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In order to “unpack” acculturation and gain a more nuanced understanding of the process, we examined separate aspects of acculturation as predictors of traditional sex role attitudes. Participants were 170 Hispanic adults (83 females and 87 males), including first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants with varying levels of education. Participants completed measures of each dimension of acculturation—ethnic retention (e.g., Spanish language, Hispanic friendships) and mainstream involvement (English language, non-Hispanic friendships)—and of traditional sex role attitudes. English language and non-Hispanic friendships were significant negative correlates of traditional sex role attitudes, but Spanish language and Hispanic friendships were unrelated to such attitudes. Being male, less educated, and of an earlier generation predicted traditional sex role attitudes, but gender differences in attitudes varied by generation and education levels. Results demonstrate that the acculturation process can be better understood by examining distinct aspects rather than combining the separate components into a single variable.

“UNPACKAGING” ACCULTURATION

Aspects of Acculturation as Predictors of Traditional Sex Role Attitudes

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In 1976, Beatrice Whiting pointed out the need to “unpack” the concept of culture, that is, to analyze those aspects of culture that make a difference in understanding human behavior. Because culture is a complex construct with many components, it cannot be used as a single variable to explain differences among cultural groups. Rather, the cultural values, beliefs, and attitudes that may underlie cultural differences must be identified if one is to understand the impact of culture (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993).

Acculturation is a similarly complex construct that includes many aspects. Broadly, acculturation refers to changes that take place over time when two cultures come into continuous contact (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). However, because the construct includes a wide range of phenomena that can change independently, its explanatory value is limited. To clarify the processes that underlie acculturative change, it is necessary to unpack acculturation and examine separately the aspects that make a difference in psychological outcomes.

To study acculturation, researchers have typically used global measures that include a variety of factors expected to change over time in a new culture (e.g., language and social networks) and demographic variables (e.g., generation of immigration) that are assumed to be related to such changes. Global measures of acculturation used in such studies yield general acculturation scores that can be valuable in describing acculturation levels and examining correlations between acculturation and other variables of interest. However, although such

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scales may yield a single score or two scores reflecting dimensions of acculturation (e.g., Cuéllar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Nguyen, Messe, & Stollak, 1999; Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992), they do not allow researchers to identify specific aspects of acculturation in order to distinguish the impact of separate components. Furthermore, because measures of the construct differ widely in the specific components that are included, the interpretation of research results is often unclear, and findings cannot be compared across studies. To begin to clarify the variables that account for differences resulting from exposure to a new culture, it is important to identify specific elements that underlie acculturative change and examine their effects separately (Phinney, in press).

An understanding of the complex changes that occur with acculturation requires recognition of the two-dimensional nature of acculturation. Current views emphasize that acculturation is not a linear process of giving up one's culture of origin and becoming part of the new society. Rather, individuals may change along two dimensions: degree of retention of the original culture and degree of involvement in the new society (Berry & Sam, 1997; Nguyen et al., 1999). Recognition of these two dimensions is important in understanding the role of acculturative change in immigrants' lives because each dimension may relate to outcomes in different ways. For example, becoming proficient in using a new language is likely to have a different impact on adaptation than retaining (or not retaining) one's ethnic language, although both aspects of change occur among immigrants. Thus, in addition to examining distinct components of acculturation, it is essential to consider the separate effects of each dimension on outcomes of interest.

In the present study, we examined separate aspects of acculturation and their correlates in a sample of Hispanic adults in the United States. Variables commonly used to assess acculturation (language, friendships) were assessed along two dimensions, cultural retention and involvement in the new culture. These and other demographic variables that may influence sex role attitudes (generation of immigration, education, and gender) were examined for their role in predicting traditional sex role attitudes. The relationship of the predictor variables to sex role attitudes was examined both individually and in combination to identify separate and interactive effects.

