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# Locus of control, social activism, and sex roles in Puerto Rican college and non-college individuals.

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LOCUS OF CONTROL, SOCIAL ACTIVISM AND SEX ROLES  
IN PUERTO RICAN COLLEGE AND NON-COLLEGE INDIVIDUALS

A Thesis Presented

By

JULIA MERCEDES RAMOS-MCKAY

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment  
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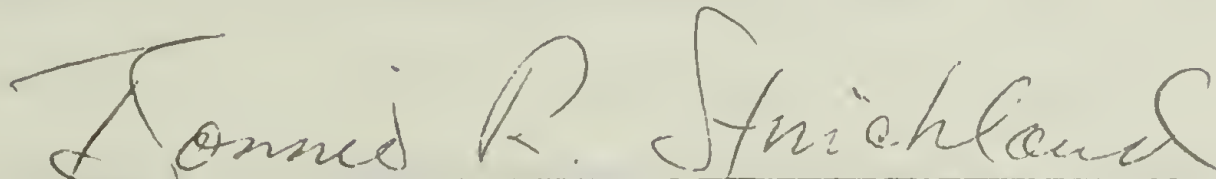
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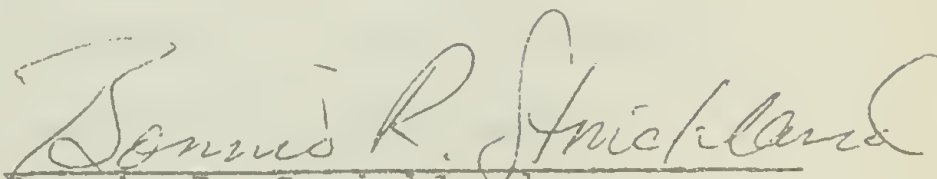
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Abstract

Puerto Rican male (n = 37) and female (n = 32) college and non-college individuals were compared on three variables: 1) Locus of Control, 2) Social Activism, and 3) Sex Roles. Ss were asked to fill out a questionnaire consisting of a personal data blank, the Rotter Internal-External Scale, the Gurin et al. Scale, the Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS), and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ). Simple comparisons were performed with the data from each of the scales in order to test the hypotheses. For locus of control, no significant differences were found with the Rotter Scale data on any of the comparisons. With the Gurin et al. Scale, all the hypotheses were supported. Chi squares were computed to determine if there were any significant differences on the four factors of the scale for two comparisons, College/Non-College and Activist/Non-Activist. The variable of social activism emerged as a key factor in predicting externality on this scale. Not all the hypotheses generated for the AWS and PAQ were supported. Specifically, on the AWS, college women were found to be significantly more liberal than college males and non-college males and females. This liberal attitude, however, did not result in a significantly more liberal sex-role self-concept for college women. Three additional variables, Color of Skin, Socio-Economic Level (SEL), and Year in School, were suspected of being pos-

sible sources of undesired variability. Separate analyses were performed for these variables resulting in some significant effects. The implications of the results for Puerto Ricans, in terms of the culture and mainland experiences, were discussed.

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## C H A P T E R I

### Introduction

In spite of considerable research on different cultural groups, almost no research has been carried out with Puerto Rican individuals and, more specifically, Puerto Rican college students. One reason for this may be the fact that very few young Puerto Ricans make it through high school and into colleges and universities; the drop-out rate from high school hovers between 70-80% in many of the urban areas in the United States mainland (Lucas, 1971; Seda Bonilla, 1972). The reasons for such a high drop-out rate are now being examined in greater detail by educators in some of the major eastern cities (Universidad Boricua, 1975).

Another possible reason for this dearth in the psychological literature may be that the Puerto Ricans as a group are relative newcomers to the United States mainland, only arriving here in any great numbers after 1940 when the agricultural base of the Puerto Rican economy began to deteriorate (Maldonado-Denis, 1972).

At present, the number of Puerto Ricans going on to higher education is definitely increasing (although the numbers are still extremely low). It has become important, therefore, to take a more detailed look at these individuals in order to determine in what ways college life, alienation, oppression and other sociological factors may be influencing

their lives within the environment of higher education institutions.

The present study is an investigation of the possible effects of an involvement in the current socio-political ethnic minority movement, not only within the university but also outside this setting. The involvement of Black individuals in this movement has been examined to some extent in books (Marx, 1967), studies (Forward & Williams, 1973), music and art. Participation by Puerto Ricans in this same movement, however, has not been similarly explored. This may be because they have played the role of follower rather than that of leader; and perhaps because the "system" (university administrators, city government, etc.) tends to lump the Puerto Rican into the catch-all category of "minority" where they can, for various reasons such as language and cultural differences, get lost in the shuffle (the 1970 U.S. census did not count Puerto Ricans but did count Blacks).

Also of interest to the present study will be the existing attitudes, within the Puerto Rican community, toward the role of women and whether sex-role self-concepts reflect these attitudes.

### Cultural Background

In speaking of the migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland, Maldonado-Denis (1972) states:

This mass emigration is a forced emigration in the greatest number of cases. Due both to the high degree of unemployment and to the colonial government's encouragement of emigration, the country's poorest inhabitants are forced by circumstances to submit to an even worse ordeal in a society which scorns them (p. 161).

These migrants who come from predominantly rural areas of the island, find themselves living in slums, or ghettos, in large cities where they are cut off from the ties and manner of communication which were a "means of orientation in the countryside of Puerto Rico. "The result," according to Maldonado-Denis, "is the phenomenon of alienation: a feeling of impotence and fatalism in the face of the surrounding world" (p. 161).

This fatalism, however, does not develop on the mainland. On the island itself, from the moment of birth, the Puerto Rican is indoctrinated in religious beliefs that tend to take the responsibility for life and actions away from him/her. A person is considered to be dangerously tempting fate if plans are made and the phrase "si Dios quiere"<sup>1</sup> is not added at the end of the sentence. Directly connected to this custom (and perhaps because of it) is the "'ay, bendito'<sup>2</sup> complex" (Wagenheim, 1970). This phrase is uttered whenever a problem or catastrophe occurs in the face of which the in-

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<sup>1</sup>God willing.

<sup>2</sup>"'Ay, bendito" is a shortened form of "Bendito sea Dios" (Blessed be the Lord), but actually closer to "Ah, woe is me."

dividual sees him/herself as being powerless. Since the responsibility for the working out of plans or the attainment of desires is given over to God to begin with, the outcome, good or bad, is likewise ascribed to Him. The individual, therefore, may feel like a pawn in a chess game, unable to direct her own life or assert his independence.

In Puerto Rico, as in other Latin American countries, the concept of "personalismo"<sup>3</sup> (Fitzpatrick, 1971) exerts a strong influence in the world view of the Puerto Rican individual. Personalismo, individualism focussing on the inner importance of the person, is markedly different from the individualism of the United States, where the individual is valued according to his/her ability to compete for higher social and economic status. In Puerto Rico, these values are seen as too materialistic and more attention is given to the inner qualities which make up the uniqueness of the individual, and also his/her goodness or worth in him/herself. Personalismo, however, is also other-dependent. Because of the relatively low rate of mobility<sup>4</sup> from one class to another,

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<sup>3</sup>personalism.

<sup>4</sup>Mobility from lower to middle class has now become easier for Puerto Ricans, due primarily to the American system of credit, with the result that those who do move up end up heavily in debt. However, an attempt to go against what destiny has ordained (i.e., poverty) often creates an identity crisis in the individual when s/he can no longer claim the class system s/he was born into in order to establish behavior patterns and expectations (See also, Seda Bonilla's third chapter "El Problema de la Identidad en una Cultura en Crisis", 1974).

which has existed up to now, the individual defines his/her values according to the qualities and behaviors regarded as good or respected in the social position s/he was born into. Doing what s/he was expected to do, therefore, brought a sense of dignity (dignidad) and respect (respeto), two qualities about which Puerto Ricans are very sensitive. It is destiny, however, which ordains which class one will be born into and, therefore, which social position one's actions will be controlled by. The phrase "lo que mande el destino"<sup>5</sup> is frequently heard in Puerto Rican speech and this attitude frequently leads to the acceptance of many events as unavoidable, but also mitigates whatever personal guilt there may be for failure.

When s/he arrives on the mainland, the Puerto Rican is confronted with prejudice, hatred, unemployment, as well as other difficulties. S/he, therefore, clings to his/her culture in order to survive. The fatalism that has been woven into every facet of his/her culture becomes stronger as the individual becomes more powerless in this new and alien society.

Another aspect of Puerto Rican culture is the concept of machismo. This aspect, however, is not peculiar only to Puerto Rico since it exists in many other cultures as well. A "Macho" (virile man) has to present a facade of bravery,

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<sup>5</sup>What destiny dictates.

calmness, self-possession and masculinity. Very often, machismo is associated with sexual prowess and a "notches on the belt" attitude towards the conquering of women. The Puerto Rican man is generally accepted to be the superior authority in the home. He can make decisions without consulting his wife and expects obedience when he issues a command. The Puerto Rican woman, however, is expected to submit to the will of her husband, boyfriend, father or brother. In a study by Seda Bonilla (1973) of an agrarian reform community in Puerto Rico, he found that of the 200 respondents surveyed, 66% expected the ideal wife to be faithful in marriage; 57% indicated that a wife should not go out of the home without her husband's permission; 30%--that a wife should stay home and keep the house clean; 52%--that she should have her husband's food and clothes ready and well prepared; and 14% did not think it proper for women to have male friends outside of the family. With growing middle-class values and the influence of the women's movement on the mainland, however, it is inevitable that the role of the Puerto Rican woman will undergo a change. To what extent this has occurred now is difficult to determine since no literature is being generated concerning attitudes towards women and sex roles in the Puerto Rican population on the mainland. The second part of the present study, therefore, will attempt to measure attitudes and sex-role self-concepts within the Puerto Rican college and non-college populations.



### Locus of Control and Social Activism

The above discussion of fatalism in the Puerto Rican culture indicates that the Puerto Rican individuals see their lives as being influenced by powerful others who are beyond their control. This orientation has been defined by Rotter (1966) as an external orientation in which the individual perceives an event as being due to luck, fate, chance, and the influence of powerful others. At the other end of the continuum is the internal individual who feels that an event is contingent upon his/her own behavior or characteristics. Rotter's (1966) and other researchers' (Lefcourt, 1966, 1972, 1976; Phares, 1965, 1968, 1976) work has firmly established the concept of locus of control within the field of psychology. Up to the present, such aspects as powerlessness, level of aspiration, and social class (among many others) have been examined in light of the internal-external (IE) control theory. Of special interest to the present study are those studies which have researched socio-political involvement and IE.

