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 13(1), 107-126.
- Astin, M. C., Lawrence, K. J., & Foy, D. W. (1993). Posttraumatic disorder among battered women: risk and resiliency factors. *Violence and victims*, 8(1), 17-28.
- Baez, A. & Hernandez, D. (2001). Complementary spiritual beliefs in the Latino community: The interface with psychotherapy. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 71(4), 408-415.
- Beltran, M. C. (2002). The Hollywood Latina body as site of social struggle: Media constructions

- of stardom and Jennifer Lopez's "cross-over butt." *Quarterly Review of Film & Video*, 19, 71-86.
- Ben, S. L. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*, 88(4), 354-364.
- Bem, S. L. (1985). Androgyny and gender scheme theory: A conceptual and empirical integration. In T.B. Sonderegger (Ed.), *Psychology and gender*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Berry, J. W. (2003). Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In K. M. Chum, P. Balls Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.) *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 17-37). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Berry, J. W. (2007). Acculturation. In J. E. Grusec & P.D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research* (pp. 543-558). New York, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Betancourt, H. & Regeser Lopez, S. (1993). The study of culture, ethnicity, and race in American psychology. *American Psychologist*, 48(6), 629-637.
- Blee, K. M., & Tickamyer, A. R. (1995). Racial differences in men's attitudes about women's gender roles. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57, 21-30.
- Borrell, L. N. (2005). Racial identity among Hispanics: Implications for health and well-being. *American Journal of Public Health*, 95(3), 379-381.
- Boudreaux, E., Kilpatrick, D. G., Resnick, H. S., Best, C. L., & Saunders, B. E. (1998). Criminal victimization, posttraumatic stress disorder, and comorbid psychopathology among a community sample of women. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 11(4), 665-678.
- Braveman, P. A., Cubbin, C., Egerter, S., Chideya, S., Marchi, K. S., Metzler, M., & Posner, S.

- (2005). Socioeconomic status in health research: One size does not fit all. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 294(22), 2879-2888.
- Brehm, J. W. (1966). *A theory of psychological reactance*, New York: Academic Press.
- Brown, L. S. (1986). Gender-role analysis: A neglected component of psychological assessment. *Psychotherapy*, 23(2), 243-248.
- Burczyk, K. & Standing, L. (1989). Attitudes towards rape victims: Effects of victim status, sex of victim, and sex of rater. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 17(1), 1-8.
- Burt, M. R. (1991). Rape myths and acquaintance rape. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (Eds.), *Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime* (pp. 26-40). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38(7), 217-230.
- Bussey, K. & Bandura, A. (1999). Social cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation. *Psychological Review*, 106(4), 676-713.
- Carmody, D. C., & Washington, L. M. (2001). Rape myth acceptance among college women: The impact of race and prior victimization. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 16(5), 424-436.
- Campesino, M. & Schwartz, G.E. (2006). Spirituality among Latinas/os: Implications of culture in conceptualization and measurement. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 29(1), 69-81.
- Campesino, M., Belyea, M., & Schwartz, G. E. (2009). Spirituality and cultural identification among Latino and non-Latino college students. *Hispanic Healthcare International*, 7(2), 72-79.
- Campos, B., Dunkell Schetter, C., Walsh, J. A., & Schenker, M. (2007). Sharpening the focus on

- acculturative change: ARSMA-II, stress, pregnancy anxiety, and infant birth weight in recently immigrated Latinas. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 29(2), 209-224.
- Carter, R. T. & Cook, D. A. (1992). A culturally relevant perspective for understanding the career paths of visible racial/ethnic group people. In H.D. Lea & Z.B. Leibowitz (Eds.), *Adult career development: Concepts issues and practice* (pp. 192-217). Alexandria, VA: National Career Development Association.
- Casas, J. M., Wagenheim, B. R., Banchero, R., & Mendoza-Romero, J. (1994). Hispanic masculinity: Myth or psychological schema meriting clinical consideration. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science*, 16(3), 315-331.
- Comas-Diaz, L. (1988). Cross cultural mental health treatment. In L.Comas-Diaz & E. H. H. Griffen (Eds.), *Clinical guidelines in cross-cultural mental health*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Conger, R. D. & Dogan, S. J. (2007). Social class and socialization in families. In J. E. Grusec & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research* (pp. 433-460). New York, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1996). Teaching the boys: New research on masculinity, and gender strategies for schools. *Teachers College Record*, 98(2), 206-235.
- Corby, B. C., Hodges, E. V., & Perry, D. G. (2007). Gender identity and adjustment in black, Hispanic, and white preadolescents. *Developmental Psychology*, 43(1), 261-266.
- Coxell, A. W. & King, M. B. (1996). Male victims of rape and sexual abuse. *Sexual and Marital Therapy*, 11(3), 297-308.
- Davis, R. C., Brickman, E., & Baker, T. Supportive and unsupportive responses of others to rape