Sex role attitudes provide a good outcome measure in studying acculturation among Hispanics, as they have been shown to differ substantially between Latin American countries and the United States. Therefore, they are likely to vary as a result of immigrants' contact with, or involvement in, U.S. culture. Gender roles in traditional Hispanic cultures are clearly defined and differ by sex, with authority typically given to males (Gowan & Treviño, 1998; Mayo & Resnick, 1996; Soto & Shaver, 1982). In traditional Hispanic families, male superiority is important in determining sex roles and behavior (Mayo & Resnick, 1996). Males hold the dominant positions in the husband/wife relationship and they strive to maintain respect and the perception that they are stronger, more reliable, and more intelligent than females (Davis & Chavez, 1985). They are also expected to assume responsibility for support of the family. From an early age, males are granted more freedom than females. Hispanic women, on the other hand, are encouraged to adhere to their submissive role (Mayo & Resnick, 1996). They are expected to assume responsibility for housework and child care. This pattern of sex role differentiation is typical of hierarchical cultures that emphasize family interdependence over the individualism typical of the United States (Wainryb & Turiel, 1994).

In the United States, in contrast, sex role attitudes are generally egalitarian (Best & Williams, 1997). Using a sample of English-speaking adults, Brewster and Padavic (2000) analyzed data from the General Social Surveys (GSS) conducted by the National Opinion

Research Center between the years of 1977 and 1996. Their results revealed that since 1977, attitudes toward women's roles had become increasingly egalitarian, with most respondents approving of women's dual role combining work and family. Similarly, Zuo and Tang (2000) analyzed data from a longitudinal study using a randomly selected ethnically diverse national sample of married people between the ages of 18 and 55. Their findings indicated that both men and women held more egalitarian views of women's maternal role, work role, and provider role.

When immigrants from Latin American countries come to the United States, they are exposed to sex role attitudes that are substantially more egalitarian than those to which they are accustomed. Thus, their attitudes can be expected to change over time. An examination of differences in sex role attitudes among acculturating individuals, together with specific factors related to such differences, can provide important insights into the process of acculturation. A number of factors are likely to be related to differences in sex role attitudes, including generation of immigration, language usage and proficiency, friendship networks, and education. The current study examined these factors separately to clarify the processes that underlie acculturative change.

Generation of immigration is perhaps the most widely used demographic indicator of acculturation (e.g., Leaper & Valin, 1996; Soto & Shaver, 1982; Valentine & Mosley, 2000). Later generations are likely to show changes associated with both dimensions of acculturation; that is, they typically retain less of their ethnic culture and are more involved in the mainstream culture than earlier generations. With large samples, comparisons of successive generations provide evidence of group changes in behaviors and attitudes over time in a new culture.

Research has shown that that later generations of immigrants hold sex role attitudes closer to those of mainstream Americans. Valentine and Mosley (2000) analyzed data obtained from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. The randomly chosen national sample consisted of individuals of Mexican, Mexican American, or American descent who participated in surveys conducted in 1979 and again in 1987. Results indicated that sex role attitudes became less traditional over time, but differences in attitudes were still found between first- and later-generation Mexican American women. Soto and Shaver (1982) examined sex role traditionalism of first-generation and second-generation Puerto Rican women ranging in age from 18 to 55 years. They found that second-generation women were less traditional than first-generation women. Leaper and Valin's (1996) longitudinal study likewise provided evidence for generational differences in sex role attitudes. They examined attitudes regarding sex role equality in a sample of 50 Mexican American mothers and 33 Mexican American fathers from agricultural and urban communities in central California. Generation was related to more egalitarian attitudes among mothers, but it was not significantly related to attitudes among fathers.

However, generation is a demographic variable that provides no direct information about individual differences in acculturation processes (Phinney, in press). Some immigrants become integrated into a new country within a few years following migration; others remain isolated in immigrant communities into the third or even later generations. Therefore, generation alone is not a precise indicator of acculturative change, and generational differences per se provide little evidence as to the actual processes that may account for changing attitudes. More specific individual variables provide a better explanation of differences in sex role attitudes. Language proficiency and usage is one of the most widely used indicators of acculturation (e.g., Cuéllar et al., 1995; Felix-Ortiz & Newcomb, 1994; Gowan & Treviño, 1998; Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982). Language use and preference is seen as an

expression of cultural behavior (Barona & Miller, 1994). The acquisition and usage of English is considered evidence that an immigrant is becoming involved in the new society. In contrast, the retention and usage of Spanish may indicate lower levels of involvement. Yet, because some individuals become bilingual and use both languages fluently, it is not clear that Spanish proficiency alone is a good indicator of acculturation.

