

DILEMMAS OF THE HIGH ACHIEVING CHICANA:

THE DOUBLE BIND FACTOR

IN MALE/FEMALE RELATIONSHIPS

by

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No. 10

May, 1987

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The larger project of which this work is a part was sponsored by the Center for Research on Women, Stanford University, and funded by the Ford Foundation, 1980-81. Acknowledgements to Dr. John A. García, Coordinator of Research at the Mexican American Studies and Research Center, University of Arizona and to Dr. David Torres, Management and Policy Department, College of Business and Public Administration, University of Arizona for their helpful comments and critique of this paper.

ISSN 0732-7749

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Abstract

The central research question of this exploratory study is to determine if college educated, ethnically identified and preferred endogamous Chicanas experience significantly more psychological distress due to a conflict between their educational achievements and beliefs that Chicano males are threatened by high achieving women. The specific perceptions are: that Mexican American males feel threatened by their educational accomplishments, tend to exclude them from political and organizational activities, and that college attainment will cause them to be seen as elitist by the larger Chicano community. This study uses descriptive and correlational analysis to explore the relationship between ethnic identification, preferred endogamy and perceptions that Chicanas' high achievements pose a threat to Chicano males as predictive factors for higher psychological distress.

The sample consists of 508 randomly selected Chicanas at five colleges, varying in selectivity from a private university to a community college. The majority of respondents are single and under thirty. A sample of 160 Chicano males were also randomly selected from three of the same five college campuses and were used to make comparisons on the threat dimension. The instrument is a mail questionnaire.

**DILEMMAS OF THE HIGH ACHIEVING CHICANA:
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Chicanas: Ethnic Identification and the Double Bind Factor

This study focuses on the relationship between ethnic identification, perceptions that Chicano males are threatened by female achievements, and psychological distress. A strong sense of ethnic identification, coupled with a preference to marry one's own ethnic groups, presents a "double bind" for the high achieving Chicana. This "double bind" is the tension between preference toward endogamy and the perception that males are threatened by high achieving women. Psychological distress is the hypothesized outcome of this "double bind." This distress is measured by self-reported level of stress related to feelings of loneliness, lack of dates, and sense of isolation from a larger ethnic community, is significantly higher than that of less ethnically identified cohorts in the study. Ethnic identification is defined by proportion of close friends who are Chicano and preference of Chicano males as conjugal partners. This study attempts to answer a basic question: Does the combination of high ethnic identification, preferred endogamy and perceptions that high achievements pose a threat to Chicano males lead to significantly higher levels of psychological distress?¹

Ethnic Identification

Ethnic identification consists of behavioral and attitudinal dimensions. This work defines ethnic identification includes primarily one's preference toward marriage with other Mexican Americans as a dimension related to, but distinct from friendship preferences. This approach to understanding ethnic identity is consistent with the work of other behavioral scientists studying ethnicity and ethnic identity (García, 1982; Smith, 1980; Arce, 1981; Tajfel, 1974).

Exogamy vs. Endogamy

The selection of a marriage partner is an important decision seldom made without consideration of compatibility (Burgess and Wallin, 1943). Such factors as equal educational attainment (Glick, 1958), social status, (Centers, 1949; Warner and Srole, 1945), cultural similarity (Hollingshead, 1950; Udry, 1966) and similar religious values (Thomas, 1951; Glick, 1960) are important selection criteria.

For the professional, educated woman, the choice of a suitable partner involves consideration of intellectual compatibility.

