
**EVALUACIÓN PSICOLÓGICA DEL
GÉNERO:
UNA APROXIMACIÓN CRÍTICA
FEMINISTA**

**Tesis Doctoral
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*A Carmen
y a José Manuel*

A mi familia

A todas las mujeres feministas

- ¿Ganaremos el juicio, Atticus?
- No, cariño.
- Entonces, cómo...
- Simplemente, el hecho de que hayamos perdido cien años antes de empezar no es motivo para que no intentemos vencer – respondió Atticus.

Harper Lee
Matar un ruiseñor (1960)

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Resumen

El propósito de esta tesis doctoral ha sido recoger y actualizar el conocimiento teórico y científico sobre los procesos de construcción de la identidad entorno al sistema sexo/género/sexualidad, analizar críticamente la evaluación psicológica del género desde una perspectiva feminista y aportar cinco nuevos instrumentos que se ponen a disposición de la comunidad científica entorno a evaluación de la identidad de género, el conflicto del rol de género y las actitudes sexistas, siendo sensibles en nuestros estudios al análisis pormenorizado de las diferencias en el análisis de datos de los hombres y mujeres en el contexto español actual.

El estudio primero “*Who Cares about Gender Identity? A Critical Revision on Scientific Research, Feminist Theories & Epistemology*” consiste en una revisión teórica de las investigaciones que han abordado el estudio de las fronteras de los procesos de la construcción de la identidad en el sistema sexo/género/sexualidad siempre vinculados a las condiciones socioeconómicas y culturales que los delimitan e influyen.

El estudio segundo “*Round Gender Identity: Invariance Across Gender of the Spanish Version of the Hoffman Gender Scale*” presenta un estudio instrumental que pretende analizar las propiedades psicométricas de la versión española de la *Hoffman Gender Scale* (Hoffman, 1996; Hoffman, Borders, y Hattie, 2000). Con este instrumento se pretende medir la confianza en el propio género mediante dos aspectos que la definen: la definición del género y la aceptación del género. Representa un claro avance en el desarrollo de nuevas medidas y aproximaciones teóricas de conceptos innovadores que complementen los aspectos menos estudiados en relación con el género. El objetivo principal de este estudio fue analizar la estructura factorial de la versión española a través de un análisis factorial confirmatorio con una muestra de hombres y mujeres españolas. También se llevó a cabo un análisis de la estructura de medias y

covarianzas del instrumento para examinar si el constructo teórico evaluado con él resulta equivalente en las muestras de hombres y mujeres.

El estudio tercero “*Assessment of Conflicts Associated with a Traditional Masculine Gender Role in Spanish College Men and Women*” es la adaptación del *Gender Role Conflict Scale – Short Form* (Wester, Vogel, O’Neil y Danforth, 2011) al castellano mediante su aplicación a una muestra de hombres españoles y la ampliación del paradigma del conflicto de género usando este mismo instrumento en dos muestras de mujeres españolas. con un triple objetivo: (1) examinar si la estructura interna del instrumento es la misma, esto es, si el instrumento es aplicable y válido para el estudio del conflicto de rol entre las mujeres; (2) analizar las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres en relación a los conflictos generados por la consecución de un rol de género definido en un origen exclusivamente para los hombres; y (3) establecer las relaciones entre el conflicto de rol de género masculino y los indicadores de malestar y bienestar psicológico. Wester et al., (2011), desarrollaron una versión reducida del Gender Role Conflict Scale (O’Neil, Helms, Gable, Davis, & Wrightsman, 1986). Éste consiste en un instrumento que se desarrolla empíricamente en los años 80 y se ha convertido en la prueba más utilizada para la evaluación de los problemas generados por el rol de género masculino. Los cuatro factores identificados del conflicto de rol de género (O’Neil, Good y Holmes, 1995) representan diferentes aspectos de las situaciones que generan tensión y malestar fruto del rol masculino socializado. El primer patrón (“éxito, poder y competición”), recoge el grado en que los hombres están socializados para buscar el éxito personal a través de la competición. El segundo patrón (“restricción emocional”), señala el grado en que aprenden a evitar la expresión verbal de sus emociones y, por tanto, aparentar cierta vulnerabilidad y semejanza con los aspectos asociados a la feminidad. El tercero (“restricción afectiva en el contacto entre hombres”), explora

cómo los hombres están socializados para disponer de una expresión más rígida en el contacto con otros hombres. Finalmente, el cuarto (“conflictos entre relaciones de familia y trabajo”), señala el grado en que tienen dificultades en la gestión de las demandas del trabajo o escuela y las relaciones familiares.

El estudio cuarto “*Are Sexist Attitudes and Gender Stereotypes Linked? A Feminist Critical Analysis of Spanish Data*” tiene tres objetivos: (1) comprobar las propiedades psicométricas de las versiones españolas de *Social Roles Questionnaire* (Baber & Tucker, 2006), *Modern Sexism scale* y *Old-fashioned Sexism scale* (Swim, Aikin, Hall y Hunter, 1995; Swim y Cohen, 1997) y ponerlos a disposición de la comunidad científica; (2) comprobar las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres que se puedan dar en las puntuaciones y estructura factorial de los instrumentos; y (3) estudiar la relación empírica de estos instrumentos con el mantenimiento de los estereotipos de género tradicionales. El instrumento *Old-Fashioned Sexism scale* fue diseñado para evaluar las formas más evidentes de sexismo y el *Modern Sexism scale* para detectar los aspectos más sutiles como el resentimiento hacia las políticas y prácticas que persiguen atajar las desigualdades entre hombres y mujeres en la sociedad. Por último, el *Social Roles Questionnaire* es un cuestionario que aún cuenta con un uso reducido en estudios empíricos. Sin embargo, su propuesta pretende ser un avance que pueda enriquecer el estudio de los roles de género y las actitudes sexistas. Partiendo desde una perspectiva constructivista social, propusieron este nuevo instrumento para la evaluación de las actitudes sobre los roles sociales en la sociedad norteamericana, con el que pretendían superar estas las limitaciones. En este instrumento se incluyen referencias a comportamientos asociados a hombres o mujeres, así como otros ítems que pretendían recoger actitudes más sutiles o encubiertas que apoyaran la desigualdad de género.

1. Introducción: Una Arqueología del Género

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En la cuestión del género, el lenguaje es parte de su fundamento y, a la vez, nuestra única forma de señalar y analizar tanto este aspecto como cualquier otro. De ahí que, previamente, debamos dedicarnos a analizar dicha simbología, su evolución y función, y cómo este particular devenir ha influido en su posterior estudio científico, desde las diferentes perspectivas de estudio que han protagonizado dicho estudio. Este será el contenido de la introducción teórica. Posteriormente presentaremos los cuatro estudios que componen la presente tesis doctoral y finalmente desarrollaremos la discusión general de los cuatro trabajos presentados.

1.1. Antropología y sociología del género

A. El origen del sistema sexo/género

El estudio y la investigación de la cultura humana ha sido la línea rectora de la ciencia antropológica. Según Lamas (1996), uno de sus intereses ha sido esclarecer hasta dónde ciertas características y conductas humanas son aprendidas mediante la cultura o son heredadas por nuestra naturaleza biológica. Se trata del eterno debate para medir el peso de los aspectos biológicos y socioculturales.

En un primer momento, el interés de la antropología se centró en la forma en que cada cultura manifiesta las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres. La división de los roles sexuales, esto es, el comportamiento que desempeñan hombres y mujeres de pertenecer a su sexo, se suponen motivados por la división en el trabajo fruto de las diferentes condiciones biológicas que preparaban así a cada sexo para distintas actividades (en este sentido, principalmente, el motivo de diferencia parece haber sido la maternidad en la mujer que definió su afiliación al cuidado y a la permanencia en el hogar). A partir de estos estudios primigenios, se ha desarrollado un cuerpo de investigaciones centradas no sólo en las propias diferencias entre hombres y mujeres en las instituciones sociales,

económicas, políticas y religiosas, sino también en las actitudes, valores y expectativas que la sociedad entiende propias de los hombres y de las mujeres. A partir de los años sesenta fueron muchas las voces de investigadores feministas que criticaron la gran mayoría de los estudios realizados hasta la fecha sobre este tema por mantener un sesgo androcéntrico (Zimbalist y Lamphere, 1974; Reiter, 1975; Harris y Young; 1979).

En este sentido, Margaret Mead fue pionera en 1935 al realizar un estudio en tres sociedades de Nueva Guinea centrandó su reflexión sobre el fundamento de las diferencias conductuales entre los sexos para terminar por concluir que la naturaleza humana es increíblemente maleable, apoyando más la teoría culturalista que la neo-evolucionista sobre las diferencias sexuales. En 1937, Murdock comparó la división sexual del trabajo en varias sociedades y concluye que no todas estas especificidades pueden ser explicadas por las diferencias biológicas entre los sexos. De hecho, señala que la asignación diferencial de ocupaciones en la niñez es el origen de las diferencias observables en el comportamiento de los adultos. En 1942, Linton señaló que todas las personas aprenden su estatus sexual y los comportamientos asociados a éste. Señaló que la masculinidad y la feminidad son estatus que constituyen el fundamento de la identidad psicológica para cada persona, aunque no todas lo hacen de la misma manera. En este sentido, se ha documentado lo que se entiende como “tercer género” en muchas sociedades, esto es, mujeres con un rol de género masculino y viceversa.

La antropología ha mostrado cómo las sociedades plantean sus propios límites y divisiones entre lo que se entiende como propio de la naturaleza y lo propio de la cultura. De manera tradicional, en esta división de opuestos, se ha relacionado a la mujer con lo salvaje y emocional, y al hombre con lo educado y formal. El mayor problema de esta división reside en la obligatoriedad para cada sexo de cumplir con las expectativas marcadas por la sociedad, tachando de “anti-natural” o “anormal” cuando

una persona desempeña conductas o mantiene actitudes que no son propias de su género. Frente a este hecho se desarrolló el movimiento feminista en los Estados Unidos de América y Europa, que pasó a difundirse también en otros países de América, Oriente y África en los años setenta. Dentro de estos movimientos, las antropólogas participaron con investigaciones sobre el debate planteado entre el origen biológico o social de la opresión y sumisión de las mujeres.

En las primeras iniciativas que se llevaron a cabo, encontramos la revisión crítica del androcentrismo en la antropología (Sacks, 1979) y la recuperación de la historia de las mujeres (Hartman y Banner, 1974; Rowbotham, 1973). En la primera etapa de estas investigaciones antropológicas se llevó a cabo un análisis crítico de la universalidad de la subordinación femenina. Se aportaron nuevas evidencias sobre la existencia de un poder femenino no reconocido anteriormente, las implicaciones y alcances de dicho poder, así como su naturaleza. Se constató que el papel de las mujeres en los procesos sociales es más importante de lo que se ha reconocido y se detectan estructuras sociales que limitan los intentos de las mujeres por cambiar el estatus de la feminidad en la sociedad. Esta subordinación quedaba explicada en el discurso ideológico y político por las diferencias biológicas entre los sexos, en concreto, la maternidad. A este respecto surgió una corriente feminista que postuló la “tiranía de la reproducción” causante de la desigualdad entre los sexos, llegando a plantear que la reproducción artificial sería la condición necesaria para la liberación de las mujeres (Firestone, 1970). Se acrecentaron las críticas a esta determinación biologicista, ya que al pensar que la biología es inmutable y lo social transformable, señalar como causante único de las diferencias sexuales la condición biológica, dejaba fuera de lugar todo esfuerzo para modificar dicho estatus.

Entre las posturas más polarizadas, también se encuentran respuestas más

conciliadoras como las que mantuvieron Sullerot y Monod al estudiar “el hecho femenino” desde una perspectiva inclusiva. Producto de estos discursos fue la conclusión de que las diferencias sexuales en el comportamiento que están asociadas a una diferencia puramente biológica, son mínimas y no implican la superioridad de un sexo sobre el otro. Así, se postuló que se debe aceptar el origen biológico de algunas diferencias entre hombres y mujeres, pero teniendo en cuenta también que la predisposición biológica no es suficiente para provocar un comportamiento (en este sentido, ambos sexos comparten rasgos y conductas). Se argumentó que aún teniendo un papel indispensable la maternidad en la división sexual del trabajo y funciones sociales, actualmente ya no tiene la misma vigencia. De esta manera quedó cuestionada la fundamentación biológica de la división sexual. La cuestión a debatir a partir de este momento fue cómo tratar las diferencias socioculturales que fundamentan la división de las esferas masculinas y femeninas.

Se comenzó a aceptar que lo “propio” de la mujer y del hombre no tiene relación con las características biológicas de cada sexo, de manera que son las creencias socioculturales las que mantienen estas diferencias en las sociedades. Como demostró Lévi-Strauss respecto al matrimonio, la división artificial (no natural-biológica) cumple la función de crear una complementariedad entre los sexos. Al existir mujeres con características asumidas como masculinas y viceversa, es evidente que sólo mediante la biología no podemos explicar las diferencias de género. No es lo mismo el sexo biológico que la identidad asignada o adquirida, lo que hace femenina a una mujer o masculino a un hombre no es la biología.

Stoller (1968) determinó que la identidad y el comportamiento de género no son el sexo biológico, sino el hecho de haber vivido desde el nacimiento las experiencias, ritos y costumbres atribuidos a cierto género. Desde esta perspectiva se determinaron

tres conceptos sobre el género:

- Atribución de género: es la asignación a un grupo u otro a partir de los genitales. Se puede llegar a hacer incluso antes del nacimiento al saber el sexo del/de la bebé. A partir de este momento, el tratamiento de esta nueva persona estará condicionada por su pertenencia a un sexo/género u otro.
- Identidad de género: proceso por el que el individuo se concibe como hombre o mujer. Se da entre los 2-3 años de edad y a partir de este momento el individuo se identifica con las características propias de su género, por lo que adquiere y copia las actitudes y conductas propias de su grupo de referencia.
- Rol de género: se forma con el conjunto de normas y prescripciones que dictan la sociedad y la cultura sobre el comportamiento femenino o masculino. La dicotomía masculino-femenino, con sus variantes culturales, establece estereotipos rígidos que condicionan los papeles y modulan las potencialidades humanas al reforzar o castigar determinadas conductas y actitudes en función de la adscripción al género.

En este punto, la antropología viró para centrarse de lleno en la cuestión de género como construcción social. Simon de Beauvoir desarrolló la primera formulación sobre el concepto de género para plantear que las características femeninas son adquiridas por las mujeres mediante un proceso social y no como una herencia natural de su sexo. Su planteamiento se resume en la mítica frase de “una no nace, sino que se hace mujer”. Esta reflexión dio pie al inicio de la interpretación del problema de la igualdad entre hombres y mujeres y abrió un nuevo campo de investigación científica.

La categoría de género se convirtió en uno de los cimientos conceptuales del movimiento feminista y hoy día ha traspasado esta motivación circunstancial inicial para dar pie a un conjunto teórico-científico de investigación psicológica y social. A

pesar de la confusión inicial que pudiera surgir con el nuevo uso que se le daba al término “género”, poco a poco se fue situando su verdadero interés intelectual: “¿cuál es la verdadera diferencia entre los cuerpos sexuados y los seres socialmente contruidos?” (Lamas, 1996).

Una de las primeras antropólogas que acometieron el intento por comprender la construcción de género en su contexto social es Gayle Rubin (1975). En su estudio pionero planteó que el sistema sexo/género es el conjunto de normas a partir de las cuales una sociedad transforma la sexualidad biológica en productos de la actividad humana. Rubin señaló que la subordinación de las mujeres es producto de las relaciones que organizan y producen la sexualidad y el género. Los hombres tienen ciertos derechos sobre las mujeres que las mujeres no tienen sobre ellos ni sobre sí mismas.

Las normas de género se transmiten, en muchos casos, de manera implícita a través del lenguaje y otros símbolos (Bourdieu, 2000). El movimiento feminista ha impulsado el trabajo de las ciencias humanas sobre las experiencias de mujeres y hombres, de las jerarquías basadas en el sexo y las distribuciones del poder basadas en el género. Los estudios realizados desde esta perspectiva durante el último siglo muestran el grado en que las categorías de género han variado a lo largo del tiempo, y con ellas los territorios sociales y culturales asignados a mujeres y hombres. Por ejemplo, en Occidente, durante la industrialización el lugar de trabajo quedó separado de la vivienda, y así quedó delimitado el ámbito público donde se visibiliza al hombre y el ámbito privado de cuidado familiar donde reside la mujer. Cuando la mujer pudo acceder a estudios superiores y a su profesionalización, se establecieron labores propios de uno y otro sexo (la mujer estaría más preparada para trabajar en la enfermería, la enseñanza o el trabajo social, análogos al trabajo al que estaba preparada por sus cualidades supuestamente naturales).

El género es una construcción simbólica, establecida sobre los datos biológicos de la diferencia sexual. De la lógica del género se desprende la actual normatividad (jurídica y simbólica) sobre el uso sexual y reproductivo del cuerpo, y puesto que dicha lógica se toma por “natural” genera represión y opresión.

B. Feminismos

Según Kamala Visweswaran (1997), hay cuatro periodos históricos del feminismo en el que se solapan los objetos de estudio (mujer, mujeres, sistema sexo/género y diferencia sexual), así como las perspectiva del estudio (esencialismo, construccionismo y deconstruccionismo).

1. Primera ola del feminismo, entre 1880-1920. Supone la transición del feminismo victoriano al feminismo “moderno” incluyendo una de las épocas de mayor movilización feminista entre 1912-1919.
2. Entre 1920-1960 se da la “disgregación del movimiento de mujeres”.
3. Segunda ola del feminismo, entre 1960-1980. Mayor auge del feminismo político entre los años 1967-1974.
4. Tercera ola del feminismo, entre 1980-1990. Surge de la crítica dentro del propio movimiento feminista, al feminismo blanco, heterosexual y de clase media, dominante y generalizado por la segunda ola.

Atendiendo a las diferencias en el objeto de estudio antes mencionadas, se puede extraer un punto común a todos ellos. Se trata de la crítica al esquema patriarcal que se reproduce en la práctica etnográfica y en los análisis antropológicos. Es una crítica al análisis social que ordena la realidad en torno a una serie de categorías binarias: mujer/hombre, naturaleza/cultura, privado/público, inferior/superior, etc., en lugar de arrojar una visión crítica sobre ellas. Estamos hablando de un esquema que otorga un privilegio a uno de los términos, mientras invisibiliza, alteriza e idealiza al otro.

Según las diferencias en la perspectiva del estudio, para las teorías esencialistas el orden de la naturaleza proporciona el punto de partida y de referencia determinante de las prácticas sociales, mientras que para las teorías construccionistas este orden natural es una construcción social. Así, el construccionismo implica únicamente un desplazamiento de la esencia de la naturaleza a la sociedad. La mirada deconstructivista surgió en el contexto de un feminismo interesado en “desesencializar” la categoría mujer y las categorías de género. Como plantea Haraway (1995) deconstruir la biología, cambiando la naturaleza de los cuerpos (introduce el concepto de cyborg para disolver las categorías de sexo y género).

C. El concepto de género

Siguiendo el análisis que realiza Linda Nicholson (1994) el término “género” surgió en contraposición al de “sexo” con la intención de separar lo que es construcción social de lo que es un hecho biológico. Así, se entiende que el género alude al comportamiento y los rasgos de personalidad en tanto que realidades diferentes al cuerpo. Las feministas de la segunda ola usaron el nuevo término para contraponer la fuerza del concepto “sexo” que apuntalaba las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres con una determinación biológica. En los setenta se usaba para diferenciar las formas masculinas y femeninas del lenguaje, y poco después se extendió su significado para referirse a las diferencias entre los hombres y las mujeres en general. Se pretendía que el nuevo término acotara el uso de “sexo”, pero no se buscaba la sustitución completa. En este punto fue esencial el aporte de Gayle Rubin (1975) con la expresión “sistema sexo/género”, mediante la cual se señala que lo biológico es la base que sustenta los significados culturales. Así, se entiende que el ser fisiológico es un hecho “dado” al que se “superponen” determinadas características. Desde este planteamiento se permitió a las feministas explicar las diferencias y semejanzas entre las propias mujeres. Se

concibió la identidad sexual como una construcción social pero, al mismo tiempo, como un hecho común a todas las culturas, hecho que Nicholson denomina “fundacionalismo biológico” y critica fehacientemente, ya que desde su planteamiento, es un error pensar que en todas las sociedades se construye del mismo modo la distinción masculino/femenino.

Con el tiempo, el término “género” desarrolló su contenido para hacer referencia a la construcción social relacionada con la distinción masculino/femenino. En este sentido, como señaló Joan Scott (1988), si el propio cuerpo siempre se percibe a través de la interpretación social, el sexo no será distinto al género, sino algo que se puede incluir en él. Como se puede apreciar, hay dos concepciones diferentes de lo que se entiende por género y hoy día aún perviven ambas generando gran confusión en su uso. Según Scott (1988) la proliferación del uso del concepto de género ha sido impulsada por la búsqueda de legitimidad del discurso feminista y se empezó a utilizar a un nivel formal a modo de sustitutivo de “mujeres”. Para Scott, el concepto de género facilitó un modo de decodificar el significado que las culturas otorgan a las diferencias de sexo y de comprender las complejas conexiones entre varias formas de interacción humana. Propone una definición que tiene dos partes, ambas interrelacionadas, y cuatro subpartes.

- a) El género es un elemento constitutivo de las relaciones sociales basadas en las diferencias que distinguen los sexos.
- b) El género es una forma primaria de relaciones significantes de poder.
 - a. Símbolos culturalmente disponibles que evocan representaciones múltiples (ej. Eva y María en la religión cristiana).
 - b. Conceptos normativos que manifiestan las interpretaciones de los significados de los símbolos para limitar sus posibilidades metafóricas (ej. doctrinas religiosas, educativas, legales, etc.).

- c. Las instituciones y organizaciones sociales de las relaciones de género (parentesco, familia, mercado de trabajo segregado por sexos, etc.).
- d. Identidad subjetiva. Concibe la identidad subjetiva como identidad de género y señala la importancia de la biografía personal aunque también aprecia el tratamiento colectivo de este proceso.

Monique Wittig (1980) fue un paso más al determinar que la categoría “sexo” también es una construcción sociocultural basada en las diferencias anatómicas que, biológicamente, son neutras. Así, amplió el significado de la tesis que planteaba de Beauvoir (1962) al señalar que la construcción de la identidad sexual se basa en un sexo anatómico también determinado socialmente sobre rasgos anatómicos en principio neutros, sin adscripción. No obstante, Butler (1986) tacha dicha tesis como radical y prefiere reformular el planteamiento de Simone de Beauvoir siguiendo a Foucault (1976) al señalar que no existe un sexo natural *per se*, ya que el cuerpo es vivido según se relaciona con el contexto.

D. El enfoque sociológico

Para Ortner y Whitehead (1981) lo que se consideraba que es el género en las sociedades no reflejaba simplemente las diferencias biológicas entre mujeres y hombres, se trataba de un producto de procesos sociales y culturales. Esta perspectiva la inició Margaret Mead (1935) y ha tenido una continuación desigual entre los/as científicos/as. Siguiendo esta línea de trabajo, el género, la sexualidad y la reproducción serían símbolos a los que la sociedad da un determinado significado. El propósito de las investigaciones que continúan esta perspectiva será doble: sacar a la luz la diversidad de los significados atribuidos a los sexos y a la sexualidad en diferentes culturas y atender a los factores socioculturales que dan significado al género.

Hay dos metodologías diferentes a la hora de abordar esta tarea, una más

culturalista y otra más sociológica.

- El enfoque culturalista insiste en que ningún símbolo de género puede ser comprendido sin determinar su ubicación espacio-temporal en un sistema de símbolos y significados particular. El propósito de este enfoque es establecer el significado de los símbolos sexuales y de género de acuerdo con el resto de creencias, concepciones, clasificaciones y supuestos socioculturales.
- El enfoque sociológico aborda este conjunto de problemas a través del estudio de la forma en la que ciertos tipos de orden social tienden a producir, mediante la lógica de su funcionamiento, algunas percepciones culturales sobre el género y la sexualidad.

Con este breve recorrido podemos concluir que, aunque hay una alta diversidad en las ideologías de género, se pueden extraer temas generales que conciernen a la naturaleza de los hombres, las mujeres, el sexo y la sexualidad. En la mayoría de las culturas las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres son pensadas, de una manera más o menos elaborada, como conjuntos de oposiciones binarias asociadas metafóricamente, a saber:

- La oposición “naturaleza/cultura”. Según varios/as autores/as (Ardener, 1975; Ortner, 1972), hay una tendencia universal a asociar lo masculino con la cultura y a considerar lo femenino como más cercano a la naturaleza. Esta relación estructural ya fue articulada por Lévi-Strauss (1979) quien consideró lo doméstico como una entidad biológica fundamental (la familia) y el ámbito público como una red de alianzas (la cultura).
- Se puede observar también, una tendencia cultural generalizada a definir a los hombres de acuerdo con categorías de estatus y función social (“guerrero”, “cazador”) y a las mujeres por las relaciones que típicamente corresponden a sus

funciones de parentesco hacia los hombres (“esposa”, “madre”, “hermana”).

- Con mucha frecuencia, los mismos ejes que separan y distinguen a los hombres de las mujeres, atraviesan también a las categorías de género, produciendo en ellas distinciones y gradaciones internas.

Para Ortner y Whitehead (1981) hay una variedad de esferas de la vida social que parecen ser especialmente determinantes en la configuración de las ideas culturales sobre el género y la sexualidad, y viceversa.

- Parentesco y matrimonio. Se toma como punto de partida la idea de Lévi-Strauss (1979) de que el “intercambio de mujeres” en las transacciones matrimoniales inaugura la sociedad humana. Gayle Rubin (1975) exploró las implicaciones sociales y psicológicas del hecho de que las mujeres no tengan derechos sobre sí mismas ni sobre sus parientes varones. Ortner y Whitehead (1981) plantearon que la construcción cultural del sexo y del género tiende en todas partes a establecerse de acuerdo con las consideraciones en torno al prestigio que hacen los varones socialmente dominantes. El modo en que el prestigio es asignado, regulado y expresado constituye la lente a través de la cual se perciben culturalmente los sexos y sus relaciones sociales.
- Relaciones de prestigio. Las “estructuras de prestigio” son los conjuntos de posiciones o niveles que resultan de la aplicación de una línea particular de valoración social, de los mecanismos por los que se alcanza y las condiciones de reproducción de dicho sistema de estatus. Las fuentes de prestigio son escasas y directas: el control de los recursos materiales, el poder político, la habilidad personal y el contacto con los poderosos. Hay dos mecanismos, el de adscripción según parentesco o por características naturales, y el de los logros, según el éxito en una tarea determinada. Estas estructuras siempre se sustentan

en creencias y asociaciones simbólicas definidas con precisión. No obstante, la relación entre un sistema de prestigio particular y sus soportes sociales más profundos debe verse como un fenómeno históricamente específico y muy complejo. De esto se desprende:

- El sistema sexo/género es una estructura de prestigio. Los conceptos empleados para distinguir a los hombres de las mujeres de acuerdo con su valor social suelen ser idénticos a los conceptos que se usan para distinguir otros tipos sociales valorados desigualmente, y a los conceptos empleados para establecer categorías jerárquicas entre los individuos del mismo género. De esta manera se determina que las posiciones de prestigio ajenas al ámbito del género propiamente dicho, se expresan con frecuencia en términos relativos al género (ej. el niño que se muestra interesado en los deportes violentos es calificado como “niña”).
- Todas las estructuras de prestigio tienden a establecer una coherencia simbólica entre ellas. Así, encontramos sistemas sociales en los que el género y alguna otra dimensión del prestigio no se puedan distinguir (ej. en Nueva Guinea, el estatus que confiere el género armoniza con el estatus de la edad a través del énfasis simbólico que se aplica a la capacidad reproductora).
- Las elaboraciones en torno al género dependen de los modos en los que la acción masculina orientada al prestigio se articula estructural y funcionalmente con las estructuras de relación entre los sexos. Los hombres compiten por el estatus de mayor prestigio y se distinguen entre sí sobre esa base, mientras que las mujeres conforman una masa social relativamente homogénea. La tendencia a definir a las mujeres en

términos de sus relaciones debe ser vista como un reflejo de su exclusión del mundo del prestigio masculino. Las ideas culturales acerca de los géneros y la sexualidad tienden a variar de acuerdo con la forma en la que las mujeres (y la esfera doméstica), y las relaciones entre los sexos, se organizan y configuran la base que sustenta al sistema de prestigio (masculino) más amplio. En la mayoría de las sociedades, el prestigio masculino parece estar profundamente vinculado con las relaciones entre los hombres y las mujeres: las mujeres pueden ser intercambiadas como premios a las hazañas masculinas; el requisito para obtener el estatus de hombre adulto puede consistir en tener una esposa; el estatus de madre puede afectar al prestigio del hijo que tenga; el comportamiento sexual de las hermanas e hijas afecta a su honor, etc.

- El parentesco y el matrimonio desde la perspectiva del prestigio. El sistema de prestigio hace resaltar ciertos vínculos entre hombres y mujeres de entre la gama completa de vínculos existentes en la sociedad a la que pertenezca, y los subraya en la medida en la que esos vínculos resulten determinantes para la generación o mantenimiento del estatus (masculino). En la mayoría de las sociedades el vínculo entre los sexos más determinante para la posición social de un hombre es el matrimonio. En muchas sociedades, la producción se fundamenta en la unidad doméstica. De esta manera, la esposa es una ventaja para la producción. En sociedades más complejas con niveles de estatus mayores (castas, estados), la producción doméstica tiene menos importancia pero se fija el problema en la continuidad de la descendencia, siendo el matrimonio, de nuevo, la condición específica sobre la que recae el prestigio del varón. Por otro lado, también hay sociedades en el que los lazos de parentesco son los más significativos para la

obtención del prestigio (la hermana, la madre). En este caso, las mujeres son tratadas con mayor respeto, ya que se deja a un lado el aspecto de la relación sexual con el hombre, ya que no es a partir de ella de donde nace el prestigio de éste (ej. en la religión católica se enfatizan los cuidados y la protección que otorga la madre).

1.2. Psicología del género

En la Tabla 1 se presenta un cuadro resumen con la descripción de los instrumentos más relevantes usados en Psicología para medir masculinidad y feminidad, así como otros conceptos análogos de interés.

A. Midiendo la masculinidad y la feminidad: el modelo clásico

Las primeras investigaciones se centraron en las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres con respecto al nivel de inteligencia que demuestran personas de ambos sexos (Parker y Parker, 1979). Más adelante, se amplió el estudio a la evaluación de las diferencias en otras aptitudes (Fagot, 1982). Una consecuencia de estos estudios fue la inclusión de la variable “masculinidad-feminidad” en las medidas de personalidad, entre las que destacan la Escala M-F del *Cuestionario Multifásico de Personalidad de Minnesota* (MMPI) (Hataway y McKinley, 1943). A partir de este punto, se componen dos modelos contrapuestos al respecto, a saber: el modelo clásico y el modelo de la androginia (García-Mina, 2004). Estos dos modelos se pueden situar también en el tiempo, de manera que habría un recorrido investigador de los años veinte a los 70, y desde entonces hasta la actualidad.

Tabla 1

Instrumentos más relevantes usados en Psicología del Género.

Instrumento	Autores/as	Año	Concepto	Ítems
Attitude Interest Analysis Survey (AIAS)	Terman y Miles	1936	Incongruencias entre el sexo biológico y el "psicológico".	456
Escala M-F del Cuestionario Multifásico de Personalidad de Minnesota (MMPI)	Hathaway y McKinley	1943	Masculinidad-Feminidad como factores de personalidad.	60
Attitudes Toward Women Scale (ATWS)	Spence y Helmreich	1972	Creencias sobre los derechos y el papel de las mujeres en la sociedad, en comparación con los hombres.	55
Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI)	Bem	1974	Estereotipo masculino, femenino y androginia.	60
Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ)	Spence, Helmreich y Stapp	1975	Estereotipo masculino y femenino.	24
Male-Female Relations Questionnaire (MFRQ)	Spence, Helmreich y Sawin	1980	Tendencia comportamental según el rol sexual.	30
Sex-Rep Test	Baldwin, Critelli, Stevens y Russell	1986	Rol de género.	14
Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS)	O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David y Wrightsman	1986	Conflicto de rol de género.	37
Ravinder Sex Role Saliency Reptest (2RS Reptest)	Ravinder	1987	Rol sexual.	24
Old-Fashioned Sexism scale (OFS)	Swim, Aikin, Hall y Hunter	1995	Discriminación hacia las mujeres.	8
Modern Sexism scale (MS)	Swim, Aikin, Hall y Hunter	1995	Discriminación hacia las mujeres.	8
Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI)	Glick y Fiske	1996	Sexismo hostil y benevolente hacia las mujeres.	22
Hoffman Gender Scale (HGS)	Hoffman	1996	Definición y aceptación del propio género.	14
Social Roles Questionnaire (SRQ)	Baber y Tucker	2006	Expectativas sobre el comportamiento que hombres y mujeres deben mantener en la sociedad.	13

Los precursores del primer modelo fueron Terman y Miles (1936) y la concepción que pregaron consiste en entender la masculinidad y la feminidad como dos polos opuestos de una misma dimensión. La variable quedó definida por las diferencias existentes entre los dos sexos. Se trata de un rasgo de personalidad (masculinidad-feminidad, M-F), con dos polos opuestos que conforman un continuo en el que cada persona se sitúa. Terman y Miles (1936) desarrollan en su libro *Sex and Personality* su medida de “masculinidad-feminidad” tomando como modelo los test de inteligencia. El cuestionario es el *Attitude Interest Analysis Survey* (AIAS; Terman y Miles, 1936). Este instrumento pretendía identificar las incongruencias entre el sexo biológico y el “psicológico” (Morawski, 1987) de manera que se pudiera poner a prueba la creencia de que una mujer femenina y un hombre homosexual (“sexualmente invertido”), deben tener mucho en común. También se pensaba que podría ser una medida útil para el ajuste marital, ya que se consideraba que éste dependía de que el hombre fue “tradicionalmente” masculino y ella “tradicionalmente” femenina. Según señaló Constantinople (1973) en su revisión, Terman y Miles definieron la masculinidad y la feminidad en términos de diferencias en las respuestas por sexos. Esta concepción se mantendría en otras pruebas diseñadas para medir masculinidad y feminidad.

La escala M-F del *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory* (MMPI; Hathaway & McKinley, 1943) nació para analizar a aquellas personas que tienden a identificarse con el sexo contrario, más que con el propio (Thorndike y Hagen, 1977). Para entender la carga cultural que tiene la definición de estos términos, sirve como ejemplo atender a la definición de feminidad, que se consideraba como una mayor probabilidad hacia la sensibilidad con el arte y la cultura. No obstante, esta relación entre la supuesta definición científica y la construcción social del término, no quedó circunscrita solo a esta prueba, ya que en el siguiente MMPI-2, diseñado en los años

noventa, tan sólo se cambian 4 de los 60 ítems de la escala original (Lewin y Wild, 1991), por considerarse “potencialmente ofensivos”. En esta nueva versión también se encuentran dos nuevas escalas, *Masculine Gender rol* (Gm) y *Femenine Gender role* (Gf), que pretendían medir los roles tradicionales de género. No obstante, en el manual del cuestionario no se encontraba una definición concreta de lo que se busca medir con la escala M-F, aunque sí señalaban que si un hombre puntúa alto en feminidad, éste tiene una marcada tendencia homoerótica (Butcher, Dahlstrom, Graham, Tellegen y Kaemmer, 1989).

En la revisión que hizo Constantinople (1973), se resumían las características que componen este modelo: la concepción de masculinidad y feminidad definida en términos de diferencias en las respuestas según el sexo; se trata de una única dimensión con dos polos extremos (M-F); para medir esta dimensión se obtiene una única puntuación. Lewin (1984) amplió las conclusiones sobre este modelo teórico: la masculinidad y la feminidad son estáticas y no cambian con el desarrollo; los hombres gay y las mujeres “femeninas” son idénticos; el rol sexual o las normas de género no están relacionadas con las condiciones sociales, económicas o políticas de la sociedad; la masculinidad y la feminidad se componen de un conjunto de rasgos e intereses que no dejan margen a la visión personal de cada persona sobre su propia imagen relacionada con el género.

El cuestionamiento a este modelo vino dado por la falta de apoyo empírico al constructo propuesto y, además, por los cambios sociales que propusieron la introducción del género como una nueva categoría de análisis. De esta manera, la masculinidad y la feminidad dejaron de asimilarse como análogas de las diferencias debidas al sexo biológico a ser consideradas como dimensiones socioculturales independientes, que pueden presentarse en diferentes grados en un mismo individuo. Es

entonces cuando deviene el segundo modelo que llega hasta nuestros tiempos.

B. La alternativa: el modelo de la androginia

Según Hoffman, Borders y Hattie (2000), hasta los años 70 se aceptaba que la masculinidad y la feminidad consisten en una lista de rasgos e intereses basados en diferencias estadísticas disgregadas por sexo (Butcher, Dahlstrom, Graham, Tellegen y Kaemmer, 1989; Gough, 1952; Guilford y Martin, 1949; Hathaway y McKinley, 1943; Strong, 1936; Terman y Miles, 1936). El cambio de concepción vino al romper la visión de una única dimensión con dos polos mediante la incursión de los cuestionarios de Bem (BSRI; 1974) y Spence, Helmreich y Stapp (PAQ; 1975). Fue entonces cuando nació el concepto de androginia.