- victims: effects on concurrent victim adjustment. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 19(3), 443-451.
- Deutsch, F. M. & Saxon, S. E. (1998). The double standard of praise and criticism for mothers and fathers. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 22, 665-683.
- Diaz, R. (1998). *Latino gay men and HIV: Culture, sexuality and risk behavior*. Boston: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- Donat, P. L. N. & D'Emilio, J. (1992). A feminist redefinition of rape and sexual assault: Historical foundations and change. *Journal of Social Issues*, 48(1), 9-22.
- Donovan, R. A. (2007). To blame or not to blame: Influences of target race and observer sex on rape blame attribution. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 22(6), 722-736.
- Dye, E. & Roth, S. (1990). Psychotherapists' knowledge about and attitudes toward sexual assault victim clients. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 14, 191-212.
- Edwards, K. (1990). The interplay of affect and cognition in attitude formation and change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59(2), 209-216.
- Edwards, L. M., Fehring, R. J., Jarret, K. M., & Haglund, K. A. (2008). The influence of religiosity, gender, and language preference acculturation on sexual activity among Latino/a adolescents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 30(4), 447-462.
- Ellison, C. G., Acevedo, G. A., & Ramos-Wada, A. I. (2011). Religion and attitudes toward same-sex marriage among U.S. Latinos. *Social Science Quarterly*, 92(1), 35-56.
- Eisenman, R. & Dantzker, M. L. (2006). Gender and ethnic differences in sexual attitudes at a Hispanic-serving university. *The Journal of General Psychology*, 133(2), 153-162.
- Feather, N. T. (1991). Human values, global self-esteem, and belief in a just world. *Journal of Personality*, 59, 84-107.

- Feltey, K. M. & Poloma, M. M. (1991). From sex differences to gender role beliefs: Exploring effects on six dimensions of religiosity. *Sex Roles, 24*(3/4), 181–92.
- Fetchenhauer, D., Jacobs, G., & Belschak, F. (2005). Belief in a just world, causal attributions, and adjustment to sexual violence. *Social Justice Research, 18*(1), 25–42.
- Fagot, B. I. & Leinbach, M. D. (1989). The young child's gender schema: Environmental input, internal organization. *Child Development, 60*, 663-672.
- Faulkner, S. L. (2003). Good girl or flirt girl: Latinas' definitions of sex and sexual relationships. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 25*(2), 174-200.
- Festinger, L. (1957) *A theory of cognitive dissonance*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Fischer, G. J. (1987). Hispanic and majority student attitudes towards forcible date rape as a function of differences in attitudes towards women. *Sex Roles, 17*(1/2), 93-101.
- Flores, E., Eyre, S. L., & Millstein, S. G. (1998). Sociocultural beliefs related to sex among Mexican American adolescents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 20*(1), 60-82.
- Flores Niemann, Y., Romero, A. J., Arredondo, J., & Rodriguez, V. (1999). What does it mean to be "Mexican"? Social construction of an ethnic identity. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 21*(1), 47-60.
- Frable, D. E. S. & Bem, S. L. (1985). If you are gender schematic, all members of the opposite sex look alike. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49*(2), 1-10.
- Frese, B., Moya, M., & Megias, J. L. (2004). Social perception of rape: How rape myth acceptance modulates the influence of situational factors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 19*(2), 143-161.
- Friedman, M. J. & Marsella, A. J. (2001). Posttraumatic stress disorder: An overview of the

- concept. In A. J. Marsella, M. J. Friedman, E. T. Gerrity, & R. M. Scurfield (Eds.), *Ethnocultural aspects of posttraumatic stress disorder: Issues, research, and clinical applications* (pp.11-32). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Galanti, G. A. (2003). The Hispanic family and male-female relationships: An overview. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing, 14*, 180-185.
- Gallo, L. C., Penedo, F. J., Espinosa de los Monteros, K., & Arguelles, W. (2009). Resiliency in the face of disadvantage: Do Hispanic cultural characteristics protect health outcomes? *Journal of Personality, 77*(6), 1707-1746.
- García D. I., Gray-Stanley J, Ramirez-Valles J. (2008). "The priest obviously doesn't know that I'm gay": The religious and spiritual journeys of Latino gay men. *Journal of Homosexuality, 55*(3), 411-436.
- Gelder K. M. (2012). *Understanding the role of cultural values in the experience of work-family conflict among professional Latina*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Columbia University, New York.
- Gibbon, J. L, Hamby, B. A. & Dennis, W. D. (1997). Researching gender-role ideologies internally and cross-culturally. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*, 151-170.
- Gilboa-Schechtman, E. & Foa, E. B. (2001). Patterns of recovery from trauma: The use of intraindividual analysis. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 110*(3), 392-400.
- Gonzalez-Lopez, G. (2004). Fathering Latinas sexualities: Mexican men and the virginity of their daughters. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 66*, 1118-1130.
- Greenberg Garrison, E., Roy, I. S., & Azar, V. (1999). Responding to the mental health needs of Latino children and families through school-based services. *Clinical Psychology Review, 19*(2), 199-219.

- Grusec, J. E. & Davidov, M. (2007). Socialization in the family: The role of parents. In J. E. Grusec & P.D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 284-308). New York, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Guilamo-Ramos, V., Bouris, A., Jaccard, J., Lesesne, A. C., Gonzalez, B., & Kalogerogiannis, K. (2009). Family mediators of acculturation and adolescent sexual behavior among Latino youth. *Journal of Primary Prevention, 30*, 395-419.
- Hancock, J., Thom-Santelli, J., & Ritchie, T. (2004). Deception and design: The impact of communication technology on lying behavior. In E. Dykstra-Erickson & M. Tscheligi (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 2004 Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 129-134). New York: Association for Computing Machinery.
- Harris, A. C. (1994). Ethnicity as a determinant of sex role identity: A replication study of item selection for the Bem sex role inventory. *Sex Role, 31*(3/4), 241-273.
- Hebert, J. R., Ma, Y., Clemow, L., Ockene, I. S., Saperia, G, Stanek, E. J., Merriam, P. A., & Ockene, J. K. (1997). Gender differences in social desirability and social approval bias in dietary self-report. *American Journal of Epidemiology, 146*, 1046-55.
- Hill, S. A. & Sprague, J. (1999). Parenting in black and white families: The interaction of gender with race and class. *Gender and Society, 13*(4), 480-502.
- Holloway, R. A., Waldrip, A. M., & Ickes, W. (2009). Evidence that a *simpático* self-schema accounts for differences in the self-concepts and social behavior of Latinos versus Whites (and Blacks). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96*, 112-128.
- Jacobs, J. E. & Eccles, J. S. (1992). The impact of mother's gender role stereotypic beliefs on mothers' and children's ability perceptions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 63*(6), 932-944.