While upward social mobility and acculturation are positively associated with exogamy (Murguia, 1982, 1984; Griswold del Castillo, 1984), there are cross forces that influence an individual's preference toward endogamy. It is likely that strong ethnic identification will short circuit the marked tendency to outmarry (Murguia, 1982; Fernández, et al., 1984) among highly educated Chicanos. There are several reasons why this might be the case. Firstly, the advent of the Chicano Movement during the 1960-1970's has increased ethnic consciousness among young, college age Mexican Americans, which is likely to result in a return to strong in-group orientations. Secondly, the relative scarcity of Mexican American students on college campuses crystallizes ethnic boundaries (Barth, 1969; Royce, 1982). Royce (1982) maintains that ethnic groups demand evidence of ethnic loyalty from their members particularly if they are threatened in their status by outsiders. Hayes-Bautista (1972) asserts that "forced identification" such as that caused by the presence of Chicanos on the college campus, will lead to internal strengthening of ethnic identification and identity. In the presence of threat occasioned by an unfamiliar environment, Chicanos may reaffirm their ethnic status. Thirdly, if these students are the first generation to attend college or are first or second generation American citizens, they may retain strong ethnic identification and prefer endogamy inspite of recent upward mobility due to strong cultural proximity to others of the same ethnic group. For example, Arce (1981) shows that Chicanos tend to shed lower class value orientations with upward mobility, but retain ethnic identification. Similarly, Gans (1965) noted that first and second generation Italians in Boston generally disapproved of exogamy. Murguia (1982) suggests a similar dynamic operating among Chicanos.

Studies focused specifically on Hispanics' sex role stereotyping and gender identity substantiate that traditional concepts of womens' family role persist among educated males (González, 1982; Triandis, 1982). González (1982) administered a 45-item questionnaire measuring agreement with family sex roles considered stereotypical of the Mexican family to 90 male and 102 female Chicano and 109 male and 154 female Anglo college undergraduates. Mexican American males were most likely to agree on the appropriateness of the sex-role stereotypes than were Anglo males. Overall, males were more likely than females to report that these sex role stereotypes reflected appropriate

behavior. Gender appeared to be more salient than ethnicity in the endorsement of stereotypical sex roles. This research indicates that Chicano males are more likely to believe that women should retain traditional sex role behaviors. While this literature does not directly touch upon a conflict resulting from divergence between retention of traditional beliefs regarding sex roles and female achievement behavior, it is possible that both males' and females' stereotypical notions of appropriate role behavior may lead to conflict for the high achieving women in a traditional marriage.

A related trend in the literature shows that, regardless of gender, more educated (Buriel and Saenz, 1980; Soto, 1982, 1983) and acculturated (Espin and Warner, 1982; Kranau, Green and Valencia, 1982) Hispanic males and females tend to favor more balance of power in male/female relationships. Hawley and Even (1982), however, found that a lag existed between Mexican American males and females regarding appropriate male and female roles. Women thought that sex roles should be more egalitarian than did their male counterparts across all educational groupings, although differences were less marked between the more highly educated men and women. A general interpretation of the extant literature suggests that a gap exists between male and female perceptions of appropriate female roles but that the gap narrows with greater education and level of acculturation.

Baca-Zinn (1980, 1978), Zeff (1982), and Ortíz and Santana-Cooney (1982) point to a changing gender identity among Chicana and other Hispanic women. Congruent with higher educational attainment (Harris, 1979), generational distance from immigrant status (Soto and Shaver, 1982; Espin and Warner, 1982), greater acculturation (Kranau and Green, 1982) and greater labor force participation (Baca-Zinn, 1975, 1980; Ortíz and Santana-Cooney, 1982), women take greater part in family decision making and favor greater balance of power in marital relationships. Zeff (1982) in her study of Chicana, black and Anglo female college students, used the Bem Sex Role Inventory² to assess differences among these groups referent to predominance of "feminine," "masculine," "androgynous" or "undifferentiated" sex role traits. She found that Chicanas viewed themselves as less stereotypically feminine than either black or Anglo women.

Psychological Distress

For the high achieving Chicana who prefers to marry within her own ethnic group, the choice of a partner is complicated by several factors: 1) ideological incompatibility with regard to appropriate

sex roles. Traditional roles may still be more highly endorsed even among middle class, educated Chicano males (González, 1982; Triandis, et. al., 1984), causing them to prefer more "traditional," lower achieving women; 2) the tendency of more educated and upwardly mobile Chicanos to marry outside of their ethnic group (Bean and Bradshaw, 1970; Murguia, 1982; Fernández and Holscher, 1984), and for men to outmarry slightly more frequently than women (Griswold del Castillo, 1984).³ 3) the relatively small number of college educated Chicano males further shrinks the pool⁴ of available partners. A dissonance between preference to marry within the ethnic group and a possible shortage of compatible marriage partners may possibly lead to psychological distress. The literature on depression shows that marriage is a buffer against psychological distress⁵ among Mexican Americans (Vega, Warheit, and Meinhardt, 1984; Roberts and Roberts, 1982). Single and divorced Mexican Americans consistently report higher levels of psychological distress, and women exceed men in reported distress. The literature, however, is not conclusive regarding this possible outcome, hence the exploratory nature of this research.