Este nuevo concepto nació de la asunción de que la salud en hombres y mujeres puede tener características parecidas. De esta manera, un individuo podría combinar características tradicionalmente asociadas a los hombres (masculinidad) y a las mujeres (feminidad). Uno de los primeros instrumentos en aparecer para poner medida a esta nueva concepción de masculinidad y feminidad viene de la mano de Sandra Bem. El ánimo inicial de esta autora era, en la línea del movimiento feminista de los años 70 en los Estados Unidos de América, promover una visión más liberal de la sexualidad señalando que tanto hombres como mujeres podían disponer de características que eran propias de la masculinidad y la feminidad, según la cultura a la que pertenecían. De esta manera se rompía la antigua concepción de que un alto grado de tipificación sexual fuese sinónimo de salud mental. Surge así el concepto de personalidad andrógina (Bem, 1972), que hace referencia al hecho de que una persona pueda desarrollar comportamientos o tener rasgos más propios de la masculinidad o feminidad, sin distinción de su sexo biológico. La autora desarrolla en 1974 el famoso *Bem Sex Role Inventory* (BSRI) (Bem, 1974).

El BSRI incluye una escala de masculinidad y otra de feminidad que Bem definió como un conjunto de rasgos más deseables según la cultura para hombres y mujeres, respectivamente. Está compuesto por 60 características de personalidad sobre las que se pide una valoración en una escala Likert de 1 a 7 puntos (Nunca o casi nunca – Siempre o casi siempre). Veinte de ellas son características que pertenecen al estereotipo de género femenino (compasiva, tierna, etc.), otras 20 hacen referencia al estereotipo de género masculino (asertivo, fuerte, etc.) y las últimas 20 son consideradas como neutrales a ambos estereotipos de género (convencional, adaptable, etc.) Cada uno compone una escala, la femenina, la masculina y la de deseabilidad social, respectivamente. Cuando la puntuación de la escala femenina es significativamente mayor que la masculina, se define a la persona como “femenina”, y viceversa. Cuando la diferencia no es significativa, se la define como “andrógina”. En este punto, Spence, Helmreich y Stapp (1975) criticaron el hecho de que sea indiferente que la puntuación en ambas escalas sea alta o baja, con tal de que no haya diferencias significativas, para denominar a esa persona como “andrógina”. Bem (1977) asumió la crítica y propone un nuevo formato para obtener la puntuación. De esta manera se conforman cuatro grupos de resultados: femenino, masculino, andrógino e indiferenciado. La nueva clasificación permite diferenciar si, no habiendo diferencias significativas entre las escalas masculina y femenina, la puntuación es alta en ambas (se considera la persona como “andrógina”) o baja (“indiferenciada”).

Años más tarde, la propia autora presentó una versión más breve (Bem, 1979, 1981) con 30 ítems, reduciendo 10 en cada escala presentada en el cuestionario original. Aún a pesar de contar con buenas propiedades psicométricas (Lippa, 1985; Payne, 1985). Bem (1981) señaló que la base teórica de su cuestionario se centra en el procesamiento cognitivo y las dinámicas motivacionales de las personas tipificadas

sexualmente (siendo hombre o mujer, puntúan alto en su escala, masculinidad o feminidad, respectivamente) y andróginas. Será en las siguientes publicaciones donde la autora desarrolló su famosa teoría del esquema de género.

Según Hoffman (2001), las personas tipificadas sexualmente incorporan a su autoconcepto la definición cultural de masculinidad y feminidad, mientras que las personas definidas como andróginas o indiferenciadas no lo hacen. Este hecho cobra una gran relevancia pues pone por primera vez de manifiesto que el autoconcepto del individuo está basado, en parte, en una construcción sociocultural.

Se consolidó el cambio de modelo clásico antes mencionado, pasando de la bipolaridad tradicional a una nueva bidimensionalidad e independencia basada en las aportaciones de Bakan (1966) y Parsons y Bales (1955). Estos últimos definían el comportamiento masculino como instrumental, es decir, un comportamiento en el que prima la preocupación por alcanzar metas y objetivos externos), y el femenino como más expresivo, es decir, con mayor preocupación por el bienestar de los demás. De esta manera podemos comprobar cómo la medición que otorgan los cuestionarios como el BSRI o el PAQ, se basan principalmente en la adecuación del comportamiento individual a un patrón medido como “típicamente” masculino o femenino, esto es, responden al estereotipo que se tiene de cómo se comportan los hombres y las mujeres. Así, un comportamiento masculino incluye manipular el medio para conseguir los objetivos, realizar tareas, ser autoritario y disponer del control técnico de la situación, mientras que el comportamiento femenino significa comprender al otro, manejar las emociones y buscar el amor y la amistad en las relaciones interpersonales. Bakan (1966) añadía la identificación a la masculinidad con la autoprotección, la autoaserción, la autoexpansión e incluso la soledad o la alienación. Este autor insiste en la necesidad de desarrollar ambos tipos de dimensiones, la masculina y la femenina, para conseguir una

mayor flexibilidad y salud mental. En esta línea, otros autores también han añadido su definición a la masculinidad y la feminidad. Por ejemplo, Erikson (1964) señaló el interés de los varones por el espacio público y el de las mujeres por el privado.

De esta manera se entiende que puede haber personas tipificadas sexualmente, esto es, que cumplen con el rol de género marcado por la sociedad y así disponen de un comportamiento masculino si son hombres y femenino si son mujeres; y personas andróginas o indiferenciadas, esto es, que tienen la misma cantidad de rasgos tipificados como masculinos y femeninos (Sebastián, Aguiñiga y Moreno, 1987). Esta y otras investigaciones sitúan el modelo de la androginia en relación con una mayor flexibilidad, ajuste psicológico y, en definitiva, salud mental (Beere, 1990). En concreto, en este estudio resulta de interés señalar cómo definen los autores lo que entienden como el “rol sexual andrógino”, partiendo de qué comportamientos fueron elegidos como masculinos (boxear, afeitarse, limpiar las bujías de un coche, cortar leña, levantar pesas, etc.) y femeninos (ponerse rulos y usar horquillas para el pelo, andar con zapatos de tacón alto, hacerse la manicura, adoptar una posición sexy, maquillarse, etc.). De esta manera vuelve a aparecer el debate de si estos comportamientos conforman lo que se entiende como un rol sexual (conductas y rasgos marcados por el sexo), rol de género (con un comportamiento que se desprende de la cultura de género a la que se pertenece) o bien al estereotipo de género (lo más común entre hombres y mujeres, lo ideal en la cultura de género de cada sociedad).

El cuestionario de Bem ha sido el más utilizado para medir la masculinidad y la feminidad. Se ha utilizado en investigaciones en todo el mundo, adaptándose a varios idiomas y poblaciones. El cuestionario mide el grado en que una persona se atribuye a sí misma características de personalidad que corresponden al estereotipo de género masculino y femenino. La autora ha señalado que logró dicha selección partiendo de

una lista de 414 categorías de personalidad. Definió una escala masculina, otra femenina y una con rasgos que ambos marcaban como deseables o rechazables para su grupo.

Casi al mismo tiempo que Bem, los investigadores Spence, Helmreich y Stapp (1975) proponen otra medida denominada *Personal Attributes Questionnaire* (PAQ), y desde entonces se ha desarrollado una gran cantidad de instrumentos en torno a este modelo. El PAQ también ofrecía un resultado en cuatro grupos al igual que el BSRI. No obstante, ambos instrumentos difieren en varios aspectos: a diferencia del BSRI, el PAQ incluye en sus escalas de masculinidad y feminidad ítems que son juzgados como deseables socialmente para ambos pero que son interpretados como más típicos de un sexo que del otro. También, Spence, Helmreich y Stapp (1974) se centraron para la elección de los ítems en la deseabilidad de manera independiente al género, es decir, pretenden estar más cercanos a la realidad y dejar de lado la deseabilidad social asociada a la cultura de género. También, en el PAQ se dispone de una tercera escala M-F para representar las características que varían su deseabilidad social según si la persona es hombre o mujer. Por ello han sido largamente criticados, ya que con esta escala parecen apoyar un modelo bipolar de masculinidad y feminidad. No obstante, la diferencia más notable entre ambos cuestionarios es lo que cada autor pretende medir con él. Como ya señalaran Spence y Helmreich (1979), sería un error considerar ambos instrumentos como una medida global de masculinidad y feminidad. Spence, Helmreich y Holahan (1979) consideraron más apropiado valorar ambos instrumentos como una medida de la orientación del individuo a disponer de comportamientos más “instrumentales” o “expresivos”, haciendo referencia al contenido de lo que entienden por masculinidad y feminidad Parsons y Bales (1955). No obstante, la propuesta de los propios Spence, Helmreich y Stapp (1974), el *Personal Attributes Questionnaire* (PAQ),

también ha sido muy utilizado en la investigación científica de la estereotipia de género (Vergara y Páez, 1993), y se ha llegado a la conclusión de que ambas pruebas, el PAQ y el BSRI, largamente enfrentadas por sus autores, no tienen diferencias reseñables en los criterios de construcción de los ítems, los criterios de deseabilidad social, y las propiedades psicométricas de fiabilidad y validez. La diferencia más destacable a este respecto es que Spence y Helmreich sí han aceptado que los listados de rasgos propios de un género y de otro responden a comportamientos “instrumentales” en el caso de los masculinos y más “expresivos” en el caso de los femeninos.

Otra de las críticas que ha recibido el famoso cuestionario de Bem es que no ha sido debidamente actualizado a los patrones culturales actuales (García-Vega, Fernández y Rico, 2005). Hoffman y Borders (2001) realizaron una revisión crítica de los últimos 25 años de uso del BSRI. Concluyeron varios aspectos a tener en cuenta tanto para el análisis de los resultados del instrumento, como para la conceptualización de los términos relacionados con el género que hemos venido comentando:

- Tanto la propia Bem como otros/as autores/as han establecido selecciones más breves de los ítems originales, así como nuevos formatos de puntuación del cuestionario. Se han encontrado que las diferentes formas de puntuación devienen en diferencias significativas en el resultado (Ashmore, 1990; Cook, 1985).
- El contexto cultural ha cambiado con respecto a lo que se considera femenino y masculino en la época en que se diseñó el cuestionario y en la actual. Sin embargo, ni el manual ni el listado de ítems han sido actualizados o reformulados.
- Bem definió la tipificación sexual como el proceso por el cual la sociedad convierte al hombre y a la mujer, en masculino y femenino. Considera que la

androginia hace ver que el comportamiento humano huye de la tipificación sexual por lo que la sociedad debería dejar de proyectar el género en las situaciones que son ajenas a los genitales. Más recientemente, la propia autora (Bem, 1993), nos incita a que nos resistamos a usar “las lentes del género” que estructuran nuestra percepción del mundo en categorías de masculino y femenino, imponiendo limitaciones importantes para ambos sexos. Como se puede apreciar, la definición ha cambiado considerablemente desde sus primeros escritos hasta los más recientes.

- Spence y Helmreich consideraron que su instrumento (PAQ) y el de Bem (BSRI) miden lo mismo: comportamientos “instrumentales” (relacionados con el estereotipo de género masculino) y “expresividad” (relacionados con el femenino), pero Bem se defendía señalando que su instrumento realmente mide la masculinidad y la feminidad. Así, muchos autores/as han utilizado el cuestionario de Bem con el objetivo de medir masculinidad y feminidad. Sin embargo, ya se ha demostrado ampliamente (Spence, 1985) que la masculinidad y la feminidad son conceptos más amplios que el grado de adecuación a los roles masculinos y femeninos tradicionales.
- En cuanto a la validez de constructo, estas autoras señalan que Bem ha cambiado muchas veces la definición de “género” en su literatura y, por tanto, de lo que su instrumento trata de medir (Lippa, 1985; Payne, 1985; Spence, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1991).
- Varios análisis factoriales han sido realizados sobre el BSRI (Antill y Russell, 1982; Gaudreau, 1977; Pedhazur y Tetenbaum, 1979). Todos concluyen que las escalas utilizadas no son factorialmente puras.
- La selección de los ítems se hizo siguiendo el criterio de que la masculinidad y

la feminidad es lo que colectivamente es más prevalente para hombres y mujeres en la cultura. De esta manera, las autoras señalan la confusión de términos acogida por Bem, pues según esta definición, se trataría mejor del estereotipo de género de la cultura en vez de una medida de la masculinidad y feminidad, como ya se ha comentado.

C. Nuevas definiciones de masculinidad y feminidad

Siguiendo a Hoffman, Borders y Hattie (2000), el recorrido de investigaciones que ha tenido como objetivo medir masculinidad y feminidad, ha estado equivocando conceptos y contenidos desde su inicio (Ahsmore, 1990; Constantinople, 1973; Deaux y Major, 1987; Lewin, 1984; Lewin y Wild, 1991; Marsh y Myers, 1986; McCreary, 1990; Morawski, 1987; Spence, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1991, 1993, 1999). Aunque el cuestionario de Bem y el cuerpo teórico que presentaba pretendía romper con una mentalidad más tradicional a través del concepto de androginia como paradigma de la salud mental, su propio instrumento y su posterior uso no ha hecho más que remarcar la categorización estereotipada haciendo ver que hay comportamientos y rasgos propios de la masculinidad y otros de la feminidad. Así, aunque la intención original fuese romper la dicotomía, se han seguido utilizando estos conceptos como algo opuesto.

En los años 80, las investigaciones comenzaron a aportar definiciones más personales de la masculinidad y la feminidad mediante nuevos instrumentos y teorías (Kelly, 1955). Destacan el *Sex-Rep* (Baldwin, Critelli, Stevens y Russell, 1986) y el *Ravinder Sex Role Salience Reptest* (Ravinder, 1987). Aunque ambos fueron utilizados en pocos estudios, planteaban una línea de trabajo muy diferente a la que se venía usando. En este sentido, apostaban por una diversificación del contenido de la masculinidad y la feminidad, primando la definición personal. De esta manera, pedían que se describiera abiertamente de qué forma se podía ser masculino o femenino.

En los años 90 aparecieron gran cantidad de nuevos conceptos relacionados con la masculinidad y la feminidad, como son: conflicto de rol de género (O'Neil, Good y Holmes, 1995), identidad femenina (Ossana, Helms y Leonard, 1992), actitud feminista (Henley, Meng, O'Brien, McCarthy y Sockloskie, 1998), etc. Estas nuevas medidas han seguido polarizando los conceptos de masculinidad y feminidad, y relacionan su contenido a la construcción social, es decir, al estereotipo de género. No obstante, el BSRI y el PAQ se han seguido usando de manera masiva y, en muchas ocasiones, como medida propia de la masculinidad y la feminidad, aún a pesar de los cambios en la definición del constructo que han planteado sus autores.

D. Gender Role Conflict Scale: atendiendo al malestar asociado a la construcción social del género masculino

Desde los años 70 surgió un movimiento que pretendía investigar y analizar la naturaleza compleja de la masculinidad, su impacto en la salud de los hombres y en la sociedad. Estos trabajos venían a apoyar la noción de que la mayoría de los comportamientos y rasgos asociados al sexo masculino son el resultado de la presión social (Groeschel, Wester y Sedivy, 2010) que dicta unos valores, ideales y prácticas específicas (Connell y Messerschmidt, 2005). Esta idea se incluyó dentro del concepto de la “*construcción social del género*” que tiene su punto de origen en el trabajo de Bem (1974, 1979) en donde sugirió que la masculinidad es específica de cada contexto social y se aprende a través de la transmisión de las normas definidas por dicha sociedad (Levant, 1995).

El análisis de los problemas que tienen los hombres debido a la consecución de un rol de género tradicional ha recibido una considerable atención científica (David y Brannon, 1976; O'Neil, 2013; Pleck y Pleck, 1980). El conflicto de rol de género existe cuando los roles de género tienen consecuencias negativas para los sujetos y las

personas de su alrededor (Garnets y Pleck, 1979; O'Neil, 1981a,b; Pleck, 1981). El *sex role strain paradigm* (Pleck, 1981), señala que la violación del rol de género tradicional puede tener consecuencias negativas, que ciertas características de dicho rol son claramente disfuncionales y que en ambos sexos se dan situaciones de conflicto y tensión por esta razón. Siguiendo este modelo teórico, centrándose en el rol de género masculino, surgió el concepto de "*gender role strain*" (Pleck, 1995), que señala que los hombres aprenden una serie de mandatos sociales que recogen conductas apropiadas para ellos, siendo estas en algunos casos poco adaptativas y problemáticas para su salud. Los hombres experimentan cierto malestar intentando vivir bajo ese modelo y se frustran al no poder alcanzar las expectativas marcadas. A partir de esta teoría, O'Neil (1987, 2008) desarrolló la teoría del "*gender role conflict*" centrada en el grado en que determinadas actitudes, conductas y valores entran en conflicto frente a demandas situacionales (Wester, 2008; Wester & Vogel, 2002), y los consecuentes problemas que experimentan los hombres debido a la rigidez de su rol de género. Los problemas interpersonales aparecen cuando los hombres, manteniendo sus roles de manera rígida, llevan a cabo conductas de riesgo para su salud y la de los demás (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; O'Neil, 1990). Los conflictos personales aparecen cuando los hombres no viven conforme al ideal masculino y experimentan vergüenza o ansiedad debido a esta discrepancia entre su autoconcepto real e ideal (O'Neil, Good y Holmes, 1995), además de la reacción negativa de la sociedad que en muchos casos reciben a este respecto (Lazur & Majors, 1995; Pleck, 1981, 1995).

En los años 80 se desarrolló empíricamente el instrumento de evaluación *Gender Role Conflict Scale* (O'Neil et al., 1986), convirtiéndose en la prueba más utilizada para la evaluación de los problemas generados por el rol de género masculino (O'Neil, 2013). Los cuatro factores identificados del conflicto de rol de género (O'Neil et al., 1995)

representan diferentes aspectos de las situaciones que generan tensión y malestar fruto del rol masculino socializado. El primer patrón (“éxito, poder y competición”), recoge el grado en que los hombres están socializados para buscar el éxito personal a través de la competición. El segundo patrón (“restricción emocional”), señala el grado en que aprenden a evitar la expresión verbal de sus emociones y, por tanto, aparentar cierta vulnerabilidad y semejanza con los aspectos asociados a la feminidad. El tercero (“restricción afectiva en el contacto entre hombres”), explora cómo los hombres están socializados para disponer de una expresión más rígida en el contacto con otros hombres. Finalmente, el cuarto (“conflictos entre relaciones de familia y trabajo”), señala el grado en que tienen dificultades en la gestión de las demandas del trabajo o escuela y las relaciones familiares.

Wester et al., (2012) desarrollaron una versión más corta, con la intención de que pueda ser aplicada en diversas culturas, de manera que se pueda conseguir una medida con la que comparar a hombres de diferentes orígenes y culturas. Posteriormente, la GRCS-SF ha sido adaptada al chino (Zhang, Blashill, Wester, O’Neil, Vogel, Wei y Zhang, 2014), encontrándose apoyo para la equivalencia del instrumento en la muestra recogida de hombres chinos de orientación heterosexual y homosexual.

Se ha estudiado la pertinencia del constructo en hombres con diferentes orientaciones sexuales y múltiples orígenes culturales, aplicándose en muestras de Australia, Portugal, Corea, Japón, Suecia, Alemania, Canadá e Indonesia (O’Neil, 2013). Sin embargo, hasta la fecha no se han estudiado sus propiedades psicométricas en una muestra española ni tampoco se ha evaluado el funcionamiento del instrumento con mujeres, lo cual impide conocer si su estructura factorial es equivalente. Esta limitación imposibilita efectuar estudios comparativos sobre las características y los correlatos de este constructo entre hombres y mujeres, lo cual sería muy interesante para evaluar si

las conductas recogidas en el rol de género masculino tradicional también generan conflictos en las vidas de las mujeres en la actualidad.

E. La evaluación de las actitudes sexistas: múltiples instrumentos que comparten una misma perspectiva

Spence y Buckner (2000) pusieron a prueba esta teoría en una investigación muy interesante. Pidieron a los/as participantes que proporcionaran una autoevaluación de su propia “masculinidad” y “feminidad” en una escala de 1 a 5. Además, evaluaron a los/as participantes usando el PAQ y el BSRI, considerando estas puntuaciones como comportamientos “instrumentales” (masculinos) y “expresivos” (femeninos), así como con otras medidas de creencias relacionadas con el género y actitudes sexistas, como son: *Attitudes Toward Women Scale* (Spence y Helmreich, 1972, 1979), *Male-Female Relations Questionnaire* (Spence et al., 1980), *Modern Sexism Scale* (Swim, Aikin, Hall y Hunter, 1995) y *Ambivalent Sexism Inventory* (Glick y Fiske, 1996). Las autoevaluaciones sobre masculinidad y feminidad y las puntuaciones en el PAQ y el BSRI correlacionaron negativamente. Además, no se encontraron correlaciones significativas entre estas medidas y el resto relacionadas con las creencias y actitudes sexistas. Estos resultados sugirieron que había diferencias en los constructos medidos por estos cuestionarios: identidad de género, estereotipo de género y actitudes sexistas.

De manera mayoritaria, destaca el uso de autoinformes como el método predilecto de evaluación en los estudios que pretenden abordar las actitudes sobre los roles de género (Smiler y Epstein, 2010). Podemos destacar los siguientes instrumentos más relevantes en su evaluación:

Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence y Helmreich, 1972). La versión original contenía 55 ítems (Spence y Helmreich, 1972), que posteriormente fue reducida a 25 ítems (Spence, Helmreich y Stapp, 1974) y más adelante a 15 ítems (Spence y

Helmreich, 1978). En este instrumento se pide a los/as participantes que indiquen su grado de acuerdo o desacuerdo a una serie de ítems (ej. “*Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry*”). Se trata de unos de los instrumentos más utilizados para la evaluación de actitudes sexistas, siendo la versión de 15 ítems la más utilizada en las últimas décadas (Spence y Hahn, 1997). A pesar de los buenos indicadores psicométricos encontrados, se recomienda cautela a la hora de extraer conclusiones de su uso debido a su falta de actualización (Smiler y Epstein, 2010).

Old-Fashioned Sexism (OFS) y *Modern Sexism (MS)* (Swim et al., 1995; Swim y Cohen, 1997). Ambos instrumentos surgieron de un trabajo anterior sobre actitudes racistas. El OFS fue diseñado para evaluar las formas más evidentes de sexismo y el MS para detectar los aspectos más sutiles como el resentimiento hacia las políticas y prácticas que persiguen atajar las desigualdades entre hombres y mujeres en la sociedad. Mediante estos instrumentos, se les pide a los/as participantes su grado de acuerdo o desacuerdo a una serie de afirmaciones que representan actitudes sexistas sobre hombres y mujeres. Se han hallado buenos indicadores psicométricos en sus múltiples usos y se siguen utilizando en la actualidad (Smiler y Epstein, 2010).

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI); Glick y Fiske, 1996). Fue diseñado para evaluar dos tipos de sexismo: hostil y benevolente. La definición de sexismo hostil que realizan los/as autores/as está ligada al planteamiento inicial de Allport (1954) de sexismo, entendiéndolo como un prejuicio que sitúa a las mujeres como adversarios de los hombres. El sexismo benevolente quedaría definido como una manifestación a través de la cual los hombres protegerían a las mujeres debido a su supuesta incompetencia fuera del ámbito de la intimidad y el cuidado a los demás. El instrumento consta de 22 ítems distribuidos en dos escalas “*Hostile Sexism*” y “*Benevolent Sexism*”,

incluyendo ítems sobre el paternalismo protector, las diferencias de género complementarias y la intimidad heterosexual.

Social Roles Questionnaire (SRQ; Baber y Tucker, 2006). Debido a su reciente aparición, este cuestionario aún cuenta con un uso reducido en estudios empíricos. Sin embargo, su propuesta pretende ser un avance que pueda enriquecer el estudio de los roles de género y las actitudes sexistas. En este sentido, las autoras de este instrumento criticaron la aproximación de los instrumentos anteriores por estar anticuados y reproducir una visión dicotómica del género. Partiendo desde una perspectiva constructivista social, propusieron este nuevo instrumento para la evaluación de las actitudes sobre los roles sociales en la sociedad norteamericana, con el que pretendían superar estas las limitaciones. En este instrumento incluyeron referencias a comportamientos asociados a hombres o mujeres, así como otros ítems que pretendían recoger actitudes más sutiles o encubiertas que apoyaran la desigualdad de género. En su versión original el instrumento constaba de 52 ítems con tres subescalas: “General”, “Infancia” y “Transcendentes del género”. Las dos primeras se fusionaron posteriormente quedando una propuesta final bifactorial. Finalmente las autoras propusieron una versión breve del mismo con 13 ítems para facilitar su posterior aplicación.

F. Hoffman Gender Scale: evaluando el concepto personal de género

Durante este largo recorrido han sido varias las voces que han criticado que se hayan matenidos las definiciones convencionales sobre masculinidad y feminidad en los estudios de mayor relevancia en la materia (Ashmore, 1990; Deaux y Major, 1987; McCreary, 1990; Spence, 1985). Spence (1985) fue la primera en sugerir que la masculinidad y la feminidad debían ser entendidas como la identidad de género, en vez de ser tratadas como un conjunto de rasgos, características, comportamientos

típicamente adscritos a hombres o mujeres (es decir, lo que entendemos como estereotipo de género y/o rol de género). Desde este planteamiento (Spence, 1985), la identidad de género se sostiene en las características o cualidades que cada uno/a incluye en su propia definición personal de lo que significa ser un hombre o una mujer y no tanto en la valoración que se hace del estereotipo de género, que incluye características asociadas a cada género pero no necesariamente asumidas por uno/a mismo/a.

Ahsmore (1990) puso de manifiesto la complejidad de los constructos de masculinidad y feminidad y apoyó la creación de un enfoque multifacético para entender el género. Lewin (1984) propuso que las medidas de masculinidad y feminidad permitieran formular a los/as participantes sus propias concepciones en vez de forzarles a adscribirse al estereotipo de género. De esta manera, se llegó al punto determinante de considerar que no se podía entender la masculinidad o la feminidad como un conjunto de rasgos y comportamientos estereotipados, por lo que surgía la cuestión de cómo definir estos conceptos.

En este contexto nació un nuevo término: el “*concepto del propio género*”. Surgió para responder a preguntas tales como qué significa para una persona en particular ser hombre/mujer, si ésta/e se define en base al rol de género asignado o de otras maneras, cómo define su masculinidad/feminidad, y si es importante para él/ella. De esta manera, la identidad de género del individuo formaría parte del concepto propio del género que tiene dicha persona. Como parte de esta nueva línea argumental (Basow, 1992), surgió otro concepto relacionado con la confianza en uno/a mismo/a en tanto en cuanto se identifica con su concepto propio del género. Esto sería la “*confianza en el propio género*” (Hoffman, Borders y Hattie, 2000). Se define como la intensidad de la propia creencia en que uno/a cumple con sus estándares personales de

feminidad/masculinidad. Así, la confianza en el propio género es un aspecto de la propia identidad de género, y ésta es un aspecto del concepto del propio género.

El concepto del propio género es la percepción de uno mismo como hombre o mujer. Es un concepto más amplio que la identidad de género, según la cual, uno se percibe como hombre o mujer sin estar convencido/a o sentirse seguro/a de su propia masculinidad o feminidad. Refleja lo que es importante personalmente para uno mismo en el sentido de ser hombre o mujer. Puede incluir o no una sólida identidad de género, así como la identidad de género puede o no incluir una alta confianza en el propio género. En esta línea se desarrolla la investigación del grupo de trabajo liderado por R. M. Hoffman y que deriva en la construcción de su propia escala: *Hoffman Gender Scale* (HGS; Hoffman, 1996; Hoffman, Borders y Hatie, 2000). Con este instrumento se pretende medir la confianza en el propio género mediante dos aspectos que la definen: la “*definición del propio género*”, que señala cómo percibe la persona la propia masculinidad/feminidad como un componente importante de la identidad, y la “*aceptación del propio género*”, que se entiende como lo a gusto que se siente la persona como miembro de su género y cómo se acepta, respeta y valora en tanto que hombre/mujer (Hoffman et al., 2000). Además, la HGS incluye una pregunta abierta para que los/as participantes señalen qué entienden por masculinidad/feminidad. De esta manera se conforma una nueva aproximación en la medición de la masculinidad y feminidad que representa un claro avance en el desarrollo de nuevas medidas y aproximaciones teóricas de conceptos innovadores que complementen los aspectos menos estudiados en relación con el género

G. Conceptos clave: estereotipo, rol e identidad de género

En este contexto, resulta de especial importancia clarificar los conceptos que se vienen usando en la Psicología del Género. Siguiendo a Toldos (2002) cabe distinguir:

- Identidad de género. Se define como la interiorización del sistema de creencias de género, haciendo referencia al hecho de ser percibidos/as y vernos a nosotros/as mismos/as como mujeres o como varones, dando como resultado el rol de género. Se trata de un juicio que hace el sujeto de autoclasificarse como varón o mujer, basado en aquellos aspectos que han ido conformando culturalmente al varón y a la mujer.
- Rol de género. Se refiere a las definiciones sociales o creencias acerca del modo en que hombres y mujeres difieren en una sociedad determinada. Se refieren a las normas y expectativas socioculturales de comportamientos y actitudes que son considerados como apropiados y deseables para los hombres y las mujeres. Estos roles son asignados según el sexo biológico y funcionan como mecanismos cognitivos por los cuales la diferenciación biológica se convierte en social, dando lugar a una división jerarquizada de actividades masculinas y femeninas (Bonilla, 1998). Cada cultura puede establecer cualidades particulares y comportamientos apropiados para cada rol. No obstante, hay una distribución más o menos universal con respecto a esta diferenciación (esfera doméstica y laboral, familia y trabajo, entre otras).
- Estereotipos de género. Son generalizaciones que tienen su origen en el proceso cognoscitivo general de categorización. La función de este proceso es simplificar y sistematizar, para lograr una mejor adaptación cognitiva y conductual, los estímulos y la información ambiental. Se refieren a juicios categoriales sobre las características de una persona por incluirse asignada en un grupo de género. Estos juicios son considerados como un sistema de creencias, pensamientos e ideas consensuales acerca de las características, atributos y comportamientos que se piensa son propios, esperables y adecuados para

determinados grupos. Los estereotipos de género suelen tomar dos o más valores diferenciados (masculinidad y feminidad), correspondiéndose los respectivos atributos con una amplia gama de características (rasgos de personalidad, conductas, características físicas y comportamientos).

Según García-Mina (2004), la masculinidad y feminidad se entienden como el significado y consecuencias que supone el ser hombre y mujer, respectivamente, en la cultura a la que se pertenece. Por otra parte, el concepto identidad de género es usado para referirse a una sensación subjetiva de masculinidad o feminidad (Golombok y Fivush, 1994). Spence y Sawin (1985), la definen como una convicción básica y existencial de que uno/a es hombre o mujer. Para Lewin (1984), se refiere más a una sensación de confianza y comodidad con ser hombre o mujer. Golombok y Fivush (1994), concluyen señalando que la identidad de género refleja un concepto individual de sí mismo/a como hombre o mujer. En este sentido, se puede entender la masculinidad y la feminidad como una construcción de la identidad de género y como parte del autoconcepto.

Dada la confusión que hay en la literatura con estos conceptos, algunos/as autores/as abogan por la creación de un nuevo término, la identificación con el rol de género (*gender role identity*), que viene a referirse al grado de acuerdo que una persona tiene con la construcción social de la masculinidad y feminidad (Basow, 1992; Mintz & O'Neil, 1990). En este sentido, señalan que este sería el objeto de análisis de instrumentos como el BSRI (Bem, 1974) o el PAQ (Spence, Helmreich y Stapp, 1975), ya que estos cuestionarios plantean una serie de rasgos y comportamientos “típicos” de hombres y mujeres, es decir, son un reflejo del constructo social de lo que se espera de un hombre y una mujer. Podemos usar un ejemplo planteado por Spence (1985) para entender cómo funcionan estos dos conceptos: una persona con una orientación de su

deseo sexual hacia personas de su mismo sexo, puede tener una marcada identidad de género, es decir, sentirse muy segura/o como mujer/hombre, pero no se identificará con el rol de género normativo, ya que éste se basa en la heterosexualidad.

2. Presentación de los Estudios: Objetivos y Metodología

Presentación de los Estudios: Objetivos y Metodología

Se exponen a continuación los objetivos y la metodología a los que responden los cuatro estudios que componen la presente tesis doctoral.

2.1. Estudio primero: Who Cares about Gender Identity? A Critical Revision on Scientific Research, Feminist Theories & Epistemology

Este trabajo consiste en una revisión teórica de las investigaciones que han abordado el estudio de las fronteras de los procesos de construcción de la identidad en el sistema sexo/género/sexualidad siempre vinculados a las condiciones socioeconómicas y culturales que los delimitan e influyen.

A. Objetivos y metodología

Con el objetivo de recoger cuál es el significado más divulgado y accesible del concepto de identidad de género, se revisaron las páginas web más visitadas que recogen las definiciones sobre el concepto. Además, para determinar el impacto que han tenido las publicaciones científicas que se centran en el estudio de la identidad de género y qué metodología han usado estos estudios, realizamos un análisis crítico de los trabajos científicos más citados que se aproximan al estudio de la identidad de género. Por otro lado, también analizamos la evolución del concepto de identidad de género a lo largo del desarrollo de las principales teorías feministas. De manera más concreta, nos centramos en la obra de Judith Butler, por ser una de las filósofas feministas más relevantes en la producción teórica en torno al proceso de subjetivación en el sistema sexo/género/sexualidad. Por último, para completar una revisión actualizada de las investigaciones y marcos teóricos que han protagonizado la producción científica en torno a la identidad de género, recogimos las trayectorias de las investigadoras feministas más relevantes en esta línea de trabajo; para ello revisamos el trabajo de Eleanor Maccoby, Sandra Bem, Alice Eagly, Kay Deaux y Julia Nagoshi, por ser ellas,

entre otras, quienes han realizado una aportación fundamental y decisiva al estudio sobre la identidad de género.

2.2. Estudio segundo: Round Gender Identity: Invariance Across Gender of the Spanish Version of the Hoffman Gender Scale

Se trata de un estudio instrumental que pretendió analizar las propiedades psicométricas de la versión española de la *Hoffman Gender Scale* (Hoffman, 1996; Hoffman, Borders y Hattie, 2000). Con este instrumento se pretende medir la confianza en el propio género mediante dos aspectos que la definen: la definición del género y la aceptación del género. Representa un claro avance en el desarrollo de nuevas medidas y aproximaciones teóricas de conceptos innovadores que complementen los aspectos menos estudiados en relación con el género.

El objetivo principal de este estudio fue analizar la estructura factorial de la versión española a través de un análisis factorial confirmatorio con una muestra de hombres y mujeres españolas. También se llevó a cabo un análisis de la estructura de medias y covarianzas del instrumento para examinar si el constructo teórico evaluado con él resulta equivalente en las muestras de hombres y mujeres. Además, con el objetivo de validar convergentemente la escala adaptada a la población española se relacionaron sus puntuaciones con las obtenidas en otras vinculadas teórica y empíricamente.

A. Participantes y procedimiento

La muestra estuvo compuesta por 398 estudiantes universitarios de entre 20 y 53 años de edad ($M = 22.09$; $DT = 3.96$) las mujeres y entre 20 y 64 años de edad ($M = 23.11$; $DT = 3.98$) los varones. Todos de origen español, informaron disponer de una orientación del deseo heterosexual.

Tras la aprobación del Comité de Ética de la UAM, se solicitó la participación

de los estudiantes de la asignatura de “Psicopatología” de dicha universidad. A lo largo de tres cursos académicos (2012/2014) los estudiantes pudieron elegir entre diferentes actividades similares opcionales para el cumplimiento de la asignatura. Aquellos/as interesados/as en participar en el estudio, completaron los instrumentos de evaluación en sesiones grupales. Se aseguró el anonimato de los/as participantes o, alternativamente, la confidencialidad de los e-mails facilitados por los/las estudiantes que quisieron recibir información de devolución de sus propios resultados.

B. Medidas

Hoffman Gender Scale (HGS; Hoffman, 1996; Hoffman, Borders y Hattie, 2000). Versión en castellano traducida para este estudio, pretende medir dos constructos que forman parte de la confianza en el propio género, a saber: la definición del propio género y la aceptación del mismo. Se compone de 14 afirmaciones que son evaluadas en una escala Likert de 1 a 6, siendo 1 “total en desacuerdo” y 6 “total de acuerdo”. Hay dos versiones paralelas del instrumento, uno redactado para mujeres sobre su feminidad y la otra para hombres preguntando por su masculinidad.

Para conseguir la versión en castellano utilizada en este estudio, se llevó a cabo un procedimiento de traducción y retrotraducción siguiendo las recomendaciones de la International Test Commission (ITC) (Hambleton, 1994, 1996; Muñiz, Elosua, y Hambleton, 2013). Dos traductores cualificados, el primero de origen español y el segundo de origen inglés británico, recibiendo un entrenamiento individual sobre los constructos evaluados y sobre la construcción de tests. El instrumento fue traducido y retrotraducido, y un equipo de expertos evaluó la equivalencia de ambas versiones, llevando a cabo las modificaciones oportunas en la versión española.

Bem Sex Rol Inventory-12 (BSRI; Bem, 1974). La versión española de Mateo y Fernández (1991) se centra en las respuestas de las personas en función de la posesión

autopercibida de atributos expresivos e instrumentales, considerados socialmente deseables para mujeres y hombres, respectivamente. El formato de respuesta se basa en una escala Likert de 1 (nunca o casi nunca) a 7 (siempre o casi siempre). El cuestionario está formado por 12 atributos, 6 de los cuales representan la dimensión de “Masculinidad” (M) y los otros 6 la de “Feminidad” (F).

Brief Symptoms Inventory (BSI; Derogatis, 1993). La versión española de Pereda, Forns y Pero (2007) consiste en una prueba compuesta por 53 ítems medidos en una escala Likert de 5 puntos (0-4). Se obtienen indicadores de 9 dimensiones sintomáticas y un índice global de severidad. En este estudio se utilizó el índice global de severidad (GSI) como medida general de malestar psicológico.

WHO-Five Well-being Index (WHO-5; World Health Organization, 1998). Instrumento elaborado para medir el bienestar psicológico y subjetivo general. La escala está compuesta por cinco ítems con un formato de respuesta de 6 puntos desde 0 (Nunca) hasta 5 (Todo el tiempo).

