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Helen A. Moore

hmoore1@unl.edu

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# Hispanic Women: Schooling for Conformity in Public Education

Helen A. Moore

Department of Sociology  
University of Nebraska-Lincoln

## Abstract

The educational and occupational attainments of Hispanic women are tied to the norms of an Anglocentric and androcentric school system. In the past, research has indicated that young female students gain an advantage in the early years of school because of their conformity to certain behaviors including passivity, docility and neatness. Teacher norms for students are specified on three dimensions-behavioral, social and academic-and teacher expectations for their students' success are analyzed. The analysis is based on a sample of 1,000 male and female Hispanic and Anglo students and their classroom teachers. Teachers do rate Hispanic females as more conforming to the behavioral norms of the school. Correlational and regression analysis was performed and findings indicate that higher teacher ratings are assigned to Hispanic females who combine high academic scores with low scores on the behavioral conformity norms. These findings indicate that teachers reward assertiveness, leadership and action when considering success in educational and economic institutions. The dilemma of conflicting norms for Hispanic females is discussed.

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The educational experience of young Hispanic females is too often omitted from social science research, which is predominately Anglo-centric and androcentric. The early experiences of Hispanic females within a white middle-class cultural institution have not been systematically investigated. Our images of young Hispanic females as students are subsumed under the more general descriptions of their ethnic and age peers. Classroom research informs us that Anglo males are aggressive, active, dominant and less likely to conform to school norms than their female classmates. Anglo girls are often described as passive, obedient, and quiet in the same educational settings (Sex-ton, 1969). Hispanic students in general are described as oriented toward family norms, with an emphasis on cooperation and respect for authority, accompanied by significantly lower academic skills than Anglo students (Jackson & Cosca; 1974, Ramirez, Taylor, & Peterson, 1971).

The lower educational attainments of Hispanic females, compared to each of these groups, demonstrate how inadequate our models for educational research have been. In 1976, the college completion rate of Mexican American females 25-29 years old was only 5%, a rate that is 85% below the rate for Anglo males of the same age group. Coteria (1976) documents high school educational completion for Mexican American women, which are consistently below those of Mexican American men. The popular notion of increased educational opportunities and attainments for Hispanic women should be viewed in light of the expanding educational rates of all groups. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978) demonstrates that while almost all sex and ethnic groups have increased educational rates, these increases do not match those for Anglo males. Hispanic and black females in particular have experienced a relative decline in college attainment rates when compared to Anglo males over the last decade.

Research and theory have become more critical of these educational processes for minorities and women and have contributed to two major perspectives for understanding these inequalities. The first perspective rests on the notion that schooling processes reflect a cultural system that is biased by gender, what we have termed an androcentric schooling model. The second model asserts that schools comprise an Anglocentric system, with attainments, behaviors and values

normed to the white, middle class student population. These two perspectives suggest that a contradictory normative environment exists within schools which may be particularly significant to the Hispanic female (Mirande & Enriquez, 1979; Nieto-Gomez, 1973). Her sex and ethnic background create diverse expectations for herself, her family, community and the school staff for her participation in the schooling process. Both the androcentric and Anglocentric models argue that the school norms provide a "hidden Curriculum" in which behaviors combine with certain cognitive and academic skills, particularly language skills, to influence evaluations of students.

*The Androcentric Model.* The androcentric model is based on a critique of earlier works by Parsons (1949), Sexton (1969), Kerckhoff (1972), and others who have described the school as a "feminized" environment. Parsons argued that females in the elementary school are successful primarily because they meet the behavioral expectations of their female classroom teachers, rather than because they have significant skill advantages. Parsons assumed that schools appropriately socialize females into "expressive" roles in support of the family through an emphasis on behavioral and social conformity. Kerckhoff's research suggests that female teachers prefer female behaviors and social skills, and therefore work harder with their female students, creating an advantage for those students. Thus, the "feminized" elementary school, according to Kerckhoff, is probably dysfunctional to male students who hold the "... central economic position in our society."

The notion of a "feminized" school normative structure is also maintained by Sexton in *The Feminized Male*. Sexton argues that teachers favor neatness, obedience, politeness, and sociability, as well as "feminine" linguistic and academic skills. The male student, then, must be "feminized" (emasculated) into subordination, cooperation, and "feminine" academic skills which revolve around the humanities and social sciences. These norms and skills, Sexton argues, have the potential to inhibit male educational and occupational success.