Given the current state of research in this area, and the post hoc nature of the current data, it is not possible to draw causal inferences regarding a link between endogamy, perceived threat, and psychological stress. Based on the framework presented, however, we hypothesize an association between perceived threat and higher levels of psychological distress among ethnically identified and endogamous Chicanas. This perceived threat stems from a perception that males are threatened by women's educational achievements. This positive association is not expected to hold for Chicanas who are not endogamous or ethnically identified.

Method

Data were obtained from a project entitled "Chicanas in Postsecondary Education," sponsored by the Center for Research on Women at Stanford University conducted during the 1980-81 academic year. Both male and female Chicano students from five California colleges were randomly selected to participate in the study. Colleges ranged in selectivity from a private university to an open-door admissions community college. Two California state colleges, one in a predominantly rural area and one in a major metropolitan area, were among the five campuses. Another was a selective university within the University of California system. The sampling frame was a list of Spanish surname students

who had self-identified as Mexican American obtained from the Registrar's office at each campus, except for the urban State university. At that university, the research team selected all Spanish surname students from microfiche records and used residence as a filter in doubtful cases where Spanish students were possibly not Mexican origin. A stratified random sample of students based on year in college was selected from these lists.

Selected students were sent a questionnaire containing a battery of items tapping their academic and social experiences as college students. Areas tapped included: academic progress, degree majors, perceptions of the academic evaluation system, use of campus academic, financial and counseling support systems, attitudes toward marriage, dating, participation in Anglo and Chicano organizations, presence of academic, social, and financial stress, and ethnic identification items. Students who did not respond to the first questionnaire were sent two reminder postcards and another questionnaire following the reminder postcards. The research team hired campus liaisons to contact students who did not respond to the mailings through personal phone calls, yielding 22 more respondents. The final response rate was 55.9 percent, for a total of 679 participants in the study, 508 of which were female.⁶ For the present study, only females were selected. Some comparisons to the males will be made with respect to levels of endogamy and perceived threat later in this paper.

A brief description of the respondents shows that these students were slightly older (mean age=23) than the traditional college age student and were overwhelmingly single (75%).

Indices for endogamy, perceived threat, and stress were constructed using factor analysis. Data were analyzed using analysis of variance and Pearson correlations.

Operationalization of Variables

As discussed earlier, ethnic identification represents the dual dimensions of associational preferences and tendency toward endogamy. Associational preferences are operationalized using the percentage of close friends that are Mexican American and frequency of seeking Mexican American friends to discuss personal concerns or problems. Tendency toward endogamy is operationalized as preferring to date and marry other Chicanos.

Associational preferences- To measure associational preferences two items were used. These asked respondents 1) to state which percentage of their closest friends were Mexican or Mexican American and 2) how often they discussed problems with these friends. Respondents were assigned a item score of "0" if they had less than 50 percent Mexican American friends and an item score of "1" if they had 50 percent or more Mexican American friends. If respondents reported that they at least "frequently" discussed problems with these friends, they were given an item score of "1," otherwise, they were assigned a "0." These item scores were summed to provide a range of 0-2 on ethnic identification. These scores are presented in Table 1 which shows the frequency dimension for this variable. Note that a score of two means that individuals met all criteria, "1" signifies that they met the friendship percentage criteria, but not the criteria of frequency of discussing problems with these friends. Those scoring "0" met neither criteria and were considered as low in ethnic identification. Those scoring "1" had more than 50 percent Mexican American close friends, but did not at least "frequently" discuss problems with them. Those scoring "2" met both criteria.