C. Análisis de datos

Se utilizaron los programas EQS 6.1 (Multivariate Software, Inc.; Bentler, 1995) y SPSS version 19.0 (IBM Corp., 2010). Se llevaron a cabo análisis descriptivos de los ítems y diferentes análisis factoriales confirmatorios con los ítems del HGS en las muestras de hombres y mujeres, y también se aplicó un análisis multigrupo para examinar la invarianza de los componentes de la estructura factorial subyacente en ambas muestras. También se empleó la prueba estadística *t* de Student para examinar las diferencias las puntuaciones medias en los ítems y las subescalas entre hombres y mujeres. Se utilizó la *d* de Cohen para evaluar el tamaño del efecto de las diferencias encontradas. Para examinar otra evidencia de validez, en este caso de tipo interna convergente, se analizaron las correlaciones de Pearson de las puntuaciones del HGS

con el resto de instrumentos utilizados.

2.3. Estudio tercero: Assessment of Conflicts Associated with a Traditional Masculine Gender Role in Spanish College Men and Women

El tercer estudio consistió en la adaptación del *Gender Role Conflict Scale – Short Form* (Wester, Vogel, O’Neil y Danforth, 2012) al castellano mediante su aplicación a una muestra de hombres españoles y la ampliación del paradigma del conflicto de género usando este mismo instrumento con dos muestras de mujeres españolas. Ello, con un triple objetivo: (1) examinar si la estructura interna del instrumento es la misma, esto es, si el instrumento es aplicable y válido para el estudio del conflicto de rol entre las mujeres; (2) analizar las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres en relación a los conflictos generados por la adopción de un rol de género definido en un origen exclusivamente para los hombres; y (3) establecer las relaciones entre el conflicto de rol de género masculino y los indicadores de malestar y bienestar psicológico con el objetivo de validar convergentemente la escala.

Wester et al., (2012), desarrollaron una versión reducida del *Gender Role Conflict Scale* (O’Neil, Helms, Gable, Davis y Wrightsman, 1986). Éste consiste en un instrumento que se desarrolló empíricamente en los años 80 y se ha convertido en la prueba más utilizada para la evaluación de los problemas generados por el rol de género masculino. Los cuatro factores identificados del conflicto de rol de género (O’Neil, Good y Holmes, 1995) representan diferentes aspectos de las situaciones que generan tensión y malestar fruto del rol masculino socializado. El primer patrón (“éxito, poder y competición”) recoge el grado en que los hombres están socializados para buscar el éxito personal a través de la competición. El segundo patrón (“restricción emocional”) señala el grado en que aprenden a evitar la expresión verbal de sus emociones y, por tanto, aparentar cierta vulnerabilidad y semejanza con los aspectos asociados a la

feminidad. El tercero (“restricción afectiva en el contacto entre hombres”) explora cómo los hombres están socializados para disponer de una expresión más rígida en el contacto con otros hombres. Finalmente, el cuarto (“conflictos entre relaciones de familia y trabajo”) señala el grado en que tienen dificultades en la gestión de las demandas del trabajo o escuela y las relaciones familiares.

Este trabajo se subdividió, a su vez, en dos estudios que describimos a continuación:

Estudio 1. Tuvo como objetivo analizar la estructura factorial de la versión española del GRCS-SF en una muestra de mujeres universitarias españolas. Se evaluó la consistencia interna de las subescalas y se analizó de forma semiconfirmatoria la solución factorial con mejores índices de ajuste para esta muestra.

A. Participantes y procedimiento

La muestra estuvo compuesta por 281 mujeres estudiantes universitarias de entre 20 y 44 años de edad ($M = 21.53$; $DT = 3.64$). Todas de origen español, informaron disponer de una orientación del deseo heterosexual.

Tras la aprobación del Comité Ético de la UAM, se solicitó la participación de los estudiantes de la asignatura de “Psicopatología” de dicha universidad. A lo largo de tres cursos académicos (2012/2014) los estudiantes pudieron elegir entre diferentes actividades similares como requisito para el cumplimiento de la asignatura. Aquellos interesados en participar en el estudio, completaron los instrumentos de evaluación en sesiones grupales. Se aseguró el anonimato de los participantes o, alternativamente, la confidencialidad de los e-mails facilitados por los estudiantes que quisieron recibir un información de devolución con sus propios resultados.

B. Medidas

Gender Role Conflict Scale - Short Form (GRCS-SF; Wester, Vogel, O’Neil y

Danforth, 2012). Versión española para esta tesis del instrumento original de Wester et al., (2012), desarrollado a partir del *Gender Role Conflict Scale* (O’Neil et al., 1986). Está compuesta de 16 ítems evaluados en una escala tipo Likert de 1 (totalmente en desacuerdo) a 6 (totalmente de acuerdo). La estructura original es de cuatro factores: “Éxito, poder y competición”, “Restricción emocional”, “Restricción afectiva con personas del mismo sexo”, y “Conflictos entre relaciones de familia y trabajo”. Todos los ítems fueron adaptados para que las mujeres pudieran responder la misma versión que los varones (ej., en el original se hace referencia a la “restricción afectiva entre hombres” y en este caso utilizamos “restricción afectiva entre personas del mismo sexo”).

Para conseguir la versión en castellano utilizada en este estudio, se llevó a cabo un procedimiento de traducción y retrotraducción siguiendo las recomendaciones de la International Test Commission (ITC) (Hambleton, 1994, 1996; Muñiz, Elosua, y Hambleton, 2013). Dos traductores cualificados, el primero de origen español y el segundo de origen inglés británico, recibiendo un entrenamiento individual sobre los constructos evaluados y sobre la construcción de tests. El instrumento fue traducido y retrotraducido, y un equipo de expertos evaluó la equivalencia de ambas versiones, llevando a cabo las modificaciones oportunas en la versión española.

C. Análisis de datos

Para el análisis de los datos se utilizaron los programas FACTOR 9.2 (Lorenzo-Seva y Ferrando, 2006, 2013) y SPSS version 19.0 (IBM Corp., 2010). El programa FACTOR ofrecer una aproximación semiconfirmatoria para el análisis de la estructura de los instrumentos de evaluación y su uso se ha recomendado para mejorar la aplicación del análisis factorial exploratorio (Baglin, 2014). La consistencia interna de las escalas se examinó mediante el análisis de los coeficientes alfa de Cronbach para las

subescalas y la escala global.

Estudio 2. El objetivo fue analizar la estructura factorial para hombres y mujeres, y estudiar la invarianza factorial entre ambas muestras. También se analizó la consistencia interna de las subescalas, las diferencias de medias entre sexos y las correlaciones con otros instrumentos de interés.

A. Participantes y procedimiento

La muestra estuvo compuesta por 439 estudiantes universitarios/as (255 mujeres, 184 varones) de entre 20 y 53 años de edad ($M = 21.99$; $DT = 3.52$) las mujeres y de entre 20 y 62 años de edad ($M = 23.48$, $DT = 5.60$) los varones. Todos de origen español, informaron disponer de una orientación del deseo heterosexual. La muestra para este estudio se consiguió siguiendo un procedimiento equivalente al expuesto en el Estudio 1 en el curso académico 2014-15.

B. Medidas

Gender Role Conflict Scale - Short Form (GRCS-SF; Wester, Vogel, O'Neil y Danforth, 2012). Descrito en el Estudio 1.

Brief Symptoms Inventory (BSI; Derogatis, 1993). La versión española de Pereda, Forns y Pero (2007) consiste en una prueba compuesta por 53 ítems medidos en una escala Likert de 5 puntos (0-4). Se obtienen indicadores de 9 dimensiones sintomáticas y un índice global de severidad. En este estudio se utilizó el índice global de severidad (GSI) como medida general de malestar psicológico.

WHO-Five Well-being Index (WHO-5; World Health Organization, 1998). Instrumento elaborado para medir el bienestar psicológico y subjetivo general. La escala está compuesta por cinco ítems con un formato de respuesta de 6 puntos desde 0 (Nunca) hasta 5 (Todo el tiempo).

C. Análisis de datos

Se utilizaron los programas EQS 6.1 (Multivariate Software, Inc.; Bentler, 1995) y SPSS version 19.0 (IBM Corp., 2010). Se llevaron a cabo análisis descriptivos de los ítems y diferentes análisis factoriales confirmatorios con los ítems del GRCS-SF en las muestras de hombres y mujeres, y también se aplicó un análisis multigrupo para examinar la invarianza de los componentes del estructura factorial subyacente en ambas muestras. También se calcularon las *t* de Student para examinar las diferencias en ítems y subescalas entre hombres y mujeres y se aplicó la corrección de Holm-Bonferroni (Gaetano, 2013). Se utilizó la *d* de Cohen para evaluar el tamaño del efecto de las diferencias encontradas en las puntuaciones entre hombres y mujeres. Para obtener otro criterio de validez, en este caso de tipo interna convergente, se analizaron las correlaciones de Pearson de las puntuaciones del GRCS-SF con el resto de instrumentos utilizados.

2.4. Estudio cuarto: Are Sexist Attitudes and Gender Stereotypes Linked? A Feminist Critical Analysis of Spanish Data

El cuarto y último estudio tiene tres objetivos: (1) comprobar las propiedades psicométricas de las versiones españolas de *Social Roles Questionnaire* (Baber y Tucker, 2006), *Modern Sexism scale* y *Old-fashioned Sexism scale* (Swim, Aikin, Hall y Hunter, 1995; Swim y Cohen, 1997); (2) comprobar la estructura factorial de los instrumentos atendiendo al sexo y las posibles diferencias entre hombres y mujeres en las puntuaciones; y (3) estudiar la relación empírica de estos instrumentos con el mantenimiento de los estereotipos de género tradicionales.

El instrumento *Old-Fashioned Sexism scale* fue diseñado para evaluar las formas más evidentes de sexismo y el *Modern Sexism scale* para detectar los aspectos más sutiles, como el resentimiento hacia las políticas y prácticas que persiguen atajar las

desigualdades entre hombres y mujeres en la sociedad. Por último, el *Social Roles Questionnaire* es un instrumento que aún cuenta con un uso reducido en estudios empíricos. Sin embargo, su propuesta pretende ser un avance que pueda enriquecer el estudio de los roles de género y las actitudes sexistas. Este nuevo instrumento partió de una perspectiva constructivista social, pretendiendo superar las limitaciones previas, para la evaluación de las actitudes sobre los roles sociales en la sociedad norteamericana. En este instrumento se incluyeron referencias a comportamientos habitualmente asociados a hombres o mujeres, así como otros ítems que pretendían recoger actitudes más sutiles o encubiertas que apoyaran la desigualdad de género.

A. Participantes y procedimiento

La muestra estuvo compuesta por 700 estudiantes universitarios/as (176 hombres, 524 mujeres) de entre 20 y 53 años de edad ($M = 21.38$; $DT = 4.91$). Todos de origen español, informaron disponer de una orientación del deseo heterosexual.

Tras la aprobación del Comité Ético de la UAM, se solicitó la participación de los estudiantes de la asignatura de “Psicopatología” de dicha universidad. A lo largo de tres cursos académicos (2012/2014) los estudiantes pudieron elegir entre diferentes actividades similares como requisito para el cumplimiento de la asignatura. Aquellos interesados en participar en el estudio, completaron los instrumentos de evaluación en sesiones grupales. Se aseguró el anonimato de los participantes o, alternativamente, la confidencialidad de los e-mails facilitados por los estudiantes que quisieron recibir un información de devolución con sus propios resultados.

B. Medidas

Bem Sex Rol Inventory-12 (BSRI; Bem, 1974). La versión española de Mateo y Fernández (1991) mide respuestas de las personas en función de la posesión autopercibida de atributos expresivos e instrumentales, considerados socialmente

deseables para mujeres y hombres, respectivamente. El formato de respuesta se basa en una escala Likert de 1 (nunca o casi nunca) a 7 (siempre o casi siempre). El cuestionario está formado por 12 atributos, 6 de los cuales representan la dimensión de “Masculinidad” (M) y los otros 6 la de “Feminidad” (F).

Modern Sexism scale (MS; Swim et al., 1995). Con esta medida se evalúan las creencias sutiles o encubiertas que manifiestan apoyo a la desigualdad de género. Está compuesta por 8 ítems evaluados en una escala tipo Likert de 5 puntos (1 = en total desacuerdo 5 = en total de acuerdo).

Old-Fashioned Sexism scale (OFS; Swim et al., 1995). Este instrumento evalúa actitudes abiertamente sexistas hacia la mujer. Contiene 5 ítems evaluados en una escala tipo Likert de 5 puntos (1 = en total desacuerdo 5 = en total de acuerdo).

Social Roles Questionnaire (SRQ; Baber y Tucker, 2006). Consta de 13 ítems referidos a las expectativas sobre el comportamiento que hombres y mujeres deben mantener en la sociedad. Cada ítem se evalúa mediante un escala Likert de 5 puntos (1 = en total desacuerdo 5 = en total de acuerdo). Se estructura en dos subescalas: “*Trascendentes al género*” con 5 ítems que evalúan el apoyo a las actitudes que mantienen una visión del género no dicotómica; y “*Vinculadas al género*” con 8 ítems que evalúan las creencias sobre la asociación de determinadas actividades con uno u otro género.

Para conseguir la versión en castellano de MS, OFS y SRQ utilizadas en este estudio, se llevó a cabo un procedimiento de traducción y retrotraducción siguiendo las recomendaciones de la International Test Commission (ITC) (Hambleton, 1994, 1996; Muñiz, Elosua y Hambleton, 2013). Dos traductores cualificados, el primero de origen español y el segundo de origen inglés británico, recibiendo un entrenamiento individual sobre los constructos evaluados y sobre la construcción de tests. Los instrumentos fueron

traducidos y retrotraducidos, y un equipo de expertos evaluó la equivalencia de ambas versiones, llevando a cabo las modificaciones oportunas en las versiones españolas.

C. Análisis de datos

Se utilizaron los programas EQS 6.1 (Multivariate Software, Inc.; Bentler, 1995) y SPSS version 19.0 (IBM Corp., 2010). Se llevaron a cabo análisis descriptivos de los ítems y diferentes análisis factoriales confirmatorios con los ítems de los instrumentos MS, OFS y SRQ en las muestras de hombres y mujeres, y también se aplicó un análisis multigrupo para examinar la invarianza de los componentes de la estructura factorial subyacente en ambas muestras. También se calcularon las *t* de Student para examinar las diferencias en ítems y subescalas entre hombres y mujeres. Se utilizó la *d* de Cohen para evaluar el tamaño del efecto de las diferencias encontradas en las puntuaciones entre hombres y mujeres. El análisis de la relación empírica entre SRQ, MS y OFS con el instrumento BSRI se hizo siguiendo una doble estrategia: (1) análisis de las correlaciones de Pearson entre los instrumentos para los grupos de hombres y mujeres; (2) primero, se clasificó la muestra en grupos basados en sus puntuaciones en las escalas de Masculinidad y Femenidad del BSRI (“indiferenciado”, “masculinos”, “femeninos” y “andróginos”) y posteriormente se analizaron las diferencias obtenidas en las puntuaciones de SRQ, MS y OFS entre estos grupos mediante la prueba de Kruskal-Wallis.

3. ESTUDIO PRIMERO: Who Cares about Gender Identity? A Critical Revision on Scientific Research, Feminist Theories & Epistemology

García-Sánchez, R., Almendros, C., Gámez-Guadix, M., Martín, M. J., Aramayona, B.,
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Abstract

This theoretical work aims to collect current knowledge about the construction of one's identity in the sex / gender / sexuality system. There is a need to consider the different dimensions or factors that make up gender identity, and at the same time, consider that it is in collusion with other social categories. Through different methodological approaches, we reviewed the most visited web pages on gender identity to collect and analyse the definitions they provide by elucidating their limitations. The ten most mentioned publications on gender identity are collected and studied, analysing the methodology implemented in each of them. Contemporary feminist theoretical discourses on the construction of gender identity are summarised; and finally, we review the most relevant scientific production of the most important feminist researchers around the study of gender identity. We hold a critical reflection on the development of a feminist epistemology that responsibly addresses the diversity of experiences around gender identity and offer some of the lines of work we consider most necessary to continue and expand the study of gender identity.

Keywords: gender identity, sexuality, feminism, review, epistemology.

Who Cares about Gender Identity? A Critical Revision on Scientific Research, Feminist Theories & Epistemology

“One is not born a woman, but rather becomes one”. With this sentence Simone de Beauvoir anchored one of the most significant foundations of the discourse held by contemporary feminist movements. Its echo still resounds strongly making it necessary to drive more efforts to reach gender equality. For this, a critical analysis of the social structures involved in maintaining patriarchy is required. Social-cultural elements, learning gender roles, and their impact on the health and well-being of women have been a subject of study in past decades: gender roles and the privilege associated with masculinity (e.g., Eagly & Diekmann, 2005; Ridgeway & Bourg, 2004), the consideration of a woman’s body as an object of desire and consumption (for a review see Szymanski, Moffitt, & Carr, 2011), gender violence (see Nakray, 2013), and the maintenance and evolution of sexist attitudes (see Becker & Sibley, 2016). However, there are many neglected areas of study’ about the building of self-identity in the sex/gender/sexuality system, a topic of current interest in multiple disciplines, such as Philosophy (e.g., Zima, 2015), Sociology (e.g., Wharton, 2012), Anthropology (e.g., Mascia-Lees & Black, 2017), and Psychology (e.g., Nagoshi, Nagoshi, & Brzuzy, 2014).

Contemporaneously, multiple methodological and theoretical perspectives have attempted to define concepts of elusive concretions: gender, sexual identity, gender identity, gender or sexual stereotypes, and sex and gender prejudices (both explicit and implicit). However, a number of key questions can be identified in the current scientific literature that require an effort to standardize and update the knowledge in order to generate solid, consistent knowledge integrating empirical data with theoretical reflection, and that allow for the conclusion of verifiable hypotheses. With regard to gender identity, on the one hand, the need for considering the different dimensions or

factors forming gender identity, while also considering that gender identity occurs in collusion with other social categories, has been recently stated (Settles & Buchanan, 2014), giving rise to the composition of multifaceted identities requiring an explicitly intersectional approach to its study. On the other hand, another important consideration is that the development of gender identity is constant along the life cycle so it would be necessary to consider the changes that may occur through social interactions and different life experiences. Schmader and Block (2015) highlighted the need for clarifying the definition of gender identity and achieving a greater consensus in terms of considering it as a construct and as a process through which individuals create self-perception, by attachment to particular traits or stereotyped interests, which can modulate our behavior. Keener (2015) explained the urgency of adopting new approaches that cover the diverse, multidimensional nature of gender. And Mehta (2015) argued that gender identity is conditioned by contextual and social structural variables so it would be necessary to reframe under a social constructivist model gathering all attributes, attitudes and behaviors associated with one gender or the other.

These recent considerations are consistent with the critical proposals from a feminist perspective concerning the importance of the study and definition of gender identity in the current scientific and academic setting. Consequently, research must be conducted on the frontiers of sex/gender/orientation processes always linked to the social-economic and cultural conditions delimiting and influencing it. To approach this research area comprehensively, we propose to review and analyze contemporary literature in a number of different ways.

- For the purpose of gathering the most widespread and available meaning on the concept of gender identity, we reviewed the most visited web pages including the definitions of the concept.

- We wanted to establish the impact of scientific publications focusing on the study of gender identity and the methods used in these studies. For this we performed a critical analysis of the most commonly cited scientific studies that approach the study of gender identity.
- In the framework of the current feminist movements and contemporary social transformation discourses, we considered it relevant to analyze the evolution of the gender identity concept throughout the development of the main feminist theories. More specifically, we focused on the work of Judith Butler, as one of the most relevant feminist philosophers, whose theoretical contributions involved the subjectivation process in the sex/gender/sexuality system.
- To perform a current review of studies and theoretical frameworks leading scientific production around gender identity, we decided to gather and make visible the careers of the most relevant feminist researchers in this area of study. For this we reviewed the works of Eleanor Maccoby, Sandra Bem, Alice Eagly, Kay Deaux and Julia Nagoshi, who, amongst others, made a major, critical contribution to the study of gender identity.
- Finally, in conclusion, we would like to introduce a critical reflection on the development of a feminist epistemology that approaches the diversity of ways of living involving gender identity in a responsible manner and we suggest some of the work lines we consider as necessary to continue and to extend the study of gender identity.

We performed this review and critical analysis work with the aim of making available a consultation document that compiles the most relevant contributions in the research on gender identity. This work is also intended to serve as a tribute to feminist

female Social Sciences researchers who have devoted their professional careers to the study of gender issues. It has not always been easy to study such politicized, critical subjects that are still highly topical. It is our responsibility to lend continuity to their legacy.

3.1. What is said about Gender Identity? An internet-based research

We carried out an advanced search through the Google browser (05-2016) with the following criteria: finding “gender identity” in any part of the page, without restriction for language, region, or update date. Approximately 12,600,000 results were found, from which we selected the five most visited for analysis (Table 1).

The first site was the Wikipedia entry about the concept “Gender Identity”. The definition given legitimizes the diverse experiences, on the one hand, though it categorizes them in terms of new gender identity labels (“transgender” or “genderqueer”). Despite giving visibility to gender diversity, it is specified that any modification beyond the age of three would involve a process that would be part of a psychopathology, with a consequent diagnosis and professional intervention. Therefore, the flexibility or fluidity shown in this definition in terms of identity transformation in the adolescent or adult age would involve assuming the existence of a mental health problem and the intervention of specialized professionals.

The second web space is the section dealing with “Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Definitions” of the Human Rights Campaign. They only perform the recognition of sexual and gender diversity by considering the definition as man, woman, or “both or neither”. Again, the expected type of link between sex and gender constructs is not specified.

Table 1.

List of the 5 most relevant websites in Google search about “gender identity” (05-2016).

Title	Author(s)	Year	Definition of Gender Identity	Other relevant information
Gender Identity, from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia	Harper, M.	Created in 2002. Updated in 2016	<p>One's personal experience of one's own gender. All societies have a set of gender categories that can serve as the basis of the formation of a person's social identity in relation to other members of society. In most societies, there is a basic division between gender attributes assigned to males and females, a gender binary to which most people adhere and which enforces conformance to ideals of masculinity and femininity in all aspects of sex and gender: biological sex, gender identity, and gender expression. In all societies, some individuals do not identify with some (or all) of the aspects of gender that are assigned to their biological sex; some of those individuals are transgender or genderqueer. Some societies have third gender categories.</p> <p>Core gender identity is usually formed by age three. After age three, it is extremely difficult to change, and attempts to reassign it can result in gender dysphoria. Both biological and social factors have been suggested to influence its formation.</p>	<p>It provides a content structured as follows: development, influencing factors (biological and social), gender diversity, historical overview of the different definitions provided (from the first definitions from medicine, running through the psychoanalytical ones and the most recent related to the study by Judith Butler), some references to current studies and a section on gender identity in societies other than western societies.</p>
Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Definitions, from Human Rights Campaign	Human Rights Campaign	Updated in 2016	<p>One's innermost concept of self as male, female, a blend of both or neither – how individuals perceive themselves and what they call themselves. One's gender identity can be the same or different from their sex assigned at birth.</p>	<p>This page includes a glossary of terms for: sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, transgender, gender transition, and gender dysphoria.</p>
Understanding Gender, from Gender Spectrum	Bill, S., Kenney, L., Baum, J., Westheimer, K., Chang, A., Abrams, M., & Clark, J. P.	Updated in 2015	<p>One's innermost concept of self as male or female or both or neither—how individuals perceive themselves and what they call themselves. One's gender identity can be the same or different than the sex assigned at birth. Individuals are conscious of this between the ages 18 months and 3 years.</p> <p>Most people develop a gender identity that matches their biological sex. For some, however, their gender identity is different from their biological or assigned sex. Some of these individuals choose to socially, hormonally and/or surgically change their sex to more fully match their gender identity.</p>	<p>A holistic model of gender called “gender-expansive” is proposed, that includes biological sex, gender expression, gender identity, gender role, and sexual orientation, from which different categories could occur, such as transgender, normative or cisgender, or fluid gender.</p>

Table 1 (cont.).

Title	Author(s)	Year	Definition of Gender Identity	Other relevant information
Definition of Terms: Sex, Gender, Gender Identity, Sexual Orientation, from APA	American Psychological Association (APA)	Created in 2012.	“One’s sense of oneself as male, female, or transgender” (American Psychological Association, 2006). When one’s gender identity and biological sex are not congruent, the individual may identify as transsexual or as another transgender category (cf. Gainor, 2000).	The set of definitions given in this document belongs to “Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients”, approved by the Committee of Representatives of the APA.
Gender Identity, from Medscape	Ghosh, S.	Updated in 2015	A personal conception of oneself as male or female (or rarely, both or neither). This concept is intimately related to the concept of gender role, which is defined as the outward manifestations of personality that reflect the gender identity. Gender identity, in nearly all instances, is self-identified, as a result of a combination of inherent and extrinsic or environmental factors; gender role, on the other hand, is manifested within society by observable factors such as behavior and appearance. For example, if a person considers himself a male and is most comfortable referring to his personal gender in masculine terms, then his gender identity is male. However, his gender role is male only if he demonstrates typically male characteristics in behavior, dress, and/or mannerisms.	This website is contained in a portal for medical news. This section is sub-divided as follows: definitions (gender identity and gender role, sex, and gender), normative patterns in the development of gender identity, disorders associated with gender identity in childhood and a summary of gender development in children.

The next web page is Gender Spectrum, a site where several professionals working on promoting awareness of gender diversity in children and/or adolescents collaborate. The definition is exactly the same as that offered by the website of the Human Rights Campaign, except for the addition of the age at which gender identity is formed (between 18 months and 3 years of age). However, the experiences or processes whereby gender identity is formed and why it cannot be modified beyond that age are not specified. With regard to persons developing a gender identity not consistent with their biological sex, they state that there are possible changes of social, hormonal, or surgical types that can be used to achieve consistency between biological sex and gender identity. Although the categories into which the system classifies these persons are not specified, the need for making a change to achieve the normative consistency is still highlighted implicitly. This definition breaches the rule that, according to the arguments of the queer theory analyzed below, should search for a creative examination of other forms of expression and building of gender identity at any time during personal development.

The fourth website contains a document from the American Psychological Association (APA) consisting of a list of definitions of the concepts of sex, gender, gender identity, gender expression, and sexual orientation. These share the approach of the earlier definitions, noting new classification categories to include persons not comprised in the normative definition of “man” or “woman”. However, the need for making a change to reach normative consistency between gender identity and biological sex continues to be assumed.

The last web page collected is the entry dealing with “Gender Identity” on Medscape web, a virtual space created by medical specialists that provides medical information and educational tools on an integrated basis. Its definition differs from the

rest by including an express, concise relationship between gender roles and identity, however not defining the process involving this relationship. Again, only new categories are proposed to address sexual and gender diversity, without explaining the process or the meaning of not feeling identified with the established gender identities.

In conclusion, the five definitions provided show the same shortcomings as they do not recognize, on the one hand, the developments in theoretical feminist discourse, and, on the other hand, the achievements made by feminist movements and LGTBI in increasing the visibility and legitimating the diverse experiences in relation to the process of subjectivation in the sex/gender/sexuality system. The current dialectic around considering psychopathological disorders in relation to sexual and gender diversity is not discussed either (Kreukels, Steensma, & de Vries, 2014). It can be concluded that the definitions found on the websites are the result of biased, non-scientific knowledge. They are not updated thereby reproducing and perpetuating myths that are harmful in terms of sensitization and recognition of sexual and gender diversity in society.

3.2. Most Cited Scientific Publications on Gender Identity

A search was carried out (05-2016) on the database Web of Science with the following criteria: containing the literal expression “gender identity” in the title of the document and being scientific review articles or studies. As a result, 1,136 studies were located, with a total of 11,065 citations (9.74 citations on average per study). Through this database, a list with the 10 most cited studies was obtained (Table 2), of which we analyzed the methods used and the characterization of the sample in relation to sexual and gender diversity.

Table 2.

Citation Report 1136 articles or review, title "gender identity", from Web of Science Database (05-2016). List of the 10 studies most frequently cited.

Title	Author(s)	Journal	Year	Citations	Citations/Year
Androgens and the evolution of male-gender identity among male pseudohermaphrodites with 5alpha-reductase deficiency	Imperato-McGinley, J., Peterson, R.E., Gautier, T., & Sturla E.	New England Journal of Medicine	1979	285	7.50
The power in demography: Women's social constructions of gender identity at work	Ely, R.J.	American of Management Journal	1995	277	12.59
Gender identity: A multidimensional analysis with implications for psychosocial adjustment	Egan, S.K., & Perry, D.G.	Developmental Psychology	2001	175	10.94
Fetal androgens and female gender identity in the early-treated adrenogenital syndrome	Ehrhardt, A.A., Epstein, R., & Money, J.	John Hopkins Medical Journal	1968	148	3.02
Androgen and psychosexual development: Core gender identity, sexual orientation, and recalled childhood gender role behavior in women and men with congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH)	Hines, M., Brook, C., & Conway, G.S.	Journal of Sex Research	2004	130	10.00
The development of sex role stereotypes in the third Year: Relationships to gender labeling, gender identity, sex-types toy preference, and family characteristics	Weinraub, M., Clemens, L.P., Sockloff, A., Ethridge, T., Gracely, E., & Myers, B.	Child Development	1984	122	3.70
A contribution to the study of gender identity	Stoller, R.J.	International Journal of Psychoanalysis	1964	102	1.92
Gender Identity in European Family Farming: a Literature Review	Brandth, B.	Sociologia Ruralis	2002	100	6.67
Properties of gender identity and their implications for gender consciousness	Gurin, P., & Townsend, A.	British Journal of Social Psychology	1986	99	3.19
Male pseudohermaphroditism secondary to 5 alpha-reductase deficiency--a model for the role of androgens in both the development of the male phenotype and the evolution of a male gender identity	Imperato-McGinley, J., Peterson, R.E., Gautier, T., & Sturla E.	Journal of Steroid Biochemistry and Molecular Biology	1979	95	2.53

Of the 10 studies, 4 of them were of the experimental type referring to the study of biological factors, focusing on the treatment of intersexual syndromes. Specifically, the study by Imperato-McGinley, Peterson, Gautier, & Sturla (1979a) evaluated 38 intersexual individuals, where the differences between persons raised as girls, those changing their gender identity to masculine, and those adopting a masculine gender role were analyzed. The study by Ehrhardt, Epstein and Money (1968) also dealt with the same subject and is one of the pioneering studies on the matter. Hines, Brook, & Conway (2004) studied cases with congenital adrenal hyperplasia, specifically 16 women and 9 men, taking 15 women and 10 men as a control group. In this case, analyses were performed differentially for men and women. The study by Imperato-McGinley, Peterson, Gautier and Sturla (1979b) was a continuation of the first cited study.

A sociological study was performed by Ely (1995), reporting the highest number of citations per year (12.59), and consisting of a quantitative and qualitative study on the representation of women in professional organizations and their impact on gender differences and gender identity of women in the work environment. The study by Brandth (2002), also sociological, performed a review of the academic literature of the time on gender studies in rural settings in Europe.

From the area of psychology, focused on the assessment of cognitive-behavioral and social factors, the study by Egan and Perry (2001) is the second most cited per year (10.94), and it has been one of the most relevant studies in the evaluation of gender identity in the area of psychology, where an explicative theoretical model and an assessment instrument are proposed. The quantitative analysis of the proposed self-report was performed independently with the sample of boys ($n = 81$) and girls ($n = 101$), from the fourth and eighth grade of a school in Florida, 68% of them being white,

18% African American, 13% Hispanic, and 1% Asian. The study by Weinraub, Clemens, Sockloff, Ethridge, Gracely, and Myers (1984) focused on the behavioral evaluation of gender classification of 71 children aged 2–3 years. Age groups were established and differentiated analyses were performed for boys and girls. The procedure for assessing gender identity consisted of presenting three photographs (one boy and one girl of their age and a photograph of the subject under evaluation), asking the subjects to place the photographs inside boxes (non-verbal identification), and to label the photographs (verbal identification). The study by Stoller (1964) discussed the follow-up of a study of the case of a person born with feminine genitals but who, since childhood, expressed himself as a male, until 1961, when he received the genetic and psychological recognition of his masculine sexual identity. Finally, in the study by Gurin and Townsend (1986), the quantitative data from a national US survey of 214 women in 1979, and 715 women in 1983, were analyzed to compare the properties of gender identity (perceiving being similar to other women, feeling a common destination with the rest of women, and considering gender as something important in self-definition).

All studies were performed on samples of US origin, analyzing separately the results obtained for boys and girls in each case, and ethnicity was not registered, except for one case (Egan & Perry, 2001), though this was not considered in the analyses. No study includes samples with different sexual orientations, so the intersectionality of gender identity with other social categories was not analyzed in any case. In only one study (Ely, 1995), different methods were used for data collection and analysis, and in the other studies, a single method was used. Despite reflecting a variety of academic disciplines and study areas, the methods used and the characteristics of the samples

show a clear limitation in the objectives approached and the conclusions that may be reached.

Finally, it seems relevant to discuss the sex of the principal researchers, as one of the motives for the struggle of feminist movements in the academic world is the search for visibility of the studies performed by women (Hesse-Biber, 2007). From this selection, it is to be noted that 9 of the 10 studies were signed by a woman as first author, which reflects the results of the effort to achieve the incorporation and greater recognition of women in the academic and scientific field.

3.3. Gender Identity along Feminist Theories

The feminist movement reappropriated the term “gender” to use it as an instrument for the critical analysis of the oppression suffered by women. It appears progressively in studies and research (e.g., Oakley, 1972) making reference to the social and cultural construction of sexual differences. Based on this epistemological and also political approach, it is first established that sex is biologically determined and is not subject to social-cultural construction, while gender does include social, cultural, and political differences among women in a given context. From this point, the dialectics faced by essentialism and constructivism are set up.

Gayle Rubin (1975) defined the sex/gender system as the system of relations that transforms biological sexuality into a product of human activity, such as sexual division at work or the heterosexual orientation of eroticism (Rubin, 1975). Monique Wittig (1992) took this a step further when highlighting that, in relation to the conception of “sex”, it is not just a physical and direct perception, but a construction that reinterprets physical characteristics that are per se neutral (Wittig, 92). She argued that masculine/feminine categories are only meaningful within the heterosexual scheme where they are built as opposite, naturalized entities. Therefore, she even issued the

statement “lesbians are not women” (Wittig, 1986), highlighting the need for re-drawing the relationship between sex, gender, and sexuality.

Teresa de Lauretis was one of the pioneers in questioning the epistemological framework of feminist discourses, noting that even feminism can function as a normalization and political control instrument if it reduces the subject to “women”, since this term hides multiple vectors producing subjectivity (e.g., race, class, sexuality, or age). For this author, gender is a representation, with social and subjective implications, constructed from all the art and culture of our history, thanks to the mass media, the school, the family, or the intellectual community (de Lauretis, 1990; p. 115).

Judith Butler, in line with the approaches mentioned by Wittig and Lauretis, together with the study by Foucault (1976, 1980, 1984a, 1984b), highlighted the action, performativity and process of construction of subjectivity where power relations are involved and finally form us as men or women. The novelty of this approach is that it does not assume, on the one hand, sex and, on the other hand, gender. Therefore, gender is produced through the recurrence of acts creating the illusion of the truth of sex, the idea that there is something previous, a more essential pre-existent substance. Not only is gender built, but sex is also. The correlation between sex/gender/desire is only possible after the previous naturalization of sex, presupposing it to be a substance within a dualist system of opposition (Butler, 1990).

For Butler (1990) the body is not a natural product but is produced as a network of relations. “Gender proves to be performative -that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed” (Butler, 1990; p. 25). We become women or men when we follow gender rules. The sex/gender/desire system organizes and governs the assigning of social positions in compliance with the logic of sexual division of work

(e.g., care activities specific to women, activities related to the production of goods assigned to men). Gender assignment involves attributing to women a different place than to men and vice versa. Social systems involve power relations, inequalities and privileges that threaten coexistence. Power relations become more stable when the assignment process is associated with a parallel socialization process that makes desirable the things that have been imposed to us (Bourdieu, 2001).

According to Butler (1990, 1993), in gender embodiment, occasional discontinuities occur that evidence the infeasibility of repeating satisfactorily gender rules. But these are not free ruptures: transsexuality, intersexuality, or non-normative sexual practices can involve exclusions from the category of human. Butler sees the subjectivation process (the process through which one becomes a subject) is subject to gender norms without which the persona cannot become. Hence, the consideration of precarious lives that are out of this normative framework is critical insofar as it is an essential issue that involves recognition and survival (Butler, 2004). Previously, Sandra Harding had already stated that it is necessary to include peripheral life points that have been omitted and that destabilize the assumptions of totalizing hegemonic knowledge (Harding, 1986). Complaints of distortions caused by Eurocentrism, androcentrism, racism and heterosexism are fundamental. Therefore, it is not identity, but the divided and contradictory subject that can ask about the viewpoint of the owner.

Paul B. Preciado questioned that gender is a concept, an ideology, or a performance, and preferred to describe it as a political ecology: “the certainty of being a man or a woman is a somato-political fiction caused by a set of body domestication technologies, a set of pharmacological and audiovisual techniques that fix and delimit our somatic potentials working as filters that cause permanent distortions of the reality surrounding us” (Preciado, 2008; p. 89). One of the results characteristic of this gender

technology is the production of a meaning of the sexual self-concept appearing as an emotional reality (e.g., “I am a man, heterosexual...”), acting as a biopolitical and symbolic core around which a whole set of practices and discourses can be brought together.

Gender programming models subjectivity and allows the production of subjects that think and act as individual bodies, that understand themselves as private spaces and properties, with fixed gender identity and sexuality. Dismantling this programming, a process already described by Butler (2004) as “undoing gender”, would involve a set of denaturation and disidentification operations. In conclusion, “there is no masculine and feminine gender, only before a public, that is, as a somatic-discursive construction of collective nature, in front of the scientific community or the network” (Preciado, 2008; p. 91).

