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THE EFFECTS OF NATIONALITY AND GENDER ON
THE HISPANIC ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY

by

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Statement of Problem

Is the adolescent personality a given phenomenon, constant throughout the human experience, or is it altered by the incredibly different environmental conditions which exist in the world?

The importance of this question lies within the broader framework of how or if, environment determines personality and, thus, whether personality development is constant or variable. There is such a wide variety of human differences that an understanding of the effects of environment on personality, which uses adolescents from such different environments as, say, from New York and Samoa, is always broad and involves endless variables. Here, the study is limited to Hispanic adolescents. These limits will be helpful in understanding the major theories of adolescent personality development because some theorists say personality varies with environment and others say it is constant. By sampling three different countries in the same culture, the study examines, more specifically than the global test between

primitive and technological cultures, the extent to which nationality is a significant variable in the formation of the adolescent personality. Since the study deals with variance in one culture rather than in many cultures, it makes a sharper contrast. Nationality, with socio-economic status and culture constant, is the main variable and it can be clearly tested. If nationality does not prove to be significant so that answers between nations are correlated, then the plausibility of a constant adolescent personality is increased.

On the other hand, if nationality is an influential power in determining personality, then adolescents from three different nations of the same culture should have different values.

When I refer to the same culture I mean to imply, and then examine, whether or not the three different Spanish-speaking regions of this study share the same values. If they do have the same values we can say that there is an Hispanic personality. If there is an Hispanic personality then we must be cautioned against over-generalizing about national ethnic groups, such as the Chicanos, because the national quality of the ethnic group, if the results show no differences between adolescents of different countries, is put into question. This could suggest that the problem of personality development is inter-American, or for that matter, international. This is what would be implied if samples from the

same culture (Hispanic), but different countries within the culture, had the same values. The essential question for this paper -- the extent to which nationality and gender influence the Hispanic adolescent's personality -- leads to the debate between the psychological universalists and the cultural anthropologists. The universalists argue that because all children are human, the same developmental processes with an invariant sequence apply to all children of all nationalities. According to these theorists, although the rate of growth may be different for different nationalities, the sequence and processes remain the same. The opposing view of the cultural anthropologists is that culture does have a profound effect on the type of personality one acquires. Personalities are culturally determined. The universalists' view implies that no differences exist between cultures. The cultural anthropological view implies that adolescent personalities from different cultures are different from each other: the farther the distance between cultures, the more the difference between personalities.

What would happen if the results showed that differences on the personality questionnaire were between boys and girls and not between countries? This might indicate that sex, rather than nation, is the major determinant in personality development. Then the distinctions between Hispanics should not be based on national differences, but based on gender differences. If it is proven that Hispanics are influenced

more by gender than nationality then perhaps people throughout the world are, too. And, therefore, we should caution against generalizing about national character.

This paper questions the extent of national determinants to the formation of the adolescent personality. The hypothesis here is that gender will be more influential than nationality in determining the Hispanic adolescent personality. If the hypothesis is proven to be correct, then the universalists' point of view will be enhanced.

Review of the Literature

Some say that adolescents did not exist before G. Stanley Hall in 1904 published the Psychology of Adolescence. Hall was a Darwinian; to him the development of personality is the result of physiological factors that are genetically determined. Psychological development and its concomitant behaviors are universal and unchangeable. He gives a very definite view of the characteristics of the adolescent personality. "Sturm and Drang" or storm and stress are seen to be the essentials of the adolescent character. The whole notion that the teenage years are filled with conflict and internal self-doubt is the keystone of the Hall document. There is little or no room for the effects of environment on personality. To Hall, the adolescent personality is independent of his culture.

Another view of adolescence, also one that stresses the independence of personality from culture, is expressed by

Freud. According to psychoanalytical theory, stages of development are genetically determined and invariant. The Oedipus complex is a universal phenomenon. Instincts, or the id, begin to dominate the personality in adolescence, yet society forces adolescents to defer immediate gratification. Because of their increased intellectual capacity, they are considered, from the Freudian view, able to defer satisfaction. Thus, Erickson, a neo-Freudian, writes that the central task of adolescence is to form an ego identity that is capable of dealing with the increased psychological demands of the id. Although the Freudians stress the importance of early childhood and family history in the formation of adolescent personality, it is gender, rather than culture, that they see as the most poignant determinant for personality development.

