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ETHNICITY, ETHNIC IDENTITY AND EMOTIONAL DEPENDENCE ON MEN
AS PREDICTORS OF SILENCING THE SELF

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Psychology

by
Marla Diane Berry

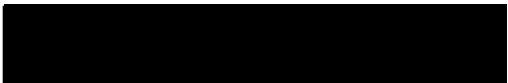
June 1999

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Approved by:


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ABSTRACT

According to Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan (1995) women suppress their voice in relationships with men, which leads to a loss of self. Donna Jack's silencing the self theory posits that women develop relationship schema that heighten vulnerability to loss of self-esteem and depressive symptomatology. Similarly, Russianoff's hypothesis holds that emotional dependence on men inhibits heterosexual women's self-esteem and life satisfaction. This study examines the relationships among ethnicity (African American, Latina or Caucasian), level of emotional dependence on men, degree of ethnic identity and reported levels of loss of self in a sample of 221 college women. Seventy-one African American, 71 Latinas and 79 Caucasian college women responded to four scales: a demographic questionnaire, the Emotional Dependence Questionnaire, two subscales from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, and the Silencing the Self Scale. The scales assessed, respectively, ethnic group membership, levels of emotional dependence on men, degree of ethnic identity and reported levels of loss of self. Five hypotheses were tested. The first two hypotheses predicted that ethnicity is related to level of emotional dependence on men and level of loss of self. Specifically, it was predicted that Latinas should have the highest levels of emotional dependence on men and loss of self while African American women should have the

lowest levels of emotional dependence on men and loss of self. The third hypothesis predicted that there is a positive relationship between women's reported levels of emotional dependence on men and their reported levels of loss of self. These relationships were expected to stay the same for all three ethnic groups. The fourth hypothesis examined the role of ethnic identity. It was predicted that high degrees of ethnic identity predict loss of self for Latinas and low degrees of ethnic identity predict loss of self for African American women. In addition, this study sought to find out which subset of the variables, including the interaction of ethnicity and ethnic identity, best predict loss of self. A single factor between-subjects MANOVA with ethnicity as the independent variable and level of emotional dependence on men and level of loss of self as the two dependent variables was performed to test the first and second hypotheses. The first prediction related to ethnicity and levels of emotional dependence on men was partially supported; there were significant mean group differences in levels of emotional dependence on men between African American and Caucasian women, but not Latinas. Caucasian women had higher levels of emotional dependence on men and loss of self than African American women. The second prediction related to ethnicity and level of loss of self was also partially supported; mean group differences in levels of loss of self depending on ethnic group membership

were again found between African American women and Caucasian women. A bivariate correlation confirmed the third prediction that there would be a significant positive relationship between college women's reported levels of emotional dependence on men and their reported levels of loss of self. The correlations between African Americans, Latinas and Caucasians on levels of emotional dependence on men and levels of loss of self were positive for each group and did not significantly differ from one another. In addition, three separate regression analyses were performed for each ethnic group to find out whether level of emotional dependence on men and degree of ethnic identity predict level of loss of self differently depending on ethnicity. For African American women level of emotional dependence on men was a stronger predictor than degree of ethnic identity of loss of self; however it did contribute significantly to the variance in loss of self. For Latinas and Caucasian women only level of emotional dependence on men predicted level of loss of self. Finally, ethnicity, level of emotional dependence on men and the interaction of ethnicity and degree of ethnic identity were examined as predictors of level of loss of self in one regression for all groups combined. Emotional dependence on men and ethnic identity predicted loss of self for the entire sample. The results suggest that cultural values in African American and Latina cultures buffer against loss of self. Cultural values

related to ethnicity for Caucasian women had no relationship to loss of self. In this study cultural expectations were confirmed for African American and Caucasian women but underestimated for Latina women whose strengths emerged in stronger, not weaker ethnic identities. African American women emerged as the only group for which degree of ethnic identity in addition to level of emotional dependence on men predicted loss of self. Further examination of the role of emotional dependence on men on loss of self may reveal the mechanisms whereby Caucasian women experience loss of self more than African American women. A variable that measures the degree to which Caucasian women internalize dominant Western cultural prescriptions (e.g., the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale) may more accurately capture the cultural expectations this group experiences.

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CHAPTER ONE: SILENCING THE SELF

With the introduction of Carol Gilligan's (1982) book In a Different Voice, a new discourse on girls, voice and relationship developed. According to Gilligan, adolescent girls in general are at risk of losing touch with what they know through experience. This loss is due in part to the tendency to idealize, devalue or simply not represent girls' and women's experiences in patriarchal societies and cultures, and in part due to girls' discovery in adolescence that relational strengths and resilience (i.e., the ability to make and maintain connections with others and to name relational violations) paradoxically begin to jeopardize relationships and undermine a sense of self.

Women's choices not to speak are often well-intentioned and psychologically protective, motivated by concerns for people's feelings and by an awareness of the realities of one's own and other's lives. Yet, by restricting their voices, women are perpetuating a male-voiced civilization and an order of living that is founded on disconnection from women. The different voice that Gilligan advocates is a relational voice that insists on staying in connection. Within the context of a society that values separation, independence and autonomy, the different voice of women is seen as dependent and even pathological. Historically, theories of psychological development and conceptions of self and morality have been based on the male experience and

have linked progress and development with separation and detachment. With the publication of Gilligan's first book, In A Different Voice and successive co-authored books, an active and lively discussion about relationships, women and men has progressed.

While the discourse on girls, voice and relationship is strengthening with the work of Gilligan and her associates, this discourse can be traced back to the bold, revolutionary book Toward a New Psychology of Women, by psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Jean Baker Miller. In 1976 Miller noted the phenomena Gilligan and her associates call loss of voice in the women she saw in clinical practice. Since a large part of women's fate depends on accommodating to and pleasing men, women concentrate on them, Miller notes. Open, self-initiated action and self-interest must be avoided because such actions can, and still do, literally result in death for some subordinate groups. There is thus little purpose for women to know themselves. This tendency is reinforced by many other restrictions, Miller continues. Since women are limited in their range of interaction and one can know oneself only through action and interaction, women invariably lack a realistic evaluation of their capacities and problems. Miller's description of loss is remarkably similar to Gilligan and her associates' concept of loss of self. For women who assume that their own needs have equal validity and who proceed to explore and state them more

openly, discomfort and anxiety are experienced as they feel they have created conflict and rejected men's images of "true womanhood."

Miller's critique of women's voice in relationships with men examines the interaction from a power standpoint that recognizes men as the dominant group and women as the subordinate group. Miller describes such relationships as existing within a context of inequality. The ways women perceive and conceptualize their relationships is molded in this context. From this power perspective women learn to act and react in disguised and indirect ways because, as subordinates, reacting in a direct, honest manner challenges the dominant group's experience of reality and is dangerous to a subordinate group member's survival.

Research has supported Miller's assertion that power and status influence the ways women interact with men. Cowan, Bommersbach and Curtis (1995) found that codependency and loss of self were positively related to the use of indirect strategies (e.g., positive or negative affect, hinting and withdrawal) and negatively related to perceived power. Codependency was defined as a psychosocial condition manifested through a dysfunctional pattern of relating to others. Three characteristics define this pattern: extreme focus outside the self, lack of open expression of feelings and attempts to derive a sense of purpose through

relationships. Alternatively, loss of self was negatively related to use of direct strategies (e.g., asking, reasoning, and telling). That these results were true for both men and women suggests that power is not solely an ascribed quality based on gender as Miller suggests; it is likely that a number of factors besides gender combine to predict lower power status, loss of self and the use of indirect strategies with targets who are of higher statuses. However, that women are twice as likely to develop depression than men (Nolen-Hoeksema & Girgus, 1994) suggests that gender is an important component in loss of self.

