

Latinx Jews: Exploring the relationships of acculturation,
Jewish identity, and Latinx gender role scales

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Abstract

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This study explored the relationships between acculturation, Jewish identity – both religious and cultural – and traditional Latinx gender roles. Over the last decades, the number of Latinx’s who identify as Catholic has reduced significantly, albeit maintaining Catholic cultural overtones. Awareness of other Latinx minority groups has only recently garnered attention across multiple disciplines. Latinx gender roles, one example of the influence of Catholicism, has received much attention in psychological research, but fails to differentiate between Latinx subgroups, treating racial-ethnic minority groups as monolithic. Therefore, Latinx gender constructs which are heavily based on Catholic values and European/colonial influences seem likely not to account for minority religious groups, such as Latinx Jews. Additionally, limited literature addressing gender roles and Judaism, have suggested an interplay between men and women exists per their traditional gender roles, and a rejection of hyper-masculinity, emphasize caring for others and acts of kindness. To better understand the experience of gender roles for Latinx Jews, this study explored the relationships, through a series of hierarchical linear regression analyses, among traditional Latinx gender role scales (Marianismo Belief Scale and The Machismo Caballerismo Scale), and Jewish Identity and Acculturation and Enculturation. Data from 230 participants indicated that Latinx Jews formulate their identity in ways that are unique to their dual-minority identity, given their “in between” or mixed marginalized status in both Latin America and the United States. Their religious Jewish

identity, more so than their cultural Jewish identity, is a major contributing factor in their beliefs of traditional Latinx gender roles.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The primary aim of this study was to explore the relations among acculturation, Jewish identity, and Latinx gender role scales in the Latinx Jewish population in the US. Latinxs are overwhelmingly presumed to be Catholic, and this presumption is rooted in the rich history and influence of Catholicism in multiple facets of Latin American culture, such as government, schools and the national psyche at large (Elkin, 2014; Hardin, 2002; Limonic, 2014, 2019). However, the inaccurate view of Latinxs as a monolithic group, including their presumed religious/spiritual traditions of Catholicism, has started to change in recent years. According to a recent study, Latinxs who identify as Catholic make up just over half (55%) of the Latinx population in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2014). It is estimated that 25% of the population in the United States will be Latinx by the year 2050 (Arredondo et al., 2014; McConnell & Delgado-Romero, 2004). In researching religious trends within South America, Central America and the Caribbean, a Pew Research (2014) study found that only 69% of Latinxs identify today as Catholic. As Latinx immigration to the United States (US) increases and the Latinx population continues to grow, younger Latinx individuals are increasingly likely not to identify as Catholic (Sue & Sue, 2015). Yet, Catholic ideology has left an imprint on the Latinx culture and values as well as psychological research.

Latinx gender roles, one such example of the overarching influence of Catholicism, have received much attention in psychological research (Arredondo et al., 2014). A major focus in both academic research and in society at large, has been gender and gender roles. Unger (1979) defined gender as the culturally and socially constructed components, expectations and traits ascribed to individuals on the basis of their biological sex and has typically been widely

accepted. Thus, gender roles have been defined as the enactment of gender expected behaviors and values in society, which are relative to the traditional beliefs of masculinity and femininity (Miville, 2013). The beliefs, behaviors, and norms men and women display, other than their biological sex, are strongly influenced by social and cultural factors (Miville, 2013). Gender, gender roles and gender identities have therefore been the subject of many studies, in an attempt to better understand how they are constructed and how they impact mental health (Miville, 2013; Nuñez et al, 2015; Torres, Solberg & Carlstrom, 2002; Unger, 1979). Regarding research conducted on gender in relation to minority populations, most studies neglect to look at subgroups within these populations, inaccurately treating racial-ethnic minority groups as monolithic (Miville et al., 2015). However, many minority groups contain distinctive subgroups that have their own unique experiences, based on important aspects of identity such as social class, region, and religious beliefs (Miville et al., 2015).

Indeed, few studies and limited literature exist on the gender role experiences of marginalized Latinx populations within the greater Latinx population (Miville et al., 2015). Latinxs are frequently grouped under a general label of Latina/o (now Latinx or Latine) or Hispanic, neglecting various differences among Latin American regions, cultures, religions and societies (Arredondo et al., 2014; Gimenez, 1992; Itzigsohn & Dore-Cabral, 2000; Martinez, 2004). With the possible exception of one study by Borenstein and colleagues (2020), Latinx religious minority groups scarcely have been researched in psychological studies. Therefore, Latinx gender constructs which are heavily based on Catholic values and European/colonial influences (e.g., Arredondo et al., 2014; Hardin, 2002) likely do not account for the other minority religious groups within these populations.

Latinx Jewish people, including their unique gender roles, have received little attention in psychological literature (Borenstein et al., 2020). Judaism maintains various cultural and religious traditions which are gendered, prescribing how men and women should act (Cooper, 2020; Levitt, 2015; Raphael, 2005). Literature addressing gender roles and Judaism have suggested that although religious role segregation exists (Levitt, 2015), there is an interplay between men and women per their traditional gender roles (Kosman, 2004). Jewish men have generally been seen as the providers and the religious performers, whereas Jewish women are typically viewed as more naturally spiritual and therefore are tasked within their families and communities with infusing meaning and value to Jewish life at home (Kosman, 2014). Scholars have noted that Jewish men typically tend not to be hypermasculine but have recently acknowledged that a hypermasculinity has begun to emerge in certain communities – specifically those in Israel through the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) (Levitt, 2015; Raphael, 2005; Sigalow & Fox, 2014). Nevertheless, it has still been argued that Judaism as whole emphasizes and teaches caring for others and acts of kindness (Borenstein et al., 2020; Levitt, 2015; Raphael, 2005; Sigalow & Fox, 2014). In a similar vein, it was found that Judaism emphasizes the idea of Tikkun Olam, literally repairing the world, and social justice as contributing values of equality (Borenstein et al., 2020).

Latinx Jews have been present in Latin American society (Elkin, 2014; Limonic, 2014) from its inception, although they are often treated as a minority and marginalized group. As of 2018, Latinx Jews in the United States were estimated to make up 5.3% of the Jewish population (Sheskin & Dashefsky, 2018). Approximately 600,000 Jews currently live in Latin America and the Caribbean (DellaPergola, 2018; Pew Research Center, 2012), with Argentina being the sixth most populous country of Jews globally (DellaPergola, 2018; Sheskin & Dashefsky, 2018).

Jewish communities in Latin America are growing (Bierly, 2019), and there is an increase of Jewish immigration to the United States from countries such as Venezuela (Sheskin & Dashefsky, 2018). Latinx Jews have not been well accounted for in research conducted in much of Latinx psychology, including gender roles. Latinx Jews are often considered outsiders who develop a unique panethnic identity within the Latinx population (Limonic, 2014) and are one such group that may experience their gender roles differently.

The current study. With the exception of one study conducted by Borenstein et al. (2020), research on gender roles in Judaism have mainly focused on communities in the United States, Israel and some Jewish Communities in Europe, but have not looked at differences within the Jewish population among Latinxs. Many Latinx Jews can be found in major cities in both the United States and Latin America and play influential roles in society, even though they are a small minority of both the Latinx population and the Jewish population. The study done by Borenstein et al. (2020) demonstrated that Latinx Jews are constantly negotiating their gender roles between their minority identities, in a similar vein to what has been described by the work of Miville and colleagues (2013) through the Multicultural Gender Role Model (MGRM). The MGRM maintains that the sources of information and socialization come from unique cultural values, norms and expectations, traditional masculine and feminine norms, socializing agents and institutions and racial-ethnic stereotypes. These information sources are negotiated through eight components that people of color may have to navigate at some point of their life: 1) resolving conflicts, 2) navigating privilege and oppression, 3) understanding one's impact on others, 4) transforming self-perceptions, 5) intersecting identities, 6) navigating emotions, 7) constructing one's own gender styles and expressions, and 8) constructing roles in family, community and society (Miville, 2013). These messages and processes interact with each other leading

individuals to negotiate between them in constructing their gender roles (Miville, 2013). The purpose of this study is to further understand how Latinx Jews experience gender roles for their unique panethnic and dual minority identities.

The current study explored whether Catholic and Euro-cultural constructs that typically define Latinx gender roles, as well as Jewish values of caretaking, respect and social justice, are related to the formation of gender roles for the Latinx Jewish population, through extant scales of marianismo (Castillo et al., 2010) and machismo/caballerismo (Arciniega et al., 2008). The purpose of this study was to explore the relationships of acculturation, Jewish identity, and Latinx-centered instruments purportedly measuring two major gender role constructs, marianismo and machismo/caballerismo scales, among Latinx Jews.

Chapter II

Literature Review

In an effort to contribute to the limited literature in relation to the gender-based experiences of Latinx Jews, this literature review will outline factors that should be considered in understanding Latinx Jews and how they construct gender and gender roles. This review will highlight literature regarding current understanding of Latinx Jewish identity and the need to incorporate religious-cultural factors into theory and practice in mental health.

A starting point of this review begins by presenting research that has explored and interpreted gender roles for both Jewish individuals and Latinx individuals, including modern and historical views of these constructs. Next, in an effort to understand the historical undertones of Latin Jewish experiences, a summary of the Jewish historical presence in Latin America will be presented. This summary will be followed by a discussion of theories of panethnicity in regard to Latinx Jewish identity. A summary of recent findings about Latinx Jewish gender roles will then be reviewed. Finally, a discussion on scales that were constructed to measure marianismo, and machismo will be introduced, as well as its proposed adaptation into a psychometric assessment tool for the purpose of the present study. The review concludes with the proposed hypotheses of this current study.

Latinx Gender Roles

Machismo and marianismo are the traditional ways of constructing gender roles in Latinx individuals. Machismo, the traditional Latinx male gender role, and marianismo, the traditional Latinx female gender role, reflect cultural norms and beliefs in many Latinx communities that have a long history with Catholicism and hypermasculinity. These traditional gender role attitudes also reflect specific heteronormative (i.e., presumption of heterosexual relationships)

family roles and associated behaviors that Latinx individuals may take on as husbands and wives, parents, grandparents and members of society, respectively.

Latinx women and gender. Latin American societies and cultures have been infused with Catholicism, due to the nature of its origins, particularly the Spanish Inquisition (Hardin, 2002; Neff, 2001). The conquest of the New World came alongside Spain and Portugal's undertaking to reconquer the Iberian Peninsula, both in a territorial and religious (Catholic) sense (Hardin, 2002; Neff, 2001, Stavans, 2019). The conquest of Latin America involved more than just land, and emphasized the spread of Catholicism (Hardin, 2002; Neff, 2001, Stavans, 2019). Latin American countries, such as Mexico among others, have instilled La Virgen (the Virgin Mary) as their patron saint, and considered her to be the mother of all (Stavans, 2019; Stevens, 1973). It has been argued that in Latin America, the Virgin Mary is sometimes seen as more important than Jesus, and that some in Latin America have "a fixation with the mother" (Stavans, 2019, p. 122).

Marianismo, the traditional female-based norms and construct that is central to the gender role for Latinx women, has its origins in the Christian, specifically Catholic, belief of the virginity of Mary, the mother of Jesus (Campon, 2017). Marianismo is a multidimensional construct that is based on the central Latinx values of familismo, respeto, and simpatía (Castillo et al., 2010). Familismo is an individual's strong identification with, and attachment to, nuclear and extended families (Arredondo et al., 2014; Castillo et al., 2010). Respeto is another Latinx cultural value that an individual should demonstrate respect to elders and be obedient to one's position within hierarchical and familial structures (Arredondo et al., 2014; Castillo et al., 2010). Simpatía is a Latinx expectation that one maintains gentle and harmonious relationships and sustains pleasant interactions with others (Arredondo et al., 2014; Castillo et al., 2010).

According to Arredondo and colleagues (2014), the association of marianismo with Catholicism and the Virgin Mary is inseparable. Some have even claimed that the image of una buena mujer (a good woman) among Latinxs is indistinguishable from the image of the Virgin Mary (Stevens, 1973). This has instilled value and socialization practices in which women are taught to be pure, self-sacrificing, and to consider the role of mother to be most important (Campon, 2017). Marianismo has thus been thought of as the idealization of what a real woman is, as exemplified by the Virgin Mary (Campon 2017; Stevens, 1973). In simplest terms, marianismo as a gender role construct dictates that a Latina woman's place is in the home, and her duties are to her husband and family (Gil & Vazquez, 1996).

In their Ten Commandments of Marianismo, named to reflect the Catholic framework of marianismo, Gil and Vazquez (1996) present a deeper understanding of marianismo as a women's duty to be self-sacrificing, submissive and pure, in the image of the Virgin Mary. Women are thus expected to wait for marriage to engage in sexual relations, are expected to fulfill their husband's sexual drives and remain faithful to their husband. Until marriage women are viewed as almost asexual (Campon, 2017). Marianismo also corresponds to a women's responsibility for child rearing, nurturing and caregiving, as well as being submissive to men (Asencio, 2012; Gil & Vazquez, 1996; Nuñez et al, 2015; Torres, et al., 2002). This expectation on women places a woman's needs below the needs of her children and husband. According to Campon (2017), the Latinx woman lives in the shadows of not only her husband, but of her children as well, while also attending to the needs of the extended family. Further the marianista, a woman who acts in accordance with the values of marianismo, exhibits strength and patience (Asencio, 2012; Campon, 2017; Sue & Sue, 2015). She withstands suffering in order for the family to prosper and remains morally and spiritually strong while being expected to tolerate the

shortcomings of men (Campon, 2017). For Latinx women, marianismo is also their definition of self-worth, value, identity and power in society (Campon, 2017; Stevens, 1973; Sue & Sue, 2015). Although modern Latinx women are more educated and, in the workforce, they still adhere to attitudes of marianismo in regard to sexual and interpersonal relationships (Sue & Sue, 2015).

The construct of marianismo remains highly valued and strongly expected in most Latinx families and societies regarding the behaviors of women (Miville et al., 2019). It is thus embedded within the cultural norms and expectations and will be influential on how Latinas shape their choices and actions throughout their lifetime (Gil & Vazquez, 1996). Latinx children are raised with this framework, and it contributes to a learned mindset which they carry on into adulthood and ultimately pass onto the future generations (Arredondo et al., 2014). It is argued that marianismo enables the patriarchal Latinx societal structure to take hold. However, according to Stevens (1973), marianismo does not necessarily permeate all ethnic groups in Latin America (i.e., indigenous groups), even if they are patriarchal. Stevens (1973) further notes that one possible explanation may be the differing values orientations that other Latinx ethnic groups maintain, which may conflict with the messages of Catholicism embedded in the greater Latinx culture.

Latinx men and gender. For Latinx men, their gender role is heavily based in the idea of machismo, which is believed to have its roots dating back to the Spanish conquistadors' economic, territorial and Catholic conquest of the New World (Hardin, 2002; Mirande, 1997; Neff, 2001). It is this Catholic conquest and colonization, which was definitive of the late 15th and early 16th century that contributed and shaped the gender role construct for Latinx men in the Americas (Hardin, 2002; Mirande, 1997). The racist (including anti-Semitic) and oppressive

ideologies that came along with the Spanish conquistadors, and supported by Catholic inquisitors and clergy, that the indigenous peoples of Latin America were one of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel, gave license to the inhumane and aggressive domination of the indigenous peoples (Stavans, 2019). It has been argued that the conquistadors' brutal and aggressive domination on indigenous peoples in Latin America laid the groundwork for machismo to become a part of the Latinx male psyche (Hardin, 2002; Mirande, 1997; Neff, 2001).

Machismo, the Latinx male gender role construct, refers to Latinx masculinity that places males in a dominant position over women and even other men (Asencio, 2012; Neff, 1991; Sue & Sue, 2015). Machistas, men who act in accordance with the values of machismo, tend to objectify women and hold attitudes toward sexuality and homophobia that discriminate against men who do not meet their rigid standards of maleness (Consoli et al, 2017; Hardin, 2002). The machista further expresses a bold demeanor, toughness as provider for the family, and brute arrogance (Consoli et al., 2017; Sue & Sue, 2015). Machismo thus emphasizes physical strength, sexual prowess, and insatiable sexual appetite. Machismo allows for men to act impulsively and recklessly, exhibiting a sense of invulnerability. Additionally, a machista is generally seen as being restricted emotionally, with the exception of displays of aggression and anger (Asencio, 2012; Consoli et al., 2017; Hardin, 2002; Neff, 2001).