- Jetten, J., Haslam, S. A., & Barlow, F. K. (2012). Bringing back the system: One reason why conservatives are happier than liberals is that higher socioeconomic status gives them access to more group memberships. *Social Psychology and Personality Science*, 3(2), 1-8.
- Jimenez, J. A. & Abreu, J. M. (2003). Race and sex effects on attitudinal perceptions of acquaintance rape. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 50(2), 252-256.
- Jimenez, J., Potts, M. K., & Jimenez, D. R. (2002). Reproductive attitudes and behaviors among Latina adolescents. *Social Work with Multicultural Youth*, 221-249.
- Johnson, B. E., Kuck, D. L., & Schander, P. R. (1997). Rape myth acceptance and sociodemographic characteristics: A multidimensional analysis. *Sex Roles*, 36 (11/12), 683-707.
- Kane, E. W. (2000). Racial and ethnic variations in gender-related attitudes. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 419-439.
- Kang, S. (2006). Measurement of acculturation, scale formats, and language competence: Their implications for adjustment. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 37(6), 669-693.
- Katz, D. (1960). The functional approach to the study of attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 25, 57-78.
- Kaukinen, C. & DeMaris, A. (2009). Sexual assault and current mental health: The role of help-seeking and police response. *Violence against Women*, 15, 1331-1357.
- Kopper, B. A. (1996). Gender, gender identity, rape myth acceptance, and time of initial resistance on the perception of acquaintance rape blame and avoidability. *Sex Roles*, 34(1/2), 81-93.
- Koss, M. P., Gidycz, C. A., & Wisniewski, N. The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of

- sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 55(2), 162-170.
- Krysan, M. (1998). Privacy and the expression of white racial attitudes: A comparison across three contexts. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 62, 506-544.
- Kuczynski, L. & Parkin, C. M. (2007). Agency and bidirectionality in socialization: Interactions, transactions, and relational dialectics. In J.E. Grusec & P.D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 259-283). New York, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Kulis, S., Marsiglia, F. F., & Nagoshi, J. L. (2012). Gender roles and substance use among Mexican American adolescents: A relationship moderated by acculturation? *Substance Use and Misuse*, 47(3), 214–229.
- Lara, M., Gamboa, C., Kahramanian, M. I., Morales, L. S., & Bautista, D. E. H. (2005). Acculturation and Latino health in the United States: A review of the literature and its sociopolitical context. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 92, 392–399.
- Leaper, C. & Friedman, C. K. (2007). The socialization of gender. In J. E. Grusec & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 561-587). New York, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Leaper, C. & Valin, D. (1996). Predictors of Mexican American mothers' and fathers' attitudes towards gender equality. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 18(3), 343-355.
- Lee, J., Pomeroy, E. C., Yoo, S. K., Rheinboldt. (2005). Attitudes towards rape: A comparison between Asian and Caucasian college students. *Violence against Women*, 11, 177-196.
- Lefley, H. P., Scott, C. S., Llabre, M., & Hicks, D. (1993). Cultural beliefs about rape and

- victims' response in three ethnic groups. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 63(4), 623-632.
- Levy, G. D. & Carter, D. B. (1989). Gender schema, gender constancy, and gender-role knowledge: The roles of cognitive factors in preschoolers' gender-role stereotype attributions. *Developmental Psychology*, 25(3), 444-449.
- Littleton, H., Radecki Breitkopf, C., & Berenson, A. B. (2007). Rape scripts of low-income European American and Latina women. *Sex Roles*, 56, 509-516.
- Lorber, J. (2007). The social construction of gender. In D. B. Grusky & S. Szelenyi (Eds.), *The inequality reader: Contemporary and foundation readings in race, class, and gender* (pp. 96-102). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Low, G., & Organista, K. C. (2000). Latinas and sexual assault: towards culturally sensitive assessment and intervention. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, 8(1/2), 131-157.
- Lugo Steidel, A. G. & Contreras, J. M. (2003). A new familism scale for use with Latino populations. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 25(3), 312-330.
- Lujan, J. & Campbell, H. B. (2006). The role of religion in the health practices of Mexican-Americans. *Journal of religion and health*, 45(2), 183-195.
- Lundstrom, C. (2006). 'Okay, but we are not whores you know': Latina girls navigating the boundaries of gender and ethnicity in Sweden. *Young*, 14(3), 203-218.
- Maccoby, E. E. (2007). Historical overview of socialization research and theory. In J.E. Grusec & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 13-41). New York, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Maier, S. L. (2008). Sexual assault nurse examiners' perceptions of their relationship with