The emergence of gender differences in rates of depression in midadolescence, according to Nolen-Hoeksema and Girgus (1994), has been considered to reflect the meeting of gender differences in risk factors for depression that develop during childhood with biological and social challenges whose prevalence increases in early adolescence. While the challenges increase for both boys and girls, the increase is argued to be much larger for girls who bring more risk factors for depression to adolescence and who are presented with more biological and social challenges during this period.

Dana Jack's interest in accounting for the increased prevalence of depression in women created silencing the self theory. Jack contends that women's adoption of schemas regarding cultural expectations about appropriate female

roles and behavior contribute to depression in women through silencing-the-self behaviors. Jack (1991) developed a theoretical model of silencing the self theory based on self-in-relation theory and attachment theory to account for depression in women. According to Hart and Thompson (1996) self-in-relation theory posits that women organize their experience according to their relationships with others and that depression is related to the value women place on establishing and maintaining close relationships. Attachment theory emphasizes the adaptive significance of close relationships in the developmental process.

Specifically, women experience a loss of self in the role of friend, daughter, wife or mother while pursuing a selfless ideal. The selfless ideal, a cognitive schema regarding ideal feminine social behavior whereby women defer their desires and needs to please others, is used to judge the actual self. The comparison between the actual and the ideal self creates a conflict that contributes to depression in women. This desire to please others by denying one's own needs is, according to Jack, a gender-specific schema regarding appropriate behavior in intimate relationships. Jack refers to this socially approved behavior as "compliant connectedness" (p. 40). Compliant connectedness is characterized by compulsive caretaking, pleasing the other, inhibition of self-expression and censoring experience to

establish and maintain safe, intimate relationships. Depression often develops in the context of close relationships because women try unsuccessfully to establish intimate and satisfying connections with their partners through silencing the self behaviors directed by these gender-specific schemas. Instead of intimacy women experience a loss of self and lack of authentic connection.

The Silencing the Self Scale taps into self-silencing behaviors and beliefs in its four subscales: externalized self-perception or the tendency to judge oneself by the standards of others, the concept of caring as self-sacrifice or the degree to which one puts the needs of the other person above their own, silencing the self behavior or the tendency to inhibit self-expression to avoid conflict and the divided self in which one presents a compliant demeanor to conform with feminine roles while yet inwardly feeling hostile (Jack & Dill, 1992).

Ethnicity

In their recent book Between Voice and Silence, Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan (1997) address the influence of ethnicity and culture on loss of self. This loss is examined in 26 Caucasian, African American and Latina girls deemed 'at risk' for high school dropout and early motherhood. Specifically, the authors refer to loss of self as the feelings of psychological isolation, psychological

distress and of having no effective voice, feelings which are also often confused with 'independence.' For middle-class white girls, Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan note the work of Tolman and Debold (1994). For these girls, under cultural pressure to conform to the dominant image of the ideal, perfect girl who is always nice, controls hunger and sexual desire and contains her feelings, a psychological dissociation may develop. At adolescence this dissociation is manifest in a resistance to knowing one's feelings, to knowing one's body and to being in authentic relationship with oneself and others. Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan note that what once seemed ordinary to girls—speaking, difference, anger, conflict and bad as well as good thoughts and feelings—now seems dangerous: a sign of imperfection, a harbinger of being left out.

The experience of African American girls is qualitatively different from their Caucasian counterparts. Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan note that the socialization of African American girls is often described as less stereotypic than that of Caucasian, middle and upper class girls. Binion (1990) points out that there is less emphasis on cultivating the qualities of idealized femininity, such as restraint from displays of assertiveness or anger. While research acknowledges that African American girls are raised to assume the traditional role of nurturing and child care,

it also indicates an encouragement to be strong, self-sufficient and to expect to work outside of the workplace (Wilson, 1986).

According to Comas-Diaz and Greene (1994), since the onset of slavery, African American women's role in society has been synonymous with labor outside the home. Under slavery African American women were exempt from the observance of traditional gender roles and worked in fields alongside African American males and performed any other manual labor required by slavemasters. The traditional gender role stereotypes which resulted in social conventions prohibiting females from many routine forms of labor common for males was not extended to African American women. Additionally, African American women are not socialized to expect marriage to relieve them of the need for employment; their financial contribution to the household is presumed necessary. Thus, African American men were unable to assume the male ideal of the sole breadwinner in the household, a reality that made rigid gender-role stratification impractical.

In a qualitative study of 17 African American community college students, Shorter-Gooden and Washington (1996) found that race, more frequently than gender, career, religious beliefs, political beliefs, relationships and sexual orientation was stated to be the most important source of self-definition. Shorter-Gooden and Washington noted that

the notion of strength was a central issue in many of these women's identities. Strength refers to being tough, determined and able to deal with the adversity one meets because one is African American as well as to having a strong sense of self that is not overrun by others. While an African American identity was described in a positive sense by the women, the emphasis was nonetheless on an identity based on struggling against negative stereotypes and overcoming the negative aspects of being African American.

Anthropologist Signithia Fordham (1993) details the importance of strength in the struggle against negative stereotypes of African American adolescents. Fordham describes adolescent African American girls as "those loud black girls," a metaphor that proclaims their existence, collective denial of, and resistance to their socially proclaimed powerlessness. "They are doomed," she notes, "not necessarily because of academics, but because they will not comply with the view that as young women, they become silent" (p.11). Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan add that child-rearing practices have also traditionally encouraged African American girls to "stand up for themselves and fight back—essential survival skills when racism is a pervasive reality" (1995, p. 43). In this manner the African American family becomes a crucial barrier against the racism of the

dominant culture as mothers are charged with the task of teaching their children mechanisms of mastery over racism. Gloria Wade Gayles (1984) suggests that African American mothers do not socialize their daughters to be passive but to be independent, strong and self-confident. This determination comes in the face of a society that devalues African American women. This sense of strength and racial identity is an important contributor to healthy development (Tatum, 1992).

Just as the culture of African American girls differs from their Caucasian counterparts, so too does the culture of Latinas' qualitatively differ. In Latino cultures, girls are raised to be respectful, conforming, dependent, obedient, and virtuous; their families protect them and in return expect loyalty to their values (Garcia-Coll & Mattei, 1989). Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan, citing Comas-Diaz (1989), note that like Caucasian girls, Latinas receive multiple cultural messages prohibiting expressions of anger.

Strictly defined gender roles are transmitted through cultural values. One such value is "marianismo," which, according to Garcia-Coll and Mattie (1989), is based on worship of the Virgin Mary. Marianismo holds that women are morally and spiritually superior to men and thus creates exacting standards of behavior for girls and women (Stevens, 1973). The values of "decente," referring to virtuous and proper behavior, and "verguenza," referring to modesty or

embarrassment about the female body and the notion that girls should not know about sexuality, are strong influences on Hispanic girls, especially first-generation daughters (Scott et al., 1988).

Donna Castañeda (1996) points out that there are a number of contradictory myths regarding Latina sexuality. First there is the notion of the woman who remains chaste and virginal until marriage. Once married she is viewed as a mother figure who is content having many children but is uninterested in sex and thus submits to her partner's sexual desires. Finally, there is the opposing myth of the "sexy senorita with smoldering eyes" who is always seeking sex. Neither of the myths reflects the reality of Latina sexuality and instead demonize or idealize women, leaving few realistic or positive images for women to assimilate. Castañeda notes that the most provocative work on Latina sexuality is found in art, literature and poetry. A common theme in this work is the historical repression of Latina sexuality within the family and larger Latino culture. This repression silences women and leaves them with inadequate knowledge of their own sexuality. Catholicism, she notes, and its pervasiveness in Latino cultures plays a central role in keeping Latinas from full knowledge of their sexuality.

Citing Castillo (1991), Casteñeda also points out that sexuality for the Catholic woman of Latin American background is associated with her reproductive ability and otherwise repressed. The Virgin Mary and the qualities she embodies is upheld as the model for all women to emulate. However, while this model stresses self-abnegation, motherhood and sexual purity for Latinas, men's sexuality is positively viewed and encouraged.