The findings of cultural anthropologists constituted a real threat to the propositions that Hall and the Freudians had about adolescence. Coming of Age in Samoa (Mead, 1924) was published in 1924. Mead emphasizes the importance of social institutions and cultural factors in human development. Mead's book describes the rituals of puberty in a primitive society. She rejects the psychoanalytic notion that personality is dependent on a few outstanding events of childhood, such as toilet training and the Oedipus complex, and asserts that cultural patterns are the important factors which need to be taken into account in the development of personality "If social conventions can so distort the recognition of birth,

and of death, is it not surprising that the same distortion applies to the period of puberty" (p. 342). Adolescence in Samoa rather than being the most difficult and stressful time of a woman's life, as predicted by Hall and the Freudians, is a time of peace and "perhaps the most pleasant time the Samoan girl will ever know" (p.343). To Mead, societies define the years of adolescence and the qualities of the adolescent personality.

The changes in social status from childhood to adulthood in fifty-six different cultures were studied by Whiting, Kluckhohn and Anthony (1958). Among the Thonga, a tribe in South Africa, every boy must go through a very elaborate ceremony at puberty. Every four or five years all the boys between ages eleven and sixteen are taken to a "circumcision school." Here, in company with their age mates, each boy undergoes the following ordeal: He is abducted from his home, (for the first time in his life), blindfolded and taken to an unknown place, forced to run between two rows of men, and beaten with clubs. At the end of this run he is stripped of his clothes and his hair is shaved off. Then he is escorted to a man dressed in lion skins and seated on a stool facing the lion man who shouts insults to him. At this point he is hit from behind. When he turns, the lion man grabs his penis and cuts off his foreskin. For the next three months he undergoes six major trials: beatings, exposure to the cold, thirst, eating unsavory foods (he is expected to eat uncooked grass covered with lion dung),

punishment, and the threat of death. During the whole time he is being constantly attacked by the initiated men. Although the Thonga seem a bit dramatic, the study found nearly twenty societies with similar initiation ceremonies.

Besides the authors' interest in the Thonga's strange "barmitzvah" ceremony, they draw important conclusions about the universal nature of the Oedipus complex and take a position between the extreme of cultural determinism and psychological universalism. They accept the Freudian Oedipus conflict as a universal, but show that its contribution to personality development varies depending on the intensity of the relationship between the man child and his mother. The authors state that a long and exclusive relationship between the mother and her son provides all the conditions for psychological dependency, so that when the father terminates the relationship of intimacy between mother and son, the son will become envious and hostile. This hostility, not easily projected in childhood, can become dangerous once the child has grown to adult size and is capable of inflicting harm on his father. The authors' hypotheses can be stated in the following manner: societies which have sleeping arrangements in which the mother and the son share the same bed for at least a year after birth to the exclusion of the father, and societies where the mother is restricted from having sex for at least one year after childbirth (Cheyennes have the strictest taboos, the father must wait ten years before resuming intercourse with his wife),

will be more likely to have ceremonies for puberty that contain elements of hazing by adults, isolation from females, tests of manliness, and genitalia operations. The results were confirmed in the fifty-six cultures under study and they show that although the Oedipus situation may be universal, it is still resolved in clearly different fashions in different cultures. Thus, Mead's view that culture determines the qualities of the adolescent personality, is born out in vivid detail by the Thonga. Yet, in each society, no matter how bizarre or benign adolescent initiations may be, the fact of gender, as demonstrated by the above story, cannot be ignored.

Historical analysis is another way to look at and see if adolescent personality is variant or constant. Adolescence has not always been seen as a time of trouble and conflict throughout North American history. "Adolescence" with the Hallian characteristics is a function of the new urban industrial society. Before the Civil War, the United States was in short supply of labor. This changed with the beginning of modern industrial society when the United States became more technological. Many of the jobs were being taken over by machinery. Teenagers were no longer needed for work, and thus there were large numbers of persons who, by historical standards, were considered able to work, but were no longer needed in the work force. As a result of these conditions, three major social changes occurred which brought "adolescence,"

as Hall now perceived it, into existence: compulsory education, child labor laws, and special legal procedures for juveniles. With these changes puberty was transformed into "adolescence," which included the qualities of trouble and conflict.

