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La **Revista Interamericana de Psicología** es publicada por la Sociedad Interamericana de Psicología (S.I.P.) para facilitar el intercambio de información profesional y científica entre los psicólogos de las Américas y para promover el desarrollo de la psicología en el Hemisferio Occidental. La revista se publica cada seis meses con artículos de todas las áreas de la psicología. Los manuscritos que pueden ser publicados por lo general pertenecen a una de tres categorías: Artículos Originales (teóricos, empíricos, clínicos, educacionales, profesionales o revisiones de más de 20 páginas); Informes Breves (500 palabras); y Revisiones de Libros (por invitación). Aquellos artículos que sean relevantes a los temas y preocupaciones de la Psicología Interamericana o que reflejen cierta colaboración internacional recibirán especial atención durante el proceso editorial. Los manuscritos pueden escribirse en Castellano, Inglés o Portugués. La suscripción anual es de US\$20. Todas las órdenes de suscripción, cambios de dirección y otra correspondencia comercial debe enviarse al Gerente de la revista. Las últimas páginas incluyen información para los autores.

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COMPETITIVE BEHAVIORS AMONG URBAN MEXICAN AND ANGLO-AMERICAN CHILDREN

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The competitive behavior of urban Mexican and U.S. children were assessed using preference cards designed especially to measure cooperation and competition. Eighty U.S. and 88 Mexican children representing first through third grade were compared. The major difference in behavior was related to age. The older children showed more competition than the younger children. The U.S. urban children showed more competition than the Mexican children only when the alternative to competition was relative loss. When the alternative to competition was to be egalitarian, the Mexican and U.S. girls were more egalitarian than the boys. Sex and age of the children were more related to competition behavior than cultural differences.

Las conductas competitivas de niños urbanos mexicanos y estadounidenses se evaluaron utilizando como instrumento unas tarjetas de preferencias diseñadas especialmente para medir el grado de cooperación o competencia entre ellos. Se compararon a 80 niños estadounidenses y a 88 niños mexicanos similarmente representativos de los cursos de primero y tercero de primaria. La mayor diferencia en conducta fue en función de la edad. Los niños de mayor edad demostraron más rivalidad

que los niños de menor edad. Los niños urbanos estadounidenses demostraron más rivalidad que los de México únicamente cuando tenían por alternativa al de mostrarse rivales la alternativa de pérdida relativa. Cuando la alternativa a mostrarse rival era mostrarse egalitario, las niñas mexicanas y estadounidenses prefirieron mostrarse más egalitarias que los niños de ambos países. El sexo y la edad de los niños tuvieron más relación con las conductas competitivas que las diferencias culturales.

A recent study on the relative effects of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic goal structures in education (Skon, Johnson, & Johnson, 1981) illustrates the value of cooperative learning for children. These authors indicated that cooperative interaction when compared with competitive and individualistic learning promoted higher achievement and superior cognitive reasoning skills. In a study comparing only the effect of competitive and individualistic settings on the child's learning (Ames & Ames, 1981) individualistic settings fostered a more positive achievement - motivation environment than do competitive settings. Johnson and Johnson (1981) also compared the effects of cooperative versus individualistic learning experiences to note resulting effects on the interethnic interaction of fourth grade children. Their results suggest that a cooperative environment promoted more cross-ethnic interaction.

Differences in the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of children that relate to cooperative and competitive strategies have long been an interest of the psychologist. Richmond and Weiner (1973) noted that black children tended to be more cooperative than caucasians. One recent study (Galejs & Stockdale, 1980) concluded that Latvian-American children were somewhat more competitive than Anglo-American children. In general, the published research suggests that European children are more competitive than Mexican children (Thomas, 1975) and that Anglo children are more competitive than Mexican or Mexican-American children (McClintock, 1974; Kagan & Madsen, 1971, 1972a, 1972b; Madsen & Shapiro, 1970). More recently, some researchers (Knight & Kagan, 1977a, 1977b; Kagan & Madsen, 1972a, 1972b; Avellar & Kagan, 1976) have attempted to specify more clearly the cooperative-competitive differences among Mexican, Mexican-American, and Anglo children.

The earlier studies by Kagan and Madsen (1972a, 1972b) attempted to examine motivational strategies resulting in the cooperative-competitive differences among Mexican, Mexican-American, and Anglo children. The studies were enlightening but the experimental procedure used left some doubt as to whether children were being competitive to hinder other children or just competitive to maximize their own gains. In order to clarify this issue, Avellar and Kagan (1976) devised a set of six choice cards to be presented to a pair of children to clarify the motivation for competition. These cards are presented in Figure 1 and are discussed in some detail below. Knight and Kagan (1977a, 1977b) also describe a set of four choice cards that were devised and administered to Anglo-American children. Briefly, they found Anglo-American children growing more competitive with age whereas Mexican children became more cooperative; boys of both cultural groups were more competitive than girls; and second and third generation Mexican-American children grew more competitive suggesting an acculturation to the predominant cultural mode.

The present study is a continuing effort to examine the differences between Mexican and American children. Whereas previous studies are reported for rural Mexican children this study investigates children from similarly large urban centers in the United States and Mexico. The researchers also chose to

employ the six choice cards devised by Avellar and Kagan (1976) because of the wider range of information on competitive and cooperative strategies provided.

Figure 1
Choice Cards

0	0	0	
0	0	0	0

0	0		0
	0		0

0	0	0	
0	0	0	0

0	0		0
0	0		0

0	0	0	
0	0	0	0

0	0		0
0	0		0

Nonrivalrous Rivalrous

Nonrivalrous Rivalrous

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects for this study were selected to represent average ability and middle class families in each of the cultures that they represent. A large suburban area in Georgia and an equally large suburban area in Veracruz, Mexico, were the sites of the public schools from which the children were selected. Teachers were asked to identify children who were not receiving special education services—either for remediation or acceleration—and whose parents were middle class in their respective cultures. Middle-class was defined as those families who had an average income and an average level of education for parents of their respective cultures. Most of the children were from professional or business families. From available lists of children, 80 Anglo-American children and 88 Mexican children were selected randomly. There were 10 American children for each sex and grade category and 11 Mexican children for each sex and grade category.

Procedure

The same procedure was used in the United States and Mexico with a native language investigator trained to collect the data. Two children of the same sex, grade, and culture were selected at random to come to a room containing a table with the investigator seated at one end. Children were instructed to sit on either side of the table that they chose. It was predetermined that the child sitting on one side of the table would be the active participant in the game. This child would make all choices and the other child would be inactive.

The active participant was presented with the six cards, in an order randomly determined, for each of four consecutive trials. This resulted in 24

choices for the child to make. Both children understood that markers were placed on each circle on these cards and that the choices made by the active participant would determine how many markers each child would receive. These markers were later to be redeemed for small prizes with more markers being more valuable.

The active participant chose either the right or the left side of the card as shown in Figure 1. The markers received by the active participant were always equal to the circles on the lower half of the card and the inactive member of the pair received the number on the upper half on the card. Thus, in Card¹ if the child chooses the left side, each child receives two markers but the right side of the card produces three markers for the chooser and only one for the other child. Clearly, this right side choice maximizes the advantages to the chooser and reduces the outcome for the other child. Thus, on Card 1 a rivalrous choice produces both *relative and absolute gains*. On Cards 2 and 3, neither side enhances the chooser's outcome so the choice is whether to help the other child. On Card 2, the alternative to rivalry is a *relative loss*. On Card 3, the alternative to rivalry is *equality*. On Card 4, rivalry results in *absolute losses* for both; on Card 5 relative gains result for both the rivalrous and non-rivalrous choices; and on Card 6, relative gains are associated only with the non-rivalrous alternative.

RESULTS

A 2 x 2 x 2 factorial analysis of variance was used to analyze the data for each condition or card. Significant differences were found only for the first three conditions. Thus, in Conditions 4, 5, and 6 where rivalry (reducing the other child's outcomes) also reduced the active participant's absolute outcomes children did not differ in their rivalrous or competitive behavior. Generally, regardless of sex, age, or culture children chose not to limit their own outcomes in order to be competitive.

In the other three conditions, age was a significant factor. Third grade children were more rivalrous than first grade children ($F_1(1,83) = 6.14, p < .0.1$; $F_2(1,83) = 12.72, p < .01$; $F_3(1,83) = 39.55, p < .001$). One significant main effect due to culture ($F(1,83) = 6.25, p < .01$) occurred but only on Condition 2. For Condition 3, a significant main effect for sex ($F(1,83) = 6.67, p < .01$) occurred. The mean scores for those conditions where a statistically significant difference occurred are as follows:

- Condition 1 – Grade 1 = 2.45; Grade 3 = 3.17
- Condition 2 – Grade 1 = 1.81; Grade 3 = 2.81
United States = 2.68; Mexican = 1.98
- Condition 3 – Grade 1 = 1.21; Grade 3 = 2.76
Females = 1.63; Males = 2.33

DISCUSSION

Consistent with the results of the Avellar and Kagan (1976) study this study also found that children consistently chose to maximize their own gains in preference to reducing their own gains in order to be rivalrous or competitive. Neither age, sex, nor culture have a significant impact on this effort to maximize absolute gains.

However, in Condition I where a rivalrous choice produces absolute gains most children are rivalrous. The older children of both nationalities in this present study, in contrast to those of the Avellar and Kagan study, were more inclined than the younger children to maximize their absolute gains. In Condi-

tions 2 and 3, the older children of this study also made an effort to restrict any relative gains for the other child. In Condition 2, they avoided relative gains for the other child and in Condition 3, they avoided equality for the other child although neither choice would have reduced their total outcome. The message from these older children seemed to be *—Don't let the other child equal or exceed your performance if it does not limit your total outcome to do so.*

Mexican and American children differed significantly only on Condition 2. Mexican children more frequently chose to increase the other child's outcome even though they could not increase their own. The U.S. child seemed more likely to reason: *Don't help unless it hurts not to.*

Females differed from males overall in their responses to Condition 3. The females were more likely than males to offer the other child equality of outcome rather than a relative loss when their outcomes were not affected by either choice.

In conclusion, the results of this study suggest that absolute gains in a game situation are a strong motivating factor for children of different age, sex, or cultural groups. The Mexican and U.S., middle class, urban children did not differ very much in their cooperative or competitive inclinations. They seemed to be more similar than children of these two cultures particularly where the Mexican children were from a rural or semirural background. The major difference between cultural groups in this study is an apparent desire of the Mexican child to help another child where the outcome clearly does not limit absolute gains for the child making the choice. This suggests a more cooperative tendency among Mexican children. Girls of both cultures were more willing than boys to help another child obtain equal outcomes rather than have the other child sustain a relative loss. Older children across both cultures were more likely than younger children to prefer competitive to any type of cooperative behavior.

The implications of this study are provocative in that it appears that children may become more competitive with age regardless of sex or cultural background. Despite the many documented advantages of cooperative interactions, the growth toward adulthood in both the United States and Mexico is marked by increasing competitiveness. One may surmise that the child increases in ability to assume adult standards with increasing age.

Females, of both the Mexican and United States cultural groups studied, chose a status of rewards equal to their own for the other child more frequently than did males. They did not choose to give the other child rewards greater than their own, however, even though their outcomes would not have been changed.

Only the Mexican children, in comparison to American children, more frequently chose to give the other child more markers than they could get. This suggests a greater compassion, cooperation, or desire to help another child among elementary children in Mexico than in the United States. This greater cooperation among Mexican children seems not as pronounced as it has been reported in other studies. Several explanations are possible for this with the uniqueness of the current sample always one plausible reason for the findings. It also seems likely that the adaptation process for children in large urban areas in the United States and Mexico is remarkably similar. Finally, it is refreshing to find that some females and some Mexican children still value cooperative interaction. Even though the circumstances may be somewhat restricted that permit the exercise of a motivation for cooperation, it appears that

certain social conditions are still conducive to the promotion of cooperation. It may be of value to us all to learn more about the social exigencies that lead to enhanced cooperative strategies on the part of females and Mexican children in this study.

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FOOTNOTES

¹Reprints of this paper can be obtained by writing: Bert O. Richmond, Educational Psychology, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30601.

ASPECTOS ATRIBUCIONALES DE LA UTILIZACION DE SERVICIOS DE SALUD

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Este artículo reporta las respuestas que 100 Hispanos residentes del Este de Los Angeles en California dieron cuando se les preguntó el por qué ellos, sus familiares y la gente en general no recibían los servicios sanitarios que necesitaban. Como se ha encontrado en otros estudios, las razones consideradas como más importantes por los sujetos incluyeron el alto costo de los servicios de salud, la falta de seguros médicos, el problema de ser indocumentado, la falta de una persona que cuide a los hijos, el no poder dejar el trabajo para recibir los servicios, las largas esperas, y dificultades con el Inglés. Razones culturales tales como la preferencia por curanderos, el temor al médico y la modestia no fueron consideradas tan importantes como algunos autores han propuesto. Al preguntárseles a los sujetos por qué ellos no habían recibido servicios sanitarios que requerían en el pasado, en su mayoría mencionaron causas relacionadas con el sistema de prestación de los servicios mientras que al explicar la misma conducta por parte de sus familiares lo hacían aduciendo a factores internos tales como la pereza. En este sentido los sujetos percibían el fenómeno de la baja utilización de servicios sanitarios de la misma forma que algunos investigadores donde la responsabilidad se coloca en el individuo y no en el sistema sanitario aún cuando previamente habían evaluado a factores relacionados con el sistema sanitario como los más importantes al explicar el por qué ellos y la gente en general no recibían los servicios que requerían.

This paper reports on the answers given by 100 Hispanic residents of East Los Angeles, California to questions dealing with why they themselves, their families and people in general did not receive proper health care. As has been found in other studies, the reasons considered as most important by the subjects were the high cost of health services, the lack of medical insurance, being undocumented, lack of child care, long waits and difficulties in speaking English. Cultural reasons such as a preference for curanderos, fear of physicians or modesty were not considered as important as some authors have proposed. When respondents were asked why they themselves had not received services they needed, most of them mentioned causes that were related with the health delivery system while when explaining the behavior of others they utilized internal factors such as laziness. In this sense, the respondents viewed the issue of underutilization of service in the same fashion as some researchers where the responsibility is placed on the individual and not on the health delivery system even though they mentioned problems with the system as the most significant reasons for why they themselves and people in general don't receive the medical attention they require.

Uno de los serios problemas de la comunidad Hispana en los Estados Unidos es la baja tasa de utilización de servicios de salud por parte de los miembros de esa comunidad. La Encuesta de Salud de California demostró que en 1955, los México-Americanos visitaban al médico un promedio de 2,3 veces al año mientras que los grupos Anglo-Sajones lo hacían 4,6 veces por año. Cuando se excluyen admisiones por partos de los datos relacionados con la utilización de hospitales, los México-Americanos tenían una tasa de 45 admisiones al hospital por cada 1,000 personas mientras que los Anglo-Sajones presentaban una tasa de 75 admisiones por cada mil individuos (Moustafa & Weiss, 1968). Estos patrones en la utilización de servicios de salud han continuado aunque las diferencias entre los dos grupos son menos drásticas. En entrevistas con 4,000 personas, los sujetos México-Americanos reportaron menos visitas médicas que los Anglo-Sajones así como el hecho de que los México-Americanos tenían menos frecuentemente una fuente regular de servicios médicos. Mas aún, los Anglo-Sajones reportaron el haber recibido exámenes médicos en el pasado con una frecuencia casi el doble del número reportado por los México-Americanos (Roberts & Lee, 1980).

Parte de las diferencias en los patrones del uso de los servicios médicos por parte de los Hispanos y de los Anglo-Sajones se debe a la mínima utilización de servicios preventivos por parte de los primeros. Varios estudios han demostrado que los Hispanos reciben menos cuidados pre-natales (Bullough, 1972; Teller 1978), menos cuidados dentales (Anderson, Lewis, Giachello, Aday & Shiu, 1981; García & Juarez, 1978; Roberts & Lee, 1980) menos cuidados médicos (Anderson et al., 1981; Bullough, 1972; Roberts & Lee, 1980), menos servicios de planificación familiar (Bullough, 1973) y menos exámenes oftalmológicos (Roberts & Lee, 1980). Mas aún, una razón que no puede aducirse en este caso es la de una mejor salud por parte de los grupos Hispanos dado que varios estudios han demostrado tasas de enfermedad más altas para este grupo que para los grupos Anglos-Sajones (Aranda, 1971; Moustafa & Weiss, 1968; Quesada & Heller, 1977).

Las razones frecuentemente utilizadas para explicar la baja tasa de utilización de servicios de salud son de hecho atribuciones de causalidad y la teoría de la atribución en psicología social provee un interesante marco teórico para analizar el fenómeno de la utilización de servicios. De hecho, las razones que se

han propuesto para la explicación de este problema de la baja utilización de servicios de salud pueden concebirse como factores internos al individuo o como factores externos. Los factores internos incluyen rasgos de personalidad, predisposiciones del individuo y factores culturales que podrían estar influyendo en el comportamiento. Los factores externos incluyen todos los impedimentos ambientales que pueden estar obstruyendo el acceso a los servicios médicos. Desafortunadamente hay ciertos factores que se pueden percibir de ambas maneras, como por ejemplo el factor económico. La pobreza de una persona puede ser considerada como un rasgo y por lo tanto un factor interno, pero un sistema de salud muy costoso que excluye a esa persona es un factor externo que influye en la tasa de utilización de los servicios.

El análisis de estas atribuciones se hace importante dadas las diferencias entre las atribuciones del actor y las del observador. Un actor al considerar su comportamiento enfatiza el rol de las condiciones ambientales en el momento de la acción. Un observador en cambio ve el mismo comportamiento, pero enfatiza el rol de las disposiciones o características del actor cuando trata de explicar la causa de ese comportamiento (Jones & Nisbett, 1971). En el campo de la utilización de servicios de salud, el énfasis por parte de los investigadores ha sido primordialmente el buscar las características internas o culturales que podrían explicar el comportamiento de la baja utilización de los servicios por parte de los Hispanos.

La naturaleza de la cultura Hispana, por ejemplo, ha sido propuesta por varios autores como la razón por la cual Hispanos no utilizan servicios médicos de la misma manera que los grupos Anglo-Sajones. Algunos autores sugieren que el familismo que subyace las manifestaciones culturales de los Hispanos interfiere en la utilización apropiada de los servicios médicos aunque un estudio ha demostrado que la dependencia en la familia extendida promueve y coharta al mismo tiempo la utilización de los servicios de salud (Hoppe & Heller, 1975). Otro autor (Suchman, 1964, 1965) ha propuesto que la cohesión de grupo y el etnocentrismo de los Puertorriqueños están relacionados con el desconocimiento de la existencia de los servicios médicos y un cierto escepticismo sobre su efectividad. El machismo y un extremo pudor también han sido propuestos como explicaciones de las bajas tasas de utilización de los servicios de salud por parte de los Hispanos (Galli, 1975; Moustafa & Weiss, 1968; Reeder & Reeder, 1964). Otros autores proponen que los Hispanos no confían en médicos Anglo-Sajones (Fuentes, 1972; Moustafa & Wiss, 1968) o que los Hispanos frecuentemente ignoran los síntomas de la enfermedad hasta que ésta llegue a un estado avanzado de gravedad (Moustafa & Weiss, 1968).

El uso de la medicina folklórica y de curanderos es otra de las razones frecuentemente mencionadas como explicaciones culturales para las bajas tasas de utilización de servicios de salud (incluyendo a los servicios de salud mental) por parte de los Hispanos. Desde la década de los años 50 varios antropólogos y otro investigadores han estado estudiando las creencias sobre salud folklórica de los México-Americanos y de otros grupos Hispanos (Baca, 1969; Clark, 1958; Madsen, 1964; Rubel, 1966; Saunders, 1954; Schulman, 1960). Desafortunadamente estos investigadores han trabajado por lo regular en áreas rurales de los Estados Unidos y con poblaciones bastantes aisladas haciendo de esta manera que sus datos sean difíciles de generalizar a la mayoría de los Hispanos de las grandes ciudades estadounidenses. Estudios más recientes demuestran que existe una cierta prevalencia en la utilización de servicios de medicina folklórica pero la frecuencia de utilización es probablemente muy limitada y no está relacionada con el uso de servicios médicos (Farge, 1973; Nall & Speilberg, 1967; Teller, 1978; Weaver, 1970).

La dificultad con estas explicaciones culturales (internas) es que la baja utilización de servicios de salud puede explicarse culpando a la víctima - sugiriendo que si los Hispanos fueran más como los Anglo-Sajones entonces podrían recibir todos los servicios de salud que necesitan. Este es de hecho el argumento de la "cultura de la pobreza" que ha sido utilizado para explicar los patrones conductuales de diversos grupos en países desarrollados y en vías de desarrollo. Se supone que un rasgo interno del individuo, su cultura o su crianza lo haya formado para que actúe de cierta manera, en este caso, para que no utilice los servicios de salud.