- doctors, rape victim advocates, police, and prosecutors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 27(7), 1314-1340.
- Marin, G. & Gamba, R. J. (2003). Acculturation and changes in cultural values. In K. M. Chum, P. Balls Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.) *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 83-93). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Mazzula, S. L., & Victoria, R. (2008). *Hispanic/Latino race and ethnicity in counseling psychology research: A 15-year review*. Paper presented at the National Latino/a Psychological Association Conference, Costa Mesa, CA.
- Mazzula, S. M. (2009). *Bicultural competence: The role of acculturation, enculturation, collective self-esteem, and racial identity*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Columbia University, New York.
- McHugh, M. C. & Hanson Frieze, I. (1997). The measurement of gender-role attitudes: A review and commentary. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21, 1-16.
- McLoyd, V. C., Cauce, A. M., Takeuchi, D., & Wilson, L. (2000). Marital processes and parental socialization in families of color: A decade review of research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 1070-1093.
- McMahon, S. (2007). Understanding community specific rape myths: Exploring student-athlete culture. *Affilia*, 22 (4), 357-370.
- Meadow, R. J. (2010). *Understanding violence and victimization*, Fifth edition. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Mendelson, T., Rehkopf, D., & Kubzansky, L. D. (2008.) Depression among Latinos in the

- United States: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 76, 355-366.
- Mesmer-Magnus, J., Viswesvaran, C., Deshpande, S., & Joseph, J. (2006). Social desirability: The role of over-claiming, self-esteem, and emotional intelligence. *Psychology Science*, 48(3), 336-356.
- Millar, M. G. & Millar, K. U. (1990). Attitude change as a function of attitude type and argument type. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59(2), 217-228.
- Nagel, B., Matsuo, H., McIntyre, & Morrison, N. (2005). Attitudes towards victims of rape: Effects of gender, race, religion, and social class. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 20(6), 725-737.
- Negy, C. & Woods, D. J. (1992). A note on the relationship between acculturation and socioeconomic status. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science*, 14(2), 248-251.
- Nishith, P., Mechanic, M. B., & Resick, P. A. (2000). Prior interpersonal trauma: The contribution of current PTSD symptoms in female rape victims. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 109(1), 20-25.
- Noland, C. M. (2006). Listening to the sound of silence: Gender roles and communication about sex in Puerto Rico. *Sex Roles*, 55, 283-294.
- Norris, F. (1992). Epidemiology of trauma: Frequency and impact of different potentially traumatic events on different demographic groups. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 60(3), 409-418.
- Ojeda, L., Rosales, R., & Good, G. E. (2008). Socioeconomic status and cultural predictions of male role attitudes among Mexican American men: ¿son mas machos? *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, 9(3), 133-138.

- Padilla, A. M. (1980). The role of cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty in acculturation. In A.M. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, models, and some new findings* (pp.47-84). Boulder, CO: American Association for the Advancement of Science.
- Padilla, A. M. (1991). Mexican-American adolescent sexuality and sexual knowledge: An exploratory study. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 13*(1), 95-10.
- Padilla, A. M. & Baird, T. L. (1991). Mexican-American adolescent sexuality and sexual knowledge: An exploratory study. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science, 13*(1), 95-104.
- Padilla, A. M., Cervantes, R. C., Maldonado, M., & Garcia, R. E. (1988). Coping responses to psychosocial stressors among Mexican and Central American immigrants. *Journal of Community Psychology, 16*, 418-427.
- Palmer, C. T. (1988). Twelve reasons why rape is not sexually motivated: A skeptical examination. *The Journal of Sex Research, 25*(4), 512-530.
- Perilla, J. L. (1999). Domestic violence as a human rights issue: The case of immigrant Latinos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 21*(2), 107-133.
- Petrak, J. (2002). Rape: History, myth, and reality. In J. Petrak & B. Hedge (Eds.), *The trauma of sexual assault: Treatment, prevention, and practice* (pp. 1-18). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Petrak, J. (2002). The psychological impact of sexual assault. In J. Petrak & B. Hedge (Eds.), *The trauma of sexual assault: Treatment, prevention, and practice* (pp. 19-43). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Phinney, J. S., & Flores, J. (2002). "Unpacking" acculturation: Aspects of acculturation

- as predictors of traditional sex role attitudes. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 33(3), 320-333.
- Phiri-Alleman, W., & Alleman, J. B. (2008). Sexual violence in relationships: Implications for multicultural counseling. *The Family Journal*, 16, 155-158.
- Quackenbush, R. L. (1989). A comparison of androgynous, masculine sex-typed, and undifferentiated males on dimensions of attitudes towards rape. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 23, 318-343.
- Raffaelli, M. & Ontai, L. L. (2001). She's 16 years old and there's boys calling over to the house: An exploratory study of sexual socialization in Latino families. *Culture, Health, & Sexuality*, 3(3), 285-310.
- Raffaelli, M. & Ontai, L. L. (2004). Gender socialization in Latino/a families: Results from two respective studies. *Sex Roles*, 50(5/6), 287-299.
- Ramos Lira, L., Koss, M. P., & Felipe Russo, N. (1999). Mexican American women's definition of rape and sexual assault. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 21(3), 236-265.
- Raykov, T. & Marcoulides, G. A. (2006). *A first course in structural equation modeling*, Second edition, New York: Psychology Press, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Reid, P. T. & Comas-Diaz, L. (1990). Gender and ethnicity: Perspectives on dual status. *Sex Roles*, 22(7/8), 397-408.
- Reid, P. T., Haritos, C., Kelly, E., & Hollands, N. E. (1995). Socialization of girls: Issues of ethnicity in gender development. In H. Landrine (Ed.) *Brining cultural diversity to feminist psychology: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 93-111). Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Ross, M. W, Rosser B. R. S., Coleman, E., & Mazin, R. (2006). Misrepresentation on the