3.4. Gender Identity Research in Social Sciences: Feminist Voices

In terms of gender identity, there are two theoretical proposals to be highlighted when approaching its study (Naghosi, Naghosi, & Brzuzy, 2014): (1) The theories based on social learning proposing that the perception of self-identity is the result of learning behaviors associated with one or the other gender (gender roles); (2) The theories based on cognitive development proposing that identity is the result of the development of cognitive appreciation of permanence of sex as an identity, beyond the perception of changes in appearance or behavior (Kohlberg, 1966). However, we consider that there are other study lines on differentiated socialization and maintenance and evolution of gender roles that have also made a major contribution to our current understanding of gender identity.

For a review of the different approaches to the study of socialization differentiated by gender and their impact on the development of identity and gender

roles, the review by Jean Stockard (1999) is still in force, from which the following headlines can be taken: (1) The development of gender roles and the perception of belonging to a gender within a given social context result of the relationship between biological and social factors; (2) The studies that have tried to demonstrate the influence of behavioral reinforcement of gender roles in the immediate environment from the interaction of children with their relatives and their peers; (3) The analysis of the gender socialization process, according to the adoption of gender roles and their evolution along life stages; (4) The theory of gender schemes explaining how people organize and process information through the gender filter.

The review of the most relevant studies defining these research lines shows that feminist researchers feature in all of them. These researchers have made critical contributions that are particularly relevant for the study of gender in Psychology. Our proposed critical review is two-fold: to synthesize the different most relevant research lines for the study of gender identity and to enhance the visibility of the careers of the featured female investigators.

A. The development of sexual differences: a pioneering study

Eleanor E. Maccoby and Carol N. Jacklin started a research project on the interaction between father/mother figures and boys/girls. As a result of the initial frustration in the review of the studies dealing with the differences in the capacities and skills of boys and girls, one of the most relevant milestones in the study of gender was the publication of the book, *The Psychology of Sex Differences*, in 1974. It consisted of a review of a high number of experimental studies about psychological differences between men and women. Two of its conclusions can be highlighted and they are still relevant in this area (Hyde & Frost, 1993): (1) The scientific studies evidence a number of beliefs (e.g., women are more sociable, more suggestible, have lower self-esteem, or

worse analytical skills) that have not achieved experimental support and their category of myth is confirmed; (2) All the differences obtained enough empirical support were related to cognitive processes (e.g., verbal skills or visuospatial abilities), and the variable sex explained less than 5% of the variance in all cases.

In 1998, Maccoby published her culminating work, *The Two Sexes: Growing Up Apart, Coming Together*, the fruit of his research career and the review of multiple sociological and anthropological studies on cultural differences in the development of gender in boys and girls, concluding that both biological factors and the socialization process, subject to a given learning context, are necessary to explain the development of gender roles in boys and girls. Therefore, gender identity would be defined as the result of the interrelation between biological and social influences, such as relations with peers (Maccoby, 2002a), school (Caspi, Lynam, Moffitt, & Silva, 1993), and the mass media (Signorelli, 2001).

In one of her last studies, Maccoby (2002b) provided a complete, detailed summary of gender differences in the social interactions of adult individuals. It included a review of the most relevant theories, with hypotheses helping to explain these gender differences: the Social Exchange Theory (Emerson, 1976); the Power Status Theory (Ridgeway, 1991; Thye, 2000); and the Social Role Theory of Gender (Eagly, 1987). However, following the arguments of Maccoby (2002b), none of these theories could be used to explain findings such as the degree of gender segregation that prevails in many work places and in several social situations, the prediction of interactions between same-sex couples, or the changes in behavioral patterns shown by men and women in romantic relationships where the stereotyped roles are not followed.

B. The Gender Schema Theory: the irruption of the androgyny model

The contribution of Sandra L. Bem can be summarized in three interrelated contributions (Starr & Zurbriggen, 2016): the concept of androgyny and its measurement by the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974), the development of the Gender Schema Theory (Bem, 1981) and the publication of her culminating work in 1993, *The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality*.

The concept of androgynous personality (Bem, 1972) makes reference to the fact that a person can develop behaviors or have traits which are more characteristic of masculinity or femininity, irrespective of their biological sex. This broke with the old conception that a high degree of sexual classification was synonymous with mental health. For its evaluation, Bem proposed the BSRI instrument that included a masculinity scale and a femininity scale. In these scales, Bem defined as a set of traits most desirable according to culture for men and women, respectively. When the feminine scale score is significantly higher than the masculine one, the person is defined as “feminine”, and vice versa. When there are no significant differences but in both scales and the score has been above the median, the person is classified as “androgynous”, while if both scores are below the median, the person is called “undifferentiated”.

After very extensive use of the BSRI in Western countries, Hoffman and Borders (2001) performed a critical review of the past 25 years of use and reached the following conclusions: The social-historic contexts in modern societies have changed markedly in recent years in terms of what feminine and masculine were considered to be when the questionnaire was designed and, in spite of this, the list of items has not been updated or reformulated. Many authors have used the BSRI for the purpose of measuring masculinity and femininity. However, it has been extensively demonstrated

(e.g., Spence, 1985) that masculinity and femininity are broader concepts than simply the degree of adjustment to the traditional masculine (instrumental traits) and feminine traits (expression traits). Factor analyses have shown inconsistent results (Choi & Fuqua, 2003), and, given the age of the instrument, caution is recommended in its use (Smiler & Epstein, 2010).

The Gender Schema Theory is a social-cognitive proposal that attempts to explain the acquisition of gender from an early age and its impact on cognitive processing throughout life. According to this theory, from a young age we have cognitive schemas (Huston, 1983; Martin & Halverson, 1983) about what is the result of being masculine and feminine, and we use such schemas to classify the information we receive, make decisions, and adjust our behavior to the environment. These schemas would be incorporated into the gender identity of the child. The gender schema would gather the gender roles and gender stereotypes in a cognitive structure from which judgments and thoughts would be constructed and our behavior assessed. The distinction considered by Bem (1981, 1983, 1985) was between schematic and non-schematic or androgynous persons, that is, those that, even being aware of the traditional gender roles and stereotypes, do not use them to relate to others. However, the studies that have tried to analyze the application of the Gender Schema Theory have found contradictory results (Hudak, 1993). In this regard, several studies stand out, that have not found the expected differences between schematic and non-schematic persons when using gender as a categorization strategy (Edwards & Spence, 1987; Kite & Deaux, 1986). Several criticisms have been made of this theory as it does not explain the differences between persons more intensely identifying themselves with their gender or the influence of their social relations and structures in this identification (García-

Leiva, 2005). The Gender Social Identity Theories, discussed below, arose as an attempt to overcome these limitations.

In her culminating work, *The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality* (1993), Bem highlighted the three lenses of gender applied to contemporary western society: (1) androcentrism: the historical perception of superiority of men and the assumption that their experience is considered to be the established norm or standard and those people not identifying themselves with this pattern are considered to be the “others”; (2) gender polarization: the trend to oppose men and women in a continuum defined by two ends of masculine and feminine traits, which involves defining a gender by the rejection of the other; (3) biological essentialism with regard to the deterministic theories that argue the strong conditioning involved by biological influence on the development and evolution of behaviors related to the sex/gender system. Through these three lenses, society reproduces male dominance by means of the discourses and the institutions placing men and women in different spaces, with different responsibilities, rights and duties, and also through the socialization process where children internalize these cultural values, reinforcing the construction of their identity in order to be consistent with them. However, Bem advocated the freedom of children in the light of assuming a variable, flexible, and fluid gender, where there can be different distortions and subversions to the established sex/gender/sexuality system, such as homosexuality or transsexuality. Her last study published *An Unconventional Family* (Bem, 1998) was an autobiographic book dealing with the practice of rearing her children while clearly challenging traditional gender roles.

C. The Social Role Theory of Gender: the explanation of the glass ceiling

Alice H. Eagly proposed the Social Role Theory of Gender (Eagly, 1987) and, together with Wendy Wood, developed it throughout her academic career to date. According to this theory, in all societies, tasks are divided by assigning roles and responsibilities according to the gender of persons (Eagly & Wood, 1991, 1999; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000; Wood & Eagly, 2002). This division of work would become the backbone of the social structure of the community (Wood & Eagly, 2010, 2012), thus generating social inequalities according to the privileges, rights, and obligations assigned to each gender. The social roles would be created through interaction between the different social actors forming the community (Mead, 1934). The expectations generated of the roles that each person can hold according to the gender assigned would form the cultural values governing the social interactions of the community (Geis, 1993). The content of gender identity would be determined from the gender roles and stereotypes (García-Leiva, 2005).

Wood & Eagly (2009) performed a critical review of the study of gender identity and postulated that gender identity is the definition, per se, given to anyone as belonging to one or the other gender. This study has been extended in a more recent article (Wood & Eagly, 2015), where the main two perspectives of the study of gender identity in Psychology were highlighted, similar to those reported by Nagoshi et al. (2014): (1) The most traditional perspective arising from the research on the individual differences with regard to personality traits and interests, most remarkably the studies by Sandra Bem (1974) and Janet Spence and Robert Helmreich (1978) on the characterization of gender stereotypes in terms of the personality traits describing them; (2) a new perspective arising from the continuation of the study of social identity from

Social Psychology, focusing on people's sense of belonging to social categories or groups (Wood, Christensen, Hebl, & Rothgerber, 1997; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001).

Wood & Eagly (2012) performed a major review of the studies on the role division assigned to men and women in society. They concluded that the expectations of the role that men and women must assume are interculturally consistent and are mediated by the social pressure of the closest persons and the influence of biological factors. With regard to the role of gender identity, they stated that it regulates behavior through self-regulation processes, taking identity as a personal standard (Wood et al., 1997). Both men and women show roles consistent with their identity (Witt & Wood, 2010).

Eagly & Wood (2013) also performed a significant historical review of the debate on the capacity of biological and social factors to influence the development of gender differences. They concluded stating the need for constructing theories that can integrate the greatly proven influence of both factors (Wood & Eagly, 2002, 2012) and suggest that the communication and publication methods of these studies should be improved in order to fight the prejudices and bias that ultimately and tendentiously influence the production of scientific knowledge on all issues related to gender (Brescoll & LaFrance, 2004).

D. An integrated identity model applied to gender

Different cognitive, social, and psychodynamic theories have been applied with the aim of explaining the development, evolution, and function of gender identity in the different life stages. The integrating proposal of Kay Deaux and Daniela Martin (2003) considers the more general level and the immediate context of the social interaction defined by the Identity Theory of Stryker (1980), together with the explanation of cognitive processes that occur in the different levels proposed by the Social Identity

Theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). At the most general level, there are sociodemographic variables (sex), and identification with such categories occurs providing an interaction network (symbolic or structural) between persons with the same meanings, also facilitating a context for social comparison (endogroup favoritism). In interpersonal interactions, specific roles are adopted which reproduce and reinforce the socially definitive identity and it is also in this close context where the meanings of self-identity can be reinterpreted. Again, the identification process would be motivated by the search for a positive social identity. Therefore, social identity would be defined dynamically and through the continuous construction process of the interactions at the different levels of the social structure. However, though this proposal is innovative and suggestive, it lacks sufficient empirical support (Carter, 2013).

Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) performed a pivotal study on identities from the viewpoint of social constructivism, proposing a generic concept map for collective identities (e.g., religion, gender, race). Based on a comprehensive review of previous empirical studies that justified the relevance of some elements in the definition of collective identities, this model brings together the following: self-categorization, evaluation, importance, attachment and sense of interdependence, social commitment, implication of behaviors, content, and meaning. The consideration of collective identities is based on the assumption that these involve not only belonging to a social category, but also a set of beliefs associated with such a category (e.g., stereotyped traits) shared by the members and an ideological positioning defining the group, in addition to an emotional meaning (Tajfel, 1981). The advantage offered by this proposal is the clear commitment to multidimensionality, its applicability to different identities, and obtaining diverse profiles in the assessment of the different items forming it.

E. Trans-Identity Theory: Beyond Queer Theory

Queer theory has promoted the creation of a perspective out of the heteronormative schema. The term “queer” has generated a bond of solidarity within a highly diverse collective; the use of the label has helped generate the idea of being under a collective identity, but the individual experiences – so diverse – have not been addressed under the same concept (Anzaldúa, 1991; Halperin, 1995; Hird, 2000; Sullivan, 2003). The social movements that have used the strength brought up by the advent of queer theory in the feminist fight have been criticized for their lack of intersectionality by not recognizing the multiple identities and experiences that, though transversally, cross the lives of people that can be grouped under this name (Diamond & Butterworth, 2008; Shields, 2008). In this regard, Prosser (1998) advocated that transsexual people do not need to be defined as queer since in many cases their demand is a correction of a sex/gender assignment that they feel has failed. Therefore, this physical transformation would not involve the subversion of the social constructions existing in the sex/gender/sexuality system.

Julia L. Nagoshi performed a remarkable job in the book *Gender and Sexual Identity: Transcending Feminist and Queer Theory* (Nagoshi et al., 2014) where she made a critical review of studies about sexual and gender diversity. Two aspects are remarkable in the life experiences of transgender persons that cannot be easily interpreted from contemporary feminist theoretical perspectives: on the one hand, dependence, at least partial, on the life experiences focused on the own body for the arousal of gender identity; and, on the other hand, the fluidity of such an identity. In this regard, some transgender people have shown their unease toward queer discourses that highlight the social construction of gender identity (Alcoff, 2006; Hird, 2002; Nagoshi, Brzuzy, Terrell, & Nagoshi, 2012). The transgender theory defines the concept of

identity assuming its fluidity, its dependence on the experience of the own sexualized body and the influence of social pressure. Therefore, the intersection array of multiple social identities under constant negotiation and change is assumed. The issue of the language code requiring to talk about “masculine” and “feminine” when referring to gender (Broad, 2002; Roen, 2001), or when we talk about sexual orientation to refer only to the pre-established categories (Monro, 2000), is also discussed.

As a result of research gathering the life history of transgender persons, Nagoshi and Brzuzy (2010) proposed the Trans-Identity theory raising an alternative that intended to overcome the limitation of feminist theories that underestimated the influence of the elements fixed to the body experience that determine gender identity. Within the framework of the social categories imposed, gender identity is better understood as a constant interaction between three sources: (1) The body experiences (Salamon, 2010; Shotwell & Sangrey, 2009); (2) The personal and explicit construction of some identity aspects, aspects related to the performance concept of the queer theory (Butler, 1990); (3) The aspects built socially in terms of influence of social expectations linked to the categories where we are involved. Finally, the need for integration has been pointed out, a need visible only in an explicit narration process that actively relates all mentioned aspects (Johnson, 2012).

3.5. Final Considerations: Towards a Socially Responsible Feminist Epistemology

The first approaches of feminist epistemology established the focus of their criticism on the positivism that had left women’s experiences out of the research (Hesse-Biber, 2007). The first objective to be achieved was to consider women as study subjects and the critical analysis of the conditions of production of scientific knowledge, highlighting the absence of female authors. From this study perspective, it was evident that the knowledge is derived from a given context and, therefore, the partiality and

subjectivity of scientific production is assumed, with the subsequent need for including multiple study perspectives (Haraway, 1988). These post-modern approaches also questioned the binarism of gender categories associated with essentialism, which assumed that some characteristics and traits were permanent and unchangeable. Therefore, intersectionality was assumed, i.e., that the possible identities are multiple in a complex context of social relationships (Gannon & Davies, 2007). From this point of view, it is understood that gender identity refers not only to self-identification, but also to the consideration of the social structure in which we are immersed and the power relations associated with gender (Naghosi et al., 2014).

The studies on feminist epistemology consistently highlight the consolidation of three study perspectives (Eagly & Riger, 2014): (1) Empiricism: it is the perspective related to the post-positivist epistemology dominating in Psychology, where feminist criticisms stand out and highlight the androcentric bias of the studies and the universalization of the results obtained in the studies; (2) Standpoint theory: it highlights the necessary link between the knowledge produced and the differences of power embedded in all relations, including that established between the researcher and the participants; (3) Post-modernism: it consists of a set of theories such as social constructionism (Gergen, 2001) or post-structuralism (Gavey, 1989), that highlight the necessary consideration of the social-historic context and language codes in the production of knowledge.

The feminist methodologist Shulamit Reinharz (1992) argued that there is not a single feminist methodology, but there is a feminist epistemological approach, that is, a common framework is required to guide how to do science from a feminist viewpoint. We must consider that no research method is neutral and that each of them somehow limits scientific production (Crawford & Kimmel, 1999; Unger, 1983). Especially

noteworthy is the proposal of Gergen (1988) who suggested that all feminist methods should include the following principles: recognizing the interdependence between the figures of the researcher and/or the participants; addressing the social-historic context where the study is performed; recognizing and evidencing the values transmitted by the viewpoint from which the researcher works; accepting the indissoluble link between the language code (Foucault, 1970) and the interpretation of the facts gathered in the study; demystifying the role of science to manage to establish a more egalitarian relationship between the researcher and the participant; being aware of the interdependence between scientific production, the consumer(s) of said academic texts and their social impact.

A. Future Directions

Throughout this study we have discussed the social, scientific and theoretical progress that has led us to the current situation. However, there are several challenges and deficits that must be approached from a scientific and academic perspective.

First, a deficit and limitation already noted is that referring to psychological evaluation, as the instruments used when conducting empirical studies in many cases are not sufficiently supported methodologically or simply have not been duly updated according to the social-cultural changes affecting gender living in contemporary societies (e.g., Hoffman & Borders, 2001; Smiler & Epstein, 2010). An update or renewal of these assessment instruments would be essential to continue progressing in the production of quality scientific knowledge.

In addition to this quantitative consideration and according to the considerations around the characteristics of feminist epistemology (Eagly & Riger, 2014) pointed out earlier, it is important to highlight the need for studies comprising the results derived from the application of quantitative research techniques with others of qualitative inspiration that allow to contrast the synchronous interpretation of reality, previously

structured on variables or specific factors offered by the quantitative methods, with a more historic, holistic, procedural, and complex perception. The integral triangulation proposed by Flick (2007) of researchers, theories, methods, data, and procedures of perspectives can inspire a complex, interdisciplinary research program for the generation and validation of narratives, models, and systemic and procedural theories for understanding the social construction of gender. More specifically, it is feasible to develop a unitary model of gender identity, that overcomes the limitations of the above assumptions (e.g., Ashmore et al., 2004), considering gender not only as a collective identity but also as a structural element that defines a system where the subjectivation process is developed; a model that should specify the relationship of identity with the rest of the factors or variables related to the subject of gender, such as sexist attitudes, ideology, roles, and gender stereotypes. It should gather the complex diversity of experiences around the subjectivation process in the sex/gender/sexuality system, according to the experiences around the conflict lived by transsexual and transgender persons.

In conclusion, we consider we must express our political and ethical commitment to the scientific production of studies that respect diversity and especially the experiences of the most oppressed groups in our communities. The reality in which we live is diverse and we assume our biases when studying, devising studies, collecting, analyzing, and discussing data. We assume the impact this may involve on the lives of many people that feel they are not included or duly addressed in the studies about matters which are as private as the subjectivation process in the sex/gender/sexuality system. We should improve our efforts to participate in an ethical and socially responsible scientific production and we wish to add this study to the efforts made over many years to draw attention to, and to legitimize, sexual and gender diversity. We

firmly believe that promoting science and participating in academic spaces also involve a firm political and personal commitment to ethical and social responsibility values.

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4. ESTUDIO SEGUNDO: Round Gender Identity: Invariance Across Gender of the Spanish Version of the Hoffman Gender Scale

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Abstract

This study applied MACS modeling to the data from a Spanish university sample to examine the invariance of the factor structure of the Hoffman Gender Scale (HGS) scores across gender. The findings indicated that the hypothesized second-order model structure of the HGS was a reasonable representation of the data for males and females. Invariance testing was performed for men and women and revealed non-invariance for the items and subscales of the HGS. Women had significantly higher means on the two latent factors, Gender Self-Confidence and Gender Self-Acceptance, compared with men. The internal consistency estimates were satisfactory for all groups.

Keywords: gender identity, gender self-confidence, distress, psychometric properties, Spanish men and women.

Round Gender Identity: Invariance Across Gender of the Spanish Version of the Hoffman Gender Scale

“The law of nature is constituted by the difference between words and things” (Foucault, 1968, p. 106). In gender psychology, the evolution in the names of the study concepts has been critical for the development of instruments and the theoretical framework supporting them. Even today, we have a lot to investigate about the sex-gender system, and in particular, about the stereotypes, roles, and identities of gender.

Brief history of masculinity and femininity measurement: capital concepts

The first investigations on gender psychology focused on the differences between men and women with regard to the intelligence levels shown by persons from both sexes (Parker and Parker, 1979). Later, the study was extended to the evaluation of the differences in other skills (Fagot, 1982). A consequence of these studies was the inclusion of the variable “masculinity-femininity” in measures of personality, including the M-F Scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) (Hathaway and McKinley, 1943). From this point, two opposite models were formed: the classic model and the androgyny model (García-Mina, 2004). From the outset, it was accepted that masculinity and femininity were a list of traits and interests based on statistical differences disaggregated by gender (Butcher, Dahlstrom, Graham, Tellegen, and Kaemmer, 1989; Gough, 1952; Guilford and Zimmerman, 1949; Hathaway and McKinley, 1943; Strong, 1936; Terman and Miles, 1936). The change of conception eradicated the view of a single dimension with two poles with the advent of the questionnaires by Bem (BSRI; 1974) and Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (PAQ; 1975). It was then that the concept of androgyny was born (Bem, 1972), which makes reference to the fact that persons can develop behaviors or have traits that are more characteristic of masculinity or femininity, regardless of their biological gender.

It has been asserted that the course of the investigations aimed at measuring

masculinity and femininity has misinterpreted the concepts and contents since the beginning (Ashmore, 1990; Constantinople, 1973; Deaux and Major, 1987; Lewin, 1984; Lewin and Wild, 1991; Marsh and Myers, 1986; McCreary, 1990; Morawski, 1987; Spence, 1984, 1985, 1991, 1993, 1999). Although Bem's questionnaire and the theoretical framework supporting it intended to break away from the traditional mentality through the concept of androgyny as paradigm of mental health, its own instrument and subsequent use has only highlighted the stereotyped categorization, leading us to consider that there are behaviors and traits that are characteristic of masculinity and others of femininity. Therefore, though the original intention was to break the dichotomy, these concepts have continued to be used as something in opposition to one another (Hoffman, Borders, and Hattie, 2000).

The BSRI and PAQ have continued to be used pervasively, and many times, as a measure of the characteristics of masculinity and femininity, despite the changes in the definition of the construct considered by the authors. Masculinity and femininity were understood as the meaning and consequences of what it involves to be a man and a woman, respectively, in the culture to which one belongs (García-Mina, 2004). On the other hand, the concept of gender identity was used to refer to a subjective feeling of masculinity or femininity (Spence and Sawin, 1985), and was defined as a basic, existential conviction that one is a man or a woman. However, other authors linked it to a feeling of confidence and comfort with being a man or a woman (Lewin, 1984) or concluded that gender identity reflects an individual self-concept as a man or a woman (Golombok and Fivush, 1994). In this regard, masculinity and femininity can be understood as a construction of gender identity and as part of the self-concept.

Given the confusion in the literature about the theoretical approach to the gender identity concept, some authors have advocated the creation of new terms, such as gender role identity, which refer to the degree of agreement of a person with the social

construction of masculinity and femininity (Basow, 1992; Mintz and O'Neil, 1990). In this regard, they assured that it would be the object of analysis of instruments such as the BSRI (Bem, 1974) and the PAQ (Spence et al., 1975), as these questionnaires consider a number of traits and behaviors that are "typical" of men and women, that is, they are a reflection of the social construct of what is expected from a man and a woman.

A new concept, gender self-concept, was born in this context to answer questions such as the meaning, for a given person, of being a man/woman, whether this is defined based on the gender role assigned or in other ways, how the person defines his/her masculinity/femininity, and if it is important for him/her. Therefore, the gender identity of the individual would be part of the gender self-concept of this person. As part of the new argument line (Basow, 1992), another concept emerged in relation to self-confidence: gender self-confidence (Hoffman et al., 2000). It is defined as the intensity of the belief that one meets personal standards of femininity/masculinity. Therefore, gender self-confidence is an aspect of gender identity, and this is an aspect of gender self-concept.

4.1. Round Gender Identity: Hoffman Gender Scale

Gender self-concept is the self-perception as a man or a woman. It is a broader concept than gender identity, according to which one is self-perceived as a man or a woman, without being convinced or feeling sure of one's own masculinity or femininity. The gender self-concept reflects what is personally important for oneself about being a man or a woman. It can include or not include a strong gender identity, in the same way that gender identity can include or not include high gender self-confidence. In this line, the work of the group research led by Rose Marie Hoffman was developed, resulting in the construction of a scale: the Hoffman Gender Scale (HGS; Hoffman, 1996; Hoffman et al., 2000). The purpose of this instrument was to measure gender self-confidence by

two aspects that define it: gender self-definition (“how strong a component of one’s identity one considers one’s femininity or masculinity to be”) and gender self-acceptance (“how comfortable an individual is as a member of his or her gender”) (Hoffman et al., 2000, pp. 494-495). Therefore, a new approach was adopted for the measurement of masculinity and femininity (see Figure 1).

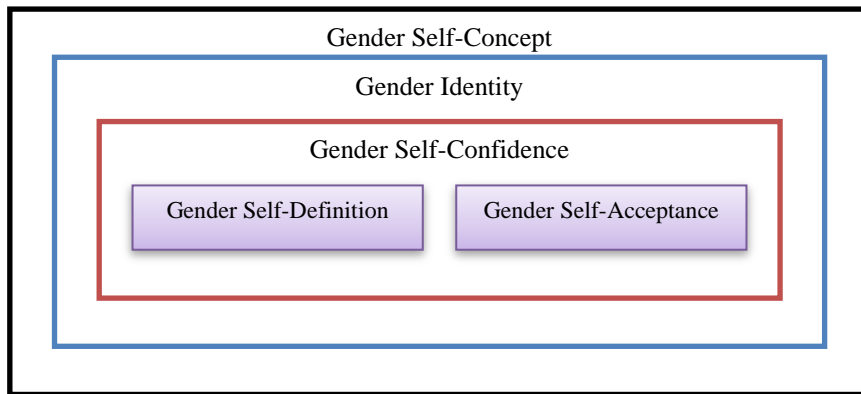


Figure 1. Expanded Model of Gender Self-Confidence (Hoffman et al., 2000).

The development of the original scale was reported in two studies (Hoffman et al., 2000). The first was a preliminary examination of a pilot version of the instrument, in which the test was administered to 146 (54 men) undergraduate students. The second was a review of the scale items and was a study of 371 (98 men) undergraduate students’ responses using exploratory factor analysis.

The Hoffman Gender Scale was a clear conceptual advance in the development of new measures and theoretical approaches with innovative concepts that would complement the less studied aspects related to gender. This instrumental study was aimed at analyzing the psychometric properties of a Spanish version of the HGS in samples of men and women comparable to those used in the original study (Hoffman et al., 2000). The primary focus of this study was to investigate the factor structure of the Spanish version of the HGS through confirmatory factor analysis strategies and to provide information on the internal consistency of the instrument for male and female

samples. We conducted a mean and covariance structure analysis (MACS) of the HGS in order to examine whether the theoretical constructs are equivalent across gender. Finally, we investigated the relationship between the HGS scores and other relevant variables.

4.2. Method

A. Participants and Procedures

The participants included 398 undergraduate students (261 women, 137 men), with ages ranging from 20 to 53 years ($M = 22.09$; $SD = 3.96$) for women, and from 20 to 64 years ($M = 23.11$; $SD = 3.98$) for men. All of the students were from Spain and reported being heterosexual.

Following approval by the Ethics Committee of the Autonomous University of Madrid, the data for this study were solicited from third-year undergraduate students enrolled in Abnormal Psychology at a large public university. Within three different academic years (2012-2014), the students could choose participation in this study among other equally attractive activities in partial fulfillment of a course requirement. Those who agreed to participate in the study completed the instruments in group sessions in the students' classrooms. The anonymity of all participants was assured, as well as the confidentiality of their e-mail addresses, if the students chose to receive a full report of their results.

B. Measures

Hoffman Gender Scale (HGS; Hoffman, 1996; Hoffman et al., 2000). Its purpose is to measure two constructs that are part of gender self-confidence: Gender Self-Definition (GSD) and Gender Self-Acceptance (GSA). It comprises 14 statements that are evaluated in a Likert scale from 1 to 6, where 1 is “*completely disagree*” and 6 is “*completely agree*.” There are two parallel versions of the instrument, one written for women on femininity and the other for men asking about their masculinity.

Bem Sex Role Inventory-12 (BSRI; Bem, 1974; Spanish 12-item version by Mateo and Fernández, 1991). It was designed to assess the self-perceived possession of expressive and instrumental attributes that are considered socially desirable for women and men, respectively. The response format is based on a Likert scale from 1 (never or almost never) to 7 (always or almost always). The short version used for this study comprises 12 attributes, six of which represent the dimension of “masculinity” (i.e., “a natural leader”) and the other six of “femininity” (i.e., “affective”). The Cronbach’s alpha for the masculinity scale scores was .89 in the sample of men and .84 in the sample of women in this study. For the femininity scale, it adopted values of .95 for the men’s scores and .94 for the women’s scores.

Brief Symptoms Inventory (BSI; Derogatis, 1993; Spanish version by Pereda, Forns, and Pero, 2007). This test comprises 53 items measured in a 5-point Likert scale (0-4). Indicators of nine symptomatic dimensions and a Global Severity Index (GSI) are obtained. This study used the GSI as a general measure of psychological distress. The Cronbach’s alpha was .96 for the men’s scores and .95 for the women’s scores in this study.

WHO-Five Well-being Index (WHO-5; World Health Organization, 1998). This instrument was developed to measure general psychological and subjective well-being. The scale comprises five items with a response format of six points from 0 (*never*) to 5 (*all the time*). The Cronbach’s alpha was .84 for the men’s scores and .80 for the women’s scores in this study.

C. Back-translation of the HGS Spanish version

A back-translation design was used following the international methodological standards recommended by the International Test Commission (ITC) to adequately adapt instruments from one culture to a new one (Hambleton, 1994, 1996; Muñiz, Elosua, and Hambleton, 2013). Therefore, the first step was to design the research

methods and evaluate the relevance of the construct for the target population and the possible influence of the cultural and linguistic differences in the context of the study. The second was to ask the original authors of the instrument for their consent, and finally, to inform the Ethics Committee of the UAM. Advice was provided by a team of five expert investigators. Then, two qualified translators, the first of Spanish origin and the second of English origin, were individually trained on the constructs evaluated and the construction of the tests. The HGS was translated and back-translated, and the expert team evaluated the equivalence between the two versions, making the appropriate changes in the Spanish version.

D. Data Analyses

The program package EQS 6.1 (Multivariate Software, Inc.; Bentler, 1995) and SPSS version 19.0 (IBM Corp., 2010) were used for the data analyses. The scores for each item were compared between the samples of men and women using the Student's *t* test. An analysis of the effect power was also performed using the Cohen's *d* statistics (1988) as standardized means of the effect size to estimate the magnitude and relevance of the results obtained (Wilkinson and APA-Task Force on Statistical Inference, 1999). As proposed, a value of .2 would correspond to a small effect size, .5 moderate and .8 high (Cohen, 1988).

CFAs were conducted on the HGS items' scores for the male and female samples. Three different models were tested: (1) the two four-factor model (Hoffman, 1996; Hoffman et al., 2000), (2) a one-factor model that included all items of the HGS, and (3) a second-order factor model that included the original two factors, following the expanded theoretical model of Gender Self-Confidence of Hoffman et al. (2000). The model fit was evaluated considering several fit indices: the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990), the non-normed fit index (NNFI; Bentler and Bonett, 1980), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Steiger, 1990), and the standardized root

mean square residual (SRMR; Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1996). Indicators of a good model fit are evidenced by CFI and NNFI values greater than .90, RMSEA less than .06, and SMRS less than .08 (Byrne, 1994; Cheung and Rensvold, 2002).

We conducted multigroup CFA models to examine whether or not the components of the measurement model and the underlying theoretical structure were invariant across the male and female samples (Byrne, Shavelson, and Muthén, 1989). We used the robust maximum likelihood estimation in EQS 6.1. to assess for measurement invariance across the samples. Testing for equivalence based on the analysis of mean and covariance structures (MACS) entails a hierarchical set of steps (Byrne, 2008): (0) The determination of a good multigroup baseline model fit, (1) Model 1: a configural model is the first and least restrictive model to be tested; only the extent to which the same configuration of fixed and freely estimated parameters holds across groups is imposed with no equality constraints, (2) Model 2: first-order factor loadings invariant, (3) Model 3: first- and second-order factor loadings invariant, (4) Model 4: first- and second-order factor loadings and first-order intercepts invariant, and finally (5) Model 5: first- and second-order factor loadings and first- and second-order intercepts invariant. We used two approaches to compare invariance models: (1) The corrected scale S-B χ^2 difference test developed by Satorra and Bentler (2001) was used to compare nested models. If this difference value is statistically significant, it would be indicative that the constraints specified in the more restrictive model do not hold; (2) The changes in CFI were used as a less vulnerable criterion for variations in sample size and non-normality than S-B χ^2 changes (Cheung, 2008; Cheung and Rensvold, 2002). This difference in value should not exceed .01. At last, testing for latent mean differences requires two conditions (Byrne and Stewart, 2006). First, in a higher order model, equality constraints are placed on both the first- and second-order factor. Second, the latent factor means for one group must be fixed to zero (Bentler, 2005). In this study,

the male group was chosen as the reference group against which the latent mean for the female group was compared. The statistical significance associated with the differences between the latent means for the male group and those freely estimated for the female group was determined on the basis of the z statistic (Byrne and Stewart, 2006).

In addition, both the men and the women samples were split into two groups, masculine or feminine, based on their scores on the BSRI. For such, the mean of each sample, regarding their endorsement of the masculinity or femininity attributes, was used as a cut-off point for their classification into either the “masculine” or the “feminine” subgroups (men: masculinity = 4.45, femininity = 5.17; women: masculinity = 4.21, femininity = 5.57). To obtain evidence of the criterion validity, t -tests and Cohen’s d were used to compare among the “masculine” and “feminine” subgroups in their scores on the HGS, for both women and men. Pearson correlations between the subscales of the HGS and other relevant measures were also examined.

4.3. Results

A. Reliability: Internal Consistency

The Cronbach’s alpha coefficients attained appropriate values for the subscale scores: males GSD ($\alpha = .89$), GSA ($\alpha = .86$); Females GSD ($\alpha = .88$), GSA ($\alpha = .87$).

B. Item Analysis

The means, standard deviations, and item-total correlations are shown in Table 1. The mean scores ranged from 3.00 (Item 1) to 5.46 (Item 11) for the group of men and 3.55 (Item 1) to 5.54 (Item 11) for the women. The item-total correlations of the corresponding subscales were above 0.40 in all cases.

Table 1.

Descriptive Statistics and Factor Loadings (CFA Second-Order Model) and Mean Scores Comparison of HGS for Males (n = 137) and Females (n = 261).

Items	Males			Females			Student t	df	Cohen's d
	M (DT)	r ^c _{ix}	Factor loadings	M (DT)	r ^c _{ix}	Factor loadings			
GSD	3.69 (1.02)			4.22 (.88)			-5.195*	245.242	-.57
1. Describe	3.00 (1.43)	.46	.488	3.55 (1.44)	.52	.535	-3.612*	396	-.38
4. Biology	4.69 (1.23)	.42	.439	5.07 (.97)	.48	.529	-3.095*	226.117	-.36
6. Define	3.33 (1.33)	.78	.812	3.94 (1.18)	.81	.864	-4.548*	249.524	-.49
7. Identity	3.53 (1.24)	.76	.840	4.07 (1.16)	.78	.861	-4.262*	261.493	-.45
9. Critical	3.93 (1.38)	.78	.841	4.44 (1.12)	.72	.766	-3.734*	229.145	-.42
12. Self-conp	3.76 (1.28)	.84	.896	4.29 (1.13)	.77	.824	-4.247*	396	-.45
14. Contrib	3.60 (1.31)	.74	.800	4.20 (1.09)	.63	.675	-4.893*	396	-.51
GSA	5.1 (.64)			5.13 (.60)			-.741	396	-.05
2. Confid	4.99 (.98)	.67	.697	4.88 (.95)	.68	.704	1.031*	396	.11
3. Stand	4.82 (.91)	.53	.566	4.68 (.96)	.47	.493	1.402	396	.15
5. Secure	5.23 (.90)	.63	.670	5.28 (.76)	.69	.732	-.494	396	-.06
8. Regard	4.97 (.83)	.68	.771	5.18 (.75)	.70	.771	-2.492*	396	-.27
10. Happy	5.17 (.94)	.70	.765	5.25 (.81)	.72	.792	-.899	396	-.09
11. Comfort	5.46 (.69)	.55	.592	5.54 (.68)	.67	.746	-1.121	396	-.12
13. Sense	5.06 (.78)	.70	.778	5.23 (.72)	.61	.700	-2.182*	396	-.23

Note. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .05$. r^c_{ix}: item-total correlation. GSD = Gender Self-Definition; GSA = Gender Self-Acceptance.

Significant differences were found between men and women in the mean scores of the GSD factor and all of its items, with a moderate effect size. However, in the comparison of the means of the items and the global of factor GSA, no significant differences were found, except in the case of items 2, 8, and 13, all of which had a small effect size. In all of the comparisons, the women had higher scores, except for items 2 (“I am confident in my masculinity/femininity”) and 3 (“I meet my personal standards

for masculinity/femininity”), both belonging to the GSA factor, for which men had higher scores.