A study on social activism was conducted by Gore and Rotter (1963) in which it was hypothesized that social action behavior could be predicted from a generalized attitude of internal vs. external control of reinforcement. Results supported this hypothesis. Those individuals who saw themselves as determining their own fate tended to commit themselves to more personal and decisive social action.

In a refinement of the Gore and Rotter study, Strickland (1965) assessed Black individuals who were actually participating in social action as opposed to merely indicating a commitment to social action. The results of this study supported those of the Gore and Rotter study. Individuals involved in social action were more internal in their feelings of personal control than individuals who were not involved. Escoffery (1968), on the other hand, found a significant relationship between internal control and participation in civil rights organizations, but no relationship between internal control and participation in civil rights activities.

By contrast, Sank and Strickland (1973) looked at militant and moderate Negro males involved in social action movements and found that militant Black males were more likely to be external than moderate Black males. The conflicting evidence from the Sank and Strickland study might be explained in terms of the shift in attitudes of some of the Black civil rights workers from a moderate attitude of patience and determination acceptable to the majority, to one of demanding, and forcing issues less acceptable to the majority. As some Blacks moved toward this militant end of the continuum, the concept of IE as measured by the Rotter Scale (1966), a product of the majority culture, was no longer applicable. Its previous applicability to Blacks very likely was based on the fact that, at that period of time, most Blacks involved in social change were still operating within the majority frame-

work. This framework stressed individual striving, educational preparation, patience, etc. Militant Blacks, however, challenged this framework and have discovered that, no matter how hard they work within the system, they can make little, if any, progress economically and personally. Militants attribute this, not to their own personal failure, but to the system. This attribution of blame for one's condition, however, is measured by the IE Scale as being an external orientation.

The work of Gurin, Gurin, Lao and Beattie (1969) began to shed some light on the limitations of the concept of IE as applied to Black populations today. In their work, Gurin et al. supported the point of view that an internal orientation can be damaging to minority individuals if it involves excessive self or group blame. With this in mind, they constructed a composite scale which included Rotter's original items, items from the Personal Efficacy Scale and new items specifically written for their study. Their results led to the suggestion that, in order for the concept of IE to capture the personal level, the questions asked of Blacks would have to be put in personal rather than general cultural terms. They, therefore, wrote specific items which would measure beliefs about the role of external and personal forces in the race situation. Their results show that, in reference to Blacks and the causes to which they attribute their conditions, it is the external and not the internal

orientation which is related to more effective behaviors. An internal orientation which implies self-blame involves the acceptance of traditional restraints that have been put upon Blacks' behavior. In relation to Gurin et al.'s work, in a study of ghetto rioters, Paige (1968) demonstrated that rioting was associated with a rejection of this self-blame.

Forward and Williams (1973) have a unique opportunity to test some of the predictions made by the locus of control theory during the 1967 Detroit riot. A year before the riot, Epps (1969) had collected a large amount of data on academic achievement in Detroit. Included in this data were questions pertaining to background, future educational and occupational aspirations, and family. Also used in the study were several personality and attitudinal scales including the Rotter and Gurin et al. IE scales. Five days after the start of the riot in July, 1967, Black interviewers went into the riot area and contacted students and former students from the Epps study who went to one of the high schools located in the riot area. The interviews concentrated mostly on the students' perception of the riot and, at this time, the Gurin et al. IE scale was administered for the second time to the individuals participating in the study. This was the only measure which was administered both before and after the riot. New measures, such as Coleman's Personal Efficacy Scale (1966), Epps' Alienation and Fear of Success (1969), the Criticism of Education Index (Moore & Holtzman, 1965), and measures to

test the blocked-opportunity theory<sup>6</sup> (Caplan & Paige, 1968) and the alienation-powerlessness theory<sup>7</sup> (Ransford, 1968) were also administered.

In their analysis of the data, Forward and Williams divided the Rotter IE Scale into two factors: a personal control factor including all first-person items, and a control ideology factor including most of the items having a third person referent. The results indicated that those individuals who were most supportive of the riot had the highest scores for personal control; those reacting negatively had the lowest scores. There were no differences found among riot attitude groups for scores on the control ideology items. There were also no significant differences found for the total Rotter Scale. Forward and Williams interpreted the results for personal control as supporting the prediction of the blocked-opportunity theory and refuting the prediction of the alienation-powerlessness theory.

Keeping in mind that an internal score on the Gurin et al. Scale indicates a tendency to attribute the blame to oneself for one's condition rather than to outside factors, Forward and Williams concluded, from a comparison of the two

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<sup>6</sup>The blocked-opportunity theory predicts that militants are highly motivated in terms of advancing themselves within the system.

<sup>7</sup>The alienation-powerlessness theory predicts that militants lack the motivation for advancement and are objectively and subjectively outside of the larger social system.

administrations of this scale, that the riot increased the degree to which young Black militants blamed external sources for their condition, and that it had the opposite effect on non-militants who tended to blame themselves even more than before.

In discussing their results, Forward and Williams make the following statement:

The young militants, male or female, no longer accept the fatalistic stereotype that their ghetto existence is a result of their own inherent weaknesses or inability to improve themselves. Compared with non-militants, the riot supporters have very strong beliefs in their ability to control events in their own lives and to shape their own future. However, this radically new sense of self-efficacy in militants is juxtaposed with an increasingly realistic perception of those external barriers of discrimination, prejudice, and exploitation which block any chance of actualizing their capabilities and of realizing their aspirations (p. 157).

Finally, a study by Garza and Ames (1974) comparing Anglo- and Mexican-American college students on locus of control found that Mexican-American college students scored significantly less external on the Rotter IE Scale than the Anglo-American students. Two other findings were also of interest: the Mexican-American students scored significantly less external than Anglo-Americans on the luck and fate dimensions, and on the respect dimension. Garza and Ames conclude that the results can be explained in terms of the cultural values of Mexican-Americans which suggest a belief in

an internal locus of control: a family-centered orientation, and continued resistance against giving up their culture and heritage. These results, then, seem to be in opposition to the prevailing assumption that, due to their cultural background, Mexican-Americans are fatalistic in outlook (Cabrera, 1964). The fact that the subjects in this study were college students, however, may in part account for these results in light of the results of a study by Franklin (1963) which showed that students who intended to go on to college were significantly more internal than those who did not. Thus, Mexican-American college students may be more internally oriented than the general Mexican-American population. Furthermore, given the existence of prejudice and discrimination which often creates stumbling blocks for those Mexican-American individuals wishing to go on to college, Mexican-Americans who succeed in doing so may have developed an even more internal orientation than other Mexican-Americans.

From the studies reviewed above, it can be seen, then, that Rotter's IE Scale when used with minority individuals, does not measure certain aspects which make up the reality of these individuals' lives. The Gurin et al. Scale appears to be more sensitive to these factors.

#### Attitudes toward Women and Sex Roles

As stated before, sex-role attitudes may be changing within the Puerto Rican culture. To what degree, however,

is impossible to ascertain since little literature has been generated in this area. The second section of this study, therefore, will attempt, in a somewhat general way, to determine the degree to which the machismo concept exists within the college and non-college Puerto Rican populations.

A number of studies on socialization and sex-roles (Barry, Baton, & Child, 1957; Fernberger, 1948; Hartley, 1964) have been conducted with non-Puerto Rican populations which have firmly established the existence of sex-role stereotypes. More recently, Ellis and Bentler (1973) conducted a study on traditional sex-determined role standards and sex stereotypes with college students which found that "the greater the difference between males' self-perceptions and their perceptions of females, the more they favored traditional sex-role standards. Similarly, the more the females' self-perceptions differed from their perceptions of males, the more females favored traditional sex-role standards" (p. 31). One surprising results was that the difference between self- and same sex-perceptions was not related to approval of traditional sex-role standards for either males or females. This suggests that the opposite sex, and not the same sex, serves as a primary frame of reference for the person's self-concept. In other words, "masculinity" may be defined as being "unlike females" and not "like males," while "femininity" may be defined as being "unlike males" and not "like females." The fact that Puerto Rican male-female roles have been, up to



now, so rigidly maintained may be explained in light of the above results: the role of the male very much depends upon its being different from the role of the female.

Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975) investigated college students' ratings of self and peers on sex-role attributes, their relation to self-esteem and conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Using the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974), a scale consisting of 55 bipolar attributes which were drawn from the Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) Sex Role Stereotype Questionnaire, Ss were asked to rate themselves and to directly compare the typical male and female college student. Low magnitude correlations resulted between self-ratings, stereotype scores and the Attitudes toward Women Scale (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973), which suggest that sex-role expectations do not distort self-concepts. For men as well as women "femininity" on female-valued self items and "masculinity" on male-valued items correlated positively and were significantly related to self-esteem. The results of the self-esteem measure supported the desirability of possessing a high degree of both femininity and masculinity--or androgyny. The least desirable state of affairs was a low degree of both masculinity and femininity.

Although the present study will not concern itself specifically with sex-role stereotyping within the Puerto Rican population, it will attempt to establish, as a base for further study, what attitudes toward women and sex-role self-

concepts presently exist within this group.

### Purpose of Study and Hypotheses

In the first section of the present research, the concept of locus of control within Puerto Rican college and non-college populations was studied. The purpose was to determine whether the fatalistic outlook which is apparent in the Puerto Rican culture was related to an external orientation as measured by Rotter's IE Scale. However, given the fact that Puerto Ricans are also faced with racial discrimination at all levels of their lives, the Gurin et al. Scale was also used to measure locus of control in this population.

It was hypothesized that Puerto Rican youths, having been reared in a culture which teaches them that their lives are guided by powerful forces which they cannot control, and given their life experiences in attempting to overcome discrimination, would have significantly higher external scores on the Rotter Scale in comparison to a control population.<sup>8</sup> As stated above, however, college students tend to be more internal than non-college individuals. It was hypothesized, therefore, that Puerto Rican college students would be significantly more internal on the Rotter Scale than Puerto Rican non-college individuals.

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<sup>8</sup>The Gurin et al. Scale was not used with these two groups since its applicability with non-minorities has not been established.

According to the Forward and Williams study, individuals who favor, or participate in, social activism (and/or rioting) evidence greater personal control and self-efficacy than those who do not. It was further hypothesized, therefore, that Puerto Rican activist individuals would score significantly more internal on the Rotter Scale than Puerto Rican non-activists. Also, that Puerto Rican activists would score significantly more adaptively external on the Gurin et al. Scale.