Un área que merece más atención de la que ha recibido por parte de investigadores es el efecto de los obstáculos o barreras impuestas por el sistema de salud para que los Hispanos no reciban los cuidados adecuados. Estos factores externos al individuo han sido menos atractivos como área de estudio, pero son bastantes prometedores. No hay duda, por ejemplo, de que personas de bajos recursos económicos no pueden pagar el costo de los servicios médicos cuando estos continúan aumentando en precio en una proporción superior al aumento de los salarios, como sucede en los Estados Unidos. De hecho, varios estudios han encontrado que los ingresos económicos son un factor determinante en la utilización de servicios médicos por parte de los Hispanos (Anderson et al., 1981; Lee 1972; Melgares, 1975; Moustafa & Weiss, 1968; Quesada & Heller, 1977; Roberts & Lee, 1980). Pero aún cuando se controla la variable de recursos económicos, las diferencias en las tasas de utilización de servicios entre Hispanos y Anglos siguen siendo significativas (Anderson et al., 1981; Roberts & Lee, 1980).

El impacto de bajos ingresos en la tasa de utilización de cuidados médicos se ve aumentado por el hecho de que un gran número de Hispanos de bajos recursos económicos no tienen seguros médicos (Anderson et al., 1981; California Raza Health Alliance, 1979; Roberts & Lee, 1980).

Individuos de bajos recursos económicos tienen dificultad en obtener servicios de salud por varias razones: en algunos casos, los servicios no están disponibles o es difícil el llegar a ellos. En otros casos es problemático recibir cuidados médicos debido a largas esperas, falta de atención en horas de la noche o a problemas de transporte. De hecho, varios autores han demostrado el efecto de estas barreras en la calidad de los servicios de salud que reciben los Hispanos (California Raza Health Alliance, 1979; Dutton, 1978; Hayes-Bautista, 1973; Laosa, Burstein & Martin, 1975; Melgares, 1975; Quesada & Heller, 1977; Torres-Gil, 1978). Como un ejemplo, en 1976 la Comisión sobre Políticas de Personal en Servicios de Salud para California determinó que en áreas con una alta proporción de Hispanos como el Este de los Angeles había un médico para cada 3,700 personas mientras que en áreas Anglo-Sajones de clase media y alta había un médico para cada 458 personas (California Raza Health Alliance, 1979).

Aunque todos los individuos de bajos ingresos se enfrentan a serios problemas para poder recibir servicios de salud, el sistema de salud de los Estados Unidos presenta otras barreras adicionales que impiden el que los Hispanos reciban los cuidados que necesitan. El primer y más obvio de estos obstáculos es el idioma. Un 65% de los Hispanos en Estados Unidos prefieren el hablar en Castellano y aproximadamente una tercera parte son monolingües (California Raza Health Alliance, 1979). Es frecuente el que un Hispano no logre ni siquiera obtener servicios de salud por teléfono debido a la falta de una telefonista que hable Castellano (Lee, 1972).

Este obstáculo del idioma se debe en parte a la falta de proveedores de servicios de salud que sean bilingües (Hayes-Bautista, 1973; Melgares, 1975; Quesada, 1973; Quesada & Heller, 1977). Aunque los Hispanos representan el 16% de la población de California, sólo un 1% de los médicos o enfermeras de todo el estado son Hispanos (California Raza Health Alliance, 1979). Un estudio

de los estados del Sur-Oeste de los Estados Unidos ha demostrado también que los México-Americanos no están suficientemente representados en las ocupaciones de más prestigio dentro del sistema de salud (D'Antonio & Samora, 1962). Desafortunadamente esta situación no cambiará en el futuro próximo toda vez que los Hispanos representan un número muy limitado de estudiantes en escuelas de medicina y enfermería (California Raza Health Alliance, 1979).

La falta de documentos de inmigración es otra barrera que el sistema le impone a los Hispanos. Los servicios de salud no pueden ser obtenidos por un individuo sin documentos de inmigración toda vez que las leyes federales y estatales por lo general prohíben la utilización de fondos gubernamentales para proveer cuidados a individuos sin sus papeles en regla. Un ejemplo es el caso de California donde se estima que existen 1,275,000 Hispanos sin documentos de inmigración (California Raza Health Alliance, 1979): En el condado de San Diego por ejemplo, un individuo sin documentos no puede recibir ni siquiera servicios de emergencia. En el condado de Orange los pacientes deben presentar documentos de residencia antes de recibir los servicios de salud ofrecidos por el condado (Dallek, 1979). Ya que la deportación puede ser la consecuencia de buscar atención sanitaria, no hay duda de que un Hispano sin documentos va a estar temeroso de solicitar los servicios que requiere. Como resultados de esta situación, los Hispanos por lo general desconocen los servicios comunitarios que les son disponibles y los utilizan menos que aquellos individuos con sus documentos de residencia (Salcido, 1979).

En resumen, hay una serie de factores externos e internos que han sido atribuidos como razones para la baja utilización de servicios médicos por parte de los Hispanos en Estados Unidos. Las explicaciones internas al individuo incluyen ciertos rasgos estereotípicos de personalidad, así como patrones culturales como el familismo y el uso de la medicina folklórica. Por lo general estas explicaciones internas provienen de estudios poco confiables. Al mismo tiempo se han sugerido una serie de factores externos que podrían influir en la utilización de servicios. Estos incluyen la dificultad de acceso y el costo de los indocumentados. Aunque el papel de los factores económicos ha sido documentado, pocos autores han investigado el efecto que problemas con el idioma o con la documentación de inmigración tienen en la utilización de servicios.

Este estudio investigó varios aspectos de la utilización de servicios de salud por parte de los Hispanos permitiendo el que ellos mismos identificaran las razones que percibían como más importantes para explicar la baja tasa de utilización de cuidados de salud.

METODO

Sujetos

Un total de 100 Hispanos adultos fueron entrevistados mientras esperaban recibir servicios de salud o acompañaban a un familiar en una clínica comunitaria de bajo costo en Los Angeles, California. Un total de 51 hombres y 49 mujeres fueron seleccionados al azar con un rango de edades de los 16 a los 72 años. La clínica se escogió porque sirve a una población Hispana y es similar a otras clínicas comunitarias en el área de Los Angeles.

Procedimientos

Cada sujeto fue entrevistado individualmente por aproximadamente 30 minutos. Todas las entrevistas se llevaron a cabo en una sala privada dentro de la clínica y todas se condujeron en Castellano.

Instrumento.

La entrevista utilizada en este estudio consistió de varias preguntas abiertas y de formato cerrado que incluían información socio-demográfica de los sujetos así como patrones de utilización de servicios, razones percibidas como importantes para la baja utilización de servicios sanitarios y respuestas típicas ante ciertos síntomas.

RESULTADOS

Los sujetos entrevistados en el estudio fueron en su mayoría de bajos recursos económicos: Un 56% ganaba U.S. \$ 600 o menos por mes mientras que un 60% de ellos mantenían a cuatro o más personas. El nivel educacional de los sujetos era también bastante bajo con un 52% habiendo recibido solo educación primaria (completa o incompleta). Aunque un 17% de los entrevistados estaban desempleados y 23% estaban trabajando parte del tiempo, sólo un 7% estaba recibiendo ayuda económica del gobierno. El 79% de los entrevistados había nacido en América Latina, en su mayoría en México o América Central.

Confirmando los resultados de investigaciones previas, los datos de este estudio demuestran que la mayoría de los entrevistados han utilizado servicios médicos con menos frecuencia de lo esperado. Un 25% de los entrevistados nunca había visitado a un dentista y la mitad nunca había visitado a un médico privado o a un óptico. Tomando en cuenta solamente los 12 meses anteriores a la entrevista, sólo del 20% al 33% de los entrevistados había visitado a un médico privado, un óptico o un dentista. En muchos casos los servicios eran necesarios, dado que un 20% de los sujetos contestaron afirmativamente a que ellos o algún miembro de su familia había querido ver a un médico, pero no había podido hacerlo. Los entrevistados utilizaban cuidados preventivos con poca frecuencia. Menos de un 20% de todas las visitas a otras clínicas, a dentistas o a ópticos se hicieron con el propósito de obtener cuidados preventivos, y sólo un 6% de las visitas a médicos privados se hicieron con ese propósito.

Las visitas a los que proveen medicina folklórica no explican este fenómeno del bajo uso de servicios de salud. Menos del 20% de los entrevistados había utilizado los servicios de sobadores, yerberos, o curanderos en los 12 meses anteriores a la entrevista. Además, las personas que utilizaron esta clase de servicios eran más propensas a usar otros servicios médicos que los demás sujetos. Mientras que el promedio de visitas para servicios médicos para todo el grupo era de 3.2, el promedio de visitas a servicios médicos para los que también utilizaron servicios folklóricos era de 4.2.

Dado que había una baja utilización de servicios médicos en este grupo nos interesó saber las razones o atribuciones que este mismo grupo daba para explicar este fenómeno. Durante la entrevista se les presentó a los entrevistados una lista de las razones más frecuentemente mencionadas en la literatura para explicar por qué los Hispánicos no usan los servicios médicos. Se les pidió así mismo el que indicaran la importancia de cada una de esas razones en la baja utilización de servicios médicos. Los resultados demuestran que los factores externos fueron los que recibieron puntajes más altos en cuanto a su importancia.

La tabla 1 indica que los factores de costo, falta de seguro médico, falta de documentos de inmigración, falta de quien les cuide los hijos y el no poder dejar el trabajo para ir al médico son las razones percibidas como más importantes por los entrevistados para explicar el fenómeno del bajo uso de los servicios médicos. Todas estas razones tuvieron un promedio de más de 4.0 en una escala de 5 puntos. Los factores culturales como el uso de la medicina folklórica, el uso de la farmacia, la falta de respeto o el maltrato de los médicos y enferme-

ras y el soportar el dolor en vez de ir al médico (que son razones señaladas en la literatura como factores culturales), tuvieron puntajes muy bajos en cuanto a la importancia percibida (2.3 a 3.6). Es decir, cuando los entrevistados atribuyeron razones para la baja utilización de servicios médicos, en general las atribuyeron a factores externos al individuo, o sea, características del sistema de prestación de servicios.

Tabla 1

Evaluación de la Importancia de Razones por las Cuales no se Solicitan Servicios de Salud

<i>Razones por las Cuales no se Solicitan Servicios de Salud</i>	<i>Evaluaciones (1-Ninguna importancia; 5-Muy importante)</i>
A la gente le falta dinero.	4.7
La gente no tiene seguro médico.	4.6
A la gente le faltan los papeles.	4.3
La gente no tiene quien le cuide los niños.	4.2
La gente no puede dejar el trabajo para ir al doctor.	4.2
La gente tiene que esperar demasiado tiempo de que lo atiendan.	4.1
La gente tiene problemas hablando inglés.	4.1
A la gente le da miedo ir con el médico.	4.0
Los médicos y enfermeras no son Hispánicos.	3.9
Los médicos y enfermeras no hablan español.	3.8
No hay suficiente servicios donde la gente vive.	3.7
A la gente le da vergüenza que le examine un médico.	3.7
Los servicios están muy lejos de donde la gente vive.	3.6
Las horas de servicios son inconvenientes.	3.6
La gente prefiere aguantar el dolor en vez de ir con el médico.	3.6
La gente no sabe donde puede conseguir los servicios médicos.	3.3
La gente no cree en lo que los médicos dicen.	3.3
Los médicos anglo son muy fríos con la gente.	3.2
Los médicos y enfermeras le tratan a la gente mal.	3.1
La gente prefiere ir a la farmacia.	2.7
La gente prefiere ir con un curandero.	2.3

La entrevista contenía varias preguntas específicas sobre el uso de servicios médicos por parte del entrevistado y por parte de su familia. En una de las preguntas, las personas entrevistadas reportaban si ellos o uno de sus parientes necesitaban servicios médicos y no los habían obtenido. Si respondían afirmativamente, se les pedía que mencionaran la razón por la cual ellos o sus parientes no habían ido al médico. La tabla 2 presenta las respuestas dadas por los sujetos. Como se puede apreciar, la mayoría de las razones dadas por las cuales el entrevistado no había visitado al médico o al dentista era porque no había necesidad, seguido por razones del costo de los servicios. Pero cuando los sujetos tenían que dar las razones por las cuales un miembro de su propia familia no había ido al médico, casi la mitad atribuía ese comportamiento a un rasgo de personalidad de la persona, como por ejemplo la desidia o la pereza.

Estas respuestas se pueden dividir en factores externos al individuo y en factores internos. Los factores externos serían el costo de los servicios y problemas con el idioma, mientras que los factores internos serían los rasgos de personalidad y la falta de tiempo. Las razones que no se podrían clasificar como externas o internas incluyen la falta de necesidad y el no saber la razón. Dado que un análisis de chi cuadrado requiere independencia de las respuestas, y que algunos entrevistados respondieron a más de una pregunta, estas últimas fueron escogidas de manera que cada sujeto se incluyera solamente una vez en el análisis, dando un total de 46 sujetos que fueron incluidos. Un chi cuadrado de 2×2 (razones internas-externas por razones de uno mismo o del miembro de la familia) dio un resultado estadísticamente significativo ($\chi^2 (3) = 12.55, p < .01$). Este análisis implica que los sujetos atribuyeron muchos más de sus propios comportamientos a razones externas mientras que las conductas de miembros de su familia fueron atribuidas a factores internos, principalmente a rasgos de personalidad.

Discusión

Los resultados de las entrevistas indicaron claramente una baja utilización de servicios sanitarios por parte de este grupo Hispano de bajos ingresos económicos. Aunque la baja utilización sólo se puede definir con base en las verdaderas necesidades de un grupo (López, 1981), en este caso, muchos de los entrevistados señalaron que ellos mismos o un miembro de sus familias estaban necesitando servicios médicos que no habían recibido. Dado que los sujetos estaban utilizando servicios médicos en el momento de la entrevista, es probable que una muestra representativa del barrio mostraría niveles más altos de necesidad.

Cuando los entrevistados evaluaron la importancia de una serie de posibles factores explicativos de la baja utilización de los servicios, los factores externos fueron los que recibieron consistentemente los puntajes más altos. Estos factores externos son básicamente factores relacionados con la organización del sistema de servicios, como es por ejemplo, el alto costo de los servicios y la barrera del idioma. López (1981) en una revisión de la literatura sobre la baja utilización de servicios de salud mental también llegó a la conclusión de que los factores relacionados con la organización y el costo de los servicios son más importantes que los factores culturales para explicar estos patrones de utilización de servicios médicos en el futuro donde el esfuerzo se debe centrar no en el producir un cambio en los patrones culturales de los Hispanos, sino en el mejoramiento del acceso a los servicios.

Tabla 2

Porcentaje de Razones Atribuidas a Uno Mismo o a Un Miembro de la Familia para Explicar Falla de Utilización de Servicios Médicos

<i>Razones por no usar Servicios médicos</i>	<i>Uno mismo</i> ¹	<i>Miembro de la Familia</i>
Costo	23	27
Razgo de Personalidad	4	46
Idioma	2	11
Falta de Tiempo	—	8
No había necesidad	68	—
No sabe	—	8
Otra	3	—
	100% ^o	100% ^o
	N = 126	N = 26

¹ Esta columna contiene las razones dadas a preguntas sobre por qué no habían ido al dentista, al médico privado o a otra clínica.

Un resultado interesante e importante se relaciona con las explicaciones que los sujetos dieron sobre por qué ellos o sus familiares no habían recibido los cuidados sanitarios necesarios. Tal como lo predice la teoría de la atribución (Jones & Nisbett, 1971), los sujetos adujeron causas externas para explicar su propia conducta y causas internas para explicar la conducta de sus familiares. Varias investigaciones (e.g., Dutton, 1978; Hayes-Bautista, 1973; Melgares, 1975; Quesada & Heller, 1977), así como los datos presentados aquí corroboran la importancia de factores externos (tales como el alto costo) que limitan el acceso a los servicios. A pesar de esto, como lo hicieron los entrevistados, varios investigadores y administradores siguen utilizando atribuciones internas (e.g., la cultura, pereza, etc.) para explicar la baja utilización de servicios sanitarios por parte de los Hispanos. Estos resultados se relacionan con el problema metodológico que es inherente a estudios con encuestas donde los resultados que se obtienen en parte están determinados por las preguntas y los temas que se incluyan. Es así que estudios recientes sobre la baja utilización de servicios (e.g., Anderson et al., 1981; Roberts & Lee, 1980) no han estudiado el importante efecto que la falta de documentos de inmigración puede tener sobre la baja utilización de servicios sanitarios. Es obvio que este problema solo se puede entender cuando se toma en cuenta toda la problemática socioeconómica y política de la población estudiada.

NOTAS AL PIE DE LA PAGINA

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REPLICATION: A NEGLECTED TYPE OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

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The results of a program of replications of studies originated in the US carried out with Brazilian subjects are reported. The author begins by stressing the need for replications in social psychology, a practice that, in his opinion, has been neglected in the social sciences in general. Results of studies on impression formation, attitudinal effects of mere exposure, social influence, social power, balance, dissonance, reactance, attribution, coalition formation, equity theory and attitude change are reported and discussed. Some previous findings have been replicated and some have not. When possible, an account for the difference or the similarity of results is offered. The paper concludes with a summary of what has been learned through the program.

Os resultados de um programa de réplicas de estudos originalmente conduzidos nos Estados Unidos levado a efeito com sujeitos brasileiros são apresentados. O autor começa salientando a necessidade de réplicas em psicologia social, um costume que, em sua opinião, é negligenciado nas ciências sociais em geral. Resultados de estudos sobre formação de impressão, efeitos atitudinais da mera exposição, influência social, poder social, equilíbrio, dissonância, reatância, atribuição, formação de coalisao, teoria de equidade e mudança de atitude são reportados e discutidos. Alguns achados anteriores foram reproduzidos e outros não. Quando possível, uma explicação para a diferença ou a semelhança de resultados foi oferecida. O artigo termina com um resumo do que foi aprendido através do programa.

Despite sporadic attempts to deny the scientific nature of social psychology (e.g., Gergen, 1973), the premise underlying this paper is that social psychology is a branch of knowledge characterized by the scientific treatment of interpersonal behavior. As we take this posture we associate ourselves with the majority of social psychologists, among whom Aronson and Carlsmith (1968), Jones and Gerard (1967), and Schlenker (1974) are but a few.

Based on the position that social psychology is a science, it is surprising to witness the small emphasis that social psychologists place on replication. Although the relevance of this type of research is not denied by scientists, and despite the fact that it even receives strong recommendation from methodologists dedicated to social research (e.g., Carlsmith et. al., 1976; Selltiz et. al., 1959), replication of previous studies is clearly neglected by most social psychologists and, by and large, by social scientists in general.

The same is not true in the natural sciences. In these the attempt to replicate the findings reported by other scientists is a matter of course, and even the necessary condition for the new knowledge to be incorporated by these sciences. In Brazil we had, recently, the confirmation of what has just been asserted. A well-known physicist presented the results of his research which purportedly shower errors in Einstein's theory of relativity. Immediately afterwards, many physicists throughout the country began an effort to replicate the reported findings. The results did not replicate those obtained by Einstein's critic and he, in time, withdrew his paper from publication. This is standard procedure in the natural sciences. It is regrettable that it is not followed in the social sciences.

Recently, however, we have witnessed a growing interest in replication research in social psychology. By the end of 1979 the first issue of a new periodical called *Replications in Social Psychology* came to light. This seems to indicate the concern of the scientific community in this field with the establishment of firm empirical bases for its assertions. Notwithstanding, there still remains among some social scientists a negative attitude towards replication. Some downgrade this type of research because it does not lead to new and original knowledge, limiting itself to the verification of the validity, the reliability, and the generalizability of a piece of knowledge previously announced. There is no doubt that the discovery of the new is more exciting than the repetition of something already found before; such circumstance, however, is no excuse for the true scientist not to engage himself or herself *also* in the verification of the stability, the applicability and the correctness of the knowledge derived from other scientists' laboratory or field studies. Therefore, in addition to original research, replication research must also be undertaken by social scientists. Campbell and Jackson (1979) list a series of experts in methodological problems whose viewpoints highlight the unavoidability of replication in science. Among them we singled out the following: Wike (1971) asserts that "conclusions are dependent upon experimental replication" (p. 8), while Christensen (1977) is even more emphatic when he declares that "if observations are not repeatable, then our descriptions and explanations are likewise unreliable and therefore useless" (p. 9). Doherty and Shemberg (1978) taking the statistical aspect of the problem, state that "despite the usefulness of statistical methods, it is important to realize a fundamental point: *No matter how statistically significant a finding is, the reliability of an effect can never be established with one study.* Reliability must be determined by replication" (p. 127).

There are reasons, undoubtedly, for replication research being neglected, despite the widespread recognition that it is indispensable to the establishment of a sound and reliable scientific knowledge. Besides the greater attractiveness of the discovery of new knowledge already mentioned, the editorial policy of several periodicals and the difficulty of obtaining research funds, are factors that contribute to the low priority attached to replication by social scientists. It is necessary, nevertheless, that the social scientist realizes that all scientific endeavour is hard. Aronson and Carlsmith (1968) finish their article on experimentation in social psychology saying that one of the most important aspects of experimentation in this discipline is the fact that "it is fun" (p. 75). As we already had the opportunity to express our views on this subject (Rodríguez, 1979) "the scientific enterprise is hard and requires patience, dedication and persistence" (p. 372). For those who share our opinion, replication research will be more easily accepted and carried out, for despite the fact that it is not necessarily "fun", it is important

and even necessary for the construction of a truly scientific social psychology.