However, in reality, machismo is considered to be a two-dimensional construct which incorporates the negative aspects of domination, hyper-masculinity, and chauvinism as well as the positive attributes of respect, responsibility and chivalry (Arciniega et al., 2008). These positive aspects of Latino male gender role are known as *caballerismo*, being a gentleman, and represent men of high status, who are sensitive and protective (Arciniega et al., 2008; Arredondo, et al., 2014; Gil & Vazquez, 1996; Nuñez et al, 2015; Torres et al., 2002). Like machismo,

caballerismo has a long history going back to the Middle Ages and is based on the ideas of knighthood and noble landowners (Hardin, 2002; Nuñez et al, 2015; Torres et al.,2002). Caballerismo expects Latino men to be responsible, hardworking and persevering. Similarly, they are expected to honor family, be protective of their family, and demonstrate confidence (Arciniega et al., 2008; Arredondo, et al., 2014; Consoli et al., 2017). Caballerismo, like machismo, has been criticized by some scholars, as a form of benevolent sexism and an aspect of the patriarchy (Consoli et al., 2017).

Even though no single definition exists (Mirande, 1997), Latinx men are more often than not characterized and stereotyped by the machista characteristic (Arredondo et al., 2014; Gil & Vazquez, 1996; Sue & Sue, 2015). More than just a counterpart to marianismo, machismo is sometimes seen as an inequitable exchange of power and resources between gender roles in a patriarchal society. Arredondo and colleagues (2014) argue that these frameworks provide both the conscious and unconscious mindset learned by both Latinx males and females, which are modeled by parents, grandparents and society at large. For Latinxs, scholars typically support the notion that gender role constructs are strongly influenced by religious/spiritual contexts (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002), yet, just as with marianismo, the construct of machismo may not be the same for other ethnic and religious groups in Latin America (Stevens, 1973).

Jewish Gender Roles

Jewish people are a group that shares and maintains an ancient tradition and heritage dating to antiquity. Judaism is one of the oldest religions still in practice and connected to its people in more ways than just as a faith (Sue & Sue, 2015). Although Jews do not constitute a race or nationality, they do maintain strong cultural characteristics and values that closely resemble such categorizations (Lasser & Gottlieb, 1994). Jews are seen beyond their

categorization of a religious group and are concurrently seen as an ethnic group (Lasser & Gottlieb, 1994; Limonic, 2019; Stavans 2019; Sue & Sue, 2015). Judaism embodies many cultural and religious traditions that convey messages of how men and women should act (Cooper, 2020; Sisselman-Borgia, 2017). Literature in psychology for Jewish individuals is scant (Borenstein et al, 2020). Thus, gender role research for Jewish individuals is also limited. Literature and studies that address gender roles and similar areas in Judaism can be found in other fields such as sociology, women's studies, Jewish studies and philosophy, yet are still limited in number (Borenstein et al., 2020).

In Kosman's (2014) work on gender roles in Judaism, the author proposes that gender roles are symbiotic in nature as receiver and bestower, wherein women are categorized in the role of receiver and men are categorized in the role of bestower (Kosman, 2014). According to Kosman (2014), Jewish men's and women's roles are interdependent. The author's theory on Jewish gender roles is grounded in the idea that men need to be more active to reach spirituality, whereas women are naturally more spiritual and therefore can be more passive in expected action (Kosman, 2014). Similarly, Sigalow and Fox (2014) found in their content analysis on Jewish children's books that men were often portrayed as performers in religion and women as the facilitators. The performers in their analysis were the ones who demonstrated agency and the facilitators were those who devotedly performed Jewish rituals from within the home and shared intimate thoughts and feelings on a spiritual level (Sigalow & Fox, 2014). In their analysis Sigalow and Fox (2014) found that both male and female characters were also depicted as carrying out their Judaism through caring for others and acts of kindness. In a similar vein, it was found that Judaism emphasizes the idea of Tikkun Olam, literally repairing the world, and social justice as contributing values of equality (Borenstein et al., 2020). Additionally, it has been

argued that Judaism as a whole values feminine qualities, such as gentleness, modesty, empathy, introspection, nurturing and selflessness (Kosman, 2014; Ringel, 2007).

Jewish women and gender. Literature on gender roles and Jewish women's roles have depicted women as practicing a more domestic Judaism, being involved in education, nurturing and family rearing (Sigalow & Fox, 2014). In contrast Ringel (2007) found that Jewish women maintain the role of wife and mother while balancing and valuing a career. Studies have suggested that many Jewish women viewed the home as the focal point of religious life, especially among Orthodox Jewish women. Orthodox Jewish women, who are negatively stereotyped as more gender restrictive were found to have active roles in their local communities, finding empowerment in their homes and communities within traditional structure (Borenstein et al., 2020; Kosman 2014; Longman 2008; Ringel, 2007; Sisselman-Borgia, 2017).

In a study of modern Jewish women and gender roles conducted in Belgium, Longman (2008) found similar experiences to that of American Jewish women, in which women were considered the bearer of children, the guardian and pillar of the home, while maintaining jobs outside the home. Interestingly, these Jewish Belgian women were sometimes the main contributors to family income, and they were able to achieve agency within a religious-traditionalist context in their communities, through charity work, teaching and various social services despite certain restrictions for women in public religious service (Longman, 2008). The literature suggests that although Jewish women seem to follow a more traditional and structured gender role, they have a sense of power in their roles within the home and community in which they live (Borenstein et al., 2020; Kosman, 2014; Ringel, 2007; Sisselman-Borgia, 2017). More so than Jewish men, Jewish women are believed to display a stronger Jewish identity, attachment

to the Jewish people and to Jewish traditions, with a great sense of involvement in the Jewish community (Cooper, 2020; Fishman & Parmer, 2008; Shnabel et al., 2018).

Jewish men and gender. Few studies on gender roles for Jewish men are available. Most studies in regard to Jewish gender roles are focused on Jewish women, leaving one to extrapolate from them what Jewish male gender roles are. These roles typically reflect a social prominence, while also promoting equality and openness. Jewish men have generally been seen as leaders and typically occupy public religious/cultural roles (Kosman, 2014; Ringel, 2007; Sisselman-Borgia, 2017), while also being viewed in roles that encouraged emotional and physical expressiveness, intimate familial relationships, and nurturing (Sigalow & Fox, 2014). According to Cooper (2020), Jewish men are raised with the expectation to negotiate a partnership in their marriages and in managing the different roles in the family. Nevertheless, religious gender segregation exists within Judaism, in which men and women are separated (at times even by physical barriers) during services, and religious practices and experiences are often gendered, leaning more favorably to men (Levitt, 2015; Raphael, 2005; Schnabel et al., 2018).

In a study on Jewish male adolescents and their identity as males, Reichert and Ravitch (2010) found that Jewish male adolescents tended to more frequently practice kindness, standing against injustices, being less emotionally restricted and caring for others, than their non-Jewish male peers. Jewish men traditionally have not been defined as the breadwinner, although that has been the practical role of many Jewish men (Raphael, 2005). Thus, it is thought that Jewish men are not typically hypermasculine and in fact may be more progressive and more in touch with their emotions than other men (Raphael, 2005; Reichert & Ravitch, 2010). Similarly, Lasser and Gottlieb (1994) suggested that mainstream American young men are socially conditioned to be independent, emotionally restrictive and are celebrated for their athletic ability. In contrast

Jewish men are thought to be less manly as they are socialized to study, achieve academic success and are taught to be respectful, emotionally sensitive, and kind (Lasser & Gottlieb, 1994; Kosman, 2014; Raphael, 2005; Ringel, 2007). Further a non-macho, studious and even nerdy stereotype of Jewish masculinity exists (Borenstein et al, 2020), which has been a source of shame and pain for Jewish men (Hyman, 2002). However, Jewish men are seen to be the more dominant and public figures within their group and have been regarded as both highly successful and closed people (lack of warmth) to those outside their group (Fiske et al., 2002). Yet, when compared to other non-Jewish men's masculinity, Jewish men are typically seen as less masculine (Lasser and Gottlieb, 1994; Raphael, 2005; Reichert & Ravitch, 2010; Schnall, 2006).

Recently, it has been argued that a newer Jewish male hypermasculine stereotype exists, that of the tough Israeli soldier (Levitt, 2015; Raphael, 2005). Scholars have noted that the military experience and expectation of the Israel Defense Forces has influenced how Israeli Jews view the masculine ideal (Gilbar et al, 2019). Because Israel is considered to be a nation in arms (p. 94), facing continuous security challenges and a compulsory military service, with reserve duties, it is argued that this masculine identity has been infused into the greater Jewish male gender role in Israel (Gilbar et al, 2019). Nevertheless, it has also been noted that this newer hypermasculine stereotype is mainly based on Israeli Jews and may not be representative of Jews as a whole, Jewish groups from other countries and even the Israeli Ultra-Orthodox sect who do not serve in the military (Gilbar et al, 2019; Raphael, 2005; Schnall, 2006). Additionally, scholars have noted that anti-Semitism has both feminized and hyper-masculinized Jews as a whole, through stereotyping Jews with traits of inferiority, weakness and ineptitude, while also portraying Jews as controlling, manipulative and greedy (Levitt, 2015; Raphael, 2005).

Jewish gender role studies have mainly focused on Jewish groups in America, Israel and Europe. The literature on Jewish gender roles has generally represented Jews as a monolithic group neglecting important differences (Borenstein et al., 2020). Internal distinctions within Jewish peoples such as differences in traditions of Ashkenazi (Jews maintain traditions from Eastern Europe) and Sephardic/Mizrahi Jews (Jews maintaining tradition from medieval Spain, Arab lands and North Africa) and other Jewish groups such as Latinx Jews and Persian/Iranian Jews, have rarely been explored (Bitton, 2016; Borenstein et al., 2020).

Latinx Jews

Understanding who Latinx Jews are, is an important part to understanding and working with these individuals with unique identities (Borenstein et al., 2020; Limonic, 2019). Jews have maintained a presence in Latin America and the Caribbean from as early as 1492, following religious persecution in Spain and Portugal which is known as the Spanish Inquisition (Bierly, 2019; Elkin, 2014; Lesser, 2016; Stavans, 2019). The history of Jews in Latin America dates back to early Spanish beginnings in the continent. Jews have had a rich and prosperous history in Spain, believed to have started as early as 70 C.E., as part of the Roman Empire (Elkin, 2014; Stavans, 2019). Jews thrived in Spain and were seen as one of the most prosperous and largest Jewish communities in the world for centuries, especially during the Middle Ages, producing scientists, doctors, Torah scholars, philosophers, economists and luminaries, such as Maimonides, Don Isaac Abrabanel and Judah Ha-Levi (Lowney, 2006; Menocal, 2009). Jews, Muslims and Christians famously lived side by side for centuries in Spain, influencing each other in a plethora of ways (Lowney, 2006; Menocal, 2009).

The Spanish inquisition, Spain's Catholic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, destroyed this once tolerant society, leading to centuries long persecution, torture, and killing of Spain and

Portugal's large and influential Jewish and Muslim populations (Elkin, 2014; Stavans, 2019). In 1492, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, known as the Catholic monarchs, in the Alhambra Decree of Granada, expelled all Jews and Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula, with many fleeing to the Ottoman empire, North Africa and the New World (Bierly, 2019; Elkin, 2014; Lesser, 2016; Stavans, 2019). The Spanish Inquisition was not restricted to the Iberian Peninsula but was spread throughout the Spanish and Portuguese conquest of the New World (Elkin, 2014, Stavans, 2019). The persecution of Spain's Jews and Muslims followed them to the Iberian colonies, and many of the Jews underwent false conversions to save their lives. These Jews are known as *conversos* (meaning converted) or *marranos*, Spanish for pigs - this term is considered to be offensive and a derogatory term given to those individuals - (Elkin, 2014, Stavans 2019). Many of the Jews in the New World escaped persecution by moving to Dutch-controlled areas of the Caribbean and South America, only feeling safe for Jewish individuals/the Jewish communities to return with the liberators of Latin America, such as Simon Bolivar (Elkin, 2014; Stavans, 2019).

In the late nineteenth century, another influx of Jewish life came to Latin America, for newfound economic opportunity and once again to avoid the rise of Anti-Semitism in Europe. Many Ashkenazi Jews left Eastern Europe in search of economic growth and to escape the persecution and pogroms that plagued Eastern Europe. Many Sephardic and Mizrahi Jews came to Latin America as Arab nationalism began to rise and the Ottoman empire began to dissolve. The last wave of major Jewish immigration took place in the 1930's and 1940's, as Jews fled from Nazi persecution and looked to resettle outside of Europe post World War II (Elkin, 2014, Stavans, 2019). Many Latinx communities, especially in Mexico, Peru and Colombia, after exploring legends and oddities in their heritage and cultural practices that did not align with

Catholicism, have learned of their converso histories, and have in recent years returned to Judaism (Ferero, 2012; Landy, 2003; Stavans, 2019).

In an overwhelming Catholic society, Latinx Jews have been marginalized in their native Latin American countries because they are a religious minority as well as an ethnic minority (Limonic, 2019). Latinx Jews also are predominantly identified by other Latinxs as either White European or Middle Eastern (Elkin, 2014). Latinxs have seldom confronted their history related to the Inquisition, and the persecution of Jews who have been part of the very fabric of Latin America, since before its conquest (Stavans, 2019). Anti-Semitism throughout Latin America, specifically in Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina, has kept Latinx Jews as a minority group and created a sentiment of othering (Elkin, 2014). Anti-Semitism at various points of Latin American history has either forced Jews to convert or crypto-convert (i.e., convert to Christianity in public while remaining Jewish in secret) in early history, and subsequently have driven contemporary Latinx Jews to the United States and/or Israel (Bejarano, 2014; Elkin, 2014, Limonic, 2014). Anti-Semitism, in general and throughout Latin America, has also led many Jewish groups to reconsider their identity more positively as well as to combat stereotypes of inferiority and weakness, instead pushing for greater involvement in social justice causes (Stavans, 2019).

Over the years Latinx Jews have been influential to Latin American society and history. Latinx Jewish contributions can be seen in many different areas of life: in the arts and entertainment with television host Don Francisco (whose birth name is Mario Luis Kreutzberger Blumenfeld), actor William Levy (Hinojosa, 2017), comedian Joana Hausmann, artist Frida Kahlo, a claim Kahlo made, but has since been disputed (Stavans, 2019); in journalism and politics with journalist Geraldo Rivera, Argentine federal prosecutor Alberto Nisman, former

Peruvian prime minister and president Pedro Pablo Kuczynski and former president of Honduras Ricardo Maduro (Hinojosa, 2017); in athletics with notable soccer star and coach Jose Pekerman, as well as the co-founder of Zumba fitness Alberto Perlman (Hinojosa, 2017); in business and gastronomies with founder of the Kind snack company Daniel Lubetzky; and various academics, authors, like Ilan Stavans and Ruth Behar; and Nobel Laureates such as César Milstein for his work in physiology and medicine. A continuously growing list amongst those Latinxs who do not identify as Jewish, such as Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (Goldmacher, 2018), among many others, have acknowledged or recently learned that they have some Jewish Latinx ancestry that dates back to Spain (Lesser, 2016; Stavans, 2019).