Finally, it was hypothesized that, given the combination of college attendance and social activism, Puerto Rican activist college students would be the more internally oriented on the Rotter Scale, and the most adaptively external on the Gurin et al. Scale. No differences were expected due to sex.

The second section of this study attempted to measure the present attitudes within the Puerto Rican community with regard to sex-roles and, in particular, the role of women. In the research that has been conducted, it appears that college students are more liberal in their attitudes towards the role of women than non-college individuals. It was hypothesized, therefore, the Puerto Rican non-college males would exhibit a significantly more traditional sex-role self-concept and attitude toward the role of women in society than Puerto Rican college males, and that Puerto Rican college women would be significantly more liberal in sex-role self-concept

and attitude toward women than Puerto Rican college and non-college males but not significantly different from Puerto Rican non-college females.

More specifically, the hypotheses for the present study were as follow:

- 1) Puerto Rican college students will obtain significantly higher external scores on the Rotter Scale than a control group of non-Puerto Rican college students.
- 2) Puerto Rican college students will be significantly more internal on the Rotter Scale than Puerto Rican non-college individuals.
- 3) Puerto Rican individuals who are activists, both male and female, college and non-college, will be significantly more internal on the Rotter Scale than similar non-activist individuals, and significantly more adaptively external on the Gurin et al. Scale.
- 4) Puerto Rican, male and female, activist college students will be the most internally oriented of all the groups on the Rotter Scale, and the most adaptively external on the Gurin et al. Scale.
- 5) Puerto Rican non-college males will be significantly more traditional in their sex-role self-concept and attitude toward the role of women in society than Puerto Rican college males.
- 6) Puerto Rican college women will be significantly more liberal in attitude and sex-role self-concept than

Puerto Rican college and non-college males, but not significantly different in attitude and sex-role self-concept from Puerto Rican non-college women.

## C H A P T E R   I I

MethodSubjects

The Ss in the present study were 69 male and female Puerto Rican college and non-college individuals. A college sample of 35 Ss (18 females and 17 males) was drawn from two state universities in the northeastern United States. A non-college sample of 34 Ss (14 females and 20 males) was drawn from an adult skill learning center in the capital city of a New England state. See Table 1 for the age ranges, means and standard deviations within each of the groups.

The subject selection procedure at each university was as follows: 1) In one university, the experimenter (a bilingual Puerto Rican female graduate student) was given permission, by the instructor, to request student participation in an undergraduate introductory psychology class taught in Spanish. Ss were asked to report to the E's office at a pre-arranged time. Each student who participated in the study received extra course credit towards his/her final grade in the class; 2) At the second university, E was given permission, by the acting director, to recruit Ss at the Puerto Rican student organization on campus. The major purpose of this university-funded organization is to promote a greater understanding of Puerto Rican culture within the greater university community. Ss were tested at the headquarters of

Table 1

## Age Ranges, Means and Standard Deviations

	<u>n</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
<u>Non-College</u>				
Female	14	18-32	21.71	8.89
Male	20	18-44	24.10	11.57
<u>College--University 1</u>				
Female	11	19-35	22.73	8.49
Male	4	19-22	20.25	4.74
<u>College--University 2</u>				
Female	7	19-53	26.29	8.69
Male	13	18-45	22.92	9.45
<u>Total Sample</u>	69	18-53	23.00	6.62

this organization in an office provided by the acting director.

For the non-college sample, E was given permission, by the director, to recruit Ss from the English-as-a-second-language classes at an adult skill learning center. Ss participated in the study at the center. The responses of non-Puerto Rican Ss used in the comparison with Puerto Ricans were obtained from an introductory psychology class at a large eastern university and were also used in a separate experiment.

During the recruitment of Puerto Ricans Ss, E found that a smaller than expected number of Puerto Rican individuals were willing to participate in the present study. Although this unfortunate occurrence is not surprising, two possible explanations may be: 1) a lack of previous experiences in experiments, or 2) a wariness of all experiments due to the frequent misconceptions resulting from biases against experimentation. The latter explanation was particularly the case with non-college activists. Many of these individuals were asked to participate in the study but refused to do so without exact knowledge of all the concepts and variables being studied. Since prior knowledge could confound the results, no such explanation could be given and many individuals who were very politically active dropped out of the study. Consequently, the number of Ss in the non-college activist cell is very small ( $n = 6$ ).



## Procedure

During recruitment, Ss were told that the purpose of the study was to investigate various current attitudes and opinions present in today's society. Once the individual agreed to participate, s/he was asked to sign a statement of prior informed consent, as requested by the Psychology Human Subjects Committee (see Appendix A). Following this, the S was interviewed individually by E (see Appendix B for interview format) in his/her dominant language (Spanish/English). The purpose of this interview was to establish whether the S was a social activist or non-activist. Each S who stated s/he had been, or currently was involved in any club, organization, group or individual action, which actively carried out demonstrations, protests, or picketing concerning issues in today's society, was classified as a social activist. Ss not belonging in the past or present, to such organizations, and not engaging in any of the above activities were classified as non-activists. The kinds of activist activities in which the Ss of the present study participated ranged from one-shot demonstrations for specific issues such as rent controls, bilingual education programs and job opportunities, to frequent protest activities and/or more radical behavior such as rioting. Also during the interview, E noted on paper the skin color of the S, the categories being: 1) white, 2) "moreno" (tan color), and 3) black.

At the end of the personal interview, each S was asked

to independently complete a questionnaire (see Appendix C) consisting of four parts: a personal information blank, the Rotter plus Gurin et al. Scales, the AWS and PAQ. After the S completed the experiment, s/he was informed as to the specific purpose of the study: to compare Puerto Rican college and non-college individuals on the variables of sex, education and activism, in order to begin isolating some of the differences between the two groups. The concept of locus of control was also explained.

### Design

In the present study the between-groups variable was Sex (males and females). The within-subjects variables were Education (college and non-college attendance) and Activism (activist and non-activist). Ss were placed in one of eight cells according to how their scores fit into each of the levels of these three variables. See Table 2 for the cell categories and the number of Ss in each cell.

Dependent variables were scores on the various scales and personal and demographic information. An alpha level of .05 was established and separate simple comparisons were performed for the variables Sex, Education and Activism. In addition, there was a suspected possible operation of several other variables, e.g. Color of Skin, Socio-Economic Level (SEL), and Year in School. It was impossible to balance for these as factors in the design; however, some attempt was

Table 2  
Cell Categories and n's

Cell Category	n
Male college activist	9
Male college non-activist	8
Male non-college activist	4
Male-non-college non-activist	16
Female college activist	14
Female college non-activist	4
Female non-college activist	2
Female non-college non-activist	12

made to assess their import by analyzing them separately.

### Measures

A personal data sheet (see questionnaire, Appendix C) was used to collect the data necessary to determine college attendance or non-attendance, year in school, SEL and color of skin. SEL was determined according to Hollingshead and Redlich's (1958) method.

Rotter's (1966) IE Scale (see Appendix C) was the second part of the questionnaire. This instrument is a forced-choice, 29-item measure used to determine whether individuals perceive the events that happen to them as being controlled by external forces or as being a function of their own behavior. For the purposes of the present study, scores were split at the mean. Internal orientation scores were established as ranging from 0 to 11, and the external range was 12 to 23. The Gurin et al. Scale (1968), also a forced-choice scale, was adapted to address itself to "minorities," rather than "Negroes," and was added at the end of the Rotter Scale. Here, scores were split at the mean; those ranging from 0-6 were labelled internal and those ranging from 7-13 were labelled external. The Gurin et al. Scale was also scored, and a posteriori chi squares were computed, for the four factors presented in the Gurin et al. study (1968). Factor I addresses itself specifically to the contrast between individual effort and group action, and measures indi-

vidual-collective action. Factor IV addresses itself to different forms of collective action and the degree of racial militancy is measured. Factor II addresses itself to the degree to which the respondent sees discrimination as being modifiable through social and political action and is called a measure of discrimination modifiability. Factor III, which Gurin et al. considered to be the most relevant to their study, measures the respondent's explanation for the social or economic failure of Negroes (minorities in the present study). It is called a measure of individual-system blame.

The last part of the total questionnaire, in half of the questionnaires, was the Attitude toward Women Scale (AWS) and, in the other half, the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ). This was done in order to test for possible order effects due to presentation sequence. The AWS (Spence, Helmrich, & Stepp, 1973) was used to assess present attitudes toward women held by Puerto Rican male and female individuals. In this scale, Ss are presented with a series of statements concerning the role of women today and are asked to mark their agreement or disagreement on a scale of 1 to 4, with 1 indicating strong agreement; 2, mild agreement; 3, mild disagreement; and 4, strong disagreement. Again, following a mean split, scores between 0 and 37 were categorized as representing a more traditional attitude; scores between 38 and 75 were categorized as representing a more liberal, contemporary attitude.

The PAQ (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974) was, in half of the questionnaires, the fourth part of the questionnaire. The present study does not follow Spence et al.'s (1974) procedure with the PAQ or requesting self- and typical male and female college student ratings. Instead, Ss were asked to rate only themselves, on a scale of 1 to 5, on a number of male-valued and female-valued attributes.<sup>9</sup> Originally, the scoring of this scale calls for the placement of Ss into four categories: 1) High female/High male (androgynous),<sup>10</sup> 2) High female/Low male (traditional femininity), 3) Low female/High male (traditional masculinity), and 4) Low female/Low male (undifferentiated). For the purpose of this study, however, and for ease in analyzing results, female and male scores instead were split at the mean and individual scores were combined to yield one single score. The mean for the present sample on the feminine-valued items was 22 and, for the male-valued items, 17. Scores at, or above these means, therefore, represent an androgynous individual. The combination of these two means yields a total score of 39 and, thus, combined scores of 39 to 64 (the maximum score) were seen, in the present study, as representing a more liberal contemporary self-concept. Scores of 0 to 38 incorporate the other

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<sup>9</sup>The sex-specific items were not used in this study.

<sup>10</sup>In contrast to Bem's (1974) definition, Spence et al. define androgyny as the possession of a high degree of both masculine and feminine characteristics.

three categories (traditional masculinity and femininity, and undifferentiated) and, therefore, were seen as representing a less liberal, more traditional self-concept. A blind scoring system was used on all the scales.