- Internet and in real life about sex and HIV: A study of men who have sex with men. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 8(2), 133–144.
- Rothbaum, F., & Trommsdorff, G. (2007) Do roots and wings complement or oppose one another? The socialization of relatedness and autonomy in cultural context. In J.E. Grusec & P.D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research* (pp. 461-489). New York, New York: The Guilford Press
- Rozee, P. D. & Koss, M. P. (2001). Rape: A century of resistance. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 25, 295-311.
- Saez, P. A., Casado, A., & Wade, J. C. (2009). Factors influencing masculinity ideology among Latino men. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 17(2), 116-128.
- Sanchez-Burks, J., Nisbett, R., & Ybarra, O. (2000). Cultural styles, relational schemas and prejudice against outgroups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(2), 174-189.
- Sandfort, T. G. M., Melendez, R. M., & Diaz, R. M. (2007). Gender nonconformity, homophobia, and mental distress in Latino gay and bisexual men. *Journal of Sex Research*, 44(2), 181-189.
- Scarce, M. (1997). Same-sex rape of male college students. *Journal of American College Health*, 45(4), 171-174.
- Scheepers, P., Grotenhuis, M., & van der Slik, F. (2002). Education, religiosity and moral attitudes: Explaining cross-national effect differences. *Sociology of Religion*, 63, 157-176.
- Schwartz, J. & Lundgren, M. (1989). Attributions of blame towards assailants and victims of rape. *Journal of Undergraduate Research*, 1, 144-153.

- Sheeran, P., Spears, R., Abraham, S. C. S., & Abrams, D. (1996). Religiosity, gender, and the double standard. *Journal of Psychology, 130*, 23-33.
- Skaff, M. M., Chelsea, C. A., Mycude de los Santos, V., & Fisher, L. (2002). Lessons in cultural competence: Adapting research methodology for Latino participants. *Journal of Community Psychology, 30*(3), 305-323.
- Steward, E. C. & Bennett, M. J. (1991). *American cultural patterns: A cross-cultural perspective*. Boston: Intercultural Press.
- Su, D., Richardson, C., & Wang, G. (2010). Assessing cultural assimilation of Mexican Americans: How rapidly do their gender-role attitudes converge to the U.S. mainstream? *Social Science Quarterly, 91*(3), 762-776.
- SurveyMonkey (1999-2011). SurveyMonkey User Guide. Retrieved from <http://s3.amazonaws.com/SurveyMonkeyFiles/UserManual.pdf>.
- Szymanski, L. A., Devlin, A. S., Chrisler, J. C., & Vyse, S. A. (1993). Gender role and attitudes towards rape in male and female college students. *Sex Roles, 29*(1/2), 37-56.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Taylor, P. L. Tucker, M. B., & Mitchell-Kernan, C. (1999). Ethnic variations in perceptions of men's provider role. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 23*, 741-761.
- Torres, J. B. (1998). Masculinity and gender roles among Puerto Rican men: Machismo on the U.S. mainland. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 68*(1), 16-26.
- Torres, J. B., Solberg, S. H., & Carlstrom, A. H. (2002). The myth of sameness among Latino men and their machismo. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 72*(2), 163-181.

- Triandis , H. C. Marin , G. Lisansky , J. Betancourt , H. (1984). Simpatía as a cultural script of Hispanics. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 47, 1363-1375.
- Ullman, S. E. & Townsend, S. M. (2007). Barriers to working with sexual assault survivors: A qualitative study of rape crisis center workers. *Violence against Women*, 13(4), 412-443.
- Ulloa, E. C., Jaycox, L. H., Skinner, S. K., & Orsburn, M. M. (2008). Attitudes about violence and dating among Latino/a boys and girls. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 17(2), 157-176.
- Vandello, J. A., Cohen, D., Grandon, R., & Franiuk, R. (2009). Stand by your man: Indirect prescriptions for honorable violence and feminine loyalty in Canada, Chile, and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 40, 81-104.
- Villarruel, A. M. (1998). Cultural influences on the sexual attitudes, beliefs, and norms of young Latina adolescents. *Journal of the Society of Pediatric Nurses*, 3(2), 69-79.
- Villarruel, A. M. & Rodriguez, D. (2003). Beyond stereotypes: Promoting safer sex behaviors among Latino adolescents. *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic, and Neonatal Nursing* 32 (2), 258-263.
- Villarruel, A. M., Jemmott, J. B., Jemmott, L. S., & Ronis, D. L. (2007). Predicting condom use among sexually experienced Latino adolescents. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 29(6), 724-738.
- Vogel, D. L., Heimerdinger-Edwards, S. R., Hammer, J. H., & Hubbard, A. (2011). “Boys don’t cry”: Examination of the links between endorsement of masculine norms, self-stigma, and help-seeking attitudes for men from diverse backgrounds. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58(3), 368-382.
- Wentzel, K. R. & Looney, L. (2007). Socialization in school settings. In J.E. Grusec &

- P.D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 382-403).
New York, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Wolff, L. S., Acevedo-Garcia, D., Subramanian, S. V., Weber, D., & Kawachi, I. (2010).
Subjective social status, a new measure in health disparities research: Do race/ethnicity
and choice of referent group matter? *Journal of Health Psychology, 15*(4),560-574
- Yoon, E., Langrehr, K., & Ong, L. (2010). *Content analysis of acculturation research in
counseling and counseling psychology: A 22-year review*. Presented at 2010 APA
Convention, San Diego, CA.
- Zane, N. & Mak, W. (2003). Major approaches to the measurement of acculturation among
ethnic minority populations: A content analysis and an alternative empirical strategy. In
K. M. Chum, P. Balls Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.) *Acculturation: Advances in theory,
measurement, and applied research* (pp. 39-60). Washington, DC: American
Psychological Association.