Research specifically examining the relationship of language usage to sex role attitudes has yielded mixed results. In their investigation of Mexican American mothers' and fathers' attitudes toward gender roles, Leaper and Valin (1996) found that Mexican American mothers who spoke only English in the home were more likely to hold gender-egalitarian attitudes than those mothers who spoke only Spanish or were bilingual. However, among Mexican American fathers, language usage was unrelated to attitudes. In contrast, Gowan and Treviño's (1998) survey of Mexican American university students showed that although the students had retained their Spanish language (and therefore an important part of their heritage), their attitudes toward the woman's role in child care and in the workplace were more European-American oriented.

Social networks have also been widely used as an indicator of acculturation (e.g., Cuéllar et al., 1995; Suinn et al., 1992). There is little research linking social networks specifically to sex role attitudes. However, it seems likely that such attitudes would be influenced by the extent to which one associates with peers from one's ethnic culture or from the larger society.

Additional factors may also influence sex role attitudes. Education has a liberalizing influence on sex role attitudes, and higher levels of education have been shown to be associated with more egalitarian attitudes (Best & Williams, 1997; Brewster & Padavic, 2000; Zuo & Tang, 2000). Research with Hispanics in the United States has consistently shown a relationship between education and sex role attitudes (Kranau et al., 1982; Leaper & Valin, 1996; Soto & Shaver, 1982). Soto and Shaver (1982) reported that education was strongly related to sex role traditionalism among Puerto Rican women living in the United States. Second-generation women (born in the United States) were better educated and had less traditional attitudes than first-generation women. Leaper and Valin (1996) similarly found that sex role attitudes were more likely to be egalitarian among more educated Mexican American mothers and fathers than among those who were less educated.

It is not clear, however, how education is related to acculturation. Many immigrants come to the United States with the goal of improving their social status, and education is one means of doing so. Yet, education levels do not consistently increase over time. Later generations of Hispanic children do not necessarily do better in school than immigrant children (Rumbaut & Cornelius, 1995). Nevertheless, those who do become educated are likely to be exposed to more egalitarian ideas about sex roles. Higher levels of education lead to jobs in mainstream settings in which equality is more expected if not realized. Education is therefore a factor that needs to be examined separately from other indicators of acculturation to untangle influences on sex role attitudes.

The sex of participants is also a factor that is likely to be related to attitudes toward gender equality, independent of acculturation. Males generally have more traditional sex role ideologies than women (Best & Williams, 1997), and there is substantial evidence that this holds true in the United States (Brewster & Padavic, 2000). Examinations of gender differences in sex role attitudes among Mexican Americans have shown that less acculturated males have more traditional attitudes toward sex roles (Leaper & Valin, 1996), especially with regard to female roles in the workplace (Gowan & Treviño, 1998; Valentine & Mosley, 2000). Other researchers who have examined gender differences in traditional attitudes contend that women are more eager to leave traditional norms and acculturate at a faster pace than men

(Hojat et al., 2000). As acculturation occurs, women are also more egalitarian than men in their attitudes toward sex roles (Gowan & Treviño, 1998). It is not clear, however, that women acculturate at a different rate than men (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Davis and Chavez (1985) found that in Hispanic households in which role reversals had occurred due to circumstances such as the husbands' unemployment, the working wife continued to be responsible for certain traditional tasks that were identified as sex role linked. Although gender equality may be attractive to women from traditional cultures, those who remain at home may have little exposure to alternative models or little opportunity to express such attitudes. Therefore, gender needs to be included as a possible factor in acculturation.

In summary, a number of different variables have been used to assess acculturation and have been shown to be related to sex role attitudes. Most acculturation scales combine a number of variables into an overall score. However, research suggests that various components of acculturation are associated differentially with outcomes. Few studies have examined the separate and interactive effects of these components. In an effort to disentangle various factors that account for differences in sex role attitudes, this study included a group variable that is assumed to be related to acculturation, namely, generation of immigration, and two individual factors that have been widely used as indicators of acculturation, namely, language and friendships. Studies in which factor analysis has been used to identify components of acculturation find these two to be major contributors to the construct. For example, Suinn et al. (1992) found that language (together with music and movie preference) accounted for 41.5% of the variance. Cuéllar and colleagues (1995) found that language items accounted for 38.4% of the variance. Social networks have been found to account for 3% to 10% of the total variance (e.g., Cuéllar et al., 1995; Suinn et al., 1992).