Since it was expected that many of the Ss would be unable to read English, Spanish translations of the Rotter IE Scale (Marin, de Armengol, Goldstein, & Lombana, 1974), the Gurin et al. Scale (Ramos-McKay & Alvarez, 1975), the AWS (Ramos-McKay & Alvarez, 1975), and the PAQ (Ramos-McKay & Alvarez, 1975) were used. The translations of the Gurin et al. Scale, the AWS and the PAQ were validated according to Child's (1968) suggestion that a culturally informed individual independently translate the instruments from Language A (English) to Language B (Spanish) and another individual translate back from Language B to Language A. Discrepancies were discussed and resolved by joint agreement of both translators.

## C H A P T E R   I I I

Results

An initial comparison was made between the two university groups in order to ascertain that there were no differences due to geographic location. There were no significant differences between the two groups and the data were combined for simplicity of analysis. Ranges, means and standard deviations for all the scales appear in Table 3. Because there were no significant differences with the Rotter Scale, no further presentation will be made in the text of results, although means and F values appear in Table 4. A test for order effects with the AWS and the PAQ was also non-significant.

Locus of Control

Analysis of the hypotheses were accomplished by simple comparisons between means. The first comparison to be made, was between Puerto Rican college students and a control group of non-Puerto Rican college students using data generated by the Rotter Scale. Results of this analysis appear in Table 4, along with other comparisons. No significant differences were found between the two groups on scores on the Rotter Scale and, therefore, the null hypothesis could not be rejected.

The second hypothesis to be tested stated that Puerto



Table 3

Range, Mean and Standard Deviation for Each Scale

Source of Scores:	IE	Gurin	AWS	PAQ
Range	4-20	2-13	19-75	8-55
Mean	10.55	7.44	45.03	38.73
S.D.	3.26	2.80	13.37	10.26

Table 4  
Locus of Control<sup>+</sup> Single df Comparisons

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>Rotter Scale<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Gurin et al. Scale</u>		<u>Significance Level</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>F*</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>F**</u>	
Puerto Rican Non-Puerto Rican	10.25 10.50	.1975	----	---	---
College Non-College	10.60 10.21	.2419	8.40 6.44	8.36	<.01
Activist Non-Activist	10.97 10.25	1.09	9.38 6.02	23.90	<.01
College Activ- ist All Other Groups	11.22 10.17	1.32	9.35 7.29	7.12	<.01
College Activ- ist Non-College Activist	11.22 10.00	.6396	9.35 9.50	.0060	N/S
College Non- Activist Non-College Non-Activist	10.25 10.35	0	6.58 5.79	.7001	N/S
Male Female	9.84 11.38	3.67 <sup>2</sup>	7.14 7.78	.91	N/S

<sup>+</sup>Rotter Scale--Internal = 0-11; External = 12-23  
Gurin et al Scale--Internal = 0-6; External = 7-13

<sup>1</sup>As indicated in the text, no comparisons on the Rotter Scale were significant.

\*Error MS was the usual within-cell mean square and is distributed on 61 df. The value was 11.0745.

\*\*Calculated as for the Rotter Scale on 61 df. The value of the error MS was 7.9131.

<sup>2</sup><.10.

Rican college students would be found to be significantly more internal on the Rotter Scale than Puerto Rican non-college individuals. This comparison, however, was also non-significant, and again the null hypothesis could not be rejected.

A similar, a posteriori, comparison for the Gurin et al. Scale data did yield a significant F of 8.36 (df = 1,61;  $p < .01$ ) indicating that college students were significantly more adaptively external than non-college individuals.

The third hypothesis had two parts. In the first part, it was hypothesized that Puerto Rican activists, both male and female, college and non-college, would be significantly more internal on the Rotter Scale. The result, as appears in Table 4, was non-significant. It was in part two, which hypothesized a difference between these two groups on the Gurin et al. Scale, that a significant F of 23.90 (df = 1,61;  $p < .01$ ) was obtained, in the expected direction.

The fourth hypothesis also incorporated the Rotter and Gurin et al. Scales. It was hypothesized that Puerto Rican, male and female, activist college students would be the most internally oriented of all the groups on the Rotter Scale. The result was non-significant and the null hypothesis had to be accepted. Once more, however, for the same hypothesis, significant results were obtained with the Gurin et al. Scale (F = 7.12; df = 1,61;  $p < .01$ ) indicating a significant difference between the activist college students and the other

groups, with the activist college students being more adaptively external.

There appeared, however, to be a somewhat parallel relationship between the college and non-college groups on the variable of activism. An a posteriori comparison between the two means College Activist/Non-college Activist was made which did result in a non-significant F of .0060 ( $df = 1,61$ ;  $p > .25$ ). A similar comparison between the two non-activist groups (College Non-Activist/Non-College Non-Activist) also resulted in a non-significant difference ( $F = .6793$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p > .25$ ). From the results in Table 4 it can be seen that the F values are much larger when activism becomes the relevant variable, rather than education, for the Gurin et al. Scale. There were no significant differences due to sex on either the Rotter or the Gurin et al. Scales, although there was a trend toward significance ( $F = 3.67$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .10$ ) on the Rotter Scale.

In summary, no significant effects were found with the Rotter Scale data. With the Gurin et al. Scale, significance was reached on each of the hypotheses in the expected direction. Two a posteriori tests resulted in no significant differences between the two activist groups, or between the two non-activist groups.

#### Gurin et al. Factors

As previously stated in the Methods section of the pres-

ent study, the questionnaires were also scored according to the four factors presented in the Gurin et al. study. A description of these four factors also appears in the Methods section. The four factors are: 1) Factor I--Individual Collective Action, 2) Factor II--Discrimination Modifiability, 3) Factor III--Individual-System Blame, and 4) Factor IV--Racial Militancy.

Although no hypotheses were generated in the present study concerning these four factors, it was decided, a posteriori, to compute chi squares to test for significant differences. For the College/Non-College groups, the results appear in Table 5. On Factor I, 51% of the College students prefer collective action while 47% of the Non-College individuals indicate an equal preference for both collective and individual action. On Factor II, 69% of the College students believe that discrimination cannot be changed. The Non-College group is split in half between the belief in the modifiability and non-modifiability of discrimination. On Factor III, 54% of the College students blame the system for the social and economic failure of minorities and 41% of the Non-College individuals blame both themselves and the system equally. Finally, on Factor IV, 66% of the College students prefer militant action while 47% of the Non-College group prefer both militant and non-militant action equally.

The chi squares for Factors I and II were non-significant. On Factor III, individual-system blame, a chi square of

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Table 5  
 Frequencies, Percentages, Chi Squares and Levels of  
 Significance for the Four Gurin et al. Factors

Factor	College		Non-college		X <sup>2</sup>	Sig. Level
	f	%	f	%		
Factor I						
Collective Activ- ism Preferred	18	51	9	26.5		
Individual Activ- ism Preferred	9	26	9	26.5		
Both Preferred Equally	8	23	16	47	5.68	N/S <sup>3</sup>
	n = 35		n = 34			
Factor II						
Believe Disc. Can not be Changed	24	69	17	50		
Believe Disc. Can Be Changed	11	31	17	50	2.47	N/S
	n = 35		n = 34			
Factor III						
System Blamed	19	54	8	24		
Self Blamed	6	17	12	35		
Both Blamed Equally	10	29	14	41	7.12	<.05
	n = 35		n = 34			

Table 5 (continued)

Factor IV	College		Non-college		$\chi^2$	Sig. Level
	f	%	f	%		
Militancy Preferred	23	66	9	26.5		
Non-Militancy Preferred	4	11	9	26.5		
Both Preferred Equally	8	23	16	47	10.69	<.01

$3 < .10.$

7.12 (df = 2;  $p < .05$ ) was obtained indicating a significant difference between the two groups. On Factor IV, racial militancy, the chi square was 10.69 (df = 2), significant at the .01 level.

For the Activist/Non-Activist groups, the results appear in Table 6. Here, on Factor I, 53% of the Activists prefer collective action and 38.5% of the Non-Activists prefer both collective and individual action equally. On Factor II, 67% of the Activists and 54% of the Non-Activists believe that discrimination cannot be changed. On Factor III, 70% of the Activists blame the system, 44% and 41% of the Non-Activists blame either themselves or themselves and the system, respectively. Finally, on Factor IV, 86.66% of the Activists prefer militant action while 56.41% of the Non-Activists prefer both militancy and non-militancy equally.

The chi squares for Factors I and II were non-significant. Chi squares for Factor III, individual-system blame, and Factor IV, racial militancy, were both significant at the .001 level, indicating significant differences between the two groups on these factors.

#### Sex Roles and Attitudes toward Women

The second part of this study was carried out in order to generate basic data regarding sex-role self-concepts and attitudes toward women presently existing in the Puerto Rican population.



Table 6

Frequencies, Percentages, Chi Squares, and Levels of Significance for the Four Gurin et al. Factors

Factor I	Activist		Non-Activist		X <sup>2</sup>	Sig. Level
	f	%	f	%		
Collective Action Preferred	16	53	11	28.5		
Individual Action Preferred	5	17	13	33		
Both Preferred Equally	9	30	15	38.5	4.9	N/S <sup>4</sup>
	n = 30		n = 39			
Factor II	f	%	f	%		
Believe Discrimination Cannot Be Changed	20	67	21	54		
Believe Discrimination Can Be Changed	10	33	18	46	1.15	N/S
	n = 30		n = 39			
Factor III	f	%	f	%		
System Blamed	21	70	6	15		
Self Blamed	1	3	17	44		
Both Blamed Equally	8	27	16	41	24.48	.001
	n = 30		n = 39			

Table 6 (continued)

Factor IV	Activist		Non-activist		$\chi^2$	Sig. Level
	f	%	f	%		
Militancy Preferred	26	86.66	6	15.38		
Non-Militancy Preferred	2	6.66	11	28.21		
Both Preferred Equally	2	6.66	22	56.41	34.83	<.001
	n = 30		n = 39			

4 < .10.

The first hypothesis in this section stated that Puerto Rican non-college males would be significantly more traditional in their sex-role self-concept and attitude toward women than Puerto Rican college males. Again, simple comparisons were made with the data generated by the PAQ (sex-role self-concept) and the AWS (attitude toward women). The results appear in Table 7. On the PAQ, a comparison between college and non-college males yielded an F of 6.12 (df = 1, 65) which was significant at the .05 level (see Table 8 for the number of individuals falling in each of the four categories). A similar comparison on the AWS yielded an F of 16.62 (df = 1,65), significant at the .01 level. Both of these results were in the expected direction.