Latinx Jews today are mostly concentrated in Latin America and the Caribbean, the United States, and Israel. Many live in major metropolitan cities such as New York, Miami, Los Angeles, Chicago, Buenos Aires, Bogota, Mexico City, Rio De Janeiro, etc. (Elkin, 2014, Limonic, 2014; Limonic, 2019; Stavans, 2019; Borenstein et al, 2020). Continuous instability and anti-Semitism in countries like Venezuela, Mexico, and Argentina, contribute to the growing numbers of Latinx Jewish immigrants to the United States. The Latinx Jewish population in Latin America has been estimated to be over 600,000, twice the current total Jewish population of Europe. In the United States over 227,000 Latinx Jewish adults make up approximately 5.3% of the overall Jewish population in the United States (Sheskin & Dashefsky, 2011; Pew Research Center, 2012; DellaPergola, 2018; Sheskin & Dashefsky, 2018, Steinhardt Social Research Institute, Brandeis University, 2019, p. 3). Latinx Jews form a significant panethnic subgroup in the U.S., representing approximately one third of the Jewish population of Miami-Dade county, one third of the Jewish population in New York City, and fourteen percent of the Jewish population in the Los Angeles area (Limonic, 2019).

Panethnic identity. Panethnicity refers to the fusing of groups that have previously distinct ethnic or national identities into a single ethnic category, through an expansion of ethnic boundaries that share a common language, culture and region of origin (Itzigsohn & Dore-Cabral, 2000; McConnell & Delgado-Romero, 2004). A panethnic identity is said to allow group members to fluctuate among their different identities, expressing one identity over the other, and can be dependent on what the individual's perception of opportunity is available to them (Itzigsohn & Dore-Cabral, 2000). This fluidity allows for diverse groups, like Latinxs, to identify with multiple aspects of their identities, which can shift depending on situation and/or context (Martinez, 2004; McConnell & Delgado-Romero, 2004). It has been argued that panethnicity is a broad concept that many Latinx groups in the United States adhere to (Itzigsohn & Dore-Cabral, 2000; Martinez, 2004).

Limonic (2014) suggested that Latinx Jews negotiate a panethnic identity between their Jewish culture and their Latinx culture through a constant ongoing process. Latinx Jews are often seen as a cultural anomaly, and it is difficult for some Latinx individuals to understand how they can both be Jewish and Latinx (Borenstein et al., 2020). Latinx Jews are often seen as not being *sufficiently* Latinx in the United States, as they are generally seen as part of the White majority (Bejarano, 2014; Elkin, 2014, Limonic, 2019). Additionally, other non-Jewish groups may have difficulty understanding how they can be both Latinx and Jewish, since as stated above Latinxs are stereotyped as Catholic, and because Jews are also often viewed as a monolithic group (Raphael, 2005; Levitt, 2015; Bitton, 2016). As suggested by Diner and Brodtkin (2000), regardless of country of origin and internal cultural differences among Jewish peoples, Jews were thrust into a White (European) majority categorization during the American civil rights movement in the 1960s. Thus, among American Jewish communities, Latinx Jews are often

marginalized sometimes because they often have a different way in which they practice their Judaism (Bejarano, 2014; Elkin, 2014, Limonic, 2014; Borenstein et al, 2020) as well as the languages they may speak (e.g., Spanish, Ladino). Although Latinx Jews tend to gather themselves beyond the synagogue through their athletic and social clubs (*el club, Hebraica*) and Jewish communal organizations, many sects of the American Jewish community generally center themselves in synagogues and study halls (Yeshivas), with the exception of those who identify as secular or cultural Jews (Bokser Liwerant, 2013; Bejarano, 2014; Elkins, 2014; Limonic, 2019). For Latinx Jews, their Jewish community centers in Latin America represent a unique space where all community members gather and participate in formal and informal education, Jewish cultural activities, network and develop their community, while the Jewish Community Center (JCC) model of American Jews was not a central place of gathering across denominations and those who are culturally Jewish (Bokser Liwerant, 2013; Bejarano, 2014; Elkins, 2014; Limonic, 2019). Latinx Jews generally consider themselves to be more traditionally Jewish and are less divided by denomination than American Jews are thought to be (Bokser Liwerant, 2013; Bejarano, 2014; Elkins, 2014; Limonic, 2019; Borenstein et al., 2020). Additionally, Latinx Jews place greater value in religious Jewish education, striving to send their children to Jewish Day Schools, rather than Hebrew school or public school (Bokser Liwerant, 2013). Scholars have noted that the influence of Latinx culture is apparent in attributes of the Latinx Jewish community in the United States, through salsa dancing at Bar/Bat Mitzvahs, and Latinx-inspired food, language and family structure (Bokser Liwerant, 2013; Limonic, 2019). Cultural norms also may differ, for example, with Latinx Jews often believing American Jews to be *cold and formal*, in opposition to themselves whom they see as *warm and welcoming*, similar to the general Latinx population (Hinojosa, 2017; Limonic, 2019; Borenstein et al, 2020).

Because of their identity fluidity, Latinx Jews are therefore constantly negotiating which aspects of their identity between being Jewish and Latinx they emphasize or reject, whether it is in Latin America with an overwhelming Catholic society or in the United States where they differ and feel different from both the American Jewish community and the Latinx population (Limonic, 2014; Borenstein et al., 2020). Latinx Jews navigate their minority identities, searching to find their place in the United States (Limonic, 2019; Borenstein et al., 2020). For Latinx Jews negotiating among ethno-religious identities becomes a strategic tool in which they are able to play out one side of their ethnicity in certain contexts, and another side of their ethnicity in other contexts (Limonic, 2014, 2019). Their ethnicity is thus constructed and reconstructed across ethnic, racial and religious lines, based in shared values with the greater Latinx population, the greater American Jewish population, while at the same time, sharing feelings of marginalization and outsider status among Latinxs and Jews (Limonic, 2014, Borenstein et al., 2020).

Intersectionality of identities is not a focus for many Latinx Jews since, per the findings of Borenstein and colleagues (2020), they seem to view their identity as unique rather than an intersection (i.e., the whole of Latinx Jewish identity is experienced as more than sum of its parts). Additionally, because this group holds dual minority identities, which they constantly negotiate (Limonic, 2019; Borenstein et al., 2020), and thus put forth different aspects of their identity depending on their social context, intersectionality as it has been discussed in the literature does not seem relevant to consider in the current study. That is, for Latinx Jews their panethnic identity takes the form of existing in a fluid spectrum, using their identity strategically based on context (Limonic, 2019). However, further discussion may be warranted to examine the

utility and application of the theoretical concepts of panethnicity and intersectionality for Latinx Jews.

Jewish Identity

Jewish people have been considered, across many disciplines, to be more than just a religious minority and maintain features of an ethnic group that crosses borders and is tied to history (Altman et al., 2010; Friedlander et al., 2010; Schnall, 2006; Stavans 2019; Sue & Sue, 2015). Jewish identity is thought to be very personal, complex, and highly fluid over time. For centuries, Jewish people have often thought about their identity and what it means, against the backdrop of anti-Semitism and marginalization (Agosín, 2002; Cohen et al. 2009). In more recent times, Jewish people have had more freedom to self-identify and define what it means to have a Jewish identity (Cohen et al., 2009; Fishman & Parmer, 2008; Waxman, 2010). Thus, Jewish identity is one that can also be acquired through adopting Jewish values, practices (religious and cultural) and history (Levins Morales, 2005). Therefore, Jewish identification must take a multidimensional approach, looking at both religious practices in addition to cultural practices. Jewish people, especially American Jews, are thought to view their religious and cultural identities as intertwined, with the cultural identity being more salient (Altman et al., 2010; Borenstein et al., 2020; Friedlander et al., 2010). Additionally, Friedlander and colleagues (2010) in their study on American Jewish identity found that those who were more traditional in their religious observance exhibited a stronger Jewish personal identity. Community, family and discrimination (anti-Semitism) are important factors in the formation of Jewish identity (Altman et al., 2010; Lang, 2005).

Within the Jewish population, men have significantly fewer and declining connections, involvement and identification with Judaism than do women (Fishman & Parmer, 2008;

Waxman, 2010). Cohen and colleagues (2009) in their study on modern views of anti-Semitism found that Jewish men tend to hide their Jewish identity more frequently than women, in fear of anti-Semitism, and thus are quicker to shed their Jewish identity and values, to assimilate toward a more American identity. However, research has demonstrated that there is an interaction between religion and gender roles (e.g., *caballerismo*), which can significantly improve mental health outcomes (Estrada & Arciniega, 2015). Greater religious involvement and identity thus may provide a space for individuals, especially men, to express and adhere to more open and tender gender roles (Estrada & Arciniega, 2015; Sue & Sue, 2015).

Acculturation

Acculturation is a process in which individuals—immigrants, asylum seekers, refugees, and others—and their children change through engagement in their interpersonal and intercultural experiences with their host cultures (Berry, 1980; Stephenson, 2000; Zea et al., 2003). The acculturation process is both psychological and behavioral and can occur in both individuals and groups, dependent on their extent of contact with another dominant culture (Berry, 1980; Zea et al., 2003). Thus, acculturation is viewed as a complex process (Stephenson, 2000). Acculturation is often thought to occur on two levels, within the culture of origin and the host culture (Zea et al., 2003). Acquiring the beliefs, values, and practices of their host country does not imply that an immigrant will cease to hold the beliefs, values, and practices of their country of origin (Berry, 1980; Zea et al., 2003). Thus, acculturation attitudes are considered through two orthogonal dimensions, the degree to which individuals desire to have contact with those outside of their group and the degree to which individuals wish to retain or change qualities related to their native culture (Zea et al., 2003).

A host culture's unique history and social attitudes may impact an individual or group's levels and ease of acculturation (Schwartz et al., 2010). Thus, oppression and discrimination of particular ethnic/cultural groups may lead to *enculturation*, the process of retaining one's culture of origin (Berry, 1980; Schwartz et al., 2010; Yoon et al., 2013). The acculturation process is influenced by many different factors (Steffen & Merrill, 2011), such as level of education, marital status, community affiliation, and religion (Schwartz et al., 2010; Yoon et al., 2013). Levels of acculturation have also been associated with positive and negative mental health outcomes (Yoon et al., 2013). Measurement of acculturation also serves as a tool to make sense of differences within ethnic groups (Schwartz et al., 2010). Scholars suggest that individuals who are less acculturated within a dominant culture may require more culturally sensitive assessments, interventions, and understanding, than individuals who are more acculturated to the dominant culture (Schwartz et al., 2010). Therefore, one's level of acculturation to their host culture could influence their adherence to the traditional gendered norms and expectations they have from their country of origin (Schwartz et al., 2010; Yoon et al., 2013).

Latinx Jews and acculturation. Literature on acculturation for Latinx Jews in the United States is rare. However, literature from other disciplines touch on topics relating to acculturation of Latinx Jews. As discussed previously, many Jewish Latinx individuals and their communities demonstrate aspects of enculturation and acculturation to both the Latinx dominant culture of their country of origin—and even the city they live in, e.g., Miami—and the Jewish-American culture of their host country (Hinojosa, 2017; Limonic, 2019; Borenstein et al., 2020). Latinx Jews in the U.S. are challenged by rigid racial/ethnic categorical systems (Levins Morales, 2005), making the acculturation/assimilation process unique (Bokser Liwerant, 2013; Limonic, 2019). Limited Jewish associations, organizations, schools and synagogues exist that

primarily serve Latinx Jews (Bejarano, 2014), thus forcing many Latinx Jews to integrate to American Jewish institutions (Bokser Liwerant, 2013). Religion for immigrant groups is very important and can facilitate acculturation, as religious practices and houses of worship may allow for information about the host culture to be shared (Hirschman, 2004; Limonic, 2019). According to Hirschman (2004), important information about local schools, jobs, health care, and other important services and/or processes may be exchanged amongst host culture and immigrant members of the same religious institutions, easing the adoption of the host culture. For many immigrant groups, religious membership may also offer a certain level of familiarity to immigrants (Limonc, 2019).

Nevertheless, in communities where there are large Latinx Jewish communities, as well as large Latinx populations—such as New York City, Miami and Los Angeles—Latinx Jewish institutions may be more available allowing for enculturation. Latinx Jews may be more acculturated in the U.S. than other Latinx groups but may also have many cultural differences to that of American Jews (Hinojosa, 2017; Limonic, 2019; Borenstein et al., 2020). Thus, Latinx Jewish gender roles may be impacted by their levels of acculturation.

Latinx Jewish Gender Roles

In a recent study that explored gender roles for Latinx Jews through qualitative methods, Borenstein and colleagues (2020) interviewed self-identified Latinx Jewish individuals to better understand how they negotiate gender roles between their Latinx and Jewish identities. In accordance with the Multicultural Gender Roles Model (MGRM) proposed by Miville and colleagues (2013). Borenstein and colleagues demonstrated that Latinx Jews undergo a negotiation of different values, such as rejecting stereotypes of hyper-masculinity and emphasizing responsibility and caretaking, while retaining values of religious gender segregation

of services, in constructing their gender roles (Borenstein et al., 2020). Latinx Jewish participants described having a unique identity that emphasized and rejected various aspects of Judaism and Latinx culture. This process influenced how participants constructed their gender roles by taking and renouncing elements from both cultural frameworks, neither fitting precisely into a singular specific gender role construct associated with Jews and/or Latinxs (Borenstein et al., 2020).

Thus, Latinx Jews who are raised within the same larger Latinx framework, while being a dual minority group, constantly negotiate among Latinx societal norms, Catholic messages, as well as Jewish religious and cultural messages regarding specific gender role expectations (Borenstein et al, 2020). The findings from Borenstein and colleagues (2020) demonstrated that for Latinx Jews, Catholic influenced gender roles were viewed as more restrictive and oppressive, whereas gender roles with Judaic influences, although endorsing gender segregated roles, were viewed as more open and generally allowing for more equity and caretaking.

Latinx Jewish women tended to endorse a gender role similar to that of marianismo, expressing Latinx constructs of familismo, one's duty and to commitment to their immediate and extended family, and simpatía, harmony in interpersonal relationships. One exception was feeling a sense of leadership in their homes with opportunities to speak out and contribute to communal life and in the spiritual transmission of Judaism (Borenstein et al. 2020). Latinx Jewish women related to aspects of respeto, respect and deference to individuals of authority, such as respecting elders, although they were vocal about their ability to share their opinions and ideas freely among their family and community. Thus, Latinx Jewish women were often reported by participants as being leaders in the home, community, Jewish schools and Latinx Jewish organization leaders (Limonic, 2019; Stavans, 2019; Borenstein et al., 2020). Latinx Jewish women's roles were described as instilling value and spirituality, through managing the home,

and acting as an *Eyshet Hayil (Woman of Valor)* by taking leadership roles within the family and community, heading charity groups, serving as directors of community-based groups, in the capacity of communal teachers, and being considered to be *solely* responsible for Jewish continuity of both tradition and spirituality (Borenstein et al., 2020). Latinx Jews endorsed having more female presidents serving communal organizations and synagogues, while acknowledging gender segregation of religious roles where men and women sat separately during certain religious services, such as prayer (Borenstein et al., 2020). However, participants expressed opposition to how many orthodox synagogues in the U.S. completely segregate women during religious services, whereas in Latinx Jewish communities, there is less segregation or more transparent barriers (Borenstein, et al., 2020). Interestingly, even those Latinx Jewish participants who identified as feminists and supported gender equality reported some ambivalence in the complete sharing of religious gender roles, believing that each gender has its unique, albeit equally, important tasks.

Borenstein et al. (2020) found that Latinx Jewish men were disassociated from the hyper-masculine gender role of machismo and rejected hyper-masculinity as offensive and a more specific quality of non-Jewish Latinx men. Thus, Latinx Jews more readily ascribed to Judaism's teaching of Tikkun Olam and emphasized a more progressive and gentler gender role for men, more closely associated with *caballerismo* (Borenstein et al., 2020). Latinx Jewish men were viewed to be studious, intellectual, respectful and caring, while also taking an active role in child rearing, the household and in active religious services outside the home (Borenstein et al., 2020). Although men were described as being active contributors in domestic life, participants often described them in more *masculine* activities, such as grilling and heavy lifting (Borenstein et al., 2020). Latinx Jewish men were described more frequently taking on roles such as leaders of

religious services, rabbis, and primary providers for their families. Even though Latinx Jewish men were often considered to be the breadwinners, this role was not held exclusively by men, as women also were frequently reported to share in the role of substantially contributing financially (Borenstein et al., 2020).

