Sex Roles, Vol. 25, Nos. 11/12, 1991

Adolescents' Attitudes Toward Family and Gender Roles: An International Comparison[1]

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Adolescents' attitudes toward gender and familial roles were examined using the Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescents [N. L. Galambos, A. C. Petersen, M. Richards, & I. B. Gitelson (1985) "The Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescents (AWSA): A Study of Reliability and Validity," Sex Roles, Vol. 5/6, pp. 343–356] and the Historic-Sociocultural Premises scale [R. Díaz-Guerrero (1975) Psychology of the Mexican: Culture and Personality, Austin: University of Texas Press]. Participants were 265 international students (11 to 17 years of age) from 46 different countries attending schools in the Netherlands. The countries of origin were grouped into two categories of cultural values based on G. Hofstede [(1983) "Dimensions of National Cultures in Fifty Countries and Three Regions," in J. B. Deregowski, S. Dziursawiec, & R. C. Annis (Eds.), Expiscations in Cross-Cultural Psychology, Lisse Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger]: Wealthier, more individualistic countries comprised Group 1 and less wealthy, more collectivist countries

[1]The authors would like to thank Diane Van Etten, Melody Conlon, Shawn Westhoelter, and James Evans for their assistance in this study, and Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero for his helpful comments on a draft of the manuscript. Preparation of this article was supported, in part, by the Beaumont Faculty Development Fund of Saint Louis University. The findings reported here were first presented in preliminary form at the annual meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, 1991.

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0360-0025/91/1200-0625$06.50/0

Group 2. Girls responded less traditionally than did boys on both scales. Students from Group 2 countries had more traditional attitudes than did students from Group 1 countries.

The development of appropriate gender-related behaviors is an important issue for adolescents of all nations. With the onset of puberty and the promise of adulthood, young adolescents begin to concern themselves with what it means to be a man or a woman in their culture. Of particular interest to adolescents are the familial roles and responsibilities of men, women, and children (e.g., Petersen, 1988). Nevertheless, while there are many studies of the gender role attitudes of U.S.A. adolescents, there have been few cross-national studies of adolescents younger than college age (Basow, 1982; Basow, 1986; Caballero, 1971; Gibbons, Stiles, & Morton, 1990; Intons-Peterson, 1988; Offer, Ostrov, Howard, & Atkinson, 1988; Pérez-Prada, Shkodriani, Medina, Gibbons, & Stiles, 1990). The present study focused on adolescent boys and girls of different nationalities, and how their attitudes toward gender and familial roles differed.

In part, the paucity of studies of gender and family role attitudes among adolescents of different countries may be traced to the scarcity of instruments available for measuring these concepts, either among adolescents, or among persons from different cultures. Of 211 scales for measuring gender role attitudes described in a recent handbook (Beere, 1990), few were designed for use with adolescent populations, and none of those was developed using participants from more than one country.

Thus, a second, but important aim of the present study was to discover more about two scales used in studying adolescents' gender attitudes. Since no instruments had been developed in more than one country, the strategy was to adopt two scales, developed in different countries. The Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescents (AWSA; Galambos, Petersen, Richards, & Gitelson, 1985), was adapted from the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence & Heimreich, 1972), which was developed in the United States and is the most widely used scale of attitudes toward women (Beere, 1990). The second scale was the Historic-Sociocultural Premises scale (HSCP; Díaz-Guerrero, 1972), an instrument developed in Mexico to measure sociocultural premises of Mexican culture. The questions addressed were as follows: What are the underlying dimensions of the AWSA and the HSCP scale? How appropriate are they for making cross-cultural and gender comparisons? What is the relationship between the scales?

Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescents

The AWSA is a 12-item scale with about two-thirds of the items referring to the rights and roles of girls and boys in education, sports, and dating, and the rest referring to adult roles in parenting and housework. On the AWSA as well as on other versions of the AWS, females consistently express less traditional attitudes than do males (Basow, 1986; Galambos et al., 1985; Kremer & Curry, 1987). In one cross-cultural study using the short version of AWS, Basow (1982) found that secondary school and college students in Fiji responded more traditionally than students in the United States. In a study of adolescents using the AWSA, traditional roles were endorsed more often by Spanish adolescents than by adolescents in Iceland and the United States (Pérez-Prada et al., 1990).