C. Factorial Analysis

The fit indices for the competing models of the HGS in both samples are shown in Table 2. The two-factor model and the second-order factor model reached appropriate levels of fit in both samples. However, the second-order model yielded higher values of CFI and NNFI, and a lower RMSEA and S-B χ^2 value than the two-factor model. Factor loadings of the HGS items on the second-order model are shown in Table 3. The results of the LM test suggested a very interesting change in both models: Item 4 (“My perception of myself is positively associated with my biological sex”), which originally belonged to the GSD, was highly related to the other factor GSA (males $p=.68$; females $p=.65$) in the two-factor model, while in the second-order model, it was related to the second-order factor (males $p=1.16$; females $p=.43$).

Table 2.

Summary of Fit Indices for the CFAs of HGS for Males (n = 137) and Females (n = 261).

Model	S-B χ^2	df	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA
Males						
One-Factor Model	343.5255	77	.617	.547	.210	.160 (CI: .142, .176)
Two-Factor Model	120.890	76	.936	.923	.082	.066 (CI: .043, .087)
Second-Order Model	117.952	75	.938	.925	.082	.065 (CI: .041, .086)
Females						
One-Factor Model	389.038	77	.548	.466	.110	.125 (CI: .112, .137)
Two-Factor Model	169.780	76	.864	.837	.080	.069 (CI: .055, .083)
Second-Order Model	119.806	75	.935	.921	.080	.048 (CI: .031, .063)

Note. S-B χ^2 = Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square; CFI = comparative fit index; NNFI = non-normed fit index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; CI = 90% confidence interval.

D. Measurement Invariance

Five multigroup models were tested across gender, each representing an

increasingly more restricted parameterization than its predecessor (see Table 3). The configural model (Model 1) in which no constraints are imposed, represented an excellent fit to the data. Models 2 and 3, in which all first- and second-order loadings are constrained as equal, also represented an acceptable fit to the model. At this level of constraint, the measurement equivalence was adequate, the $\Delta S-B \chi^2$ was not significant, and the ΔCFI was < 0.01 , reflecting model invariance as compared to the configural model (Cheung, 2008; Cheung and Rensvold, 2002). The results of the LM test suggested only that the constraint of the factor loading of item 4 was noninvariant across the groups ($p=0.03$).

Table 3.

Measurement Invariance of HGS between Males (n = 137) and Females (n = 261).

	S-B χ^2	df	CFI	RMSEA	Model Comparison	$\Delta S-B \chi^2$	ΔCFI
Model 1				.048			
Configural, no constraints	286.784	150	.901	(CI: .039, .056)	-		
Model 2				.047			
First-order factor loadings invariant	302.849	162	.898	(CI: .039, .055)	2 vs. 1	15.937 (df=12, $p=.19$)	.003
Model 3				.045			
First- and second-order factor loadings invariant	292.770	164	.907	(CI: .036, .053)	3 vs. 1	12.284 (df=14, $p=.58$)	.006
Model 4				.051			
First- and second-order factor loadings; first-order intercepts invariant	358.803	178	.897	(CI: .043, .058)	4 vs. 1	80.174 (df=28, $p=.00$)	.004
Model 5				.051			
First- and second-order factor loadings; first- and second-order intercepts invariant	359.810	178	.897	(CI: .043, .058)	5 vs. 1	82.290 (df=28, $p=.00$)	.004

Note. S-B χ^2 = Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square; CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; CI = 90% confidence interval.

At the stricter level of constraint, in the measurement equivalence of intercepts, Models 3 and 4, the Δ S-B χ^2 was significant, indicating non-invariance at this point. In these two models of equivalence, the LM test also suggested the change of Item 4, moving it to the second-order factor (Model 3 $p=.349$; Model 4 $p=.35$).

E. Latent Mean Differences

These tests revealed statistically significant mean differences between men and women on GSD and second-order factors, but not on GSA. Given that the estimated difference values shown in Table 4 are reported for the female group, the positive results suggested that the scores on GSD, GSA and the second-order factor were higher for females than they were for males in all factors.

Table 4.

Tests for Latent Mean Differences of HGS Factors between Males (n = 137) and Females (n = 261).

	S-B χ^2	df	CFI	RMSEA	Difference Estimate	z-value
GSD	343.767	178	.902	.048 (CI: .041, .056)	.222	3.333**
GSA					.034	.662
Second-Order Factor	338.388	177	.902	.048 (CI: .040, .056)	.583	4.375**

Note. ** $p < .05$. GSD = Gender Self-Definition; GSA = Gender Self-Acceptance. S-B χ^2 = Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square; CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; CI = 90% confidence interval.

F. Other Evidences of Validity

In all samples, the HGS subscales were significantly related to each other (men: $r=.24$; women: $r=.58$). The scores of the HGS subscales were compared between the groups established for the BSRI (Bem, 1974), as “masculine” and “feminine” (see Table 5). Thus, in the samples of men (masculine: $n=30$, 21.9%; feminine: $n=16$, 11.68%) and women (masculine: $n=27$, 10.34%; feminine: $n=88$, 33.72%), the differences were analyzed between the two groups “masculine” and “feminine.” The “masculine” group among the sample of men and the “feminine” group among the women tended to show

higher scores for GSA and GSD, with only the latter being significant.

With regard to the Pearson correlations between the HGS subscales and the measures of distress and well-being, in the sample of men, a negative significant relationship was found between GSI and GSA ($r=-0.41$), while the WHO-5 was positively and significantly related to the same subscale ($r=0.39$). In the case of women, though lower values, we found the same significant relationship between GSA and GSI ($r=-0.14$) and the WHO-5 ($r=0.13$). GSD was not significantly related to any of such variables.

Table 5.

Comparison of Means of HGS Subscales between Masculine and Feminine as Grouped through the BSRI-12.

HGS	<i>M (SD)</i> for Masculine (BSRI-12)	<i>M (SD)</i> for Feminine (BSRI-12)	Student t	<i>df</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
<i>Males</i>					
GSD	3.8 (.88)	3.02 (.85)	2.91*	44	.88
GSA	5.14 (.44)	5.1 (.77)	.25	44	.07
<i>Females</i>					
GSD	3.84 (.84)	4.27 (.85)	-2.35**	113	-.50
GSA	4.97 (.82)	5.13 (.69)	-.99	113	-.22

Note: * $p<.01$; ** $p<.05$ GSD = Gender Self-Definition; GSA = Gender Self-Acceptance

4.4. Discussion

This study makes available a new measure in Spanish that introduces an innovative concept in the research and advance of Gender Psychology. As compared to the confusion prevailing between the concepts in the study of gender (Ashmore, 1990; Constantinople, 1973; Deaux, 1987; Lewin, 1984; Lewin and Wild, 1991; Marsh and Myers, 1986; McCreary, 1990; Morawski, 1987; Spence, 1984, 1985, 1991, 1993, 1999), Hoffman had the merit of having proposed a new concise concept, with a robust theoretical framework of high interest (Hoffman, 1996; Hoffman et al., 2000). It was

aimed at specifying the composition of Gender Identity with the Gender Self-Confidence aspect. In this line, the HGS intends to establish the solidity of the self-definition and the strength of the self-acceptance of gender, both factors forming Gender Self-Confidence. Our main goal was to make this measure available in Spanish to potentiate the use of new measures and innovative approaches to the study of gender.

This is the first time that results using confirmatory analysis have been reported on the factorial structure of HGS scores, also considering the differences between men and women. The second-order model was more appropriate to describe the relations between the observed variables and the latent factors, and fitted the data better than the original two-factor solution (Hoffman et al., 2000). This finding is in line with the theoretical model supporting the instrument that shows that the factor “Gender Self-Confidence” comprises the two factors evaluated in the HGS: Gender Self-Definition and Gender Self-Acceptance. In this regard, our data support the original theoretical proposal (Hoffman, 1996), highlighting the relevance of specifying a second-order factor to explain the relationship between both factors. In addition, the findings of the present study provide support for the reliability of the Spanish version of HGS scores in a university male and female sample.

Item 4 (“*My perception of myself is positively associated with my biological sex*”), originally belonging to GSD, was found to be significantly related to the other GSA subscale, and in the second-order model, with the higher factor. Analyzing the content of the item, we found that the term “positively” might have an undesired effect on Spanish participants’ responses to the item, which might be understood as implying some kind of positive acceptance, thus going beyond the mere statement of a direct relationship between a respondent’s perception of him/herself and his/her biological sex.

This is the first study that applied a rigorous invariance testing strategy in the form of a MACS analysis to the HGS in order to examine the comparability of its

hypothesized factor structure across gender. The configural invariance (Model 1) provides information as to whether participants from the two groups use the same conceptual framework to answer a specific scale item. The metric invariance (Models 2 and 3) provides information on whether scale items are being interpreted in the same way across gender groups. Scalar invariance (Models 4 and 5) is evaluated by assessing the equivalence of item intercepts, that is, the contribution made by each item to measuring the construct. In our samples, the factor structure of the HGS appears to be equally robust across gender in the comparison of the factor loading, but no equivalence is found between the intercepts. It is possible that the factor structure of the HGS is affected by the impact of the differences of the culture of masculinity and femininity in the construction of gender identity for each gender (Lewin, 1984; Hoffman et al., 2000). However, researchers (Cheung and Rensvold, 2002) have argued that $\Delta S-B \chi^2$ is very sensitive to sample size and nonnormality, and thus, have recommended two alternative criteria: (a) achieve an adequate fit to the data and (b) negligible ΔCFI values between models. In this regard, in all of the equivalence models evaluated, the goodness of fit indices are acceptable, and the ΔCFI value does not exceed .01. Therefore, according to these specifications, it could be concluded that the models exhibit sufficient evidence of invariance across gender in all comparison levels.

Tests for latent means differences reveal statistically significant differences between men and women on the GSD subscale and the higher order factor, but not on the GSA subscale. Spanish women tended to have higher levels of gender self-definition and self-acceptance than males. This finding might be interpreted as evidence that the female gender culture leads women to define their gender identity with more accuracy and robustness and that they feel more comfortable with their gender identity than men. This might be related to the consideration that the construction of female subjectivity is influenced by specific power dynamics established through the use of language and the

way the female subject is represented in speech (Foucault, 1968, 1983), a set of values and lifestyles as a reference framework for fixing the man/woman duality (Lagarde, 2000), the threat of marginality and rejection as a response to non-assumption of the dominant social rules (Butler, 1990), the symbolic use of the woman's body (Bourdieu, 2000), and the fixation on biological sex as a key element in building female identity (Foucault, 2005).

Based on the relationship with BSRI, we found significant differences in the GSD subscale when comparing the "masculine" to the "feminine" group in both samples, separated by sex. In this regard, it could be expected that the firmness of the definition of gender identity would be conceptually related to the consistency of the gender of each person. It is interesting to highlight that, in both subscales, the "masculine" group of men and the "feminine" group of women obtained higher scores. Again, this finding highlights the link between the definition and the acceptance of gender identity with the biological sex and the factors traditionally associated with it (Bem, 1974; Spence et al., 1975).

With regard to the relationship between HGS and the other instruments, the expected relationships were found: a higher acceptance of gender identity was related to greater wellbeing in the person and lower distress levels. The fact that there were no significant relationships with the other subscale may be due to the fact that the content of the gender self-definition mentions clarity and firmness in the concept of being a man or a woman, with no other assessment for it. On the contrary, the gender self-acceptance scale does contain a connotation of evaluation on the subscription of the gender identity itself, and therefore, it may occur that non-acceptance is related to greater personal distress.

The limitations of this study are mainly found in the extraction and the characteristics of the sample, as this is a rather homogeneous group of undergraduate

students. In following investigations, a larger, more diverse sample, in both age and origin, should be collected. Another limitation is the selection of the variables chosen in the study. It would be interesting to investigate the relationship between gender self-confidence and the arrangement of sexist attitudes and beliefs. One of the next steps to be approached will be the analysis of the open question attached to the scale: “What do you mean by masculinity/femininity?” It would be very interesting to perform an analysis of the content by patterns to distribute the subjects according to their personal description of said concepts. Based on this, the differences in the scores may be analyzed in terms of gender self-acceptance and gender self-definition, as well as in relation to the rest of the measures of distress, well-being, and adjustment of the traditional gender stereotypes. This qualitative approach of the personal definition of masculinity/femininity could form the ideal complement to help us improve the content of the gender identity concept.

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Appendix A

Escala de Género de Hoffman – versión para mujeres.

SI ERES MUJER Indica tu nivel de acuerdo con cada frase usando la escala del 1 al 6, de manera que 1 es estar “muy en desacuerdo” y 6 “absolutamente de acuerdo”.

1. Cuando me piden que me describa personalmente, el ser una mujer es una de las primeras cosas que pienso.
2. Tengo confianza en mi feminidad.
3. Reúno mis propios ideales de feminidad.
4. La percepción que tengo de mi misma está relacionada positivamente con mi sexo biológico.
5. Estoy segura de mi feminidad.
6. Me defino a mí misma, en gran medida, en base a mi feminidad.
7. Mi identidad está fuertemente vinculada a mi feminidad.
8. Tengo una buena consideración hacia mí misma como mujer.
9. Ser mujer es una parte fundamental de cómo me veo a mí misma.
10. Estoy contenta conmigo misma como mujer.
11. Me siento muy a gusto de ser mujer.
12. La feminidad es un aspecto importante del concepto que tengo de mí misma.
13. El sentido de mi misma como mujer es positivo.
14. Ser mujer contribuye mucho a mi seguridad en mi misma.

¿Qué entiendes por feminidad?

Appendix B

Escala de Género de Hoffman – versión para hombres.

SI ERES HOMBRE Indica tu nivel de acuerdo con cada frase usando la escala del 1 al 6, de manera que 1 es estar “muy en desacuerdo” y 6 “absolutamente de acuerdo”.

1. Cuando me piden que me describa personalmente, el ser un hombre es una de las primeras cosas que pienso.
2. Tengo confianza en mi masculinidad.
3. Reúno mis propios ideales de masculinidad.
4. La percepción que tengo de mí mismo está relacionada positivamente con mi sexo biológico.
5. Estoy seguro de mi masculinidad.
6. Me defino a mí mismo, en gran medida, en base a mi masculinidad.
7. Mi identidad está fuertemente vinculada a mi masculinidad.
8. Tengo una buena consideración hacia mí mismo como hombre.
9. Ser hombre es una parte fundamental de cómo me veo a mí mismo.
10. Estoy contento conmigo mismo como hombre.
11. Me siento muy a gusto de ser hombre.
12. La masculinidad es un aspecto importante del concepto que tengo de mí mismo.
13. El sentido de mi mismo como hombre es positivo.
14. Ser hombre contribuye mucho a mi seguridad en mí mismo.

¿Qué entiendes por masculinidad?

5. ESTUDIO TERCERO: Assessment of Conflicts Associated
with a Traditional Masculine Gender Role in Spanish College
Men and Women

García-Sánchez, R., Almendros, C., Gámez-Guadix, M., Martín, M. J., Aramayona, B.,
& Martínez, J. M. (2017). Assessment of Conflicts Associated with a Traditional
Masculine Gender Role in Spanish College Men and Women. *Sex Roles*. doi:
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Abstract

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the psychometric properties of the Spanish version of the Gender Role Conflict Scale – Short Form (GRCS-SF; Wester, Vogel, O’Neil, & Danforth, 2012) in a sample of men. In addition, we extend the gender conflict paradigm by evaluating two samples of women with the same instrument. In Study 1, we investigated the internal structure of the instrument in a sample of 281 Spanish undergraduate women using exploratory factor analysis, finding support to the original factor structure. In Study 2, we analyzed its psychometric properties in a college sample of 184 men and 255 women using confirmatory factor analysis, and we explored differences between the two genders through a factor invariance analysis and a comparison of group means. Sufficient equivalence was found, allowing for comparisons among men’s and women’s scores. Overall, masculine gender conflict was significantly associated with greater distress and less general subjective well-being in both men and women. Our research extends the gender role conflict paradigm to the Spanish context and enhances the study of women’s conflicts associated with the adoption of behaviors traditionally attributed to the male gender role.

Keywords: gender role conflict, measurement invariance, Spain, women’s studies, masculinity, conflict between work & family.

Assessment of Conflicts Associated with a Traditional Masculine Gender Role in
Spanish College Men and Women

O'Neil (2015), in his most recent book, *Men's Gender Role Conflict: Psychological Costs, Consequences, and an Agenda for Change*, discusses the course of the gender role conflict paradigm from the 1980s to date. He points out research gaps in the subject as well as new emerging lines in the development of this field of knowledge, highlighting the need for applying more sophisticated and up-to-date statistical methods of data analyses, as well as the relevance of extending the paradigm analyzing gender differences through the application of the instrument in samples of men and women in different cultural contexts.

Accordingly, the present study is based on two considerations. First, major political and social advances have occurred in Spain in the past 40 years with the arrival of democracy after decades of dictatorship. It is thus necessary to evaluate the impact of the Spanish cultural context upon the arrangement of gender roles in men and the potentially adverse consequences that can be caused by social pressure to reach standards of masculinity in current Spanish society. In contemporary Western society, under the impetus of social movements, political achievements have been made that were intended to ensure greater formal equality. However, social equality is far from being reached. For example, women have joined the labor force, but they still have primary responsibility for housework; their job positions are more insecure, less well paid, and have a higher temporary employment rate; and it is still harder for women to be promoted in the organizational hierarchy and to hold positions of power and decision making (Spain's Institute for Women, 2016).

Second, women possess traits and behaviors that, although associated with the masculine gender role, are shared by both men and women. With this in mind, it is

advisable to evaluate the impact of these stereotypically incongruent behaviors upon the well-being of women. Women have progressively adopted traits and behaviors that were traditionally part of the masculine gender role; however, men have not shared to the same degree the characteristics historically associated with women (Fernández, Quiroga, del Olmo, & Rodríguez, 2007; López-Sáez, Morales, & Lisbona, 2008; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). The care due for the health and well-being of women still requires political and social efforts and commitments toward achieving greater justice and equality. In the academic field, efforts must be also made to evaluate both gender differences supported by social norms in our community and the impact upon health and well-being arising from the social pressure to conform to masculinity and femininity standards.

5.1. Gender (In)Equality in a Spanish Context

Several studies have reported that Spanish men and women score comparably in the traits and role behaviors associated with masculinity, but the same does not occur with the traits associated with femininity (López-Sáez et al., 2008; López-Zafra & García-Retamero, 2011). Comparing samples of women of Spanish and U.S. origin, Sánchez-López and Cuéllar-Flores (2011) reported that Spanish women were less traditional than U.S. women were regarding social norms associated with femininity, except in relation to household tasks wherein Spanish women expressed being more traditional. These differences might be related to the impact of the recent political and social achievements in matters of gender equality in Spain, on the one hand, and the current persistence of sexist prejudice about the responsibility of women for housework on the other hand (Lameiras-Fernández et al., 2002; López-Sáez et al., 2008; Moya, Expósito, & Ruiz, 2000).

Castillo-Mayén and Montes-Berges (2014) performed a study to update the content of gender stereotypes in the Spanish context. They found that some stereotyped traits (women as dependent, docile, or destined to reproduction vs. men as self-efficient, competent, or active) were not included differentially in the composition of the new stereotypes of men and women. However, other stereotyped traits remained assigned differentially to one gender or the other (for women, caring of others, housework, and emotional; for men, physically strong and brave). This composition of current gender stereotypes could be reflecting two specific aspects of the current situation in Spain: on the one hand, women joining the labor force may have contributed to modifying their image in current society; on the other hand, despite these political and social achievements, a social structure that gives men higher status than women still appears to prevail, as, for instance, with the glass ceiling that prevents women from progressing in the organizational hierarchy.

In recent years, in Spain, gender equality has been the focus of political commitment and legislative efforts promoted by several associations and social movements supporting women's rights. As a result, major social advancements have been made, such as the approval of the “Ley Orgánica” [Spanish Law] 3/2007, of 22nd March, for the effective equality of women and men and the “Ley Orgánica” 1/2004, of 28th December, on integral protection measures against gender-based violence. However, real equality is a process still requiring major effort and firm social and political responsibility because the current situation is far from being fair and egalitarian for men and women in Spain. For example, women on average earn from 12% to 24% less than men do depending on the type of job (National Statistics Institute, 2016), and there is still a glass ceiling for professional women that prevents them from attaining powerful positions (Barberá, Ramos, Sarrió, & Candela, 2002; Eagly, 2004, 2007).

Furthermore, three of every four part-time workers are women (General Workers' Union, 2015), and although women have joined the labor force, men have not started to share household tasks to the same degree, thus causing women to maintain a double workload outside and in the home. Women dedicate an average of 4:07 hours a day to their homes and their family whereas men on average spend 1:54 hours (Spain's Institute for Women, 2016).

5.2. Measuring Gender Role Conflict and Stress

The problems derived from the adoption of a traditional gender role has been extensively studied (David & Brannon, 1976; O'Neil, 2013; Pleck & Pleck, 1980). O'Neil (1987, 2008) developed the theory of gender role conflict focusing on the degree to which some attitudes, behaviors, and values enter into conflict with situational demands (Wester, 2008; Wester & Vogel, 2002) and on the consequent problems experienced by men due to the rigidity of their gender role. As a result, the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, Davis, & Wrightsman, 1986) was developed, becoming the most commonly used test for evaluating problems generated by the male gender role (O'Neil, 2013). Several exploratory factor analyses (EFA; O'Neil et al., 1986; Rogers & Rando, 1997) and confirmatory factor analyses (CFA; Good et al., 1995; Faria, 2000; Norwalk, Vandiver, White, & Englar-Carlson, 2011) have been performed on various samples of men. In all cases, these studies found empirical support for the original four-factor solution.

The four factors identified in the GRCS represent different aspects of situations generating strain and distress as a result of the adopted socialized male role (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). The first pattern, Success, Power, and Competition, includes the degree to which men are socialized to search for personal success through competition. The second pattern, Restricted Emotionality, notes the degree to which

men learn to avoid verbal expression of their emotions, which would involve showing some vulnerability as well as similarity with aspects associated with femininity. The third, Restricted Affectionate Behavior between Men, points to how men are socialized to show a somewhat more rigid expression in their contact with other men. Finally, the fourth, Conflicts between Work and Family Relationships, captures difficulties in reconciling labor demands and family relationships.

Wester et al. (2012) developed a shorter version of the GRCS for the purpose of making its application easier when assessing people from diverse places; thus, a measure to compare men from different origins and cultures was developed. The Gender Role Conflict Scale – Short Form (GRCS-SF) has recently been adapted in Chinese (Zhang et al., 2014), finding support for the equivalence of the instrument in a male sample of heterosexual and gay Chinese participants. The psychometric properties of GRCS-SF have been tested in men with different sexual orientations and of multiple cultural origins, such as in samples from Australia, Portugal, Korea, Japan, Sweden, Germany, Canada, and Indonesia (O’Neil, 2013). The GRCS-SF has been related to a low self-esteem (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Davis, 1988), decreased ability for intimacy in personal relationships (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991), high anxiety and depression (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Davis, 1988; Good & Mintz, 1990; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991; Simonsen, Blazina, & Watkins, 2000), alcohol abuse (Blazina & Watkins, 1996), dominant and hostile behaviors (Mahalik, 2000), psychological distress (Wester, Christianson, Vogel, & Wei, 2007), and the traditional male gender stereotype (Choi, Herdman, Fuqua, & Newman, 2011).

5.3. Women’s Distress Related to Masculine Stereotyping

Since the appearance of the androgyny model (Bem, 1974) in the 1970s, it was seen that men and women share behaviors and traits associated with masculine and

feminine stereotyping. However, in the development of the research line on the evaluation of the distress caused by the imposition of traditional gender roles, very few efforts have been based on the assumption that the social pressure on maintaining behaviors and traits associated with masculine and feminine stereotypes could affect both men and women in similar ways. Very few studies have been performed that applied to women the gender role conflict (GRCS) and gender role stress (MGRS) instruments designed to evaluate the impact of stereotypes linked to the masculine gender.

Specifically, Zamarripa, Wampold, and Gregory (2003) applied the GRCS to a sample of men and women to evaluate the impact of the masculine stereotype upon women and its relationship with depression and anxiety measures. The only subscale where no gender differences were found was Conflicts between Work and Family Relationships; on the other three subscales, men's average scores were higher than women's. The correlations among these variables with depression and anxiety were similar for men and women, including in relation to the management of household tasks and labor conciliation.

Herdman, Choi, Fuqua, and Newman (2012) evaluated the validity of GRCS with a sample of gay men and lesbian women. They reported lower scores than those of other samples of U.S. heterosexual men (Moradi, Tokar, Schaub, Jome, & Sema, 2000), in particular in the subscale about Restrictive Affectionate Behavior, including items on affective contact with a person from the same sex. In another study, Daltry (2013) applied the GRCS instrument to a sample of women for the purpose of evaluating the impact of gender role conflict in professional female athletes. The variables predicting greater role conflict were having a personal identity focused on the role of athlete, low tolerance to stress, and lower quality of their athletic life.

5.4. The Present Study

We studied two samples of only Spanish women in Study 1 and Spanish women and men in Study 2 in order to examine the factor structure, internal consistency, criterion-related validity, and measurement invariance across gender for the brief version of the GRCS-SF. In our first study, our objective was to investigate the structure of the Spanish version of the GRCS-SF in a sample of women in order to see the possible extension of the gender conflict paradigm to women and investigate if the internal structure of the GRCS-SF is similar to that found in men. In our second study, we investigated the factor structure of the GRCS-SF in samples of men and women, using confirmatory factor analysis, to: (a) investigate if the instrument is applicable and valid for the study of role conflict in Spanish men and women by analyzing the factor structure in samples of men and women and studying the factor invariance to ensure equivalence and (b) establish the possible relationship between male gender role conflict and indicators of psychological distress and well-being. We thus had four goals wherein we expected to: (a) replicate the original four-factor model (O'Neil, 2013) for the GRCS-SF among Spanish women (Study 1), (b) find factor invariance for the GRCS-SF between women and men (Study 2), (c) find mean similarities between women and men on three GRCS-SF subscales (Success, Power, and Competition; Restricted Emotionality; Restricted Affectionate Behavior between Men) but with women scoring higher than men do on Conflicts between Work and Family Relationships, and (d) uncover significant correlations between psychological distress and well-being with role conflict among both women and men.

Study 1

The objective of our first study was to analyze the factor structure of the Spanish version of the GRCS-SF in a sample of Spanish undergraduate women. Internal

consistency of the subscales scores was evaluated, and the data were analyzed on a semi-confirmatory basis, identifying the factor solution with better fit indices for this sample.

5.5. Method

A. Participants and procedure

The participants included 281 undergraduate female students who ranged in age from 20 to 44 years ($M = 21.53$; $SD = 3.64$). All students were originally from Spain, reported being heterosexual, and were enrolled in the third year of psychology studies. Following approval by the Ethics Committee of the Autonomous University of Madrid, data for our study were solicited from undergraduate students enrolled in Abnormal Psychology at this same large public university. Within two different academic terms (2012–2013) students could choose participation in this study, among other equivalently attractive activities, in partial fulfillment of a course requirement. Those who agreed to participate in the study completed the paper-and-pencil instruments in collective sessions in the students' classrooms. Anonymity of all participants was assured as well as the confidentiality of their e-mail addresses, if the students chose to receive a full report of their results. Each survey first requested demographic information and then presented the GRCS-SF.

B. Measures

Gender Role Conflict. Wester et al. (2012) developed an abbreviated version of the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al., 1986). It comprises 16 items evaluated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). The original structure comprises four factors: (1) Success, Power, and Competition, (2) Restricted Emotionality, (3) Restricted Affectionate Behavior between Same-sex Persons, and (4) Conflict between Work and Family Relationships. For the purposes of our second study,

all items were adapted in this first study so that women could respond to the same version as men. Thus, while the original makes reference to Restricted Affectionate Behavior between Men, we labelled this factor Restricted Affectionate Behavior between Same-sex Persons (e.g., Item 3: “Affection with other men makes me tense” became “Affection with other people of my same sex makes me tense”).

C. Back translation of the GRCS-SF Spanish version

A back-translation design was used following international methodological standards recommended by the International Test Commission (ITC) to adequately adapt instruments from one culture to another (Hambleton, 1994, 1996; Muñiz, Elosua, & Hambleton, 2013). Therefore, the first step was to design the research methods and evaluate the relevance of the construct for the target population and the possible influence of the cultural and linguistic differences in the context of the study. The second was to ask the original authors of the instrument for consent. Advice was provided by a team of five expert investigators. Then two qualified translators, the first of Spanish origin and the second of English origin, were individually trained on the constructs evaluated and the construction of tests. The GRCS-SF was translated and back-translated and the expert team evaluated the equivalence between the two versions, making the appropriate changes in the Spanish version.

D. Data analyses.

The program package FACTOR 9.2 (Lorenzo-Seva & Ferrando, 2006, 2013) and SPSS version 19.0 (IBM Corp., 2010) were used for data analyses. The FACTOR program provides a semi-confirmatory approach to the analysis of the structure of the assessment instruments and its use has been recommended to improve EFA practices (Baglin, 2014). Internal consistency of the subscales scores was examined by means of the Cronbach alpha coefficients.

To examine the underlying dimensional structure of the GRCS-SF for women, exploratory factor analyses (EFA) were performed. In terms of the univariate descriptive statistics, several items had values of absolute skewness, or kurtosis, greater than 1, and so tests of multivariate kurtosis were significant. Thus, EFA used the matrix of polychoric correlations. The method for factor extraction was unweighted least squares (ULS) and promax rotation was used. Additionally, indications about the number of underlying factors were obtained from a parallel analysis based on minimum rank factor analysis (Timmerman & Lorenzo-Seva, 2011) and a minimum average partial (MAP) test (Velicer, 1976). Other indicators provided by the program FACTOR were examined, such as indices of factor simplicity, adequacy of the correlation matrix by Bartlett's statistic and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) index, model data fit by Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), and Root Mean Square of Residuals (RMSR). We considered GFI values appropriate if they were above .95 (Hu & Bentler, 1999) and, in the case of RMSR, if they were lower than the Kelley criterion (Harman, 1962; Kelley, 1935) for the data analyzed.

5.6. Results

A. Item analysis.

The means, standard deviations and item-total correlations are shown in Table 1. The mean scores for items ranged from 1.52 (Item 9) to 4.33 (Item 29). The item-total correlations of items for the corresponding subscales were above .30 in all cases.

B. Factor analysis.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test of sampling adequacy yielded a fair value (KMO = .76) and Bartlett's sphericity tests reached statistical significance ($p < .001$), supporting the factorability of the data matrix. The parallel analysis suggested a three-factor solution and the MAP suggested a two-factor solution. Because the original

structure of the instrument is composed of four factors, the fit indices were evaluated for two-, three-, and four-factor structures. The four-factor solution grouped the items according to the original proposed scales (Wester et al., 2012). The four-factor model evidenced better fitness indicators (GFI = .99; RMSR = .034; Kelley's criterion = .060) than those obtained by the 2-factor model (GFI = .92; RSMR = .097) and the three-factor model (GFI = .97; RSMR = .061). These four factors explained 59.77% of the total variance. The factor loadings for the four-factor solution were appropriate and are shown in Table 1. The factor simplicity indices S (0.99) and LS (0.72) indicated high simplicity of the four-factor solution. With respect to residues, the mean was close to zero (.0001) and the variance was very low (.0011). Overall, all of these statistics indicated a satisfactory fit.

C. Reliability: Internal consistency.

Internal consistency reliability of the overall GRCS-SF score was sufficiently high ($\alpha = .75$). The Cronbach alpha coefficients attained appropriate values for the subscales scores as well: Success, Power, and Competition ($\alpha = .75$), Restricted Emotionality ($\alpha = .81$), Restricted Affectionate Behavior between Same-Sex Persons ($\alpha = .68$), and Conflicts between Work and Family Relationships ($\alpha = .80$).

Study 2

The objective of our second study was to examine the factor structure of the GRCS-SF for Spanish men and women and study the factor invariance across respondents' gender. Internal consistency of scores on the subscales, the differences between the mean scores of men and women, and the correlations of GRCS-SF with other instruments of interest were also analyzed.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Factor Loadings (EFA) of GRCS-SF for Females (n = 281).

Factors Items	M (SD)	Item total r	RE	SPC	RASS	WFR
Restricted Emotionality	2.39 (1.05)					
5. Talking (about my feelings) during sexual relations is difficult for me.	2.30 (1.31)	.56	.612	.026	-.001	-.055
6. I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.	2.26 (1.29)	.72	.868	-.024	-.071	-.025
8. I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.	2.25 (1.30)	.68	.706	.008	.051	-.050
12. I do not like to show my emotions to other people.	2.76 (1.38)	.54	.576	.010	.020	.110
Success, Power, and Competition	3.16 (.88)					
2. Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.	4.33 (.95)	.39	-.047	.419	-.090	.127
4. I like to feel superior to other people.	2.39 (1.22)	.57	.024	.675	.059	-.144
11. I strive to be more successful than others.	3.38 (1.26)	.57	-.069	.670	-.068	.151
15. Being smarter or physically stronger than other people of my sex is important to me.	2.52 (1.25)	.58	.030	.681	.081	-.083
Restricted Affectionate Behaviors Between Same-Sex Persons	1.68 (.63)					
3. Affection with other people of my same sex makes me tense.	1.72 (.85)	.56	-.018	-.051	.846	.033
7. Women who touch other women make me uncomfortable.	1.62 (.83)	.36	-.099	.051	.448	-.019
9. Hugging other persons of my same sex is difficult for me.	1.52 (.85)	.49	.081	.026	.707	-.037
14. Being very personal with other persons of my same sex makes me feel uncomfortable.	1.86 (.97)	.45	-.014	.026	.526	.014
Conflicts between Work and Family Relationships	3.54 (1.17)					
1. Finding time to relax is difficult for me.	3.33 (1.42)	.51	.028	-.089	.123	.548
10. My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like.	3.65 (1.58)	.68	-.046	-.021	.003	.811
13. My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, health, leisure, etc.).	3.88 (1.41)	.72	-.018	-.016	-.025	.835
16. Overwork and stress, caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school, affects/hurts my life.	3.29 (1.49)	.56	.096	.140	-.024	.578

5.7. Method

A. Participants and procedure.

Participants included 439 undergraduate students (255 women, 184 men), who ranged in age from 20 to 53 years ($M = 21.99$, $SD = 3.52$) for women and from 20 to 64 years ($M = 23.48$, $SD = 5.60$) for men. A small but significant difference was found for age between the gender groups, $t'(273.73) = 3.12$, $p = .002$, Cohen's $d = .32$. All students were from Spain and reported being heterosexual. New data for the present study were solicited following equivalent procedures to those in Study 1 at the same large public university during the 2014-15 academic term. After providing demographic information, the survey first presented the GRCS-SF as described in Study 1 followed by measures of psychological distress and well-being, in that order.

B. Measures

Psychological distress. The Brief Symptoms Inventory (BSI; Derogatis, 1993; Spanish version by Pereda, Forns, & Però, 2007) comprises 53 items (i.e. "Feeling inferior to others"/"Sentirse inferior a los demás", "Feeling no interest in thing"/"No sentir interés por las cosas") measured on a 5-point Likert scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 4 (*extremeley*). Indicators of nine symptomatic dimensions and a global severity index (GSI) can be obtained. This study used the GSI as a general measure of psychological distress. Pereda, Forns, and Pero (2007) reported using a back-translation design for the Spanish adaptation and appropriate internal consistency reliability estimates for all subscales scores and for overall GSI scores ($\alpha = .95$), supporting the construct validity of the BSI ($n = 1033$, 69.3% women). The internal consistency reliability estimates were .96 for men and .95 for women in our study.

Well-being. The WHO-Five Well-being Index (WHO-5; World Health Organization, 1998) was designed to measure general psychological and subjective

well-being. The scale is composed of five items (i.e., “I have felt cheerful and in good spirits”/“Me he sentido alegre y de buen humor”, “I have felt calm and relaxed”/“Me he sentido tranquilo y relajado”) with a response format from 1 (*never*) to 6 (*all the time*). The scale was created by an international team for the DEPCARE project of the World Health Organization (1998) in several languages and has been used in several countries, finding adequate psychometric properties for all cases. A recent study using the Spanish version (Lucas-Carrasco, 2012) reported a Cronbach alpha of .86 ($n = 191$, 61.8% women) and support for the construct validity of scores of the Spanish version of WHO-5. The internal consistency reliability estimates were .85 for men and 0.79 for women in our study.

C. Data analyses

The program package EQS 6.1 (Multivariate Software, Inc.; Bentler, 1995) and SPSS version 19.0 (IBM Corp., 2010) were used for data analyses. Independent samples student's t tests were calculated to examine potential differences in the GRCS-SF item and subscale scores between men and women. Holm-Bonferroni corrections for multiple comparisons (Gaetano, 2013) were performed for the four overall factors, as well as within each of the factors when considering individual items. Cohen's d statistic (1988) was calculated as standardized means of the effect size to estimate the magnitude and relevance of the results obtained (Wilkinson and the Task Force on Statistical Inference, 1999). As proposed, a value of .2 is considered small, .5 medium, and .8 or more large (Cohen, 1988).

CFAs were conducted on the GRCS-SF items for the male and female samples. Two different models were tested: (a) the original four-factor model (Wester et al., 2012; Wester & Vogel, 2002), and (b) a one-factor model that included all items of the GRCS-SF. The model fit was evaluated considering several fit indices: the comparative

fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990), the non-normed fit index (NNFI; Bentler & Bonett, 1980), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Steiger, 1990), and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR; Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1996). Indicators of a good model fit are evidenced by CFI and NNFI values greater than .90, RMSEA less than .06 and SMRS less than .08 (Byrne, 1994; Cheung & Rensvold, 2002).