The current study goes beyond existing research, in which single scales are used to assess acculturation, by examining separately the various factors associated with acculturative change. Furthermore, these individual factors were assessed in terms of the following two dimensions of acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1997): cultural retention (i.e., ethnic language and same-group friendships) and involvement in the larger society (i.e., English language and nonethnic friends). In addition, we included generation of immigration, which has been widely used as an indicator of acculturation, and two demographic variables that are not necessarily associated with acculturation but are likely to predict sex role attitudes, namely, education and gender. We examined the relationship of each of these variables to sex role attitudes and explored their possible interaction in predicting such attitudes.

It was hypothesized that traditional (nonegalitarian) sex role attitudes would be (a) negatively associated with involvement in American society (assessed as English language proficiency and usage and non-Hispanic friendships) and (b) positively associated with retention of Hispanic culture (Spanish language proficiency and usage and Hispanic friendships). Furthermore, it was hypothesized that three demographic variables would be related to sex role attitudes; specifically, we expected that sex role attitudes would be more egalitarian among later generations of immigrants, among those with higher levels of education, and among women. Because the various indicators of acculturation and the predictors of sex role attitudes were assumed to be correlated, we looked both at the bivariate correlations among these variables and also at their joint and interactive effects on attitudes in multiple regression analysis and analysis of variance.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

The participants were 170 adults (83 females and 87 males), aged 18 to 78 years ($M = 29.1$), who identified themselves as of Latin American descent (self-labels: Hispanic, 17.1%; Latino/a, 20.6%; Mexican/Mexican American, 41.8%; Central or South American, 7.6%; other Hispanic, 12.9%). To obtain a sample that was heterogeneous in terms of generation of immigration and level of education, the participants were recruited in Hispanic communities in the Los Angeles area and at an urban university where nearly half of the student body is Hispanic. Of the participants, 36% were first-generation (born in a Latin American country), 47.6% were second-generation (born in the United States, with one or both parents born in a Latin American country), and 15.9% were third- or later-generation (self and parents born in the United States, with one or more grandparents or other ancestors born in a Latin American country). In terms of education, 31.2% had completed high school or less; 38.8% had completed community college or a trade school program; and 30.0% had at least a 4-year college degree.

MEASURES

Sex role attitudes. Sex role attitudes were assessed with four items that were responded to on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The four items, worded in the direction of gender inequality, were as follows: "In a family, the father should take most of the responsibility for earning the money"; "Girls should help out with housework more than boys"; "A teen-age boy should be allowed to go out alone at night or to date at an earlier age than a girl"; and "The wife should be mostly responsible for household chores and childcare." A high score, indicating agreement with the items, shows acceptance of prescribed gender roles and gender inequality; a low score indicates support for gender equality; thus, to express egalitarian attitudes, respondents had to disagree with the items. The reliability of the scale, assessed by Cronbach's alpha, was .87.

Language. Spanish language was measured with the following two items: "I can speak Spanish," with response options on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very well*), and "I use Spanish in my daily life," with response options from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*almost always*); these two items were significantly correlated with each other, $r = .68, p < .001$. English language was measured with two similar items, "I can speak English," and "I use English in my daily life"; these items were significantly correlated, $r = .68, p < .001$. In each case, a higher score indicates greater proficiency and usage.

Friendship. Hispanic and non-Hispanic friendships were each measured with one item: "I have a lot of Hispanic/Latino (or: non-Hispanic/Latino) friends," with responses from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Demographics. Participants reported their generation and education level, as described above. They also reported their age in years, their gender, and their ethnic self-label. For analyses, gender was dummy coded; 1 = female, 2 = male.

TABLE 1
Correlations Among All Variables Examining Sex Role Attitudes

<i>Description</i>	<i>Traditional Sex Role</i>	<i>Generation</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Non-Hispanic Friends</i>
Generation	-.29**						
Education	-.32**	.06					
Gender ^a	.42**	-.12	-.06				
English	-.35**	.15	.35**	-.14			
Spanish	.12	-.42**	.14	-.05	-.11		
Non-Hispanic friends	-.33**	.02	.19*	-.05	.44**	.11	
Hispanic friends	.12	-.07	-.01	-.01	-.06	.36**	-.16*

a. 1 = female, 2 = male.