Endogamy and threat measures- To measure preference for endogamy and perceptions that males were threatened by womens' accomplishments, a series of 5-point Likert items in the original questionnaire that tapped attitudes toward dating, marriage, contribution to the betterment of life for Chicanos, Chicana female participation in campus organizations, and perception of male attitudes toward educated Chicanas were submitted to exploratory factor analysis. A total of 6 items were included in the final analysis,⁷ using varimax rotated factor solutions. Items with their respective factor loadings and original item means and standard deviations are illustrated in Table 2. The first factor can be conceived as preferred endogamy. This factor differs from associational preferences in that it specifically measures preference to marry and date other Chicanos, as opposed to preferred friendships with other Chicanos in general. The second factor is "perceptions of threat." Factor scales were created from these items by converting original responses to Z scores, weighing these scores by the respective factor coefficients, and summing the weighted item scores. Only the weights for the items that loaded heavily (factor loading of .30 or higher) were included.

Psychological Distress

As discussed earlier, psychological distress is self-reported negative stress stemming from social isolation (See Note 1). It is measured by reported intensity of negative stress relative to lack of dates, being in a cold social environment, lack of a cohesive Chicano community, and feeling lonely. Measures of psychological distress are derived from a series of 5-2 point Likert items^a that requested subjects to state the intensity of stress, experienced by these same specific situations. Responses ranged from "I do not experience this" to "extremely stressful." The items with their respective factor loadings and original item descriptive statistics are illustrated in Table 3. A factor scale score for each respondent was created using the same method as for the endogamy and perceived threat measures.

Results

Scale summary statistics for perceived threat, level of preferred endogamy, and psychological distress for females appear in Table 4. The zero-order correlation matrix in Table 5 shows the relationship between preferred endogamy, perceived threat, and psychological stress for the entire female sample. In support of the hypothesis, there was a significant, but weak correlation between perceived threat and distress ($r=.19$; $p < .001$) for the entire sample.

To test the hypothesis presented earlier, we examine specific profiles of women based on combinations of ethnic identification and endogamy. First, the original ethnic identification measure was recoded so that women scoring "0" or "1" were considered as low in ethnic identification; those scoring "2" were high. The endogamy scores were subdivided at the median; those below the median were "low endogamy;" others were "high endogamy." From these divisions, four distinct profiles were created: high on both ethnic identification and endogamy; high on ethnic identification, but low on endogamy; low on both; and low on ethnic identification but high on endogamy. The results showed that the positive correlation between perceived threat and stress was statistically significant for those high on both ethnic identification and preference toward endogamy will lead to a corresponding association between perceived threat and psychological distress. If one is not both ethnically identified and endogamous, perceived threat is not associated with distress. Table 6 shows the results of this analysis.

Male/female Comparisons

An interesting set of ancillary questions arise when considering male gender identity. Do men agree with the women's impressions that achievements imply threat? Are men equally endogamous? Do men experience equal amounts of psychological distress? This study explores in brief these questions comparing the male subset of the sample (N=160) with the females. The single item responses of the constituent threat scale were compared between men and women. There were significant gender differences with respect to the perception that Chicano males are frightened by educated Chicanas. Women scored significantly higher than the men, respective means were 3.00 and 2.63 ($t=-3.52$; $p < .0001$). There is significant disparity between male and female perceptions of how threatening women's accomplishments are. The findings are contrary to previous research showing men lagging behind women in endorsement of more expansive role behavior. There were no significant differences between Chicano males' and females' perceptions that men excluded women from participation in political and campus activities or that college educated Chicanos would be viewed as elitists. Respective means were -.0022 for men and .0002 for women ($t=-.03$;ns). There were no significant differences between Chicano males' and females' perceptions that men excluded women from participation in political and campus activities or that college educated Chicanos would be viewed as elitists.

T-tests comparing males and females showed no difference between males and females regarding preference to date and marry other Chicanos. Contrary to the literature that documents higher distress among women, there were no differences in psychological distress.⁹ The mean psychological distress score for women was .0296, compared to -.0512 for men ($t=-1.0$;ns).