Appendix A

INVITATION LETTER

Dear Participant,

I am writing to invite you to participate in a study for my doctoral dissertation examining Latinos/as' social attitudes. More specifically, I am interested in attitudes associated with gender, culture, and intimate relations.

I am a fifth year doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology Program at Teachers College, Columbia University, and you are receiving this invitation via referral as someone who was believed to be interested in participating in the study. If you are not interested in participating in this study, please disregard this email and accept my apologies for your inconvenience.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please proceed. To participate you must [*sic*] identify as Latino/Latina/Hispanic and be at least 18 years old. You will be asked to respond to several short surveys, which should take approximately 20 to 25 minutes (total) to complete. A number of safeguards will be in place to protect your identity. The information you provide will be kept anonymous and confidential on an encrypted and secure database online. No names will be associated with the data at any time; all data will be coded with a number to preserve anonymity. The results of the study may be presented in my final dissertation and subsequent journal articles, but individual participants will never be identified.

In thanks for the contribution of your time, all participants will be automatically enrolled in a raffle for a \$50 amazon.com gift certificate and a \$50 Visa gift certificate. Your name will be automatically enrolled in the raffle upon submission of your informed consent form before responding to the surveys. Your name and email will then be replaced with a numerical code so as to ensure anonymity.

Thank you very much for your consideration of this invitation!

Sincerely,

Roshnee Vazquez, MA
Doctoral Candidate in Counseling Psychology
Department of Counseling and Clinical Psychology
Teachers College, Columbia University
rv2134@columbia.edu
(551) 482-0155

Appendix B

CONSENT FORM
PARTICIPANT/SUBJECT RIGHTS AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT
LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:
Roshnee Vazquez, MA

January 13, 2011

Dear Participant,

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH: You are invited to participate in a study examining Latinos/as' social attitudes. More specifically, I am interested in attitudes associated with gender, culture, and intimate relations. You will be asked to complete several surveys online. I encourage you to answer openly and honestly to the questions in our interview, as your responses may inform future projects. To participate you must [*sic*] identify as Latino/Latina/Hispanic and be at least 18 years old.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: There are no foreseeable physical risks associated with your participation. Participants may feel discomfort while sharing information on sensitive issues related to gender or intimate relations. If such discomfort should arise, participants can discontinue their participation in the study at any time without jeopardy. Some participants might experience a feeling of relief after sharing their experience in a low-risk, anonymous manner. Participants may also gain personal satisfaction from contributing to the body of knowledge on issues related to social attitudes of Latinos/as to inform psychological practice.

PAYMENTS: In thanks for the contribution of your time, all participants will be automatically enrolled in a raffle for a \$50 amazon.com gift certificate and a \$50 Visa gift certificate. Your name will be automatically enrolled in the raffle upon submission of your informed consent form before responding to the surveys. You will have a 2 in 300 chance (or 1 in 150 chance) odds of winning. Your name and email will then be replaced with a numerical code so as to ensure anonymity.

DATA STORAGE TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY: All information that you, as a participant, provide will be kept anonymous and confidential, as required by law. Only the researcher mentioned above will have access to the information that participants offer. All personal information provided by the participants will be kept private. Each survey packet will be numerically coded to ensure anonymity. Codes will not be published nor shared with anyone outside of the research team, and will only be used for categorical purposes. All materials (consent forms etc.) will be locked in a file cabinet that will be stored in a locked room. Access to the material will be permitted only in circumstances where the data needs to be verified for data entry purposes.

TIME INVOLVEMENT: Your participation will take approximately 20-25 minutes.

HOW WILL RESULTS BE USED: The results of the study will be used to inform my doctoral dissertation.

If you would like further information regarding your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Institutional Review Board at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY 10027, or by phoning (212) 678-4106. You may also contact me at the phone number provided below.

Sincerely,

Roshnee Vazquez, MA
Doctoral Candidate in Counseling Psychology
Department of Counseling and Clinical Psychology
Teachers College, Columbia University
rv2134@columbia.edu
(551)482-0155

BY PRINTING YOUR NAME BELOW, YOU ARE AGREEING TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY:

I understand my rights as a participant in this research study.

Participant's name: _____ Date: ____/____/____

Appendix C

Demographic Sheet

1. How old are you (in years)? _____

2. How would describe your race?

- White
 Black
 Hispanic/Latino
 Asian
 Bi/Multi-racial

Other (please specify) _____

3. How would you describe your ethnicity? (e.g., Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, Dominican/Ecuadorian)

4. What is your highest education level completed?

- Did not graduate from 8th grade
 8th grade graduate
 Attended but did not graduate from high school
 Graduated high school with a HS diploma
 GED
 Some college
 Associate's degree (e.g., AA, AS)
 Bachelor's degree (e.g., BA, BS)
 Some graduate school
 Master's degree (e.g., MA, MS, MEd, MSW)
 Doctoral degree (e.g., PhD, PsyD)
 Other professional degree (e.g., JD, MBA)

5. What is mother's or your female caregiver's highest education level completed?

- Did not graduate from 8th grade
 8th grade graduate
 Attended but did not graduate from high school
 Graduated high school with a HS diploma
 GED
 Some college
 Associate's degree (e.g., AA, AS)
 Bachelor's degree (e.g., BA, BS)
 Some graduate school
 Master's degree (e.g., MA, MS, MEd, MSW)
 Doctoral degree (e.g., PhD, PsyD)
 Other professional degree (e.g., JD, MBA)