The importance and value of the family is, according to Comas-Diaz and Greene, one of the most salient and empirically supported characteristics of Latino culture. Comas-Diaz and Greene cite Ramirez and Arce's (1981) review of the literature on Chicano families and their conclusion that there exists a strong familistic orientation and a widespread existence of highly integrated extended kinship systems, even for Chicanos who are three or more generations removed from Mexico. Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin and Perez-Stable (1987) supported this finding in their investigation of Latino familism and acculturation. The researchers identified three separate dimensions of familism: family obligations, perceived support from family and family as referents (i.e., behavioral and attitudinal models of identity). They found that acculturation was a salient variable in predicting both the familial obligations and family as referents aspects of familism. While familial

obligations and family as referents decreased significantly with acculturation, perceived support from the family did not, suggesting that it was the most stable dimension of familism. Withstanding the decrease of familial obligations and family as referents with increased acculturation, even highly acculturated Latinos were more familistic than Caucasians on all dimensions that were examined.

Ethnic Identity

A central question in the study of different ethnic groups is whether ethnic identity has a positive or negative impact on the psychological adjustment and well-being of minority group members. Is a strong sense of identification with one's ethnic culture likely to act as a positive influence on well-being by providing a sense of self-affirmation and belonging and buffering against the negative impact of prejudice, discrimination and sexism? Or may this sense of affirmation only promote internalization of negative stereotypes that, as Comas-Diaz notes, prohibit expressions of anger in Latinas? More probable, the impact of ethnic identity on well-being varies depending on the values emphasized in the ethnic group. That is, the emphasis on being vocal that Fordham notes in "those loud black girls" is a value that buffers against loss of self in African American women who have a strong sense of ethnic identity. On the other hand, the emphasis on conformance

and traditional gender roles may promote loss of self in Latinas who identify strongly with their culture. For Caucasian women, ethnic identity will neither buffer against nor promote loss of self because, for most Caucasian women, ethnicity will not be a salient characteristic as members of the majority (i.e., white) class.

Jean Phinney (1991) addresses the conceptualization of ethnic identity and its impact on psychological adjustment. Ethnic identity is a multidimensional construct involving ethnic feelings, attitudes, knowledge and behaviors. Specifically, ethnic identity is an aspect of a person's social identity that is the part of an individual's self-concept that derives from his or her knowledge of membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel as cited in Phinney, 1992). Ethnic identity has been shown to be related to positive self-concept and self-esteem (1992). Phinney et al. found endorsement of assimilation to be negatively correlated with self-esteem in African American, Asian and Latino high school students and Asian, Latino and Caucasian college students. Endorsement of integration (i.e., identifying with and participating in both the dominant and minority culture) was positively correlated with self-esteem in Asian, Latino and Caucasian high school and college students. Because a strong ethnic identity is related to a positive self-concept, it can be

reasoned that a strong ethnic identity may buffer against loss of self.

Emotional Dependence on Men

Just as an individual's identification with a distinctive ethnic culture is related to their self-concept and self-esteem, so too are their self and relational (i.e., beliefs about how to relate and respond to others) schemas. According to Dana Jack and Diana Dill (1992), cognitive schemas about how to create and maintain safe, intimate relationships lead women to silence certain feelings, thoughts and actions. This self-silencing contributes to feelings of loss of self as women experience, over time, the self-negation required to conform themselves to schemas directing feminine social behavior. According to Robert Siegal (1988), even if an individual woman may not fit the stereotype in terms of her independent lifestyle and attitudes regarding the role of women in society, she still may have dependent attitudes toward her heterosexual partner.

Citing McGrath et al. (1990), Jack and Dill (1992) point out that researchers have linked social inequality with higher rates of depression in women. What specific beliefs underlie social inequality and lead to higher rates of depression in women? Henderson and Cunningham (1993) offer an explanation based on Russianoff's (1981) hypothesis. According to the Russianoff hypothesis,

emotional dependence on men inhibits heterosexual women's self-esteem and life satisfaction. Because of the way in which Western societies socialize children, girls grow up believing that the single most important thing is to have a man with whom to share their life. Russianoff contends that dependence is part of the feminine stereotype that society describes as desirable in women but undesirable in adults in general. As dependence itself actually comprises stereotypically feminine attributes, the high incidence of dependence in women is explained. Specifically, emotional dependence, pertaining to anxiety about being loved, and not dependence as it is generally regarded (i.e., experiencing uncertainty about being loved, having a poorly established identity and engaging in excessive self-criticism) is definitive of Russianoff's concept of emotional dependence.

While adult dependency needs are valid and experienced by both men and women, such needs are not healthy when they focus solely on another's reaction for self-identity, social standing, economic survival and direction in life. A healthier goal is interdependence, characterized by the ability to depend on others and to be depended upon in a manner that is equally respectful of the needs of the self and others, as well as appropriate to the situation (Siegel, 1988).

Self-in-relation theory, the developmental theory for women advocated by Gilligan, Miller and Jack, differs

somewhat from Siegel's view of women's dependency needs. Self-in-relation theory views the basis of women's identity as affiliation and interdependence (Carr, Gilroy & Sherman, 1996). Thus, self-in-relation theory agrees with Siegel's view that interdependence is a healthy goal. However, rather than viewing women's needs as unhealthy because they depend on the interaction of another for self-identity and direction, self-in-relation theory holds that the ability and opportunity to participate in the growth and development of others is a benchmark of successful adult development. Jack (1987) contends that "intimacy facilitates the developing authentic self and the developing self deepens the possibility of intimacy" (p. 168). The view that women who feel that they cannot live without a man are emotionally dependent, as Russianoff's hypothesis asserts, does not pathologize women's relational strengths, connection and engagement with others. Russianoff views desperate dependence, not connection, as a barrier to development. Basing one's social standing and economic survival on another is not a strength that would facilitate intimacy and connection and is appropriately labeled as dependency.

Past Research

According to Harter, Walter and Whitesell (1997), adherence to the good woman stereotype to which Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan refer calls for girls to put others'

needs and desires ahead of their own, and thus is a powerful motive for suppressing one's voice. As Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan (1995) and others indicate (e.g., Miller, 1986; Jack & Dill, 1992; Henderson & Cunningham, 1993), girls' and women's silence and dependence in relationships with boys and men is an important part of loss of self. Thompson (1995) examined the relations among loss of self, depressive symptomatology and perceived relationship satisfaction in a community sample of married and cohabiting couples. Surprisingly, Thompson found that men reported more silencing the self than did women. However, for women silencing the self was more closely related to depressive symptomatology than for men. Thompson's findings are similar to the findings of Jack and Dill (1992). Jack and Dill found that college men scored higher on the STSS than did women. Like Thompson's findings, men's scores did not correlate significantly with level of depression as measured by the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI).

While Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan's qualitative analysis of women of different ethnic groups is provocative, few efforts have been made to empirically demonstrate the prevalence of loss of voice among women of different ethnic groups. In a study of codependency and self-construal, Bommersbach (1999) noted that Asians significantly differed from Caucasians and African Americans in self-silencing, but not from Latinos. However, only 9% of Bommersbach's sample

were African American, 12.5% were Caucasian and 13.6% were Asian while 60.2% were Latino. These numbers exceed the 4:1 ratio recommended as the limit when comparing groups with unequal sample sizes (Keppel, 1996). Moreover, the sample included both men (40%) and women (60%) and thus may not necessarily generalize to an ethnically diverse sample of women.

Gratch, Bassett and Attra (1995) examined the relationship between gender, ethnicity and loss of self in a larger, more ethnically proportionate sample. Gratch et al. reported that Asian Americans expressed significantly higher levels of self-silencing than did each of the other groups represented (i.e., Latinos, Caucasians and African Americans). However, Gratch et al. did not report whether or not Asian American women significantly differed from Latinas, Caucasian and African American women. Thus, the men may have carried the effect (i.e., higher or lower silencing the self scores) and not the women.