The second hypothesis in this section had two parts. In the first part, it was hypothesized that Puerto Rican college women would be significantly more liberal in attitude and sex-role self-concept than Puerto Rican college and non-college males. The results (see Table 7) on the AWS supported this hypothesis (F = 56.97; df = 1,65; p < .01), but this was not the case on the PAQ (F = .51, df = 1,65; p > .25).

The second part hypothesized that college females would not be significantly different from non-college females in attitude or sex-role self-concept. The results (see Table 7) of these comparisons supported this hypothesis on the PAQ (F = 1.84; df = 1,65; p > .10) but did not support it on the AWS (F = 54, 46; df = 1,65; p < .01).

Table 7

Attitudes toward Women and Sex Roles<sup>+</sup> Single df Comparisons

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>AWS</u> <sup>5</sup>		<u>PAQ</u>		<u>Sig. Level</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>F*</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>F**</u>	
College Males Non-College Males	47.06 35.10	16.62	42.06 33.90	6.12	< .05
College Females All Males	60.39 41.08	56.97	41.11 37.98	1.18	N/S
College Females Non-College Fe- males	60.39 37.00	54.46	41.11 37.86	.83	N/S
College Females College Males	60.39 47.06	19.64	41.11 42.06	.08	N/S
College Females Non-College Males	60.39 35.10	76.61	41.11 76.61	4.92	< .05
Male Female	40.59 50.16	19.86	37.98 39.48	.39	N/S
College Females Spence <u>et al.</u> Females	60.39 53.16	11.18			
College Males Spence <u>et al.</u> Males	47.06 47.16	.002			

<sup>+</sup>AWS--Traditional = 0-37; Contemporary = 38-75. PAQ--  
Traditional = 0-38; Contemporary = 39-64.

<sup>5</sup>All effects at .01 except on comparison 8 which was non-significant.

\*Error MS was the usual within-cell mean square and is distributed on 65 df. The value was 79.09.

\*\*Calculated as for AWS on 65 df. The value of the MS was 100.03.

Table 8

PAQ Categories--Frequencies for Male and Female,  
College and Non-college

	College Males		College Females	
	High Female*	Low Female	High Female	Low Female
High Male	13	2	High Male	7
Low Male	1	1	Low Male	7
	Non-College Males		Non-College Females	
	High Female	Low Female	High Female	Low Female
High Male	5	2	High Male	4
Low Male	2	11		5

\*High Female/High Male = Androgyny; High Female/Low Male = Traditional Feminine; Low Female/High Male = Traditional Masculinity; Low Female/Low Male - Undifferentiated.

In order to further clarify the results on the PAQ, other comparisons were made a posteriori. See Table 7, comparisons 4 through 6. In comparing college females with college males, an F of .0789 ( $df = 1,65$ ;  $p > .25$ ) was obtained indicating no difference between these two groups in sex-role self-concept. The comparison between college females and non-college males, however, was significant ( $F = 4.92$ ,  $df = 1,65$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

Two other comparisons were made between males and females on the AWS and the PAQ. The F for the AWS was 19.86 ( $df = 1,65$ ;  $p < .01$ ) indicating a significant difference between Puerto Rican men and women in attitudes toward the role of women in the expected direction. The result of the comparison on the PAQ ( $F = .39$ ,  $df = 1,65$ ;  $p > .25$ ) indicated that there was no significant difference in sex-role self-concept between Puerto Rican men and women.

In order to give more perspective to the data, two other a posteriori comparisons were made, using the data from the Spence et al. (1975) study, for the AWS. These results also appear in Table 7. The comparison between the college women of the present study and the college women ( $n = 282$ ) of the Spence et al. study yielded an F of 11.18 ( $df = 1,65$ ) significant at the .01 level indicating that the Puerto Rican college women in this study were significantly more liberal in their attitudes toward women than the non-Puerto Rican college women of the Spence et al. study. The

comparison between the two groups of men (Spence et al. n = 248) was non-significant ( $F = .002$ ,  $df = 1,65$ ).

In summary, it was found on the AWS that college males were significantly more liberal than non-college males; college females were significantly more liberal than all males; college females were significantly more liberal than non-college females; and that females were more liberal than males. On the PAQ, the results were different for four comparisons. College females did not perceive themselves as significantly more liberal in sex-role attributes than college males or non-college females, and males and females were also not significantly different from each other in sex-role self-concepts.

#### Other Sources of Variability

Comparisons, similar to those presented above, were made for three variables suspected of being possible undesired sources of variation. These variables were Color of Skin, Socio-Economic Level (SEL), and Year in School. Details on all comparisons, including means and F values, may be found in Tables 1-6 in Appendix D.

No significant differences were found due to Color of Skin, or the interaction of Color of Skin x Education, on the Rotter Scale. On the Gurin et al. Scale, only one significant difference was found. On the Color of Skin x Education interaction, College Morenos were significantly ( $F = 6.40$ ,  $df = 1,63$ ;  $p < .05$ ) more adaptively external than Non-

College Morenos.

The results of the sex-role scales appear in Tables 4-6 of Appendix D. On the AWS, College Whites were significantly ( $F = 38.68$ ;  $df = 1,63$ ;  $p < .01$ ) more liberal towards the role of women than Non-College Whites. The same held true for the College versus Non-College Morenos ( $F = 20.99$ ;  $df = 1,63$ ;  $p < .01$ ). This was not the case, however, for College and Non-College Blacks. There was no significant difference between these two groups ( $F = .9549$ ;  $df = 1,63$ ;  $p > .25$ ).

Two other significant differences were found on the AWS. A comparison between College and Non-College on the variable of Skin Color resulted in a significant difference between the two groups at the .01 level ( $F = 57.38$ ;  $df = 1,63$ ). Finally, within the college group, College Whites were significantly ( $F = 4.45$ ;  $df = 1,63$ ;  $p < .05$ ) more liberal than College Blacks. Comparisons within the non-college group were non-significant.

The second scale, the PAQ, resulted in two significant comparisons. College Whites described themselves as being significantly ( $F = 9.25$ ;  $df = 1,63$ ;  $p < .01$ ) more liberal in their sex-role self-concepts than Non-College Whites; and the College group, likewise, described themselves as being significantly ( $F = 4.54$ ;  $df = 1,63$ ;  $p < .05$ ) more liberal in their sex-role self-concept than the Non-College group.

The second variable was Year in School. Here, no significant differences were found with any of the scales. The



third variable was Socio-Economic Level (SEL). The results of the comparisons between Classes are represented in Tables 7-8 of Appendix D, for both the College and Non-College groups. No significant differences resulted with the Rotter Scale. With the Gurin et al. Scale, a significant difference was found between the College Class IV and V. Class IV individuals were significantly ( $F = 5.45$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .05$ ) more adaptively external than Class V individuals. There were no significant differences within the Non-College group.

Results for the AWS and the PAQ also appear in Table 8 of Appendix D. On the AWS, within the College group, significance was reached in the comparisons between Classes I and III ( $F = 5.96$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .05$ ), and Classes I and V ( $F = 9.53$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .01$ ), however, there was only one subject in Class I.<sup>11</sup> Class II individuals were significantly ( $F = 6.44$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .05$ ) more liberal than Class V individuals in attitudes toward the role of women; and Class IV individuals were also significantly ( $F = 12.60$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .01$ ) more liberal than Class V individuals. Within the Non-College group, there were no significant differences. In comparing the College and Non-College groups, College individuals were significantly ( $F = 68.5$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .01$ ) more liberal in their attitudes toward women than Non-College individuals.

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<sup>11</sup>There were no cases in Classes I and II of the Non-College group.

The Education x SEL interaction yielded the following results. College Class IV individuals were significantly ( $F = 18.35$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .01$ ) more liberal in their attitudes than Non-College Class IV individuals; and, similarly, College Class V individuals were significantly ( $F = 6.98$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .05$ ) more liberal than Non-College Class V individuals.

It is of interest to note that the sex-role self-concept of College Classes IV and V did not prove to be significantly different from that of Non-College Classes IV and V. The sex-role self-concept of College Class III was significantly ( $F = 4.73$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .05$ ) more liberal than that of Non-College Class III although attitudinally there was no significant difference between these two groups.

A College versus Non-College comparison on the PAQ also resulted in College individuals being significantly ( $F = 6.24$ ;  $df = 1,61$ ;  $p < .05$ ) more liberal in their sex-role self-concept than Non-College individuals.

## C H A P T E R . I V

Discussion

This study was an attempt to document attitudinal and behavioral differences between Puerto Rican College and Non-College individuals in the areas of Locus of Control, Social Activism and Sex Roles. Previous research has been carried out in each of these areas (Spence, Helmreich, & Staff, 1975; Silvern, 1975; Levenson & Miller, 1976) but the emphasis has been either on individuals of the majority culture or of the Black community, which, although different from each other, both speak the same language and, therefore, have many similarities in their realities. Since little research has been accomplished within the Puerto Rican community on the U.S. mainland, it is not possible to determine whether this is also the case with Puerto Ricans.

Locus of Control

Results of the present study suggest that a generalized locus of control orientation (as measured by the Rotter Scale) within the Puerto Rican college community may not be different from that of the non-Puerto Rican college community. This could even be extended to the Puerto Rican non-college community since their locus of control orientation was not significantly different from that of the Puerto Rican college community. Puerto Ricans, therefore, do not appear

to be more external than non-Puerto Ricans and, thus, the first hypothesis of this study was not supported. However, Puerto Ricans have been termed a fatalistic people (Wagenheim, 1970; Maldonado-Denis, 1972) whose lives reflect an apparent belief in the control of these lives by external forces (termed "external control situations" by Rotter, 1975). An explanation for the failure of this belief system to appear as an external orientation on the Rotter Scale may be that the scale itself is not sensitive to the Puerto Rican reality. Since the Puerto Rican groups are culturally different and speak a different language, the Rotter Scale, which was conceptualized by and formulated on a culture based on the English language and Anglo-American values, may not accurately measure the concept of locus of control within the Puerto Rican population. The results of the present study support this observation since none of the hypotheses generated for locus of control as assessed by the Rotter Scale were supported by the data; and yet some interesting results for locus of control as measured by the Gurin et al. Scale did emerge.

The Gurin et al. Scale, although also not a product of the Puerto Rican language or cultural experience, does tap some of the very real experiences which Puerto Ricans are faced with when living on the mainland. By addressing itself to racism, oppression, hatred and lack of equal opportunity, the Gurin et al. Scale can, therefore, assess locus of con-

trol beliefs in Puerto Ricans, as related to these specific variables. All of the significant differences regarding locus of control were found with this instrument.