Factor analyses of adult responses on the AWS have revealed from one to four factors, depending on the sample (Loo & Logan, 1977; Spence & Helmreich, 1972; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973; Stanley, Boots, & Johnson, 1975). In one study (Stanley *et al.*, 1975) a factor analysis of responses from adolescent girls in Australia revealed four factors. Puritan Ethic (social propriety) accounted for the major proportion of variance, followed by Equality of Women with Men, Family and Social Role, and Equal Freedom of Action.

Historic-Sociocultural Premises Scale

The HSCP scale (Díaz-Guerrero, 1975) was the second scale used in this investigation. The 29-item version, used in the present study, includes three parts: Mexican sociocultural premises about the mother and the feminine role, the father and the masculine role, and about the child and family in general (Díaz-Guerrero, 1972). According to Díaz-Guerrero (1967), HSCPs are more permanent and a priori than many of the specific attitudes often studied by social psychologists. Among adolescents attending same-sex and mixed-sex secondary schools in Mexico City, some gender differences were found with girls responding in a more liberal manner than boys to statements such as "it is not right for a married woman to work outside of her home" (Díaz-Guerrero, 1975). Moreover, differences between the responses of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans were found to such items as "the place of the woman is in the home" with Mexicans responding in a more conservative manner than Puerto Ricans (Díaz-Guerrero, 1972).

Several versions of the HSCP scale have been factor analyzed. A factor analysis of the original 123 items of the HSCP scale (Díaz-Guerrero, 1979) resulted in nine 9 factors, which were named as follows: Machismo, Affiliative Obedience, Virginity, Abnegation, Fear of Authority, Family Status Quo, Respect Over Love, Family Honor, and Cultural Rigidity. In 1972 Díaz-Guerrero reported a factor analysis of a 23-item subset of the original scale using three adolescent age groups (12, 15, and 18) of Mexican adolescents attending school in Mexico City. One factor accounted for 61% of the variance; this factor emphasized a child's role as obedient to one's parents and never doubting the word of one's father. The highest loadings were found on the following items: "A son should always obey his parents," "A person should always obey his parents," and "The word of a father should never be questioned (doubted)."

Grouping of Countries

In cross-cultural and cross-national research a major issue has been the identification of the major dimensions on which cultures vary (Hofstede, 1980, 1983; Triandis, 1989). Hofstede's cross-national study of work values in 50 countries, the most comprehensive cross-cultural study on values available, revealed four major dimensions through factor analysis (Hofstede, 1983). These were (1) Individualism (with its opposite pole Collectivism), the degree to which people put their own personal goals before the goals of the group; (2) Power Distance, the extent to which individuals accept unequal power distribution in society; (3) Masculinity (with its opposite pole Femininity), the extent to which certain "masculine" values such as achievement and money are endorsed; and (4) Uncertainty Avoidance, the level of anxiety that individuals feel about uncertainty and ambiguity, and their preference for structure and conformity. In addition, Hofstede did a cluster analysis of countries and regions according to their numerical values on the four index scores. Often countries geographically close and historically related appeared in the same cluster. The largest clusters revealed two groups into which all countries could be categorized. Group 1 countries included United States of America, Australia, and Great Britain. Countries in Group 2 included Mexico, Pakistan, Turkey, and Venezuela. In general countries in Group 1 had higher scores on the individualism index and lower scores on the power distance index than did countries in Group 2. The cultural emphasis of individualism has also been associated with a higher gross national product (Hofstede, 1980). The two groups were not clearly differentiated according to the masculinity–femininity dimension.

To the extent that adult work values reflect generalized cultural values, Hofstede's clusters of countries may be useful in studying persons from many different countries. That these clusters may be meaningful in reflecting cultural values was shown in a previous study in which international students from Hofstede's cluster of individualistic wealthier countries valued leisure more than did students from more collectivistic, less affluent countries (Gibbons et al., 1990). In the present study, cross-national differences in gender role attitudes were predicted based on the notion that the values involved in Hofstede's four major dimensions appear associated with the values involved in the acquisition and acceptance of familial and gender role attitudes. Adolescents from more collectivistic (Group 2) countries were predicted to hold more traditional attitudes since socialization in collectivistic countries promotes strong bonds between parents and children, and emphasizes the family unit and traditional family values (Triandis, 1990).