I, personally, felt the need for replication research a long time ago. Having obtained my PhD. from UCLA in 1966 and returned immediately afterwards to Brazil, I faced the following situation: during the years I attended graduate school I accumulated a fair amount of knowledge on social psychology; all this knowledge being derived from US laboratories and/or field settings. In Brazil I found practically no original research in social psychology at that time; all this showed me quite clearly the need for a program of replications in social psychology with the objective of verifying if classical findings and important social-psychological theories originated in the US were generalizable to the Brazilian reality. As Campbell and Jackson (1979) very well point out, "cross-cultural replications are important, and provide evidence about whether the phenomenon under investigation is or is not restricted to one particular geographical area or culture" (p. 7).

In 1969 I applied for a Post-Doctoral Research Grant to Foreign Students to the *American Psychological Foundation* and obtained a small but very useful research grant to carry out a program of replications of studies in social psychology originally conducted in the US. On this occasion, I received the important encouragement of Professor Harry C. Triandis, who supported my plan and gave his valuable endorsement to the idea. The difficulties met in the process of carrying out the project were numerous. Research facilities in Brazil are not nearly as good as those found in the first world; besides, the low frequency of social research of social research, particularly when the project began, led to a very low degree of cooperation from both subjects and people who had the power to allow field research in various settings. Despite these difficulties, we have been able to carry out several replications and the program is still under way. We will present next, the results of the entire body of work accomplished under the program financed in part by the *American Psychological Foundation*.

The Replication Program Carried Out between 1969 and 1981

In the replication program carried out by the author, several direct and systematic replications were conducted as well as tests of hypotheses specifically derived from theories developed in the US on the following topics: social influence, impression formation, social power, balance principle, cognitive dissonance, reactance theory, attribution of causality, coalition formation, equity theory, authoritarianism and attitude change, source credibility and attitude change and attitudinal effects of mere exposure.

As we can see from the list of topics just mentioned, the program did not follow a coherent rationale of priorities. It also did not concentrate itself on a particular topic of social psychology. In other words, the studies were conducted having as a common denominator the fact that they were all about social psychology, tapped important topics covered by the discipline and stemmed from US laboratories or field settings. Outside these common characteristics, no other prerequisite was established for a study to be included in the program. The replications were being carried out sometimes because the subject was of interest to the principal investigator, sometimes because his colleagues or assistants showed interest for one particular topic and sometimes because the study, besides being important, was also easy to reproduce in the Brazilian reality. Thus, interest in the topic, theoretical or practical importance, and capability of being undertaken within the existing facilities were the criteria that determined the inclusion of a replication in our program. We shall see next the results of the empirical works carried out under the program. Presently, two other replications are under way; one deals with the influence of locus of control (Rotter, 1966) on school achievement, and the other is concerned with the influence of state and trait anxiety (Spielberger, 1976) on school achievement.

DIRECT AND SYSTEMATIC REPLICATIONS

In this section we shall summarize the results of direct and systematic replications carried out under the research program. Some of them showed clear confirmation of original studies and theories and other did not. After each study, or after each group of related studies reported, a brief discussion will follow.

Asch's studies on social influence and impression formation; Jordan's study on balance

Part of Asch's (1956) experiment on the influence of a wrong and unanimous majority upon the evaluation of a visual stimulus by a minority of one has been replicated directly and systematically. In the direct replication, Asch's procedure used in the first part of his experiment was followed. Confederates were instructed to say in 2/3 of the trials, that the line that matched the standard line presented to them was one clearly different from the standard. The naive subject was the last one to utter his judgment and did so after listening to the unanimous majority. As in Asch's original study, in the Brazilian replication the naive subject followed the judgment of the unanimous majority in about 1/3 (35% to be exact) of the trials. Asch found that 33% in his original study complied with the wrong majority. A systematic replication of this study introduced the variable self-esteem, but only two of the three originally planned conditions were carried out. The conditions completed in the experiment were the control condition (identical to that used by Asch and by us in the preceding experiment) and the high self-esteem condition. The low self-esteem condition was not run. High self-esteem was induced through communication of false test results to the subjects, which led them to believe that they possessed a mature, creative, sociable and adjusted personality, in addition to high intellectual ability. In the control condition, the subjects followed the wrong unanimous majority in 32% of the trials; in the high self-esteem condition this occurred only in 18% of the trials. The results obtained with the control condition is another confirmation of Asch's original results.

Another study carried out originally by Asch (1952) was replicated in our program. It deals with impression formation through the utilization of a list of descriptive adjectives among which the adjectives "warm" and "cold" are included in different experimental conditions. Subjects were instructed to indicate the adjectives (from a list given them) that fitted the description of the person made by the experiment. In one condition, six adjectives plus "warm" described the person and, in the other, the same six adjectives plus "cold" described the person. The results showed that the mere inclusion of the adjective "warm" or "cold" led to quite different impressions of the person described. In both cultures the results were very similar. With the sole exception of the adjective "wise", all others coincided with Asch's original study, that is, they were more or less indicated according to the inclusion of the adjective "warm" or "cold" in the description of the person. Also in both cultures, in a replication of another of Asch's studies (Asch, 1952) on impression formation, favorable adjectives were listed first and were followed by unfavorable ones; the opposite was done in the other condition. The results indicated the existence of a primary effect (greater influence of the adjectives listed first) in both cultures. Since this finding, however, is controversial in the original culture, other replications should be made in Brazil to verify its reliability.

One of the first experiments on Heider's balance principle was conducted by Jordan (1953). In this study, 288 subjects were asked to rate, on appropriate scales that varied from 10 to 99, the degree of unpleasantness of triadic hypothetical interpersonal situations of the P-O-X type. The eight triadic situations (see Heider, 1946; 1958) were presented to the subjects. Only triads involving three sentiment relations were considered in our replication. Table 1 shows the results obtained in Jordan's original study, and in two replications carried out by us, one in the US and one in Brazil.

Table 1

Degree of Unpleasantness for the 8 types of P-O-X Triads Found in Jordan's (1953) Original Study and in the Replications Conducted in the United States and in Brazil

Type of Study	Type of Triad							
	+++	+--	--+	-+-	---	-++	+-+	+--
Original	22.1	33.8	71.5	64.2	69.9	59.1	64.5	67.1
Replication (USA)	20.2	34.7	59.7	54.2	64.6	66.6	61.4	64.4
Replication (BRAZIL)	21.3	37.1	64.5	58.1	54.0	50.5	71.1	72.3

The results of the three experiments show a remarkable degree of consistency, taking into account the differences among experimenters, culture, and time and the well-known degree of error involved in all measurement instruments.

The results depicted in Table 1 show that whether we take Heider's (1958) dichotomy between balanced (+ + +, + - -, - - + and - + - and imbalanced (- - -, - + +, + + - and + - +) triads, or Newcomb's (1968) trichotomy among positively balanced (+ + + and + - -), non balanced (- - +, - + -, - - - and - + +), and imbalanced (+ + - and + - +) triads, the mean values found in the three studies show similar results as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2

Mean Values of Unpleasantness Obtained in the Original Study and in Replications for Heider's and Newcomb's Classifications

Type of Triads	Original Study	Replication (USA)	Replication (Brazil)
Balanced (Heider)	47.90	42.20	45.25
Imbalanced	65.15	64.25	61.98
Positively Balanced	27.95	27.45	29.20
Non-balanced (Newcomb)	66.18	61.28	56.78
Imbalanced	65.80	62.90	71.70

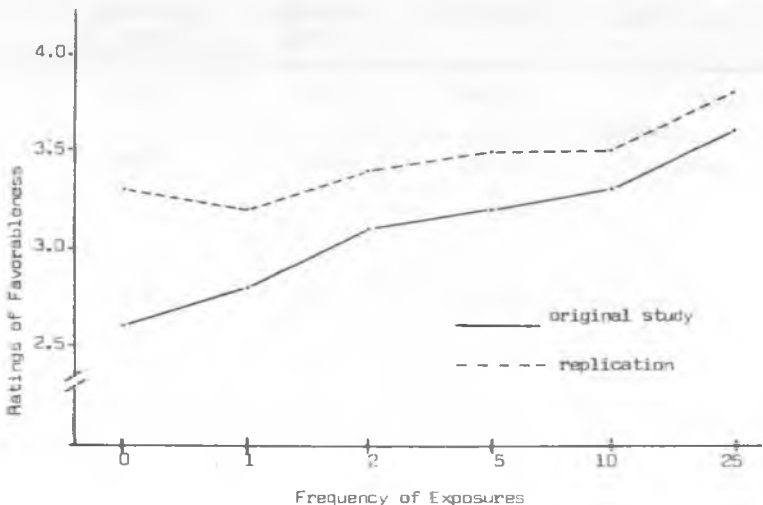
All original findings obtained in the group of studies reported above have been replicated. They all seem to tap very basic psychological phenomena that are relatively free from cultural interference. In all of them some aspects of information processing mechanisms are present and they seem to relate directly to human cognitive structure, which is similar in relatively large sets of the human population.

The next set of studies are more directly related to motivational aspects, and cultural variables seem to have greater impact on some of them.

Zajonc's study on attitudinal effects of mere exposure

Zajonc (1968) presents a series of studies and analyses related to the importance of mere exposure on the affective connotation of several objects. In one of his studies he used Chinese characters which were presented to subjects in different frequencies of exposure (0, 1, 2, 5, 10 and 25 times). This study was replicated in Brazil under our program with the assistance of Sandra Boschi (Rodríguez, 1972). In addition to Zajonc's six frequencies of exposure, we exposed our subjects to two others: 40 and 60 times in order to verify a possible satiation effect. Figure 1 reports only the data related to the conditions run in the original study and in the Brazilian replication. In order to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, we did find a satiation effect, that is, the increase in favorable evaluation of the stimuli as they are presented more times drops when we reach 40 exposures and drops even more when we reach 60 exposures.

Fig. 1. Results obtained in Zajonc's (1968) original study and those obtained in the Brazilian replication.



Despite small differences between the points in both studies the upward trend of the curve is clear in both of them, showing that, for the frequencies shown on the figure, the greater the frequency of exposures, the more favorable the attitude towards the object.

Zajonc's findings according to which the more a stimulus is presented, the more positive is the affective evaluation of it, seems to be insensitive to differences in culture. Indeed, the stimuli used in its original studies (Chinese characters, nonsense syllables) indicate that the phenomenon should be insensitive to cultural variables. It has been demonstrated, therefore, that the mere frequency of exposure of stimuli of such nature influences the affective evaluation of them.

Kelley and Arrowood's study on coalition formation and Adams and Rosenbaum's study on equity and productivity

In co-authorship with professor Robert W. Shomer, we carried out two replications in Brazil of studies originally conducted in the US. One of them was on coalition formation and the other, on Adams' equity theory. The study on coalition formation replicated the procedure used by Vinacke and Arkoff (1957) followed by Kelley and Arrowood (1960). Triads of subjects were formed and each player's chip was placed on the spaces of a board and progressed according to the number obtained after the throw of a dice; the number thus obtained was then multiplied by the player's respective weight. The first player to reach the end of the board was awarded 100 points. Before the game began, the pair of players was allowed to form coalitions; in order to form them, however, they had to agree on how they would divide the 100 points awarded the winner. Table 3 shows the obtained results in the US and in Brazil.

Table 3

Frequency of Occurrence of Coalitions in the Original Study and in its Replication

Coalitions	Original Study (Kelley & Arrowood)				Brazilian Replication (Shomer & Rodrigues)			
	1st. 3		Last 3		1st. 3		Last 3	
	Trials		Trials		Trials		Trials	
	N	o/o	N	o/o	N	o/o	N	o/o
2 - 3	41	<u>46</u>	37	<u>41</u>	13	<u>43</u>	11	<u>37</u>
2 - 4	24	27	26	29	5	17	15	50
3 - 4	21	<u>23</u>	27	<u>30</u>	11	<u>37</u>	4	<u>13</u>
No Coalitions	4	<u>4</u>	0	<u>0</u>	1	<u>3</u>	0	<u>0</u>

The original study by Kelley & Arrowood (1960) as well as the Brazilian replication were designed to test the hypothesis derived from minimum resources theory according to which the coalition most frequently formed, in a mixed motive type of situation, is the one in which the minimum resources necessary to win form the coalition. This, in the situation of the above mentioned experiments, the theory expects the coalition most frequently formed to be that be -

tween players weights 2 and 3. It is the so-called "strength on weakness" hypothesis. This has been found in the previous study by Vinacke and Arkoff (1957), where 60% of the coalitions were formed between players with weights 2 and 3, against 22% between players with weights 2 and 4, and only 10% between those with weights of 3 and 4. The experiment conducted by Kelley and Arrowood, as well as that carried out by Shomer and Rodrigues, showed that the tendency to exclude player with weight 4 from the coalitions decreases as the game progresses; this raises serious doubts as to the validity of the hypothesis derived from minimum resources theory. In the Brazilian replication, the hypothesis is clearly disconfirmed and we see a definite dominance of coalitions involving the player with weight 4, particularly in the last trials. The hypothesis known as "strength on weakness" was not confirmed with Brazilian subjects.

Another replication conducted by Shomer and Rodrigues (1971) with Brazilian subjects referred to the controversy between Adams (1968) and Lawler (1968) about worker's productivity in the condition of overpayment as compared to that of equitable payment. According to Adams, in the event of overpayment, the worker produces more in order to make the situation equitable (more payment, more productivity). Lawler argues that the results found by Adams confirming this position are due to experimental manipulation. To Lawler, the workers increased their output in the overpayment condition because they felt devaluated and tried, through overproduction, to show that they were capable of producing as much as those who had had experience and were in the equitable condition. Indeed, in Adams' study, subjects in the overpayment condition were asked if they had had experience in the type of work required from them: when they answered that they had not had any experience, the experimenter said that this was regrettable, but that he would pay them, anyway, the same amount the experienced workers would get.

The Brazilian replication repeated the equitable condition and that of overpayment with derogation of the worker as Adams and Rosenbaum did in 1962. The study added a third condition, that of overpayment by accident and thus, without derogation of the subject. Before the beginning of the experiment, the subject knew that he was going to be paid according to a table that was superior to what he deserved by his level of experience, but this appeared as a mistake made by the experimenter. The results showed that Brazilian subjects produce more in equitable than in other conditions of the experiment. No overproduction was found either in the condition that replicated Adams and Rosenbaum's study, or in the new one that introduced the overpayment by accident variable. At least on this test of Adam's theory, the data gathered in Brazil did not support the hypothesis tested.

The results of the replication of Kelley and Arrowood's (1960) study are difficult to analyse. Clearly the study shows the inadequacy of the "strength on weakness" hypothesis. We notice, in the Brazilian results a clear preference, in the last trials, for coalitions between players with weights 2 and 4, which is not dominant in the original data. Why this is so is difficult to say.

Easier to account for, however, are the findings obtained in the study on equity theory. Equity theory reflects a dominant value of the American culture. Fairness and correspondence between inputs and outputs are characteristics highly praised and reinforced in that culture, much more than in Brazil, where underdevelopment stimulates a desire to take advantage of others rather than being fair and equitable. In addition, interpersonal relations are based more on sentiments than on logic, which makes it easier to find in such culture inequities in both directions, that is, either in the direction of taking advantage of others, or in the direction of providing more to others than what is equitable. In sum, the matching of inputs and outputs is not a dominant value in the Brazilian culture. Consequently, people

are not motivated to behave equitably in most circumstances. Adam's theory does not seem applicable in Brazil and similar cultures. In other Latin American countries, this theory also did not work when persuasion attempts designed according to it were used in the real world (Varela, 1981, personal communication to the author).

Weiner and Kukla's study on causal ascription and achievement-related outcomes

A study conducted by Weiner and Kukla (1970) was replicated with nine Brazilian samples. In eight of them the results were not entirely reproduced. Weiner and Kukla found that subjects asked to attribute rewards and punishments to students based on their school outcomes (excellent, good, fair, borderline and failure) and on the fact that they had or did not have ability and that they did or did not show effort, behave in the following manner: they reward more for good results and punish less for bad ones, those who show effort and do not have ability; on the other hand, they punish more for bad results and reward less for good ones, those who are able and do not show effort. In Brazil the results did not confirm these findings, as we can see on fig. 2, which reproduce the data found with one of several Brazilian samples; seven others produced similar results and one was closer to the American data, although not exactly the same.

Fig. 2. Reward and punishment as a function of ability, effort and school outcome in Brazilian and American samples.

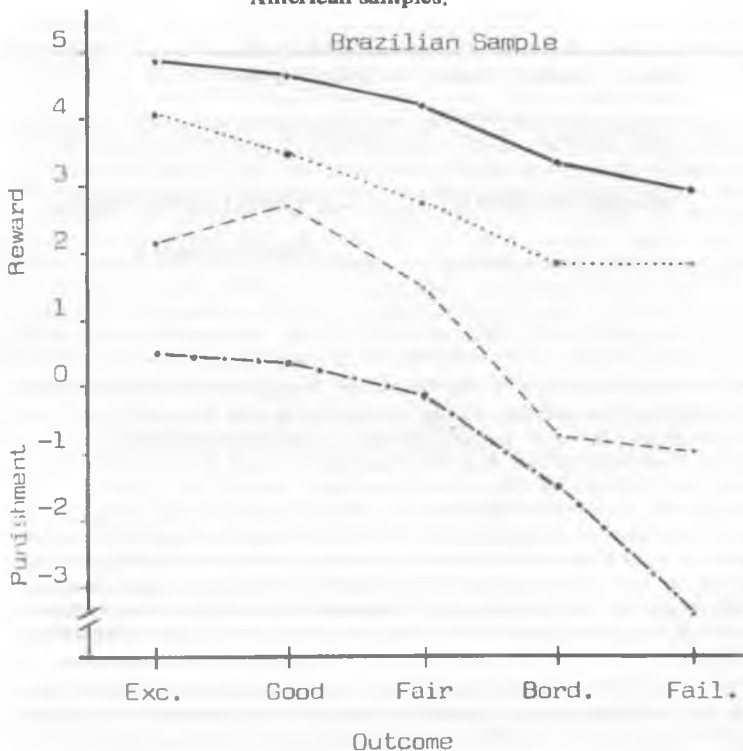
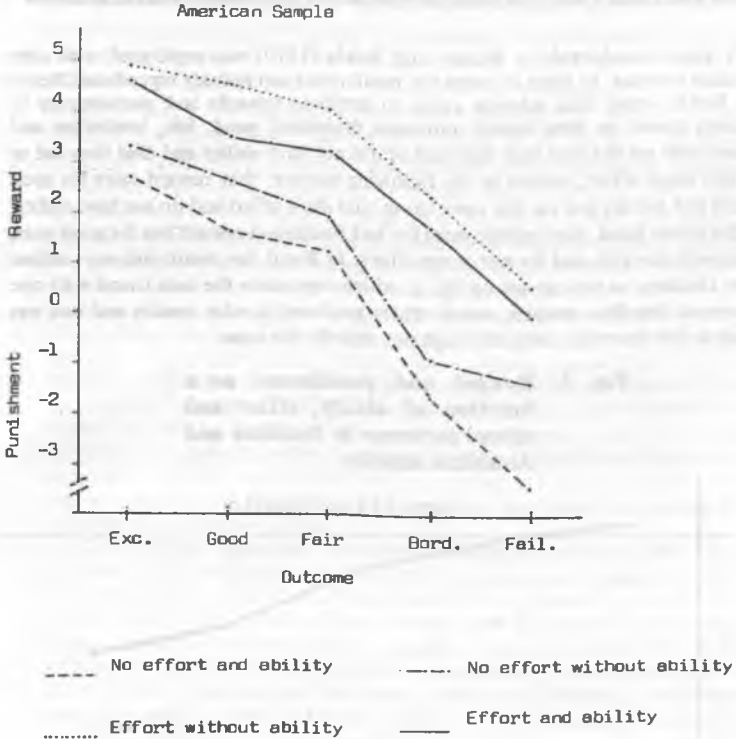


Fig. 3. Ratings of attraction for the chosen and the rejected alternatives before and after the decision.



As we see in Figure 2, in the Brazilian sample the students more rewarded for good results and less punished for bad ones are those who show effort and who also have ability; the more punished for bad results and less rewarded for good ones, are those who do not show effort and do not have ability. This seems to indicate that in Brazil, contrary to what has been found in the US, people value effort less when it comes to the attribution of rewards and punishments to school results. Although we cannot assert that effort is not valued in Brazil (the Brazilian samples rewarded those who showed effort more than those who did not), it seems reasonable to admit that a person who is capable of obtaining the same results as another despite the fact that he or she is less able than the other, should be more rewarded if the culture particularly values the effort made to overcome natural handicaps.