Results of the a posteriori comparison for the second hypothesis, using the Gurin et al. Scale data, indicated that college students were significantly more adaptively external than non-college individuals. One possible explanation for this result may be that, through the educational process, Puerto Rican college students learn that the blame for their lack of success may not lie within themselves, and also learn how to best deal with the problem. The non-college group, lacking this clarification, may blame themselves for not succeeding, or feel frustrated not knowing where the blame lies, and therefore, not see or be able to formulate alternative action to help solve the problem. The results of the four factor scoring support this explanation. A higher percentage of the college students consistently chose the external and more adaptive, according to Gurin et al., orientation. They blamed the system for their lack of success (on this Factor, the difference between college and non-college was significant); believed discrimination could not be changed; preferred collective action;<sup>12</sup> and were more militant in their choice of action (the difference between the two groups was also

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<sup>12</sup>This polarization towards collective action was predicted by Gurin et al. (1969) in discussing the results of their study with Negro youth.

significant on this Factor). The non-college group, on the other hand, saw things more ambivalently and a higher percentage consistently split their choice equally between self and system blame, modifiability/non-modifiability of discrimination, individual/collective action, and militancy/non-militancy.

The third hypothesis introduced the variable of social activism and the second part of this hypothesis stated that activists would be significantly more adaptively external than non-activists on the Gurin et al. Scale. The results again supported the hypothesis and it appears that activism, and not education (as evidenced by a non-significant comparison between College Activists and Non-College Activists), may be acting as the greater source of variability between the Puerto Rican groups. These results are also in accord with the observation made by Gurin et al. in their study, and helps to clarify the importance of the activism variable in the present study. Gurin et al. stated that students who blamed the system were more collectively oriented in their attitudes, engaged in more civil rights activities, and were more militant in supporting confrontation tactics. The results of the four factor scoring for the Activists are in accord with this statement. This time the highest percentage (86.66%) chose militant tactics (Factor IV), and the difference between activists and non-activists was significant. The next highest percentage fell under the individual-system

blame factor (Factor III). Here, 70% (n = 21) blamed the system and only 3% (n = 1) blamed themselves. Once more the difference between activist and non-activists was significant. The results on the other two factors were also as Gurin et al. observed. Respectively, 67% and 53% believed in the unmodifiability of discrimination and preferred collective action (with a trend toward a significant difference between activists and non-activists on Factor I).

For the non-activists, ambivalence was again apparent with the higher percentages indicating an equal preference for both choices on two of the Factors (Factor I and IV). On Factor II--discrimination modifiability--a higher percentage (54%) chose the external choice, which specifies that discrimination cannot be changed. The explanation for this unexpected reversal may be found in the fact that the split in the group for these results was Activist/Non-Activist and, therefore, the non-activist group includes the college non-activists. When the split was College/Non-College, the college group tended to choose a belief in the unmodifiability of discrimination twice as often as a belief in its modifiability. The non-college group was equally split (50-50%) between the two beliefs. An education effect, therefore, may be responsible for the shift to externality on this Factor of the non-activist group in the Activist/Non-Activist split.

As stated above, in Factor III, there was a somewhat dramatic difference in belief within the activist group, with

70% blaming the system and 3% blaming themselves (27%,  $n = 8$ , blamed both equally). Two interesting results, however, occurred within the non-activist group. Here, in spite of the inclusion within this group of the college students, the percentage of system blame was lower than in the non-college group of the College/Non-College comparison, and the self blame was higher. The "both blamed" category percentage was the same for both comparisons. Also, the significance level for chi square was higher for the Activist/Non-Activist split on this Factor. These results support the observation made above that activism, and not education, may be a more important source of variance and more predictive of externality on this scale, in this part of the present study.

The results discussed above have a number of implications for the future study of Puerto Ricans using the concept of locus of control. First, is the question of applicability of the various IE measures to Puerto Ricans as a different cultural group. Since previous research has shown the scale to be somewhat applicable to Blacks (depending on what was being studied and who was interpreting the results), with whom Puerto Ricans have many specific life experiences in common, the present study did expect to obtain some measure of locus of control, even if a rough one, which could have been refined in later experiments.

On the other hand, it may be that the Rotter Scale was accurately measuring a generalized internal orientation in



Puerto Ricans; in this case further study of the fatalistic aspects in the culture will be necessary in order to determine to what extent they do or do not affect the Puerto Rican's control ideology. That a number of significant differences were obtained with the Gurin et al. Scale, however, does not corroborate such an assumption. Future research is also necessary with this scale in order to refine the present findings. For example, the degree/extent and type of social activism, of which only a rough measure was taken for this study, need to be examined and differences within the activist group explicated.

To summarize, the results seem to indicate that the measurement of generalized expectancies, as measured by the Rotter Scale, may not be as applicable to Puerto Ricans as the more specific measure by the Gurin et al. Scale. This was particularly the case with social activism, a variable which is directly related to the real life experiences of racism and oppression.

#### Sex Roles and Attitudes toward Women

Results on the two sex-roles instruments (the AWS and the PAQ) were particularly interesting. It was expected, as with locus of control, that Puerto Rican cultural factors would be borne out by the data collected. In the introduction to the present study, the concept of "machismo" was discussed and firmly established as a functioning element in the

Puerto Rican culture by Seda Bonilla's fairly recent (1973) research. It was also expected that the exposure to a college environment would, for the college students, particularly the men, result in more liberal attitudes and sex-role self-concepts, and that the non-college men, lacking that experience, would be significantly less liberal in attitude and self-concept. The expectations for the women, both college and non-college, were simply that they would be more liberal than the men and that, although some differences could exist, there would be no significant differences between the women.

The results did, in fact, support some of these assumptions, but not on both scales. On the AWS, college males were significantly more liberal in their attitudes toward women than non-college males, and college females were significantly more liberal than both college and non-college men. On the PAQ, again college males represented themselves as being significantly more liberal in their sex-role self-concept than non-college males, and college women and non-college women did not differ significantly.

On the PAQ, there was no difference in sex-role self-concept between college females and college and non-college men. Two a posteriori comparisons with this result indicated that there was a significant difference between college women and non-college men. This is not surprising in light of the fact that a large number of the non-college men fell in the

undifferentiated category. A non-significant difference between college women and college men, however, served as camouflage when the two male groups were combined.

The above result is not directly in accord with the results of the Ellis and Bentler (1973) study cited previously, which suggested a definition of masculinity as being "unlike females" rather than "like males," and femininity as being "unlike males" rather than "like females." In order for there to be no difference in the sex-role self-concept on the PAQ, men and women had to ascribe similar attributes to their own sex-roles. That is, men, just as often as women, ascribed feminine attributes to themselves; while women, just as often as men, ascribed masculine attributes to themselves. The suggestion that men define themselves as being unlike women and women as being unlike men does not appear to be a functional one for this particular population. This is especially the case for some ( $n = 11$ ) of the non-college men who saw themselves as fitting neither the male nor the female role. Without additional data, it is difficult to explain this result. However, some conclusions can be drawn by relating the results to the life experiences of many of these men. A common occurrence in the large cities of the mainland is that Puerto Rican men have greater difficulty, because of language restrictions, in finding jobs than non-Puerto Rican men. The end result of this, in some cases, is that, in order to physically survive, the family must resort to welfare. This so-

lution, however, is also problematic since the family will not be given any assistance if there is an "able-bodied man" in the home. What the Puerto Rican man must outwardly do, therefore, is abandon his family so that they can survive. He becomes a visitor rather than an integral part of the family since the welfare assistance would stop if he were to be found living in the home. Given this situation, it is possible that these Puerto Rican men find it difficult to define their roles. They are neither providers nor fathers in the eyes of the larger society, but are treated as such when they visit their families. It would not be surprising if the results of the present study reflect the confusion that must exist in the mind of the Puerto Rican male in such cases.

On the AWS, contrary to expectations, college females proved to be significantly more liberal in their attitudes toward women than non-college females. That there was no significant difference between these two groups in their sex-role self-concept, might, at first, appear paradoxical until one looks more closely at the Puerto Rican culture and at the changes that are taking place in the larger society. From observation, it appears that the Puerto Rican culture still incorporates traditional male-female role stereotyping into its child-rearing patterns. The Puerto Rican women, therefore, grow up following these role standards until some of them leave home to attend an institution of higher education where social changes occur at a fast pace. As a means of

adaptation, at least superficially, Puerto Rican college women may change their sex-role attitudes so that no philosophical conflicts will arise between themselves and their peers;<sup>13</sup> however, being still a part of a more or less traditional family, the changes, if they were to extend to behavioral patterns, might create a great deal of crisis within the family. In order to adapt, Puerto Rican college women, therefore, may maintain their behavior as is expected by their families and, thus, their sex-role self-concept remains unchanged. A foot in each of two very different worlds may be the result. Of course, further research is needed to verify this explanation and clarify what is actually happening in terms of the attitudes and role participation of the Puerto Rican males.

In summary, Puerto Rican college men within this population do not appear to adhere to the concept of "machismo," either in their attitudes toward the role of women or in their sex-role self-concepts. College women, on the other hand, are more liberal in their attitudes toward women than non-college women, but sex-role self-concepts are not significantly different from that of the non-college females.

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<sup>13</sup>Indeed, as apparent in the data, the Puerto Rican college women may even go to more of an extreme in their liberalism than the non-Puerto Rican college women, since there was a significant difference between these two groups in attitudes.

### Other Sources of Variability

Although no significant differences were expected, two of the three additional variables analyzed were also a minor source of interesting results. On the Gurin et al. Scale, there was only one comparison (education x skin color) which resulted in a significant difference. This was the College Moreno versus the Non-College Moreno comparisons in which the college group proved to be significantly more adaptively external than the non-college group. A highly theoretical explanation for this result is that College Morenos, not being easily classifiable as either white or black, may have a greater difficulty in identifying with either group and may, therefore, realistically<sup>14</sup> externalize blame for their predicament and choose more radical ways of dealing with the problem. This needs to be looked at in greater detail since this lack of a reference/identification group for the Puerto Rican Moreno is a very real one, particularly within institutional settings where categorization by skin color is often practiced.

With the sex-role scales, a greater number of significant differences resulted. Three of these, on the AWS, appear to be related. These were the comparison between College Whites and Non-College Whites, the comparison between College Morenos and Non-College Morenos, and the comparison between

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<sup>14</sup>Since the blame for racial stereotyping does lie on society.