The Latinx value of *familismo* was found to be important for both Latinx Jewish women and men, a value that was seemingly strengthened by their unique identity (Borenstein et al., 2020). Participants expressed family life as the center of their Judaism and their identity, as opposed to synagogue or other religious organizations and institutions. The Latinx Jewish home appeared to be where Latinx Jews formed aspects of their gender role and increased gender equity. Latinx Jews also placed importance in equal opportunity for both men and women in Jewish education, including higher education (Borenstein et al., 2020). Although most Latinx Jews were considered to adhere to a more traditional Judaism, falling in between American Jewish Orthodoxy and American Conservative and Reform movements, Latinx Jews emphasized the importance of Jewish education (both in formal and informal settings) even though generally a majority of those institutions in the United States leaned more Orthodox, thus altering demographics, values and network of these American Jewish Day schools to loosening the schools religious environment leading to more inclusion (Bokser Liwerant, 2013; Limonic, 2019; Borenstein et al., 2020).

Histories of anti-Semitism and immigration also demonstrated a prominent role in both the formation of identity and gender roles for Latinx Jews. Borenstein and colleagues (2020) found that most participants in their study had either direct or secondhand narratives of anti-Semitism and/or political crises in their Latinx countries of origin that fueled their immigration to the United States. These participants expressed feeling that these accounts contributed to their

Latinx Jewish identity and contributed to an increased sense of being different from both American Jews and Latinxs (Borenstein et al., 2020). Additionally, Borenstein and colleagues (2020) found that participants' histories of anti-Semitism and immigration, were reinforced through gender roles by embracing narratives of kindness, respect for others, family centrality, social justice, the strength to speak out against oppression, and the importance of Jewish continuity. Thus, distancing and differing themselves from Catholic and hyper-masculine Latinx values was a predominant theme for Latinx Jewish participants.

Working in major cities around the United States, Central and South America and the Caribbean, it is likely that one will come in contact with Latinx Jews (Bejarano, 2014; Limonic 2019). In places like New Mexico, many people are beginning to learn that they too have a converso history dating back to colonial Mexico and medieval Spain, in which many are beginning to take on aspects of Jewish culture and religion (Stavans, 2019). Therefore, it is important for researchers and clinicians to understand how this dual minority group forms their experiences and how they develop their gender roles, as it appears they differ in significant ways than that of the greater Latinx population and American Jews. Additionally, the understanding and study of how different Latinx minority groups, within the larger Latinx population, experience societally based gender roles are beneficial in understanding the multifaceted aspects of gender roles and the complexity of Latinx populations (Arredondo et al., 2014).

Purpose of the Study

The literature has demonstrated scant psychological research investigating Latinx Jewish gender roles. Although there has been qualitative research which demonstrates differences in how Latinx Jews understand their gender roles, there has not yet been a study using quantitative methods to examine this. To date, scales that have been created for Latinx gender roles do not

consider perspectives or values from minority Latinx groups, including as Latinx Jews. The lack of emphasis on the unique identity of Latinx Jews, as well as the lack of a clear understanding of how they create gendered identities makes it vital to continue to explore the gender role beliefs amongst Latinx Jews. In an effort to examine gender role beliefs, we examine the relationships of acculturation, Jewish identity, and Latinx-centered instruments purportedly measuring two major gender role constructs, marianismo and machismo/caballerismo scales, among Latinx Jews. The present research study hypothesizes the following:

Latinx Jewish women, although restricted in public religious practice, maintain a leadership role within their families and in communal functioning. Latinx Jewish women's partnership with their male counterparts may lead to their condoning a more open masculinity and rejecting overt hypermasculinity.

Hypothesis 1a: Latinx Jewish women will have low scores on scales of marianismo than Latinx Jewish men who will have greater endorsement.

Traditional Jewish values emphasize kindness and caring for others. Additionally, Judaism in practice involves religious gender segregation that favors male roles.

Hypothesis 1b: Both Latinx Jewish men and women will have low endorsement on subscales of machismo and will not score differently from one another.

Hypothesis 1c: Regardless of gender, Latinx Jewish men and women will have high endorsement of subscales of caballerismo, and will not score significantly different from each other.

Greater acculturation to the U.S./American host culture will be significantly related to beliefs of traditional Latinx Gender roles among Latinx Jews.

Hypothesis 2. Latinx Jewish women and men who score higher on acculturation to the U.S./American host culture will score lower on marianismo and machismo and higher on caballerismo than Latinx Jewish women and men who are more enculturated.

Stronger Jewish identity, both religious and cultural identity aspects, will be significantly related to beliefs of traditional Latinx gender roles among Latinx Jews.

Hypothesis 3a. Latinx Jewish women and men who score higher on Jewish identity will score lower on marianismo.

Hypothesis 3b. Latinx Jewish women and men who score higher on Jewish identity will score lower on machismo.

Hypothesis 3c. Latinx Jewish women and men who score higher on Jewish identity will have greater endorsement of caballerismo than Latinx Jewish women and men with lower Jewish identity scores.

Chapter III

Method

This study seeks to further understand Latinx-Jewish gender roles, through the use of previously validated scales assessing traditional Latinx gender role constructs of marianismo and machismo/caballerismo. The scales chosen for this study have been validated on Latinx populations through factor analyses and correlations with other related scales. Because marianismo and machismo/caballerismo are constructs that are taught in Latinx cultures to both genders, including Latinx Jews, and have been viewed as interplaying constructs, the scales chosen for this study are respectively applicable to both male and female participants.

Participants

The participants in this study were self-identified as Latinx-Jews, above the age of 18 and were recruited from major metropolitan areas around the United States. Data from 230 Latinx Jewish participants were collected for the present study. Of the total participants, 61% identified as female and 39% as male. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 86 years old ($M = 40.1$, $SD = 55.3$, $Mdn = 36$). In addition to their identification as Latinx Jews living in the United States, approximately 82% ($n = 189$) of the sample identified as White, .4% ($n = 1$) identified as African American/Black, .4% ($n = 1$) identified as Native American, 17% ($n = 39$) identified as Other, indicating they were Latinx, Hispanic, Jewish, Sephardic/Middle Eastern or bi/multiracial. No participants identified as Asian/Asian American or Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander. With regards to sexual orientation, approximately 90% ($n = 209$) identified as heterosexual, 3% ($n = 7$) identified as gay, 4% ($n = 9$) identified as lesbian, 2% ($n = 4$) identified as bisexual, and 1% ($n = 2$) identified with another sexuality (e.g., asexual, questioning, or queer). Participants were located all around the United States, with 32.6% from South Florida and Miami, 32% in the

tristate area of the Northeast (New York, New Jersey and Connecticut), including 25% from New York, 10.4% from the West Coast and California, 7.4% in New England, 4.3% in Chicago and the Midwest, and 3% from the Southwest (Arizona and Texas). In terms of social class, 23% identified as middle class, 11% as working class, 54% as upper middle class, 4% reported living at or below the poverty line, and 7% preferred not to answer. Participants identified their country of origin/ethnicity mainly from the following areas: Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico, Argentina, Peru and Cuba, among other Latin American countries.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. A demographic questionnaire was utilized to identify participants' age, race, gender, ethnicity, religious identification/affiliation, social class, education level achieved, Jewish education, primary language, generational status, household/family composition, and income.

Latinx gender role scales

In an attempt to measure Latinx individuals held beliefs in regard to the gender role constructs of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo, researchers have developed scales to quantitatively assess these phenomena. Endorsement of marianismo attitudes and beliefs has been measured through the Marianismo Belief Scale (MBS), constructed by Castillo and colleagues (2010). Machismo, a complex gender role construct, due to its dual nature, has been measured in varying ways. One promising method for measuring machismo is the scale created by Arciniega and colleagues (2008) for machismo and caballerismo, Traditional Machismo and Caballerismo Scale (TMCS). In validating both of these scales, the samples did not account for participant religious identification, thus excluding clearly identified data on Latinx Jews.

The Marianismo Belief Scale (MBS). As previously mentioned, marianismo is the gender role construct in Latinx societies that describes the expectations of how a Latina woman should act.

Marianismo is a multidimensional construct that is based on the central Latinx values of familismo, respeto, and simpatía (Castillo et al., 2010). These three values are seen as important dimensions or *pillars* of marianismo and measurement in the MBS. The MBS defines the core values of marianismo using a five factor model, including family pillar, virtuous and chaste, subordinate to others, silencing self to maintain harmony, and a spiritual pillar (Nuñez et al., 2015; Sanchez, 2019). The MBS was constructed to help assess the level to which Latinx women endorse the traditional concepts of marianismo (Nuñez, et al., 2015; Sanchez, 2019).

Castillo et al. (2010) conducted exploratory factor analyses (EFA) on the MBS to establish the subscales, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to verify the MBS subscales, along with tests of convergent and discriminant validity. The CFA of the MBS supported the five-factor structure. The subscales scores were positively correlated with scales of cognitive enculturation, self-sacrifice, and interdependence, as predicted by the scale authors (Castillo et al., 2010). The instrument showed good internal validity for all five factors. Each of the subscales that were incorporated into the MBS demonstrated the following acceptable coefficient alphas: .77 for Family Pillar subscale, .79 for Virtuous and Chaste subscale, .76 for Subordinate to Other subscale, .78 for Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony subscale, and .85 for the Spiritual Pillar subscale. The MBS has demonstrated suitable reliability, as well as convergent and discriminant validity (Castillo et al., 2010).

Based on the tenets of marianismo, Castillo and colleagues (2010) developed the MBS and validated it with Latina women. The MBS is a multidimensional measure used to assess the degree to which an individual believes a Latina should endorse and sustain the traditional marianismo gender construct. The 24-item scale explores five dimensions associated with marianismo: (a) the family pillar, a Latina woman's role and behaviors as the foundation of the family; (b) virtuous and chaste, a Latina woman's responsibility to produce children and be

sexually pure and loyal; (c) subordinate to others, understanding their place in patriarchal hierarchy; (d) self-silencing, Latina women being agreeable and not expressing her own opinions and needs, and finally, (e) spiritual pillar, or the expectation to be religiously principled (Castillo et al., 2010). Participants are asked to rate the extent to which they agree with statements regarding the values and practices ascribed to the constructs of marianismo, using a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Endorsement of marianismo is indicated through higher scores on the MBS. Although this scale was validated on Latina women, the MBS has been used on both male and female identified individuals (Piña-Watson et al., 2014; Nuñez, et al., 2015), since these constructs are both ingrained and taught to Latinxs of all genders at early ages (Arredondo et al., 2014; Piña-Watson et al., 2014; Nuñez, et al., 2015). Thus, this scale was chosen for this study due to the applicability of the scale to both males and females. The MBS has been validated on Latinx females and males (Castillo et al., 2010; Piña-Watson et al., 2014; Nuñez, et al., 2015), but to date has not looked at specific minority Latinx groups, such as Latinx Jewish identified men and women. In the current sample, Cronbach's alphas were adequate to good: .78 for Family Pillar subscale, .84 Virtuous and Chaste subscale, .78 for Subordinate to Other subscale, .88 for Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony subscale, and .79 for the Spiritual Pillar subscale.

The Machismo and Caballerismo Scale (TMCS). Machismo and caballerismo are the two aspects that make up the male gender role construct and describe the expectations of how a Latino man should act. Neff (2001) constructed a scale to measure endorsement of the machismo construct, which also includes caballerismo. This scale looked at the dimension of machismo from both negative and positive aspects, such as control of emotions, risk taking, personal honor, dominance/equity in marital decision making, and attitudes about women's rights to pursue interests outside the home (Neff, 1991; 2001). However, Neff's scale (2001) utilized a narrower

pool of items, making it more difficult to determine the structure of the two underlying constructs of machismo and caballerismo (Arciniega et al., 2008).

The TMCS is defined as a 20-item self-report instrument designed to assess the extent to which Latino men identify with the dual characteristics of the Latinx male gender role, reflecting respectively one positive construct and one negative construct (Arciniega et al., 2008). Thus, the TMCS may be used to assess the level to which Latinx men endorse the traditional concepts of machismo as well as the more chivalrous concepts of caballerismo. The 10-item Traditional Machismo subscale examines aspects of hypermasculinity, chauvinism, emotional restrictedness, and aggression (Arciniega et al., 2008). The 10-item Caballerismo subscale measures characteristics of emotional connectedness, pride in ethnic heritage, nurturance of family, and respectful conduct. The TMCS asks participants to rate the extent to which they agree with statements regarding the values and practices ascribed to the constructs of machismo and caballerismo, using a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so) (Arciniega et al., 2008). Higher scores on the TCMS indicate stronger traditional machismo and/or caballerismo beliefs.

In validating their scale, Arciniega et al. (2008) examined two independent samples of men from both college students and community populations, who predominantly identified as Mexican American. The results of their CFA supported the two-subscale structure of the TMCS. They also reported evidence of discriminant and convergent validity for both subscales. Internal reliability in the two samples ranged from .84 to .85 for Machismo and .71 to .80 for Caballerismo (Arciniega et al., 2008). Thus, endorsement of machismo and caballerismo is indicated through higher scores on these subscales. Although this scale was originally validated with a male sample, the use of machismo surveys to rate endorsement of machismo beliefs and attitudes by females has yielded reliable information about Latinx women's gender role

expectations of Latin males (Pardo et al., 2012; Piña-Watson et al., 2014; Nuñez, et al., 2015). In the current sample, Cronbach's alpha was .84 for Machismo and .72 for Caballerismo.

American Jewish Identity Scale (AJIS). In an attempt to better understand the complex experience of being Jewish, Friedlander and colleagues (2010) developed and validated a scale aimed at capturing Jewish identity. The AJIS is a 33-item self-report instrument measuring Jewish identity for North American Jews. Being a Jew in America is an almost invisible identity for many, due to their White proximity and/or being placed by societal norms into this racial category (Raphael, 2005; Levitt, 2015; Limonic, 2019). American Jews are thought to view their religious and cultural identities as intertwined, with the cultural identity being more salient (Friedlander et al., 2010; Borenstein et al., 2020). Additionally, Friedlander and colleagues (2010) found that those who were more traditional in their religious observance exhibited a stronger Jewish personal identity.

Being Jewish and having a Jewish identity is highly complex, and there is an increasing divide between religious observance and cultural practices (Friedlander et al, 2010). The AJIS was developed to represent the complex experiences of North American Jews. This scale includes attitudes and behaviors that reflect all levels of religious observance, while reflecting on American Jewish values and diverse cultural traditions (Friedlander et al., 2010). The AJIS thus features two subscales, religious identification and cultural identification. The 18-item religious identification subscale examines religious observance on various levels, and the 15-item cultural identification subscale measures one's cultural identification with Judaism (Friedlander et al., 2010). The AJIS uses a 4-point scale, ranging from 1 (not at all true of me) to 4 (very true of me), indicating the extent of respondent's agreement with each statement.

Friedlander and colleagues (2010) validated the AJIS for North American Jews based on a majority White, non-Hispanic Jewish sample. The instrument showed good internal validity

and content validity for each subscale. Each of the subscales that were incorporated into the AJIS demonstrated the following acceptable coefficient alphas: .77 for religious identity subscale and .85 for the cultural identification subscale (Friedlander et al., 2010). The AJIS has demonstrated suitable reliability, as well as convergent and discriminant validity (Friedlander et al., 2010). In the current sample, Cronbach's alphas were very good: .94 for religious identity subscale and .85 for the cultural identification subscale.

The Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS). Immigrants and their children are constantly changed by their interpersonal and intercultural experiences with their host cultures through acculturation processes (Zea et al., 2003). Acculturation is a process of both psychological and behavioral change in individuals and groups, due to long-term contact with another culture (Zea et al., 2003). Acculturation is often thought to occur on two levels, within the culture of origin and within the host culture (Zea et al., 2003). Thus, acculturation attitudes are viewed through two dimensions, the degree to which individuals desire to have contact with those outside of their group and, enculturation, the degree which individuals desire to sustain or change qualities related to their native culture (Zea et al., 2003).