The results of this study showed that in Brazil, contrary to what has been found in the US and also in Germany as reported by Heckhausen, it is not the student who *does not have ability and shows effort* the one who is rewarded more

for good results in school, but rather the one who *has ability* and *shows effort*. This cultural difference suggests that, in Brazil, to overcome one's own limitations through effort is not as valued as in other cultures. This may explain why the Aleijadinho (The Little Crippled), a remarkable Brazilian sculptor who did not have his hands and worked with his feet, is just considered as a good sculptor among several others; in the US, however, Lincoln, a person clearly superiorly endowed and well educated, is portrayed by his American biographers as a person who had little education and suffered several handicaps, and who overcame all this through his efforts and determination. Here again we find a difference in the assignment of values as being the possible reason for the different results. The American culture values effort and capacity to overcome one's limitations more than the Brazilian culture, at least in some segments of it (less educated people). Out of several samples, the only one in which the data approximated the American pattern was the sample made up of students of the School of Education.

STUDIES GUIDED BY THEORIES DEVELOPED IN THE U.S. BUT WHICH ARE NOT DIRECT OR SYSTEMATIC REPLICATIONS OF ORIGINAL STUDIES

We shall see next the results of other studies in which the main concern was not to reproduce previous work conducted in the US, but rather to test hypotheses derived from theories originally put forth in the US to see whether or not they were supported in Brazil. The next five studies did just that.

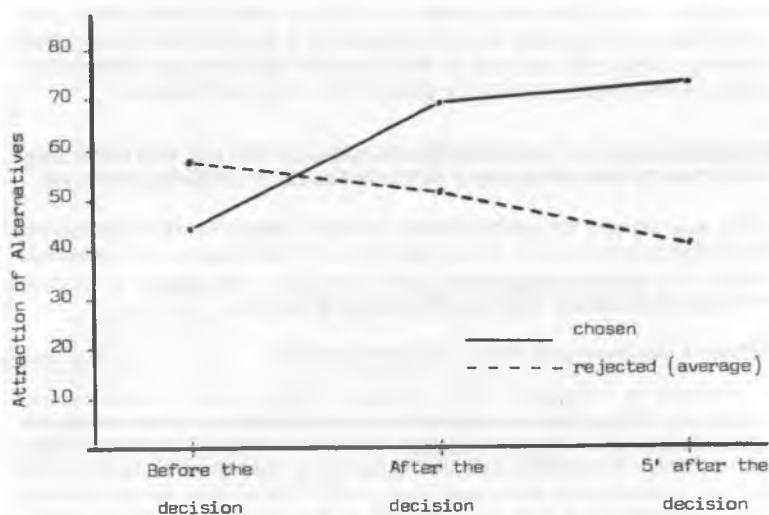
Festinger's Dissonance and Brehm's reactance theories

According to Festinger's (1957) dissonance theory, when a person chooses between two alternatives, he or she reduces the post-decisional dissonance through overevaluation of the chosen alternative and underevaluation of the rejected one. This hypothesis was clearly confirmed in our study. Subjects were asked to indicate their preference for seven essay topics, one of which they should choose in order to compete for a prize to be awarded to the best essay in a public contest. On a scale that varied from 10 to 99 points, the subjects were to indicate how much they liked each of the seven essay themes in three occasions, namely: before the decision, immediately after the decision, and 5 minutes after the decision when they were already thinking about the topic and preparing to begin the essay. Figure 3 shows the results and indicates the spreading apart of the alternatives after the decision, thus confirming the hypothesis derived from Festinger's theory.

Besides this hypothesis, another one derived from Brehm's (1966) theory of psychological reactance was tested in this same study. We expected that a partial restriction of one's freedom would lead the person to try to restore the threatened freedom by attributing greater value to the alternative whose freedom to be chosen had been partially limited through experimental manipulation. This follows Brehm's theory and was confirmed by him in the US. The data obtained in our study tend to confirm the hypothesis; however, the results were not as clear as those found in the test of Festinger's theory. A more detailed account of the procedure and of the findings can be found in Rodrigues (1971). It is, therefore, still doubtful that the hypothesis derived from reactance theory and tested in this study is confirmed in Brazil.

The spreading apart between chosen and rejected alternatives after the choice, predicted by dissonance theory, was clearly confirmed in Brazil. In regard to this hypothesis derived from dissonance theory, at least, the generalizability of the phenomenon of dissonance reduction seems well documented. The data related to reactance are not so convincing, but the experiment may have failed to create a condition in which the threat to one's freedom had been clear and strong. We see in the Brazilian culture two aspects that are to some extent conflictive as far as

the anticipation of reactance is concerned. On the one hand, we notice a great deal of individualism, which should lead to reactance; on the other, we witness a tendency to an attitude of resignation and acceptance of frustration, which should make less likely reactance behavior. This topic deserves further study in the Brazilian culture. Applying the notion of reactance in his persuasion attempts through social technology, Varela (1971; 1978) has been very successful in Latin American countries.



French and Raven's bases of social power

The applicability of French and Raven's (1959) theoretical position to the Brazilian reality has been investigated by us. Rodrigues and Raven (1974) carried out a study with Brazilian children to verify which was the dominant type of social influence in the school and what was its influence on the achievement and on the satisfaction of the children. The Brazilian study revealed also the preference for certain bases of power (coercion, reward, legitimacy, reference, expertise or information) according to the domain (school, community, discipline, and cooperation) in which the influence takes place. The results showed similarities and differences between the two cultures, and showed that the theoretical framework of French and Raven is applicable to studies on social influence in Brazil. The subjects were able to discriminate easily among the several bases of power and found them pertinent to identify sources of power used with them. A previous study conducted by Raven (1972) with American school showed that they attributed different types of influence to classmates and to teachers. Table 4 shows the rank orders in terms of probability of occurrence of each type of power as the basis for the student's behavior in the direction prescribed by the teacher or by the classmate in the Brazilian and in the American samples.

Since in the American sample the domain of influence was not specified, it seems reasonable to assume that the subjects had in mind the academic domain; if we look at the correlations found between the two samples taking the academic domain of the Brazilian sample, we find high correlations between them (.81 and .87). It is important to note that in the US, legitimacy occupies the first place when teacher's power is considered, whereas in Brazil its higher classification is a second place in the disciplinary domain.

The main point of the research just described was to verify if the theoretical position of French and Raven constituted a useful tool to study social influence in Brazil. The behavior of the subjects in this study and the relationships found between the power variables, convinced us that this theoretical framework can be used for studies of social influence in the Brazilian culture.

As to the difference found between American and Brazilian children in the indication of the dominant bases of power, we feel that, without replication, we have little basis for inferences, inasmuch as the results may reflect substantial amount of sampling biases. A cross-validation study seems mandatory in order to draw meaningful inferences.

Wagner's hypothesis on authoritarianism and attitude change; Hovland and Weiss' study on source credibility.

In the area of attitude change we carried out in co-authorship with Eugenia Prado and Maria das Gracas Mizukami (Prado, Mizukami & Rodrigues, 1980) a study in which Wagman's (1955) hypothesis, confirmed in the US by Centers, Shomer and Rodrigues (1970), was tested. This hypothesis expects authoritarians to be more influenced by authority than non-authoritarians. The main effects of authoritarianism and source credibility were not significant. The interaction between them, however, was ($F(1,49) = 5.58; p < .05$) in the expected direction, thus confirming the hypothesis and the findings of Centers et al. . .

In this same study an hypothesis confirmed by Hovland and Weiss (1951) was also tested. According to this hypothesis a source of higher credibility is capable of producing greater attitude change than a source of low credibility. In the Brazilian study such an hypothesis was not confirmed.

The results of Prado et al.'s (1980) study in regard to Wagman's hypothesis were further confirmed by another Brazilian study conducted by Saldanha (1980) who used identical procedure. This indicates that the authoritarian syndrome described by Adorno et al. (1950) and the hypothesis advanced by Wagman (1955) and confirmed in the US by Centers et al. (1970) have widespread generality. Other studies carried out in Brazil have also shown the validity of the characteristics of authoritarians first described by Adorno et al. (1950).

Hovland and Weiss' hypothesis, although rather obvious, was not confirmed in Brazil and has not been confirmed in practical persuasive situations in other Latin American countries in which social technology has been applied (Varela, personal communication). It seems that Brazilians do not trust authorities; why this is so needs further study.

Table 4

Spearman Correlation Coefficients (Rho) between Rank Orders of Bases of Power Ranked in Terms of Their Probability of Occurrence by American and Brazilian Children

Bases of Power	Teacher's Power					Classmate's Power				
	Domain					Domain				
	Not Specif.	D	C	A	Com.	Not Specif.	D	C	A	Com.
	USA (N = 454)	Brazil (N = 1,356)				USA (N = 454)	Brazil (N = 1,356)			
Coercion	6	4	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Reward	4.5	6	2	5	2	3.5	3	2	5	2
Legitimacy	1	2	4	3	5	5	4	5	5	4
Reference	4.5	5	3	4	3	1	2	2	2	2
Expert	3	3	5	2	4	3.5	5	4	3	5
Information	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
		.76					.84			
			.36					.87		
				.81					.87	
					.68					.79

Note: D = discipline; C = cooperation; A = academic; and Com. = community.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

We shall see, in conclusion, what has been learned about the Brazilian reality in the field of interpersonal relation as a result of the findings here reported; we shall end with a brief assessment of the replication program carried out by us.

Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the findings derived from our program of replications still need further replications in Brazil to be accepted as unquestionably valid and reliable, we can tentatively, but with much more confidence than before, assert that:

1. the social pressure derived from an unanimous majority is capable of exercising considerable influence upon people;
2. as far as person impression formation is concerned, also in the Brazilian culture, the adjectives "warm" and "cold" possess the characteristics of centrality mentioned by Asch and, consequently, some personality dimensions indeed influence more than others in person perception;
3. descriptive adjectives of a person when presented first have greater influence in person impression formation than those presented last. Since the confirmation of this is controversial even in the culture of origin, further tests of this hypothesis are necessary;
4. balanced triads of the P-O-X type are considered less unpleasant than imbalanced triads;
5. positively balanced triads are considered less unpleasant than non-balanced ones and these, in turn, are considered less unpleasant than imbalanced triads;
6. unknown stimuli presented more frequently are more positively evaluated than those presented less frequently, when frequencies of exposure between 0 and 25 times are considered;
7. in mixed motive situations, characterized by being part cooperative and part competitive, participants form coalitions more frequently with the person who holds more power than with those who hold less power, thus going against the hypothesis derived from minimum resources theory;
8. the productivity of Brazilian subjects is not a function of their perception of inequity between their investments and the rewards obtained, thus failing to support Adam's equity theory;
9. students are more rewarded for good results and less punished for bad ones when they are able and show effort; those who are more punished for bad results and less rewarded for good ones, are the ones who lack ability and do not show effort;
10. informational power is more efficient to induce changes in a school setting and coercive and legitimate power are the less efficient ones;
11. the chosen alternative is valued and the rejected one devaluated after a decision is made, as predicted by dissonance theory;
12. there is a tendency among Brazilian subjects to value more the alternative whose freedom to be chosen is threatened, as predicted by reactance theory;
13. authoritarians change more their attitude when influenced by an authority than non-authoritarians, thus confirming the hypothesis raised by Wagman (1955) and confirmed in the culture of origin;
14. the bases of social power put forth by French and Raven (1959) constitute a useful theoretical tool to verify the sources of social influence;
15. greater credibility of the source does not lead to greater influenceability, thus going against what has been found in the US by Hovland and Weiss (1951).

It is obvious that the results obtained through the several studies that have been undertaken under our replications program do not render unnecessary further verification of their validity and reliability. We do not intend to convey that the

results here reported constitute the final word on the matter. This would not only be unscientific, but also naive and fruitless. Despite their faults, the studies here reported contribute something useful for the establishment of some constants between variables of interest to social psychology in the Brazilian context, as well as to the achievement of some "universals of social behavior" mentioned by Triandis (1978). Some people may question the usefulness of a program such as this. Will it be worthwhile? The answer to this question will depend upon the fundamental posture of each one towards social psychology. Those who see it as a science will probably consider the program worthwhile, despite its asystematic character. Needless to say they would consider it more fruitful if the program had replicated studies according to some logic, rather than being a function of the interest in the topic and its importance, in addition to the fact that they were capable of being reproduced in the Brazilian reality. On the other hand, those who see social psychology only as social action, most likely will consider the program a waste of time, effort, and resources and will continue to improvise their actions inspired not by the discoveries of science, but by the impulses of their preferred ideology. As I have stressed several times (Rodrigues, 1976; 1979; 1981), I believe that it is the business of the social psychologist to discover the nonrandom relationships among social-psychological variables. Once he has this knowledge he may, if he so wishes, act as a social technologist (Varela, 1971) and try to change people and social structures. Although I agree with Varela (1978) and with Reyes and Varela (1980) that social sciences already possess a fair amount of knowledge that makes social technology justifiable, I believe that, particularly in developing countries, the more we increase our knowledge of interpersonal relations, the better we will be able to resolve the social problems of these countries which are great and varied, and our knowledge of their social reality is still limited.

Contemporary society counts on social scientists and social technologists. The improvement of our life conditions, the elimination of misery, injustice, and violence depend, to a great extent, on a solid knowledge of our social reality and on a competent application of such knowledge. If scientists and technologists carry out their activities in a dedicated, honest, and competent manner, the integration of their efforts will result, if coupled with a moral improvement of people, in a happier future, where the coming generations will live in a world that is more human and more just, and where hatred and misery will not prevail upon fraternity and respect for human dignity. It was with my eyes on such a future that I undertook the program here summarized and continue to work on it. It is with my eyes on such a future that I encourage all social psychologists to engage themselves in the production of reliable knowledge, so that it can be successfully applied toward the resolution of social problems.

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FOOTNOTE

(1) This is a revised version of the *Presidential Address* delivered by the author at the XVIII Congress of the Interamerican Society of Psychology in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, in June, 1981. The author is grateful to the *American Psychological Foundation* which funded most of the research reported here through a Post-Doctoral Research Grant to Foreign Students awarded the author, and to *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq)* which facilitated this work through grant N^o 1111.5563/76. Copies of this paper can be obtained by writing to: Aroldo Rodrigues, Universidade Federal R.G. do Sul, Pós-Graduação em Educação, Av. Paulo Gama s/n, 90.000 Porto Alegre RS Brasil.

EFFECTOS DEL CONTACTO CON LA CULTURA FRANCESA SOBRE LA REPRESENTACION SOCIAL DEL VENEZOLANO

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Este artículo describe: 1) La Representación Social del Venezolano expresada por estudiantes venezolanos en Francia, 2) su relación con: variables demográficas (sexo, edad y nivel socio-cultural); variables personales (imagen de sí mismo); y número de años que ellos han vivido en Francia. La representación social se exploró al interior de un largo cuestionario a través de una pregunta abierta sobre las cualidades y defectos del venezolano. En general el Venezolano es descrito como poseedor de cualidades socio-afectivas y de defectos instrumentales.

This article describes: 1) The Social Representation that Venezuelan students in France have of "Venezuelans"; 2) Its relation to: demographic variables (sex, age, and socio-cultural level); personal variables (self-image); and number of years they have lived in France. Social representation was explored within a long questionnaire by an open-ended question about the virtues and defects of Venezuelans. In general Venezuelans are described as having socio-affective virtues and instrumental defects.

Una de las preocupaciones actuales en muchos países de Latinoamérica se centra alrededor de la búsqueda y definición de las características de la Identidad Nacional. En uno de sus primeros trabajos en esta área, Salazar (1970) estudia los estereotipos que se relacionan al conacional en una muestra de estudiantes universitarios. Siguiendo el procedimiento de Katz y Braly utilizan una lista de 36 adjetivos entre los cuales los sujetos deben escoger los 5 que mejor describen a tres grupos nacionales: Venezolanos, Italianos y Norteamericanos. Los cinco adjetivos más frecuentemente escogidos para definir al Venezolano resultaron ser:

Flojos (55^o/o), Apasionados (49^o/o), Generosos (45^o/o), Temperamentales (40^o/o), e Impulsivos (39^o/o).

Posteriormente, Eduardo Santoro (1975) hace un estudio sobre el autoestereotipo y heteroestereotipo del Venezolano, utilizando también el procedimiento de Katz y Braly ligeramente modificado. Primero entrevistó un grupo preliminar y, a partir de los atributos del Venezolano encontrados en ese estudio piloto, elaboró una lista de 37 adjetivos que presentó a un grupo de 68 personas de nivel socio-económico bajo para que indicaran los rasgos atribuibles a cada uno de ocho nacionalidades diferentes. Los seis adjetivos más frecuentemente escogidos para definir al venezolano fueron: Alegre ($f = 61$), Bueno (59), Trabajador (57), Amable (56), Cariñoso (53) y Fuerte (53) (frecuencias).

Como se observa, los resultados de ambos estudios son contradictorios, sobre todo en cuanto al par Trabajador-Flojo; por otra parte, los atributos más frecuentemente señalados en el estudio de Salazar, son en su mayoría adjetivos negativos, mientras que en el de Santoro, predominan adjetivos positivos. Sin embargo, es de notar que también las muestras de sujetos entrevistados eran diferentes: estudiantes universitarios y sujetos de nivel socio-económico bajo.

En su última investigación, Salazar (1981) encuestó una muestra de 569 sujetos representativa de cuatro niveles socio-económicos: AB (Superior), C (Medio Alto), D (Medio Bajo) y E (Bajo) de la población de Caracas. Siguiendo lo propuesto por Fishbein para el estudio de creencias y actitudes, se les aplicó a los sujetos un cuestionario en el cual se les pedía evaluar las características de 6 grupos nacionales a través de 8 adjetivos. El grupo venezolano fue evaluado como el menos responsable, menos trabajador y menos ahorrativo y como el más alegre, hospitalario y no explotador en relación a los Estado Unidos, Ingleses, Españoles, Argentinos y Colombianos.

El autor señala que, en relación con sus investigaciones anteriores "La percepción del venezolano sigue siendo relativamente negativa; se considera que no posee las características más valoradas; aunque se reconoce que posee en mayor grado cierta características, éstas no son las que son valoradas más altamente" (p.45).

En este artículo presentamos una parte de los resultados de un estudio relacionado con este tema y desarrollado en condiciones particulares: con estudiantes venezolanos en Francia, y a la luz de un modelo teórico poco frecuente en la literatura psicosocial de nuestro continente: Las representaciones sociales (Banchs, 1979).

La mayoría de los sujetos que se dirigen a un país extranjero para realizar estudios, aspiran no sólo a una mejor formación profesional sino también a un enriquecimiento en otras esferas de su personalidad. En efecto, el contacto prolongado con un mundo cultural diferente abre nuevos horizontes al individuo llevándolo a descubrir en sí mismo intereses personales hasta entonces dormidos y a reformular con una nueva visión parte de su ideología, motivaciones e intereses anteriores. En esta nueva situación se produce también un cuestionamiento, con frecuencia profundo, de los elementos personales del individuo, viéndose afectada su identidad psicosocial en relación directa con el nivel y tipo de adaptación que el individuo desarrolla durante su estadía en el país receptor (ver Banchs, 1980).

Uno de los aspectos que juega un rol importante tanto en el proceso de adaptación como en los cambios consecuentes que se operan en el individuo es su nacionalidad. Como lo afirma Morris (1956) "la mayoría de los estudiantes han vivi-

do en un mismo país toda su vida, en esas circunstancias la nacionalidad no es un criterio de juicio entre los individuos o en las relaciones sociales, no tampoco juega un papel importante en la formación de la utoestima. Puede ser que en los países donde existe una preocupación por fomentar una conciencia política o económica del estatus nacional en relación con otros países, haya un cierto etnocentrismo generalizado, pero aún en estos casos éste no se aplica ni es vivido a título personal por cada individuo. La condición del estudiante en el extranjero es diferente, él debe afrontar el hecho de que su sola nacionalidad puede determinar el estatus que le acordarán la personas de su interés". Tomando pues en cuenta esta importancia del papel de la nacionalidad en el extranjero, decidimos explorarla, partiendo del enfoque de las representaciones sociales.

Cuando hablamos de representaciones sociales, nos referimos a un modelo teórico propuesto hace ya casi un siglo por Durkheim y retomado en 1961 por Moscovici en su tesis sobre la inserción de la teoría psicoanalítica en la opinión pública. Este modelo, todavía en estudio, ha tomado un auge importante en Europa suscitando desde su relance por Moscovici una serie de trabajos, reflexiones, coloquios y comparaciones teóricas.

Las representaciones sociales constituyen un concepto dialéctico, ellas hacen referencia a una organización psicológica compleja y difícil de definir. Son una especie de ciencia colectiva, de saber popular, una forma de conocimiento particular que vehicula la comunicación entre los miembros de un grupo y por extensión de una sociedad. Según Moscovici (1979), las representaciones sociales son el fundamento de toda interacción humana, ellas son pensadas y producidas por el individuo a través del intercambio y la colaboración y no de forma aislada.

Jodelet (1978) las define en los términos siguientes: "La noción de representaciones sociales recubre el sistema cognoscitivo y simbólico que constituye el conjunto de conocimientos, creencias, imágenes, significaciones, opiniones, etc., relativos a un objeto circunscrito en la realidad social" (p. 6).