6. What is father's or your male caregiver's highest education level completed?

- Did not graduate from 8th grade
 8th grade graduate
 Attended but did not graduate from high school
 Graduated high school with a HS diploma
 GED

- Some college
- Associate's degree (e.g., AA, AS)
- Bachelor's degree (e.g., BA, BS)
- Some graduate school
- Master's degree (e.g., MA, MS, MEd, MSW)
- Doctoral degree (e.g., PhD, PsyD)
- Other professional degree (e.g., JD, MBA)

7. How would you describe your socioeconomic class?

- Lower/poor class
- Working class
- Middle class
- Upper class

Other (please specify) _____

8. What range best captures your annual income?

- \$0 - \$20,000
- \$20,001 - \$40,000
- \$40,001 - \$60,000
- \$60,001 - \$80,000
- \$80,001 - \$100,000
- \$100,001 - \$125,000
- \$125,001 - \$150,000
- \$150,001 - \$200,000
- \$200,001 - \$300,000
- More than \$300,000
- I don't know
- I prefer not to answer

9. What range best captures your parent's/parents'/caregiver's annual income (i.e., the individual or individuals who raised you)?

- \$0 - \$20,000
- \$20,001 - \$40,000
- \$40,001 - \$60,000
- \$60,001 - \$80,000
- \$80,001 - \$100,000
- \$100,001 - \$125,000
- \$125,001 - \$150,000
- \$150,001 - \$200,000
- \$200,001 - \$300,000
- More than \$300,000
- I don't know
- I prefer not to answer

10. What is your marital status?

- Single
- Married
- Domestic partnership
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widowed

Other (please specify) _____

11. Where were you born?

- USA
- Argentina
- Bolivia
- Brazil
- Chile
- Colombia
- Costa Rica
- Cuba
- Dominican Republic
- Ecuador
- El Salvador
- Guatemala
- Honduras
- Mexico
- Nicaragua
- Panama
- Paraguay
- Peru
- Uruguay
- Venezuela

Other (please specify) _____

12. How many years have you lived in the United States? _____

13. How would you describe your generation status?

- 1st generation (you were born outside the U.S.)
- 2nd generation (you were born in the U.S., parents born outside the U.S.)
- 3rd generation (parents & grandparents were born in the U.S.)
- 4th generation (parents, grandparents, & great grandparents were born in the U.S.)
- 5th generation or higher

14. You are a resident of which state? _____

15. How would you describe your gender?

- Male
- Female

Other (please specify) _____

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Do not agree or disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	-------------------	--------------------------	----------------	----------------

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

5b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

6. I have difficulty expressing my anger.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

6b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

7. I often take on responsibilities with my family, that I'd rather not take, because it makes me feel like a better person.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

7b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

8. I often feel inferior in comparison to men.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

8b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

9. I consider my family a great source of support.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

9b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

10. I find it difficult to say "no" to people even when it is clear that "no" is what I should be saying.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

10b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Do not agree or disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5
11. Family is very important to me.				
1	2	3	4	5
11b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5
12. I feel guilty when I go against my parent's wishes.				
1	2	3	4	5
12b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5
13. I have difficulty asserting myself to figures of authority.				
1	2	3	4	5
13b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5
14. I often put myself down in relation to figures of authority.				
1	2	3	4	5
14b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5
15. I try to make others happy at all costs.				
1	2	3	4	5
15b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5
16. I try to make my family happy at all costs.				
1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Do not agree or disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1	2	3	4	5
16b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5
17. I believe sacrificing yourself for others makes you a better person.				
1	2	3	4	5
17b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5
18. I find myself putting others' needs in front of my own.				
1	2	3	4	5
18b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5
19. Being seen as a "good" person by others is very important to me.				
1	2	3	4	5
19b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5
20. I find myself putting my family's needs in front of my own.				
1	2	3	4	5
20b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5
21. I find myself believing that any criticism or conflict is caused by my own faults.				
1	2	3	4	5
21b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?				
1	2	3	4	5

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Do not agree or disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

22. I believe that sacrificing for others will eventually be rewarded.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

22b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

23. Making my partner happy makes me feel good about myself.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

23b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

24. I feel like a terrible person when I know someone is upset or disappointed in me.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

24b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

25. I find myself accepting maltreatment from a partner (i.e., cheating, physical abuse, emotional abuse, etc)

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

25b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

26. I can express my needs to my partner.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

26b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

27. I have allowed partners to take sexual liberties with me even when I did not want to.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Do not agree or disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

27b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

28. I have allowed partners to take sexual liberties with me because: (check all that apply)

- a. They will leave me?
- b. I will hurt their feelings?
- c. I will be seen in a negative light?
- d. I will be hurt physically?
- e. They will cheat on me?
- f. Other

Have you even heard the term Marianismo? If yes, please describe below in your own words (use back of paper for additional space):

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: Please feel free to expand on any of the above answers or to include any reactions/feelings/thoughts that you may have after completing the above responses (use back of paper for additional space):

Appendix E

M-MEASURE (MACHISMO)

Below are some statements that reflect opinions on a wide range of topics. We understand that in different situations different responses may be appropriate, but please respond to each statement to the best of your ability. Please use the space just left of each item to fill in the response that most accurately depicts your personal beliefs about a statement. The rating scale for all of your responses is:

- 1 – Strongly Disagree** **2 – Disagree** **3 Disagree Somewhat**
4 – Uncertain **5 – Somewhat Agree** **6 – Agree**
7 – Strongly Agree

Example: On item 1, if you strongly agree that “Men are superior to women.” Fill in the number “7”, if you strongly disagree, fill in the number “1”, and if you are uncertain, fill in the number “4”. Please respond to each statement to the best of your ability. When finished every item should have a corresponding written response to indicate your level of agreement or disagreement.