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

RESULTS

Because many of the indicators of acculturation were assumed to be related, we first carried out bivariate correlations among all the variables. The results are shown in Table 1. More egalitarian sex role attitudes were associated with later generation of immigration, higher levels of education, being female, and the two indicators of mainstream involvement, namely, greater proficiency and usage of English and having non-Hispanic friends. The two indicators of ethnic retention, namely, Spanish language proficiency and usage and having Hispanic friends, were unrelated to sex role attitudes. In addition, there were significant relationships among the predictor variables, although fewer than might be expected. Generation was related to only one of the indicators of acculturation, namely, Spanish usage and proficiency; it was unrelated to English usage and proficiency or to friendship networks. Education level was related to English, but not Spanish, language proficiency and usage and also to having non-Hispanic friends. Gender was unrelated to any demographic or acculturation variables. Age (not shown) was unrelated to sex role attitudes and was not included in subsequent analyses.

To examine the combined effect of these variables in predicting sex role attitudes, a simultaneous multiple regression analysis was carried out (see Table 2). The model was highly significant, $F(7, 162) = 15.3$, $p < .001$, and accounted for 40% of the variance. Generation, education, sex, and having non-Hispanic friends each made a unique contribution to the prediction of sex role attitudes; only English language, from among the correlates, was no longer significant in the regression analysis. As in the correlations, Spanish language and Hispanic friends showed no significant relationship to sex role attitudes.

To assess the interaction of generation, education, and sex in predicting sex role attitudes, we carried out a 3 (generation) \times 3 (education) \times 2 (gender) analysis of variance of sex role attitudes. There were highly significant main effects of generation, $F(2, 169) = 8.09$, $p < .001$; education, $F(2, 169) = 14.22$, $p < .001$; and gender, $F(1, 169) = 28.88$, $p < .001$. The mean scores are shown in Table 3. More traditional sex role attitudes were associated with earlier generation, less education, and being male, mirroring the results reported earlier. Post hoc tests showed that the first generation differed significantly from the second and third generation, but the latter two did not differ. The two lower educational levels did not differ from each other but they differed significantly from the highest level of education. There were no two-way interactions.

TABLE 2
Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Sex Role Attitudes

<i>Description</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Generation	-.196	-2.83	.01
Education	-.221	-3.31	.001
Gender	.36	5.83	.001
English	-.096	-1.32	<i>ns</i>
Spanish	.027	.36	<i>ns</i>
Non-Hispanic friends	-.22	-3.12	.01
Hispanic friends	.058	.88	<i>ns</i>

$R^2 = .40, F(7, 162) = 15.25, p < .001$

TABLE 3
Mean Sex Role Attitude Scores by Generation, Sex, and Education

<i>Education</i>	<i>First Generation</i>		<i>Second Generation</i>		<i>Third Generation</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
High school/less	3.42	3.63	3.44	1.73	3.60	2.56
Community/trade	3.52	2.82	2.98	1.90	3.63	2.06
College	3.06	1.69	2.52	1.73	1.50	1.50

There was, however, a significant three-way interaction of generation, education, and sex, $F(4, 169) = 2.84, p < .05$ (see Table 3 for means). To illustrate this interaction, Figure 1 shows the mean sex role attitude scores by education and sex for each generation separately. The graphs show that across generations and education levels, males had more traditional sex role attitudes, with two exceptions. For first-generation, least educated participants, there was no significant difference between males and females; both had highly traditional attitudes. For third-generation, most-educated participants, there was likewise no significant sex difference; in this case, both held egalitarian attitudes. The second-generation participants showed wide differences between the sexes across the three levels of education.

DISCUSSION

This study provides an important step toward the goal of unpacking the process of acculturation. Acculturation is a multivariate phenomenon that refers to a wide range of changes that occur over time. As this study illustrates, these changes are not necessarily closely linked but rather they can occur independently. It is important, therefore, to examine them separately to understand the ways in which acculturative change is related to other variables. Furthermore, because acculturation takes place along two dimensions—ethnic retention and adaptation to the new society—predictors and outcomes need to be considered in terms of each dimension.