In addition to the analysis of ethnically diverse samples of women, emotional dependence on men, though it has been shown to inhibit women's self-esteem and life satisfaction, has not been examined in studies on loss of self in women. Qualitative research has explored the challenge of weaving identities and maintaining relationships in African American adolescent girls (e.g., Way (1995) and Shorter-Gooden & Washington (1996)), but the

potential causes (e.g., ethnicity, ethnic identity and emotional dependence on men) of loss of self in women of different ethnic groups have not been widely documented through conventional research methodologies.

Hypotheses

With the premise that emotional dependence on men inhibits heterosexual women's self-esteem and life satisfaction and the understanding that, in turn, one's culture dictates the extent to which women should be dependent on men, this study will examine whether ethnicity (i.e., African American, Latina or Caucasian), ethnic identity and emotional dependence on men predict loss of self in college women. Five hypotheses will be tested. First, it is hypothesized that ethnicity is related to emotional dependence on men. Specifically, Latina college women should report higher levels of emotional dependence on men than Caucasian college women who should, in turn, report higher levels of emotional dependence on men than their African American counterparts. Second, it is hypothesized that ethnicity is related to loss of self. Specifically, Latina college women should report higher levels of loss of self than Caucasian college women, who should, in turn, report higher levels of loss of self than their African American counterparts.

Third, it is hypothesized that there is a significant positive relationship between college women's reported

levels of emotional dependence on men and their reported levels of loss of self. These relationships are expected to stay the same for all three ethnic groups studied. In addition, the relationship between degree of ethnic identity and levels of loss of self and emotional dependence on men will be examined. Finally, the role of ethnic identity is examined in addition to emotional dependence on men in the fourth hypothesis. Fourth, it is hypothesized that ethnic identity predicts loss of self differently for Latina and African American women. For Latina women who report higher levels of ethnic identity, higher levels of loss of self are expected. On the other hand, African American women who report higher levels of ethnic identity should report lower levels of loss of self. Level of emotional dependence on men is expected to predict levels of loss of self similarly for Latinas, African American and Caucasian women; higher levels of emotional dependence on men is expected to predict higher levels of loss of self for all ethnic groups. Finally, an additional question seeks to find out which subset of the variables ethnicity, level of emotional dependence on men and the interaction of ethnicity and degree of ethnic identity best predicts level of loss of self.

CHAPTER TWO: METHOD

Design

To test the first and the second hypotheses, a single-factor multivariate multi-group between-subjects quasi-experimental design was utilized. The independent variable was ethnicity with three ethnic groups (Caucasian, African American and Latina college-age women). The two dependent variables were level of emotional dependence on men (measured by the Emotional Dependence Questionnaire) and level of loss of self (measured by the Silencing the Self Scale).

To test the third and fourth hypothesis and to answer the additional question, a correlational-regressional approach was adopted. Variables involved in testing the third hypothesis were level of emotional dependence on men and level of loss of self. Variables involved in testing the fourth hypothesis included two predictor variables (level of emotional dependence on men and degree of ethnic identity) and one criterion variable (level of loss of self). Variables involved in answering the additional question included four predictor variables (ethnicity, degree of ethnic identity, level of emotional dependence on men and the interaction of ethnicity and ethnic identity) and one criterion variable (level of loss of self).

Participants

The sample consisted of 221 heterosexual, female participants recruited from several undergraduate psychology classes at a community college and a university located in Southern California. Of those who responded, 71 were African American (32%), 71 were Latina (32%) and 79 (35%) were Caucasian. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 49 years-old with a mean age of 24.3 years ($SD = 6.5$) for the entire sample. African American women had a mean age of 28.9 years ($SD = 9.1$). Latinas had a mean age of 21.3 years ($SD = 2.3$) and Caucasian women had a mean age of 22.9 years ($SD = 3.4$). Eighty-three percent of the participants were 29 years old or less. Six participants did not disclose their age. At the time of their responses 72% of the women were in a relationship with a man and 28% were not.

Measures

In this study, the following materials were used: an informed consent form (see Appendix A), one demographic sheet (see Appendix B), the Emotional Dependence on Men Questionnaire (see Appendix C), the Silencing the Self Scale (see Appendix D), the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (see Appendix E) and a debriefing statement (see Appendix F).

The demographic sheet requested the participant's age, her sexual orientation, the ethnic group she most strongly identifies with (e.g., White, Black, Hispanic, Asian,

American Indian or other, with a request to indicate) and whether or not she is currently involved in a relationship with a man.

The Emotional Dependence on Men Questionnaire (EDOM) (see Appendix C), developed by Henderson and Cunningham (1993), was used to assess women's feelings of dependence on men. Scale construction was based on a sample of 190 women approximately 27% of which were first year college students and about 72% of which were recruited from a variety of community social organizations (e.g., toddler play groups, lawn bowling clubs and a women's health center). Approximately 90% of the women were Caucasian. This scale consists of 20 items examining participants' attitudes towards male partners, boyfriends or husbands (e.g., "I like a man to be protective of me"). Possible responses to each item range from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). Women's responses to the 20 items were summed to yield a total score that had a possible range from 20 (low emotional dependence on men) to 140 (high emotional dependence on men). According to Henderson and Cunningham (1993), Cronbach's alpha is .91 and the scale has discriminative validity with the Dependency subscale of the Depressive Experiences Questionnaire by Birtchnell (1984). Thus, emotional dependence is distinct from general constructs of dependence as defined by others. In the present study the unstandardized alpha for the EDOM was .85.

The Silencing the Self Scale (STSS) (see Appendix D) was used to assess loss of self in women. This scale consists of a total of 31 items in 4 subscales: 1) externalized self-perception (items 6, 7, 23, 27, 28 and 31); 2) care as self-sacrifice (items 1, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 22, and 29); 3) silencing the self (items 2, 8, 14, 15, 18, 20, 24, 26 and 30) and 4) the divided self (items 5, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21 and 25). The scale is scored on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Women's responses to the 31 items were summed to yield a total score that had a possible range from 31 (low loss of self) to 155 (great loss of self). Reliability and validity data were gathered from three sources: undergraduates, a group of new mothers participating in a study examining the effects of cocaine use on infant development and a battered women's shelter (Jack & Dill, 1992). The STSS also correlated significantly with women's level of depression as measured by the Beck Depression Inventory. For the female undergraduate sample, BDI scores had a .52 correlation ($p < .0001$) with STSS scores. For the drug study group, BDI scores had a .51 correlation ($p < .0001$) with STSS scores. For the battered women sample, BDI scores had a .50 correlation ($p < .0001$) with STSS scores. Validity data for each subscale are not provided (Jack and Dill, 1983). In the present study the unstandardized alpha for the STSS was .88.

Two of the four subscales from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (see Appendix E) were used to assess degree of ethnic identification in women. The first subscale, affirmation and belonging, consists of five items. The second subscale, ethnic identity achievement, consists of seven items. The subscales are scored on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 4 (Strongly Agree). The two subscales were combined, yielding a possible score range from 12 (a low degree of ethnic identity) to 48 (a high degree of ethnic identity). Reliability data was gathered from two samples: 417 high school participants from an urban, ethnically diverse school and 136 college participants enrolled in introductory psychology classes at a large, urban, ethnically diverse university. Cronbach's alpha for the five item affirmation/belonging subscale were .75 and .86 for the high school and college samples, respectively. For the seven item ethnic identity achievement subscale, Cronbach's alpha was .69 and .80, respectively, for the two groups. The entire ethnic identity scale, entitled the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, consists of 12 items and does not include the other-group orientation subscale. Reported reliability for this scale was .81 for the high school sample and .90 for the college sample. An overall Cronbach's alpha is not reported for the entire 20 item scale. Factor analysis indicated three factors for the high school sample.