College and Non-College. The explanation of a college experience is viable since in all three cases the college groups are more liberal than the non-college groups. In the comparison between College Blacks and Non-College Blacks, however, the explanation again becomes much more theoretical. It is possible that, since a dark skin exposes the individual to more overt racism, the Black individuals may tend to be more tolerant towards others who are oppressed. This explanation receives some support from the fact that both groups are within the liberal score range.

The results on the PAQ again differ somewhat from those on the AWS. The first result is in the comparison between College Whites and Non-College Whites. In this comparison, the college group's sex-role self-concept is more liberal than that of the non-college group. Although an influence by the college experience may serve as an explanation, another possible one may be a reversal of that offered for the College Black versus Non-College Black comparison above. For the White College group, it is likely that, because these individuals have a skin color that is more acceptable, a greater degree of integration into the larger culture and its values is possible, particularly within a university setting. For the non-college group, although they, too, have a white skin, the fact that they are Puerto Rican is less acceptable outside of the more liberal university and college settings. A tendency to cling to their own culture and values

in order to survive could result in their more traditional sex-role self-concepts. Another comparison, that between the College and Non-College groups, also resulted in a significant difference, with the college group understandably being more liberal in their sex-role self-concept.

On the AWS, within the college group, Whites turned out to be more liberal in their attitudes toward women than Blacks. Here, as well, the easier assimilation by Whites explanation is applicable. However, it must be noted that the means for both groups were within the liberal range.

The second variable with which significant results were obtained was SEL. With the Gurin et al. Scale, the only comparison which proved significant was between College Class IV and V, with the former being more adaptively external than the latter. Since Class V is the lowest class, it may be that the individuals who are within that class experience a greater deal of frustration and blame themselves more for their condition than individuals in Class IV which, although also a lower class, may have more opportunities for upward mobility and less of an opportunity for self-blame.

In the area of sex-roles, there were, again, a greater number of significant differences. For the college group, only the AWS yielded any significant results. Classes II and IV were found to be significantly more liberal in their attitudes than Class V. The above explanation for externality may also be applicable to sex-role attitude since the



more opportunities for advancement within a class, the more liberal in its attitudes can the individuals within that class afford to be.

A College versus Non-College comparison proved to be significant for both the AWS and the PAQ. This is not surprising in light of the evidence presented so far in this study supporting a more liberal attitude and sex-role self-concept due to the educational experiences and social changes that take place within universities.

In brief, some significant differences were found with the Skin Color and SEL variables. These can be explained in light of such factors as racism, which specifically deals with skin color, and the availability or lack of educational and economic opportunities. It is not surprising that these factors, which directly and concretely affect an individual's life, also influence attitudes and self-concepts.

### Conclusions

It appears, from the results of the present study, that generalized measures of locus of control are not as sensitive to the reality of the Puerto Rican experience on the mainland as the more specific measures, such as the Gurin et al. Scale. One variable in particular, social activism, appears to be a key factor in the prediction of externality on this scale.

The results also indicate that sex-role attitudes within

the Puerto Rican college community are, indeed, more liberal and contemporary than expected given the "machismo" element within the culture. For the non-college men and women, attitudes and sex-role self-concepts are more traditional. College women, however, in spite of their liberalized attitudes do not perceive their sex-roles to be significantly different from their more traditional, non-college, sisters.

Some questions emerge as a result of this study:

1) What leads to the development of a social activist attitude in some Puerto Ricans and not in others?

2) In which direction and to what extent does an activist attitude influence educational achievement in Puerto Ricans?

3) How are the changing sex-role expectations within the majority culture affecting the identity and self-esteem of Puerto Rican men and women?

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APPENDIX A

Consent Form

I hereby give my consent to participate in the study being conducted by Julia M. Ramos-McKay with the understanding that I can, at any time, withdraw my consent and participation if I so wish.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX B

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

### Interview Format

Ss are informed that this is a study of various current attitudes and opinions present in today's society.

Before the participant fills out the questionnaires, s/he is to be asked the following questions by the experimenter:

1. What kinds of hobbies do you have?
2. Do you participate in any sports?
- 3a. (for college students) What do you think of the university system as it exists today in this society?
- 3b. (for non-college students) What do you think of the current employment situation?

After these questions, the E will ask the individual whether s/he has ever been, or is now, involved in any social action movements or organizations which actively carry out demonstrations or protests concerning issues in today's society.

The participants will then be asked to fill out the questionnaire.

APPENDIX C

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Permanent Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Religion: \_\_\_\_\_ If in college, year and semester: \_\_\_\_\_

Place of birth: \_\_\_\_\_ Employment: \_\_\_\_\_

How long have you been living on the U.S. mainland: \_\_\_\_\_

What is/was your father's occupation (or person who raised you)?: \_\_\_\_\_

What is/was your mother's occupation (or person who raised you)?: \_\_\_\_\_

How many children are there in your family: \_\_\_\_\_

What number are you?: \_\_\_\_\_ Education of head of household: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Briefly, what life goals have you set for yourself?: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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For Interviewer's Use Only  
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Act.: \_\_\_\_\_

C.: \_\_\_\_\_

INSTRUCTIONS:

This is a questionnaire to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives numbered 1 or 2. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned. Be sure to select the one you actually believe to be more true rather than the one you think you should choose or the one you would like to be true. This is a measure of personal belief: obviously there are no right or wrong answers.

Your answers to the items on this inventory are to be recorded on the answer sheet provided. Please answer these items carefully but do not spend too much time on any one item. Be sure to find an answer for every choice. In some instances you may discover that you believe both statements or neither one. In such cases, be sure to select the one you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned. Also try to respond to each item independently when making your choice; do not be influenced by your previous choices.

(Now go on to the next page)

1. 1 Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.  
2 The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.
2. 1 Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.  
2 People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
3. 1 One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.  
2 There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
4. 1 In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.  
2 Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.
5. 1 The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.  
2 Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
6. 1 Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.  
2 Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
7. 1 No matter how hard you try, some people just don't like you.  
2 People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.
8. 1 Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.  
2 It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.

(Go to next page)



9. 1 I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
- 2 Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
10. 1 In the case of the well-prepared student, there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
- 2 Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.
11. 1 Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- 2 Getting a good job depends on being in the right place at the right time.
12. 1 The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
- 2 This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
13. 1 When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
- 2 It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
14. 1 There are certain people who are just no good.
- 2 There is some good in everybody.
15. 1 In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
- 2 Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
16. 1 Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
- 2 Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

(Go on to next page)

17. 1 As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
- 2 By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
18. 1 Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
- 2 There really is no such thing as "luck."
19. 1 One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
- 2 It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.
20. 1 It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
- 2 How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.
21. 1 In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
- 2 Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.
22. 1 With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
- 2 It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
23. 1 Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
- 2 There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.
24. 1 A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
- 2 A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

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25. 1 Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
- 2 It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
26. 1 People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
- 2 There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.
27. 1 There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
- 2 Team sports are an excellent way to build character.
28. 1 What happens to me is my own doing.
- 2 Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
29. 1 Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
- 2 In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.
30. 1 The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each individual minority person to make sure s/he gets the best training possible for what s/he wants to do.
- 2 Only if minority individuals pull together in civil rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.
31. 1 The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.
- 2 The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual minority person to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified white person.
32. 1 Racial discrimination is here to stay.
- 2 People may be prejudiced but it's possible for American society to completely rid itself of open discrimination.

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33. 1 The so-called "white backlash" shows once again that whites are so opposed to minorities getting their rights that it's practically impossible to end discrimination in America.
- 2 The so-called "white backlash" has been exaggerated. Certainly enough whites support the goals of the minority cause for Americans to see considerable progress in wiping out discrimination.
34. 1 The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination.
- 2 We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part of human nature.
35. 1 It's lack of skill and abilities that keeps many minority individuals from getting a job. It's not just because they're minority. When a minority person is trained to do something, he is able to get a job.
- 2 Many qualified minority individuals can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.
36. 1 Many minority individuals who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to whites.
- 2 Minority individuals may not have the same opportunities as whites, but many minority people haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.
37. 1 Many minority individuals have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better.
- 2 When two qualified people, one minority and one white, are considered for the same job, the minority person won't get the job no matter how hard s/he tries.

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38. 1 The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for minorities. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're a minority.
- 2 The problem for many minority individuals is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any minority person who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and get ahead.
39. 1 Minorities would be better off and the cause of civil rights advanced if there were fewer demonstrations.
- 2 The only way minorities will gain their civil rights is by constant protest and pressure.
40. 1 Depending on bi-racial committees is just a dodge. Talking and understanding without constant protest and pressure will never solve problems of discrimination.
- 2 Talking and understanding as opposed to protest and pressure is the best way to solve racial discrimination.
41. 1 Organized action is one approach to handling discrimination, but there are probably very few situations that couldn't be handled better by minority leaders talking with white leaders.
- 2 Most discriminatory situations simply can't be handled without organized pressure and group action.
42. 1 Discrimination affects all minority individuals. The only way to handle it is for minorities to organize together and demand rights for all minorities.
- 2 Discrimination may affect all minority individuals but the best way to handle it is for each individual minority person to act like any other American--to work hard, get a good education, and mind his own business.

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the role of women in society that different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feeling about each statement by indicating whether you (1) agree strongly, (2) agree mildly, (3) disagree mildly, or (4) disagree strongly. Please indicate your opinion by blackening either 1, 2, 3, or 4 on the answer sheet. Begin with number 43 on this answer sheet.

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1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man.
2. Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.
3. Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.
4. Telling dirty jokes should be a mostly masculine prerogative.
5. Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.
6. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.
7. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.
8. There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.
9. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.
10. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

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11. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.
12. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.
13. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.
14. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to to college than daughters.
15. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.
16. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.
17. Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiances.
18. The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.
19. Women should be concerned with their duties of child-bearing and house tending, rather than with desires for professional and business careers.
20. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.
21. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.
22. On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contributing to economic production than are men.
23. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.
24. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.
25. The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy.