How the stages of life can be altered in different historical circumstances is best laid out by Phillippe Aries (1962), who says that in medieval times in France most children, boys and girls, by the time they were seven were in the work force, and assumed many of the qualities we now give to North American male adolescents. In contrast to medieval France, puberty in modern North America, although it has a different relation to the world of work and a different stage of life, is the age period associated with conflict and tension. Thus, in different historical circumstances, the age, or the adolescent stage, has totally different psychological characteristics.

The modern concept of adolescence -- leaving home, joining the work force, even "becoming a man" -- is extremely "masculine" in itself. The 1854 Roget's Thesaurus defined adolescence as being in one's teens, with manhood, virility and maturity; with everything except childhood, senility, and femininity. By 1961, Coleman, in his classic work The Adolescent Society, showed that in a rapidly changing industrial society, the family is no longer capable of rearing young people and, therefore, a sub-society of adolescents exists as

a united front against adults who are trying to subjugate them. Here again, we have the view of adolescence as dangerous, stressful and antagonistic, qualities we associate with masculinity.

There are some writers who claim that the masculine qualities of aggression and pseudo-self assurance are not in fact qualities of adolescence, either for boys or girls. Kitwood (1980) in a review of the literature, and in a cross-cultural study of adolescent values, stated that the "participants in this inquiry did not show much resemblance to the adolescent of the popular stereotype: they were not mindless consumers, practitioners of violence and sensuality, rebels against authority, degenerate, reckless, or lazy" (p. 280). An interesting collaboration of the tenet that adolescence is not equated with turmoil and stress can be found in The Myth of Adolescent Culture (Elkin and Westley, 1955). To these authors, the myth of adolescent hubris, is just that, a myth. In clarifying this myth, these authors do much to de-masculinize our concept of adolescence.

The view of adolescence as being an invariant phenomena of the human condition as expressed at the turn of the century by Hall and the Freudians, (each for his own reasons), was put into disarray by the cultural relativists and historical analysts of the mid-20th Century. In the latter part of the 20th Century, with the work of Piaget (1952) and Kohlberg (1969), the invariant view once again is taking hold. To

these cognitive developmental psychologists, the development of thought and morality follows an invariant process that is sequential, each stage being necessary before the next stage can take place. The works of these two people have been widely tested cross-culturally. Kohlberg has claimed that the scheme has universal validity on the grounds that it is based on the fundamental principle of justice, which underlies the variety of cultural mores and values of all societies, primitive and industrial. Piaget makes the same claim. Much of the material of the universalists, either the cognitive developmental psychologists such as Piaget and Kohlberg, and the Freudians or Hallians, has undergone specific cross-cultural tests with regard to sex. David Aberle (1961), in his article "Culture and Socialization," reviews the literature of cross-cultural differences regarding child rearing for boys and girls. In general, the differences that he found were that boys are trained more for achievement, self-reliance, and independence, and girls more for obedience, responsibility, and nurturance, in almost all the cultures under review. Kohlberg (1969) states that there are basic universal sex role stereotypes that develop early in young children. To Kohlberg and Piaget the differences between boys and girls come from physical differences and the resulting different experiences these physical differences bring to bear on the developing child. These sex role differences lead toward the development of masculine and feminine values in children and are observable

in a variety of child rearing conditions.

D'Andrade, in his article, "Cross-Cultural Studies of Sex Difference in Behavior," (1966), also reviews the literature with regard to sex differences in different cultures. He suggests that "The cross-cultural mode is that males are more sexually active, more dominant, more deferred to, more aggressive, less responsible, less nurturant and less emotionally expressive than females" (p. 201). Although he does say these differences can be tempered by culture, he also maintains they are universal.

In projective tests males from a number of cultures have been found to be more insecure and anxious than females (Maccoby, 1966). Maccoby (1966) studied socialization of children and found that girls have a greater sense of conformity than boys. Brown (1957) found that females prefer to be boys more than males prefer to be girls.