However, two of the factors were subfactors of the first factor and highly correlated (.52). Because the two subfactors were not easily interpretable they were combined, therefore resulting in a two factor solution. The two factors loaded on ethnic identity and other-group orientation and accounted for 20% and 9.1% of the variance, respectively. For the college sample five factors were indicated. Three of these factors were highly intercorrelated (.58, .58 and .59), and were combined. The two remaining factors appeared to be subfactors of the other-group orientation scale and thus were also combined. The first factor includes all the ethnic identity items; the other factor reflects other-group orientation. The two factors accounted for 30.8% and 11.4% of the variance explained, respectively. The other-group orientation subscale was not used in the present study. In the present study the unstandardized alpha for the MEIM was .88.

Procedure

Participants were recruited in one of three ways: a flyer and folder attached to a research bulletin board with directions to complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it to the Peer Advising Center, an in-class group test supervised by the researcher or by the distribution of questionnaires by teachers to volunteers in their classes who completed the questionnaires at home and returned them to either their teacher or the Peer Advising Center. The

importance of answering every question was emphasized to in-class participants supervised by the researcher. The informed consent form, demographic questionnaire, EDOM and the STSS were then distributed in one packet to each in-class participant. All participants had sufficient time to complete all of the questions and return them to the researcher as they finished in-class or to the Peer Advising Center if they picked them up from the bulletin board or received them from teachers. The American Psychological Association's general ethics standards for conducting research with human participants were followed.

CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS

Data Screening

Prior to analysis, the sample was screened for missing data and univariate outliers. Data were checked to insure all values were within the appropriate ranges. For missing data, means for the corresponding subscale (or scale when subscales did not exist) were inserted. This was tolerable because of the small percentage of missing data (Tabachnick & Fidel, 1996). No variable exceeded the recommended 5.5% for percent of missing data. For the Emotional Dependence on Men questionnaire the percent of missing data did not exceed 2.6%. The Silencing the Self scale did not exceed 4.9% for percentage of missing data. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure did not exceed 1.1% for percentage of missing data. The explore function on SPSS (version 7.5 for Windows) and boxplots identified univariate outlying scores on 42 cases that were excluded from the analysis. Two hundred and eighty four questionnaires were completed of which 221 were retained for analysis.

Hypotheses One and Two

A single-factor multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with ethnicity as the between subjects factor and level of emotional dependence on men and level of loss of self as the two dependent variables tested hypothesis one and two. The MANOVA was significant, Pillai's Trace $F(4, 221) = 3.16, p < .05$. A univariate F test supported the

first hypothesis that ethnicity would be related to level of emotional dependence on men $F(2,221) = 3.83, p < .05$. The strength of the relationship was $n^2 = .03$. However, the prediction that Latinas would report the highest levels of emotional dependence on men, African American women would report the lowest levels of emotional dependence on men and Caucasian women's scores would fall between the two groups was only partially supported. Mean scores on level of emotional dependence on men revealed that Caucasian women had higher levels of emotional dependence on men than African American women, but not Latinas (see Table 1). Tukey post hoc multiple comparisons indicated a significant mean difference between African American women and Caucasian women on levels of emotional dependence on men ($MD = -7.65, p < .05$). As predicted, African American women had lower levels of emotional dependence on men than Caucasian women. Latinas' mean score on emotional dependence on men did not differ from the mean scores of African American or Caucasian women.

A univariate F test supported the second hypothesis that ethnicity would be related to level of loss of self $F(2, 221) = 4.90, p < .01$. The strength of the relationship was $n^2 = .04$. However, the prediction that Latinas would report higher levels of loss of self than Caucasian women who, in turn, would report higher levels of loss of self

Table 1

Mean Scores on Emotional Dependence on Men (EDOM), Loss of Self (LOS) and Ethnic Identity (MEIM) for Latinas, African American and Caucasian Women.

Ethnicity	<u>n</u>	EDOM	LOS	MEIM
<u>Latina</u>	71			
<u>M</u>		68.48	49.09	24.59
<u>SD</u>		16.59	13.42	5.31
<u>African American</u>	71			
<u>M</u>		65.28	44.63	27.67
<u>SD</u>		18.06	11.24	3.71
<u>Caucasian</u>	79			
<u>M</u>		72.94	50.43	22.24
<u>SD</u>		16.45	10.50	4.02

than African American women, was only partially supported. Caucasian women had the highest mean score on loss of self, not Latinas as had been predicted. Tukey post hoc multiple comparisons indicated a significant mean difference only between African American women and Caucasian women on loss of self ($MD = -5.79, p < .001$). African American women had lower mean scores on loss of self than Caucasian women. Latinas' mean score on loss of self did not significantly differ from the mean scores of Caucasian and African American women.

Hypothesis Three

Pearson's correlations between levels of emotional dependence on men and levels of loss of self were performed for Latinas, African American and Caucasian women to test the third hypothesis that there would be a significant positive relationship between levels of emotional dependence on men and levels of loss of self and that this relationship would stay the same for each group. This hypothesis was supported (see Table 2). Correlations between groups did not differ. In addition, correlations among degree of ethnic identity and levels of emotional dependence on men and loss of self were examined. There were significant negative relationships between degree of ethnic identity and levels of emotional dependence on men and degree of ethnic identity and levels of loss of self for African American women and Latinas. There were no relationships between

Table 2

Correlations among Emotional Dependence on Men (EDOM), Loss of Self (LOS) and Ethnic Identity (MEIM) for Latinas, African American and Caucasian Women.

<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>EDOM</u>	<u>LOS</u>	<u>MEIM</u>
<u>Latina</u>			
<u>EDOM</u>	--	.44**	-.32**
<u>LOS</u>		--	-.24*
<u>African American</u>			
<u>EDOM</u>	--	.45**	-.28*
<u>LOS</u>		--	-.37**
<u>Caucasian</u>			
<u>EDOM</u>	--	.46**	.13
<u>LOS</u>		--	-.10

*p < .05. **p < .01.

degree of ethnic identity and level of emotional dependence on men and degree of ethnic identity and level of loss of self for Caucasian women.

Hypothesis Four

A linear multiple regression examined the role of ethnic identity in addition to emotional dependence on men in the fourth hypothesis which sought to find out whether or not ethnic identity predicted loss of self differently depending on ethnic group membership. The predictor variables were level of emotional dependence on men and degree of ethnic identity. The criterion was loss of self. It had been hypothesized that higher degrees of ethnic identity and higher levels of emotional dependence on men would predict higher levels of loss of self for Latinas. The regression for Latinas was significant $F(2, 70) = 8.58$, $p < .001$. However, degree of ethnic identity was not a significant predictor of level of loss of self ($B = -.12$, $p > .05$). Level of emotional dependence on men was a significant predictor ($B = .40$, $p < .01$) of loss of self. The predictors accounted for 20% ($r = .45$) of the variance in loss of self. Thus, the hypothesis was not supported.

The linear multiple regression for African American women tested the prediction that lower degrees of ethnic identity and higher levels of emotional dependence on men would predict higher levels of loss of self in African American women. The regression for African American women

was significant $F(2, 70) = 12.26, p < .001$. Both of the predictors degree of ethnic identity ($B = -.26, p < .05$) and level of emotional dependence on men ($B = .37, p < .01$) were significant. The two predictors accounted for 27% ($r = .52$) of the variance in loss of self. Thus, the hypothesis was supported. The linear multiple regression for Caucasian women tested the prediction that higher levels of emotional dependence on men would predict higher levels of loss of self. Degree of ethnic identity was hypothesized to not be a significant predictor. The regression for Caucasian women was significant $F(2, 79) = 11.79, p < .001$. The predictor level of emotional dependence on men was significant ($B = .48, p < .001$). The predictor degree of ethnic identity was not significant ($B = -.17, p > .05$). The predictors accounted for 27% ($r = .49$) of the variance in loss of self. Thus, the hypothesis was supported.