Relation to Cross-Cultural Studies of Gender-Trait Stereotyping

In another major cross-national study, Williams and Best (1982) investigated gender-trait stereotyping among college students of 30 nations. While there were many cross-national similarities in the content of the gender stereotypes, the degree of stereotyping differed by country. Williams and Best (1982) have quantified the degree of differentiation in the male and female gender-trait stereotype with two different scores. The first score, which they called the "quantitative differentiation" score, represented the number of qualities or traits believed to be differentially distributed between men and women. The second score, the "qualitative differentiation" score, represented the mean of three differentiation scores according to three different theories: Affective Meaning Theory, Transactional Analysis, and Murray's Need Theory (Williams & Best, 1982). For each country this score represented how much men's and women's psychological traits were differentiated in terms of these three theories.

Purpose

The present study examined gender role and familial attitudes of young adolescent students of different nationalities living in the Netherlands. These international students came from 46 countries representing most regions of the world. The scales used were developed in two different cultural settings: the AWSA in a Group 1 country (the United States) and the HSCP in a Group 2 country (Mexico). One

hypothesis was that girls would respond less traditionally on both the AWSA and the HSCP scale than boys (Galambos et al., 1985; Kremer & Curry, 1987). A second hypothesis was that students from Group 1 countries would respond less traditionally than students from Group 2 countries because the cultural values reflected in these groupings would predict socialization toward more traditional family and gender roles in Group 2 countries (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1990).

The second aim was an exploratory one in that the scales were evaluated. First, alpha was calculated for each scale as a measure of internal consistency. Second, as a furtherance to understanding the factor structure of the two scales, this study included factor analyses with participants from many different countries. Third, the validity of the scales was investigated through their correlations with each other and with other measures such as the Williams and Best (1982) measures of gender-trait stereotyping.

METHOD

Participants

A sample of international students (11–17 years of age) attending two schools in the Randstad area of the Netherlands were participants. The language of instruction in the schools was English. Participants included 123 girls and 142 boys from 46 different countries. The 187 students who were citizens of Group 1 countries included 89 from the United States, 8 from Canada, 6 from Australia, 9 from Israel, 3 from South Africa, 25 from Great Britain, 2 from Ireland, 2 from Germany, 4 from Denmark, 5 from Sweden, 5 from Norway, and 28 from the Netherlands. The sample of 78 students who were citizens of Group 2 countries included 5 from Venezuela, 3 from Argentina, 1 from Chile, 2 from Peru, 1 from Brazil, 8 from Turkey, 4 from Greece, 2 from Yugoslavia, 2 from Belgium, 3 from France, 1 from Spain, 1 from Libya, 1 from Egypt, 1 from Kuwait, 1 from Iran, 3 from Pakistan, 3 from India, 2 from Sri Lanka, 2 from Indonesia, 1 from Thailand, 4 from the Philippines, 2 from Malaysia, 1 from Burma, 1 from Singapore, 3 from Korea, 12 from Japan, 1 from Ethiopia, 1 from Sierra Leone, and 1 from Ghana. One student from Nicaragua, 2 from Bulgaria, 1 from China, and 1 from the Sudan were classified as being from Group 2 countries, and 1 from student from Luxembourg was classified as being from a Group 1 country. Although these countries were not included in Hofstede's study, they were classified based on geographical

Table I. The AWSA Items and Percentage Agreement of Boys and Girls from Different Country Groups