Since gender exists as a biological fact, some stress the universal influences gender has toward personality development. To others, the effects of gender are different and dependent on cultural and historical circumstances. Thus, with gender as with the case of culture, there are two opposing points of view. Some psychologists believe that different cultural experiences produce different personality types (Mead), and some believe that regardless of the particular culture, the outcomes of personality are the same (Hall and Freud). With regard to sex, some psychologists believe that

gender, regardless of culture, determines a definite personality type (Kohlberg, D'Andrade, Aberle). Others believe that as culture varies, so do the personalities of the sexes (Mead).

The route from Peru toward Anthony, Texas via Juarez, Mexico maps a direction of greater technological and industrial sophistication and of different socio-cultural situations. If the results of the questionnaire demonstrate differences between nations, they would enhance the position of the cultural determinants. On the other hand, if similarities, due to the common size and controlled socio-economic status, are greater than the differences, then the psychological universalists' model would gain favor. And, more importantly, if the sex differences are greater than the cultural differences, the hypothesis, that sex is more influential than culture in personality development, will be supported.

The Study

An open-ended sentence completion personality inventory with sixty questions was administered to seventy-five fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds in three Hispanic cultures; there were forty-three women and thirty-two men. Each sample consisted of twenty-five adolescents. All three samples were matched for socio-economic status and they all belonged to the working class. Although actual wealth in terms of purchasing powers varies from country to country, all three groups hold the same

position in respect to their own cultures. The first group is from Chimbote, a city of 100,000 on the coast of Peru. The second sample from Juarez, Mexico, a border city of 500,000, is taken from a public school with the same socio-economic population. The third sample is from Anthony, Texas, a community which is primarily Mexican American and whose social class structure is comparable to the other two schools. All the questionnaires were administered in Spanish and the responses were given in Spanish.

The first, tenth, twentieth, up to the sixtieth question give a fair look into what the questionnaire is like.

1. My father rarely
10. My idea of a perfect woman is
20. I expect
30. My biggest mistake was
40. I think that almost all men are
50. When I grow older
60. The worst thing I have ever done

The questionnaire is not standardized. It was administered by the researcher, in Spanish, to all three groups of adolescents. It is a projective test with all the methodological pitfalls of this type of instrument. It is used here to study the personalities of adolescents in three different Hispanic nations.

The sixty-item sentence completion questionnaire is divided into four categories: attitudes toward the family,

self-concept, heterosexuality, and interpersonal relationships. Each of these four categories is then subdivided; for example, the category Family is divided into attitudes about mother, father, and the total family. Each subcategory is composed of four questions, so that in the category of attitudes toward the father, the following four questions are included: I feel my father rarely____; If only my father wanted____; I want my father to ____; and, I think my father is ____.

The responses to each question divided into groups, so that under the question, "I want my father to____," the responses separated themselves into six groups: to be more understanding, to be more trustworthy, to be successful, to take a vacation, to stay the same, and, to believe me.

The frequency in each group of answers was tabulated and the Chi-Squares test of significance computed for sex and nationality for each group. Since each of the sixty questions had, on the average, eight groups of answers, there were approximately 240 groups of answers. Each of the 240 groups of answers was tested for significant correlations with the three countries and both sexes. Thus, in all there were five times 240 or 1,200 possible significant Chi-Squares. The results indicate twenty-eight significant Chi-Squares beyond the .05 level, twelve for sex, sixteen for country. Since the variables were not continuous, no further statistical procedures were utilized.

Results

The results for the four main categories: attitudes toward family, self-concept, sexuality, and interpersonal relationships are listed separately below.

Family.

It is interesting that in answer to the questions, "I want my father to___" and "My father rarely___," two-thirds of the respondents use the words "understand me." However, only ten percent say anything overtly negative about their fathers. Since there are no sex or cultural differences, we are presented with a cross-cultural and bi-gender similarity. Teenagers see their fathers as distant, but yet remain uncritical. When questioned about their mothers, similar replies are given. Eighty percent of the respondents, in answering the questions, "My mother and I___" and "I think most mothers___," use the words "good" and "understanding." Women slightly more than men use the words "good," "best," and "friends" in describing their mother. A slight sex difference, but no cultural difference, is found in the response to the question, "I like my mother BUT." "She is too strict," emerges more, but not significantly so, in women's answers than in men's. Across the three cultures there is a similarity. Mothers are viewed as "good" and "understanding," rarely perceived as negative. However, women view their mothers as slightly more "strict" than the men do.