Additional Question

A final linear multiple regression was ran to determine which of the predictors ethnicity, level of emotional dependence on men, and the interaction of ethnic identity by ethnicity best predict level of loss of self for the entire sample. Two orthogonal comparisons were created comparing African American women to Caucasian women and comparing Latinas with both African American and Caucasian women. The variable ethnic identity was centered by subtracting the total ethnic identity score from its mean. Two interactions.

of ethnic identity with the orthogonal comparisons (i.e., African American women versus Caucasian women and Latinas versus the other two groups) were computed and entered in on the second block of the regression. The regression was significant $F(2, 221) = 15.01, p < .001$. Two variables predicted loss of self for the entire sample: emotional dependence on men ($B = .41, p < .001$) and ethnic identity ($B = -.21, p < .05$). The predictor ethnicity was not significant ($B = .00, p > .05$). Both of the interactions were not significant. The interaction of ethnic identity with the comparison of African American women versus Caucasian women had a standardized beta of $-.06, p > .05$ and the interaction of ethnic identity with the comparison of Latinas versus the other two ethnic groups had a standardized beta of $.05, p > .05$. The predictors captured 26% ($r = .51$) of the variance.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION

Loss of self and depression in women are complex social problems. One's ethnicity, degree of ethnic identity and level of emotional dependence on men are potential predictors of loss of self. Ethnicity and degree of ethnic identity were of particular interest in this study because of Gilligan, Taylor and Sullivan's focus on ethnicity and the recognition that changing demographics are affecting the fabric of North American society. Cultural pluralism is emerging as a distinct feature as we increasingly become an ethnically diverse society. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1998), African Americans constitute 11.4% of the population, Latinos constitute 9.9%, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders constitute 3.4% and American Indians and Alaskan natives constitute .8%. By the year 2056, Caucasians are estimated to increase an additional 2% while African Americans are expected to increase an estimated 22%, Latinos an estimated 21% and Asian Americans an estimated 22% (Henry, 1990). The ability to competently address and articulate gender and multicultural contexts is critical.

Emotional Dependence on Men Across Ethnic Groups

Emotional dependence on men is a relatively unstudied construct. Scale reliability and validity were based on a sample of 190 Australian women approximately 27% of which were first year college students and about 72% of which were recruited from a variety of community social organizations

(e.g., including toddler play groups, lawn bowling clubs and a women's health center) (Henderson & Cunningham, 1993). Notably, the authors presumed their sample to be predominately middle class and Caucasian, "since middle class Australians are approximately 90% Caucasian" (p. 320). Thus, no reliability or validity data is available based on other ethnic groups. Russianoff defined the construct as anxiety about being loved by a man and not dependency as it is generally regarded (i.e., depending on various support persons rather than exclusively on a heterosexual partner). Russianoff stressed the distinctiveness of emotional dependence on men from general dependence because she believed that it could be situation specific and displayed by women who are otherwise not dependent.

However, Russianoff's distinction between emotional dependence on men and general dependency as it pertains to dependency on various support persons is not well defined. While Henderson and Cunningham report that emotional dependence on men scores were relatively distinct from the dependency subscale of the Depressive Experiences Questionnaire, which purports to measure general dependence on various support persons, they did note that results indicated that both emotional dependence on men and dependence in general were exhibited less in feminist, educated and career oriented women (1993). In addition, while emotional dependence on men shares commonalties with

general dependence, it also shares many defining characteristics with codependency, a construct that has been more widely studied than emotional dependence on men.

The evolution of the concept of codependency began in 1975 as a grassroots movement out of the chemical-dependency field in relation to the treatment of families of alcoholics (Hughes-Hammer, Martsolf & Zeller, 1998). In response to critiques and arguments related to the lack of empirical evidence to validate the concept and the lack of a consensus definition, the National Council on Codependence created the following definition:

learned behavior, expressed by dependencies on people and things outside the self; dependencies include neglecting and diminishing of one's own identity. The false self that emerges is often expressed through compulsive habits, addictions and other disorders that further increase alienation for the person's true identity, fostering a sense of shame (Whitfield, 1991, p.10).

Barbara Collins (1993) notes that writers in the field describe the codependent individual as having low self-worth, a self-identity based largely on external validation, unrealistic expectations of herself and others, the inability to get her dependency needs met and, among many other beliefs and behaviors, the belief that caring means being responsible for those she cares about. Collins uses the feminine pronoun because the codependency concept, like emotional dependence on men, refers to women in its etiology and current practice.

However, Collins responds to the codependency model with self-in-relation theory and contends that the concept has not been empirically supported and, though it provides women with a label for the pain and confusion they suffer and support from similarly situated women, the codependency concept pathologizes women's relational strengths by equating the development of a relational self with sickness. Joseph Gemin (1997) made a provocative critique when he added that the public's clamor to apply this label has less to do with a need to eliminate something called codependency and more to do with a desire for the constrictive, yet socially sanctioned identity that the term confers. The discourse of codependency unwittingly creates identities by offering an ironic, ultimately self-defeating label.

The similarities between codependency and emotional dependence on men suggest that the latter construct should be interpreted carefully. The clear distinction is that emotional dependence is specific only to a male romantic partner, while codependency has been considered a personality disorder characterized by a compulsive dependency on other people (Gemin, 1997). Being emotionally dependent on a man conveys much more than that one is dependent on people and things outside oneself (i.e., codependent). Moreover, women are often misperceived as dependent simply because they talk about relationships more than men do (Miller, 1986). Similarly, emotional dependence

signals much more than being in a nonmutual, inauthentic relationship where connection cannot be established. Intimacy and connection in romantic relationships are fundamental and legitimate needs for women and seeking this connection does not mean that one is emotionally dependent on men. Instead, emotional dependence on men indicates a desperate belief that one cannot live without a man, happiness is impossible without a man, and other extreme, despairing beliefs.

The positive relationship between emotional dependence and loss of self suggests that emotional dependence is a key element in loss of self. The expectation that there would be a positive relationship between emotional dependence on men and loss of self that would stay the same for each ethnic group was confirmed. For Latinas, African American and Caucasian women, higher levels of emotional dependence on men are associated with higher levels of loss of self. No ethnic group was more emotionally dependent than another. Teaching girls that happiness is not conditional upon being in a relationship with a man and encouraging the development of other interests and talents is important.

Latinas

The expectation that Latinas would have the highest mean scores on emotional dependence on men, African American women would have the lowest mean scores and Caucasian women's mean scores would fall between the two groups, was

not supported. This was surprising given the emphasis for Latinas to deny their needs in order to keep the family intact, even in the face of abuse, lack of happiness and unsuccessful marriage (Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994). However, Comas-Diaz and Greene point out that there is a tendency to pathologize Latino families simply because of traditional values. Comas-Diaz and Greene note Cromwell and Ruiz's (1979) findings that the notion of male dominance in marital decision-making is a myth. However, Comas-Diaz and Greene accede that some elements of the assignment of traditional gender roles to men and women in any culture may become problematic in a dynamic, changing society. In addition to the assignment of gender roles within the family, the strong familistic orientation, noted by Ramirez and Arce (1981) should be considered. The existence of a highly integrated kinship system may buffer against the effects of racism and bolster self-esteem and ethnic identity. Thus, the findings that Latinas did not have the highest mean scores on emotional dependence on men and loss of self may reflect a tendency to stereotype or pathologize Latino culture because of its traditional, familistic orientation.