Implications for Future Research

The significant relationship between perceived threat and psychological distress is an interesting finding. Clearly, if a highly educated woman desires to marry within her own ethnic group and feels that the males of this group are not accepting of her accomplishments, there may be incongruence between culturally desirable sex role behavior and the behavior required in the work and academic world. Resultant conflict could lead to marital disruption.

There are many possible scenarios that arise from examining and retesting the hypothesis presented in this work: experienced distress might become painful enough to force a decision to forego her own education and personal achievements to attain marriage goals. Conversely, the attainment of educational and career goals may disrupt current marriages, requiring new choices and hard negotiation. Some options might include: a decision to remain single, marry outside of her ethnic group, or work with her partner to attain support and balance. No choice is without effort or discomfort; each requires a redefinition of what is considered appropriate balance in male/female relationships.

The disparity between Chicano male and female perceptions of threat was a most intriguing finding. Chicano men say they are not threatened by women's accomplishments, yet the women think they are. Either the men are reluctant to report their true feelings, or there are some serious gaps of understanding between the sexes. If women's perception that men are threatened by female accomplishment is distorted, as this study implies, the conflict could really be stemming from inability for men and women to communicate effectively. Clearly, this work points to the need to initiate serious dialogue between the sexes and to embark upon serious research in the area of Chicano sex role perceptions as they differ between men and women.

Additionally, it is possible that feelings of distress are responses to alienation or social isolation from the mainstream college environment. This isolation, in turn could produce a drive toward ethnic cohesion and endogamy. Subsequently, increased contact between Mexican American college men and women might possibly result in conflict, as both have increased opportunities for discussion and disagreement regarding sex role expectations. Such conflict could then lead to higher distress.

In summary, the findings constitute an important first step in the exploration of sex role and gender identity among professional Chicano males and females.

Limitations

The use of secondary data without a prior theoretical constructs and measures constitutes a major weakness as the present conceptual framework is imposed on pre-existing data. The study of stress in particular is plagued by inconsistent definitions of what constitutes stress (Muñoz, 1986; Whitman, Spendlove, and Clark, 1986) and its concomitant emotional states. Future research should consider the use of a validated, reliable psychological distress measure such as the CES-D. Future study of the

conflict between culturally prescribed sex role behavior and professional role behavior among high achieving Mexican American women should include more items dealing directly with male gender identity and threats to male status in conjugal relationships. This future study should also include variation with respect to ethnic identification and social class within the Mexican American culture. This study would require a measure of sex role definitions, both of self and the opposite sex, to ascertain agreement or dissonance between Mexican American males and females.

Policy Implications

The most important policy implication concerns counseling strategies. If the combination of strong ethnic identity, endogamy, and perceptions that female achievements threaten males leads to psychological distress, therapists should be sensitive to issues of insecurity or threat requiring counseling intervention. Further research into coping strategies and decisions made by Chicanas regarding marriage could be applied to relationship skills building courses. Formation of peer support groups to redefine sex roles, break down stereotypes, and reinforce effective coping skills is one way to deal with distress (Whitman, Spendlove, and Clark, 1986; Maslach, 1982). Modelling of effective coping strategies and frank discussion of the issues that emerge during courtship and in marriage could be applied as foci to cross-sex and women's support groups.

Furthermore, it could be argued that highly educated, professional reference groups. College educated, professional Chicanas are still relatively scarce in numbers, and are struggling to maintain an ethnic identity in the face of long held sex role expectations. They are marginal in that their expectations are changing more rapidly than those of their male counterparts. Furthermore, their professional and academic obligations place them squarely in the dominant society's work world; yet many of their values regarding marriage choices and appropriate sex roles originate in the world of their parents and family. Chicanas are marginal in two ways: vis-a-vis their ethnic reference group and vis-a-vis the dominant society's work world. Further research would guide action aimed at breaking the "double bind."