In their responses to questions about families, we again

see cross-cultural similarities, but there are gender differences. Almost no negative qualities are given to families. To the question, "When I was a child, my family___," eighty percent of the respondents say something positive. Only one-half of the respondents use "respectfully" in answer to the question, "My family treats me___." There are no differences cross-nationally. Eight of the seventy-one possible responses were marked "evasive," a category used to indicate that the answer given was not directed toward the question, but seemed to be used to cover up true feelings. All eight evasive answers were given by women, ($p=.10$); six of the eight were from the United States, ($p=.10$).

Self-Concept.

The Self-Concept category is broken down into attitudes about the past and future, a sense of guilt, fears, goals, and attitudes toward one's own abilities. Each of these sub-categories involves four questions. The results suggest that adolescents, both boys and girls, from all three cultures, view the world in a similar fashion. They accept their struggle to get ahead in the world and show little non-conformity toward obtaining this goal. There is a sense of self-criticism about how hard they are working to achieve the good life and it is apparent that their worries are not so much over personal things as they are over careers.

The memories that adolescents have of their childhood are "happy" and "playful." "When I was a child___" is marked

"happy" most frequently by all three countries. However, there is a sex difference. Women use the word "bad" nearly significantly more often than men ($p=.06$). The question, "A while back I___," elicits mostly positive responses, but there is a sex difference -- more men than expected ($p=.02$) say "sad," yet there are no differences between countries.

Culpas, or feelings of guilt, is another subcategory. In this subcategory, adolescents in all three cultures are similar, but the girls and boys answer differently. Common responses show self-criticism and acceptance of the task of getting ahead in the world. To, "I would do anything to forget___," "when I was wasting time" was the most frequent response. To, "My worst mistake was___," "not applying myself in school" or "not being obedient," were the most common answers. Here the sex differences are significant and interesting. There are a total of seventy-three responses; sixteen are evasive and fifteen of the sixteen are from females ($p=.002$). There are no differences between nations. "Disobedience," another answer group to the question, "My worst mistake was___," is significantly different than chance ($p=.022$), indicated that females are statistically more likely than males to use this response. Again, there are no nationality differences. To, "When I was younger I felt guilty about___," "rebellion" is the most frequent response, and to, "The worst thing that I have always done___," is "to be rebellious" or "disrespectful." There is a difference between nationalities here ($p=.02$). Self-criticism seems more

likely to occur in Peru than in Mexico and is more likely in Mexico than in the United States. The adolescents were also queried about their fears. The responses show a fear of "loneliness" and a fear of "not succeeding in a career" as the two most frequent concerns. There are no significant sex differences. There are a great variety of responses to the question, "I'm afraid of ____." "Death," "school" and "parents" are the three most frequent. There are no sex differences.

Turning to questions about the future, there is only one sex difference and no national differences. There is a concern expressed by all groups about what the future will be like in terms of career, much less of a concern about how their personal lives will turn out. For example, to the question, "I always wanted __," there is a bimodal response. Half the respondents say "to finish school" and the other half mention something tangible or material, like a car. To the above question and to the question, "I would be completely happy if __," a striking thing emerges. Across sex and culture, for these adolescents, happiness is judged by a good career rather than in personal terms. However, the girls ($p=.02$) are more interested in "fulfilling their dreams" than the boys, who showed more interest in "professional or financial success." Although all the adolescents saw their futures in practical terms, there is a tendency for the women in all three countries to be more romantic than the men are.

The last subcategory, self-concept, shows no sex or

cultural differences. When adolescents have difficulties, one-half of them go to their parents for support, the other half look inward. There is a slight tendency for the females to ask parents for support more often than the males do, but it is not significant.

The seventy-four subjects are asked what their biggest weakness is. Seven answers are evasive; all of these are from women, and five of the seven women are from the United States ($p=.07$).

Heterosexuality.