- _____ 1. Men are superior to women.
 _____ 2. Men want their children to have better lives than themselves.
 _____ 3. In a family a father’s wish is law.
 _____ 4. A real man does not brag about sex.
 _____ 5. Men should respect their elders.
 _____ 6. The birth of a male child is more important than a female child.
 _____ 7. Men hold their mothers in high regard.
 _____ 8. It is important not to be the weakest man in a group.
 _____ 9. Real men never let down their guard.
 _____ 10. The family is more important than the individual.
 _____ 11. It would be shameful for a man to cry in front of his children.
 _____ 12. Men should be willing to fight to defend their family.
 _____ 13. A man should be in control of his wife.
 _____ 14. It is necessary to fight when challenged.
 _____ 15. Men must exhibit fairness in all situations
 _____ 16. It is important for women to be beautiful.
 _____ 17. A woman is expected to be loyal to her husband.
 _____ 18. The bills (electric, phone, etc.) should be in the man’s name.
 _____ 19. Men must display good manners in public.
 _____ 20. Men should be affectionate with their children.

Appendix F

Attitudes toward rape victims scale**0 - Disagree strongly****1 - Disagree mildly****2 - Neutral (neither agree nor disagree)****3 - Agree mildly****4 - Agree strongly**

- 1. A raped woman is a less desirable woman.
- 2. The extent of the woman's resistance should be the major factor in determining if a rape has occurred.
- 3. A raped woman is usually an innocent victim.
- 4. Women often claim rape to protect their reputations.
- 5. "Good" girls are as likely to be raped as "bad" girls.
- 6. Women who have had prior sexual relationships should not complain about rape.
- 7. Women do not provoke rape by their appearance or behavior.
- 8. Intoxicated women are usually willing to have sex.
- 9. It would do some women good to be raped.
- 10. Even women who feel guilty about engaging in premarital sex are not likely to claim rape falsely.
- 11. Most women secretly desire to be raped.
- 12. Any female may be raped.
- 13. Women who are raped while accepting rides from strangers get what they deserve.
- 14. Many women invent rape stories if they learn they are pregnant.
- 15. Men, not women, are responsible for rape.
- 16. A woman who goes out alone at night puts herself in a position to be raped.
- 17. Many women claim rape if they have consented to sexual relations but have changed their minds afterwards.
- 18. Accusations of rape by bar girls, dance hostesses and prostitutes should be viewed with suspicion.
- 19. A woman should not blame herself for rape.
- 20. A healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she really tries.
- 21. Many women who report rape are lying because they are angry or want revenge on the accused.
- 22. Women who wear short skirts or tight blouses are not inviting rape.
- 23. Women put themselves in situations in which they are likely to be sexually assaulted because they have an unconscious wish to be raped.
- 24. Sexually experienced women are not really damaged by rape.
- 25. In most cases when a woman was raped she deserved it.

Appendix G

Acculturation rating Scale for Mexican-Americans II – Scale 1

1 Not at all **2 Very little or not very often** **3 Moderately**
4 Much or very often **5 Extremely often or almost always**

1. I speak Spanish	1	2	3	4	5
2. I speak English	1	2	3	4	5
3. I enjoy speaking Spanish	1	2	3	4	5
4. I associate with Anglos	1	2	3	4	5
5. I associate with Latinos/as and or Latino/as-Americans	1	2	3	4	5
6. I enjoy listening to Spanish language music	1	2	3	4	5
7. I enjoy listening to English language music	1	2	3	4	5
8. I enjoy Spanish language TV	1	2	3	4	5
9. I enjoy English language TV	1	2	3	4	5
10. I enjoy English language movies	1	2	3	4	5
11. I enjoy Spanish language movies	1	2	3	4	5
12. I enjoy reading (e.g., books in Spanish)	1	2	3	4	5
13. I enjoy reading (e.g., books in English)	1	2	3	4	5
14. I write (e.g., letters in Spanish)	1	2	3	4	5
15. I write (e.g., letters in English)	1	2	3	4	5
16. My thinking is done in the English language	1	2	3	4	5
17. My thinking is done in the Spanish language	1	2	3	4	5
18. My contact with Latin America has been	1	2	3	4	5
19. My contact with the USA has been	1	2	3	4	5
20. My father identifies or identified himself as “Latino”(Hispanic, etc)	1	2	3	4	5
21. My mother identifies or identified herself as “Latina” ”(Hispanic, etc)	1	2	3	4	5
22. My friends, while I was growing up, were of Latino origin	1	2	3	4	5
23. My friends, while I was growing up, were of Anglo origin	1	2	3	4	5
24. My family cooks Latino foods	1	2	3	4	5
25. My friends now are of Anglo origin	1	2	3	4	5
26. My friends now are of Latino origin	1	2	3	4	5
27. I like to identify myself as an Anglo-American	1	2	3	4	5
28. I like to identify myself as a Latino/a-American	1	2	3	4	5
29. I like to identify myself as a Latino	1	2	3	4	5
30. I like to identify myself as an American	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix H

SDRA-5

Listed below are a few statements about your relationships with others.

How much is each statement TRUE or FALSE for you?

1 Definitely true

2 Mostly true

3 Don't know

4 Mostly false

5 Definitely false

I am always courteous even to people who are disagreeable. 1 2 3 4 5

There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone. 1 2 3 4 5

I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget. 1 2 3 4 5

I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way. 1 2 3 4 5

No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener. 1 2 3 4 5