	Gender		Country group	
	Boys	Girls	Group 1	Group 2
1. Swearing is worse for a girl than for a boy.	39.8[a]	31.6	31.6[a]	54.9
2. On a date, the boy should be expected to pay all expenses.	47.7	32.6	40.8	38.7
3. On the average, girls are as smart as boys.	88.3	88.6	90.5[a]	79.3
4. More encouragement in a family should be given to sons than daughters to go to college.	22.7[a]	7.6	10.9[a]	35.5
5. It is all right for a girl to want to play rough sports like football.	65.2[a]	91.2	78.1	74.2
6. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in making family decisions.	34.9	17.7	21.6[a]	48.4
7. It is all right for a girl to ask a boy out on a date.	95.5[a]	92.5	94.2[a]	93.6
8. It is more important for boys than girls to do well in school.	9.3[a]	2.6	7.3[a]	30.0
9. If both husband and wife have jobs, the husband should do a share of the housework such as washing the dishes and doing the laundry.	86.7[a]	93.8	89.0[a]	77.4
10. Boys are better leaders than girls.	41.3[a]	11.3	22.1[a]	48.4
11. Girls should be more concerned with becoming good wives and mothers than desiring a professional or business career.	28.1[a]	5.1	10.1[a]	50.0
12. Girls should have the same freedoms as boys.	87.5[a]	98.8	93.5	90.0

[a] Significant effect ($p < .05$) for gender or country group.

Table II. The HSCP Items and Percentage Agreement of Boys and Girls from Different Country Groups

	Gender		Country group	
	Boys	Girls	Group 1	Group 2
1. It is not right for a married woman to work outside of her home.	9.2[a]	3.3	3.2[a]	14.1
2. The place for a woman is in the home.	12.1[a]	4.9	4.8[a]	18.2
3. You should never question the word of your mother.	18.7	16.5	12.5[a]	31.6
4. A woman should be a virgin until she marries.	18.7	24.6	13.7[a]	41.9
5. Young women should not go out alone with men at night.	9.2	5.0	2.7[a]	20.0
6. The majority of men like submissive women.	40.1	47.0	44.2	41.1
7. All men desire to marry a virgin.	30.0[a]	21.2	18.5[a]	44.7
8. Little girls should be seen but not heard.	17.7	15.6	12.9[a]	26.0
9. For me the mother is the dearest person in the world.	44.3	48.7	40.6[a]	60.3
10. The majority of girls would like to be like their mothers.	29.3	29.8	24.6[a]	41.3
11. A good wife never questions the behavior of her husband.	15.6[a]	6.6	7.5[a]	20.8
12. The majority of the women of my country make many sacrifices.	55.6	52.9	53.1	57.3
13. Women need to be protected.	68.8[a]	43.6	51.7[a]	70.1
14. A good wife is always loyal to her husband.	84.5[a]	79.2	83.8	77.9
15. You should never question the word of your father.	22.7	19.5	15.6[a]	34.6

16. It is more important to respect your father than to love him.	28.9	18.0	19.3[a]	34.2
17. The majority of the men of my country feel superior to women.	61.0	69.2	62.8	69.7
18. All men should be *complete* men ("real men").	50.7	41.3	37.6[a]	66.7
19. All boys should have self-confidence.	80.0	79.3	78.3	83.1
20. A man should wear the pants in the family.	41.3[a]	21.8	26.9[a]	45.3
21. The majority of boys would like to be like their fathers.	30.4	39.7	32.2	40.8
22. Little boys should be seen but not heard.	18.4	15.6	13.9	25.0
23. A man who is not a "real man" dishonors his family.	26.6	19.5	16.8[a]	38.5
24. You should always be loyal to your family.	70.7	79.8	73.2	78.9
25. A daughter should always obey her parents.	36.9	34.7	31.1[a]	47.4
26. A son should always obey his parents.	34.8	35.9	30.2[a]	47.4
27. A person should always respect his/her parents.	80.6	87.0	84.3	81.8
28. A woman who commits adultery dishonors her family.	60.4	64.4	61.5	64.0
29. Small children should be seen but not heard.	25.2	16.5	18.4	28.0

[a] Significant effect ($p < .05$) for gender or country group.

proximity, relative affluence, and shared history with other countries in those groups (Hofstede, 1980, 1983).

Questionnaires

Two measures of attitudes were used. Participants completed the original English version of the AWSA (Galambos et al., 1985) by responding to 13 statements on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly* agree to *strongly disagree.* Five items were reverse scored (Items 3, 5, 7, 9, and 12) such that higher mean scores represented less traditional attitudes. See Table I for items.