To the question, "When I see a man and a woman together, I think of __," the most frequent response, nearly fifty percent of the sample, is "happiness." There are no sex or national differences. Asked about their feelings toward marriage, one-half see it as a favorable institution; the other half doesn't. There is a difference between nations. Peruvians see marriage in "good" terms beyond what would be allowed for by chance ($p=.05$). The answers to the question, "If I had sexual relations __," shows very significant differences between sex and countries. Twenty-one point five percent of the women, as compared to 1.4 percent of the men ($p=.0001$), say they would have sex only in marriage. This difference is equally true for all three countries. Ten percent of the women, as compared to zero percent of the men ($p=.0001$), say they would feel bad if they had sex. There is no difference between countries. Thirty percent of the men,

as compared with four percent of the women ($p=.0001$) say they would enjoy sex. There is a difference between nationalities; less people from the United States than expected answer, "I'd enjoy sex" ($p=.04$).

To the question, "My sex life___," thirty-three percent of the women put "I don't have one;" only 5.9 percent of the men said this. This was significant at the .002 level.

On this question there is a significant difference between nations. More Peruvian and Mexican adolescents say the "do not have a sex life" (or at least answer in this fashion) than North American adolescents ($p=.03$). More adolescents from the United States than from either Mexico or Peru are evasive ($p=.03$). For the total sample, ten percent of the answers to this question are missing, more so than for any other question.

The two most frequent answers to the question, "My idea of a perfect woman is ___," are "good" and "understanding." A less frequent response is "intelligent;" 14.6 percent of the women respond this way, but no men ($p=.04$) do so. To the question, "I believe most women are___," the most frequent response is "understanding." The next most frequent is "intelligent." More women than men use the word intelligent ($p=.02$). "Flirtatious" is used significantly more often by men than women ($p=.02$) in describing a woman's personality. To the question, "What I like least about women___," 14.3 percent of the boys say, "snobs" and 13 percent of the girls answered "lack of decency." In all these questions concerning attitudes

toward women, there are no differences between countries, but there are significant differences between sexes.

Interpersonal Relationships.

The last of the four categories, interpersonal relationships, is broken down into four subcategories -- attitudes toward friends, superiors, underlings, and colleagues. There are no sex or national differences used to define true friends. They are "loyal" and "loving." These adolescents, regardless of country or sex, do not like "hypocrites." The kinds of people they like are "sincere," "understanding," and "nice." "Without my friends around___," is responded to most frequently by the answer "they miss me." There is no sex difference, but there is a nationality difference. The question is answered this way, twenty-one percent of the time by Peruvians, ten percent of the time by Mexicans, and only 2.9 percent by North Americans.

To the question, "The people who work for me___," the women, when compared with the men, are more evasive ($p=.03$). More than one-half of these evasive women are from the United States. To the question concerning giving orders to others fourteen percent of the women feel uneasy and only seven percent of the men do. There are three evasive answers, all women, and all three women were from the United States.

The last subcategory in interpersonal relationships is attitudes toward peers. The question, "At school I get along best with___," is answered evasively by women more than by

men ($p=.04$), and four of the five women in this category are from the United States ($p=.006$). To the question, "Those I work with are___," the most frequent response is "good." However, over ten percent of these responses are evasive and eighty percent of these are from girls, a statistically significant difference ($p=.06$). Of these evasive responses, ninety percent are from the United States ($p=.007$). To the question, "People who work with me usually___," the women are evasive thirteen percent of the time and the men not at all ($p=.007$). Of the nine who are evasive on this question, seven are from the United States, a nearly-statistical significant difference ($p=.06$).

Discussion

Although similarities, both between sexes and nationalities, are more common than differences, the results of the study suggest that differences are more likely to occur between sexes than between nationalities. In this respect, the female respondents are more like other women of differing nationalities than they are similar to the men of their own country. This means that a young adolescent girl in Chimbote, Peru is more like her North American counterpart than she is like the boy she dates.

On the subcategory of family relations, the adolescents' views are constant across national and gender lines. They don't see their families as particularly understanding

or respectful of them, yet they remain judgmentally uncritical. The results suggest that women are evasive, men critical, in response to treatment they receive from their families.