La "Representación Social del Venezolano" hace así referencia a la forma en que nuestros encuestados elaboran e interpretan una realidad concreta: aquella que los identifica con un grupo cultural definido, aquella que les asigna una nacionalidad. Lo ideal para aprender estas representaciones, es explorarlas tal como ellas se reflejan en un discurso abierto y no fragmentado por el corte arbitrario de la realidad implícito en la técnica de cuestionario. No pudiendo estudiarlas bajo esa condición idónea, tratamos de ser lo menos directivos posibles, solicitando a nuestros encuestados de responder a un ítem abierto sobre las "cualidades" y "defectos" que en su opinión, mejor definen el Venezolano.

METODO

Sujetos

En este estudio participaron 209 estudiantes Venezolanos, becarios de la Fundación Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho para cursar estudios de pre-grado universitario en Francia. Entre ellos encontramos 4 grupos definidos por el tiempo que llevaban viviendo en contacto con la cultura Francesa: los "antiguos" son 51 becarios con 2 años en Francia, los "intermediarios", son un grupo de 52 becarios con 1 año en Francia, los "recién llegados" son 61 becarios con 6 meses en Francia y los "aspirantes" son 45 becarios que se encontraban en Venezuela preparándose para salir a cursar estudios en el exterior.

Procedimiento

A partir de una serie de entrevistas en profundidad realizadas a becarios vene-

zolanos en Francia, se construyó un cuestionario *ad hoc* compuesto de 61 ítems, muchos de ellos abiertos. Los ítems exploraban los siguientes aspectos: adaptación en Francia y satisfacción durante la estadía; imagen de sí mismo (con la técnica de Khun y Mc Portland); representaciones sociales de Francia y de los Franceses y de Venezuela y los Venezolanos. El cuestionario fue aplicado colectivamente en todos los grupos menos en el de estudiantes "antiguos" a quienes se les aplicó de manera individual por encontrarse dispersos en diferentes centros de estudios.

Análisis

Se utilizó el análisis de contenido para agrupar las respuestas de los sujetos. Los datos fueron tratados únicamente a nivel descriptivo. El "nivel socio-cultural" fue establecido tomando como índice el nivel de escolaridad y ocupacional de ambos padres.

RESULTADOS Y DISCUSION

Categorías y Dimensiones de la Representación

De los 209 entrevistados se recogieron 438 referencias sobre las "cualidades" y 434 sobre los "defectos" del Venezolano, es decir, un promedio de 2.09 y 2.07 respuestas por persona respectivamente. Este conjunto de referencias quedaron agrupados en las categorías que se presentan en la tabla 1.

TABLA 1

CUALIDADES Y DEFECTOS DEL VENEZOLANO			
<i>Cualidades</i>		<i>Defectos</i>	
Simpático	46 ^o /o	Irresponsables	43 ^o /o
Generoso	28 ^o /o	Perezoso	37 ^o /o
Amable	24 ^o /o	Desorganizado	35 ^o /o
Afectuoso	35 ^o /o	Pasivo/Inactivo	19 ^o /o
Sociable	27 ^o /o	Inmaduro	21 ^o /o
Espontáneo	14 ^o /o	Inculto	07 ^o /o
Inteligente	13 ^o /o	Machista	09 ^o /o
Dinámico	16 ^o /o	Agresivo	28 ^o /o
Buen Patriota	07 ^o /o	Mal Patriota	11 ^o /o
No responde	13 ^o /o	No responde	12 ^o /o

Cuando observamos las bases sobre las cuales se fundamentan los atributos presentados en la tabla 1, se pueden despejar tres dimensiones que reagrupan estos atributos: La mayoría de las cualidades se fundamentan sobre un terreno psico-social, en el cual distinguimos: Una dimensión afectiva representada por dos categorías de referencias: afectuosidad y amabilidad. Una dimensión social, más amplia que la afectiva, representada por cuatro categorías de cualidades: sociabilidad,

simpatía, generosidad y espontaneidad. Una dimensión instrumental evocada en tres categorías: inteligencia, dinamismo y patriotismo.

Las tres cuartas partes de nuestros encuestados se representan al Venezolano combinando atributos de estas dimensiones. Entre estas combinaciones la más frecuente es la de las dimensiones afectivas y social (70^o/o). Algunos fundamentan su representación sobre la dimensión social únicamente (12^o/o), mientras que otros la circunscriben a un terreno puramente afectivo (10^o/o) y sólo una minoría define al Venezolano por sus cualidades instrumentales (4^o/o) sin utilizar otro dominio de referencias. De esto se desprende que, en esencia, en lo concerniente a los aspectos positivos que el Venezolano atribuye al carácter nacional se destacan la *Sociabilidad y la afectuosidad*.

Cuando observamos las referencias en cuanto a los atributos negativos, notamos que las posiciones se invierten: La dimensión instrumental ocupa el primer lugar representada por cinco categorías referenciales: irresponsabilidad, pereza, desorganización, incultura, defectos patrios. La dimensión social le sigue, en segundo lugar, designada por las categorías: pasividad, agresividad y machismo. La dimensión afectiva es la más débil, representada únicamente por la categoría: inmadurez. Los defectos incluidos en la dimensión instrumental son citados por la gran mayoría de respondientes, sólo 10^o/o de los encuestados no los menciona y cerca de la mitad (47^o/o) fundamenta su representación de defectos del Venezolano únicamente sobre este terreno.

De esto se desprende que el Venezolano es definido como carente en lo esencial de virtudes instrumentales. Por otra parte cabe resaltar, que en esta representación hay un mayor acuerdo en cuanto a los atributos negativos, acuerdo casi estereotipado de la imagen del conacional.

El Venezolano: un personaje Hedonista y Primario

Las categorías (ver tabla 1) y dimensiones de esta representación, reflejan los elementos fundamentales en la percepción del Venezolano, no obstante, esta síntesis del conglomerado de referencias utilizadas por nuestros encuestados, no traduce la gama de sutilezas que enriquece la representación. Si desplegamos el contenido de esa información concentrada y nos referimos a los diferentes atributos comprendidos en cada una de las 18 categorías presentadas, podemos delinear una especie de "retrato psicológico" del Venezolano, en el cual predominan rasgos de un carácter hedonista y primario, tal como se presenta a continuación:

El Venezolano es descrito como una persona de contacto fácil y agradable gracias a su simpatía, calor humano, afectuosidad, sociabilidad, espontaneidad, su carácter acogedor y hospitalario. Sin embargo, esta facilidad social predominante lo lleva algunas veces a imponerse ante los demás pasando por alto sus límites personales. De la misma forma su remarcable sociabilidad lo hace más dependiente de la opinión ajena y por ello se nos presenta como influenciable, indeciso, sugestionable, demasiado emotivo. De otra parte este personaje parece vivir casi exclusivamente en función de su potencial de relaciones ya que en el plano de la productividad y del rendimiento es descrito como carente de las cualidades requeridas: es irresponsable, desorganizado y encima de esto perezoso.

Estos elementos reunidos nos ofrecen la imagen de un personaje primario, amante de la vida fácil y poco habituado a realizar esfuerzos, proveer, planificar y alcanzar objetivos a largo plazo. En esta representación remarcamos igualmente rasgos que delinean un carácter poco reflexivo por su impulsividad, agresividad, su falta de disciplina. De hecho la mayoría de las cualidades con que se lo describe son de orden socio-afectivo y su inteligencia, no sólo es mencionada por una minoría, sino que aún en estos casos, representa más una inteligencia social que una inteligencia abstracta u orientada hacia la producción; ello nos designa un persona-

je ingenioso, con chispa, capaz de interpretar los hechos de manera espontánea y a un primer nivel sin profundizar más lejos; es una inteligencia en la que se acentúa la rapidez y el vuelo del pensamiento por su sagacidad, vivacidad y astucia; una inteligencia aplicada en una práctica hedonista y en servicio de la alegría y la diversión en compañía. Es una inteligencia carente de control, de reglas, poco trabajada y más bien integrada a una actitud emotiva que a una actitud racional o instrumental. Su carácter dinámico e impulsivo va de par con una pereza, pereza de lo "serio". El dejarse ir propio del hedonista se integra bien en este cuadro; el venezolano es descrito como falto de iniciativa, de voluntad y amante de la facilidad y de la comodidad. Este "collage" de rasgos que nos describen el personaje que venimos de delinear, no es percibido de manera idéntica por todos nuestros encuestados, veamos ahora cuáles son los factores asociados a las variaciones de esta representación.

Factores asociados a las variaciones de la Representación Social del Venezolano

Variaciones en cuanto a la riqueza de referencias. Las representaciones en que conseguimos una mayor variedad y cantidad de referencias son generalmente las de los sujetos de sexo femenino, los de menor edad (entre 17 y 20 años) y los provenientes de un medio urbano y principalmente de la capital. Los factores situacionales afectan también la imagen que el individuo nos ofrece del conacional, es así que los estudiantes menos adaptados a la vida en Francia, al igual que aquellos que se encuentran rodeados de compatriotas en el medio Francés, son los que nos ofrecen las representaciones más ricas y variadas. Entre ellos se destacan específicamente aquellos que nos describen una imagen cargada de elementos conflictivos. La relación entre estos dos factores es progresiva; a menos nivel de adaptación en Francia mayor riqueza en la representación del Venezolano y viceversa. En efecto, entre los estudiantes mejor adaptados en Francia y aquellos que se encuentran inmersos en un mundo social Francés, se observa una predominancia de referencias negativas y una fuerte disminución de referencias positivas. No creemos que sea deseable tratar de determinar relaciones de causa-efecto entre la adaptación al extranjero y la imagen de lo nacional.

Imagen de sí mismo, sentimiento de bienestar o malestar en una cultura y percepción de la identidad nacional, se alimentan recíprocamente en un juego de "feedback". Este es el principio de las representaciones sociales que son una forma de reconstrucción mental de la realidad en la que coactúan dos universos; el de los individuos que participan en la reconstrucción de esa realidad y el universo exterior en que ella se inscribe. Los dos, individuos y realidad, son afectados por ese proceso, los dos se transforman y son transformados. Sólo podemos observar que una actitud crítica sobre lo nacional, está asociada a una mejor adaptación a la vida en el extranjero; que una mayor investidura de lo nacional va de par con un mayor número de dificultades en la adaptación al extranjero.

Variaciones en cuanto al contenido. La forma en que nos representamos los diversos objetos sociales varía en función de nuestra ideología, valores, actitud de espíritu, visión del mundo, edad, sexo, en fin en función de nuestros grupos sociales de referencia. Veamos algunas de estas variaciones.

(a) Edad y sexo: Los estudiantes más jóvenes conjuntamente con los del sexo femenino tienden a acentuar la sociabilidad del Venezolano al igual que su irresponsabilidad y su pereza; al contrario, la representación que nos ofrecen los de sexo masculino y los mayores de 20 años enfatiza la vivacidad e inteligencia del conacional aunándola a su comportamiento agresivo y machista. Los más jóvenes parecen así tener una visión más femenina que los mayores. Básicamente los primeros evocan rasgos pasivos de carácter (sociabilidad, pereza) y los segundos rasgos activos (vivacidad, agresión).

(b) Nivel socio-cultural: Otras son las variaciones atribuibles a la pertenencia socio-cultural. Los estudiantes provenientes de un *nivel inferior* acentúan el dinamismo como calidad y la falta de madurez como defecto. Este grupo de encuestados describe un Venezolano activo, desenvuelto, luchador, pero acomplejado y quejumbroso. Lo que distingue a los estudiantes de *nivel socio-cultural medio* es su actitud crítica, sólo la simpatía del venezolano toma relieve en el conjunto de cualidades que ellos evoca, mientras que en lo tocante a los defectos ninguno es dejado de lado y la agresividad e irresponsabilidad son acentuadas de manera evidente. En contraste con ellos los estudiantes provenientes de un *nivel superior* nos ofrecen una representación menos crítica y acentúan únicamente entre los defectos aquellos menos frecuentes en la representación del conjunto: el machismo y la incultura. En cuanto a las cualidades además de hacer resaltar la sociabilidad, destacan la amabilidad, rasgo afectivo más sutil que la afectuosidad.

(c) Imagen de sí mismo: La auto-percepción y la percepción del carácter nacional muestran igualmente tendencias asociativas, sin entrar en detalles remarquemos únicamente que los individuos con mayor auto-crítica tienden a ser menos críticos en la representación del carácter nacional, ellos acentúan las cualidades socio-afectivas del venezolano y tienden a disminuir sus referencias en cuanto a los defectos. Al contrario, aquellos que se auto-describen en función de sus cualidades personales nos ofrecen una representación empobrecida del carácter nacional. Se observa, por ejemplo, que los individuos que se auto-definen en términos de una problemática afectiva, acentúan la afectuosidad agresiva del nacional.

Los estudiantes que se definen a sí mismo en tanto que actores sociales, identificándose con grupos de pertenencia, son los que se muestran más instrumentales del carácter nacional acentuando tanto las cualidades como los defectos propios de esta dimensión. Dicho en otras palabras los individuos más preocupados por su propia auto-imagen nos ofrecen una representación social del Venezolano predominante emotiva, mientras que los individuos más identificados con su pertenencia social nos ofrecen una representación más racional e instrumental.

Cambios Asociados al Tiempo de Residencia en Francia.

Como se puede observar en la Tabla 2, la Representación del Venezolano ofrece variaciones en los cuatro grupos que llevan mayor o menor tiempo viviendo en Francia. Comencemos por señalar que los estudiantes que se encontraban en su país, en comparación con los grupos en Francia, se refieren mucho más frecuentemente a la amabilidad y sociabilidad del Venezolano. Los primeros (estudiantes en Venezuela) evocan más fácilmente las cualidades intelectuales y el carácter dinámico del conacional, y cuando se refieren a las cualidades afectivas utilizan de preferencia expresiones matizadas tales como "gentil", "amable", mientras que sus compañeros en Francia evocan términos de mayor fuerza denotativa: "afectuoso", "emotivo".

Esta representación comienza a evolucionar desde los *primeros meses de estada* en Francia, en que ya observamos la preponderancia de atributos afectivo-sociales. En ella se observa también un efecto de espejo, en que queda traducido una crisis de identidad que se constató en algunos estudiantes *al cabo de un año* en Francia (ver Banchs, 1980). Estos estudiantes a la hora de definirse ellos mismos lo hacían de forma anónima ("Yo soy un punto en el espacio, una pieza de una gran maquinaria") sin evocar ni sus atributos personales ni sus atributos sociales; y a la hora de definir el carácter nacional, algunos manifiestan su impotencia y confusión, no respondiendo o dando respuestas irrelevantes tales como: "cualidades-todas, defectos - ninguno". De hecho en el grupo de estudiantes con un año en Francia el ausentismo de respuesta a este ítem fue el más elevado de todos: 25% se abstuvieron o contestaron sin definirse. (todo, nada, mucho, pocos, etc.)

Dos años después de la llegada a Francia, junto con la recuperación de la crisis de identidad personal se recupera la representación del Venezolano (o la identidad socio-cultural), y en ese momento se afianza la tendencia que despuntaba ya a los seis meses de la llegada. Los estudiantes con mayor tiempo en Francia enfatizan la simpatía, la generosidad, la afectuosidad y la espontaneidad del nacional, y los rasgos positivos que se hacen menos frecuentes son la amabilidad, el dinamismo y la inteligencia del Venezolano: justamente estos rasgos, se encuentran particularmente acentuados por los del grupo encuestado en Venezuela.

Porcentaje que menciona atributos del Venezolano

TABLA 2

Atributos	Grupo	Antiguos (2 años en Francia)	Intermediarios (1 año en Francia)	Recién llegados (6 meses en Francia)	Total ¹	Aspirantes (en Vzla.)
	Categoría					
Calidad	Simpático	45	44	49	46	27
	Generoso	33	23	28	28	04
	Amable	24	10	36	24	42
	Afectuoso	45	25	36	35	22
	Sociable	31	27	23	27	31
	Espontáneo	20	10	13	14	11
	Inteligente	18	12	11	13	31
	Dinámico	10	13	25	16	24
	Buen patriota	06	04	10	07	11
	No respuesta	06	25	08	13	13
Defecto	Irresponsable	33	38	54	43	62
	Perezoso	39	19	49	37	40
	Desorganizado	39	40	28	35	33
	Pasivo/ Inactivo	251	08	23	19	19
	Inmaduro	12	23	26	21	07
	Inculto	10	02	10	07	18
	Machista	16	04	07	09	07
	Agresivo	29	31	25	28	07
	Mal patriota, Patriotero,	10	12	11	11	11
	No respuesta	08	21	07	12	16

1

El total incluye sólo los tres grupos en Francia como el elemento de comparación con el grupo en Venezuela.

En efecto desde que el individuo se encuentra en un medio extranjero que le permite compararse con otros modelos sociales comienza a cuestionar la capacidad del raciocinio del Venezolano y a acentuar su falta de organización, su carácter improvisador, su desorden, su indolencia, su pasividad, su falta de madurez y su actitud de machista. Estas asociaciones son tanto más importantes cuando el individuo ha vivido mayor tiempo en Francia.

En definitiva, lo que más distingue la representación del Venezolano en su país y en el exterior es que los primeros acentúan la amabilidad, la inteligencia, el dinamismo, y la irresponsabilidad, mientras que los grupos en Francia destacan la simpatía, la generosidad, la afectuosidad, la inmadurez y la agresividad. Los primeros parecen ser un Venezolano más capaz y racional, y los segundos un Venezolano más emotivo e inmaduro (véase comparación entre el grupo de aspirantes y el total en Francia, tabla 2).

Tres atributos no se ven afectados por la experiencia transcultural, ellos son la sociabilidad, la pereza y la falta de patriotismo del Venezolano. Estos rasgos cuando varían en un momento dado de la estadía afuera, lo hacen para regresar luego a su posición inicial. De hecho el perfil de rasgos del grupo intermedio, en el que habíamos detectado signos de una crisis de identidad, es bastante diferente del resto de los grupos, presentando cambios abruptos que no pueden ser interpretados como signos de una evolución, sino más bien como reveladores de un conflicto. Lo que nos permite hablar en términos de evolución, es la representación, que una vez superada esta crisis, se hacen los estudiantes más antiguos del conjunto de encuestados.

De todo lo antes dicho queremos para finalizar notar que los cambios observados parecen indicar que el estudiante en Francia se representa al Venezolano en posición de inferioridad sobre el plano intelectual-racional (instrumental), esta posición se refuerza cuando sabemos que estos mismos estudiantes atribuyen al Francés cualidades racionales o intelectuales y defectos afectivos-sociales. Las dos imágenes varían al unísono mostrándonos un Francés cada vez más frío y racional y un Venezolano cada vez más cálido y emotivo.

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THE PERFORMANCE OF MEXICAN CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS ON THE WISC-R

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Translations of the Wechsler scales have been used in Mexico for decades. Recently, the WISC-R and the other Wechsler IQ tests translated and published for use in Mexico and Latin America, with the approval of the Psychological Corporation. Unfortunately, the WISC-R as published in Mexico relies on U.S. norms for scoring and interpretation. With the rapid development of special education in Mexico, the already substantial need to establish Mexican WISC-R norms has become critical. During the 1980-81 academic year, the WISC-R was administered to 1,100 children between the ages of 6 and 16 from randomly selected schools in the Distrito Federal. The mean full scale IQ was 87.3 with a standard deviation of 13.7. The mean verbal IQ was 89.2 and the mean performance IQ was 88.0. The percentage of Mexican students meeting Wechsler's criteria are presented for each of the classifications of IQ. The educational and ethical implications of using U.S. WISC-R norms in Mexico and Latin America are discussed.

Durante varios años se han empleado en México traducciones de las escalas Wechsler. Recientemente, con el permiso de la Corporación Psicológica, se tradujeron y publicaron para consumo en México y América Latina el WISC-R y otros exámenes de cociente intelectual Wechsler. Desafortunadamente, el WISC-R tal como se publicó en México, confía en las normas de evaluación e interpretación empleadas en los Estados Unidos. Con el rápido desarrollo de la educación especial en México, se agudiza la ya existente necesidad de establecer normas mexicanas para el WISC-R. Durante el año académico de 1980-81, se le administró el WISC-R a 1,100 niños entre las edades de 6 a 16 de colegios escogidos al azar en el Distrito Federal. El Promedio del cociente intelectual (CI) en total fue 87.3 con

una desviación estándar de 13.7. El promedio del CI verbal fue 89.2 y del CI de ejecución fue 88.0. Los porcentajes de estudiantes mexicanos que cumplieron los criterios de Wechsler se presentan para cada clasificación del CI. Se incluye una discusión del uso de normas WISC-R norteamericanas en México y América Latina.