In addition, Díaz-Guerrero's English version of the HSCP scale (1975) was administered with a minor modification. The original version included a duplicate item, "it is not right for a married woman to work outside of her home." The following item was substituted for the second occurrence: "Litte boys should be seen but not heard." Participants responded by either agreeing (scored 2) or disagreeing (scored 1) with each of 29 statements. Thus, higher mean scores represented more traditional attitudes. Although the HSCP scale has been used extensively, researchers have most often analyzed results separately for each scale item (e.g., Díaz-Guerrero, 1972, 1974, 1975). In the present study, the mean scores for the three subscales—Women's Roles (Items 1–14 presented in Table II. Men's Role (Items 15–23 in Table II), and Children's and Family Roles (Items 24–29 in Table II) were used as the units of analysis.

Procedure

Intact classrooms of students participated after their teachers had agreed that the exercise would be educationally beneficial for their students. Ninety-six students from the first school responded to the HSCP scale only, whereas 169 students from the second school responded to both the AWSA and HSCP scale. Two words had to be explained to a few students; "submissive" and "virgin." Following completion of the questionnaire, students were asked to contribute their responses to the research project. All students who were in attendance agreed to participate and to contribute their questionnaires. Afterward, classroom teachers and one of the investigators led a discussion on cross-cultural differences.

Table III. Correlations Among AWSA Score and HSCP Subscale Scores[a]

	AWSA	HSCP women	HSCP men	HSCP children
AWSA	—			
HSCP women	-.46[b]	—		
HSCP men	-.40[b]	.56[b]	—	
HSCP children	-.09	.43[b]	.34[b]	—

[a] *Note*: Since high scores on the AWSA represent less traditional attitudes and high scores on the HSCP represent more traditional beliefs, a negative correlation represents a correspondence between traditionality on the two scales.
[b] Pearson correlation significantly different from chance ($p < .01$).

RESULTS

Internal Consistency of the Scales

Cronbach's alpha for the AWSA was .82, indicating high internal consistency. For the subscales of the HSCP, alpha was .68 for the 14 items comprising the Women's Roles subscale, .61 for the 9 items of the Men's Roles subscale, and .68 for the 6 items of the Children's and Family Roles subscale.

Relation Among the AWSA and the Three Subscales of the HSCP

The relation between the scales was investigated by computing Pearson correlations. All the scales, the AWSA, the HSCP Women's Roles subscale, the HSCP Men's Roles subscale, and the HSCP Children's and Family Roles subscale were significantly correlated ($p < .01$), except for the AWSA and the HSCP subscale regarding children's roles. See Table III for the correlations.

Gender and National Differences on the AWSA

Analysis of variance of the AWSA mean score revealed both a significant main effect for gender [$F(1, 164) = 48.85, p < .001$] and a significant main effect for country group [$F(1, 164) = 29.56, p < .001$]. No significant interaction was found. Boys ($M = 3.06$) responded in a more traditional manner than did girls ($M = 3.51$), and students from Group 2 countries responded in a more traditional manner ($M = 2.91$) than did students from Group 1 countries ($M = 3.36$).

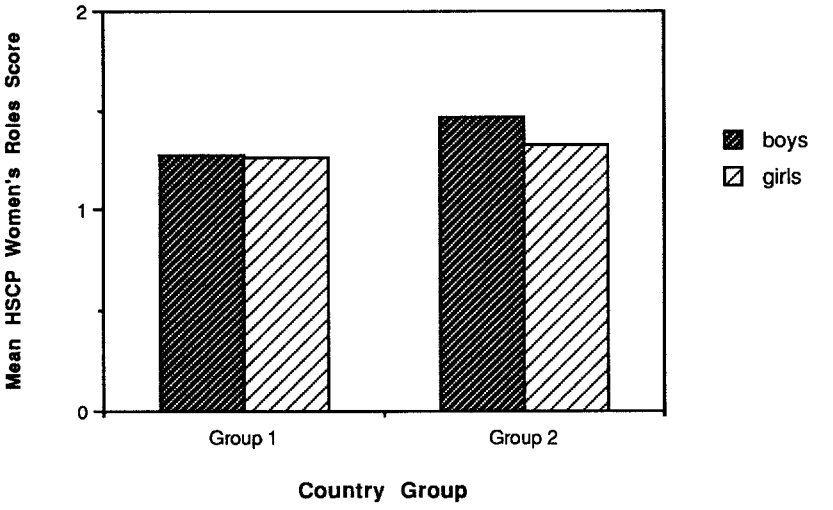

Fig. 1. Mean scores on the Women's Roles subscale of the HSCP, depicting the interaction between gender and country group. The higher numbers represent greater agreement with the item. Darker columns represent boys' views and lighter columns, girls' views. For an explanation of country group see text.