The AMAS is a 42-item scale to measure acculturation across various cultures (Zea et al., 2003). The AMAS scales were based on a model of acculturation that emphasizes that cultural competence and identity are distinct domains of acculturation (Zea et al., 2003). Thus, according to this model, an individual may be competent in a culture without needing to identify with it. The AMAS assesses three subscales in the areas of cultural competence: (a) an individual's knowledge about the culture and their ability to function in that culture, language competence, (b) an individuals' knowledge of and their ability to use it, and (c) cultural identity and their role in their environment (Zea et al., 2003). The AMAS uses a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree) for the subscales related to cultural identity. For subscales related

to language and cultural competence a 4-point scale is used ranging from 1 (not at all) to 4 (extremely well).

To generate items and their subscales, Zea and colleagues (2003) conducted numerous focus groups. Focus groups included both immigrants and children of immigrants, from various regions around the world including Latin American, Europe, East Asia. Likewise in validating the scale, Zea et al. (2003) recruited a diverse group of participants, including immigrants from Latin American, China, Vietnam, Nigeria, Germany, and Jamaica. The AMAS has been validated with both community and college samples. Their analysis yielded acceptable Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranging from .90 to .97 (Zea et al., 2003). The concurrent validity of the AMAS was tested by comparing the scores of individuals born in the U.S. and those born in Latin America. The results indicated statistically significant differences between the two groups of individuals (Zea et al., 2003). Additionally, descriptive statistics for the subscales of the community sample, which included 90 Latinx participants, yielded adequate Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranging from .83 to .97 (Zea et al., 2003). In the current sample, Cronbach's alpha ranged from .83 to .98. On the U.S. Cultural Identity subscale .93, on the English Language subscale .97, on the U.S. Cultural Competence subscale .89, on the Total U.S. Acculturation subscale .83, On the Native Cultural Identity subscale .94, on the Native Language subscale .98, on the Native Cultural Competence subscale .92, on the Total Native Acculturation subscale .88.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through fliers posted online, student portals of several regional colleges and universities, and the like. Email invitations were sent to various undergraduate and graduate student organizations as well as Latinx-Jewish organizations across the nation. Social media posts also were posted to various Facebook and Twitter groups

associated with Latinx-Jews. All digital postings included a link to an online survey operated by Qualtrics. Participants were asked to provide consent for participation in the study. Participants then completed the measures described above. All participants were first given a demographic questionnaire followed by the TCMS, MBS, and were then given the AMAS and AJIS.

Chapter IV

Results

Descriptive statistics explored means and sociodemographic covariates to better understand the data, as well as correlational analyses to better understand the relationships between predictors of Jewish identity and acculturation on Latinx gender role norms. To test the proposed study hypotheses, correlation analyses, t-tests and hierarchical regression analysis were conducted, examining the hypothesized relations between traditional Latinx gender role norms.

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive Statistics

SPSS 28 was employed to compute descriptive statistics. For each variable, descriptive statistics were computed including percentile, mean, median, range, and Cronbach's alpha, and are presented in Table 1.

Correlation Analysis

Prior to completing the hierarchical regression analysis, a bivariate analysis of the variables was conducted to evaluate the relationships among the variables including demographic variables. Pearson's correlations were computed and are listed in Table 2 and Table 3. Variables included were informed by demographic data and research on Latinx Jewish gender roles (Borenstein et al., 2020) and Jewish Latinx Identity (Limonic, 2019). Age was found to be the only demographic variable to have significant correlations with machismo ($r = -.18, p < .01$) and caballerismo ($r = -.13, p < .01$) and AJIS ($r = -.17, p < .01$) scales.

This analysis further computed the correlations for men and women separately. With male participants, significant positive correlations were found between machismo and marianismo scores ($r = .61, p < .01$), machismo scores and caballerismo score ($r = .40, p < .01$)

and caballerismo and marianismo scores ($r = .52, p < .01$). For female participants, significant positive correlations were similarly found between machismo scores and marianismo scores ($r = .63, p < .01$), machismo scores and caballerismo score ($r = .37, p < .01$) and caballerismo and marianismo ($r = .52, p < .01$).

For the analysis among acculturation, computed separately for men and women, no significant correlations were found between acculturation and marianismo, machismo or caballerismo for either women or men. These results were inconsistent with Hypothesis 2, indicating that women's levels of acculturation and enculturation were not significantly linked with gender role attitudes and were not significantly related to their ratings on scales of Latinx gender roles. Men's levels of acculturation were likewise not significantly linked with gender role attitudes and were not significantly related to their ratings on scales of Latinx gender roles. Correlation analyses were conducted among the total scores of marianismo, machismo, caballerismo and Jewish identity, and were likewise conducted separately for men and women. Significant correlations were found, regardless of gender, between Jewish identity and the other three variables of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo ($p < .01$). Results were partially consistent with Hypothesis 3. In other words, for both women and men, higher scores on Jewish identity were associated with higher marianismo, machismo, and caballerismo scores.

Means testing

Hypothesis 1a: Latinx Jewish women will have low scores on scales of marianismo than Latinx Jewish men who will have greater endorsement.

Hypothesis 1b: Both Latinx Jewish men and women will have low endorsement on subscales of scores machismo and will not score differently from one another.

Hypothesis 1c: Regardless of gender, Latinx Jewish men and women will have high endorsement of subscales of caballerismo and will not score significantly different from each other.

To examine Hypothesis 1 of differences in levels of endorsement, by gender, on each of the Latinx gender roles scales, we compared means of Latinx Jewish men and Latinx Jewish women, by testing independent sample means (Table 4). On average, Latinx Jewish participant scores on marianismo did not significantly differ between Latinx Jewish men ($M = 2.17$, $SD = .43$) and Latinx Jewish women ($M = 2.25$, $SD = .38$), $t(215) = -.995$, $p > .05$. This result did not support Hypothesis 1a. Examining differences in machismo scores, on average Latinx Jewish male participants endorsed greater belief in machismo ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1$) than Latinx Jewish females ($M = 2.25$, $SD = .9$). This difference was significant $t(230) = 2.98$, $p < .05$; however, it represented a medium-sized effect ($r = .4$). These results did not support hypothesis 1b. For scales on caballerismo, on average, Latinx Jewish male participants endorsed greater belief in caballerismo ($M = 5.79$, $SD = .73$) than Latinx Jewish females ($M = 5.44$, $SD = .83$). This difference was significant $t(230) = 3.26$, $p < .05$. These results found that hypothesis 1c was not supported.

Hierarchical Linear Regression Analyses

To examine the relationships of Latinx Jews and Latinx gender role scales of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo, hierarchical linear regressions were conducted. Each subfactor was entered separately. Participant age was entered into the 1st step and acculturation (AMAS) and Jewish identity (AJIS) subfactors were added in the 2nd step, respectively, with Latinx gender roles scales, marianismo, machismo and caballerismo, entered as the dependent variable in each analysis set. Separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted, by gender, each with marianismo (MBS), machismo, and caballerismo as the dependent variable.

Acculturation Scales and Latinx Jewish Women

Hypothesis 2. Latinx Jewish women and men who score higher on acculturation to the U.S./American host culture will score lower on marianismo and machismo and higher on caballerismo than Latinx Jewish women and men who are more enculturated.

To address hypothesis 2, three hierarchical linear regression sets were analyzed for each of the AMAS subscales, by gender. This analysis assessed the relationship between acculturation, enculturation, and beliefs of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo, among Latinx Jewish women and men.

Acculturation Subscale. Three hierarchical linear regressions were conducted to assess the relationship between acculturation (i.e., adoption of host or U.S. culture) and beliefs of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo, controlling for age, among Latinx Jewish Women (Table 5). Step one of the first regression predicting scores on marianismo, through acculturation, for Latinx Jewish women suggested that controlling for age accounted for 1.2% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding acculturation, we found a slight increase in explained variance, with a total of 1.9%, which was not statistically significant. The relationships between age and acculturation were not found to be significantly associated with scores on the marianismo scale (p 's > .05).

For the second regression predicting scores on machismo through acculturation for Latinx Jewish women, the first step suggested that controlling for age accounted for 2.6% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding acculturation, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 4%, which was not statistically significant.

In the first step of the third regression predicting scores on caballerismo through acculturation for Latinx Jewish women, suggested that controlling for age accounted for 2.4% of the variance, which was significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding acculturation, no increase in

explained variance was found, with a total of 3.7%, which was not statistically significant. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported for acculturation among Jewish women and its association with marianismo, machismo, or caballerismo.

Enculturation Subscale. Three hierarchical linear regressions were conducted to assess the relationship between enculturation (i.e., adoption of Jewish or traditional culture) and beliefs of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo, controlling for age, among Latinx Jewish Women (Table 6). Step one of the first regression predicting scores on marianismo, through enculturation subscales, for Latinx Jewish women suggested that controlling for age accounted for 1.2% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding enculturation, we found a slight increase in explained variance, with a total of 2.5%, which was not statistically significant. The relationships between age and enculturation were not found to be significantly associated with scores on the marianismo scale (p 's > .05).

For the second regression predicting scores on machismo through acculturation for Latinx Jewish women, the first step suggested that controlling for age accounted for 2.6% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding enculturation, we did not find an increase in explained variance, with a total of 2.9%, which was not statistically significant.

In the first step of the third regression predicting scores on caballerismo through acculturation for Latinx Jewish women, suggested that controlling for age and their location accounted for 2.4% of the variance, which was significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding enculturation, no increase in explained variance was found, with a total of 2.6%, which was not statistically significant. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported for enculturation among Latinx Jewish women and its association with marianismo, machismo, or caballerismo.

Acculturation Scales and Latinx Jewish Men

Acculturation Subscale. Three hierarchical linear regressions were conducted to assess the relationship between acculturation and beliefs of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo, controlling for age, among Latinx Jewish men (Table 7). Step one of the first regression predicting scores on marianismo, through acculturation, for Latinx Jewish men suggested that controlling for age accounted for .2% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding acculturation, we found a slight increase in explained variance, with a total of .6%, which was not statistically significant. The relationships between age, and acculturation were not found to be significantly associated with scores on the marianismo scale (p 's > .05). For the second regression predicting scores on machismo through acculturation for Latinx Jewish men, the first step suggested that controlling for age accounted for 1.7% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding acculturation, we found a slight increase in explained variance, with a total of 4%, which was not statistically significant.

In the first step of the third regression predicting scores on caballerismo through acculturation for Latinx Jewish men, suggested that controlling for age did not account for any of the variance, and thus was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding acculturation, no increase in explained variance was found, with a total of .7%, which was not statistically significant. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported for acculturation among Jewish Latinx men and its association with marianismo, machismo, or caballerismo.

Enculturation Subscale. Three hierarchical linear regressions were conducted to assess the relationship between enculturation and beliefs of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo, controlling for age, among Latinx Jewish men (Table 8). Step one of the first regression predicting scores on marianismo, through enculturation subscales, for Latinx Jewish men suggested that controlling for age accounted for .2% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding enculturation, we found a no increase in explained variance,

with a total of .7%, which was not statistically significant. The relationships between age and enculturation were not found to be significantly associated with scores on the marianismo scale (p 's > .05).

For the second regression predicting scores on machismo through acculturation for Latinx Jewish men, the first step suggested that controlling for age accounted for 1.7% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding enculturation, we did not find an increase in explained variance, with a total of 1.7%, which was not statistically significant.

In the first step of the third regression predicting scores on caballerismo through acculturation for Latinx Jewish men, suggested that controlling for age did not account for any of the variance. In step 2 of the analysis, adding enculturation, a slight increase in explained variance was found, with a total of 1.3%, which was not statistically significant. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported for enculturation among Latinx Jewish men and its association with marianismo, machismo, or caballerismo. In sum, neither acculturation nor enculturation specifically predicted marianismo, machismo and caballerismo for either Jewish Latinx men or women.

Jewish Identity and Latinx Jewish Women

Hypothesis 3a. Latinx Jewish women and men who score higher on Jewish identity will score lower on marianismo.

Hypothesis 3b. Latinx Jewish women and men who score higher on Jewish identity will score lower on machismo.

Hypothesis 3c. Latinx Jewish women and men who score higher on Jewish identity will have greater endorsement of caballerismo than Latinx Jewish women and men with lower Jewish identity scores.

Three hierarchical linear regressions were conducted to assess the relationship between Jewish identity and marianismo, Jewish identity and machismo and Jewish identity and caballerismo, controlling for age, respectively, among Latinx Jewish Women (hypothesis 3b) (Table 9). The first step of the first regression predicting scores on marianismo through Jewish identity for Latinx Jewish women suggested that controlling for age accounted for 6% of the variance, which was not significant. Results found that age was significantly associated with marianismo ($\beta = -.188$, $SE = .059$, $p = .048$). In step 2 of the analysis, including Jewish identity, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 22.4%, which was statistically significant. As hypothesized, Jewish identity was a significant predictor, in that the stronger the Jewish identity, the higher the endorsement of marianismo. Hypothesis 3a was not supported, given the positive direction of this finding.

The first step of the second regression predicting scores on machismo through Jewish identity for Latinx Jewish women suggested that controlling for age accounted for 11.8% of the variance, which was significant. Results found that age was significantly associated with machismo such that as age increased, scores on machismo decreased ($\beta = -.234$, $SE = .055$, $p = .011$). In step 2 of the analysis, adding Jewish identity, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 15.9%, which was statistically significant. Furthermore, the model investigating the relationship between Jewish identity and machismo revealed that Jewish identity was significantly associated with machismo scores, in that the stronger the Jewish identity, the higher the endorsement of machismo. This result did not support Hypothesis 3b for Latinx Jewish women, given the positive direction of this finding.

The first step of the third regression predicting scores on caballerismo through Jewish identity for Latinx Jewish women suggested that controlling for age accounted for 7.7% of the variance, which was significant. In step 2 of the analysis, including Jewish identity, we found an

increase in explained variance was found, with a total of 20.5%, which was statistically significant. The relationships between age and Latinx Women's score on caballerismo were not found to be significant, although Jewish identity was found to be a significant predictor, in that stronger the Jewish identity, the higher the endorsement of caballerismo. Thus, Hypothesis 3c was supported.

Religious and Cultural Jewish Identity in Latinx Jewish Women. In seeking to better understand which aspects of Jewish identity contributed to the relationship between Latinx Jewish women and traditional Latinx gender roles, we looked at each subscale of the AJIS, Religious Identity and Cultural Identity, to further assess the relationship between Jewish Identity and beliefs of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo.

Religious Identity Subscale. The first step predicting scores on marianismo through Jewish religious identity for Latinx Jewish women (Table 10) suggested that controlling for age accounted for 1.7% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding religious identity, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 20.5%, which was statistically significant. Thus, Jewish religious identity was a significant predictor of marianismo for Latinx Jewish women, supporting Hypothesis 3a.

In the first model of the second regression set, predicting scores on machismo through Jewish religious identity for Latinx Jewish women suggested that controlling for age accounted for 3.1% of the variance, which was significant. In step 2 of the analysis, including religious identity, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 11.3%, which was statistically significant. Furthermore, the model investigating the relationship between Jewish religious identity and machismo revealed that age was not significantly associated with machismo ($p > .05$), when religious identity was entered into the model. Thus, Hypothesis 3b was supported in that Jewish religious identity was a significant predictor of machismo.

In the third regression set predicting scores on caballerismo through Jewish religious identity for Latinx Jewish women, the first step suggested that controlling for age accounted for 2% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding religious identity, an increase in explained variance was found, with a total of 16%, which was statistically significant. Jewish religious identity was found to be a significant predictor of caballerismo at Step 2, thus supporting Hypothesis 3c.

Cultural Identity Subscale. The first step predicting scores on marianismo through Jewish cultural identity for Latinx Jewish women (Hypothesis 3a) (Table 11), suggested that controlling for age accounted for 2.3% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, including cultural identity, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 15.7%, which was statistically significant. Jewish cultural identity was a significant predictor of marianismo among Latinx Jewish women, supporting Hypothesis 3a.