Part of this tendency to stereotype Latino culture is perpetuated by art, literature and the media, which both reflect and create societal truths and cultural consciousness. As Castañeda (1996) noted, the most

provocative work on Latina sexuality is found in art, literature and poetry. A common theme in this work is the mythical portrayal of Latinas as either over-sexualized or unsexual beings. The notion of "vergüenza" or that women should be embarrassed about their bodies and not know about sexuality effectively silences women; without cultural permission for women to know about their bodies and sexuality, women are forced to assimilate the restrictive ideals of the sexy senorita or unsexual mother. Art, poetry, literature and the media articulate these stereotypical ideals and affirm the historical repression of Latinas.

While these stereotypical ideals of Latinas are prominent themes in our culture, they misrepresent and underestimate the strength of Latinas. Casteñeda points out that while there is no question that patriarchy and gender oppression exist in Latino families and societies, heterogeneity is also prominent within this group. Casteñeda cites the work of Hurtado, Hayes-Bautista, Burciaga-Valdez and Hernandez and their conclusion that both Latinas and Latinos reject a solely male-dominated family structure where a wife complies with all of the husband's wishes, husbands make all of the important decisions and only girls do housework. To capture the heterogeneity that exists within Latino culture, an analysis of class, urban-rural, region and generational differences and how these

factors impinge on gender roles within Latino families should be included.

In this regard, the sample limitation of Latina college students is important. The finding that ethnic identity was negatively correlated with emotional dependence on men and loss of self may be recognized and interpreted in the context of the college educated sample; students may still identify and celebrate the positive aspects of their Latin American heritage while rejecting the traditional aspects of the female gender role which they have overcome through education. Thus, identifying highly with one's culture may not mean endorsing all of its beliefs and practices (e.g., the emphasis on traditional gender roles, the prevalence of which has been challenged). Latina college students may be in a period of redefinition in which they are creating new roles and identities for themselves in relation to their male partners and families while redefining what their ethnic identity means. On the other hand, a group of less acculturated and less educated Latinas may also identify and celebrate their culture while affirming more traditional gender roles and beliefs. Phinney (1991) notes that the components of ethnic identity vary independently. Someone may identify with a group and have generally positive feelings about it but exhibit few specific ethnic behaviors associated with that group. On the other hand, one may be very involved in the language and culture of the group but

have negative feelings about the group or being a group member.

Additionally, that higher degrees of ethnic identity significantly predicted loss of self while lower degrees of ethnic identity did not implies that lower degrees of ethnic identity do not predict loss of self for Latinas and African American women. Thus, because Latinas and African American women identify less with their ethnic heritage does not necessarily mean that they are more likely to censor self-expression, judge themselves according to external standards and put their partner's needs above their own. On the other hand, ethnic identity's negative correlation with emotional dependence on men and loss of self indicates that there is a relationship among these variables. This relationship is likely complex and possibly affected by a third or fourth variable.

African American Women

While the relational strengths of Latinas were underestimated, the relational strengths of African American women were affirmed. The hypothesis that African American women would have lower mean scores on emotional dependence on men and loss of self than Caucasian women was supported. Considering that emotional dependence on men reflects a sense of desperate dependence and not codependence or merely being in a relationship where authentic connection cannot be made, the romantic relationships of African American women

may be characterized more by a sense of interdependence. Or, on the other hand, lower levels of emotional dependence on men and loss of self may reflect the encouragement to be strong, self-sufficient and to work outside of the workplace. As noted, African American women were exempt from the observance of traditional gender roles and worked in fields alongside African American males under slavery. Being socialized to be less economically dependent on men may contribute to lower levels of emotional dependence on men and the tendency to judge oneself according to external standards and put their partner's needs above their own less than do Caucasian women. Thus the emphasis on being vocal, strong and self-sufficient likely buffers against loss of self for African American women.

While the finding that ethnic identity in addition to emotional dependence on men was a significant predictor of loss of self supports the importance of ethnic identity in buffering against loss of self, there are additional explanations. In a study by Phinney (1991) of 417 high school and 136 college students, significant correlations were obtained between high ethnic identity scores on the MEIM and the Rosenberg self-esteem scale for the minority participants, but not for the Caucasian participants. Phinney points out that this result supports the point that the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem is not likely to hold for those for whom ethnicity is not

salient, as is generally the case for Caucasian students. Thus, high self-esteem, which is positively correlated with ethnic identity, may be predicting low levels of loss of self, and not ethnic identity. More likely, the relationship is complex and a combination of the variables affects the negative correlation between ethnic identity and loss of self. As Phinney points out, even where a relationship has been demonstrated, the direction of effect is not clear.

Caucasian Women

The finding that low levels of ethnic identity did not predict loss of self supported the fourth hypothesis that ethnic identity would not be a salient attribute for Caucasian women and thus would not predict loss of self. This is congruent with Phinney's (1991) finding that ethnic identity is not correlated with self-esteem in Caucasian students. This point is reinforced by Phinney's finding that, in the high school sample, Caucasian students were a small minority (i.e., 12 out of 417) and for these students for whom ethnicity is likely to be salient, ethnic identity scores were significantly related to self-esteem.

The nonsignificance of ethnic identity as a predictor of loss of self for Caucasian women suggests that this construct does not capture the cultural expectations that Caucasian women assimilate. It can be reasoned that gender schemas are constructed as women assimilate the cultural

expectations they encounter. Jack (1992) reports that it is the image of the "ideal" self-schema that women measure their actual selves against and attempt to conform to. Similar to this "ideal" self is the ideal of the perfect girl who controls hunger and represses anger, that Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan (1997) note is a dominant image for middle-class Caucasian girls. Because the commodification of women's bodies by the media and advertisers and the idealization of attributes that conform to masculine standards are widespread (Kaschak, 1992), a measure that more accurately captured these physical ideals may have predicted loss of self. Specifically, the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (OBCS; McKinley & Hyde, 1996) which measures behaviors and attitudes argued to contribute to women's negative body experience, may accurately reflect the cultural expectations Caucasian women assimilate more than a measure of ethnic identity.

The final finding that both emotional dependence on men and ethnic identity predicted loss of self in a regression analysis of Latinas, Caucasian and African American women combined, most likely reflects the effect of ethnic identity on loss of self for African American women. Thus, the effect was carried into the large sample regression and should not be interpreted as a predictor for Latinas and Caucasian women.

New Directions for Future Research

The negative relationship between ethnic identity and emotional dependence on men and ethnic identity and loss of self should be examined in a context that considers the multidimensionality of ethnic identity as a construct in a sample more representative of the population. By studying the five components identified by Phinney (1991) (i.e., self-identification as a group member, attitudes and evaluations relative to one's group, attitudes about oneself as a group member, extent of ethnic knowledge and commitment and ethnic behaviors and practices) in a community sample, one can begin to consider to what degree each may vary with emotional dependence on men, loss of self and self-esteem in women. In addition, a measure that captures the cultural expectations that Caucasian women assimilate (e.g., the OBCS, McKinley & Hyde, 1996) may reveal new mechanisms that buffer against loss of self in Caucasian women.

Recognizing that living and development take place within relationships and that our theories of development have historically rested on a notion of development as a process of separating from others and not as a dynamic interaction found only in relationships with others is essential. As Miller (1986) affirms, by studying women's lives we can begin to gain a greater understanding of growth-enhancing interactions and realize fully the relational strengths of women.

Appendix A: Informed Consent

Relationships and Sense of Self

This study investigates women's relationships and sense of self as well as ethnic identity and is being conducted by Marla Berry under the supervision of Dr. Gloria Cowan, professor of psychology. This study has been approved by the Psychology Department Human Subjects Review Board, California State University San Bernardino.

In this study you will answer a series of questions assessing background information, ethnic group membership and relationships with women and with men. Participation will involve approximately 20 minutes.