Gender and National Differences on the HSCP scale

Analysis of variance of the HSCP Women's Roles subscale revealed both a significant main effect for gender [$F(1, 251) = 4.90, p < .05$] and a significant main effect for country group [$F(1, 251) = 39.79, p < .001$]. A significant interaction of gender by country group was also found [$F(1, 251) = 6.58, p < .05$]. Girls responded in a less traditional manner ($M = 1.28$) than did boys ($M = 1.32$), and students from Group 1 countries ($M = 1.26$) responded in a less traditional manner than did students from Group 2 countries ($M = 1.40$). Post hoc tests demonstrated that the interaction (depicted in Fig. 1) was due to a significant gender difference among students from Group 2 countries [$F(1, 254) = 13.81, p < .001$] and no significant gender difference among students from Group 1 countries with boys from Group 2 countries expressing the most traditional attitudes.

Analysis of variance of the HSCP Men's Roles subscale revealed a significant main effect for country group [$F(1, 251) = 28.87, p < .001$]. No significant main effect for gender was revealed, nor an interaction of country group by gender. Students from Group 2 countries ($M = 1.49$)

responded more traditionally than did students from Group 1 countries ($M = 1.34$).

Analysis of variance of the HSCP Children's and Family Roles subscale revealed a significant main effect for country group [$F(1, 251) = 4.38, p < .05$]. No significant main effect for gender was revealed, nor an interaction of country group by gender. Students from Group 2 countries ($M = 1.58$) responded more traditionally than did students from Group 1 countries ($M = 1.50$).

Factor Analysis of AWSA

Common factor analysis was conducted separately on both the HSCP scale and the AWSA. The principle axis factoring extraction was used with varimax rotation. On the AWSA, three factors were derived and accounted for 39.7% of the total variance. The first factor, named Traditional Roles in Family and Work, accounted for 30.5% of the variance with loadings of over .40 by Items 11, 8, 6, and 4. Item 9 loaded negatively on this factor. See Table I for items. Factor 2, named Personal Freedom accounted for 5.3% of the variance with loading by Items 5 and 12. Factor 3 (Girls Initiate Dates) accounted for 3.8% of the variance with a negative loading by Item 7.

Factor Analysis of HSCP Scale

On the HSCP scale, nine factors were derived and accounted for 43.6% of the total variance. Items loading greater than .40 on each factor and the name given to the factor are presented here. Items loading on Factor 1 (Quiet, Well-Behaved Children) were Items 29, 22, and 8. See Table II. Factor 1 accounted for 16% of the variance. Items loading on the second factor (Obedience to Parents), which accounted for 8.1% of the variance, were 25 and 26. Factor 3 (Traditional Marriage) accounted for 4.4% of the variance with loadings by Items 2, 1, 20, and 4. Items 3 and 15 loaded on Factor 4 (Respect for Parents), accounting for 3.5% of the variance. Factor 5 (Family Loyalty) accounted for 3.4% of the variance with loadings by 27, 24, and 28. Items 23 and 18 loaded significantly on Factor 6 (Machismo). Factor 7 (Identification with Same Sex Parents) accounted for 2.4% of the variance with loadings by Items 21 and 10. Factor 8 (Male Superiority) accounted for 1.8% of the variance, with only Item 17 loading significantly. On the ninth factor (Female Submissiveness) no item loaded greater than .40, with item 6 loading .39.

Relation of Attitudes Toward Gender and Familial Roles to National Gender Trait Differentiation

For the 18 nationalities that were represented both in the present study and in the Williams and Best (1982) study of gender-trait stereotyping, correlations between the AWSA, the HSCP subscales, and the "quantitative" and "qualitative" differentiation scores of participants' respective countries were calculated. The HSCP Women's roles subscale correlated −.21 ($p < .01$) with the quantitative differentiation score and −.22 with the quantitative differentiation score. The HSCP Men's Roles subscale correlated −.21 with the quantitative score and −.23 with the qualitative scores. There were no significant correlations with the AWSA nor the HSCP Children's Roles and Family subscale.