We expected that traditional sex role attitudes would be negatively associated with involvement in American society and positively associated with retention of Hispanic culture. Results supported the hypothesis of a negative association between traditional sex role

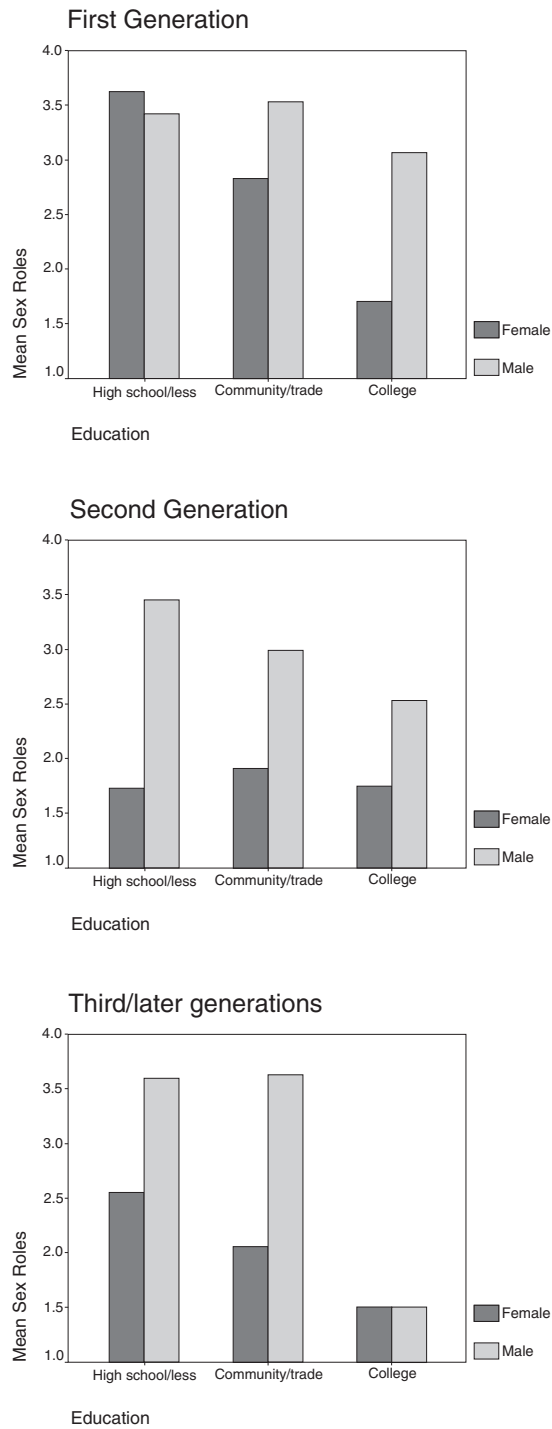


Figure 1: Mean Scores on Traditional Sex Role Attitudes, by Generation of Immigration, Educational Level, and Sex

attitudes and mainstream involvement. More-egalitarian attitudes were significantly correlated with proficiency and usage of English and with having non-Hispanic friends. In the regression analyses, with generation, education, and gender controlled, having non-Hispanic friends remained a significant predictor of egalitarian attitudes. However, English proficiency and usage did not remain significant, perhaps because of its shared variance with education. Generally, having friends from other ethnic groups, knowing and using English, and being more educated were the major predictors of egalitarian attitudes.

On the other hand, contrary to our hypothesis, retention of Hispanic culture, assessed as proficiency and usage of Spanish and having Hispanic friends, was unrelated to sex role attitudes both in the correlations and in the regression analysis. This result suggests that adaptation to the larger society is more predictive of sex role attitudes than the ethnic dimension of acculturation, that is, retention of the culture of origin. This finding may differ for different types of attitudes and behaviors; for example, attitudes toward family relationships and interdependence may be more related to ethnic retention than to mainstream adaptation (Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, Marín, & Perez-Stable, 1987). The results also provide support for a two-dimensional model of acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1997), showing that the two dimensions of acculturation (mainstream adaptation and ethnic retention) can be independent and have different relationships to outcomes. Specifically, the bicultural (or integrated) individual can be highly involved in mainstream American society and hold sex role attitudes typical of the mainstream and yet retain Hispanic social networks and Spanish language. The important point is that each dimension can be expected to influence acculturative outcomes in different ways. Similar results showing different effects of the two dimensions of acculturation have been reported in research on acculturative changes in ethnic identity (Phinney, *in press*).