In the first model of the second regression set, predicting scores on machismo through Jewish cultural identity for Latinx Jewish women suggested that controlling for age accounted for 4% of the variance, which was significant. In step 2 of the analysis, including cultural identity, we found a slight increase in explained variance, with a total of 5.8%, which was not statistically significant. Thus, Jewish cultural identity was not a significant predictor of machismo and did not support Hypothesis 3b.

In the third regression set predicting scores on caballerismo through Jewish cultural identity for Latinx Jewish women, the first step suggested that controlling for age accounted for 2.2% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding Jewish identity, an increase in explained variance was found, with a total of 14.9%, which was statistically significant. Jewish cultural identity was found to be a significant predictor at Step 2. Thus, Jewish religious identity predicted marianismo, machismo and caballerismo for Latinx Jewish

women. However, Jewish cultural identity did not specifically predict caballerismo among Latinx Jewish women, not supporting Hypothesis 3c.

Jewish Identity and Latinx Jewish Men

To examine Hypothesis 3a-c, the relationships between Jewish identity and each of the three traditional Latinx gender roles, marianismo, machismo and caballerismo for Latinx Jewish men. These were assessed through individual hierarchical linear regression sets, to determine how the variable of age and Jewish identity predict outcomes on each of the traditional Latinx gender roles scales, among Latinx Jewish men (Hypothesis 3a-c) (Table 12). The first step predicting scores on marianismo through Jewish identity for Latinx Jewish men suggested that controlling for age accounted for .3% of the variance, which was not significant. Results indicated that age was not significantly associated with marianismo ($p > .05$). In step 2 of the analysis, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 19.8%, which was statistically significant. As with the first model, the relationships between age and marianismo were not found to be significant ($p > .05$). Jewish identity was a significant predictor of marianismo in that the stronger the Jewish identity the higher the marianismo. Thus, Hypothesis 3a was not supported for Latinx Jewish men, given the positive direction of the findings.

In the first model of the second regression set, predicting scores on machismo through Jewish identity for Latinx Jewish men, suggested that controlling for age significantly accounted for 4.2% of the variance. In step 2 of the analysis, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 13.2%, which was statistically significant. Furthermore, the model investigating the relationship between Jewish identity and machismo revealed that age was not significantly associated with machismo ($p > .05$), although Jewish identity was a significant predictor in that the higher the Jewish identity, the higher the machismo. Given the positive direction of the findings, Hypothesis 3b was not supported for Latinx Jewish men.

In the third regression set predicting scores on caballerismo through Jewish identity for Latinx Jewish men, the first step suggested that controlling for age accounted for .1% of the variance, which was not significant. Results found that the relationships between age and Latinx Jewish Men's score on caballerismo were not significant (p 's > .05). In step 2 of the analysis, an increase in explained variance was found, with a total of 13.8%, which was statistically significant. Jewish identity was found to be a significant predictor, in that higher Jewish identity was related to higher caballerismo at Step 2. Thus, Hypothesis 3c was supported for Latinx Jewish men.

Religious and Cultural Jewish Identity in Latinx Jewish Men. To better understand which aspects of Jewish identity impacted the relationship between Jewish Identity and beliefs of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo, among Latinx Jewish men, we further analyzed the relationships by each subscale of the AJIS, Religious Identity and Cultural Identity.

Religious Identity Subscale. The first step predicting scores on marianismo through Jewish religious identity subscale for Latinx Jewish men (Table 13) suggested that controlling for age accounted for .2% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding religious identity, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 26.2%, which was statistically significant. Jewish religious identity was a significant predictor of marianismo, supporting Hypothesis 3a.

In the first model of the second regression set, predicting scores on machismo through Jewish religious identity for Latinx Jewish men suggested that controlling for age accounted for 1.8% of the variance, which was significant. In step 2 of the analysis, including religious identity, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 14%, which was statistically significant. Furthermore, the model investigating the relationship between Jewish religious identity and machismo revealed that age was not significantly associated with machismo (p 's >

.05). Thus, Hypothesis 3b was supported in that Jewish religious identity was a significant predictor of machismo for Latinx Jewish men.

In the third regression set predicting scores on caballerismo through Jewish religious identity for Latinx Jewish men, the first step suggested that controlling for age accounted for .1% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, including Jewish identity, an increase in explained variance was found, with a total of 12.7%, which was statistically significant. Jewish religious identity was found to be a significant predictor at Step 2 of caballerismo, therefore Hypothesis 3c was supported.

Cultural Identity Subscale. The first step predicting scores on marianismo through Jewish cultural identity subscale for Latinx Jewish men (Table 14) suggested that controlling for age accounted for .2% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, adding cultural identity, we found a slight increase in explained variance, with a total of 4.7%, which was not statistically significant. Jewish cultural identity was not a significant predictor of marianismo for Latinx Jewish men Thus Hypothesis 3a was not supported.

In the first model of the second regression set, predicting scores on machismo through Jewish cultural identity for Latinx Jewish men suggested that controlling for age accounted for 1.4% of the variance, which was not significant. In step 2 of the analysis, including cultural identity, we found an increase in explained variance, with a total of 6.6%, which was statistically significant. Thus, Hypothesis 3b was supported, and Jewish cultural identity was a significant predictor for machismo among Latinx Jewish men.

In the third regression set predicting scores on caballerismo through Jewish cultural identity for Latinx Jewish men, the first step suggested that controlling for age did not account for any of the variance. In step 2 of the analysis, including cultural identity, an increase in explained variance was found, with a total of 4.9%, which was statistically significant. Jewish

cultural identity was found to be a significant predictor of caballerismo at Step 2, and Hypothesis 3c was not supported.

Jewish identity as a whole predicted scores on scales of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo, for both men and women. Further, when considering the two subscales of Jewish identity independently, Jewish religious identity predicted marianismo, machismo and caballerismo for Latinx Jewish men and women. However, Jewish cultural identity did not specifically predict marianismo among Latinx Jewish men, while predicting scores on scales of machismo and caballerismo. Jewish cultural identity predicted marianismo among Latinx Jewish women, while not specifically predicting scores on scales of machismo and caballerismo.

Chapter V

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to further understand how Latinx Jews experience gender roles for their unique panethnic and dual minority identities (Limonic, 2019). In particular, this study explored the relationships among acculturation, Jewish identity, and Latinx-centered instruments measuring two major gender role constructs, marianismo and machismo/caballerismo, among Latinx Jews in the United States. The current study explored Catholic and Euro-cultural constructs that stereotypically define Latinx gender roles through the extant scales of marianismo (Castillo et al., 2010) and machismo/caballerismo (Arciniega et al., 2008), as well as the Jewish values (religious and cultural) of caretaking, respect, and social justice, which may conflict in the formation of gender roles for the Latinx Jewish population.

Overall, results were mixed in terms of their support for individual hypotheses, but study findings suggest that Jewish identity contributes to understanding of how Latinx Jews formulate their gender roles. Specifically, Jewish religious identity emerged as a significant predictor of traditional Latinx gender roles, regardless of gender. However, acculturation and enculturation in the current study did not emerge as significant predictors of traditional Latinx gender roles for Latinx Jews. In the following sections, findings from this study are discussed and explored for their support of the study hypotheses (Table 15) and applications for clinical practice and future research.

Overview of findings

Correlations among variables of interest for this study were informed by previous studies on Latinx Jewish identity and Latinx Jewish gender roles (Borenstein et al., 2020; Limonic, 2015, 2019). Findings were not supportive of hypotheses regarding scores on traditional gender role

measures and acculturation and enculturation's relationships to traditional gender role measures and mixed in terms of their support for our final hypotheses with respect to the relationships between Jewish identity and traditional gender role measures. First, in terms of acculturation and its relationship to traditional Latinx gender role measures, no significant correlations were found, regardless of gender. This finding is inconsistent with hypothesis 2. That is, acculturation to American/U.S. culture was not correlated with Latinx Jewish individuals' beliefs of traditional Latinx gender roles. Such findings further suggest that Latinx Jews are constantly negotiating their ethnic and cultural identity in the U.S., in accordance with previous research (Limonic, 2019). As a consequence, their gender roles beliefs may be related to biculturalism and panethnicity, rather than acculturation and enculturation, as they are regularly fluid, deemphasizing and highlighting the multiple aspects of their identities dependent on their social situation, which Limonic (2019) referred to as strategic ethnic options.

Next, Jewish identity and its relationship to traditional Latinx gender role measures, yielded significant positive correlations, regardless of gender. This finding indicated that a relationship exists between Jewish identity and traditional Latinx gender role beliefs, all though contrary to hypotheses 3a and 3b which stipulated negative relationships with Jewish identity and marianismo and machismo respectively, in that the more that Latinx Jews identify with their Judaism – both religious Judaism and cultural Judaism – the stronger their beliefs in traditional marianismo, machismo and caballerismo appear to be.

Adherence of Traditional Latinx Gender Roles

Differences in outcomes on each of the Latinx gender role scales were tested, where greater scale scores indicated greater adherence to the traditional Latinx gender role measured, by examining mean differences between male and female participants. Specifically, Hypothesis 1a investigated how Latinx Jewish men and women would score on scales of marianismo.

Contrary to prediction, findings suggested that scores between men and women did not significantly differ. This finding did not support hypothesis 1a, suggesting that on average, Latinx Jews regardless of gender, similarly endorsed beliefs of the traditional gender role of *marianismo*.

In terms of Hypothesis 1b, which examined how Latinx Jewish men and women would score on subscales of *machismo*, findings suggested that significant differences did exist between Latinx Jewish men and women. That is, on average, men endorsed greater beliefs of *machismo* than did Latinx Jewish women. This finding is contradictory to hypothesis 1b and does not support previous qualitative research on Latinx Jewish gender roles (Borenstein et al., 2020). Given that age was found to correlate with *machismo* scores, and that Latinx men seldom participate in psychological research, as well as the mean participant age on this study was high, it is likely that relatively older men participated in this study. Research has noted that Latinx men are often not well represented in psychological research due to stigma and gender role beliefs. Thus, it is possible that older male participants were more rigid in maintaining traditional views of gender. Additionally, because of the social prominence placed on Jewish male roles, participants may gravitate toward these beliefs on paper, but not necessarily in practice (Borenstein et al, 2020).

Hypothesis 1c which considered how Latinx Jewish men and women would score on subscales of *caballerismo*, findings suggested that significant differences were present between Latinx Jewish men and women. On average, men endorsed stronger beliefs in *caballerismo* than did Latinx Jewish women. This finding is contradictory to hypothesis 1c and does not support previous research on Latinx Jewish gender roles (Borenstein et al., 2020). As explained previously, because of the duality in religious and cultural aspects of Judaism, men may view

their roles as more “caballero” than women do, while also holding simultaneous beliefs of machismo.

Relationship of Acculturation and Traditional Latinx Gender Roles

In ensuring the most direct test of study hypotheses in the primary analyses, hierarchical linear regressions were conducted to examine the relationships between acculturation, Jewish identity and traditional Latinx gender role measures, marianismo and machismo/caballerismo, among Latinx Jews. First, acculturation’s relationship to traditional Latinx gender roles was looked at through both acculturation, the process of psychological and behavioral change to the host culture (Berry, 1980; Stephenson, 2000; Zea et al., 2003), and enculturation, the process of acquiring and retaining the values and beliefs of one’s culture of origin (Schwartz et al., 2010; Yoon et al., 2013). Findings revealed that there was no significant relationship between Latinx Jews’ acculturative status, whether more acculturated or more enculturated, and traditional Latinx gender role attitudes. Further, regardless of gender, acculturation did not have a significant impact on the Latinx gender role beliefs of participants. These findings thus contradicted the predictions in Hypotheses 2. Although limited research exists on Latinx Jewish individuals, previous research has indicated a unique cultural and flexible ethnocultural identity that goes beyond that of U.S./American and Latinx identities. Therefore, acculturation scales have not been normed on this unique dual minority population and may not fully capture the acculturative process for Latinx Jews, resulting in the current non-significant results. Because Latinx Jews live in and navigate an in-between identity status (Limonic, 2019), their acculturation process may differ from other groups and may have indirect, rather than direct, impact on their gender role beliefs.

Relationship of Jewish Identity and Traditional Latinx Gender Roles

Analyses for the relationships between Jewish identity and traditional Latinx gender roles examined Jewish identity as a product of both religious and cultural aspects of Judaism, that is, as complex and multidimensional (Altman et al., 2010; Friedlander et al., 2010; Levins Morales, 2005; Stavans 2019; Sue & Sue, 2015). For Latinx Jewish men, findings indicated that relationships between Jewish identity and marianismo, machismo and caballerismo were significant. Moreover, Jewish identity significantly predicted outcomes on the traditional Latinx gender role scales. Jewish identity predicted a relationship with marianismo, machismo and caballerismo in that as Jewish identity increased, so did traditional Latinx gender role beliefs.

For Latinx Jewish Women, findings likewise indicated significant relationships between Jewish Identity and traditional Latinx gender roles of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo. That is, although Judaism and Catholicism are both distinct religions with differing values and practices, both religions share similar, more conservative values, due to their similar origins. Additionally, because of the strong influence and force of Catholicism, globally and especially in Latin America, Judaism was often suppressed and hidden, which may contribute to cultural similarities between the two value systems that impact the way Latinx Jews identify their gender roles.

Religious and Cultural Jewish Identity

In a further step to understand which aspect of Jewish Identity contributed to the significant relationship between Jewish Identity and traditional Latinx gender roles, religious identity and cultural identity were analyzed separately through hierarchical analyses. Among men, participants who had stronger Jewish religious identity held stronger traditional Latinx gender role beliefs, such as women being a sense of strength for the family, importance of men not being weak, and having good public manners. Cultural identity also was found to be a significant predictor of machismo and caballerismo, such that the more a participant identified

with their cultural Jewish identity, the more they held beliefs associated with traditional male Latinx gender roles, but not marianismo. Although it is suggested that Judaism emphasizes a more “chivalrous” approach to gender roles (Borenstein et al., 2020), the relatively greater social prominence in Judaism of men, may impact how Jewish cultural identity influences gender roles. Thus, Latinx Jewish men may be more open about their approaches to women and marianismo, but still retain traditional views on male roles.

For women, participants who had greater Jewish religious identity held stronger traditional Latinx gender role beliefs, including women being faithful to their partner, women should teach loyalty to the family, women should be beautiful, and men should be affectionate with their children. Cultural identity, as with male participants, was found to be a significant predictor of marianismo and caballerismo, such that the more a participant identified with their Jewish cultural identity, the more they held beliefs associated with traditional Latinx female gender roles and caballerismo, but not machismo. Jewish Latinx women often rejected notions of machismo as “offensive” and were more ready to describe Latinx Jewish men as “dweeby” and intellectual (Borenstein et al., 2020). Additionally, although Latinx Jewish women were often in leadership positions within the community (Borenstein et al., 2020), Judaism’s greater expectation of men regarding socially prominent religious roles may contribute to Latinx Jewish women retaining traditional roles.

Alternatively, religious conservatism may be another factor contributing to these findings. Religion is one the oldest influential factors in societal norms. Generally, religions, especially Judaism, dictate adherence and safeguarding of traditions and values (Schnall, 2006; Sue & Sue, 2015). Many religious communities place a strong emphasis on traditional family structures and gender roles. More conservative religions can lead individuals within these communities to hold onto traditional beliefs about the respective roles, behaviors and

expectations for men and women, regardless of cultural influences. Therefore, results of this study indicating that greater Jewish religious identity predicts greater beliefs of traditional Latinx gender roles, may be a result of the effects that religious conservatism has on social norms, regardless of the specific religion.