DISCUSSION

Gender and Country Group Differences

The hypotheses were confirmed in that on both questionnaires girls responded in a less traditional way than did boys, and adolescents from the wealthier, more individualistic countries responded in a less traditional way than adolescents from poorer, more collectivist countries.

A finding noteworthy for its consistency is that girls hold more liberal attitudes about the rights and roles of women than do boys (Basow, 1982; Basow, 1986; Caballero, 1971; Gibbons et al., 1990; Intons-Peterson, 1988; Kremer & Curry, 1987; Offer et al., 1988; Seginer, Karayanni, & Mar'i, 1990). In the present study this finding was consistent over the 46 nationalities represented. A possible reason for this finding is that girls may see the personal advantages of more freedom and equality for women, whereas boys may prefer the status quo. This fundamental disagreement between boys and girls may be a potential source of tension for adolescents throughout the world. During their adolescence, males and females might disagree about dating etiquette; later on, husbands and wives may disagree on whether "A woman's place is in the home."

Significant differences between the responses of students from the wealthier, more individualistic (Group 1) countries and the students from less affluent, more collectivist (Group 2) countries were demonstrated on both scales, including all three subscales of the HSCP. The items from these scales addressed attitudes toward woman's roles, right and abilities, and attitudes toward respect and obedience to one's parents. Thus, within the country groups there was some commonality among adolescents from very

diverse countries in their attitudes toward familial and gender roles. For example, adolescents from the Group 2 countries of Chile, the Philippines, and Signapore agreed that "Women need to be protected" (Table II). Adolescents from the Group 1 countries of Canada, Germany, and Sweden disagreed with the statement that "Young women should not go out alone with men at night" (Table II). These attitudes appear to reflect general cultural biases or premises, premises also manifested in a completely different domain—that of adults' work values as studied by Hofstede (1980, 1983).

Another interesting finding was the interaction between gender and country group on the HSCP subscale concerning women's roles. The most traditional attitudes were held by boys from Group 2 countries. Whereas international students from Group 1 countries living in the Netherlands may find similarities in their original cultural values and those of the host country, international students from Group 2 countries living in the Netherlands are likely to have experienced at least two cultural value systems, the traditional systems of their originating nationality and the more individualistic value systems of the Netherlands. Girls, but not boys, may be likely to adopt the new values, as they recognize the personal advantages of less traditional roles for women.

The finding of significant differences in gender role attitudes among adolescents of different countries when countries are grouped according to work values suggests that gender role attitudes reflect cultural values in general. The individualism-collectivism dimension, which has received a great deal of attention as a major dimension of cross-cultural variation, may be particularly salient. In characterizing collectivistic cultures, Triandis (1990) has pointed out the centrality of the family and high commitment and involvement with the in-group. Similarly, and consistent with the present results, adolescents in the United States who held traditional gender roles reported greater involvement with their families (Canter & Ageton, 1984).

In searching for the universal dimensions of values cross-culturally, Schwartz (in press) has proposed ten types of values universally structured in terms of their compatibility and conflict. According to Schwartz's theory the values of self-direction and stimulation (associated with individualism) are opposed to and incompatible with values of security, conformity, and tradition. Thus, to the extent that agreement with traditional values about gender roles and family in the present study represents traditionalism in Schwartz's system, the value of individualism should be opposed. The present finding of more traditional gender and familial values among students from collectivistic countries is consistent with Schwartz's framework.

In a different theoretical context, gender role attitudes might be expected to relate to gender-trait stereotypes. The present results suggest that these constructs are related, but not in a simple fashion. The negative correlations between two subscales of the HSCP and the measures of gender-trait differentiation computed by Williams and Best (1982) suggest that in countries that are more traditional with regard to men's and women's roles, men and women are stereotyped *less* with regard to their traits and psychological characteristics. One possible interpretation is that in cultures where men and women are clearly differentiated according to roles, there is less cultural need to differentiate them on their psychological traits. In countries where gender *roles* are less defined, gender stereotyping appears with regard to qualities and traits. Pleck (1981) has proposed a similar interpretation of changing gender roles in the United States. He argues that as men's and women's traditional roles as breadwinner and homemaker eroded, psychological masculinity and femininity flourished (Pleck, 1981).