We conducted multigroup CFA models to examine whether or not the components of the measurement model and the underlying theoretical structure were invariant across the male and female samples scores for GRCS-SF (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989). We used the robust maximum likelihood estimation in EQS 6.1. to assess for measurement invariance across the samples. Testing for equivalence based on the analysis of means and covariance structures entails a hierarchical set of steps (Byrne, 2008): (Model 0) Determination of a good multi-group baseline model fit; (a) Model 1 is the first and least restrictive model to be tested—only the extent to which the same configuration of fixed and freely estimated parameters hold across groups are imposed with no equality constraints; (b) Model) involves the constraints of observed variables (directly measurable) and their links to the latent variables—these parameters include the factor loadings; (c) Model 3 focuses on the unobserved variables and is concerned with the equality of relations among factors (i.e., factor covariances); (d) Model 4 includes factor loadings, covariances, and intercepts invariant,; and finally (e) Model 5 tests for latent means differences between groups. We used two approaches to compare invariance models. (a) The corrected scale S-B χ^2 difference test developed by Satorra and Bentler (2001) was used to compare nested models. If this difference value is statistically significant, it suggests that the constraints specified in the more restrictive model do not hold. (b) The change in CFI was used as a less vulnerable criterion to

variations in sample size and non-normality than S-B χ^2 changes (Cheung, 2008; Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). This difference in value should not exceed .01.

In addition, to obtain evidence of criterion validity of GRCS-SF scores, Pearson product-moment correlations between the subscales scores and other relevant measures were examined. According to Cohen (1988), a correlation of .1 is considered small, .3 is medium, and .5 or more is large.

5.8. Results

A. Factor analysis

The fit indices for the competing models of the GRCS-SF in both samples are shown in Table 2. The four-factor model reached appropriate levels of fit in both samples, with higher values of CFI and NNFI and a lower S-B χ^2 value than the one-factor model. Factor loadings of the GRCS-SF items on the four-factor model are shown in Table 3.

Table 2.

Summary of Fit Indices for the CFAs of GRCS-SF for Males (n = 184) and Females (n = 255).

Model	S-B χ^2	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA
Males					
One-Factor Model	477.650	.544	.474	.13	.140 (CI: .127, .152)
Four-Factor Model	184.186	.915	.895	.074	.062 (CI: .046, .078)
Females					
One-Factor Model	849.385	.388	.294	.155	.168 (CI: .157, .178)
Four-Factor Model	205.704	.912	.892	.057	.066 (CI: .053, .078)

Note. S-B χ^2 = Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square; CFI = comparative fit index; NNFI = non-normed fit index;

RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; CI = 90% confidence interval.

B. Measurement invariance.

The configural model (Model 1) indicated that the hypothesized multi-group model fits well across the male and female samples. The fit of the Model 2 to the data was

acceptable and very similar to the configural model. The Model 3 equivalence was adequate, the $\Delta S-B \chi^2$ was not significant and the ΔCFI was $< .01$, reflecting model invariance compared to the configural model (Cheung, 2008; Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). However, the results of the LM test suggested that Items 10 and 2 are non-invariant across the groups at this level of equivalence. In the comparison of Model 4 and the configural model, $\Delta S-B \chi^2$ was significant, despite ΔCFI being $< .01$. The results of the LM test suggested modifications for most of the intercept constraints. So, we may conclude that the intercept equivalence was not achieved, preventing comparison of the latent means. Overall, there was evidence of enough equivalence so as to enable the comparisons among the direct scores of men and women. However, some items were found to be variant at a more strict level, which is relevant information to take into account when deriving conclusions about the meaning of such items for each of the groups. The fit indices for the measurement invariance are shown in Table 4.

C. Item analysis

The means, standard deviations and item-total correlations are shown in Table 3. The mean scores ranged from 1.86 (Item 9) to 4.36 (Item 2) for the sample of men and 1.50 (Item 9) to 4.58 (Item 2) for women. The item-total correlations of the corresponding subscales were above 0.30 in all cases.

Table 3.

Descriptive Statistics and Factor Loadings (CFA Four-Factor Model) and Mean Scores Comparison of GRCS-SF for Males (n = 184) and Females (n = 255).

Items	Males				Females				Student t	df	p'	Cohen's d
	M (SD)	Item total r	Factor loadings	α	M (SD)	Item total r	Factor loadings	α				
RE	2.44 (.03)			.81	2.38 (1.07)			.81	.609	437	.543	.07
Item 5	2.02 (1.14)	.60	.710		2.42 (1.41)	.51	.530		-3.34**	430.82	.004	-.31
Item 6	2.35 (1.30)	.71	.832		2.21 (1.32)	.69	.714		1.11	437	.538	.11
Item 8	2.24 (1.28)	.68	.761		2.19 (1.32)	.71	.871		.405	437	.686	.04
Item 12	3.16 (1.38)	.53	.599		2.70 (1.35)	.59	.739		3.44**	437	.004	.34
SPC	3.49 (1.01)			.75	3.36 (.90)			.79	1.48	366.24	.280	.14
Item 2	4.36 (1.08)	.41	.440		4.58 (.87)	.46	.476		-2.28*	339.81	.046	-.23
Item 4	2.97 (1.43)	.63	.756		2.64 (1.20)	.66	.801		2.54**	350.06	.036	.25
Item 11	3.58 (1.33)	.57	.638		3.51 (1.23)	.63	.681		.57	437	.569	.05
Item 15	3.07 (1.44)	.59	.770		2.70 (1.35)	.67	.805		2.82**	359.6	.020	.27
RASS	2.16 (.87)			.75	1.76 (.72)			.71	5.19**	346.34	.000	.51
Item 3	2.23 (1.10)	.65	.820		1.80 (.93)	.61	.787		4.37**	351.8	.000	.43
Item 7	2.32 (1.32)	.45	.522		1.78 (.99)	.34	.350		4.65**	324.65	.000	.47
Item 9	1.86 (.99)	.60	.732		1.50 (.90)	.57	.813		3.94**	437	.000	.38
Item 14	2.24 (1.16)	.54	.614		1.95 (1.10)	.49	.522		2.72**	437	.007	.34
WFR	3.14 (1.03)			.75	3.57 (1.05)			.75	-4.15**	437	.000	-.41
Item 1	2.86 (1.23)	.55	.622		3.38 (1.33)	.45	.492		-4.22**	411.14	.000	-.40
Item 10	3.37 (1.55)	.61	.744		3.81 (1.47)	.64	.789		-3.02**	380.66	.006	-.29
Item 13	3.63 (1.38)	.63	.770		3.92 (1.29)	.69	.837		-2.26*	378.86	.025	-.22
Item 16	2.73 (1.28)	.42	.507		3.15 (1.35)	.54	.611		-3.28**	437	.003	-.32

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$. SPC = Success, Power, and Competition; RE = Restricted Emotionality; RASS = Restricted Affectionate Behavior between Same Sex Persons; WFR = Conflict between Work and Family Relationships.

Table 4.

Measurement Invariance of GRCS-SF between Males (n = 184) and Females (n = 255).

	S-B χ^2	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA	Δ S-B χ^2	Δ CFI
Model 1	372.731	.913	.893	.066	.045 (CI: .038, .052)		
Configural, no constraints							
Model 2	386.847	.912	.898	.069	.044 (CI: .037, .051)	14.706 (df=12,	.001
Factor loadings invariant						<i>p</i> =.25)	
Model 3	394.494	.911	.900	.082	.044 (CI: .037, .051)	22.427 (df=18,	.002
Factor loadings and covariances invariant						<i>p</i> =.21)	
Model 4	527.316	.911	.894	.084	.054 (CI: .048, .060)	254.388	.002
Factor loadings, covariances and intercepts invariant						(df=132; <i>p</i> =.00)	

Note. S-B χ^2 = Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square; CFI = comparative fit index; NNFI = non-normed fit index;

RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized

Mean comparisons of GRCS-SF item and subscale scores between men and women showed expected significant differences in the Conflicts between Work and Family Relationships subscale, with women obtaining higher scores, ranging from small-to-moderate (Work/Family overall and Item 1) effect sizes. Also significant differences were found in the Restricted Affectionate Behaviors between Same-Sex Persons subscale, wherein men reporting higher scores with close to moderate effect sizes (Restricted Affection overall and Item 7). Although no significant differences were found for the Restricted Emotionality and the Success, Power, and Competition subscales, some items did show significant gender differences (Restricted Emotion: Items 5 and 12; Success/Power: Items 2, 4 and 15).

D. Other evidence of validity of the GRCS-SF scores

Internal consistency for the scores of the overall scale was high for both male ($\alpha = .83$) and female ($\alpha = .77$) samples. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients attained appropriate values for the all subscales scores for both men and women (see Table 3). In

the male sample, all GRCS-SF subscales scores were significantly related to each other (see Table 5). In the case of women, significant relationships were found between all subscales, except for Work/Family not being significantly related to Restricted Emotion or Restricted Affection.

Table 5.

Correlations for GRCS-SF subscales, BSI Global Severity Index and WHO-5 scores for Males (n = 184) and Females (n = 255).

	Males	Females	Correlations						
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	RE	SPC	RASS	WFR	GSI	WHO-5	
RE	2.44 (.03)	2.38 (1.07)	1	.241**	.52**	.216**	.293**	-.264**	RE
SPC	3.49 (1.01)	3.36 (.90)	.203**	1	.336**	.292**	.168	-.167	SPC
RASS	2.16 (.87)	1.76 (.72)	.356**	.301**	1	.224**	.293**	-.187*	RASS
WFR	3.14 (1.03)	3.57 (1.05)	-.035	.199**	.08	1	.349**	-.410**	WFR
GSI	.55 (.46)	.60 (.47)	.327**	.161*	.231**	.300**	1	-.603**	GSI
WHO-5	4.07 (.94)	4.14 (.88)	-.233**	-.019	-.141*	-.289**	-.560**	1	WI

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$. SPC = Success, Power, and Competition; RE = Restricted Emotionality; RASS = Restricted Affectionate Behavior between Same Sex Persons; WFR = Conflict between Work and Family Relationships; GSI = Global Severity Index; WHO-5 = WHO-five Well-being Index. The correlations of sample of males are shown in the upper right corner and the sample of females in the lower left corner.

With regard to other measures, the GRCS-SF subscales scores correlated with distress and well-being in the hypothesized direction, showing medium association strength in both men and women (see Table 5). The only exception was the Success/Power subscale, which was only significantly correlated with distress scores for women but not for men and which was not significantly related to well-being scores for men and women.

5.9. Discussion

Ours is the first known study to analyze the psychometric properties of GRCS-SF in a Spanish sample of college students. Our results support the validity of the construct regarding the experiences of college men in Spain and add a new research line

highlighting the importance of analyzing the traditional Spanish male role vis-à-vis the daily living experiences of college women and the subsequent distress that can be caused in different areas of life. Appropriate internal consistency estimates were found for the GRCS-SF subscales scores for both genders and exploratory factor analyses (EFA) performed with data from women, as well as confirmatory analyses (CFA) with data from both men and women, found support in all cases for the original four-factor structure. Our findings support the cross-cultural adequacy of the construct, according to the conflict reported in the daily life experiences of men from different cultures and places of origin (O'Neil, 2013).

Testing for measurement invariance attempts to guarantee that the same constructs are being assessed in each group (Chen, 2008). In our study, we have tested the equivalence of the factor structure (i.e., number of factors), factor loadings (i.e., unit of a scale), and intercepts (i.e., origin of a scale) for women and men. At Model 1, the factor structure invariance was supported (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002, indicating that similar factors are measured in the two groups (Widaman & Reise, 1997). Models 2 and 3 tested that factor loadings were equal, so the units of the measurement can be presumed identical, and thus predictive relationships can be compared across groups (Hypothesis 2).

However, at Model 3, two items (10: “My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like”; 2: “Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth”) showed values in the LM test that called for modification. In these two items, women had a higher factor loading than men did. The finding on item 10 might be related to the fact that in Spain, women still spend, on average, twice the time spent by men in caring for their family (Spain's Institute for Women, 2016). With regard to success, it is very interesting that the women's group reported a higher factor loading

because success is a characteristic associated very particularly with the male role, that is, competitiveness in the professional world to achieve professional success (O'Neil, 2013; O'Neil et al., 1986). It might be that the concept of "success" is not understood in the same way by college men and women, because the term itself can refer to professional and work fields, as well as be globally understood to include other aspects of personal and private life (e.g., family situation and relationship with partner, friends, home). Similarly, Zamarripa et al. (2003) suggested distinguishing between different types of success to improve the assessment of attitudes and beliefs regarding successes.

Finally, Model 4 tests whether an item has the same point of origin across different groups. In our samples, we may conclude that intercept invariance is not achieved, indicating that scores from men and women may not have the same origin. We expected the intercept scores to be different because various factors can affect the origin of a scale (Chen, 2008), including social desirability and cultural reference framework. One limitation of our study is that we did not address these possibilities, thus raising questions about when women and men share beliefs about the importance of professional success, family values, and romantic and interpersonal intimacy.

The comparisons among the scores exhibited by men and women in the items of the Spanish version of the GRCS-SF provided interesting results. As expected, the greatest differences were found in men showing higher scores for Restrictive Affectionate Behavior between Same-Sex Persons, especially for items 3 ("Affection with other people of my same sex makes me tense") and 7 ("Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable"). Herdman et al. (2012) already found that heterosexual men obtained higher scores in this scale compared to scores from lesbians and gay men. On the other hand, women showed higher scores for Conflict between Work and Family Relationships, most remarkably for item 1 ("Finding time to relax is difficult for me").

Even if previous studies including U.S. women found no significant differences for this scale (Zamarripa et al., 2003), we expected such differences in our study, given that it is one of the areas where gender inequality persists most flagrantly in Spain (Hypothesis 3). As we noted previously, in Spanish society women currently spend more time caring for their family than do men; however, they spend a similar number of hours engaged in paid work outside the home (Spain's Institute for Women, 2016). In addition to time, women still experience more difficulties with access to positions of power and responsibility and currently receive an average remuneration 17.8% times lower for the same hours worked in the same positions (European Commission, 2014). Overall, our results might relate to the fact that women are playing a role traditionally attributed to men and currently report conflicts and associated distress similar and even higher than those reported by men.

5.10. Limitations and Future Research Directions

The limitations of our study are mainly the extraction and characteristics of the samples because these are composed of homogeneous groups of undergraduate students. Future investigations should collect larger, diverse samples in terms of age, educational level, and occupation and, in this way, check that findings can be extrapolated to the rest of the Spanish population. Future studies would also benefit from including a measure of social desirability.

Our study suggests that a masculine traditional gender role is currently shared by both genders and can produce distress and conflict in men and women. Future investigations might seek to develop an instrument specifically designed for evaluating the role conflict generated by behaviors and attitudes traditionally associated with women. This addition could extend the gender role conflict paradigm to both genders, so there could be a study in different contexts and cultures on the extent to which

conflicts arise in the daily lives of men and women as a result of the stress generated by the different gender roles. We also suggest that future researchers explore structural equation models that might further model relationships among the GRCS and other outcome measures.

Additional research is required to extend our findings to men and women from different countries (Zhang et al., 2014). For these studies, we recommend the use of the short GRCS version, because its format is the most refined and concise for the study of the masculine gender role conflict (Wester et al., 2012). Another important consideration is to complement the discussion of findings with sociological and historical data that can contribute information on contextualized gender equality in each country and culture.

5.11. Practice Implications

Despite its limitations, our study demonstrated important strengths. Additional evidence is provided regarding the reliability, validity, and cross-cultural adequacy of the GRCS-SF, suggesting that this is an adequate measure of gender role conflict for men. A valid and reliable measure of gender role conflict is provided for Spanish researchers as well as other researchers interested in cross-cultural comparison studies. Also, to the best of our knowledge, this was the first study to test the psychometric properties of the GRCS-SF among heterosexual women and examine factor invariance among men's and women's scores, providing new evidence of the applicability of the gender role paradigm to women. Additional research is required to extend and replicate these findings to other cultures. Support was found for the original four-factor structure of the GRCS-SF for men and women in the Spanish version of the GRCS-SF.

Two specific significant findings are to be noted. First, the Work/Family subscale was not related significantly to Restricted Emotion and Restricted Affection in

the sample of women, indicating that the conflict between housework and work conciliation is independent from the rest of conflict areas evaluated in Spanish women. Second, the Success/Power subscale did not keep the expected relationships with the instruments evaluating distress and subjective well-being in Spanish men or women. Although these findings might reveal a cultural issue, future studies might seek to improve the evaluation of attitudes and beliefs about success, power, and competition (Zamarripa et al., 2003).

Based on the extensive trajectory in the research on gender role conflict (O'Neil, 2015), precise knowledge can be obtained about distress in men and women with regard to a set of traits that, even though linked to masculinity, are shared and that affect both men and women, although with different intensity depending on the specific area being assessed. The Spanish version of the GRCS-SF could be very useful as an assessment instrument in the approach to therapeutic procedures or in psychosocial intervention workshops seeking to modify behaviors, attitudes and beliefs related to emotional restriction, search for competitiveness, and difficulties conciliating work and home.

5.12. Conclusion

Our study forwards the examination of gender differences in conflict measured by an existing and frequently used psychological assessment instrument. Further comparative studies should be developed to establish whether the instruments we are using in the research and clinical areas evaluate the same construct in women and men and, therefore, we can make comparisons of the scores between the two groups. Our study highlights the relevance of evaluating in women the conflict of gender role traditionally associated with values inherent to masculinity. The use of this instrument can help us understand the accumulated difficulties in the experiences of women

fighting for equality and asserting their rights in daily life (Bourdieu, 2000; Lagarde, 1990).

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Appendix

Escala de Conflicto de Rol de Género - Versión Breve.

Te presentamos una serie de cuestiones relacionadas con la manera que tienes de compaginar las diferentes áreas de tu vida. Indica tu nivel de acuerdo con cada frase usando la escala del 1 al 6, de manera que 1 es estar “muy en desacuerdo” y 6 “absolutamente de acuerdo”.

1. Me resulta difícil encontrar tiempo para relajarme.
2. Tener éxito es una medida de mi importancia y valía personal.
3. Las demostraciones de afecto con otras personas de mi mismo sexo me hacen sentir tenso/a.
4. Me gusta sentirme superior a otras personas.
5. Es difícil para mí decirle a mi pareja mis sentimientos hacia él/ella durante una relación sexual.
6. Tengo dificultad para expresar mis necesidades emocionales a mi pareja.
- 7a. Me incomoda un hombre que toca a otro hombre.
- 7b. Me incomoda una mujer que toca a otra mujer.
8. Tengo dificultad para expresar mis sentimientos de ternura.
9. Me resulta difícil abrazar a otras personas de mi mismo sexo.
10. La necesidad de trabajar o estudiar me impide estar con mi familia o de ocio más de lo que quisiera.
11. Me esfuerzo por tener más éxito que otras personas.
12. No me gusta mostrar mis emociones a otras personas.
13. A menudo, mi trabajo o mis estudios interfieren con otros aspectos de mi vida (casa, familia, salud, ocio, etc.).
14. Me resulta incómoda la intimidad con otras personas de mi mismo sexo.

15. Es importante para mí ser más listo/a o más fuerte físicamente que otras personas de mi mismo sexo.

16. El exceso de trabajo y el estrés causados por una necesidad de tener éxito en el trabajo o estudios, afectan a mi vida negativamente.

6. ESTUDIO CUARTO: Are Sexist Attitudes and Gender Stereotypes Linked? A Feminist Critical Analysis of Spanish Data

García-Sánchez, R., Almendros, C., Gámez-Guadix, M., Martín, M. J., Aramayona, B.,
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Abstract

The present study aims to verify the psychometric properties of the Spanish versions of the Social Roles Questionnaire (SRQ; Baber & Tucker, 2006), Modern Sexism scale (MS) and Old-fashioned Sexism scale (OFS; Swim et al. Swim & Cohen, 1997). Enough support was found to maintain the original factor structure of all instruments in their Spanish version. Differences between men and women in the scores are commented on, mainly because certain sexist attitudes have been overcome with greater success in the current Spanish society, while other issues, such as distribution of power in organizational hierarchies or distribution of tasks in the household, where traditional unequal positions are still maintained. In all cases, it was found that men showed greater support for sexist attitudes. The correlations between the three instruments were as expected in assessing sexist attitudes that tend to relate to each other. Eventually, we found no empirical evidence for the postulated link between sexist attitudes and traditional gender stereotypes. Our results call for the validity and effectiveness of the classic theories of gender psychology, such as gender schema theories (Well, 1981; Markus et al., 1982) and the notion of a gender belief system (Deaux & Kite, 1987; 2001).

Keywords: sexism; gender stereotype; psychometric properties; invariance; Spanish men and women.

Are Sexist Attitudes and Gender Stereotypes Linked? A Feminist Critical Analysis of Spanish Data

6.1. Introduction

The American Psychological Association (APA, 2011, 2015) recommends examining gender differences; however, it does not include any guidance on how to interpret such differences in empirical studies. This situation has resulted in confusion of the terms ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ in academic and scientific texts (Cowan, 2005; Hammarstrom & Annandale, 2012; Pryzgodá & Chrisler, 2000; Wickes & Emmison, 2007). Westbrook and Saperstein (2016) showed that in social science investigations there is a lack of sensitivity in the handling of sexual and gender diversity and that this not only results in lack of recognition of persons not conforming to the binary sex/gender/sexuality system (Butler, 1990, 2004) but also in serious bias in the production of scientific knowledge (Balarajan, Gray, & Mitchell, 2011). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2008) described some methodological approaches that can be used to counteract these deficiencies; they are very helpful when designing a study from a feminist epistemological perspective. There are also several adjustments to statistical technique which improve the analysis of empirical data, ranging from the inclusion of sex as a moderator variable in regression analyses (e.g. Baron & Kenny, 1986; Orue, Calvete & Gámez-Guadix, 2016) to the application of structural equation models (e.g. factorial invariance) which allow for a more sophisticated analysis of gender differences (Byrne, 2008).

We take a feminist critical approach and so our aim was to analyze the relationship between attitudes to gender roles and gender stereotypes in a sample of Spanish women and men. We based our analysis on social role theory (Eagly 1987), gender schema theories (Bem, 1981; Markus, Crane, Berstein, & Siladi, 1982; Spence,

1985), and the concept of gender belief systems (Deaux & Kite, 1987; Kite, 2001). We chose these theories because in Gender Psychology they are the main theoretical accounts of the relationships between the social changes in women's position in society, the adoption of traditional gender roles and stereotypes and the maintenance of sexist attitudes. Our analysis was intended to contribute to the study of gender in Spain, by applying the most appropriate procedures for the analysis of gender differences in sexist attitudes and gender stereotypes assessment.

6.2. Exploring the relationship between gender role attitudes and gender stereotype: theoretical approaches

A. Social role theory

Social role theory is based on the assumption that in every community tasks and responsibilities are divided according to sex/gender (Eagly & Wood, 1991, 1999; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000; Wood & Eagly, 2002). This division of labor becomes the backbone for the social structure of the community (Wood & Eagly, 2010, 2012), thus generating social inequalities with respect to the privileges, rights and obligations associated with each sex/gender. Thus gender stereotypes acquire content and define expectations about the behaviors, traits and attitudes appropriate for men and women (Eagly et al., 2000) and gender identity emerges from these gender role norms (Wood & Eagly, 2009).

In Western societies a patriarchal system predominates; the roles associated with men are linked to higher status than those associated with women (Guimond, 2008; Ridgeway & Bourg, 2004). Political and legislative changes should produce significant changes in gender roles (Eagly & Wood, 1991, 1999; Eagly et al., 2000; Wood & Eagly, 2002) and these changes should also induce modification in the attitudes towards these gender roles (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007).

B. Gender schema theories

Bem's (1981) gender schema theory proposes that gender identity stems from the schemata the individual has for the roles assigned to men and women. These schemata are the stereotypes which organize knowledge about men and women, including the physical characteristics and personality traits of prototypical men and women.

Bem's theory posits that persons identifying with their traditional gender role (women with feminine characteristics and male with masculine characteristics) tend to organize information in dichotomous masculine-feminine terms. Later, Markus, Crane, Bernstein, and Siladi (1982) revised this idea and suggested that, irrespective of biological sex, persons with masculine characteristics process the information associated with the masculine stereotype from their own scheme, feminine persons would use their scheme with the information associated with the feminine condition, androgynous persons would do it with both types of information and 'undifferentiated' persons would not process any information schematically.

However, a review of investigations that have analyzed scores on femininity and masculinity scales as predictors of behavior shows that the data do not support these theories (i.e. Beauvais & Spence, 1987; Deaux, Kite & Lewis, 1985; Frable & Bem, 1985; Payne, Connor & Colletti, 1987). This led Spence (1985) to propose an alternative multidimensional model of masculinity and femininity. This model resulted in the creation of new instruments to assess the various dimensions of the constructs posited (i.e. Attitudes Toward Women Scale, Spence & Helmreich, 1972; Male-Female Relations Questionnaire, Spence, Helmreich, & Sawin, 1980). From this perspective, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and Personnel Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) instruments may be considered self-report measures of 'communal' and 'agentic' traits.

Spence's main postulate was that gender is a multifactorial construct comprising attitudes, traits, interests, preferences and behaviors associated with men and women in society. However, the relationships among these elements are not necessarily stable or univocal; they may be affected by various factors.

C. Gender belief system

The gender belief system model (Deaux & Kite, 1987; Kite, 2001) proposes that our views about men and women are conditioned by social expectations. The gender belief system includes gender stereotypes, beliefs about the roles appropriate to each gender and views about persons breaching these norms. The concepts of masculinity and femininity are bipolar i.e. someone with stereotypical masculine behavioral traits is expected to have masculine physical characteristics and to adopt a masculine gender role (Berndt & Heller, 1986; Deaux & Lewis, 1984). In other words, roles, traits and appearance form a coherent system according to which men have traits associated with competence (e.g., confidence, independence and control) whereas women have traits associated with emotional expressiveness (e.g., warmth, kindness and concern for others) (Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Williams & Best, 1990) and men are expected to be stronger and have broader shoulders whereas women are expected to be gentle and elegant; when it comes to gender roles men are responsible for economic aspects and for making decisions, whereas women are assigned household tasks and care for others (Deaux & Lewis, 1984).

6.3. Assessing sexist attitudes and gender stereotypes

The study of gender stereotypes and attitudes to gender roles is a research area which has expanded significantly in recent decades. It should be noted that self-reports are the preferred assessment method in the studies of gender stereotypes and attitudes to

gender roles (Smiler & Epstein, 2010). A number of different instruments have been used; the most widely used are described herein according to the construct they assess.

A. Attitudes toward women's right and responsibilities

Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). The original version consisted of 55 items (Spence & Helmreich, 1972); this was later reduced to 25 items (Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1973) and then to 15 items (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Respondents are asked to express their agreement or disagreement with a number of items (e.g. 'Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry'). This is one of the most commonly used instruments for evaluating sexist attitudes and in recent decades the 15-item version has been the most commonly used (Spence & Hahn, 1997). Despite reports that it has good psychometric properties, researchers are advised to exercise caution in interpreting AWS data as it has not been updated (Smiler & Epstein, 2010). In general, women appear to hold more egalitarian attitudes than men. However, over years both men and women appear to show a greater support to these attitudes evaluated with this instrument and other similar (Spence & Hahn, 1997; Twenge, 1997).

B. Internalization of stereotypes

Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). Together with the PAQ (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975) the BSRI is the most commonly used instrument for the assessment of gender stereotypes (Smiler & Epstein, 2010). Bem's stated purpose in developing gender schema theory was, in line with the US feminist movement of the 1970s, to promote a more liberal view of sexuality that recognized that men and women could have both masculine and feminine characteristics; this resulted in the establishment of the concept of the androgynous personality (Bem, 1972). In its original

form the BSRI included 60 personality characteristics: 20 associated with the feminine gender stereotype (e.g. ‘compassionate’, ‘tender’), 20 associated with the masculine gender stereotype (e.g. ‘assertive’, ‘strong’) and a final 20 considered unassociated or equally associated with both gender stereotypes (e.g. ‘conventional’, ‘adaptable’). If an individual has a higher score on the feminine scale he or she is defined as ‘feminine’ and vice versa; an individual with above the median scores on both scales is classified as ‘androgynous’ and an individual with below the median scores on both scales is considered to have an ‘undifferentiated’ personality. Most studies have found that the ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ scales are not correlated (Aguñiga, Sebastián & Moreno, 1987; Lenney, 1991), and that men and women score higher on the scale measuring characteristics associated with their sex (Lenney, 1991). A critical review of the last 25 years of use of the BSRI (Hoffman & Borders, 2001) concluded that in recent years the sociohistorical context in Western countries has changed considerably relative to the time at which the questionnaire was designed with respect to what characteristics are considered feminine and masculine. The list of items has not, however, been updated or reformulated. Furthermore, many authors have used the BSRI for the purpose of measuring masculinity and femininity, when it has been already extensively demonstrated that masculinity and femininity are broader concepts than the degree of conformity to masculine roles (instrumental roles) and feminine roles (expressive traits) (e.g. Spence, 1985). Factor analyses of the BSRI have produced inconsistent results (Choi & Fuqua, 2003) and this, together with the possible obsolescence of the items, means that caution should be used when interpreting BSRI data or results based on BSRI data (Smiler & Epstein, 2010).

C. Gender role attitudes

Old-Fashioned Sexism (OFS) and Modern Sexism scales (MS) (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997). Both instruments arose out of an earlier study of racist attitudes. The OFS was designed to evaluate the most evident forms of sexism and the MS to detect the more subtle aspects, such as resentment of policies and practices designed to tackle inequalities between men and women. Respondents are asked to indicate of the extent to which they agree with a number of statements that represent sexist attitudes. Both scales have been used extensively and have good psychometric properties (Smiler & Epstein, 2010).

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI); Glick & Fiske, 1996). The ASI was designed to evaluate two types of sexism: hostile and benevolent. Based on Allport's (1954) approach to sexism the authors defined hostile sexism as a prejudice based on viewing women as adversaries of men. Benevolent sexism manifests as male protection of women on the grounds of their presumed incompetence outside the areas of intimacy and care for others. The instrument comprises 22 items organized into two scales, 'Hostile Sexism' and 'Benevolent Sexism' and includes items dealing with protective paternalism, complementary gender differences and heterosexual intimacy.

Social Roles Questionnaire (SRQ); Baber & Tucker, 2006). As this questionnaire was developed much more recently it has been used less frequently in empirical studies. It was intended to represent an advance on previous instruments and to enrich the study of gender roles and sexist attitudes. The authors pointed to flaws in previous instruments, namely obsolescence and reproduction of a dichotomous view of gender. The SRQ was developed from a social constructivist perspective as a means of assessing attitudes to social roles in US society was intended to overcome the limitations of earlier instruments. The SRQ includes references to behaviors associated

with men and women, as well as other items intending to gather more subtle or hidden support for gender inequality. The original version of the instrument comprised 52 items organized into three subscales: 'General', 'Childhood' and 'Gender Transcendent'. The first two were later combined to produce a two-factor scale. Subsequently the authors developed a brief version consisting of only 13 items to make it easier to use the scale.

6.4. Current social position of women in Spain

In Spain there is political commitment to gender equality and an analogous legislative effort promoted by several associations and social movements that have fought hard for the rights of women. This has produced important achievements, such as the approval of the 'Ley Organica' (Spanish Law) 3/2007, of 22nd March, for the effective equality of men and women and the 'Ley Organica' 1/2004, of 28th December, on integral protection measures against gender-based violence. However, the achievement of real equality for women and men in Spain is still a long way off and will require a major effort and firm social and political commitment.

Based on the most recent data provided by the Spanish Instituto de la Mujer (2016), we provide a list of the indicators that we consider best reflect the position of women in Spanish society today.

A. Educational system

The percentage of women enrolled in primary and secondary education has remained stable, at around 48%, over the past 20 years. However, the number of women enrolled in high school has decreased by two percentage points from the 1998-99 academic year (54.46%) to the 2013-14 academic year (52.44%).

According to the different educational routes in the Spanish educational system, Intermediate Level and Advanced Level Vocational Training courses are offered, with

different specialties. In both educational routes, women are more heavily represented in the branches 'Personal Image' (about 94% of students are women), 'Social Services to the Community' (about 86% women) and 'Textiles, Clothing Production and Leather' (about 88% women). The sex distribution across the various specialisms has remained stable over the past 15 years.

Women made up 54.38% of enrolments in university first degrees in the 2013-14 academic year and this figure has been stable for the past 10 years. According to the field of education, from higher to lower, in 'Health Sciences' 69.64% are women, in 'Arts and Humanities' 61.49%, in 'Social and Legal Sciences' we find 60.35%, in 'Sciences' 51.59% and in 'Engineering and Architecture' 26.14%. Again, this distribution has remained unchanged for the past 10 years.

B. Labor market

The 2016 data show that the fields of activity in which women were best represented were 'Activities of households such as employers of domestic workers' (88.92%), 'Human health and social work activities' (77.05%) and 'Education' (66.63%). The fields with the lowest representation of women were 'Building' (7%), 'Extraction industries' (10.5%) and 'Water supplies and sanitation activities' (16.25%). In all these fields the percentage of women has been very stable over the past 10 years.

Women still dominate the part-time employment sector according to date from the past year. In 2015 72.5% of the part-time workforce was women whereas 40.3% full-time workforce was women. There has been a small shift in the distribution of working habits over the past ten years: in 2005 78.1% of the part-time workforce and 34.6% of the full-time workforce were women.

The type of contract under which women typically work has also changed slightly since 2005. In 2005 women made up 40.3% of employees on permanent

contracts and 44.73% of employees on temporary contracts but by 2015 both these figures had increased, to 47.76% and 48% respectively.

The negative pay gap present in 2004 is still present, with women earning around 18.8% less per hour than men. The average gender pay gap in the European Union is 16.1%.

C. Reconciliation of work with family life

The percentage of women requesting leaves of absence for caring for their relatives has remained unchanged since 2005, around 84%. The picture is similar with respect to absence to care for children: in 2005 96.67% of those take leave for childcare were women and in 2015 this figure was still 93.33%.

The survey on use of time (2009-10) indicated that women dedicated 247 mins per day to 'home and family' compared with men's 114 minutes. The tasks to which women devoted most time are: 84 mins to 'cooking activities', 49 mins to 'home maintenance' and 32 mins to 'childcare'; the tasks to which men dedicated most time were 'cooking activities' (26 mins) and 'purchases and services' (17 mins).

D. Leading positions

Analysis of the representation of women in state agencies and large companies can be used to indicate women's access to leading positions.

- The percentage of women in Central State Administration went from 14.42% in 1995 to 32.03% in 2014.
- The percentage of female directors of IBEX-35 companies went from 2.58% in 2004 to 18.22% in 2014;
- Women made up 41.27% of workers in the justice system (public prosecutors, secretaries of the courts and members of the judiciary) in 1995 and 58.84% in 2014;

- The percentage of female directors in Royal Academies is still much lower than the percentage of male directors; in 2015 10.64% of directors were women compared with 9.30% in 2011.
- The percentage of women in the Spanish parliament has changed markedly, from 5.14% in the 1979-82 parliament to 35.71% in 2011-15 parliament.

6.5. This study

We used Spanish translation of three instruments for the assessment of sexist attitudes: the SRQ (Baber & Tucker, 2006) and the OFS and MS scales (Swim et al., 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997). First, we used confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to determine whether the Spanish versions of the scales had a similar internal structure to the original versions. We expected to find that the Spanish SRQ had a two-factor structure and that the OFS and MS scales had one-factor structures, as originally proposed structures and confirmed in previous empirical research.

Second, we examined sex differences in score on individual items of the SRQ, OFS scale and MS scale. We expected to replicate the finding that men have higher scores than women (Baber & Tucker, 2006; Swim et al., 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997), reflecting more sexist attitudes. We explored sex differences in the factorial structures of the SRQ, OFS and MS.

Finally, we wanted to determine the relationships among the three instruments and whether upholding traditional gender stereotypes was empirically related to SRQ, OFS and MS scores. We used the BSRI (Bem, 1974) to evaluate internalization of gender. We expected to find high positive correlations between SRQ, OFS and MS scores in both men and women, given that both the SRQ (Baber & Tucker, 2006) and MS and OFS scales (Swim et al., 1995) have been shown to be associated with other instruments that evaluate sexist attitudes, such as AWS and ASI (Ogletree, 2015). We

classified the sample according to gender stereotypes evaluated by the BSRI and tested the following hypotheses. (1) Based on gender social role theory (Eagly, 1987) we predicted that men and women would endorse the sexist attitudes evaluated with by the instruments used to a similar extent. Despite social progress towards gender equality there are several factors (e.g. disproportionate representation of women in jobs with less responsibility and in temporary or unstable forms of employment) that might affect responses to the items dealing with the distribution of household tasks and equality in the work environment. (2) Bem (1981) and Markus et al. (1982) argued that sex and gender stereotypes are directly related to sexist attitudes, such that masculine men and feminine women would have higher scores or, independent of sex, scores on the masculinity and femininity scales would be positively correlated with indices of sexism. Spence (1985) argued, however, that one would not expect there to be a direct relationship between sexist attitudes and masculinity or femininity. (3) Finally, based on the notion of the gender belief system we predicted that the measures of stereotypes and sexist attitudes would be positively correlated.

6.6. Method

A. Participants and procedure

The sample consisted of 700 undergraduate students (176 men; 524 women), who ranged in age from 20 to 54 years ($M = 21.38$; $SD = 4.91$). All students were originally from Spain, reported being heterosexual and were enrolled in the third year of a first degree in psychology.

Following approval from the Ethics Committee of the Autonomous University of Madrid, data were collected from undergraduate students enrolled in a course in abnormal psychology at a large public university. Over three academic terms (2012-2014) students were offered the choice of participating in this study or other

equivalently attractive activities in partial fulfillment of a course requirement. Those who agreed to participate in the study completed the instruments in collective sessions in the classroom. All participants were assured of anonymity. Those students who opted to receive a full report of their results were also assured that their e-mail address would be treated as confidential.