In sum, Latinx Jews generally endorsed traditional Latinx gender role beliefs. Their level of Jewish identity, both religious and cultural, greatly impacted these traditional beliefs, possibly due to similarity in values between Judaism and general Latinx culture - such as familismo, respeto (respect), and simpatía (sympathy), etc. Additionally, although Latinx Jews endorsed traditional Latinx gender roles, based on statements made in previous research, in practice Latinx Jews appeared to enact more egalitarian roles. Religious and cultural identity impart on individuals, a set of values and beliefs informing them how to live out and “perform” their given roles in society and provide a sense of belonging along with historical connections driven by the deep traditions associated with their values and beliefs. Therefore, the degree to which Latinx Jewish individuals define their Jewishness, through religious beliefs and cultural values, predicts their orientation to Latinx society and Latinx cultural norms, such as gender roles.

Implications for Practice and Research

Findings from this study have important implications for mental health professionals working with Latinx Jews. Firstly, data collected in this study spanned a vast representation throughout the United States. Significant participation from Latinx Jews from major metropolitan areas around the United States indicates that mental health professionals and healthcare professionals are likely to encounter and interact with Latinx Jewish clients. While a dual-minority group, Latinx Jewish individuals’ identities may not be obvious to providers and thus erroneous assumptions and microaggressions may be levied toward these individuals. Therefore, understanding that Latinx Jewish individuals are represented throughout the United

States, and contribute greatly to the culture, are important when establishing rapport and cultural competence.

Furthermore, this study suggests that Latinx Jews' gender roles are complex and intricate constructions between traditional Latinx gender role values and Jewish identity. Much like their unique identity, which is constantly in flux and negotiated based on context (Limonic, 2019), Latinx Jews seemingly follow a similar process, as with their identity development, in developing, informing, and socializing their gender roles, through their dual minority identities.

As evidenced in previous work focused on Latinx Jews and in this study, fluidity and constant negotiation of their identity is an ongoing process for Latinx Jews. Therefore, it is incumbent for clinicians and practitioners to maintain awareness and cultural competence when working with Latinx Jews, in understanding that fluidity and flux are a norm of the identity and experience of Latinx Jews across multiple domains. The identity and value systems of Latinx Jews can be easily misconstrued in a therapeutic setting and can lead to a rupture in rapport and the therapeutic alliance.

Given that previous work by Borenstein et al. (2020) seemed to suggest the rejection of traditional Latinx gender roles by Latinx Jews, the current work underscores the importance of understanding this population's unique identity and history, when working with Latinx Jews. Clinicians and healthcare providers working with Latinx Jews should consider their clients to likely hold unique dual minority identities and how these uniquely may impact values, beliefs, and roles for each client. Additionally, it is imperative to draw a distinction between theoretical gender roles and practiced roles, such that clinicians working with Latinx Jews should examine their own beliefs about Jews and Latinxs and understand from their clients how gender roles manifest for them. Although Latinx Jews overall endorsed traditional Latinx gender roles in concept, in practice they might not be what is practically applied in their daily lives.

Furthermore, this study indicated that the intensity of Jewish identity heavily influenced endorsement to traditional Latinx gender roles, specifically religious identity. The more one identified with their Jewish identity, especially their religious identity, the more they endorsed traditional Latinx gender roles of marianismo, machismo and caballerismo. Thus, it is important that clinicians working with Latinx Jews understand religious identity and level of religious practice of their clients, to be able to approach their work with this population with more cultural competence. As Judaism is one of the world's oldest organized religions and a forebearer to Christianity, coupled with a long history of religious suppression and persecution – especially from early Catholicism – Latinx Jewish beliefs on gender roles appear to be intertwined with that of the heavily Catholic influenced Latinx society. Religion is one the oldest influential factors in societal norms, thus religion appears to be so embedded in the construction of Latinx Jews identity and gender roles beliefs, just as it is so embedded in the greater Latinx culture.

Because this study's participants skewed toward an older demographic, clinicians and future studies might consider that younger individuals tend to be more progressive in attitudes and beliefs toward gender roles (Kehn & Ruthig, 2013; Dernberger & Pepin, 2020). Thus, the results of this study may indicate that age of participants is a factor in how individuals create, understand, and implement their gender roles. Further, both clinicians and researchers should acknowledge that as populations become more open and accepting to greater gender equality in society, in social, civil and religious circles, younger individuals may increasingly redefine, negotiate and recreate gender roles (Kehn & Ruthig, 2013; Dernberger & Pepin, 2020), as both Jewish and Latinx individuals.

Limitations and Future Directions for Research

Findings in this study must be viewed through a lens of limitations related to recruitment methods, variables collected, and the nature of the scales used. Firstly, the data for this study was

collected during the COVID-19 pandemic, where participants were remanded to their homes, flooded with online content, and adjusting to a new reality – including roles and responsibilities. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, recruitment for the study took place mostly online through email and listservs of Jewish, Latinx and Jewish Latinx organizations, likely attracting an older population. Recruitment also occurred over social media, however younger individuals may have been over-stimulated by online content and social media trends, which became a staple of the pandemic. Additionally, because individuals were quarantined within their homes certain aspects of gender roles may have been reinforced and/or diminished during this period, impacting beliefs and values of gender roles.

Secondly, this study was unable to collect narrative information and variables related to what was indicated in previous research as impacting Jewish identity and Latinx Jewish gender roles, such as anti-Semitism and immigration histories (Borenstein et al., 2020). Third, scales used in this study to measure Jewish Identity have not been specifically normed on Latinx Jewish populations and have focused more on North American Jewry. Thus, the AJIS may not have fully captured both the religious and cultural identity of Latinx Jews who maintain a complex, panethnic and fluctuating identity. Future studies should examine how Latinx Jews formulate their Jewish identity including religious and cultural aspects.

Additionally, the acculturation scale chosen in this study sought to measure both the level of acculturation and enculturation of participants. Further the acculturation scale (AMAS) allows participants to indicate their competency with a culture without identification (Zea et al., 2003). Thus, this scale may not have been able to capture the complex nature of Latinx Jews and their panethnic identity. Because there is scarce literature regarding acculturation for Latinx Jews to the United States and as discussed previously, many Jewish Latinx individuals and their communities demonstrate aspects of both enculturation and acculturation (Hinojosa, 2017;

Limonic, 2019; Borenstein et al., 2020), available acculturation scales may not appropriately measure the complexity that accompanies Latinx Jewish experiences.

Future studies should also consider that this study included Latinx Jews with origins from all over Latin America, that is, Latinx Jews in Argentina to Latinx Jews in Mexico may differ in significant ways, specifically in terms of culture, acculturation, Jewish identity, and gender role beliefs. Although there was good representation in this study of Latinx Jews throughout Latin America, Latinx countries of origin with greater Jewish populations may also impact how traditional Latinx gender roles are viewed and implemented. Future studies should also consider possible differences in how Latinx Jews in Latinx countries formulate their Jewish identity and gender role beliefs, in contrast to the unique way in which they form their identity in the United States. Lastly, because the investigator in this study is a Latinx Jewish individual, recruitment of participants and concentration of country of origin, may be influenced by the investigators own community. Thus, future studies should seek to more evenly distribute and /or investigate Latinx Jewish populations from specific regions.

Conclusion

Latinx Jews formulate their identity in ways that are unique to their dual-minority identity, given their “in between” or mixed marginalized status in both Latin America and the United States. Therefore, it was important to focus on exploring available instruments that captured the relationships between their identity and gender role beliefs. This study, a first of its kind to explore the gender role beliefs among this unique dual minority population, used extant scales measuring traditional Latinx gender roles, acculturation, and American Jewish identity. Hierarchical regression analyses were utilized to understand relationships between acculturation, Jewish identity, and traditional Latinx gender roles. Results identified significant relationships between Jewish Identity and traditional Latinx gender role beliefs. Latinx Jews appear to hold

gendered beliefs similar to those of traditional Latinx gender roles. Seemingly their gender role beliefs transcend acculturative status, due to their fluctuating identity and their context. Their religious Jewish identity, more so than their cultural Jewish identity, is a major contributing factor in their beliefs of traditional Latinx gender roles. For Latinx Jews, the religious component appeared to be the most salient feature in determining their beliefs in traditional Latinx gender roles. The findings can help in furthering the understanding of the unique identity of Latinx Jews, and their perceived and practiced beliefs and value systems, as they navigate their unique roles within the U.S. Latinx culture and U.S. Jewish culture.

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Table 1
Select Demographic Information

Demographic Variables	Response Category	n	%	M	Mdn	Range
Gender	Male	89	39			
	Female	141	61			
Location	New York	58	25			
	Miami/Florida/South East	75	32.5			
	New Jersey	13	5.6			
	Maryland/DC/Virginia	4	1.7			
	Chicago/Midwest	10	4.3			
	Texas/Arizona	7	3			
	California/West Coast	24	10.4			
	New England	17	7.4			
	Connecticut	2	1			
Race	White	189	82			
	Black	1	.4			
	Native American	1	.4			
	Other	39	17			
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	209	90			
	Gay	7	3			
	Lesbian	9	4			
	Bisexual	4	2			
	Other	2	1			
Marital Status	Single	76	33			

	Married	123	54		
	Divorced	7	30		
	Widowed	6	3		
	Domestic Partnership/Civil Union	7	3		
	Significant Other	11	5		
Generational Status	1 st Gen	137	59		
	2 nd Gen	60	26		
	3 rd Gen	19	8		
	4 th Gen	4	2		
Primary Language	English	89	39		
	Spanish	53	23		
	Bilingual	80	35		
	Other	8	3.5		
Age				40.	36
				1	18-86

Note. N=230.

Table 2
Bivariate Correlations Among Variables of Interest

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Age	--							
2. Education	.253**	--						
3. Income	.283**	.267**	--					
4. Marianismo Belief Scale Total	-.073	-.095	-.019	--				
5. Machismo Subscale Total	-.176**	-.103	-.017	.596**	--			
6. Caballerismo Subscale Total	-.133**	-.091	.012	.492**	.405**	--		
7. Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale Total	-.020	.075	.011	-.128	-.079	.072	--	
8. American Jewish Identity Scale Total	-.174*	-.146*	-.094	.448**	.295**	.377**	.026	--

Note. N=230. *p < .05. **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Table 3

Bivariate Correlations Among Variables of Interest (Male and Female)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Marianismo Belief Scale Total	--	.631**	.524**	-.141	.457**
2. Machismo Subscale Total	.605**	--	.371**	-.108	.298**
3. Caballerismo Subscale Total	.523**	.400**	--	.000	.423**
4. Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale Total	-.105	-.064	.165	--	-.030
5. American Jewish Identity Scale Total	.433**	.330**	.345**	.129	--

Note. The results for the female sample ($n = 132$) are shown above the diagonal. The results for the male sample ($n = 83$) are shown below the diagonal. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 4
Sample Descriptives Using t-test for Equality of Means

	Latinx Jewish Men		Latinx Jewish Women		<i>t</i> (230)	<i>p</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
Marianismo	2.17	.433	2.22	.382	-.995	.321	-.136
Machismo	2.63	1	2.25	.9	2.98	.003	.403
Caballerismo	5.79	.728	5.44	.825	3.26	.001	.442

Table 5

Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Acculturation on Marianismo, Machismo and Caballerismo Beliefs for Latinx Jewish Women

Variable	B	SE	β	t	R2	$\Delta R2$
Marianismo						
Model 1					.012	.012
Age	-.067	.053	-.110	-1.998		
Model 2					.019	.007
Age	-.079	.054	-.131	-1.117		
AMAS Acculturation	-1.98	2.03	-.087	.423		
Machismo						
Model 1					.026	.026
Age	-.095	.049	-.161	-2.597		
Model 2					.040	.014
Age	-.113*	.051	-.192	-2.058		
AMAS Acculturation	-2.62	1.85	-.122	2.305		
Caballerismo						
Model 1					.024	.024
Age	-.077	.042	-.154	-1.573		
Model 2					.037	.013
Age	-.061	.043	-.123	-.681		
AMAS Acculturation	2.26	1.64	.120	4.212		

Note. AMAS is the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 6
Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Enculturation on Marianismo, Machismo and Caballerismo Beliefs for Latinx Jewish Women

Variable	B	SE	β	t	R2	ΔR^2
Marianismo						
Model 1					.012	.012
Age	-.067	.053	-.110	-1.998		
Model 2					.025	.013
Age	-.046	.055	-.076	-1.117		
AMAS Enculturation	-2.34	1.78	-.119	.423		
Machismo						
Model 1					.026	.026
Age	-.095	.049	-.161	-2.597		
Model 2					.029	.003
Age	-.084	.052	-.143	-2.058		
AMAS Enculturation	-1.13	1.73	.058	2.305		
Caballerismo						
Model 1					.024	.024
Age	-.077*	.042	-.154	-1.573		
Model 2					.026	.002
Age	-.070	.044	-.141	-.681		
AMAS Enculturation	-.763	1.48	-.046	4.212		

Note. AMAS is the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 7
Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Acculturation on Marianismo, Machismo and Caballerismo Beliefs for Latinx Jewish Men

Variable	B	SE	β	t	R2	$\Delta R2$
Marianismo						
Model 1					.002	.002
Age	-.037	.087	-.047	-1.998		
Model 2					.006	.003
Age	-.047	.089	-.060	-1.117		
AMAS Acculturation	-1.66	3.17	-.060	.423		
Machismo						
Model 1					.017	.017
Age	-.092	.077	-.129	-2.597		
Model 2					.040	.024
Age	-.121	.079	-.170	-2.058		
AMAS Acculturation	-4.15	2.90	-.159	2.305		
Caballerismo						
Model 1					.000	.000
Age	.000	.055	-.001	-1.573		
Model 2					.007	.007
Age	.013	.058	.025	-.681		
AMAS Acculturation	1.65	2.16	.087	4.212		

Note. AMAS is the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale.

*p < .05. **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Table 8
Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Enculturation on Marianismo, Machismo and Caballerismo Beliefs for Latinx Jewish Men

Variable	B	SE	β	t	R2	$\Delta R2$
Marianismo						
Model 1					.002	.002
Age	-.037	.087	-.047	-1.998		
Model 2					.007	.005
Age	-.032	.087	-.041	-1.117		
AMAS Enculturation	-1.82	2.87	-.071	.423		
Machismo						
Model 1					.017	.017
Age	-.092	.077	-.129	-2.597		
Model 2					.017	.000
Age	-.093	.078	-.132	-2.058		
AMAS Enculturation	.415	2.70	.017	2.305		
Caballerismo						
Model 1					.000	.000
Age	.000	.055	-.001	-1.573		
Model 2					.013	.013
Age	-.010	.056	-.019	-.681		
AMAS Enculturation	2.04	1.19	.117	4.212		

Note. AMAS is the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 9
Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Jewish Identity of Marianismo, Machismo and Caballerismo Beliefs for Latinx Jewish Women

Variable	B	SE	β	t	R2	$\Delta R2$
Marianismo						
Model 1					.060	
Age	-.118*	.059	-.188	-1.998		
Model 2					.224	.163***
Age	-.062	.055	-.099	-1.117		
AJIS	.196***	.041	.423	.423		
Machismo						
Model 1					.118	
Age	-.143**	.055	-.234	-2.597		
Model 2					.159	.040*
Age	-.114	.055	-.187	-2.058		
AJIS	.093*	.040	.213	2.305		
Caballerismo						
Model 1					.077	
Age	-.076	.048	-.146	-1.573		
Model 2					.205	.128***
Age	-.032	.046	-.060	-.681		
AJIS	.146***	.035	.380	4.212		

Note. AJIS is the American Jewish Identity Scale

*p < .05. **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Table 10

Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Jewish Religious Identity on Marianismo, Machismo and Caballerismo Beliefs for Latinx Jewish Women

Variable	B	SE	β	t	R2	$\Delta R2$
Marianismo						
Model 1					.017	.017
Age	-.081	.055	-.131	-1.998		
Model 2					.205	.187
Age	-.010	.051	-.016	-1.117		
AJIS Religious Identity	.301***	.056	.448	.423		
Machismo						
Model 1					.031	.031*
Age	-.105*	.051	-.177	-2.597		
Model 2					.113	.082***
Age	-.055	.051	-.094	-2.058		
AJIS Religious Identity	.192***	.055	.298	2.305		
Caballerismo						
Model 1					.020	.020
Age	-.071	.044	-.141	-1.573		
Model 2					.160	.140***
Age	-.015	.042	-.029	-.681		
AJIS Religious Identity	.215***	.047	.390	4.212		