Please do not put your name anywhere on the questionnaire. All data will be reported in group form only and **anonymity will be maintained at all times**. Your participation is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time during this study without penalty. You are free not to answer any questions that are offensive; however, your data may not be able to be included in the results if certain questions are omitted. There are no foreseeable risks to you as a result of participating in this study. Therefore, we hope that you will complete the questionnaire to the best of your ability so that your data may be used. Please do not share the questionnaire and your responses with anyone else. Any questions about this study or your participation in the research may be directed to Dr. Gloria Cowan (909) 880-5575.

Check the box at the bottom of this page if you give your consent to the use of your data in this study and if you are at least 18 years of age.

I am at least 18 years old and freely consent to participate and give consent to the use of my data in this study.

Appendix B: Demographic Sheet

The following information is necessary for statistical purposes. Please answer all of the questions accordingly. **Do not** put your name on any of the pages in order to ensure anonymity.

1. Gender: female male
2. My ethnicity is:
 - Black or African American
 - Hispanic or Latina
 - White, Caucasian, European
 - Asian/Pacific Islander
 - American Indian
 - Other (write in): _____
3. Sexual Orientation:
 - heterosexual
 - gay/lesbian
 - bisexual
4. I am currently in a romantic relationship with a male: yes
 no
5. Age: _____

This questionnaire contains a variety of attitude statements. You will probably agree with some statements and disagree with others. First impressions are usually the best in such matters. Read each statement carefully and circle the number that best describes your opinion.

Also please note that the range of possible responses vary with each scale; on the relationship scale "1" indicates you strongly disagree with the statement and "7" indicates you strongly agree with the statement. However, on the feelings about self in relationship scale, a "1" indicates you strongly disagree with the statement while a "5" indicates you strongly agree; thus, responses may range from "1" to "5."

If you find that the numbers to be used in answering do not adequately indicate your own opinion, use the one closest to the way you feel. Thank you for your participation.

Appendix C: Emotional Dependence on Men (EDOM)

Please circle the number that best describes how you feel about each of the statements.

Please try to answer every question.

If you **strongly disagree** with the statement, circle the lowest number.

If you feel **undecided** or neutral (you don't agree or disagree), circle the middle number.

If you **strongly agree** with the statement, circle the highest number.

Relationship Scale

	Strongly Disagree				Undecided			Strongly Agree
1. I like a man to be protective of me.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2. I like to be able to lean on a man.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3. It would be wonderful to have a man make decisions for me that I consider to be major and/or difficult.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4. If for some reason the man in my life cannot attend a social function with me, I am just as comfortable and happy to go by myself.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5. I like a man to feel that he can't live without me.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6. An ideal relationship exists when the man and woman mean everything to each other.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7. Experiencing something such as a sunrise is just as moving for me without a man beside me as it would be if he was there.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8. I am/would be quite contented to remain single throughout my life....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
9. Women without a man in their life can be complete within themselves.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10. I feel empty if/when the man in my life isn't with me.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
11. My life has a sense of purpose whether or not I have a man to share it with.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
12. It's important to me to have a man in my life who cares about me above all women.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
13. It is possible for me to feel like a complete person without having a man in my life.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

	Strongly Disagree			Undecided			Strongly Agree
14. Ideally, the man in my life would want to take care of and look after me.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Without a man in my life, I am/would be like a jigsaw puzzle with a piece missing.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Having a man in my life is enjoyable, but not essential to my happiness.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Having a man with me when I'm out makes me feel more secure than when I'm alone.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. It is important to me to have a man in my life who I feel is mine...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. I do not like a man to be possessive of me.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. I like to fight my own battles, even if the man in my life is with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix D: Silencing the Self Scale (STSS)

Feelings About Self in Relationships Scale

	Strongly Disagree		Undecided		Strongly Agree
1. I think it is best to put myself first in a relationship because no one else will look out for me.....	1	2	3	4	5
2. I don't speak my feelings in an intimate relationship when I know they will cause disagreement.....	1	2	3	4	5
3. Caring means putting the other person's needs in front of my own.....	1	2	3	4	5
4. Considering my needs to be as important as those of the people I love is selfish.....	1	2	3	4	5
5. I find it is harder to be myself when I am in a close relationship than when I am on my own.....	1	2	3	4	5
6. I tend to judge myself by how I think other people see me.....	1	2	3	4	5
7. I feel dissatisfied with myself because I should be able to do all the things people are supposed to be able to do these days.....	1	2	3	4	5
8. When my partner's needs and feelings conflict with my own, I always state mine clearly.....	1	2	3	4	5
9. In a close relationship, my responsibility is to make the other person happy.....	1	2	3	4	5
10. Caring means choosing to do what the other person wants, even when I want to do something different.....	1	2	3	4	5
11. In order to feel good about myself, I need to feel independent and self-sufficient.....	1	2	3	4	5
12. One of the worst things I can do is to be selfish.....	1	2	3	4	5
13. I feel I have to act in a certain way to please my partner.....	1	2	3	4	5
14. Instead of risking confrontations in close relationships, I would rather not rock the boat.....	1	2	3	4	5
15. I speak my feelings with my partner, even when it leads to problems or disagreements.....	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree		Undecided		Strongly Agree
16. Often I look happy enough on the outside, but inwardly I feel angry and rebellious.....	1	2	3	4	5
17. In order for my partner to love me, I cannot reveal certain things about myself to him.....	1	2	3	4	5
18. When my partner's needs or opinions conflict with mine, rather than asserting my own point of view I usually end up agreeing with him...	1	2	3	4	5
19. When I am in a close relationship I lose my sense of who I am.....	1	2	3	4	5
20. When it looks as though certain of my needs can't be met in a relationship, I usually realize that they weren't very important anyway.....	1	2	3	4	5
21. My partner loves and appreciates me for who I am.....	1	2	3	4	5
22. Doing things just for myself is selfish.....	1	2	3	4	5
23. When I make decisions, other people's thoughts and opinions influence me more than my own thoughts and opinions.....	1	2	3	4	5
24. I rarely express my anger at those close to me.....	1	2	3	4	5
25. I feel that my partner does not know my real self.....	1	2	3	4	5
26. I think it's better to keep my feelings to myself when they do conflict with my partner's.....	1	2	3	4	5
27. I often feel responsible for other people's feelings.....	1	2	3	4	5
28. I find it hard to know what I think and feel because I spend a lot of time thinking about how other people are feeling.....	1	2	3	4	5
29. In a close relationship I don't usually care what we do, as long as the other person is happy.....	1	2	3	4	5
30. I try to bury my feelings when I think they will cause trouble in my close relationship(s).....	1	2	3	4	5
31. I never seem to measure up to the standards I set for myself.....	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix E: The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)

Attitudes About Ethnicity Scale

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions and customs.....	1	2	3	4
2. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.	1	2	3	4
3. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.....	1	2	3	4
4. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.....	1	2	3	4
5. I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.....	1	2	3	4
6. I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.....	1	2	3	4
7. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.....	1	2	3	4
8. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own ethnic group and other groups.....	1	2	3	4
9. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.....	1	2	3	4
10. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.....	1	2	3	4
11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.....	1	2	3	4
12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.....	1	2	3	4

Appendix F: Debriefing

Debriefing

Thank you for participating in this study. The purpose of this study is to examine a diverse sample of women and their feelings and attitudes about their relationships with women and with men and also their ethnic identity.

If you have further questions regarding this study, please call Dr. Gloria Cowan at (909) 880-5575. If you experience feelings that you are uncomfortable with and would like to discuss them with someone else, you may contact the California State University Counseling Center at (909) 880-5040.

Results of this study will be available at the end of spring quarter, 1999. You may call Dr. Gloria Cowan at that time to get a copy of the results or visit her office in Jack Brown Hall 557.

If you find it more convenient, you may return this completed questionnaire to the Psychology Advising Center (P.A.C.) in JB 105 and receive a credit slip upon its return.

Please do not reveal the nature of the study to other potential participants. Thank you for participating.

You may remove and keep this copy.

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