B. Measures

Bem Sex Role Inventory-12 (BSRI; Bem, 1974, 1981; 12-item Spanish version, Mateo & Fernández, 1991). This measures self-reported expressive and instrumental attributes, considered socially desirable for women and men, respectively. Responses are given using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*never or almost never*) to 7 (*always or almost always*). The short version comprises 12 attributes; six represent 'masculinity' (M) (e.g. 'a natural leader') and other six represent 'femininity' (F) (e.g. 'affective'). The Spanish version (Mateo & Fernández, 1991) was produced by translation and back-translation of the original scale. In a more recent study, Fernández and Coello (2010) reported the internal consistency of the BSRI-12 as Cronbach's alpha = .73 for the 'masculinity' Cronbach's alpha = .77 for the 'femininity' scale. In this study Cronbach's alpha for the masculinity scale was .80 in both men and women whilst the corresponding values for the femininity scale were .79 in men and .82 in women.

Modern Sexism scale (MS; Swim et al., 1995). This was designed to evaluate subtle or hidden beliefs consistent with support for gender inequality. It comprises 8 items (e.g. 'Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination') that, in this study, were evaluated using a five-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). In the English version the coding of the response choices is reversed, but we decided to align the scoring of this scale with that of the other instruments we were using, i.e. lower scores indicate greater support for traditional attitudes.

Cronbach's alpha for the original version of the scale ranged from .84 to .75 in different studies (Swim et al., 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997).

Old-Fashioned Sexism scale (OFS; Swim et al., 1995). This instrument evaluates openly sexist attitudes toward women. It comprises five items (e.g. 'I would be as comfortable having a woman for a boss as a man') that are evaluated using a five-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). As with the above instrument, in our study low scores indicated greater support for sexist attitudes. Cronbach's alpha for the original version ranged from .66 to .65 in different studies (Swim et al., 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997). Both scales were translated into Spanish as part of the research for a PhD dissertation (Rodríguez, 2006, cited in Rodríguez, Lameiras, Carrera & Faílde, 2010); however, no psychometric data for the Spanish versions have been reported.

Social Roles Questionnaire (SRQ; Baber & Tucker, 2006). This comprises 13 items related to expectations about how women and men should behave in society. Items are evaluated using a five-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). The SRQ is structured as two subscales: 'Gender Transcendent' (GT; five items, e.g. 'People should be treated the same regardless of their sex') evaluates support for a non-dichotomous view of gender view and 'Gender Linked' (GL; eight items, e.g. 'Mothers should work only if necessary') evaluates beliefs about the association of particular activities with a certain gender. The original study reported Cronbach's alpha values of .65 for GT and .77 for GL. We recoded the GT items so that high scores indicate greater support for sexist attitudes. CFA of a Spanish version (López-Cepero, Rodríguez-Franco, Rodríguez-Díaz & Bringas, 2013) indicated that it had a two-factor structure, but the GT factor had poor internal consistency ($\alpha < .47$) in both men and

women although the GL factor had an internal consistency of $\alpha = .77$. These data led the authors to recommend that the Spanish translation be revised.

C. Back-translation of the Spanish versions of the SRQ, MS and OFS

In accordance with International Test Commission (ITC) guidelines for adapting instruments from one culture for use in another (Hambleton, 1994, 1996; Muñiz, Elosua, & Hambleton, 2013) we used a back-translation procedure to produce Spanish version of the SRQ, MS and OFS. The first step was to design the research methods and evaluate the relevance of the constructs to the target population and the possible influence of cultural and linguistic factors. Advice was provided by a team of five expert investigators. Two qualified translators, one of Spanish origin and one of English origin, were taught about the construction of the tests and the constructs they were designed to evaluate. The scales were translated and back-translated and the translators and the expert team compared the two versions and made appropriate changes to the Spanish versions.

D. Data analysis

Data analysis was carried out using EQS 6.1 (Multivariate Software, Inc.; Bentler, 1995) and SPSS version 19.0 (IBM Corp., 2010). Student's *t* test was used to assess sex differences in item scores. Cohen's *d* (1988) was used as a standardized measure of effect size in order to estimate the magnitude and relevance of results (Wilkinson and APA-Task Force on Statistical Inference, 1999). The criteria for *d* were as follows: .2 represents a small effect, .5 a moderate effect and .8 a large effect (Cohen, 1988).

We carried out separate CFAs of SRQ data from men and women. Two different models were tested: (1) the original two-factor model (Baber & Tucker, 2006); (2) a one-factor model that included all of the items of the SRQ. We also tested two models

of the MS and OFS scales: (1) the original one-factor models for both scales (Swim et al., 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997); (2) a joint model with two related factors representing the two contributing scales. In all cases model fit was evaluated using several fit indices: the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990), the non-normed fit index (NNFI; Bentler & Bonett, 1980), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Steiger, 1990), and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR; Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1996). Indicators of a good model fit were CFI and NNFI values greater than .90, RMSEA less than .06 and SRMR less than .08 (Byrne, 1994; Cheung & Rensvold, 2002).

We used multigroup CFA models to examine whether or not the components of the measurement model and the underlying theoretical structure were invariant across the male and female samples scores on the three scales (Byrne, Shavelson & Muthén, 1989). We used the robust maximum likelihood estimation method in EQS 6.1 to assess measurement invariance across the samples. Testing for equivalence based on the analysis of means and covariance structures entails a hierarchical set of steps (Byrne, 2008): (1) Determination of good multigroup baseline model fit. (2) Model 1: a configural model is the first and least restrictive model to be tested; it only assesses whether the same configuration of fixed and freely estimated parameters holds across groups and no equality constraints are imposed. (3) Model 2: tests constraints on observed variables (directly measurable) and their links to the latent variables; these parameters include the factor loadings. (4) Model 3: focuses on the unobserved variables and tests the equality of relations among factors (i.e. factor covariances), (5) Model 4: factor loadings, covariances and intercepts are invariant. (6) Testing for group differences in latent means. We used two approaches to compare invariance models. (1) The corrected scale S-B χ^2 difference test developed by Satorra and Bentler (2001) was

used to compare nested models. If this difference value is statistically significant it suggests that the constraints specified in the more restrictive model do not hold; (2) Change in CFI, which is less vulnerable to variations in sample size and non-normality than changes in S-B χ^2 (Cheung, 2008; Cheung & Rensvold, 2002); Δ CFI should not exceed .01.

The following analyses were used to assess the empirical relationships between the SRQ, MS and OFS measures and the BSRI instrument. (1) Separate pairwise correlations between scales for men and women. (2) The sample was split into four groups based on scores in the M and F BSRI scales ('undifferentiated', 'masculine', 'feminine' and 'androgynous'), using the median as the threshold for 'high' scores (men: M mdn = 4.67, F mdn = 5.5; women: M mdn = 4.42, F mdn = 5.66). Because the data were not normally distributed and the groups were different sizes Kruskal-Wallis tests were used to test for BSRI group differences in SRQ, MS and OFS scores.

6.7. Results

A. Reliability: Internal consistency

Values of Cronbach's alpha were low but sufficient for the SRQ subscales (men: GT $\alpha = .64$, GL $\alpha = .75$); women: GT $\alpha = .60$, GL $\alpha = .70$). The MS scale had acceptable Cronbach's alpha values in men ($\alpha = .77$) and women ($\alpha = .79$), but OFS scale had low values in both men ($\alpha = .49$) and women ($\alpha = .45$).

B. Item analysis

The means, standard deviations and item-total correlations of the SRQ items are shown in Table 1. Several items had item-total correlations under .30: item 1 (men and women) and items 6 and 10 (women). There were moderate sex differences in GL and GT scores; in both cases men had higher scores. The difference was in the same direction in the case of individual items for which there was a group difference: there

were small sex differences in scores on all GT items and most GL items, although the difference was moderate in the case of GL item 8.

Table 1.

Descriptive statistics and factor loadings (two-factor CFA model) and comparison of SRQ scores in men (n = 176) and women's (n = 524).

Items	Men			Women			Student's <i>t</i>	df	Cohen's <i>d</i>
	<i>M</i> (<i>DT</i>)	r_{ix}^c	Factor loadings	<i>M</i> (<i>DT</i>)	r_{ix}^c	Factor loadings			
GT	1.37 (.47)			1.26 (.36)			2.586**	248,384	.27
Item 1	1.43 (.81)	.25	.382	1.42 (.76)	.24	.305	.121	698	.01
Item 2	1.37 (.82)	.34	.427	1.19 (.46)	.44	.487	2.755**	212,756	.31
Item 3	1.34 (.65)	.49	.646	1.27 (.58)	.47	.708	1,237	273,940	.12
Item 4	1.20 (.54)	.52	.701	1.08 (.37)	.31	.416	2.818**	234,930	.29
Item 5	1.51 (.81)	.47	.544	1.37 (.67)	.41	.596	2.046*	260,525	.20
GL	1.84 (.61)			1.58 (.47)			5.144**	248,174	.51
Item 6	2.22 (1.09)	.33	.355	1.93 (.94)	.29	.300	3.200**	267,372	.30
Item 7	2.30 (1.23)	.40	.433	2.12 (1.12)	.39	.452	1,730	279,735	.16
Item 8	2.39 (1.30)	.51	.621	1.84 (1.01)	.56	.722	5.125**	248,845	.50
Item 9	1.45 (.71)	.34	.399	1.44 (.70)	.46	.479	.193	698	.01
Item 10	1.31 (.68)	.42	.536	1.13 (.44)	.29	.317	3.298**	225,041	.35
Item 11	1.89 (1.06)	.50	.578	1.63 (.88)	.36	.469	2.992**	260,921	.28
Item 12	1.75 (1.05)	.58	.719	1.42 (.79)	.51	.687	3.796**	245,542	.38
Item 13	1.42 (.78)	.53	.592	1.17 (.49)	.30	.370	3.994**	223,873	.43

Note: ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. r_{ix}^c : item-total correlation. GT = Gender Transcendent; GL = Gender Linked.

The same descriptive statistics for the MS and OFS instruments are shown in Table 2. The MS items had item-total correlations above .40, except for item 8. The OFS items had item-total correlations between .24 and .31 in men and between .16 and .33 in women. There were moderate sex differences in global MS and OFS scores; women's scores were higher on all items of both scales, indicating lower support for

sexist attitudes. Effect sizes were generally small, but in the case of MS item 7 the effect was moderate.

Table 2.

Descriptive statistics and factor loadings (two-factor CFA merge model) and comparison on MS and OFS scores in men (n = 176) and women (n = 524).

Items	Males			Females			Student's <i>t</i>	df	Cohen's <i>d</i>
	<i>M</i> (<i>DT</i>)	r_{ix}^c	Factor loadings	<i>M</i> (<i>DT</i>)	r_{ix}^c	Factor loadings			
MS	3.72 (.62)			3.94 (.59)			-4.173**	696	.37
Item 1	4.02 (.96)	.64	.816	4.24 (.80)	.57	.659	-2.762**	695	.26
Item 2	3.99 (.89)	.44	.510	4.06 (.93)	.39	.455	-.809	696	.08
Item 3	4.05 (1.01)	.45	.551	4.12 (1.01)	.46	.523	-.809	696	.07
Item 4	4.11 (.88)	.49	.610	4.11 (.88)	.57	.639	.033	696	.00
Item 5	3.54 (1.03)	.49	.608	3.73 (.96)	.53	.604	-2.182*	696	.19
Item 6	3.26 (1.11)	.45	.458	3.72 (.98)	.52	.612	-4.923**	271,750	.45
Item 7	3.59 (1.07)	.49	.493	4.06 (.81)	.58	.669	-5.311**	246,721	.53
Item 8	3.17 (1.12)	.31	.324	3.46 (1.05)	.35	.398	-3.062**	696	.27
OFS	4.59 (.49)			4.74 (.40)			-3.685**	257,682	.35
Item 1	4.70 (.83)	.24	.308	4.83 (.69)	.20	.279	-1.948*	261,137	.18
Item 2	4.58 (.81)	.31	.414	4.73 (.67)	.16	.261	-2.247*	260,563	.21
Item 3	4.69 (.85)	.29	.493	4.78 (.70)	.32	.500	-1,275	261,452	.12
Item 4	4.48 (1.00)	.26	.373	4.67 (.90)	.20	.282	-2.256*	276,778	.21
Item 5	4.52 (.81)	.24	.407	4.71 (.61)	.33	.610	-2.839**	243,967	.29

Note: ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. r_{ix}^c : item-total correlation. MS = Modern Sexism; OFS= Old-Fashioned Sexism.

C. Factor analysis

The fit indices for the competing SRQ models for both men and women are shown in Table 3. The two-factor model was an acceptable fit to both men's and women's data yielded higher values of CFI and NNFI and a lower S-B χ^2 value than the one-factor model. Factor loadings of the SRQ items for the two-factor model are shown in Table 1.

Table 3.

Summary of fit indices for the CFA models of SRQ data from men (n = 176) and women (n = 524).

Model	S-B χ^2	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA
Males					
One-factor model	115,128	.827	.793	.074	.066 (CI: .046, .086)
Two-factor model	90,258	.909	.890	.064	.048 (CI: .021, .070)
Females					
One-factor model	184,024	.806	.768	.060	.059 (CI: .049, .069)
Two-factor model	112,055	.922	.905	.046	.034 (CI: .026, .049)

Note. S-B χ^2 = Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square; CFI = comparative fit index; NNFI = non-normed fit index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; CI = 90% confidence interval.

A two-step approach was taken to CFA of the MS and OFS scales (Table 4). First, we tested separate one-factor models for each scale in men and women; the one-factor MS models were a poor fit to both men's and women's data (low CFI and NNFI and high RMSEA values) and the OFS model was a poor fit to men's data but an acceptable fit to the women's data (CFI and NNFI close to 1; low RMSEA). Second, given the disparity found in both sexes and the high correlation between the scales, we also tested a two-factor model with the items of each scale grouped as correlated factors was examined (two-factor merge model). This model was an acceptable fit for both sexes, so

we proceeded to the assessment of factorial invariance. Factor loadings of the MS and OFS items on the two-factor merge model are shown in Table 2.

Table 4.

Summary of fit indices for the CFA models of MS and OFS data from men (n = 176) and women (n = 524).

Model	S-B χ^2	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA
Males					
One-factor MS model	51,903	.860	.804	.072	.096 (CI: .064, .128)
One-factor OFS model	9,786	.813	.627	.048	.074 (CI: .000, .142)
Two-factor merge model	95,440	.891	.867	.067	.053 (CI: .029, .074)
Females					
One-factor MS model	134,646	.864	.810	.058	.105 (CI: .088, .122)
One-factor OFS model	5,930	.978	.956	.029	.019 (CI: .000, .066)
Two-factor merge model	194,149	.854	.823	.054	.062 (CI: .052, .072)

Note. S-B χ^2 = Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square; CFI = comparative fit index; NNFI = non-normed fit index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; CI = 90% confidence interval.

D. Measurement invariance

In the case of the SRQ, analysis of the configural model (Model 1) indicated that the hypothesized multigroup model fit well across the men and women samples (Table 5). The comparison of Model 2 and configural model was shown to be non-invariant, so the modification indices offered by the Lagrange Multiplier test were followed and thus released non-invariant items 4 ($p = .00$) and 13 ($p = .01$). The modified Model 2 was then compared with the configural model and indicators suggested their equivalence. For the following models both items were left free, so that the assessment of the partial invariance of the instrument was continued. Model 3 equivalence was adequate, Δ S-B χ^2 was not significant and Δ CFI was $< .01$, indicating partial invariance relative to the configural model. In the comparison of Model 4 and the configural model, Δ S-B χ^2 was significant, although Δ CFI was $< .01$. The results of the LM test suggested that

modifications to several intercept constraints were required. We conclude from this that intercept equivalence was not achieved and we did not proceed to comparison of latent means.

Table 5.

Sex invariance in measurement of SRQ (two-factor model)(men: n = 176; women: n = 524).

	S-B χ^2	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA	Δ S-B χ^2	Δ CFI
Model 1	202,922	.919	.901	.056	.029 (CI: .021, .036)		
Configural							
Model 2	322,536	.896	.917	.083	.031 (CI: .024, .038)	29.026 (df=11,	.023
Factor loadings						<i>p</i> =.00)	
Model 2 modified	294,275	.913	.901	.041	.029 (CI: .021, .036)	14.442 (df=9,	.006
Items 4 and 13 free						<i>p</i> =.12)	
Model 3	298,179	.912	.900	.078	.029 (CI: .021, .036)	19.081 (df=10,	.007
Covariances						<i>p</i> =.10)	
Model 4	341,824	.912	.895	.076	.033 (CI: .026, .039)	57.778 (df=19;	.007
Intercepts						<i>p</i> =.00)	

Note. S-B χ^2 = Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square; CFI = comparative fit index; NNFI = non-normed fit index;

RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; CI = 90%

confidence interval.

Analysis of the factorial invariance of the two-factor models of MS and OFS (Table 6) found adequate equivalence of the factor loadings and covariances (Model 3), but analysis of Model 4, as in the case of SRQ, indicated the lack of equivalence of the intercepts: Δ S-B χ^2 was significant, despite Δ CFI being $< .01$. Again we concluded that intercept equivalence was not achieved.

Table 6.

Sex invariance in measurement of MS and OFS (two-factor merge model)(men: n = 176; women: n = 524).

	S-B χ^2	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA	Δ S-B χ^2	Δ CFI
Model 1	297,509	.861	.830	.061	.044 (CI: .037, .050)		
Configural							
Model 2	307,743	.861	.844	.065	.042 (CI: .024, .038)	11.013 (df=11,	.000
Factor loadings						<i>p</i> =.44)	
Model 3	308,822	.861	.845	.065	.042 (CI: .035, .048)	11.601 (df=12,	.000
Covariances						<i>p</i> =.48)	
Model 4	372,798	.865	.839	.068	.046 (CI: .040, .052)	79.523 (df=23;	.004
Intercepts						<i>p</i> =.00)	

Note. S-B χ^2 = Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square; CFI = comparative fit index; NNFI = non-normed fit index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; CI = 90% confidence interval.

E. Bivariate correlations

Like the MS and OFS scales, the SRQ subscales were correlated in both sexes (Table 7). The SRQ subscales were negatively correlated with MS and OFS scores in both sexes, with the exception of GL subscale which was not correlated with MS in men. The GT subscale was correlated with BSRI Masculine subscale scores; the correlation was positive and small-to-moderate in men and negative and small in women.

F. Comparison of means for the various gender stereotypes

First, the median-split method was used for to classify the sample into the four BSRI stereotypes. Table 8 shows the distribution of stereotypes by sex. A chi-square test indicated no sex difference in the distribution of gender stereotypes ($\chi^2 = 1.617$; *p* = .656).

Table 7.

Correlations for SRQ, MS, OFS & BSRI for Males (n = 176) and Females (n = 524).

	SRQ – GT	SRQ – GL	OFS	MS	BSRI - MASC	BSRI – FEM
SRQ – GT	1	.473**	-.323**	-.255**	.170*	-.151
SRQ – GL	.403**	1	-.322**	.118	.117	-.107
OFS	-.134**	-.132**	1	.159*	-.019	.087
MS	-.094*	-.226**	.169**	1	-.139	.033
BSRI – MASC	-.104*	-.016	.022	-.025	1	.038
BSRI – FEM	-.054	-.075	-.015	-.047	.041	1

Note: ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. SRQ – GT = Social Role Questionnaire - Gender Transcendent subscale; SRQ – GL = Social Role Questionnaire - Gender Linked subscale; OFS = Old-Fashioned Sexism; MS = Modern Sexism; BSRI – MASC = Bem Sexual Role Inventory - Masculine scale; BSRI – FEM = Bem Sexual Role Inventory - Feminine scale.

Correlations in men and women are shown in the upper right and lower left corners respectively.

Table 8.

Sex distribution (men: n = 176; women: n = 524) of gender stereotypes.

	Undifferentiated	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Men	63 (35.8)	39 (22.2)	34 (19.3)	40 (22.7)
Women	197 (37.6)	112 (21.4)	116 (22.1)	99 (18.9)
Total	260 (37.1)	151 (21.6)	150 (21.4)	139 (19.9)

Note. Percentages are over the total number of men and women.

Second, several Kruskal-Wallis tests were used to compare SRQ, MS and OFS scores among the sex-gender stereotype groups; there were group differences in scores on the SRQ GL subscale ($p = .00$) and in OFS ($p = .001$) and MS ($p = .021$) scores. Table 9 shows the means and the standard deviations. Differences between pairs of groups are reported below.

1. SRQ GL subscale: masculine men were different from all groups of women: undifferentiated ($p = .014$), masculine ($p = .005$), feminine ($p = .00$) and androgynous ($p = .001$). Undifferentiated men were different from feminine women ($p = .003$).

2. OFS: Undifferentiated men were different from several groups of women: undifferentiated ($p = .001$), masculine ($p = .001$) and feminine ($p = .004$).

Table 9.

Descriptive statistics for gender stereotypes organized by sex (men: $n = 176$; women: $n = 524$).

	Men				Women			
	Undifferentiated <i>M (SD)</i>	Masculine <i>M (SD)</i>	Feminine <i>M (SD)</i>	Androgynous <i>M (SD)</i>	Undifferentiated <i>M (SD)</i>	Masculine <i>M (SD)</i>	Feminine <i>M (SD)</i>	Androgynous <i>M (SD)</i>
SRQ – GT	1.41 (.50)	1.46 (.51)	1.19 (.25)	1.36 (.50)	1.30 (.40)	1.24 (.35)	1.24 (.34)	1.25 (.33)
SRQ – GL	1.85 (.62)	2.01 (.58)	1.71 (.63)	1.78 (.58)	1.63 (.46)	1.60 (.48)	1.50 (.45)	1.56 (.48)
OFS	4.54 (.45)	4.56 (.57)	4.67 (.47)	4.64 (.51)	4.74 (.43)	4.79 (.30)	4.78 (.30)	4.66 (.50)
MS	3.76 (.56)	3.64 (.70)	3.81 (.52)	3.65 (.72)	3.95 (.59)	3.92 (.60)	3.99 (.59)	3.86 (.57)

Note: SRQ – GT = Social Role Questionnaire - Gender Transcendent subscale; SRQ – GL = Social Role Questionnaire - Gender Linked subscale; OFS = Old-Fashioned Sexism; MS = Modern Sexism.

6.8. Discussion

A. The psychometric properties of the SRQ, MS and OFS

This study has provided additional evidence of the reliability, validity, and cross-cultural adequacy of the SRQ and the OFS and MS scales. Analysis of the factorial structure of the instruments, provided support for the validity of the original two-factor structure of the Spanish version of the SRQ in both sexes (Baber & Tucker, 2006) as expected. However, in the case of the MS and OFS scales, the one-factor MS model exhibited a less than ideal fit to the data, but the one-factor OFS was a good fit to the women’s data. Given the high correlation between the scales in both sexes, we decided to assess the fit of a two-correlated-factors model including all the items from both scales (two-factor merge model); this was an acceptable fit to the data, in line with the proposal of the scales’ original authors (Swim et al, 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997).

With regard to the internal consistency of the Spanish versions of the instruments, we found values comparable to those reported in previous studies. The GT subscale of the SRQ exhibited moderate internal consistency in both sexes, although higher in this study than in an earlier study by Lopez-Cepero et al. (2013). The consistently less than ideal internal consistency for the GT subscale in Spanish samples might be due the reduced number of items and the fact that the wording of all items is reversed relative to the original version. It should be noted that there was a low correlation between item 1 ('Persons can be both aggressive and affectionate, regardless of their sex') and the rest of GT items in both men and women. This is the only item that makes reference to violent behavior, maybe relating to a very specific issue, which is the justification of violence in some contexts and its relationship with the gender differences in partner relations (Corral & Calvete, 2006; Garaigordobil, Martínez-Valderrey & Aliri, 2013). This may set the content of item one apart from the rest of the GT items. The Spanish version of the OFS had poor internal consistency in both sexes, whereas other studies have reported moderate internal consistency (Swim et al., 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997). Again, this may be due to the brevity of the scale, and the fact that three of its five items are inverted. In women item 2 ('I would be as comfortable having a woman for a boss as a man') had the lowest correlation with the other OFS items. Item 2 describes a prejudice that has perhaps not been overcome to the same extent as the other old-fashioned attitudes included in the instrument (e.g. it is now generally acknowledged that men and women have the same intellectual capacity). Several studies have reported that female leaders usually receive worse satisfaction ratings from their subordinates than male leaders in certain organizational contexts (Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995; Cuadrado, 2003).

B. Sex differences in sexist attitudes

Analysis of sex differences in scores on items of the Spanish versions of the SRQ and OFS and MS scales, and the assessment of invariance, provided interesting results. In all cases men expressed greater support for sexist attitudes, a finding which is consistent with earlier research using the same or similar instruments (Baber & Tucker, 2006; Campbell, Schellenberg, & Senn, 1997; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim et al., 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997). In the case of the SRQ, the greatest sex difference was in scores on item 8 ('Some jobs are not appropriate for women'). This item may describe one of the most deeply entrenched sexist attitudes in Spanish society where, in fact, there are very striking differences in the representation of men and women in some occupational domains (Bonilla, 2010; Gino, Wilmoth & Brooks, 2015; Heilman & Eagly, 2008). These differences are always more marked in the upper echelons of an organizational hierarchy. As mentioned above, the most recent reports of the Spanish Institute for Women noted that women are more likely than men to be in jobs which are temporary or part-time and more likely to be working in poor conditions and have fewer employment rights. It should be noted that men expressed greater support for the sexist attitude - assessed by the SRQ - that gender is as an essential factor when distributing tasks at home and at work. These data are consistent with other studies in which men also expressed more overtly sexist attitudes than women (Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus & Hart, 2007; Sibley, Wilson & Duckitt, 2007). In the case of the MS and OFS items, women expressed more egalitarian attitudes, especially in the case of item 7 ('It is easy to understand why feminist groups are still concerned about social limitations on opportunities for women'). Women's higher scores (indicative of a less sexist attitude in our study) are consistent with the evidence that they adhere to a feminist identity to a higher degree (Parry, 2014; Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010), have a greater understanding

of the claims of feminist groups and are more supportive of them (hooks, 2000). In the case of OFS, though a small size effect was found, outstanding Item 5 ('When both parents work and their child gets sick, the school should call the mother rather than the father'), which content is related to assigning household and care tasks in the family environment, finding in this a very marked sexist trend in Spain and in the rest of the Western countries (United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016; Instituto de la Mujer, 2016).

We tested the sex invariance of the factor structure (i.e. number of factors), factor loadings (i.e. unit of a scale) and intercepts (i.e. origin of a scale) of the SRQ, MS and OFS. At Model 1, we found evidence that the factor structures of the SRQ, MS and OFS were sex-invariant (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002) and hence these scales may be considered to be measuring similar factors in men and women (Widaman & Reise, 1997). Models 2 and 3 tested the sex invariance of factor loadings, i.e. whether the units of measurement of the scales can be considered similar in men and women and hence whether predictive relationships can be compared in men and women. The joint model for MS and OFS had adequate fit at this comparison level; however, in the case of the SRQ Model 2 indicated a lack of equivalence suggesting the release of two items that were not invariant across sex (item 4: 'Household chores should not be assigned by sexes'; item 13: 'In many important jobs it is better to contract men than women'). A modified Model 2 (after release of these two items) displayed adequate equivalence values as did Model 3. There were sex differences in scores for items 4 and 13, with men attaining higher scores. These items deal with subjects related to the evolution of gender roles in Spain. Item 4 deals with housework, and as we have already discussed household chores are still distributed very unequally in Spanish society - as a general rule women undertake them almost single-handedly, despite their entry into the labor

market (Silván-Ferrero & Bustillos, 2007). Item 13 deals with the acceptability of women in important jobs and there is evidence that male and female leaders in senior posts do not receive equivalent ratings (Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995; Cuadrado, 2003). In conclusion, these items describe sexist prejudices that are still reflected in Spanish society and this may explain why men and women report different attitudes to their content.

Finally, Model 4 tests whether an item has the same point of origin across different groups. Our data indicate that the Spanish versions of the instruments do not exhibit intercept invariance i.e. men's and women's do have not the same origin. Several factors can affect the origin of a scale (Chen, 2008): social desirability; the trend to show a strong desire for values involving a defect or deficit for the group to which one belongs; one's cultural frame of reference on which one's self-judgments are based. We did not assess social desirability bias, so we have no evidence as to whether there are sex differences in how social desirability bias influences responses to the instruments we investigated. However, the lack of sex invariance at the intercept level prompts a number of questions: Does the Spanish cultural framework endorse gender differences in society? Have sufficient political or social achievements been obtained to overcome sexist attitudes? Do Spanish men and women show similar patterns of endorsement of overt and subtle sexist attitudes? Before we consider these questions we will briefly discuss some sociological data that shed light on how gender differences are viewed in the Spanish sociocultural framework. Several studies have noted that sexist attitudes that denigrate women and treat them as unequal persist in Spain. One of the clearest illustration of this is the unequal access to the labor market; even today there are occupations with a highly polarized sex distribution (women make up just 7.6% and 25.1% of workers in the building and industry sectors respectively; Instituto de la Mujer,

2016), inequality in salaries (women with permanent contracts are paid 25.66% less than men and women on temporary contracts are paid 10.38% less than their male peers; Instituto de la Mujer, 2016). Women also have much less chance of rising to the powerful positions in organizational hierarchies (31.37% of managers and directors are women and only 20.73% of the governing boards of Ibex-35 companies; Instituto de la Mujer, 2016). All of this leads us to the conclusion that in Spain a great effort is still needed to overcome the inequalities in opportunity, rights and freedoms based on sex (García-Dauder, 2005).

C. Are we assessing the same construct with different instruments?

The correlations between the three instruments were as expected, given that higher MF and OFS scores indicate lower support for sexist attitudes, whereas higher scores on the two SRQ subscales indicate greater support for sexist attitudes.

However, given the lack of sex invariance in the three instruments at the intercept level (Model 4), we question whether these instruments adequately capture the persistence of sexist attitudes in men and women in today's society. On the one hand, the validity of the instruments used to measure gender stereotypes and attitudes on gender roles must be analyzed critically. None of these instruments distinguishes between personal beliefs, understanding of cultural stereotypes, sexist prejudices and the degree to which behavior is consistent with stereotypes (Zosuls, Millier, Ruble, Martin & Faber, 2011). Those are clearly different contents on which the necessary effort has not been made to distinguish the multidimensional composition of the gender stereotypes and their characterization with the appropriate sensitivity to the differences between men and women.

There is also a need for qualitative research on the social representation of the clearest inequalities in society. Although new self-report instruments have been

developed (Baber & Tucker, 2006; García-Cueto et al., 2015) they show a clear continuity with existing instruments in terms of the content and wording of items. Future instrumental studies might benefit from considering different dimensions gathering various thematic areas where sexist attitudes are shown, such as the work environment, at home and within interpersonal relations, as well as traits and personal skills attributed to each sex. The social and political achievements of recent years (e.g. Laws on Gender Equality, 2007, and Same Sex Marriage, 2005) have led to notable progress in overcoming certain sexist attitudes, but there are other areas in which sexist attitudes persist.

D. Are gender stereotypes and gender role attitudes linked?

In this study we analyzed the relationship between gender stereotypes and attitudes to gender roles in two different ways: (1) by analyzing correlations between the BSRI scales and instruments evaluating sexist attitudes; (2) by classifying participants according to BSRI stereotype and comparing the scores of these groups on the various instruments used to measure sexism. Contrary to hypotheses derived from gender schema theories (Bem, 1981; Markus et al., 1982) and the notion of a gender belief system (Deaux & Kite, 1987; Kite, 2001), we did not find a direct relationship between endorsement of traditional stereotypes and justifying gender differences; the only correlations we found were between the BSRI and sexist attitude scales were between the BBSRI M scale and the SRQ GT subscale, these scales were positively correlated in men negatively correlated in women.

When it came to classification by gender stereotype we found no sex differences. We should note that, contrary to expectations, the most frequent category in both sexes was undifferentiated. These results are consistent with other similar investigations carried out in recent decades (Carver, Vafaei, Guerra, Freire, & Phillips, 2013;

Hernández, 2009; Twenge, 1997), which also found no consistent relationship between sex and traditional gender stereotypes.

As expected, masculine men had higher GT scores than all the women's groups, but we failed to find the other anticipated sex-gender stereotype group differences in scores on the sexism instruments. We conclude from this that subscribing to a gender stereotype is not associated with exhibiting a sexist attitude; however in view of the question marks over the validity of the instruments these findings should be treated with caution (Smiler & Epstein, 2010).

6.9. Overall conclusion

We have provided additional evidence that the failure to update instruments designed to measure sexism to take account of the social changes that have occurred with respect to the position of women in society and the evolution of sexist attitudes in Western cultures has implications for their validity (Twenge, 1997; Hoffman & Borders, 2001). We consider that there is an urgent need for a critical analysis of the psychometric properties of instruments that are more than three decades old and recommend that they should be reformulated to take account of theoretical developments and observable changes in the social roles of men and women and gender stereotypes.

Finally, whilst we are aware of the limitations of our study (the origin and age range of the sample; the reliance on self-report instruments), our results call into question the validity and effectiveness of the classic theories of gender psychology, such as gender schema theories (Bem, 1981; Markus et al., 1982) and the notion of a gender belief system (Deaux & Kite, 1987; Kite, 2001). We found no empirical evidence for the postulated link between sexist attitudes and traditional gender stereotypes. Spence (1985) has already suggested that one should not expect

consistency between role, stereotype and identity and this idea is recognized in recent accounts of the fluidity of gender in queer theory (Butler, 1990, 2004; Preciado, 2008) and transgender theory (Nagoshi, Nagoshi, & Brzuzy, 2014). These theorists argue that the construction of gender is a continuous process and such transformation is transversal to the components thereof, but needs not affect all in the same way. Therefore, we could introduce alternative aesthetic elements according to our gender whilst maintaining homophobic or male chauvinist attitudes. The influence of the social and political landmarks reached and the openness in terms of socially permitted manifestations, attitudes or behaviors are the grounds of a major process of change in Western societies (Nagoshi, Brzuzy, & Terrell, 2012). In conclusion, given the changing sociocultural construction of gender, it is important to re-examine the predictive power of old models or theories which do not take into account social changes or the fluidity of gender in today's society.

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Appendix A

Cuestionario de Roles Sociales de Género

Nos interesa la forma de pensar de la gente sobre los diferentes roles sociales. Las siguientes afirmaciones describen actitudes que distintas personas muestran sobre los roles del hombre y la mujer. No hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas, tan solo opiniones. Por favor, exprese su opinión personal sobre cada afirmación. Piensa sobre tus opiniones ahora e indica cómo de acuerdo estás con cada afirmación.

1. Las personas pueden ser tanto agresivas como cariñosas con independencia de su sexo.
2. La gente debería ser tratada de igual manera con independencia de su sexo
3. A los niños se les debería dar libertad en función de su edad y nivel de madurez, y no por su sexo.
4. Las tareas domésticas no deberían asignarse por sexos.
5. Deberíamos dejar de pensar si las personas son hombre o mujer y centrarnos en otras características (p. ej.: la bondad, habilidades, etc.).
6. La principal responsabilidad de un padre es sustentar económicamente a sus hijos.
7. Los hombres son más sexuales que las mujeres.
8. Algunos trabajos no son apropiados para las mujeres.
9. Las madres deberían tomar la mayor parte de decisiones sobre cómo educar a los/as hijos/as.
10. Las madres solo deberían trabajar si es necesario.
11. Se debería proteger y vigilar a las chicas más que a los chicos.
12. Sólo algunos tipos de trabajo son apropiados tanto para hombres como para mujeres (p. ej.: es una tontería que una mujer trabaje en la construcción y un hombre trabaje cosiendo).

13. En muchos trabajos importantes es mejor contratar a hombres que a mujeres.

Appendix B

Escalas de Sexismo Moderno y Tradicional

Te presentamos una serie de frases sobre las diferencias de género en España sobre la que te pedimos opines con total sinceridad. Indica tu nivel de acuerdo con cada frase usando la escala del 1 al 5.

1. La discriminación contra la mujer ya no es un problema en España.
2. Las mujeres no son, generalmente, tan listas como los hombres.
3. Las mujeres a menudo se pierden buenos trabajos debido a la discriminación sexual.
4. Estaría igualmente cómodo/a teniendo a una mujer como jefe que a un hombre.
5. Rara vez se ve en televisión a mujeres siendo tratadas de manera sexista.
6. Es más importante fomentar el deporte en los chicos que en las chicas.
7. Como término medio, en nuestra sociedad se trata de igual manera a maridos y mujeres.
8. Las mujeres son tan capaces de pensar de manera lógica como los hombres.
9. La sociedad ha llegado a un punto en el que las mujeres y los hombres tienen iguales oportunidades de éxito.
10. Cuando ambos padres trabajan y su hijo/a enferma en el colegio, el colegio debería llamar a la madre mejor que al padre.
11. Es comprensible la indignación de las agrupaciones feministas en España.
12. Es fácil de entender por qué las agrupaciones feministas están todavía preocupadas por las limitaciones sociales en las oportunidades para las mujeres.
13. En los últimos años, el gobierno y la prensa han mostrado más preocupación sobre el trato a las mujeres de lo que se justifica por las experiencias reales de las mujeres.

7. Discusión general: principales hallazgos, limitaciones y conclusiones

Discusión general: principales hallazgos, limitaciones y líneas futuras

A continuación discutimos los principales hallazgos de los cuatro estudios expuestos. Cabe abordar los mismos atendiendo a los apartados que a continuación se detallan:

7.1. La diversidad en la identidad de género aún no está reconocida ni legitimada en las publicaciones en medios de comunicación ni en los textos académicos más actuales

La revisión de las páginas web más visitadas que ofrecían una definición divulgativa del concepto de “identidad de género” nos dejó la impronta de un conocimiento aún muy reducido sobre la materia. Por un lado, eran nociones sin conexión con los avances académicos o científicos y, por otro, tampoco albergaban el reconocimiento que se reclama desde los movimientos sociales para la visibilización y legitimización de las experiencias diversas en torno a la vivencia del género. Las definiciones aportadas muestran notables carencias al no reconocer, por un lado, los avances en los discursos teóricos feministas y, por otro, los logros alcanzados por los movimientos feministas y LGTBI en la visibilización y legitimización de las experiencias diversas en relación al proceso de subjetivación en el sistema sexo/género/sexualidad. Tampoco recogen la dialéctica actual en torno a la consideración de los trastornos psicopatológicos en relación a la diversidad sexual y de género (Kreukels, Steensma y de Vries, 2014). En definitiva, las definiciones encontradas en las páginas web son fruto de un conocimiento sesgado y no científico, estando desactualizadas, así como reproduciendo y perpetuando mitos que resultan perjudiciales en cuanto a la sensibilización y el reconocimiento de la diversidad sexual y de género en la sociedad.