In a series of papers written in the early thirties, George I. Sánchez (1932a, 1932b, 1934a, 1934b) questioned the validity of IQ tests administered to Spanish-speaking children in the southwestern United States. His thoughtful analyses and cogent arguments were virtually ignored. Fifty years later, a growing number of psychologists have come to the realization that task of adapting psychological instruments standardized in the U.S. for use across multiple cultural and linguistic groups raises complex conceptual, methodological and ethical issues (Laosa, 1973). As noted by Holtzman (1964), many investigators, in their exuberance and naivete, barely considered or completely ignored such important issues as linguistic equivalence of meaning, examiner variability, cultural variations in response set and representative sampling. In exporting IQ tests, it was implicitly assumed that individuals in other cultural and linguistic groups had an equal opportunity to learn what is contained in U.S. produced tests, had a similar level of motivation to learn the material, and could be expected to perform at a maximal, competitive level, in prototypical U.S. fashion. One of the major breakthroughs in a maturing cross-cultural perspective has been the realization that the simple translation and superficial adaptation of existing measures of perceptual, cognitive, and personality development and functioning are clearly not sufficient for producing valid cross-cultural and subcultural comparisons. What is necessary in most instances is the standardization of instruments within each culture (Laosa, 1973).

Perhaps nowhere is the need for the standardization of psychological instruments more explicit than in Mexico. Because of its proximity to the U.S., Mexico has been viewed historically as a reliable and potentially large market for tests of all types. Samuda (1975) listed nearly 100 tests that are available in Spanish and the list has surely grown in the last few years. Fortunately, there has been a cadre of Mexican researchers who have worked on the adaptation of some of the major tests for use in Mexico and the rest of Latin America. Nuñez (1968), Pucheu and Rivera (1971) and associates at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) showed how the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory could be clinically useful when adequate translations and appropriate norms are employed. Ahumada, Ahumada and Díaz-Guerrero (1967) made a number of adaptations in the WISC to assure semantic equivalence and offered recommendations regarding translation which were later incorporated in the adaptations of all Wechsler scales. These scales, including the WISC-R, were recently published by the *Editorial El Manual Moderno, S.A.*, Mexico, D.F., under a license granted by the Psychological Corporation. Unfortunately, the adaptations of the Wechsler scales have relied on U.S. norms for scoring and interpretation. With the rapid development of special education in Mexico, which has occurred since the mid-70's, the need to establish Mexican norms on the WISC-R has become critical. Expectations for the eventual valid use of the WISC-R in Mexico are supported by the numerous investigations in the U.S. showing equal internal integrity (reliability, stability, coherence, factorial structure, etc.) of the test among the various cultural and linguistic groups which constitute U.S. society, including individuals of Mexican descent. Further, the cross-cultural research of Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero, Luis Lara Tapia, María Luisa Morales and Isabel Reyes Lagunes of UNAM and their colleagues at the University of Texas, Wayne Holtzman, Jon Swartz, Luis Laosa and Donald Witzke (Holtzman, Díaz-Guerrero, & Swartz, 1975) showed that the WISC is an instrument with robust statistical properties necessary but not sufficient for the valid use of the instrument in Mexico. The following is a description of a research project that seeks

to establish Mexican norms on the WISC-R and related instruments, along with preliminary results that illustrate the potential misdiagnosis and the serious error in continued reliance on currently published norms.

METHOD

Subjects

The sample for the Mexican standardization of the WISC-R consisted of 1,100 public school children in the *Distrito Federal*, which includes Mexico City and surrounding communities. Financial considerations, and the fact that D.F. is the principal destination of emmigration within Mexico and where 15 to 20% of the nation's population resides, precluded a national sample. One hundred students (50 boys and 50 girls) at each age level between 6 and 16 participated in the project during the 1980-81 academic year. Fifty *escuelas primarias* (comparable to grades 1-16 in the U.S.) and 50 *escuelas secundarias* (comparable to grades 7-9) were selected via computer generated random numbers from the list of nearly 3,000 schools provided by the *Secretaría de Educación Pública*. The principals of selected schools were informed of the goals of the research project and their cooperation was requested, though it was made clear that the results of individual examinations and interviews could not be made available to school officials. Nevertheless, complete cooperation was obtained from the principals, who will receive reprints as the analyses are completed and published. In half of the *escuelas primarias* the sampling clusters consisted of 12 students, one male and one female for each age level between 6 and 11. Thus, a total of 650 subjects were drawn from *escuelas primarias*. In half of the *escuelas secundarias*, the sampling clusters consisted of 8 students, one male and one female for each age level between 13 and 16, while in the other half, the sampling clusters consisted of 10 students, one male and one female for each age level between 12 and 16. Thus, a total of 450 students from *escuelas secundarias* were included in the standardization sample.

Instruments and procedures. For each grade level within selected schools, one classroom was selected by the toss of a die as the source of age appropriate subjects. Within a selected classroom, examiners asked for the names of all children who were X years and 6 months old. For example, if the examiners were working in a first grade classroom where the typical age is 6, he or she would ask for the names of all children who were 6 years and 6 months old. In most classroom, more than one male and one female qualified for inclusion in the sample, although it was sometimes necessary to include children who were X years and 5 months old or X years and 7 months old. The flip of a coin or the toss of a die selected among students who met the age criterion within each classroom.

Once individual subjects were identified, the examiners, *licenciados en psicología* and graduates of UNAM, met with parents to obtain informed consent (more than 98% of parents agreed to participate), information regarding the child's family and background (Mercer's (1979) Sociocultural Scales), and for subjects between the ages of 6 and 11, information about the child's behavior in non-academic roles (Mercer's (1979) Adaptive Behavior inventory for Children). After obtaining consent and completing the interviews with the parents, the student assessments were conducted. Subjects completed the Bender Gestalt and the WISC-R, followed by a number of experimental items for the Information, Vocabulary, and Comprehension subtest. In order to eventually test the predictive validity of the Mexican version of the WISC-R, grades for the first semester were obtained for all subjects. An additional direct measure of school performance was

provided by teachers. Each subject was rated on a set of 18 bipolar adjectives, which measure, according to previous factor analytic studies (Mercer, 1977), social conformity (e.g., cooperative-obstructive, patient-impatient), competence (e.g., intelligent-dull minded, organized-disorganized) and sociability (e.g., warm-cold, cheerful-morose).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The mean Full Scale IQ (FSIQ) obtained by 1,100 students between the ages of 6 and 16 randomly selected from the public schools in the *Distrito Federal* of Mexico was 87.3 with a standard deviation of 13.7. The mean verbal IQ and mean performance IQ were 89.2 and 88.0, respectively. Table 1 presents the full scale IQs obtained by each age group in the sample.

Table 1
Full Scale IQ Means and Standard Deviations by Age

<i>Age</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>
6	92.7	12.4
7	91.3	15.3
8	87.8	17.0
9	87.3	13.0
10	86.4	13.0
11	86.8	13.3
12	85.8	14.1
13	89.9	12.6
14	88.5	13.1
15	83.2	11.9
16	80.8	9.8

The percentage of Mexican children and adolescents who achieved the criteria for Wechsler's commonly used classification of intelligence are presented in Table 2, and are contrasted with what would be expected theoretically and what was actually obtained in the U.S. standardization of the WISC-R.

Table 2

Distribution of Wechsler IQ Classifications in the U.S. and Mexico

<i>IQ range</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Theoretically Expected</i>	<i>WISC-R U.S.</i>	<i>WISC-R Mexico</i>
> 129	Very Superior	2.2 ^o /o	2.3 ^o /o	0.2 ^o /o
120- 129	Superior	6.7 ^o /o	7.4 ^o /o	0.9 ^o /o
110- 119	High Average	16.1 ^o /o	16.5 ^o /o	3.4 ^o /o
90- 109	Average	50.0 ^o /o	49.4 ^o /o	34.6 ^o /o
80- 89	Low Average	16.1 ^o /o	16.2 ^o /o	31.1 ^o /o
70- 79	Borderline	6.7 ^o /o	6.0 ^o /o	20.2 ^o /o
< 69	Mentally Deficient	2.2 ^o /o	2.2 ^o /o	9.5 ^o /o

Inspection of Tables 1 and 2 suggests that the proposed need for Mexican norms on the WISC-R is, indeed, highly significant, particularly among adolescents. Using U.S. norms, the mean full scale IQ for 6-year-olds falls about a half standard deviation below the U.S. mean and drops to a level more than a standard deviation below the mean for the older adolescents. It can be reasonably speculated that as Mexican children become older, they have less of an opportunity to learn what is contained in U.S. produced and U.S. culture-based test, and/or that they have a lower level of motivation to perform on this type of task. An examination of the performance of these children on the subtests may suggest more specific hypotheses for their lower performance relative to their U.S. peers, but is beyond the scope of this paper. Of importance here is that in considering its utility in identifying Mexican children who are likely to have difficulty meeting the demands of the typical classroom and who could benefit from special education, the WISC-R, as currently published is likely to generate an excessive number of false positives. Nine and a half percent of the sample scored below 70, could be diagnosed as mentally deficient, and would qualify for special education according to Wechsler's criteria and recommendations. Using the less conservative cutoff score employed by many school districts in the U.S. (FSIQ < 80), almost a third of the students in the primary and secondary public schools in the *Distrito Federal* would be eligible for special education classes. At the other end of the continuum, the problem is one of an unacceptable number of false negatives, with only .2^o/o rather than the expected 2.2^o/o scoring at 130 or higher. This makes it clear that the WISC-R as currently published will be of little value when the public schools of Mexico initiate programs for children who would benefit from an accelerated and more diverse curriculum than that usually offered. In selecting children for what are often referred to as gifted children's programs, an emerging concept in Mexican special education, nine of ten children would be overlooked if published norms and the criterion of a full scale IQ greater than 129 were to be used. These pre-

liminary findings suggest that across the entire range, the use of Wechsler's U.S. norms and diagnostic categories is likely to underestimate the academic potential of Mexican children.

The educational implications of this study are profound. Children who should remain in the regular classroom may be inappropriately placed in special education classes where they may lower their expectations and change their self images. The consequences for those who do need the assistance of specially trained teachers are equally distressing. They would have to share scarce resources with many other children who should not be in special education. The use of published WISC-R norms in Mexico is educationally unsound and should be discontinued. It could lead to a misallocation of resources and adversely affect the quality of education offered to all Mexican students, especially those whose needs are special.

It can also be concluded that continued use of Wechsler's U.S. norms in Mexico and the rest of Latin America, would be in violation of the American Psychological Association (1974) Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests. The findings of this study, preliminary though they may be, seriously challenge the generality of the normative data. When all analyses have been completed, the results of this project should be included in all subsequent manuals published in Mexico, and supplements should be sent to individuals who had previously purchased the WISC-R published by *El Manual Moderno*. In fairness to the Psychological Corporation and *El Manual Moderno*, it should be stated that both have expressed support for the publication of Mexican WISC-R norms and an agreement to do so is expected shortly.

The controversy regarding cultural bias in mental testing is far from being resolved in both the courts and academia, Jensen's voluminous analyses and scathing criticism of traditional mental testing notwithstanding. It is expected that the information derived from the project in Mexico will help clarify issues made exceedingly complex or ambiguous in the U.S. where representatives of minority groups differ from and are similar to their majority peers to a highly variable degree. The WISC-R itself will be tested in its ability to predict the performance of children in the classroom, and in terms of internal integrity, i.e., its reliability, item patterning, and coherence. It is predicted that the final product will retain the strong internal statistical properties of the instrument as developed in the U.S., while generating a distribution of scores that substantially reduces the probability of educational misdiagnosis.

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FOOTNOTES

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MANIFESTAÇÃO DE DISSONÂNCIA COGNITIVA E DE REATÂNCIA PSICOLÓGICA EM SITUAÇÃO DE DECISÃO

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O objetivo deste trabalho foi verificar a ocorrência de dissonância cognitiva e de reatância psicológica quando crianças são colocadas em situação de decisão envolvendo participação, volição e restrição parcial de liberdade. Participaram da pesquisa 100 crianças, na faixa etária de 10 a 12 anos, distribuídas ao acaso em três grupos: GE-I) escolha, com restrição parcial de liberdade, entre duas alternativas bem próximas em atração; GE-II) escolha, com restrição parcial de liberdade, entre duas alternativas distanciadas em atração; GC) ausência de escolha com restrição total de liberdade. Os resultados deixam claro que mecanismos de redução de dissonância se seguem ao compromisso assumido pelos sujeitos em situação de escolha, embora sua liberdade tivesse sido reduzida mas não eliminada, e não indicam quaisquer efeitos da força motivadora da reatância psicológica.

The aim of this research was to verify the occurrence of cognitive dissonance and psychological reactance when children are in a decision situation which involves participation, volition, and partial restriction of freedom. One hundred children, between 10 and 12 years old, participated in the research. They were randomly distributed in three groups: GE-I) choice with partial restriction of freedom between two almost equally attractive alternatives; GE-II) choice with partial restriction of freedom between two differentially attractive alternatives; GC) no choice with restriction of freedom. The results showed clearly that dissonance reduction mechanisms follow the commitment taken by the subjects in a decision situation, although their freedom had been reduced but not eliminated. The results did not indicate any effects of the psychological reactance motivational force.

Este trabalho visa, principalmente, a um confronto entre a teoria da dissonância cognitiva e a teoria da reatância psicológica, pois ambas focalizam as consequências da decisão partindo de pontos de vista opostos.

A teoria da dissonância cognitiva (Festinger, 1957, 1964) supoe que uma situação de escolha entre alternativas igualmente atraentes —em que há liberdade para decidir, comprometimento e irrevogabilidade da decisão— deve provocar dissonância e consequente pressão para reduzi-la. Dessa forma, se uma pessoa deve escolher entre três alternativas e decide por uma, as características desfavoráveis da alternativa escolhida e as favoráveis das rejeitadas tornam-se mais salientes e, como são incompatíveis com a opção feita, a pessoa sentirá dissonância e pressão para reduzi-la. Um dos modos possíveis de estabilizar a decisão será convencer-se de que a alternativa escolhida é muito mais atraente do que havia suposto, quando comparada com as preteridas.

Ainda com relação à situação de escolha, a teoria da reatância psicológica (Brehm, 1966) supoe que uma pessoa, quando tem liberdade para decidir entre alternativas igualmente atraentes e percebe que essa liberdade é limitada por força impessoal ou pessoal, deve experimentar reatância quando se sentir incapaz de superar a força usurpadora de sua liberdade. Assim, se uma pessoa deve optar por uma alternativa entre três que lhe são oferecidas e uma força, impessoal ou pessoal, elimina uma delas deixando apenas duas à sua escolha, deve sentir reatância que se manifestará pelo acréscimo na atração da alternativa eliminada.

Ora, as afirmações de Brehm contrariam as de Festinger. Se, pela teoria da reatância, a alternativa eliminada será valorizada pelo sujeito, com o aumento de sua atração, pela teoria da dissonância a alternativa não eliminada e escolhida terá o seu grau de atração aumentado, enquanto a rejeitada e a eliminada —esta por ser inatingível— deverão ter reduzido seu grau de atração.

Parece haver, como se observa, contradição entre as duas teorias no que se refere, especificamente, à situação de escolha que inclui participação e volição bem como restrição parcial de liberdade. Esse conflito de predições foi ressaltado por Rodrigues (1969, 1970) que realizou pesquisas para esclarecê-lo.

O objetivo desta pesquisa foi verificar se em situação de escolha —envolvendo participação, volição e restrição parcial de liberdade— ocorrem mudanças no grau de atração das alternativas oferecidas ao sujeito e, em caso positivo, em que direção e com que magnitude. Com essa finalidade estabeleceu-se, como variável independente, além da restrição da liberdade de escolha o grau de proximidade na atração das alternativas. A situação criada deveria possibilitar a obtenção da avaliação da atração de uma pessoa por outra antes e depois da restrição da liberdade, bem como antes e depois do processo de decisão, de modo a indicar os possíveis efeitos de reatância psicológica e de redução de dissonância. Deveria possibilitar, ainda, a verificação da variação na magnitude da pressão para reduzir tanto a dissonância quanto a reatância, de acordo com a maior ou menor proximidade entre as alternativas oferecidas à escolha dos sujeitos.

A partir do objetivo inicial foram propostas as seguintes hipóteses: 1a) quando uma pessoa escolhe entre várias alternativas e, inesperadamente, o seu número é reduzido mantendo-se a situação de escolha, manifestam-se processos de redução de dissonância e a alternativa escolhida é superestimada em seu poder de atração; 2a) as alternativas eliminadas pelo experimentador e a rejeitada pelo sujeito tornam-se menos desejáveis depois da escolha; 3a) a dissonância é maior, e a consequente pressão para reduzi-la ocorre com maior intensidade, quanto mais próximas em atração estão as alternativas; 4a) não se verificam efeitos de reatância psicológica quando a liberdade de escolha é eliminada ou diminuída.

Sujeitos

Participaram da pesquisa crianças de 10 a 12 anos, inclusive, não habituadas a trabalhar em grupo; esse cuidado foi tomado para impedir que a frustração deco-

rente do fato de se eliminar alguns colegas de um grupo fortemente estruturado interferisse nos resultados ligados à reatância.

O total de cem (100) sujeitos foi distribuído da seguinte forma: trinta a seis (36) sujeitos no Grupo Experimental I (GE-I), trinta e três (33) no Grupo Experimental II (GE-II) e trinta e um (31) no Grupo de Controle (GC).

Procedimento

Os sujeitos (Ss) foram divididos em dois grupos experimentais (GE) e um de controle (GC). No GE-I houve escolha com restrição parcial de liberdade; este grupo escolheu entre duas alternativas cuja avaliação prévia havia sido semelhante. No GE-II também houve escolha com restrição parcial de liberdade mas este grupo escolheu entre duas alternativas cuja avaliação prévia havia sido bem distanciada na escala de preferência do sujeito. No GC houve ausência de escolha com total restrição de liberdade sendo imposta aos Ss deste grupo uma determinada alternativa.

O experimento foi conduzido nas salas de aula de estabelecimento oficial de ensino de 1º grau e o experimentador (E) foi apresentado às turmas participantes na qualidade de componente de comissão que devia promover as festividades da "Semana da Proclamação da República" em Araraquara.

Na primeira parte da pesquisa todos os Ss receberam as seguintes instruções: "A comissão encarregada da comemoração da 'Semana da Proclamação da República' está promovendo concurso para a escolha de uma redação e de um cartaz subordinados ao tema 'A Proclamação da República'. Podem ocorrer apenas os matriculados na quarta série do primeiro grau e os autores da melhor redação receberão livros como prêmio ficando o melhor cartaz exposto em casa comercial do centro da cidade. O julgamento será feito por membros da comissão. Vocês têm liberdade para escolher os companheiros ideais para comporem seus grupos até o limite de seis (6) pessoas."

Neste ponto foi distribuída uma ficha na qual cada criança deveria colocar o nome da escola, seu nome e sua idade. Mais abaixo, à esquerda da ficha, em linhas numeradas de 1 a 6, deveria indicar o nome de seis (6) colegas, classificados por ordem de preferência, para que participassem do seu grupo. Ao lado de cada linha, à direita da ficha distribuída, havia uma escala na qual a criança avaliaria sua preferência pelos colegas. Essa escala media 100 mm de comprimento e era marcada em três pontos: pouco, médio e muito. O ponto inferior da escala equivalia ao escore 0 (zero) e o ponto superior ao escore 100 (cem) sendo 50 (cinquenta) o escore intermediário. Os Ss receberam instruções para colocar um x na escala de forma a melhor respeitar sua preferência para trabalhar com o colega indicado. Também receberam instruções para não permitir que houvesse empate, tanto na classificação quanto na avaliação dos colegas. Não foi permitido que os Ss se comunicassem durante a escolha.

Durante o intervalo de uma semana entre a primeira e a segunda parte do experimento foi sorteada nova ordem para os nomes escolhidos pelos Ss, que foram passados em outra ficha, semelhante à inicialmente distribuída, na seguinte ordem: 6º, 1º, 2º, 4º, 5º, e 3º para todos os grupos. Procedeu-se dessa forma a fim de impedir que a manutenção da classificação dos colegas interferisse na reavaliação e nos possíveis efeitos de reatância ou dissonância.

Além do sorteio, para o GE-I foram escritos em vermelho os nomes classificados pelos Ss em 3º e 4º lugares; para o GE-II os classificados pelos Ss em 3º e 6º e para o GC apenas o classificado em 3º lugar.

Na segunda parte deste experimento as instruções dadas aos Ss dos GE-I e GE-II foram as seguintes: "Não foi possível organizar os grupos atendendo aos desejos de cada aluno porque a comissão decidiu limitar a escolha de vocês aos dois nomes escritos em vermelho na ficha que lhes foi distribuída agora. Deverão por isso escolher um dos dois e essa escolha é definitiva. Embora constem da folha os nomes dos mesmos colegas que escolheram da primeira vez eles estão em ordem diferente daquela que vocês colocaram. Escrevam atrás da ficha o nome do colega escolhido

e expliquem, de maneira rápida, o motivo da preferência. Gostaria agora que avaliassem novamente todos os colegas usando as escalas da mesma forma que fizeram anteriormente e mostrando da melhor maneira possível quanto gostariam de trabalhar com cada um deles embora já tenham feito sua escolha. Por favor, avaliem cada um dos seis colegas indicando quando gostariam de trabalhar com cada um”.