Note. AJIS is the American Jewish Identity Scale

*p < .05. **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Table 11
Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Jewish Cultural Identity on Marianismo, Machismo and Caballerismo Beliefs for Latinx Jewish Women

Variable	B	SE	β	t	R2	$\Delta R2$
Marianismo						
Model 1					.023	.023
Age	-.094	.055	-.151	-1.998		
Model 2					.157	.134***
Age	-.085	.051	-.137	-1.117		
AJIS Cultural Identity	.448***	.101	.367	.423		
Machismo						
Model 1					.040	.040*
Age	-.121*	.051	-.200	-2.597		
Model 2					.058	.018
Age	-.115*	.051	-.190	-2.058		
AJIS Cultural Identity	.156	.099	.134	2.305		
Caballerismo						
Model 1					.022	.022
Age	-.075	.044	-.148	-1.573		
Model 2					.149	.127***
Age	-.064	.041	-.126	-.681		
AJIS Cultural Identity	.363***	.082	.357	4.212		

Note. AJIS is the American Jewish Identity Scale

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 12

Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Jewish Identity of Marianismo, Machismo and Caballerismo Beliefs for Latinx Jewish Men

Variable	B	SE	β	t	R2	$\Delta R2$
Marianismo						
Model 1					.003	
Age	-.024	.102	-.030	-.238		
Model 2					.198	.195***
Age	-.002	.092	-.003	-.023		
AJIS	.261***	.063	.457	4.124		
Machismo						
Model 1					.042	
Age	-.137	.097	-.172	-1.409		
Model 2					.132	.090**
Age	-.124	.093	-.155	-1.326		
AJIS	.172**	.064	.316	2.691		
Caballerismo						
Model 1					.001	
Age	.017	.069	.030	.246		
Model 2					.138	.137**
Age	.029	.065	.050	.439		
AJIS	.148**	.044	.392	3.378		

Note. AJIS is the American Jewish Identity Scale

*p < .05. **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Table 13
Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Jewish Religious Identity on Marianismo, Machismo and Caballerismo Beliefs for Latinx Jewish Men

Variable	B	SE	β	t	R2	$\Delta R2$
Marianismo						
Model 1					.002	.002
Age	-.033*	.089	-.042	-1.998		
Model 2					.262	.260***
Age	-.029	.077	-.037	-1.117		
AJIS Religious Identity	.403***	.077	.510	.423		
Machismo						
Model 1					.018	.018
Age	-.097*	.079	-.135	-2.597		
Model 2					.140	.122***
Age	-.107	.074	-.149	-2.058		
AJIS Religious Identity	.265***	.079	.350	2.305		
Caballerismo						
Model 1					.001	.001
Age	.012	.056	.024	-1.573		
Model 2					.127	.126***
Age	.005	.053	.010	-.681		
AJIS Religious Identity	.186***	.054	.355	4.212		

Note. AJIS is the American Jewish Identity Scale

*p < .05. **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Table 14
Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Jewish Cultural Identity on Marianismo, Machismo and Caballerismo Beliefs for Latinx Jewish Men

Variable	B	SE	β	t	R2	$\Delta R2$
Marianismo						
Model 1					.002	.002
Age	-.039	.093	-.048	-1.998		
Model 2					.047	.044
Age	-.015	.092	-.018	-1.117		
AJIS Cultural Identity	.298	.159	.213	.423		
Machismo						
Model 1					.014	.014
Age	-.086	.081	-.118	-2.597		
Model 2					.066	.052*
Age	-.068	.080	-.093	-2.058		
AJIS Cultural Identity	.297*	.143	.229	2.305		
Caballerismo						
Model 1					.000	.000
Age	-.010	.059	-.019	-1.573		
Model 2					.049	.049*
Age	.003	.058	.006	-.681		
AJIS Cultural Identity	.207*	.103	.222	4.212		

Note. AJIS is the American Jewish Identity Scale

*p < .05. **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Table 15
Hypotheses Summary

Hypothesis	Prediction	Support	Relationship	Summary
1a.	Latinx Jewish women score lower, Latinx Jewish men higher scores on scales of marianismo	Not Supported	No Significant differences in scores by gender	No difference in endorsement of belief of marianismo
1b.	Latinx Jewish men and women no difference in score on scales of machismo, low endorsement	Not Supported	Significant differences in scores by gender	Latinx Jewish Men endorsed greater belief in machismo, than women
1c.	Latinx Jewish men and women no difference in score on scales of caballerismo, high endorsement	Not supported	Significant differences in scores by gender	Latinx Jewish Men endorsed greater belief in caballerismo, than women
2.	Greater acculturation will produce lower marianismo and machismo score, but higher caballerismo, than those who are more enculturated	Not Supported	No significant relationships between acculturation, enculturation & gender roles	Neither acculturation or enculturation predicted marianismo, machismo and caballerismo

3a.	Greater Jewish ID, lower marianismo scores (negative relationship)	Not Supported	Positive relationship found for Jewish ID, Religious ID	Jewish ID + Religious ID predicted marianismo; Cultural ID predicted marianismo for women only
3b.	Greater Jewish ID, lower machismo scores (negative relationship)	Not Supported	Positive relationship found for Jewish ID, Religious ID	Jewish ID + Religious ID predicted machismo; Cultural ID predicted machismo for men only
3c.	Greater Jewish ID, higher caballerismo scores (positive relationship)	Supported	Positive relationship found for Jewish ID, Religious ID	Jewish ID + Religious ID predicted caballerismo; Cultural ID predicted caballerismo for men only

Appendix A

Demographic Questionnaire

Instructions: Please provide us with some details about yourself below. Please select the answer for the appropriate response or fill in the blank when provided.

1. Age _____

2. Gender

- Woman
- Man
- Genderqueer
- Transgender

3. Race

- White
- Black or African American
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian/Asian American
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- Biracial/Multiracial
- Other

3. Religious Affiliation

- Catholic
- Protestant
- Christian
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Hindu
- Buddhist
- None
- Other (specify) _____

3a. What denomination of Judaism do you ascribe to (Select all that apply)?

- Ultra-Orthodox
- Hassidic
- Modern-Orthodox
- Orthodox
- Reform
- Conservative
- Reconstructionist
- Traditional
- Ashkenazic
- Sephardic
- Other _____

4. Sexual Orientation (please select with which you most closely identify):

- Heterosexual
- Lesbian

- Bisexual
 - Questioning
5. What is your marital status?
- Single
 - Married
 - Separated
 - Divorced
 - Widowed
 - In a Domestic Partnership or Civil Union
 - Significant Other
6. Do you have Children?
- Yes
 - No
7. Current Location within the United States? _____
8. How do you Identify your Ethnicity/Nationality (Country of Origin, e.g., Colombian, Peruvian, Mexican, Brazilian)?: _____
9. What is your generational status?
- 1st gen (foreign born)
 - 2nd gen (U.S. born, parent(s) foreign born)
 - 3rd gen (U.S. born, grandparent(s) foreign born)
 - 4th gen (U.S. born, great-grandparent(s) foreign born)
 - Other _____
10. What is your Primary Language?
- English
 - Spanish
 - Bilingual (English and Spanish)
 - Other _____
11. Highest level of education
- Primary school
 - Middle School
 - Some High School
 - High school diploma or GED equivalent
 - Some College
 - Bachelor's degree or four-year degree
 - Some Graduate School or Professional Degree
 - Graduate School or Professional Degree
 - Post-Graduate Degree or Training
- 11a. Jewish education (select all that apply)
- Hebrew School
 - Jewish Day School
 - Yeshiva
 - Bais Yaakov
 - Youth Groups
 - Jewish Summer Camp
 - No Jewish Education
 - Other _____

12. I had a... (select all that apply)

- Bar Mitzvah
- Bat Mitzvah
- Quinceañera
- Brit Milah (ritual circumcision)
- Jewish Baby naming
- Simchat Bat/Zeved HaBat

13. Which of the following categories best describes your employment status (select all that apply)?

- Employed Full Time
- Employed Part Time
- Not Employed, looking for work
- Not Employed, not looking for work
- Student, full time
- Student, part time
- Retired
- Other _____

14. Household annual income

- Under \$15,000
- \$15,000 to \$24,999
- \$25,000 to \$34,999
- \$35,000 to \$49,999
- \$50,000 to \$74,999
- \$75,000 to \$99,999
- \$100,000 and over

Appendix B

Marianismo Beliefs Scale (MBS; Castillo et al., 2010)

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

The rating scale is as follows:

1 = Strongly disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Agree

4 = Strongly agree

A Latina ...

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 1. Must be a source of strength for the family | 1 2 3 4 |
| 2. Is considered the main source of strength for her family | 1 2 3 4 |
| 3. Mother must keep the family unified | 1 2 3 4 |
| 4. Should teach her children to be loyal to the family | 1 2 3 4 |
| 5. Should do things that make her family happy | 1 2 3 4 |
| 6. Should (should have) remain(ed) a virgin until marriage | 1 2 3 4 |
| 7. Should wait until after marriage to have children | 1 2 3 4 |
| 8. Should be pure | 1 2 3 4 |
| 9. Should adopt the values taught by her religion | 1 2 3 4 |
| 10. Should be faithful to her partner | 1 2 3 4 |
| 11. Should satisfy her partner's sexual needs with argument | 1 2 3 4 |
| 12. Should not speak out against men | 1 2 3 4 |
| 13. Should respect men's opinions even when she does not agree | 1 2 3 4 |
| 14. Should avoid saying no to people | 1 2 3 4 |
| 15. Should do anything a male in her family asks her to do | 1 2 3 4 |
| 16. Should not discuss birth control | 1 2 3 4 |
| 17. Should not express her needs to her partner | 1 2 3 4 |
| 18. Should feel guilty about telling people what she needs | 1 2 3 4 |
| 19. Should not talk about sex | 1 2 3 4 |
| 20. Should be forgiving in all aspects | 1 2 3 4 |
| 21. Should always be agreeable to men's decisions | 1 2 3 4 |
| 22. Should be the spiritual leader of the family | 1 2 3 4 |
| 23. Is responsible for taking family to religious services | 1 2 3 4 |
| 24. Is responsible for the spiritual growth of the family | 1 2 3 4 |

Appendix C

Machismo and Caballerismo Scale (Arciniega et al., 2008)

Instructions: The statements below represent some of the different opinions on a wide range of topics. For each statement, please mark the answer that best describes your level of agreement or disagreement.

The rating scale is as follows:

1 = Strongly Disagreement

2 = Disagree

3 = Disagree Somewhat

4 = Neither agree nor disagree

5 = Agreement Somewhat

6 = Agree

7 = Strongly Agree

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

Appendix D

American Jewish Identity Scale (Friedlander et al., 2010)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent each of the following items represents your Jewish identity.

The rating scale is as follows:

1= not at all true of me

2= a little true of me

3= fairly true of me

4= very true of me

1. I observe the Sabbath.	1 2 3 4
2. I enjoy Jewish literature.	1 2 3 4
3. I deliberately seek out Jewish professionals (health care providers, realtors, etc.).	1 2 3 4
4. I read Jewish newspapers.	1 2 3 4
5. I am embarrassed, ashamed or angry when a Jew does something criminal.	1 2 3 4
6. I study Jewish religious texts (e.g., Torah, Talmud, Gemora).	1 2 3 4
7. I try to follow all Jewish commandments in my daily life.	1 2 3 4
8. I am proud to be Jewish.	1 2 3 4
9. I believe in the coming of the Messiah.	1 2 3 4
10. Being ethnically Jewish is more important to me than my nationality.	1 2 3 4
11. I show my Jewish identity to others by the way I dress.	1 2 3 4
12. It is important for me to date or marry a Jew.	1 2 3 4
13. I make contributions to Jewish causes.	1 2 3 4
14. I regularly keep my head covered for religious reasons.	1 2 3 4
15. A member of my household lights candles on the Sabbath.	1 2 3 4
16. I have a mezuzah in my home.	1 2 3 4
17. I know today's date on the Hebrew calendar.	1 2 3 4
18. I listen to Jewish secular music.	1 2 3 4
19. I feel connected to Judaism through my personal ancestors.	1 2 3 4
20. I celebrate all Jewish holidays.	1 2 3 4
21. My sense of being Jewish is constant no matter where I am.	1 2 3 4
22. "Tikkun Olam" (healing the world") is a Jewish value that is important to me.	1 2 3 4
23. I follow the dietary rules of Passover.	1 2 3 4
24. I read Hebrew.	1 2 3 4
25. I keep Kosher.	1 2 3 4
26. I dress in accordance with Jewish religious commandments.	1 2 3 4
27. I feel a strong connection to Israel.	1 2 3 4
28. I am active in a Jewish community center or organization.	1 2 3 4
29. I regularly go to a Mikvah	1 2 3 4
30. I fast on Yom Kippur.	1 2 3 4
31. I attend Jewish religious services at a temple, synagogue, or stiebel.	1 2 3 4
32. When in mourning, I observe all Jewish religious rituals.	1 2 3 4
33. I ritually wash my hands before eating bread.	1 2 3 4

Appendix E

Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (Zea et al., 2003)

The following section contains questions about your culture of origin and your native language. By culture of origin, we are referring to the culture of the country either you or your parents came from (e.g., Puerto Rico, Cuba, China). By native language we refer to the language of that country, spoken by you or your parents in that country (e.g., Spanish, Quechua, Mandarin). If you come from a multicultural family, please choose the culture you relate to the most.

Instructions: Please mark the number from the scale that best corresponds to your answer.

1- Strongly Disagree

2- Disagree Somewhat

3- Agree Somewhat

4- Strongly Agree

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1. I think of myself as being U.S. American. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 2. I feel good about being U.S. American. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 3. Being U.S. American plays an important part in my life. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 4. I feel that I am part of U.S. American culture. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 5. I have a strong sense of being U.S. American. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 6. I am proud of being U.S. American. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 7. I think of myself as being (a member of my culture of origin). | 1 2 3 4 |
| 8. I feel good about being (a member of my culture of origin). | 1 2 3 4 |
| 9. Being (a member of my culture of origin) plays an important part in my life. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 10. I feel that I am part of culture (culture of origin). | 1 2 3 4 |
| 11. I have a strong sense of being (culture of origin). | 1 2 3 4 |
| 12. I am proud of being (culture of origin). | 1 2 3 4 |

Please answer the questions below using the following responses:

1- Not at all

2- A little

3- Pretty Well

4- Extremely Well

How well do you speak English:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| 13. at school or work | 1 2 3 4 |
| 14. with American friends | 1 2 3 4 |

15. on the phone	1 2 3 4
16. with strangers	1 2 3 4
17. In general	1 2 3 4
3How well do you understand English?	
18. on television or in movies	1 2 3 4
19. In newspapers and magazines	1 2 3 4
20. Words in songs	1 2 3 4
21. In general	1 2 3 4
How well do you speak your native language?	
22. with family	1 2 3 4
23. with friends from the same country as you	1 2 3 4
24. on the phone	1 2 3 4
25. with strangers	1 2 3 4
26. In general	1 2 3 4
How well do you understand your native language:	
27. on television or in movies	1 2 3 4
28. In newspapers and magazines	1 2 3 4
29. Words in songs	1 2 3 4
30. In general	1 2 3 4
How well do you know:	
31. American national heroes	1 2 3 4
32. Popular American television shows	1 2 3 4
33. Popular American newspapers and magazines	1 2 3 4
34. Popular American actors and actresses	1 2 3 4
35. American history	1 2 3 4
36. American political leaders	1 2 3 4
How well do you know:	
37. National heroes from your native culture	1 2 3 4
38. Popular television shows in your native language	1 2 3 4
39. Popular newspapers and magazines in your native language	1 2 3 4
40. Popular actors and actresses from your native culture	1 2 3 4
41. History of your native culture	1 2 3 4
42. Political leaders from your native culture	1 2 3 4