Endnotes

- ¹. Distress in the present study refers to the situationally specific negative stress experienced relative to social isolation: loneliness, infrequency of dating, sense of being in a hostile social environment, and lack of a cohesive ethnic reference group. The use of distress emanates from Selye (1974, 1965) who distinguishes between "eustress," i.e. exhilaration, joy, or anticipation stemming from a pleasant event and "distress" which is a negative reaction of anxiety, helplessness, or depression emanating from situations defined as unpleasant or threatening. See also Muñoz in Latino College Students, p. 132. He goes on to distinguish depression as a state of negative affect that is more chronic than stress experienced in daily, specific situations. Whitman, Spendlove, and Clark (1986) distinguish stress from depression and argue that depression is the outcome of prolonged, unabated negative stress.
- ². Reed-Sanders, Dodder, and Webster (1985) tested the reliability and validity of the Bem Sex Role Inventory among three groups of students: 493 college students at a predominantly Anglo university in Oklahoma, 283 at a predominantly Mexican American university in Texas, and 159 students at a university in northern Mexico. The pattern of scores on masculinity, femininity, and androgyny appears to support the cross-cultural validity of the BSRI but the high proportion of "undifferentiated" responses from the Mexican students of both sexes indicates its limitations in identifying masculine and feminine traits in Mexican culture.
- ³. The Current Population Survey of the 1980 United States Census indicates that rates of exogamy for Mexican American men have increased between 1970 and 1980, while those of women have decreased. Murguia (1982) reporting on five selected Southwest counties, shows the reverse trend. Griswold del Castillo (1984) also notes that exogamy is much higher for both groups in the Midwest United States as compared to the Southwest, partially attributable to the numbers of Mexican Americans in these geographic areas. Griswold del Castillo further notes that there is no longer a large differential between male and female exogamy after 1980, p. 122.
- ⁴. Statistics cited by the Tomás Rivera Center, based on Census data, show that less than 20 percent of Chicano males in the 25-29 age bracket (age when marriage is most likely) had completed college in the five Southwestern states as of 1980. Statistics are derived from the 1980 Census, Table 150 for each of the five southwestern states (California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado). From "The Changing Profile of Mexican America: A Sourcebook for Policy Making," the Tomas Rivera Center, a National Institute for Policy Studies, Claremont, California, 1986.
- ⁵. These researchers employ the Center for epidemiological Studies Depression Scale, which measures levels of self-reported distress present during the week previous to administration. This instrument does not measure clinical depression which is chronic and consists also of physiological changes. The CES-D emphasizes symptoms such as crying, sadness, boredom, feelings of worthlessness, loneliness, and not feeling liked by others. It is different from the exploratory measure used in this study. The measure used in this study borrows somewhat from the CESI (College Environmental Stress Index) developed by Muñoz and García-Bahne (1977). Dr. Sharon Strover, U.T. Austin, constructed the stress scale used in the present study.
- ⁶. The sample was disproportionately weighted toward females as the main intent of the research project was to ascertain barriers to degree progress among Chicanas.
- ⁷. Another item that asked respondents if they felt that Chicano men preferred to date and marry Anglo females was included in the first factor analysis. This item did not load on either factor, hence, it was not included in the subsequent factor analysis nor the scale. However, frequencies for this variable showed that 13 percent of the women agreed or strongly agreed with this item, as opposed to only 8 percent of the males. Means for this item were significantly different (Males mean=2.38; females' mean=2.71; $t=-4.20$; $p < .0001$).
- ⁸. Dr. Sharon Strover, U.T. Austin, constructed the stress scale in an earlier work. See: Chacón, Cohen and Strover, "Chicanos and Chicanas: Barriers to Progress in Higher Education," in Olivas,

Michael A. Latino College Students, Teacher's College Press, 1986 for a brief discussion of social, financial, and academic stress subscales.

9. Mendoza (1981) also found no gender differences between Chicano male and female college students on level of personal stress, as measured by the College Environmental Stress Index (Muñoz and García-Bahne, 1978, 1986). Her study included 1600 University of Texas Anglo and Mexican American college freshmen and seniors.

TABLE 1
SCALE SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR
ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION SCALE

<u>Score</u>	<u>% Of Total</u>	<u>% Of Females</u>	<u>% Of Males</u>
0=No criteria met	39.9	40.7	37.5
1=50%+ Chicano friends	25.9	25.0	27.5
2=50%+ Chicano friends and frequently discuss personal problems	34.2	34.3	35.0
N	679	508	160

N's do not add to 679 due to 11 missing cases on sex identifier.