Aos Ss do GC foram dadas as seguintes instruções: “Não foi possível organizar os grupos atendendo aos desejos de cada aluno porque a comissão decidiu que vocês deveriam trabalhar com aquele colega cujo nome está escrito em vermelho na ficha que acabaram de receber. Gostaria que avaliassem novamente todos os seis colegas usando as escalas da mesma forma que fizeram anteriormente e mostrando, da melhor maneira possível, quanto desejariam trabalhar com cada um, embora tenham que trabalhar com aquele cujo nome está aí marcado em vermelho. Embora constem da ficha os nomes dos mesmos colegas antes escolhidos estão eles distribuídos em ordem diferente daquela que vocês colocaram. Por favor, avaliem cada um dos seis colegas indicando quanto gostariam de trabalhar com cada um”.

Os Ss devolveram a ficha que lhes havia sido distribuída e foi-lhes informado como deveriam ser feitos os trabalhos e a data de entrega.

Recolhidas as fichas os Ss dos três grupos receberam a seguinte informação: “A pessoa encarregada de arquivar as primeiras fichas que vocês preencheram jogou-as fora pensando que não mais seriam necessárias. Como a comissão deseja conservá-las peço-lhes que preencham novamente as escalas de outra ficha de maneira a indicar quanto gostariam de trabalhar com cada um dos colegas”.

Todos concordaram em atender a esse pedido e nova ficha foi distribuída com a ordem dos nomes alterada do seguinte modo: 5º, 6º, 4º, 2º, 1º e 3º.

Obteve-se assim uma terceira avaliação da preferência dos Ss em trabalhar com cada colega terminando, desta forma, o procedimento experimental.

Algumas horas mais tarde o E. voltou à sala e informou aos alunos que poderiam escolher livremente os grupos dos quais desejavam participar e os respectivos chefes. Na data prevista foram recolhidos os trabalhos e, após o julgamento, o melhor cartaz ficou exposto em loja do centro da cidade e cada membro do grupo vencedor da redação recebeu um livro.

RESULTADOS

As avaliações efectuadas pelos Ss foram atribuídos valores numéricos correspondentes à sua posição linear na escala. Esses valores foram obtidos colocando-se uma régua sobre a escala e lendo-se o número, em mm, correspondente ao x marcado pelos sujeitos de modo a indicar sua preferência em trabalhar com o colega cujo nome estava escrito à esquerda da ficha.

Qualquer mudança na atração dos colegas poderia ser encontrada comparando-se os valores das três avaliações: pré-decisão, imediatamente após a decisão e algum tempo depois da decisão. Esperava-se principalmente que houvesse diferença significativa entre a primeira e a segunda avaliação, que poderia ser atribuída tanto à restrição da liberdade do sujeito quanto à situação de escolha.

A Tabela 1 mostra os resultados obtidos para os GE-I e GE-II, analisados segundo a técnica estatística não-paramétrica de Friedman (Siegel, 1956).

Tabela 1

Avaliações médias do colega escolhido, do rejeitado e dos eliminados, antes e depois da decisão, e resultados obtidos no teste de Friedman, para o GE-I (N = 36) e para o GE-II (N = 33) ($\alpha = 0,01$)

GE	Colegas	Pré-decisao	Pós-decisao		χ^2_r	p
		1ª avaliação	2ª avaliação	3ª avaliação		
I	Escolhido	67,30	96,00	78,27	50,66	0,001
	Rejeitado	68,47	49,38	50,05	15,93	0,001
	Eliminados (média)	67,35	64,27	61,18	5,59	n.s.
II	Escolhido	56,75	80,90	65,30	16,24	0,001
	Rejeitado	41,48	36,06	41,57	2,28	n.s.
	Eliminados (média)	70,02	61,17	64,54	10,42	0,01

Nos dois grupos experimentais a avaliação média mostra que o colega escolhido foi mais positivamente na segunda avaliação; a técnica de Friedman demonstrou que há diferença entre as avaliações do colega escolhido em nível de significância de 0,01.

A avaliação média do colega rejeitado, para o GE-I, mostra ter sido ele avaliado mais positivamente na primeira avaliação do que na segunda. O teste de Friedman mostrou diferença significativa entre essas avaliações em nível de 0,01. No que se refere às avaliações do GE-II para o colega rejeitado a análise de Friedman não demonstrou diferenças significantes.

A técnica não-paramétrica de Friedman não constatou diferença significativa entre as três avaliações dos colegas eliminados efectuadas pelos sujeitos do GE-I mas demonstrou que há diferença entre as avaliações dos colegas eliminados, feitas pelo GE-II, em nível de significância de 0,01.

Como houve interesse em verificar se a decisão interferiu na avaliação que os sujeitos fizeram de seus colegas foi utilizado o teste de Sinal (Siegel, 1956) e testadas as avaliações duas a duas. Esses resultados são mostrados na Tabela 2.

Tabela 2

Resultados do teste de Sinal para as avaliações do colega escolhido e do rejeitado, efetuadas pelo GE-I e para as avaliações do colega escolhido e dos eliminados, efetuadas pelo GE-II ($\alpha = 0,01$)

GE	Colegas	Avaliação		Avaliação		Avaliação	
		1ª x 2ª	p	1ª x 3ª	p	2ª x 3ª	p
I	Escolhido	-5,83	0,001	3,16	0,001	-4,93	0,001
	Rejeitado	-3,72	0,001	-2,37	0,01	0,53	n.s.
II	Escolhido	3,83	0,001	2,43	0,01	-1,11	n.s.
	Eliminados (média)	-3,13	0,01	-1,39	n.s.	0,69	n.s.

Pode ser verificado que as três avaliações do colega escolhido, realizadas pelo GE-I, diferem entre si em nível de significância de 0,01 comprovando que a decisão teve efeito sistemático nos resultados, quer tenham sido obtidos imediatamente após a decisão (1ª x 2ª) ou alguns minutos depois de la (1ª x 3ª e 2ª x 3ª).

O teste de Sinal aplicado aos resultados obtidos para o colega escolhido, no GE-II, permitiu constatar que a primeira avaliação difere das outras duas em nível de 0,01 significando que a decisão influenciou os resultados, seja os obtidos imediatamente após a decisão, seja algum tempo depois (1ª x 2ª e 1ª x 3ª). As duas avaliações pós-escolha (2ª x 3ª) não diferiram de maneira significativa.

Testando duas a duas as avaliações que os sujeitos do GE-I fizeram do colega rejeitado verifica-se que a primeira (pré-decisão) difere das outras duas (pós-decisão) em nível de significância de 0,01 e que a 2ª e 3ª avaliações não diferem entre si de maneira significativa.

A análise das avaliações que os sujeitos do GE-II fizeram dos colegas eliminados permite verificar que a 1ª difere da 2ª em nível de significância de 0,01 denotando que a decisão teve influência nos resultados fazendo com que os colegas eliminados fossem avaliados mais negativamente depois da escolha e da eliminação da liberdade do que antes dela. As outras avaliações (1ª x 3ª e 2ª x 3ª) não diferiram de maneira significativa denotando que quando o sujeito já está comprometido com a situação a dissonância diminui e os colegas eliminados não são vistos tão negativamente quanto o foram logo após a escolha e o conhecimento de que não mais se encontravam disponíveis.

No GC houve ausência de escolha com total restrição de liberdade sendo uma das alternativas imposta aos sujeitos. As avaliações médias para o colega imposto (1ª = 76,61; 2ª = 72,51 e 3ª = 73,61) e as avaliações médias para os colegas eliminados (1ª = 63,23; 2ª = 59,58 e 3ª = 61,94) também foram analisadas pela técnica de Friedman que forneceu resultados não significantes ($X^2 = 0,06$ e $X^2 = 0,69$, respectivamente) podendo-se concluir que somente flutuações casuais

sao encontradas nas três vezes em que os Ss foram solicitados a avaliar esses colegas.

Nesta situação nao se esperava qualquer mecanismo redutor de dissonância porque nao havia encolha a ser feita e de fato nao foi encontrado. Os mecanismos de reatância deviam, contudo, estar explícitos com o aumento na atração das alternativas eliminadas e o decréscimo na atração da imposta mas isso nao ocorreu. Esse resultado veio apoiar a 4ª hipótese.

Explorando os dados mais detidamente foram calculados dois índices que forneceram a magnitude da dissonância e da reatância: sao eles o Índice de Redução de Dissonância (IRD) e o Índice de Reatância Psicológica (IRP) (Rodrigues, 1969).

Para a obtenção do IRD foi considerado que mudanças na direção do aumento na atração da alternativa escolhida e da diminuição na atração da alternativa rejeitada traduzem efeitos de redução da dissonância. Assim, a segunda avaliação da alternativa escolhida deveria ser maior do que a primeira ocorrendo o inverso no que se refere à alternativa rejeitada.

Para o GC o procedimento foi semelhante mas foram colocadas, nos lugares das alternativas escolhida e rejeitada, a imposta e as eliminadas (média), respectivamente.

Os resultados obtidos foram os seguintes: IRD para o GE-I = 47,81; IRD para o GE-II = 29,56; IRD para o GC = -0,44.

A análise dos IRD pela técnica de Kruskal-Wallis (Siegel, 1956) forneceu resultado significativo em nível de 0,01 ($H = 13,93$) comprovando que as populações sao diferentes com respeito ao índice médio.

Como se desejava ainda verificar se o IRD para o GE-I é maior que o dos outros dois grupos foi utilizada a técnica de Mann-Whitney (Siegel, 1956) para testar, duas a duas, as diferenças entre os valores dos IRD encontrados para os três grupos. Foi constatado que o IRD para o GE-I difere do IRD para o GC em nível de 0,01 ($z = 4,593$) e que o IRD para o GE-II difere do IRD para o GC em nível de 0,05 ($z = 1,840$), o que vem também comprovar a correção das suposicoes da teoria de Festinger (1957) de que a dissonância somente se manifesta quando há possibilidade de escolha. Entretanto, como o IRD para o GE-I nao difere de maneira significativa do IRD para o GE-II ($z = 0,925$), nao foi confirmada a 3ª hipótese.

O IRP foi obtido por meio de procedimento semelhante ao da obtenção do IRD. Foi considerado que mudanças na direção do aumento na atração das alternativas eliminadas e da diminuição na atração das alternativas oferecidas à escolha dos sujeitos traduzem efeitos de reatância. Desse modo, a média da primeira avaliação das alternativas oferecidas à escolha dos sujeitos deveria ser maior do que a média da segunda, ocorrendo o inverso com referência à média das alternativas eliminadas pelo experimentador.

Para o GC o procedimento foi semelhante mas foi colocada, no lugar das alternativas oferecidas à escolha do sujeito, apenas aquela que lhe havia sido imposta.

Os resultados obtidos foram os seguintes: IRP para o GE-I = -9,54; IRP para o GE-II = -18,15; IRP para o GC = 0,47.

A análise dos IRP pela técnica de Kruskal-Wallis forneceu resultados nao significantes ($H = 2,61$).

DISCUSSAO E CONCLUSOES

Os resultados confirmaram a maioria das hipóteses.

Os sujeitos dos GE-I e II, em situação de escolha com restrição parcial de liberdade, avaliaram o colega escolhido muito mais positivamente tanto imediatamente após a decisao quanto algum tempo depois dela confirmando plenamente a 1ª hipótese. Esses resultados comprovam, confirmando os obtidos por Davidson &

Kiesler (1964) e por Jecker (1964), que a reavaliação das alternativas ocorre depois da decisão como efeito da dissonância e de pressões para reduzi-la.

Os resultados do GE-I comprovam a 2ª hipótese. Houve uma clara distinção entre os períodos de pré e pós-decisão sendo o colega rejeitado avaliado mais positivamente na situação de pré-decisão e mais desfavoravelmente na de pós-decisão, seja considerando-se a avaliação feita imediatamente após a decisão seja aquela realizada alguns minutos depois.

A diferença entre as avaliações do colega rejeitado efectua das pelo GE-II nao atinge o nível de significância convencionado. Talvez isso possa ser explicado porque no GE-II as alternativas estavam mais distancadas quanto ao grau de atração fazendo com que a dissonância provocada pela decisão fosse menor sendo resolvida apenas pelo aumento na atração da alternativa escolhida ficando a rejeitada no mesmo nível em que estivera anteriormente. Além disso, o fato de 60,60% dos Ss desse grupo rejeitarem a alternativa colocada em 6º lugar em suas preferências pode significar que nao poderiam avaliá-la mais negativamente do que o fizeram.

Experimentos demonstrando que a redução da dissonância pode ser obtida por meio do aumento da atração da alternativa escolhida e/ou pela redução da atração da alternativa rejeitada foram realizados, entre outros, por Brehm (1956), Brehm & Cohen (1959), Brock (1963), Davidson & Kiesler (1964), Jacker (1964), Walster (1964) e no Brasil por Rodrigues (1969, 1970).

Nao se confirmou a 3ª hipótese. O teste de Mann-Whitney indicou diferenças significantes entre os IRD obtidos para o GE-I e o GC e entre aqueles obtidos para o GE-II e o GC. Essas diferenças eram esperadas pois nao deveria haver dissonância no GC porque nesse grupo nao houve escolha. O mesmo teste empregado para os IRD do GE-I e II nao apontou diferenças significantes entre esses índices.

Uma explicação para a nao comprovação desta 3ª hipótese pode ser dada ao se considerar que os próprios sujeitos escolheram, na primeira parte do experimento, aqueles colegas com os quais deveriam trabalhar. O fato de os classificarem de acordo com sua preferência nao significa que a distância entre eles seja fixa, nem que aquele colocado em 3º lugar esteja muito distanciado do colocado em 6º quando se considera o grau de atração que exercem sobre o sujeito. Essa afirmação advém da superposição cognitiva (Festinger, 1957) que poderia ter existido entre as alternativas motivando a nao comprovação da hipótese. Brehm & Cohen (1959) demonstraram que a superposição cognitiva das alternativas influi na magnitude da dissonância pós-decisão.

A 4ª hipótese foi totalmente confirmada. Embora estivessem presentes muitos dos fatores que influem na magnitude da reatância (importância dos colegas eliminados, proporção dos colegas eliminados em relação aos disponíveis, ausência de justificativa para a eliminação) ela nao se manifestou, pois nenhuma diferença significativa foi encontrada entre as três avaliações que os sujeitos fizeram do colega imposto e entre as médias das três avaliações dos colegas eliminados.

Embora previsto que as alternativas eliminadas pelo experimentador deveriam tornar-se menos desejáveis depois da escolha e da restrição da liberdade isso nao ocorreu em todos os grupos. Apenas no GE-II houve diferença estatisticamente significativa entre as avaliações pré e pós-decisão (1ª x 2ª) que diferem em nível de 0,01 comprovando a hipótese: logo após o conhecimento da eliminação esses colegas foram avaliados mais negativamente do que o foram antes. Esses últimos dados apóiam a teoria de Festinger (1957) pois seria dissonante considerar mais atraente uma alternativa eliminada e nao mais disponível.

Resumindo os resultados obtidos, esta pesquisa permitiu verificar que mecanismos de redução de dissonância se seguem ao compromisso assumido pelos sujeitos em uma situação de escolha embora sua liberdade sido reduzida mas nao eliminada.

Os dados confirmam os obtidos em experimentos anteriores, análogos a este (Rodrigues, 1969, 1970), segundo os quais processos de redução de dissonância superam os eventuais efeitos de reatância psicológica quando a liberdade é restringida permanecendo porém a possibilidade de escolha.

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NOTA

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ACCULTURATION AND BICULTURALISM INDICES AMONG RELATIVELY ACCULTURATED HISPANIC YOUNG ADULTS

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Samples of Anglo and Hispanic male Navy recruits answered a series of questions relevant to acculturation and biculturalism. Three acculturation indices were identified: (a) Length of Residence in the U.S., (b) Media Acculturation and (c) Social Acculturation. Two biculturalism indices were identified: (1) Media Biculturalism and (2) Social Biculturalism. The subject's generation in the U.S. (low score for being born outside the U.S., high score for grandfather born in the U.S.) was positively related to all indices of acculturation and negatively related to Media Biculturalism. It was unrelated to Social Biculturalism.

Muestras de hombres reclutas a las fuerzas navales de Estados Unidos de etnicidad Anglo o Hispana contestaron una serie de preguntas relacionadas a la aculturización y el biculturalismo. Tres índices de aculturización fueron identificados: (a) Años de residencia en los Estados Unidos, (b) Aculturización social, y (c) Aculturización de los medios de comunicación masiva. Dos de biculturalismo se identificaron: (1) Biculturalismo de los medios masivos de comunicación y (2) Biculturalismo social. El número de generaciones de la familia que hablan vivido en EE. UU. (puntaje bajo para los que nacieron fuera de EE. UU. y alto si el abuelo nació en EE. UU.) se relacionó positivamente con todos los índices de aculturización y negativamente con Biculturalismo de los Medios masivos de comunicación. Generación no tuvo ninguna relación con Biculturalismo Social.

In societies in which there are major discontinuities of culture, as when the majority and minority cultures are quite distinct, one should consider the extent to which minority group members have become acculturated to the mainstream culture as well as the extent to which both majority and minority individuals have become bicultural. The present paper examines data obtained from Hispanics and non-Hispanic individuals in the United States to measure these constructs and to determine the construct validity of the obtained indices.

By culture we mean the human-made part of the environment (Herskovits, 1955). We must distinguish objective culture (e.g. foods, mass media, tools) from subjective culture (e.g., norms, values). As individuals become acculturated, they begin to adopt aspects of both the objective and the subjective culture of another group. Obviously, this can happen in differing degrees. Furthermore, as individuals learn to use the norms and values of two different cultures under differing situational conditions, they become *bicultural*.

Much research on the acculturation/assimilation of ethnic groups in the United States makes use of the theoretical framework of Milton Gordon (1964). Gordon posits seven stages of assimilation. The first stage is called cultural or behavioral assimilation, more commonly referred to as acculturation. Acculturation involves changes in cultural patterns of the ethnic group to those of the host society; this includes changes in norms, roles, and customs. The second stage is structural assimilation and this refers to the large-scale entrance of members of the ethnic group into the primary groups of the larger society. The later stages of assimilation deal with intermarriage, identification, and attitudinal, behavioral, and civic assimilation. Researchers usually focus on the first of two stages where stage one (cultural assimilation) is often measured in terms of relatively concrete and visible cultural traits such as dress, manners, and language use.

Acculturation studies among Hispanics in the U.S. have examined Mexican Americans (e.g. Achor, 1979; Keefe, 1980; Padilla, 1980) or Cubans (Rogg, 1974; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Aranalde, 1978) of specific locations. There is little information about the levels of acculturation of representative samples and almost none from samples that represent the whole country. One exception is a study of ethnicity among Detroit Chicanos, which randomly sampled 687 households in two enumeration districts with high (around 23%) percentages of Mexican - origin population. After screening, 111 Chicano adults participated in the survey. Our sampling is not representative, since our respondents were in the U.S. Navy, but it does include Hispanics from all parts of the country.

The study of acculturation is important because there is evidence that it is linked to mental health (Szapocznik, et al, 1978; Santisteban, Szapocznik, & Rio, Note 1) the inability to cope with the social environment (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980), stress (Berry, 1980; Vargas, Note 2), abuse of drugs (Padilla, Padilla, Ramirez, Morales & Olmedo, Note 3), suicide (Hatcher & Hatcher, 1975) and less family control. Berry and Annis (1974) suggested that acculturative stress varies as a function of the degree of divergence between traditional cultural behaviors and behaviors which characterize the host community, and as a function of the acculturative pressures in that community. Such pressures may cause psychological changes in different individuals in the direction of both the majority and the minority cultures (Moerk, 1974).

A recent review of the literature on acculturation (Santisteban, Note 4) shows that previous data point toward some measures as being more indicative of acculturation than others. Weinstock (1964) for example, found while studying the acculturation of Hungarian immigrants, that knowledge of English was not a reliable index of acculturation. Rather, the number of majority culture friends and mass media preferences were found to be more reliable indicators of acculturation and affiliation with ethnic churches was found to be negatively related to acculturation. Furthermore, Carballo (Note 5) has identified two sets of variables in acculturation, antecedent and intervening variables. Education, occupation, urban-industrial background, and cognitive exposure are antecedent variables, whereas satisfaction with the new culture is an example of an intervening variable. He also distinguishes between "attitudinal" acculturation and "behavioral" acculturation, and concludes that often those who see the United States as offering more opportunities are more attitudinally predisposed to assimilate but are often those who are the least able to be behaviorally adaptable.

It is as yet unclear which elements should be included in acculturation scales.

Some researchers have found language a very important clue concerning acculturation (e.g. Padilla, 1980); others have not (e.g. Garcia, 1982). It may well be a function of the sample's level of acculturation. As the sample becomes more and more acculturated, language may become less of a discriminator between the acculturated and nonacculturated. In our case, since admission to the Navy requires some competence in English, we expect language to be of lesser significance as a discriminant of acculturation in our study. In short, we are arguing that at low levels of acculturation language may be the best predictor of acculturation, but at high levels other elements may be important. In this study we developed items appropriate for relatively acculturated samples of adults.