Generation of immigration, which has been perhaps the most widely used indicator of acculturation, was also a significant predictor of sex role attitudes, as expected. However, it was less important than the other significant predictors and was, in fact, unrelated to any of the variables that independently predicted sex role attitudes. Specifically, generation was unrelated to social networks, both Hispanic and non-Hispanic, to English language proficiency and usage, and to educational level. The only significant relationship with generation was a negative correlation with Spanish proficiency and usage; over generations, Spanish declined significantly. However, Spanish language was unrelated to sex role attitudes. Thus generation per se was of little use in elucidating differences in sex role attitudes. This finding raises serious questions about the value of using generation alone in research aimed at understanding acculturation outcomes. Knowing whether a person is first, second, or third generation tells us little about the factors that account for individual differences resulting from cultural contact.

Two other factors that were implicated in sex role attitudes were gender and education, as expected. Women held more egalitarian sex role attitudes, as did those with more education. These results are in accord with other research showing that these variables are related to less traditional attitudes toward gender roles (e.g., Best & Williams, 1997; Leaper & Valin, 1996; Valentine & Mosley, 2000). But gender and education are not necessarily associated with acculturation; gender obviously has no association with generation, but interestingly, education was also unrelated to generation. Thus, these important variables in understanding particular outcomes (in this case, sex role attitudes) need to be controlled to separate out the variables that influence acculturative outcomes.

Of particular interest are the results that were revealed when gender and education were examined separately by generation. Although traditional sex roles were related to education,

gender, and generation, the interactive effects of these variables revealed circumstances in which gender and educational differences in sex role attitudes may lead to acculturative conflicts, due to contrasting views of gender roles.

In the first generation, the gender gap was greatest among the most educated; more educated males retained traditional attitudes whereas more educated women were highly egalitarian. This discrepancy may lead to conflicts over roles among more educated adults. Interestingly, among less educated adults, there should be less disagreement in the first generation because women retain traditional attitudes similar to those of males. The gender gap remained fairly large in the second generation, regardless of education level, although males showed increasingly egalitarian attitudes at higher levels of education. Finally, in the third generation, the gap vanished among adults with the highest levels of education, as males adopted egalitarian attitudes. Nevertheless, the gender gap remained among those with the least education. It is therefore in this less educated group where there is most likely to be conflict.

These results have important implications for counseling and interventions with immigrant families experiencing acculturation. Attention should be focused on specific aspects of the acculturation process that may contribute to particular problems, and members of the helping profession should be aware that the issues may be different depending on generation and education levels. Specifically, with regard to disagreements over sex role attitudes, greater problems can be anticipated among more educated adults in the first generation and among less educated adults in the third generation.

There are several limitations to this study that should be kept in mind. The participants were all from an area of Los Angeles in which Hispanics make up a substantial proportion of the population; findings may be different in other regions of the country. Sex role attitudes were assessed with a short scale that focuses on gender equality and does not cover a wide range of possible attitudes; other aspects of gender role may show different patterns of change. Additional aspects of acculturation, such as employment (e.g., in a mainstream versus a predominantly Hispanic workplace) and leisure time pursuits might be considered in future research.

Nevertheless, the results provide important insights into the acculturation process. They go beyond existing research in demonstrating the differing impact of specific aspects of the acculturation process rather than simply showing that more acculturated individuals have less traditional sex role attitudes. Specifically, the results suggest that involvement in the larger society, particularly through friendship networks, is an important factor in sex role attitudes, whereas retention of ethnic language and friendships is not. Furthermore, generation, education, and gender interact to reveal different levels of sex role attitudes across varying combinations of these variables. Thus, the research illustrates the value of unpackaging acculturation. Instead of using single scales that combine components that can vary independently, research on this topic would benefit from using a range of variables to explain the complex process of acculturation.

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