Por otro lado, la totalidad de los estudios más citados con el término “identidad

de género” en su título contaron con muestras de origen norteamericano, analizando por separado los resultados obtenidos por chicos y chicas en cada caso, sin quedar registrado su origen racial salvo en un caso (Egan y Perry, 2001), aunque este último dato no se tuvo en cuenta para los análisis. En ningún trabajo se recogieron muestras con diferentes orientaciones sexuales, por lo que la interseccionalidad de la identidad de género con otras categorías sociales no se analizó en ningún caso. Solo en un estudio (Ely, 1995) se utilizaron diferentes metodologías de recogida y análisis de datos, apostando el resto por el empleo una única aproximación metodológica para su estudio. Aún a pesar de reflejar una variedad de disciplinas académicas y de áreas de estudio (8 desde el campo de la Psicología, 4 de ellos de tipo experimental, y 2 desde Sociología), las metodologías utilizadas y las características de las muestras reflejan una clara limitación en los objetivos planteados y en las conclusiones que cabe alcanzar a partir de estos datos y de su tratamiento.

Cabe destacar un grave déficit de conocimiento y comunicación en torno al concepto de identidad de género, abordado tanto en el limitado y sesgado contenido que se maneja en los dominios de internet, como en los objetivos y metodología de los trabajos científicos que lo han abordado. En este sentido, resulta especialmente importante implementar esfuerzos, por un lado para atender a la diversidad de género y su riqueza en los trabajos científicos y académicos, y por otro, en la difusión de un definiciones y marcos conceptuales que acercen al público general un conocimiento que en muchos casos es esencial para legitimar y visibilizar trayectorias vitales que se encuentran juzgadas, criticadas y marginadas al detentar o manifestar una identidad de género menos tradicional.

7.2. Cinco nuevos instrumentos de evaluación psicológica del género validados para población española

A. Evaluación de nuevos conceptos acerca de la identidad de género: la confianza en el propio género, su definición y aceptación

Fruto del estudio segundo “*Round Gender Identity: Invariance Across Gender of the Spanish Version of the Hoffman Gender Scale*”, se pone a disposición la versión española de la *Hoffman Gender Scale*. Se trata de una nueva medida que introduce un concepto innovador en la investigación y supone un avance en la Psicología del Género. Frente a la confusión que prevalece entre los conceptos claves en la investigación y el desarrollo teórico del género (Ahsmore, 1990; Constantinople, 1973; Deaux y Major, 1987; Lewin, 1984; Lewin y Wild, 1991; Marsh y Myers, 1986; McCreary, 1990; Morawski, 1987; Spence, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1991, 1993, 1999), Hoffman tiene el mérito de haber propuesto un nuevo concepto conciso y con un marco teórico sólido (Hoffman, 1996; Hoffman, Borders y Hattie, 2000).

Respecto a este instrumento, en el estudio segundo se observó una alta consistencia interna con valores adecuados de los coeficientes alfa de Cronbach y omega para ambos sexos. Los análisis factoriales exploratorios revelaron la existencia de dos factores, de forma consonante a la estructura original, que explicaban más del 50% de la varianza total en ambas muestras, encontrándose valores oportunos en los pesos factoriales para todos los ítems en la escala a la que se asignaban originalmente. Ello, a excepción del ítem 4 (“*La percepción que tengo de mi misma/o está relacionada positivamente con mi sexo biológico*”), que obtuvo un peso factorial de mayor en la escala de “Aceptación del propio género” aún cuando pertenece teóricamente a la escala. Analizando el contenido del propio ítem en su versión española, consideramos que este resultado puede deberse a un problema derivado de una traducción en exceso literal. En

su redacción se encuentra el término “positivamente”, que en español puede entenderse como una aceptación positiva, aun cuando en su redacción original en inglés (“*My perception of myself is positively associated with my biological sex*”) hace mención más bien a una “correlación positiva” entre el sexo biológico y la propia percepción de uno/a mismo. Esto podría explicar que en este estudio hayamos encontrado que este ítem funciona mejor en la variable de “Aceptación del propio género” que en la de “Definición del propio género”.

B. Conflictos y malestar derivado de la disposición de un rol de género tradicionalmente asociado a los hombres: la pertinencia de su evaluación con mujeres

El estudio tercero “*Assessment of Conflicts Associated with a Traditional Masculine Gender Role in Spanish College Men and Women*” es el primer trabajo en analizar las propiedades psicométricas de la *Gender Role Conflict Scale – Short Form* en una muestra española de hombres y mujeres. Nuestros resultados apoyaron la estabilidad del constructo en las experiencias de los hombres en España y añadieron una nueva línea de investigación que refiere la importancia de analizar también los roles tradicionales masculinos en las experiencias vitales de las mujeres y el consecuente malestar que pueda producir su adopción en las diferentes áreas de su vida. Se observó una alta consistencia interna en las puntuaciones al instrumento en ambos sexos y los análisis factoriales con mujeres (exploratorio y confirmatorio) y hombres (confirmatorio) avalaron en todos los casos la estructura original de cuatro factores.

La versión breve del instrumento en español había demostrado ser fiable y válida en diversas muestras de hombres de procedencia estadounidense y china (Wester et al., 2012; Zangh et al., 2014). Nuestros hallazgos suman apoyo a la universalidad del constructo atendiendo al conflicto referido en las experiencias cotidianas de hombres de diferentes culturas y lugares de origen (O’Neil, 2013). Se pone a disposición una

medida válida y fiable sobre el conflicto de rol de género masculino en su versión española para poder continuar esta línea de investigación y avanzar en el estudio y comparación del mantenimiento de los roles de género tradicionales y el conflicto y malestar asociado a éste en diferentes culturas y contextos sociales.

Este estudio resulta ser el primero en analizar las propiedades psicométricas de la GRCS-SF en mujeres heterosexuales. Además, aporta un análisis de la invarianza factorial de las puntuaciones de muestras de hombres y mujeres. De esta manera, por primera vez se aporta evidencia empírica que justifica la pertinencia de la aplicación de este instrumento en una muestra de mujeres. No obstante, al ser un trabajo pionero a este respecto, se precisa de un mayor avance en esta línea de investigación para extender y replicar estos hallazgos en otras muestras de mujeres con otras características sociodemográficas y de otros contextos socioculturales.

A lo largo de la extensa trayectoria de la investigación sobre el conflicto de rol de género (O'Neil, 2015), hemos podido obtener un conocimiento preciso sobre el malestar que sufren hombres y mujeres asociado a la disposición de un conjunto de rasgos que, si bien están asociados al rol de género masculino tradicional, resultan comportamientos y actitudes que comparten hombres y mujeres en la actualidad, con distintos grados de intensidad según el área específica del que se trate. La versión española de la GRCS-SF puede resultar un instrumento muy útil para la evaluación psicológica en el ámbito clínico o en la intervención psicosocial para atender procesos de modificación de conducta, cambio de actitudes y creencias relacionadas con la restricción emocional y afectiva en las relaciones interpersonales, la competitividad y motivación de logro, y también las dificultades en la conciliación del trabajo con las tareas del hogar.

C. Actitudes sexistas e igualitarias: una triple aproximación a su aún deficiente evaluación

En el estudio cuarto “*Are Sexist Attitudes and Gender Stereotypes Linked? A Feminist Critical Analysis of Spanish Data*” se aportan las propiedades psicométricas de tres instrumentos que evalúan, desde diferentes perspectivas, las actitudes sexistas e igualitarias. Se trata de las versiones españolas de *Social Roles Questionnaire* (SRQ; Baber y Tucker, 2006), *Modern Sexism scale* (MS) y *Old-fashioned Sexism scale* (OFS; Swim et al., 1995; Swim y Cohen, 1997).

Este estudio ofrece evidencias empíricas de la fiabilidad, validez y adecuación cultural de los tres instrumentos en su aplicación con muestras españolas de hombres y mujeres. El análisis de la estructura factorial de los instrumentos aportó suficiente apoyo empírico para la estructura bifactorial original del SRQ en ambos sexos (Baber & Tucker, 2006). Sin embargo, en el caso de las escalas MS y OFS, no se encontraron buenos indicadores de ajuste para la solución factorial por separado de MS pero sí para la escala OFS en el grupo de mujeres. Dada la alta correlación entre las escalas en ambos sexos, se examinó el ajuste de un modelo bifactorial con el conjunto de los ítems de ambas escalas y se obtuvieron indicadores de ajuste adecuados, en línea con la propuesta de los autores originales (Swim et al, 1995; Swim y Cohen, 1997).

Con respecto a la consistencia interna de los instrumentos, la subescala “Transcendencia de Género” (GT) del SRQ obtuvo coeficientes de alfa de Cronbach menores de .70 en ambos sexos, lo cual pudo deberse a que la totalidad de sus ítems son inversos. Destacó el ítem 1 (“*Las personas pueden ser tanto agresivas como cariñosas con independencia de su sexo*”) que tiene una correlación ítem-total por debajo de .30 para hombres y mujeres. El contenido del mismo hace referencia a la conducta violenta, a diferencia del resto, por lo que quizá este ítem tiene relación con un tema muy

concreto como es la justificación de la violencia en determinados contextos y su relación con las diferencias de género en las relaciones de pareja (Corral y Calvete, 2006; Garaigordobil, Martínez-Valderrey y Aliri, 2013), y de esta manera se distancia notablemente del contenido del resto de ítems de la escala.

De las otras dos escalas estudiadas, la OFS obtuvo coeficientes de alfa de Cronbach por debajo de .50 en ambos sexos. De nuevo, en este caso 3 de los 5 ítems que la componen son inversos y la mayoría de los mismos muestran una baja correlación con el conjunto ($< .30$). El ítem 2 (“*Estaría igualmente cómodo/a teniendo a una mujer como jefe que a un hombre*”) mostró la correlación ítem-total más baja, en el grupo de mujeres. Esto pudo deberse a que este prejuicio aún no se haya superado de igual manera que el resto de actitudes *old-fashioned* recogidas por el instrumento (p.ej., reconocer que hombres y mujeres tienen la misma capacidad de liderazgo). En relación a esto, varios estudios han encontrado que las mujeres líderes suelen recibir peores evaluaciones de satisfacción por parte de sus subordinados/as en determinados contextos organizacionales (Eagly, Karau, y Makhijani, 1995; Cuadrado, 2003).

Cabe hacer una consideración crítica sobre la validez de los propios instrumentos utilizados para la medición de los estereotipos de género y actitudes sobre los roles de género, como estos tres instrumentos. En ninguno de ellos se distingue la evaluación de las creencias personales, del conocimiento sobre los estereotipos culturales, de los prejuicios sexistas o del grado de consistencia entre el propio comportamiento y el aparente seguidismo de dichos estereotipos (Zosuls, Millier, Ruble, Martin y Faber, 2011). Se trata de contenidos claramente diferentes sobre los que no se ha realizado el esfuerzo necesario para distinguir la composición multidimensional de los estereotipos de género y la caracterización de los mismos atendiendo debidamente a las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres. También cabría discutir la necesidad de

realizar estudios actuales de corte cualitativo que recogieran la representación social de las desigualdades más manifiestas en la sociedad. Aunque se han realizado esfuerzos recientes en el diseño de nuevos instrumentos (Baber y Tucker, 2006; García-Cueto et al., 2015), la propuesta que presentan es claramente continuista en cuanto al contenido y redacción de los ítems. En este sentido, consideramos necesario discutir si no sería más interesante la creación de instrumentos con diferentes dimensiones recogiendo distintas áreas temáticas en las que se manifiesten las actitudes sexistas, como el ámbito laboral, los roles de género en el ámbito doméstico, en las relaciones interpersonales, o los rasgos y habilidades personales que se atribuyen a cada sexo. En este sentido, en nuestra sociedad hay actitudes que se han superado gracias a los logros políticos y sociales en los últimos años (ej., la ley de Igualdad de Género o ley del Matrimonio entre personas del mismo sexo), pero hay otras áreas en las que aún se manifiestan y justifican graves diferencias entre hombres y mujeres, relegando a éstas a una posición injustamente inferior.

7.3. Las diferencias encontradas entre hombres y mujeres en los estudios empíricos

Un aspecto metodológico fundamental que resulta protagonista en los tres estudios empíricos presentados aquí, es la aplicación de la invarianza factorial como un análisis clave para atender de una manera sensible a las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres en el uso de instrumentos de evaluación psicológica de corte cuantitativo. Hemos aplicado un análisis factorial confirmatorio multigrupal para examinar si la estructura factorial subyacente resulta equivalente en las muestras de hombres y mujeres utilizadas en cada estudio (Byrne, Shavelson y Muthén, 1989). En todos los casos hemos utilizado una estimación de máxima verosimilitud mediante el software estadístico EQS 6.1. para evaluar la invarianza factorial en las muestras. La medición de la equivalencia factorial se basa en el análisis de las medias y covarianzas mediante una

serie de pasos consecutivos cada vez más exigentes (Byrne, 2008), a saber: (1) Determinar un modelo de base con buenos indicadores en ambos grupos mediante un análisis factorial confirmatorio, (2) Modelo 1: el modelo configural es el primero y resulta el menos restrictivo, tan solo evalúa si la configuración de los parámetros libres o fijos es la misma en ambos grupos sin ningún tipo de restricción, (3) Modelo 2: conlleva la restricción de las variables observables (medidas directas) y las variables latentes, incluyendo los pesos factoriales, (4) Modelo 3: se centra en las variables no observables y las relaciones con los factores (covarianzas), (5) Modelo 4: invarianza de los pesos factoriales, covarianzas e interceptos, (6) Modelo 5: evaluación de la diferencia entre las medias latentes en ambos grupos. Para la comparación de los modelos y determinar el nivel de equivalencia en cada paso, se pueden utilizar dos aproximaciones: (1) la escala corregida de S-B χ^2 desarrollada por Satorra y Bentler (2001). Si la diferencia es estadísticamente significativa, se sugiere liberar alguna restricción de manera específica en los pasos siguientes de la medición de la invarianza; (2) Cambios en el CFI, siendo éste un criterio menos vulnerable al tamaño muestral con falta de normalidad (Cheung, 2008; Cheung y Rensvold, 2002). En este caso, la diferencia no debe superar .01.

Una vez asegurada la invarianza de la estructura factorial y pertinencia de la comparación de los resultados obtenidos por el instrumento en los grupo de hombres y mujeres, se llevó a cabo el análisis de las diferencias de medias mediante la aplicación de las *t* de Student para determinar las diferencias estadísticas y las *d* de Cohen para valorar el tamaño del efecto de las mismas.

A. Las mujeres mostraron mayores niveles de aceptación y definición del propio género

La versión española de la HGS parece ser equivalente en hombres y mujeres en la comparación de los pesos factoriales, pero no en los interceptos. Es posible que la

estructura factorial del instrumento se viera afectada por la construcción de la identidad de género subyacente relativa a cada grupo, esto es, que la cultura de la masculinidad y de la femineidad influya de una manera diferente a la hora de poder considerar en qué medida se dispone de una definición robusta de propio género o una aceptación firme del mismo (Lewin, 1984; Hoffman et al., 2000). No obstante, en este caso, los indicadores de equivalencia fueron incongruentes en los pasos más restrictivos de la invarianza, dado que $\Delta S-B \chi^2$ indicaba falta de equivalencia, mientras que la diferencia del CFI no lo hacía. De esta manera se consideró oportuno continuar con la evaluación de la diferencia de las medias latentes que reveló diferencias estadísticas significativas entre hombres y mujeres en la escala de Definición en el propio género y el factor de segundo orden (“Confianza en el propio género”).

Fue el grupo de mujeres quien mostró mayores puntuaciones en ambas escalas, lo que se puede interpretar como una evidencia de que la cultura de género femenina hace que las mujeres definan su identidad de género con mayor precisión y firmeza y, por lo tanto, éstas se sientan más cómodas con dicha construcción identitaria que los varones con la suya propia. Esto puede estar relacionado con la consideración de que la construcción de la subjetividad femenina está influenciada por dinámicas de poder establecidas a través del uso del lenguaje y la manera en la que el sujeto femenino está representado culturalmente (Foucault, 1968, 1983), el conjunto de valores que conforman un marco de referencia que fija la dualidad entre lo masculino y lo femenino (Lagarde, 2000), la amenaza con el rechazo y la marginalidad como respuesta por la no asunción de los roles preestablecidos para cada género (Butler, 1990) y el uso simbólico del cuerpo de la mujer (Bourdieu, 2000).

B. Las mujeres también disponen de un rol asociado típicamente a los varones e informan de conflictos derivados de este rol en igual o mayor medida que los hombres

La medición de la invarianza de la versión española del GRCS-SF concluyó que la estructura factorial resultó equivalente entre hombres y mujeres (Modelo 1) y que los pesos factoriales también lo fueron (Modelo 2 y 3). Sin embargo, en el Modelo 3 destacaron los ítems 10 (“*La necesidad de trabajar o estudiar me impide estar con mi familia o de ocio más de lo que quisiera*”) y 2 (“*Tener éxito es una medida de mi importancia y valía personal*”) que no resultaron equivalentes entre ambos grupos. Las diferencias encontradas con respecto al ítem 10 podrían estar relacionadas con el hecho de que en España, las mujeres ocupan el doble de tiempo de media que los hombres en el cuidado de la familia (Instituto de la Mujer, 2016). Con respecto al éxito, resulta muy interesante que el grupo de mujeres mostrara un mayor peso factorial, dado que el éxito y la competición en el ámbito profesional es una característica firmemente asociada con el rol de género masculino tradicional (O’Neil, 2013; O’Neil et al., 1986). En este sentido, cabe pensar que el concepto de “éxito” no se entiende de la misma manera por ambos grupos, ya que el mismo término puede referirse al ámbito profesional en exclusiva, o ser entendido de una manera más global que incluya otros aspectos de la vida personal y privada de cada persona. En el siguiente paso de la invarianza, el Modelo 4, se concluyó la falta de equivalencia en los interceptos, lo cual podría deberse a diferencias en la deseabilidad social o relacionarse con el marco cultural de referencia de cada grupo (Chen, 2008).

Las mayores diferencias en las puntuaciones entre hombres y mujeres se encontraron en el factor de “Restricción afectiva en el comportamiento con personas del mismo sexo”, especialmente en el ítem 3 (“*Las demostraciones de afecto con otras personas de mi mismo sexo me hacen sentir tenso/a*”) y en el 7 (“*Me incomoda un/a*

hombre/mujer que toca a otro/a hombre/mujer”). Herdman et al. (2012) ya encontraron que los varones heterosexuales mostraron puntuaciones más altas en esta escala en comparación con otras muestra de varones gays y mujeres lesbianas. Por otro lado, las mujeres mostraron mayores puntuaciones en la escala de “Conflictos entre las relaciones familiares y el trabajo”, especialmente en el ítem 1 (“*Me resulta difícil encontrar tiempo para relajarme*”). Ésta era una de nuestras hipótesis de partida al considerar que ésta es una de las áreas donde reside una mayor desigualdad de género en el contexto español. No sólo las mujeres dedican más tiempo al cuidado de la familia que los hombres, sino que, además, las mujeres dedican un número similar de horas al trabajo remunerado fuera del hogar (Instituto de la Mujer, 2016). Además de esto, las mujeres siguen experimentando más dificultades en el acceso a las posiciones de poder en la jerarquía organizacional y, actualmente, reciben un salario menor por el mismo número de horas dedicadas en el mismo puesto de trabajo que sus compañeros varones: un 17.8% menos según estimaciones de la Comisión Europea (2004). De esta manera podemos concluir que las mujeres disponen de un rol atribuido tradicionalmente a los hombres y que informan de un conflicto y malestar similar, o incluso mayor, que sus compañeros varones. Además de la indudable relevancia de considerar esto en relación a la salud de la mujer, cabe destacar lo desactualizado de las investigaciones que pretenden la evaluación y medición de los roles de género en nuestra sociedad

C. Las actitudes sexistas aún se mantienen en el contexto español siendo defendidas en mayor medida por los hombres

El modelo conjunto para MS y OFS obtuvo valores adecuados de bondad de ajuste en el Modelo 2 de la invarianza. Sin embargo, para el SRQ se indicó la falta de equivalencia sugiriendo la liberación de dos ítems que resultaron no invariantes (4: “*Las tareas domésticas no deberían asignarse por sexos*”; 13: “*En muchos trabajos*

importantes es mejor contratar a hombres que a mujeres”). Una vez liberados ambos ítems se obtuvieron valores adecuados de equivalencia tanto en este modelo como en el Modelo 3. Ambos ítems obtuvieron diferencias significativas en las puntuaciones medias, siendo superior la obtenida por los hombres en ambos casos. El contenido de los ítems hace mención a dos temas muy significativos en relación a evolución de los roles de género en España, que ya hemos comentado: Por un lado, las tareas domésticas siguen estando repartidas de manera muy desigual en nuestra sociedad, siendo las mujeres las que se ocupan de estas tareas, casi en solitario, de manera mayoritaria, aún a pesar de su incorporación al mercado laboral (; Silvá-Ferrero & Bustillos, 2007); Por otro lado, la evaluación desigual que reciben los líderes hombres y mujeres en cargos superiores de la jerarquía organizacional (Eagly, Karau y Makhijani, 1995; Cuadrado, 2003). En definitiva, se trata de dos prejuicios sexistas que aún no están superados de facto en nuestra sociedad y esto podría explicar el funcionamiento diferente de estos ítems cuando se pregunta a hombres y mujeres.

Para las versiones españolas del SRQ, MS y OFS, no se obtuvo suficiente apoyo para la invarianza al nivel de los interceptos, siendo varios los factores que pudieron afectar a dicha falta de equivalencia (Chen, 2008): desde la deseabilidad social a la tendencia a mostrar un apoyo mayor por aquellos valores que se consideran un defecto o se piensa que se disponen en menor medida en el grupo al que se pertenece. En este sentido cabe preguntarse si el marco cultural español justifica las diferencias de género que se encuentran en el contexto español, si se han alcanzado suficientes logros políticos o sociales para superar las actitudes sexistas manifiestas y sutiles, o si se mantienen aún dichas actitudes de igual manera por hombres y mujeres en nuestra sociedad. Son varios los trabajos que han señalado que en el contexto español se justifican y mantienen actitudes sexistas que denigran y sitúan en una posición de clara

desigualdad a las mujeres. Uno de los ejemplos más claros es el acceso al mercado laboral tan desigual, encontrándose hoy día disciplinas totalmente polarizadas en cuanto a la distribución del sexo (en el sector Construcción solo ocupan a un 7.6% de mujeres y en Industria a un 25.1%; Instituto de la Mujer, 2016), la desigualdad en cuanto a los salarios (las mujeres con contratos indefinidos cobran un 25.66% menos que los hombres y aquellas con contratos temporales un 10.38% menos; Instituto de la Mujer, 2016) o la falta de oportunidades para el ascenso a posiciones de poder en la jerarquía organizacional (en el rango de “Directores/as y Gerentes” encontramos al 31.37% de mujeres y al 20.73% en los consejos de administración de las empresas del Ibex-35; Instituto de la Mujer, 2016). Todo ello nos lleva a la conclusión de que en nuestro país aún es necesario un gran esfuerzo para superar la falta de oportunidad, derechos y libertades que son asignadas a las personas por razón del sexo (García-Dauder, 2005).

7.4. Limitaciones de los estudios

Las limitaciones de los estudios empíricos las encontramos principalmente en la extracción y las características de la muestra, al tratarse de diferentes grupos de estudiantes universitarios/as de la Facultad de Psicología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid que, finalmente, resultan un conjunto demasiado homogéneo. Valoramos fundamental que en próximas investigaciones se haga un esfuerzo por recoger muestras más diversas en términos de edad, orientación sexual, nivel educativo, ocupación y contexto sociocultural de referencia y, de esta manera, poder comprobar si son generalizables los resultados fruto de la aplicación de estos instrumentos de evaluación psicológica.

Otra limitación es la selección de las variables que se han evaluado en los estudios. En los estudios segundo y tercero se han utilizado otras medidas de malestar psicológico y bienestar subjetivo únicamente con el fin de apoyar empíricamente la

validez de los instrumentos, al ser constructos teóricamente relacionados y que ya habían sido evaluados y analizados en relación al uso de los instrumentos en su versión original en inglés. Por un lado, sería muy relevante examinar la relación que hay entre la “Confianza en el propio género” y otras medidas de evaluación psicológica del género, como son las actitudes sexistas e igualitarias. En relación al conflicto de rol de género, valoramos fundamental implementar esfuerzos en la línea de desarrollar un instrumento con el fin de evaluar el conflicto de rol fruto de las conductas y actitudes tradicionalmente asociadas a las mujeres. Esto podría ampliar el paradigma del rol de género a ambos sexos de manera que se pudiera estudiar, en diferentes contextos y culturas, en qué medida surgen conflictos en la vida cotidiana de hombres y mujeres producidos por los diferentes roles de género tradicional que hoy día cada vez son más compartidos y diversificados.

Por último, una limitación esencial inherente a los tres estudios empíricos resulta ser el uso exclusivo de la metodología cuantitativa para la evaluación psicológica del género. Como ya hemos señalado, la construcción del género se encuentra en constante evolución y tiene implicación en sus diferentes manifestaciones, desde la justificación de actitudes sexistas, hasta el malestar generado por el mantenimiento de determinadas conductas que conforman un rol de género tradicional o la manifestación o aceptación de la propia identidad de género. Todas estas cuestiones, y otras vinculadas con la configuración de la identidad en el sistema sexo/género/sexualidad, escapan a una aproximación exclusivamente cuantitativa en la evaluación, al consistir en datos extraídos de su contexto, carentes de toda referencia con la trayectoria personal del sujeto que responde y atendiendo exclusivamente a categorías de clasificación que asimila el sexo al género, esto es, el sujeto varón lo tomamos como masculino, y viceversa. Tal y como señalan García-Dauder y Pérez-Sedeño (2017), tomar el género

como un elemento fijo y estático conduce, por un lado, a tomar lo masculino y lo femenino como rasgos esenciales, y por otro, a enmascarar las desigualdades. Además de esto, esencializar el género reduce el contenido de éste al alinearlo ineludiblemente al sexo de cada sujeto, por lo que finalmente se olvidan las trayectorias diversas y múltiples que pueden darse en la construcción identitaria en el sistema sexo/género/deseo.

7.5. Líneas futuras de investigación

Se han hecho diversas consideraciones al respecto del escaso impacto en las Ciencias Sociales de los avances en las teorías e investigación sobre género (Anderson, 2005), obviando de esta manera que estamos inmersos en un sistema que se basa en el mantenimiento de las jerarquías de género (Butler, 1990; Biglia, 2011). De esta forma, se observa en ocasiones un énfasis en remarcar las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres, minimizando la heterogeneidad tanto de unas como de otros (McHugh y Cosgrove, 2004) desde una consideración dicotómica del género como rasgo individual que ostentan las personas, reproduciendo de esta manera la naturalización y normativización antinómica de los géneros y de las relaciones generizadas (Butler, 1990, 2004). Fruto de estas consideraciones, apoyamos la propuesta de entender el género como una lente o marco que organiza las experiencias e interacciones, impactando las percepciones y reacciones en múltiples situaciones y contextos, entendiendo que el género opera en las interacciones sociales entre las personas.

Los discursos sobre la identidad, sexual y de género, han cambiado radicalmente a lo largo del último siglo en la cultura occidental y, actualmente, siguen en plena transformación. Las personas están inmersas en diferentes categorías de identidad social a lo largo de su vida, pudiendo variar en el tiempo y en la forma, a través del desarrollo de sus historias, individuales y colectivas. La identidad, por lo tanto, se entiende mejor

como un proceso en constante devenir, que como una tarea que debe ser completada y superada (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1966).

Las narrativas personales juegan un papel relevante a la hora de constituir y movilizar la identidad que construimos (Bruner, 1991; Gergen, 2001). El abordaje narrativo se ha convertido de esta manera en una aproximación útil para el estudio de los procesos identitarios (Ricoeur, 2000; Riessman, 2008). Las narrativas personales se componen de experiencias que, de una manera coherente e integrada, dan sentido a los eventos vitales (Bruner, 1991) y dan unidad y significado a la propia trayectoria vital (Cohler, 1982; McAdams, 1997, 1999, 2001). Las narrativas personales no pueden analizarse sin tener en cuenta el contexto histórico y la identidad social disponible en una sociedad en particular. A partir de esta aproximación se considera que los individuos construyen sus propias vidas, dan significado a sus propias trayectorias vitales con las herramientas disponibles en su contexto sociocultural. Por herramientas se entienden tanto el lenguaje como el propio discurso (Foucault, 1976).

La ventaja que presenta el análisis crítico de las narrativas personales en el estudio del género, es que permite analizar el imaginario cultural, histórico y social en el que está inmerso el sujeto, así como su propia perspectiva personal que da sentido al propio discurso, aunando de esta manera un análisis crítico del discurso en su dimensión biográfica, histórica y social (Martínez-Guzmán y Montenegro, 2014). La perspectiva narrativa puede ofrecer un medio para desafiar los discursos dominantes sobre el sexo, el género y la sexualidad (Riessman, 2008). Entender la identidad de género como una lucha performativa constante (Butler, 1999, 2004) sobre el significado de la experiencia, abre posibilidades analíticas carentes desde una concepción estática y esencialista de la identidad que sostienen el sistema sexo/género/sexualidad normativo. El uso de las herramientas narrativas para el análisis crítico de las identidades y de las relaciones

inmersas en el sistema sexo-género-sexualidad, puede operar de diversas formas (Martínez-Guzmán y Montenegro, 2014), por ejemplo, a través de la exploración de la socialización de sujetos protagonistas de historias marginales y el análisis de las trayectorias vitales de sujetos posicionados en identidades subversivas y excluidas del sistema normativo (Peterson, 2006). Teresa de Lauretis (1990) ya argumentó que la generación de todo discurso ya es en sí mismo una intervención política-institucional y una confrontación en la práctica cotidiana, donde está inmerso el propio lenguaje, dando sentido así al posicionamiento clave para el feminismo que enunció Kate Millet “lo personal es político” en 1969.

En este sentido, González y Pérez-Sedeño (2002) resume los dos proyectos que vertebran el devenir de la epistemología feminista: la sustitución del sujeto del conocimiento científico (proponiendo directamente una “ciencia hecha por mujeres”), y la multiplicación de los sujetos del conocimiento científico (proponiendo la inclusión de un mayor número de puntos de vista en el proceso de construcción científica). El objetivo común resultante de estas aproximaciones es evitar que se reproduzcan las formas de los discursos hegemónicos patriarcales que uniforman y homogeneizan las realidades propias de la diversidad de discursos identitarios. La representante más destacada de esta visión epistemológica es Donna Haraway (1988, 1995, 2004) y su metáfora del “*cyborg*” para mostrar una propuesta epistemológica basada en la liberación política y la crítica a la globalización. En esta línea, una idea central en la epistemología feminista es que “el conocimiento está/es siempre socialmente situado” (Harding, 2004, pág. 7). De esta forma, “si todo conocimiento necesariamente está socialmente situado y construido, lo importante es elaborar una epistemología que, reconociéndolo, permita que sea empíricamente correcto. En este sentido se trataría de desarrollar un trabajo empírico honesto respecto a su carácter situado y democratizador”

(Harding, 2008, pág. 11).

Por ello, nos resulta especialmente atractiva la apuesta por la “difracción”, en clara línea con los planteamientos realizados por Barbara Biglia y Jordi Bonet-Martí (2009), en consonancia con los planteamientos iniciales de Haraway (2004). La práctica difractiva en investigación no produce una imagen objetiva del proceso, sino diferentes narrativas subjetivas, parciales y situadas, que pueden ser objeto de múltiples lecturas. Fruto de este planteamiento resulta la consideración de tres claves metodológicas sobre las que se vertebran futuros avances en esta área de estudio:

- La teoría queer y la interseccionalidad. Los “feminismos de la tercera ola” deconstruyen el sujeto de estudio denominado “mujer” de los propios discursos feministas. Fruto de ello es que se haya interrogado sobre cómo hacer posible un cuestionamiento del sujeto plural y diverso, así como considerar que el género es una categoría dinámica que está interrelacionada con otras desigualdades (Platero, 2014). En esta línea, surge la teoría queer (de Lauretis, 1990) que presenta batalla a la idea de la normalidad, cuestionando el binarismo del pensamiento occidental (Jagose, 1996; Sedgwick, 1998; Turner, 2000; Butler, 2004). La teoría queer plantea una crítica a la función normalizadora que tiene la identidad, cuestionando el planteamiento esencialista y señalando que las posiciones de los sujetos forman parte de cierta normatividad (Platero, 2014). Desde este posicionamiento epistemológico, se entiende que la identidad es múltiple e interseccional, construida parcial y arbitrariamente obedeciendo a una lógica de control de la normalidad que señalan lo que es diferente bajo un marco binario (Seidman, 1996). La interseccionalidad, por tanto, se constituye como una herramienta feminista y queer, quedando definida así: “proceso

que contribuye a generar conciencia sobre cómo diferentes fuentes estructurales de desigualdad (u “organizaciones sociales”) mantienen relaciones recíprocas” (Platero, 2014, pág. 81). Se trata de fijarse en las manifestaciones e identidades (de género, de clase, sexual) que son determinantes en cada contexto y en cómo son encarnadas por los sujetos para darles un significado. Se puede entender también como el estudio de las relaciones de poder, incluyendo las vivencias que pueden considerarse como “marginales” o “disidentes”. A través de su propia trayectoria investigadora, Raquel (Lucas) Platero (2014) presenta un mínimo de cuatro pasos que definen a la interseccionalidad como proceso metodológico: (1) examinar críticamente las categorías analíticas con las que interrogamos los problemas sociales; (2) explicitar las relaciones mutuas que se producen entre las categorías sociales; (3) mostrar la invisibilidad de algunas realidades o problemas sociales, que eran “inconcebibles”; e (4) incluir una posición situada de quien interroga y construye la realidad que analizar. El análisis interseccional simboliza y materializa la necesidad de superar la conceptualización del sujeto único, universal y homogéneo, a favor de la consideración de un sujeto plural, complejo, atravesado por distintas estructuras sociales y, por tanto, interseccional.

- Producciones Narrativas. Esta herramienta metodológica está basada en los conocimientos situados de Donna Haraway (1988) y se ha desarrollado en España por el Grupo de Investigación FIC-Fractalidades en la Investigación Crítica del Dpto. de Psicología Social de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (Balasch y Montenegro, 2003). “Las narrativas [...] no son una producción individual aislada del contexto cultural en que nos encontramos:

son producciones que reproducen, cuestionan, alimentan, transforman, ironizan... el contexto sociocultural en que se producen. Las narrativas que construimos y que nos constituyen tienen efectos de realidad a la vez que pueden ser interpretadas y leídas de distintas maneras” (Pujol y Montenegro, 2013, pág. 16). A través de las producciones narrativas personales (Bruner, 1991), es posible comprender la ambigüedad y complejidad de las trayectorias vitales, así como exponer una alternativa a los planteamientos normativos. Esta producción de conocimiento asume su parcialidad, localización, precariedad y multiplicidad de voces, perspectivas, realidades y significados (Haraway, 1991).

- Análisis Crítico del Discurso con perspectiva feminista. Se considera al discurso como “un conjunto de acciones del habla que se producen dentro de unas condiciones y posibilidades dadas” (Azpiazu, 2014, pág. 116). De esta manera, producimos una realidad a través de nuestro discurso usando los significados del lenguaje en un contexto determinado. El Análisis Crítico del Discurso no tiene carácter feminista de por sí, sino que se trata de una re-apropiación feminista de una herramienta metodológica ya existente para aplicarla con una mirada crítica sobre las relaciones desiguales de poder basadas en cuestiones de género (Azpiazu, 2014).

Dado el carácter innovador y crítico desde el cual planteamos el abordaje de la evaluación psicológica del género, resulta de interés plantear algunas de las consideraciones básicas que deberían componer las líneas de investigación futura que continúen la propuesta de estudio de esta tesis doctoral:

- Se constata la necesidad de encontrar maneras de acercarnos a las realidades sociales a través de procesos de investigación respetuosos con las mismas y

acordes con la visión que disponemos sobre las relaciones de género y el feminismo (Biglia, 2005).

- Queda patente en las críticas epistemológicas feministas que la neutralidad y la objetividad de la ciencia son falacias que esconden el sesgo sexista (androcéntrico, heterosexista, homófobo, transfóbico) en el que se ha basado, y que sigue rigiendo el modo de proceder en muchas investigaciones (Biglia, 2014).
- Se entiende necesario apostar por la multiplicidad de producciones parciales (sesgadas) y tener en cuenta de qué manera nuestra visión influye en lo que conocemos (epistemología de los conocimientos situados de Donna Haraway, 1995). La interpretación de la realidad debe partir de la consideración de múltiples narrativas y estar disponible para que cualquier investigador/a las reinterprete a su manera (Haraway, 2004).
- Se reconoce que producir conocimiento es siempre un acto político y que hemos de hacerlo de una manera consciente y responsable, por lo que se apuesta por un desplazamiento en el quehacer de la investigación feminista hacia la importancia del proceso de conocer: implementar metodologías de interpretación de la realidad basadas en lógicas no heteropatriarcales (Mendia et al., 2014).

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