A number of strategies have been used to measure acculturation although most recent research follows a psychometric approach to the study of acculturation (Olmedo, 1978). One can investigate the responses of individuals who belong to different generations (e.g., Knight & Kagan, 1977), or ask questions that reflect sociocultural information (e.g., Padilla, 1980) as well as subjective culture variables (e.g. meaning of key words) as was done by Olmedo, Martinez, and Martinez (1987), or examine the preferences of individuals for situations where only individuals from one or the other group or an equal number of each group are the main actors (e.g., Ramirez, Garza, & Cox, Note 6). In most cases, then, the usual strategy includes asking the respondent to answer items regarding languages used by the subject, the types of social behavior of the subject with members of various ethnic groups, the composition of the neighborhood in which the respondent lives, etc.

Conceptually, high acculturation implies that the minority group members (e.g., Hispanics) respond to these questions in the same manner as majority individuals. Biculturalism, on the other hand, reflects an orientation in which both minority and majority subjective culture elements are found in equal proportions and the subject indicates that ideal patterns of social behavior are influenced by both cultural norms and depend on the situation.

The data of the present study are part of a larger project that examines the subjective culture of U.S. Hispanics and compares it with the subjective culture of the U.S. Mainstream. A questionnaire obtained information about demographic and attitude variables that have implications for acculturation and biculturalism.

METHOD

Subjects

Hispanic ($N = 145$) and Mainstream ($N = 149$) male, Navy recruits, mean ages 20 and 19 respectively, answered the questionnaire while being processed into Navy jobs. In each of the three Navy recruiting stations (Florida, California, and Illinois) when a Spanish-surname recruit was to be classified, the classification officer checked the recruit's self-identification on an application form completed at a previous time, in which "Hispanic" was one of the ways the recruit could describe himself. If the Spanish-surname recruit had selected the Hispanic self-identification label he was asked to complete a number of questionnaires, including the present questionnaire. At that time, another recruit with a non-Spanish surname was randomly selected and given the same questionnaires. These are the Mainstream subjects of the present paper.

The minimum age of the samples was 17; 90% of them were included in the 17-21 range (Mainstream) or 17-25 range (Hispanics). Fifty-six percent of the Mainstream sample was of British or old American background: 13% identified themselves as coming from Central Europe, and 11% as being Afro-American. Less than 1% were Asian Americans. The remaining came from Scandinavia, West, South and East Europe in about equal proportions. Forty-three percent of

the Hispanic sample identified Mexico as their place of origin, 31% Puerto Rico, 21% various South American and Spanish-European backgrounds, and 2% Cuban, the remaining 3% did not answer. Seventy-nine percent of the Mainstream indicated that their grandparents were born in the United States. The corresponding information for Hispanics was 23%. Sixteen percent of the Mainstream and 27% of the Hispanics had only their fathers born in the U.S. Only 2% of the Mainstream but 20% of the Hispanics were new immigrants, in that they had been born abroad, and so had their parents and grandparents.

Instrument

A 24-question Personal Background Information Form was developed from inspection of the literature on acculturation (Cuellar, Harris & Jasso, 1980; Olmedo, Martinez & Martinez, 1978; Padilla, 1980; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines & Aranalde, 1978) and biculturalism (Ramirez, Garza & Cox, Note 6). It was answered in English by all subjects.

We can distinguish conceptually four kinds of items: (1) acculturation, (2) biculturalism, (3) acculturation items scored with a biculturalism code and (4) biculturalism items scored with an acculturation code. For example, consider the number of years the subject has lived in the U.S. We assumed that the longer a person lived in the U.S. the more acculturated he would be. So, we used that information as one measure of acculturation. However, the same information can be used as a measure of biculturalism. We constructed an index as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Age - No. of years in the U.S.}}{\text{Age}} - \frac{1}{2}$$

If that index is less than .1 we gave the person a high score (5) on biculturalism; if the index was between .4 and .5 we gave the person a low score (1) on biculturalism. For instance, a 20-year old who lived 10 years in the U.S. would get a score of 5, but a 20-year old who lived 2 years in the U.S. would get a score of 1;

An example of a Type 4 item is one which was designed to measure biculturalism and was also scored for acculturation. For example, one item asked "When you watch TV what type of shows do you prefer"? Biculturalism was measured by giving a score of 5 for the answer "equally shows in English and Spanish", 3 for the answers "mostly Spanish" and "mostly English" and 1 for the answers "only shows in Spanish" or "only shows in English". The same item can be scored for acculturation by giving a 5 for the "only shows in English" and a 1 for the "only shows in Spanish" answers, and 2, 3, and 4 for the logically corresponding other answers.

Analyses

Since factor analyses were used we had to make sure that we did not extract artifactual factors by utilizing the same information in the same analysis. This was accomplished by doing factor analyses on different sets of the items:

1. We put the acculturation and the biculturalism items in one analysis.
2. We put all the recoded acculturation and biculturalism items in a different analysis.
3. We put all the acculturation items and the biculturalism items coded as acculturation items in one analysis.

4. We put the biculturalism items and all the acculturation items coded as biculturalism items in one analysis.

Thus, analysis 1 examines entirely different items, some of which we designed and scored to measure acculturation and some to measure biculturalism; analysis 2 focuses only on the recoded items (i.e. items Type 3 and Type 4); analysis 3 is the best analysis for finding the broadest measure of acculturation (using both kinds of items); analysis 4 is the best analysis for finding the best measure of biculturalism (using both kinds of items).

RESULTS

Inspection of the four factor analyses mentioned above suggested that the best way to present them is to describe the factor analysis of all the Acculturation and all the Biculturalism items first, and then mention the results of the other analyses. On the assumption that some readers may wish to use these items, we present the exact wording and suggest the scoring approach for the items that measured Acculturation and Biculturalism.

Acculturation. Table 1 presents the highest loadings items of the factor analysis. There were three factors that accounted for 32, 14 and 8 percent of the variance respectively. The first one we named Length of Residence in the U.S.; the second Media Acculturation; and the third Social Acculturation.

Table 1
Factor Analysis of All Acculturation Items

	<i>Loading</i>
<i>Factor 1: Length of Residence in the U.S. (32% of variance)</i>	
Please write the number of years you have lived in the U.S.	.78
Have you lived in a country other than the U.S.? (answers No get high score; answers Yes get low score, depending on the number of years, with lowest score if he lived a large number of years abroad)	.83
Where did you spend the first fifteen years of your life? (If the answer is in U.S., high score; if not in U.S., low score)	.86
<i>Factor 2: Media acculturation (14% of variance)</i>	
What type of music you prefer? only music in Spanish scored 1 music mostly in Spanish scored 2 equally music in English and Spanish scored 3 music mostly in English scored 4 music only in English scored 5	.69
When you watch TV, what type of shows do you prefer? (scored as in previous question)	.73
What type of movies do you prefer? (scored as in previous question)	.76

<i>Factor 3: Social Acculturation (8% of variance)</i>	
If you could choose five co-workers, of what ethnic backgrounds would they be? (lists only Cuban, Mexican, or Puerto Rican, score 1; lists some Anglo, score 3; lists all Anglo, score 5)	.41
Using the ethnic categories listed in question 6 what is the ethnic background of your five closest friends? (scored as the previous question)	.69
What was the ethnic background of the persons you have been romantically involved with? (room for 5 to be listed from "most serious" to "least serious"; scoring system took notice of ethnicity and importance of involvement)	.60

Biculturalism. Table 2 presents the results of the factor analysis of the biculturalism items. We have two factors, accounting for 25 and 15 percent of the variance respectively. They represent Media and Social Biculturalism.

Table 2
Factor Analysis of All Biculturalism Items

	<i>Loading</i>
<hr/>	
<i>Factor 1: Media Biculturalism (25% of variance)</i>	
What type of music do you prefer? only music in Spanish scored 1 mostly music in Spanish scored 3 equally music in English and Spanish scored 5 music mostly in English scored 3 music only in English scored 1	.73
When you watch TV, what type of shows do you prefer? (scored as in previous question)	.83
What types of movies do you prefer? (scored as in previous question)	.72
<hr/>	
<i>Factor 2: Social Biculturalism (15% of variance)</i>	
Using the ethnic categories listed in question 6 what is the ethnic background of your five closest friends? (score 5 if very mixed Anglo and Hispanic; score 1 if only one or the other ethnic group; scored 2, 3, 4 for intermediate)	.57
What was the ethnic background of the persons you have been romantically involved with? (scored as in previous question)	.78

If your children were to attend a school and you could pick the ethnic background of the students, what percentage of the students would you like of each of the ethnic backgrounds shown below? .39
(10 backgrounds shown. High score for picking several)

Description of the Results of the Other Factor Analyses. The analyses that placed all original items in one analysis, extracted two factors. The first was highly loaded on the Residence in the U.S. acculturation items, and had small negative loadings on the Media Biculturalism items (ranging from $-.26$ to $-.33$). The second factor had loadings (in the $.64$ to $.81$ range) on the Media Biculturalism items. In short, the mixed Acculturation and Biculturalism items suggest that the most important factor of the Acculturation items factor analysis and the most important factor of the Biculturalism factor analysis dominate the scene when the two kinds of items are placed in the same analysis. The factor analysis of the combined recorded acculturation and biculturalism items extracted two factors: a Social and Media Acculturation and a Years in the U.S. factor, suggesting that in this analysis the three factors of the Acculturation analysis collapsed into two factors.

Description of Results with Mainstream Sample. The same analyses were carried out with the Mainstream sample. Of course, these data are much less interesting, since the subjects are presumably fully acculturated. Nevertheless, since we had the data we looked at them. The acculturation data revealed three factors: (1) Place of Birth in the U.S. vs. outside the U.S., with high loadings of father's and grandfather's place of birth, (2) Social Acculturation suggesting liking of friends, co-workers, and neighbors of one ethnic group, and (3) Foreign Residence, indicating that the subject had lived outside the U.S. The biculturalism items defined two factors: (1) Intimate Social Biculturalism (friends and romantic partners were of many ethnic groups) and (2) Formal Social Biculturalism (neighbors, schools, co-workers of many ethnic groups). The combined acculturation and biculturalism items factor analysis extracted three factors, representing place of birth of parents and grandparents, foreign residence and social biculturalism. The recoded items analysis showed the same distinction between intimate social biculturalism and formal social biculturalism found in the biculturalism analysis. Thus, the items appear to cluster more or less similarly even in the case of the Mainstream subjects, though additional distinctions were made, that seem appropriate, given the background of these subjects.

Relation of Acculturation and Biculturalism to Other Responses

For the Hispanic sample only it is useful to mention the relationships between the Acculturation and Biculturalism factors and other responses. First, there were some other items that loaded highly on the Acculturation factors. Specifically the Length of Residence in the U.S. factor had high loadings on place of birth of the subject (U.S. vs. outside the U.S.) of $.65$, place of birth of father ($.62$) and grandfather ($.65$) and language used in the family (English rather than Spanish) $.59$. There were also loadings (in the $.21$ to $.28$ range) on variables measuring preference for English rather than Spanish music, TV and movies. The Media Acculturation factor had loadings (in the $.35$ to $.45$ range) on Social Acculturation items, such as having many Anglo close friends, romantic partners, neighbors and liking a program of songs and dances for one's birthday that includes many English elements. The Social Acculturation factor had loadings (in the $.35$ -. $.36$ range) on father's and mother's birth place being in this country.

Table 3 shows the correlations of the subject's generation (S born outside the U.S. low score; S's grandfather born in the U.S. high score) and the indices of

acculturation and biculturalism. We split the co-workers from the close friend and romantic partners to be able to see if these indices correlated a little differently with other variables. As can be among relatively acculturated Hispanics rather than among Hispanics in general.

Table 3
Correlations of Generation and the Acculturation and Biculturalism Indices
(N = 145)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Generation	(1.00)	.53***	.27**	.02	.23**	-.26**	.07
2. Length of Residence in U.S.		(1.00)	.38***	.01	.18*	-.39***	.22**
3. Media Acculturation.			(1.00)	.12	.52***	(.94)	.15
4. No. of non-Hispanic co-workers.				(1.00)	.34***	-.12	.23**
5. No. of non-Hispanic close friends and romantic partners					(1.00)	-.48***	.31***
6. Media Biculturalism						(1.00)	-.18*
7. Social Biculturalism							(1.00)

Notes: () indicates that this coefficient is an artifact of the fact that the same data were intercorrelated.

* is $p < .05$

** is $p < .01$

*** is $p < .001$

Our results agree with those of Weinstock (1964) who did not find English a reliable index of acculturation among Hungarian immigrants, and Garcia (1982) who did not find it in his study of Detroit Chicanos. In fact, Weinstock argued that number of friends of the majority culture and mass media preferences were the best indicators of acculturation for Hungarians. Garcia found "preferred association with other Mexicans", preference for Spanish TV and Mexican entertainers, and the ethnic background of the subject's friends to be the three most important indices of cultural orientation. Thus, Social and Media Acculturation appear in two other studies as well as in this one.

The correlation of the acculturation indexes with the subject's generation may be seen as an indication of the validity of the index. The correlation with biculturalism suggests that acculturation leads to a preference for the Mainstream media (at least for high acculturation subjects) but also to a preference for friends and romantic partners of more than one ethnic group. This suggests that choice

of friends and romantic partners may be the last element that is retained from the "old" culture as the highly acculturated person becomes completely assimilated into the "new."

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FOOTNOTES

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BRAZILIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF PSYCHOLOGY: A BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH COMMENT

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In the context of a comprehensive, world-wide coverage of the literature on contemporary historiography of psychology, a bibliography with comment is presented of relevant publications in Brazil.

En el contexto de la historiografía de la psicología, una bibliografía con comentario se presenta de publicaciones relevantes en el Brasil.

A limited amount of information has been available abroad regarding psychological work in Brazil (e.g., Angelini, 1978; Ardilla, 1968; Filho, 1959; Lo Presti Seminério, 1978; Rodrigues, 1978). The aim of the present communication is to survey only an aspect of this work, namely the literature on the historiography of psychology.

This presentation forms a part of a larger, long-term, collaborative project. The geographical areas covered in previous communications have been tabulated in the introduction to a section on "Historiography of psychology around the world" in a volume on historiography of modern psychology (Brozek and Pongratz, 1980).

Brazilian historiography of psychology in the 20th century

In the 1920s there appeared papers of certain historical relevance such as the description of the psychological laboratory at the Psychopathic Clinic in Rio de Janeiro (Guimaraes, 1928).

An important event in the Brazilian historiography of psychology is *Psychology in Brazil in the last 25 years*, written by L. Filho (1970), a pioneer of psychology in his country. Filho presents an historical panorama of the development of Brazilian psychology including relevant administrative events and the analysis of the contribution of foreign specialists. Some of Filho's earlier works deal also with historical topics (e.g., analysis of motivational theories, 1955; study of the influence of Ribot's ideas on South American psychologists, 1939).

Brazilian psychologists have written on eminent contributors to psychology, particularly Freud and Jung. This is evidenced by *Jung, life and work*, by da Silveira (1968), and Bittencourt's book on Freud and Jung (Bittencourt 1975).

A specialist on Piaget and member of the Editorial Board of *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicologia*. Antonio Gomes Penna, is the author of the first extensive treatise. (325 pages) in Portuguese on the general history of psychology (Gomes Penna, 1978). For this reason alone, Gomes Penna's *Introduction to the history of contemporary psychology* is assured of wide use as a textbook in Brazil. The book contains chapters devoted to the Würzburg school of thinking, behaviorism (Watson, Hull, Skinner, Tolman, social learning -Dollard, Miller, Bandura), reflexology, psychoanalysis, phenomenology, Gestalt psychology, and developmental psychology (with emphasis on Piaget). The inclusion of a chapter on phenomenology, a trend with few followers among Latin American psychologists, is an additional merit of the *Introduction*. This is not an accident since phenomenology is an area of personal interest of the author (Gomes Penna, 1968).

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF PSYCHOLOGY IN 'ARQUIVOS BRASILEIROS DE PSICOLOGIA'

The most important psychological journal in Portuguese is *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicologia*, founded in 1949 by Emilio Mira y López (1896-1964) under the name of *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicotécnica* (between 1969 and 1978 retitled *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicologia Aplicada*). *Arquivos* serves as an organ for Brazilian psychologist but periodically publishes, too, articles from important American and European specialists (Anastasi 1968; Baumgarten, 1954; Rogers, 1976; Super, 1975; Yela, 1968). The primary emphasis of this journal is an psychometric procedures and vocational guidance; however, special issues were devoted to ergonomics (in 1975) and educational psychology (in 1979).

Arquivos published a letter of Ivan P. Pavlov (1950) to Brazilian Professor Euryalo Canabrava, containing clarifications of his theory; Schneider studied the evolution from psychophysics to contemporary psychology while de Villemor Amaral (1953) discussed the concepts of intelligence of Binet, Claparède, Spearman, Thorndike, and Catell. Henri Piéron (1958) is author of a contribution on the history of the 'Association Internationale de Psychologie Appliquée'.

Lo Presti Seminério article (1978) is an interesting and concise overview of Mira's psychological ideas, and lists Mira's book-length publications. Lo Presti Seminério (1972) is also the author of a paper on trends of present psychology. Stopa's article (1978) about the life and work of Hermann Rorschach is based on the Spanish version of minor writings of the Swiss psychologist (Bash, 1967). Dias Velloso (1976) provides a comprehensive exposition of the work of Helena Antipoff (1892-1974), a Russian contributor to Brazilian psychology.

Psycholinguistics. Scliar Cabral (1976, 1976a, 1978, 1979) published an extensive survey which reviews the Brazilian literature related to psycholinguistics, and is the best source of information on the development of this field in Brazil., particularly useful as a source of bibliographical information. Non-Portuguese readers will be surprised by the large amount of Brazilian research and theoretical work in psycholinguistics.

Psychology abroad. Papers published in the *Arquivos* on developments abroad deal with vocational guidance (e.g., in West Germany, Stets, 1957; Argentina, Cortada de Kohan, 1964; Uruguay, Risso, 1959) and applied psychology (Guatemala, de León, 1955). A Cuban psychologist, José A. Bustamante (1962) described the development of psychology in Czechoslovakia and USSR, referring to the activi-

ties at the psychology departments, the courses and the research centers in Prague, Moscow, and Leningrad.

There are also articles on the state of psychology in other countries, including Japan (Parreiras Novaes, 1977).

History of Brazilian psychology. The evolution of psychology in Brazil was analyzed by several authors. Scheffer (1970) referred to the contribution of psychology to education, while Dias Velloso (1970, 1977) studied the development of clinical psychology. Weil (1972) centered his paper on the progress of organizational and industrial psychology, and Mange (1956) authored a paper on psychotechnics in Sao Paulo. Schneider (1971) wrote on social psychology.

Primary sources. Of relevance for the historians of psychology is the presence of several articles by Emilio Mira y López (e. g., 1949 a, 1949b, 1952, 1960, 1963, 1965).

Special issues. A special issue of *Arquivos* was devoted to Filho (1971), who directed the journal between 1957 and 1970, and to Piaget (1977). The issue devoted to Filho contains his biography, an appraisal of the significance of his work, a selection of articles by Filho, and a bibliography.

The *Piaget issue* contains the following parts: A biography (by Monique Augras, pp. 5-8), an analysis of genetic epistemology and its relation with contemporary philosophy (by Lo Presti Seminério, pp. 9-30), a discussion on some aspects of Piaget's theory of perception (by Gomes Penna, pp. 31-42), four papers on Piagetian theory and its influence and importance in education (by Circe Navarro Rivas, Hebe Goldfeld, Tanha Guelman, and Ronald J. Raven), an extensive analysis of relevance of his ideas to diagnostics (by Liette Franchi, pp. 99-131), and a bibliography of Piaget (pp. 137-162), including translations into Portuguese (pp. 161-162)

PRIMARY SOURCES: TRANSLATIONS

Numerous important primary sources were translated from English (Cannon, 1946; Horney, 1961; Koffka, 1975; Lewin, 1973), French (e. g., Guillaume, 1966; Piéron, 1973), German (e.g., Jaspers, 1973; Jung, 1976; Spranger, 1976); Italian (Lombroso, 1962,) Latin (Spinoza, 1976), and Spanish (Mouchet, 1974; Mira y López, 1949).

The complete works of Freud (n.d.) are available and, also, several books of Skinner (e. g., Skinner, 1972, 1973), and of Piaget, including his important *Biology and knowledge* (Piaget, 1973, 1973a).

HISTORIOGRAPHIC WORKS: TRANSLATIONS

Brazilian students and scholars interested in history of psychology are well served by the translations of *Seven psychologies* (Heidbreder, 1969), and *Great experiments in psychology* (Garrett, 1966). Additionally, there are translations of the books of Marx and Hillix (1974), Wertheimer (1976), Miller (1964), Mueller (1979), Foulquié and Deledalle (1965), and of the anthology of Herrnstein and Boring (1971).

Histories of psychoanalysis and parapsychology were also translated (Amadou, 1969; Thompson and Mullahy, 1976).

Person-oriented historiographic works are available: The biography of Freud by Jones (1970), the Evans' book on Jung (1973).

CLOSING COMMENT

A systematic examination of other Brazilian psychological journals than *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicologia* remains an important task. Many of these journals contain valuable historiographic articles (e. g., Lucena, 1975; Pessotti, 1975), and a classified index of them would be useful.

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FOOTNOTES

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