TABLE 2

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF ENDOGAMY AND PERCEIVED THREAT ITEMS

<u>Item</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Endogamy Factor Loading</u>	<u>Threat Factor Loading</u>
1. When a Chicana marries, it is important for her to marry within her own ethnic group.	2.35	1.20	[.65]	.13
2. I almost always date Chicanos/as.	2.70	1.34	[.89]	.04
3. It is important for me to make life better for Chicanos.	4.07	.89	[.35]	.00
4. Chicanos tend to exclude Chicanas in political and organizational activities.	2.62	.97	.00	[.44]
5. Chicanos tend to be frightened by educated Chicanas.	2.91	1.17	.09	[.70]
6. Because of our college degree we are going to be viewed as elitists by less educated Chicanos.	3.01	1.11	.01	[.39]
Eigenvalues			1.82	1.47
Percent of total variance			30.3%	24.5%
Total variance of two factors combined			54.8%	

Bracketed items under each category are the component items for the respective scales.

TABLE 3

**FACTOR ANALYSIS OF ITEMS COMPRISING ACADEMIC,
PSYCHOLOGICAL, AND FINANCIAL DISTRESS SCALES**

 Stem: Students often encounter a variety of problems in college. For each of the following problems that you have experienced in college, indicate how stressful or upsetting it was for you. Spanish translation: nerviosidad or ansias was used to signify stress or upset. Only the stem was translated into Spanish.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u> <u>Distress</u>	<u>Academic</u> <u>Distress</u>	<u>Psycho.</u> <u>Distress</u>	<u>Financial</u>
1. Not having enough money to last through the school year.	2.91	1.96	.06	.10	.78
2. Having to repay student loans.	1.81	1.49	.14	.03	.54
3. Not being able to help my family out financially.	3.00	1.94	.22	.15	.62
4. Not being as well prepared academically as most other students are.	3.54	1.80	.64	.14	.32
5. Speaking up in class.	3.40	1.47	.59	.22	.13
6. Being in a place where people are extremely competitive.	3.65	1.56	.73	.24	.10
7. Receiving discouragement from instructors about my abilities.	2.48	1.81	.42	.23	.27
8. Not having a unified Chicano community on campus.	1.76	1.33	.19	[.31*]	.33*
9. Feeling lonely much of the time.	2.68	1.73	.26	[.73]	.21

(Table 3 continued)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Academic Distress</u>	<u>Psycho. Distress</u>	<u>Financial Distress</u>
10. Being in an atmosphere where people are cold and unfriendly.	2.76	1.73	.35	[.61]	.22
11. Not having many dates.	2.12	1.37	.13	[.61]	.22
12. Having a loss of self-confidence.	3.46	1.79	.55	.49	.10
13. Not having time for school activities because of my job.	2.63	1.82	.27	.22	.27
Eigenvalues			4.70	1.53	1.08
Percent of variance			36.1%	11.8%	8.4%
Total variance explained			56.3%		

*This item loads only moderately on both the psychological and financial distress factors. However, its verbal content makes it a more logical item within the psychological construct.

Bracketed items under the psychological distress factor category were component items for the psychological distress scale.

TABLE 4
SCALE SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR
ENDOAMY, PERCEIVED THREAT, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Std. Error.</u>
Endogamy	.0002	.92	.85	.04
Perceived threat from Chicano males	.0627	.78	.60	.04
Psychological distress	.0296	.87	.76	.04

N=467

TABLE 5
ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS FOR ENDOGAMY, PERCEIVED
THREAT, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS

	<u>Endogamy</u>	<u>Threat</u>	<u>Distress</u>
Endogamy	-----	.15*	.10*
Threat		-----	.19***
Distress			-----

* p < .05 ***p < .001 N=467

TABLE 6
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEIVED THREAT AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
DISTRESS FOR SELECTED PROFILES OF
ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND LEVEL OF ENDOGAMY

		<u>Ethnic Identification</u>	
		<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>
Level of Endogamy	Low	.07 NS N=125	.16 D < .06 N=96
	High	.06 NS N=47	.18 p < .009 N=165

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