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- |     |   |                   |  |
|-----|---|-------------------|--|
| 5.  | Not at all excitable<br>in a <u>major</u> crisis            | 1...2...3...4...5 | Very excitable in<br>a <u>major</u> crisis     |
| 6.  | Very passive  | 1...2...3...4...5 | Very active                                    |
| 7.  | Not at all able to de-<br>vote self completely<br>to others | 1...2...3...4...5 | Able to devote<br>self completely to<br>others |
| 8.  | Very rough  | 1...2...3...4...5 | Very gentle                                    |
| 9.  | Not at all helpful<br>to others                             | 1...2...3...4...5 | Very helpful to<br>others                      |
| 10. | Not at all competitive                                      | 1...2...3...4...5 | Very competitive                               |
| 11. | Very home-oriented  | 1...2...3...4...5 | Very worldly                                   |
| 12. | Not at all kind   | 1...2...3...4...5 | Very kind                                      |
| 13. | Indifferent to other's<br>approval                          | 1...2...3...4...5 | Highly needful of<br>other's approval          |
| 14. | Feelings not easily<br>hurt                                 | 1...2...3...4...5 | Feelings easily<br>hurt                        |
| 15. | Not at all aware of<br>feelings of others                   | 1...2...3...4...5 | Very aware of<br>feelings of others            |
| 16. | Can make decisions<br>easily                                | 1...2...3...4...5 | Has difficulty mak-<br>ing decisions           |
| 17. | Gives up very easily  | 1...2...3...4...5 | Never gives up<br>easily                       |
| 18. | Never cries   | 1...2...3...4...5 | Cries very easily                              |
| 19. | Not at all self-<br>confident                               | 1...2...3...4...5 | Very self-confid-<br>ent                       |
| 20. | Feels very inferior   | 1...2...3...4...5 | Feels very superior                            |

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21. Not at all understanding of others 1...2...3...4...5 Very understanding of others
22. Very cold in relations with others 1...2...3...4...5 Very warm in relation with others
23. Very little need for security 1...2...3...4...5 Very strong need for security
24. Goes to pieces under pressure 1...2...3...4...5 Stands up well under pressure

(Please stop)

APPENDIX D

Table 1  
Locus of Control  
Single df Comparisons-Skin Color-College/Non-College

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>Rotter Scale<sup>+</sup></u>		<u>Gurin Scale</u>		<u>Sig. Level</u>
	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F*</u>	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F**</u>	
College White Non-College White	9.83 11.42	1.68	8.28 6.58	2.89	N/S
College Moreno Non-College Moreno	11.27 9.58	1.83	8.92 6.39	6.40	< .05
College Black Non-College Black	9.67 9.33	.02	8.00 5.00	2.50	N/S

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<sup>+</sup>All comparisons were non-significant.

\*Error MS was the usual within-cell mean square and is distributed on 63 df. The value was 10.8678.

\*\*Calculated as for the Rotter Scale on 63 df. The value was 7.2021.

Table 2

Locus of Control Single df Comparisons-Skin Color-College

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>Rotter Scale</u> <sup>+</sup>		<u>Gurin Scale</u>	
	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F*</u>	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F**</u>
White	11.06	.0296	8.28	.4094
Moreno	11.27		8.92	
White	11.06	.7947	8.28	.0490
Black	9.67		8.00	
Moreno	11.27	.9175	8.92	.4701
Black	9.67		8.00	

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<sup>+</sup>All comparisons were non-significant.

\*Error MS was the usual within-cell mean square and is distributed on 63 df. The value was 10.8678.

\*\*Calculated as for the Rotter Scale on 63 df. The value was 7.2021.

Table 3  
Locus of Control  
Single df Comparisons-Skin Color-Non-College

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>Rotter Scale<sup>+</sup></u>		<u>Gurin Scale</u>	
	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F*</u>	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F**</u>
White	11.42	2.29	6.58	.0361
Moreno	9.58		6.39	
White	11.42	.9587	6.58	.8320
Black	9.33		5.00	
Moreno	9.58	.0144	6.39	.6898
Black	9.33		5.00	

---

<sup>+</sup>All comparisons were non-significant.

\*Error MS was the usual within-cell mean square and is distributed on 63 df. The value was 10.8678.

\*\*Calculated as for Rotter Scale on 63 df. The value was 7.2021.

Table 4

## Attitudes toward Women and Sex Roles

Single df Comparisons-Skin Color-College/Non-College

<u>Comparison</u>	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>AWS</u>		<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>PAQ</u>	
		<u>F*</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>		<u>F**</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
College White	56.33			42.56		
Non-College		38.68	<.01		9.25	<.01
White	33.42			31.42		
College Moreno	54.00			42.45		
Non-College		20.99	<.01		1.79	N/S
Moreno	36.84			37.47		
College Black	46.50			38.67		
Non-College		.9549	N/S		.0201	N/S
Black	39.67			39.67		
College	53.91			41.23		
Non-College	35.88	57.38	<.01	36.19	4.54	<.05

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\*Error MS was the usual within-cell mean square and is distributed on 63 df. The value was 97.7082.

\*\*Calculated as for the AWS on 63 df. The value was 96.5846.

Table 5  
 Attitudes toward Women and Sex Roles  
 Single df Comparisons-Skin Color-College

<u>Comparison</u>	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>AWS</u>		<u>Sig. Level</u>	<u>PAQ<sup>+</sup></u>	
		<u>F*</u>			<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F**</u>
White	56.33	.3793		N/S	42.56	.0009
Moreno	54.00				42.45	
White	56.33	4.45		< .05	42.56	.7050
Black	46.50				38.67	
Moreno	54.00	2.24		N/S	42.45	.5743
Black	46.50				38.67	

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<sup>+</sup>All comparisons were non-significant.

\*Error MS was the usual within-cell mean square and is distributed on 63 df. The value was 97.7082.

\*\*Calculated as for the AWS on 63 df. The value was 96.5846.



Table 6  
 Attitudes toward Women and Sex Roles  
 Single df Comparisons-Skin Color-Non-College

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>AWS</u> <sup>+</sup>		<u>PAQ</u> <sup>+</sup>	
	<u>X</u>	<u>F</u> *	<u>X</u>	<u>F</u> **
White	33.42	.8808	31.42	2.79
Moreno	36.84		37.47	
White	33.42	.9596	31.42	1.69
Black	39.67		39.67	
Black	36.84	.2124	37.47	.1298
Moreno	39.67		39.67	

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<sup>+</sup>All comparisons were non-significant.

\*Error MS was the usual within-cell mean square and is distributed on 63 df. The value was 97.7082.

\*\*Calculated as for the AWS on 63 df. The value was 96.5846.

Table 7  
Locus of Control  
Single df Comparisons-Socio-Economic Level<sup>1</sup>

Comparison	<u>College</u>		<u>Gurin Scale</u>		<u>Sig. Level</u>
	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F*</u>	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F**</u>	
Class I Class II	10.00 10.00	0	6.00 9.50	1.19	N/S
Class I Class III	10.00 10.60	.0267	6.00 7.60	.3098	N/S
Class I Class IV	10.00 11.50	.1895	6.00 9.39	1.59	N/S <sup>2</sup>
Class I Class V	10.00 10.11	.0008	6.00 6.89	.1059	N/S
Class II Class III	10.00 10.60	.0457	9.50 7.60	.7490	N/S
Class II Class IV	10.00 11.50	.3601	9.50 9.39	.0026	N/S
Class II Class V	10.00 10.11	.0015	9.50 6.89	1.61	N/S <sup>2</sup>
Class III Class IV	10.60 11.50	.2818	7.60 9.39	1.84	N/S <sup>2</sup>
Class III Class V	10.60 10.11	.0714	7.60 6.89	.2288	N/S
Class IV Class V	11.50 10.11	1.0457	9.39 6.89	5.45	< .05
		<u>Non-College<sup>+</sup></u>			
Class III Class IV	8.75 8.75	0	7.50 6.50	.2905	

Table 7 (continued)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>Rotter Scale<sup>+</sup></u>		<u>Gurin Scale<sup>+</sup></u>	
	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F*</u>	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F**</u>
Class III	8.75	1.11	7.50	.7250
Class V	10.65		6.27	
Class IV	8.75	1.11	6.50	.0201
Class V	10.65		6.27	

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<sup>+</sup>All comparisons were non-significant.

<sup>1</sup>There was only one Case in Class I in the College group and no cases in Classes I and II in the Non-College group.

\*Error MS was the usual within-cell mean square and is distributed on 61 df. The value was 11.2459.

\*\*Calculated as for the Rotter Scale on 61 df. The value of the MS was 6.8852.

<sup>2</sup>< .25.

Table 8  
 Attitudes toward Women and Sex Roles  
 Single df Comparisons-Socio-Economic Level<sup>1</sup>

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>X̄</u>	<u>College</u>		<u>X̄</u>	<u>F**</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
		<u>AWS</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>			
		<u>F*</u>				
Class I	74.00			47.00		
Class II	62.50	1.08	N/S	35.00	.9528	
Class I	74.00			47.00		
Class III	49.80	5.96	<.05	42.40	.1750	
Class I	74.00			47.00		
Class IV	57.67	3.09	N/S	42.28	.2095	
Class I	74.00			47.00		
Class V	44.56	9.53	<.01	40.56	.3704	
Class II	62.50			35.00		
Class III	49.80	2.82	N/S	42.40	.7764	
Class II	62.50			35.00		
Class IV	57.67	.5131	N/S	42.28	.9468	
Class II	62.50			35.00		
Class V	44.56	6.44	<.05	40.56	.5020	
Class III	49.80			42.40		
Class IV	57.67	2.96	N/S <sup>2</sup>	42.28	.0006	
Class III	49.80			42.40		
Class V	44.56	1.08	N/S	40.56	.1080	
Class IV	57.67			42.28		
Class V	44.56	12.60	<.01	40.56	.1762	
<u>Non-College</u>						
Class III	39.25			27.75		
Class IV	36.25	.2199	N/S	40.75	3.35	N/S <sup>2</sup>
Class III	39.25			27.75		
Class V	35.31	.6575	N/S	35.92	2.30	N/S <sup>3</sup>

Table 8 (continued)

<u>Comparison</u>	<u>AWS</u>			<u>PAQ</u>		
	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F*</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>	<u><math>\bar{X}</math></u>	<u>F**</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
Class IV	36.25	.0374	N/S	40.75	.8026	N/S
Class V	35.31			35.92		
<u>College/Non-College</u>						
College	53.91	68.50	<.01	41.57	6.24	<.05
Non-College	35.88			35.53		
College	49.80	3.02	N/S	42.40	4.73	<.05
Class III						
Non-College	39.25			27.75		
College	57.67	18.35	<.01	42.28	.0760	N/S
Class IV						
Non-College	36.25			40.75		
College	44.56	6.98	<.05	40.56	1.43	N/S <sup>3</sup>
Class V						
Non-College	35.31			35.92		

<sup>1</sup>One case in Class I, College. No cases in Classes I and II, Non-College.

<sup>+</sup>All comparisons non-significant.

\*Error MS was the usual within-cell mean square and is distributed on 61 df. The value was 81,8467.

\*\*Calculated as for AWS on 61 df. The value was 100.7603.

<sup>2</sup>< .10.

<sup>3</sup>< .25.