Factor Analyses

In the present study the factor analysis of the HSCP revealed nine distinct factors, precisely the same number of factors found by Díaz-Guerrero (1979) in a factor analysis of the larger 123-item HSCP scale. While many of the names given to the factors were similar (Virginity, Machismo, Obedience), the factor structures for the present international sample and the earlier, all Mexican, sample differed. Thus the dimensions revealed do not on the surface appear to be universal or invariant (Horn, McArdle, & Mason, 1983).

In this present study of adolescents from diverse cultures, two factors (accounting for 24.1% of the variance) on the HSCP scale emphasized the obedience of children. The factors represented agreement with such statements as "Little girls should be seen but not heard" and "You should never question the word of your father." The emphasis on obedience in children may be characteristic of collectivistic traditional cultures as suggested by Triandis (1990) and may also be related to Hofstede's Power Distance dimension, a dimension that represents the degree of acceptance of differences in authority and power (Hofstede, 1980, 1983). In Hofstede's study, countries high in collectivism (Group 2 countries) were also high on the Power–Distance dimension.

The factor analysis of the AWSA scale revealed three factors, with the major dimension emphasizing the traditional family and work roles of married couples. It seems likely that the unifactorial structure of the AW

Scale is, in part, a function of its use with participants from the United States (Spence *et al.*, 1973). The present multifactor structure was similar to that demonstrated with Australian adolescent girls on the short form of the AWS (Stanley *et al.*, 1975).

Evaluation of the Instruments

Although the HSCP and the AWSA were developed in different countries—one a wealthy individualistic country and the other a less affluent collectivistic country—the overall results were similar for the two instruments. Moreover, the internal consistency of the AWSA and the three subscales of the HSCP were adequate. The factor analyses revealed, however, that there may be multiple dimensions to attitudes about gender and familial roles, so that overall scale scores of both instruments should be used with caution with an international sample. Although in many ways the AWSA may be psychometrically the better instrument (in terms of high internal reliability and its ability to discriminate between country group and gender), there may be certain cultural beliefs, particularly in collectivistic countries, that are better tapped by the HSCP. For example, the attitudes toward dating practices as revealed by responses on the AWSA appear similar for students from both country groups (Table I). However, it is clear from responses on items from the HSCP that address going out with men at night and being a virgin that adolescents from Group 1 and Group 2 hold different views (Table II). Moreover, the significant (negative) correlations between the HSCP subscales on men's and women's roles and the Williams and Best (1982) numerical scores for gender-trait differentiation suggest that the HSCP may be tapping values held not only by Mexicans but by persons from other collectivistic countries.

Limitations and Conclusions

Some limitations of the study are related to the population used, categorization of countries of origin, and the original construction of the scales. Although the population used in this study consisted of international students from 46 countries, all participants attended school in the Netherlands. In addition, students of Group 1 and Group 2 countries do not represent a random sampling of those country groups; for example, students from the United States are overrepresented in Group 1 and those from Japan are overrepresented in Group 2. Second, although the method for categorizing countries into Group 1 or Group 2 was obtained from an established empirical procedure (Hofstede, 1983), this process involved

grouping very diverse countries into a single category. Thus, potential differences in responses of participants of different nationalities within a country group were masked. Third, each of the scales was formulated from a single cultural frame of reference—the HSCP scale in Mexico and the AWSA in the United States. This makes them susceptible to an ethnocentric style of questioning. For example, the AWSA includes an item that addresses the use of dating among adolescents. Dating is common among adolescents in U.S. culture, but unusual in many traditional countries. Also, the HSCP scale includes an item that addresses the issue that every man should be a "real man." This item may be ethnocentric to the concept of "machismo" in Mexican culture (e.g., Lara-Cantú, 1989) and may not be a part of the ideals in many other cultures.

Despite these limitations, there were several unique contributions of the present study. The scales used were developed in two very different countries—one a wealthy individualistic country and the second, a less wealthy collectivist country. Second, a large number of traditional and nontraditional countries of origin were included. Third, the views expressed were those of adolescents, an underrepresented group in psychological research and the representatives of the next generation.

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