When it comes to self-concept we again see similarities; adolescents of both sexes and all three countries seem committed to getting ahead in the world. Also, they are more concerned with social status than personal relationships. There are some differences that are important to record; when answering the question, "My worst mistake was___," the women are statistically more evasive ($p=.002$) than the men. The picture of women that emerges is one that shows them less able to articulate judgements than the men and, therefore, probably having less ego strength. The women's statistically higher degree of romanticism concerning the future ($p=.02$) illustrates that they are less reality-based and more comfortable in fantasy. When asked what their biggest weakness was, five of the seven evasive responses were from women ($p=.07$), perhaps another indication of less ego strength.

The subcategory of heterosexuality also illustrates the importance of gender in determining answers to this personality inventory. Most adolescents view marriage as a positive experience, but their views on sexual relations are more dependent on gender than culture. Having sex only inside of marriage ($p=.0001$), feelings of guilt about sex if it were to occur outside of marriage ($p=.0001$), and enjoying sex ($p=.0001$), all show considerable difference between sexes, but no difference

between countries. This shows that a boy from Peru and a boy from the United States have the same thoughts about sex, but both of them have different thoughts than their women counterparts.

More North American adolescents answer that they have had sex than those from the other two countries ($p=.03$).

Looking at the answers, the differences are between sexes not countries. Women see other women as more intelligent ($p=.02$) than men do and more men than women see women as flirtatious ($p=.02$).

Thus, in all of the heterosexual subcategories we have many differences between men and women, but only one difference between countries.

The last subcategory in the questionnaire is interpersonal relations. For these adolescents true friends are loyal and loving; this is true without regard to sex or culture. Some of the answers to the questions concerning friendships among peers suggest that friendship becomes less intimate as you travel north from Peru to Texas.

The questions evaluating relations between different status groups and between peers are answered differently by men and women; the women are more evasive. In a working situation they do not see themselves as responsible as men are ($p=.007$), and when asked questions about their peers in working situations they continue to be evasive. In the subcategory of interpersonal relations, unlike the other three subcategories,

the women-men differences are stronger in the United States than in the other two countries.

Because the results indicate that boys from all three countries are similar and that girls are also similar in all three countries we can postulate an Hispanic adolescent personality. If it is true that an Hispanic personality exists, then we have to be cautious about drawing conclusions about national character. Also, because of the lack of national differences, and the controlled use of socio-economic status, religious affiliation, and linguistic similarities, we can suggest that nationality is not that important a factor in Hispanic personality development.

Thus, common responses given by all the adolescents suggest that the position of the psychological universalists is tenable.

Since the results show that major differences are between sexes, not countries, it can be assumed that sex is more of a personality determinant than nationality. When we speak of an Hispanic personality we must consider that there really are two Hispanic personalities, one for boys and one for girls.

The statistics used in the study were descriptive and not inferential, therefore we cannot accept, nor can we reject the hypothesis that gender is more influential than nationality in influencing the development of the Hispanic adolescent personality. We can, however, assert that genders are associated with different responses and that countries are associated

with similar responses. The future study, using continuous variables, will help to answer the above hypothesis.

The instrument is now being rewritten by using the answers that are most frequently given and using the questions that make distinctions between sex and culture. The questions will then be put into a Likert format. For example, in the original questionnaire, to the question, "My father rarely___," there are eight groups of answers. However, "understands me" and "angry with me" account for fifty percent of the responses. In the next format of the questionnaire, this question will be asked: "My father rarely understands me____," and the answers will be 1 - 5, or from 'not at all' to 'completely.' In addition, the samples will be increased, given to more of a variety of nations and to special populations such as handicapped or gifted children, in order to increase the reliability of the instrument.

A word about the evasive responses is important because there was an attempt made to put all the responses into groups. The responses that were marked evasive thus were really idiosyncratic. They were different from the other responses and they did not answer the question straight-forwardly. In this sense, the wide degree of evasive responses from the females cannot be taken lightly and, in fact, are a significant part of the study. Women in this study were less straight-forward than the men. And, this was true regardless of culture. The

fact that many of the evasive responses were from North American women is viewed as an artifact of the testing situation. North American's, both men and women, took the questionnaire with less sincerity and more flippancy than did the two other cultures. This, combined with the fact that in the United States sample there were more women than men (15-9), suggests that the cluster of women from the United States is somewhat artificial. An increased sample size will be helpful to test this hypothesis.

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