No mention is made within the "feminized" school argument that this socialization process might have similarly disabling effects for the "feminized" female. The assumption that women will not compete in the paid labor market (a male sphere) biases this model and omits any discussion of occupational socialization for Hispanic women. Yet the participation of these women has been consistently

affected by sex and ethnic discrimination (Lopez, 1977). Whether Hispanic women participate in the labor market out of necessity or for individual fulfillment, or some combination of these, the model of a "feminized" school does not address their educational needs and socialization.

The androcentric critique of schooling further argues that the behavioral and academic norms of the schools track females into "traditional" spheres of work: primarily household work, child socialization, or clerical, nursing, teaching, and service careers. Deem (1979) points to sex segregation of most vocational and academic tracks and evidence that schools give females a set of "feminized" skills and aspirations. These skills are often reinforced by family, religious, and economic institutions. Given that Hispanic women, as adult workers, are also found primarily in the three "feminine" spheres of work (service, clerical, and operative), it is important to investigate this dimension of the school normative structure as it affects expectations and achievements (Sanchez, 1977).

While the behavioral, social and academic norms of the schools do reinforce some sets of skills and behaviors over others, these norms are not necessarily female in origin. The Anglocentric model suggests that these same norms are closely tied to class and ethnic biases in the schools. Thus, the "feminizing" behaviors and skills emphasized in the schools may have additional meaning for the conflicts faced by Hispanic female students.

*The Anglocentric Model.* Radical educational theorists state that, as a result of combined historical events and government policies which have promoted ability grouping, public education serves to sort students by social class and race (Spring, 1976). Placement in these programs stratifies the school population by social class and ethnicity, internally replicating the inequalities of the larger economic system (Moore & Iadicola, 1981). Selective reinforcement of behavioral, social, and academic norms is one method by which this is achieved. Students from minority and working class backgrounds who exhibit subordination, discipline, and hard work (the attributes of a docile working class) are rewarded in the schools (Carlson, 1975). Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that students from middle and upper income families are encouraged into other behaviors, including independence, leadership, and intellectual development, which will be "more appropriate" to their eventual adult status in higher income occupations.

Combined with these behavioral and social norms are the educational skills which are valued in the schools. The Anglocentric model provides a critique of traditional educational measures and interpretations of academic skills. Bourdieu and Passeron (1976) argue that standardized academic skills reflect distinct class biases. In effect, every social class grouping holds certain skills and abilities (resources) which are culturally determined to a great extent. Once inserted into a school normative system which rewards only one set of resources, then the skills acquired by students in diverse cultural situations place them at an academic disadvantage. Bourdieu and Passeron call these resources "cultural capital" and perceive these skills as a medium of exchange within the schools. Thus, some sets of cultural capital are more scholastically valuable as they resemble more closely the dominant school norms.

Others have argued that the school norms are closely aligned with ethnic, rather than class, characteristics and resources. Traditional test scores have been questioned on the basis of cultural bias in the educational measurement of achievement, intelligence, and the assignment of grades. Other research models indicate that language is an important aspect of cultural capital or potential cultural bias in schools. Laosa (1977) found that teacher evaluations of Mexican American students improved for English-speaking students, so that language dominance was a more significant factor than ethnicity in influencing teacher evaluations. Rosenfeld's research suggests that language norms mediate directly between pupil ethnicity and teacher expectations for student achievement (Rosenfeld, 1973).

Thus, language, academic skills, and schools' behavioral and social norms become salient factors for understanding the educational socialization of Hispanic females. Family and community norms for the social roles of Hispanic women must also be taken into account. The expectations of these institutions may generate conflicts when coupled with the assimilatory pressures of the schools.

### **Conflicts in Socialization**

The status of Hispanic women in the United States has been described as a triple oppression of colonization, sex discrimination, and a patriarchal cultural heritage (Mirande & Enriquez, 1980). Hispanic researchers such as Cotera (1977) and Garcia-Bahne (1978) stress that

the Hispanic woman is reinforced by her own culture into subordinate traditional roles. They view a protective patriarchal stance towards women within the Hispanic culture as negatively limiting Chicanas and other Hispanic women. The norms for behavioral passivity restrict them from the skills "... necessary for developing her economic independence in a rapidly changing society" (Garcia-Bahne, p. 83). This cultural role parallels the "feminized" school model for females and also omits the historically significant economic and political roles of Hispanic women (Cotera, 1976).

The cross pressures of Hispanic norms for females and the Anglo educational norms have been noted clearly by Hispanic social scientists. Ramirez (1973) examined Mexican American student attitudes toward schools and found deep conflicts between the Hispanic culture and school socialization norms. The general Hispanic emphasis on cooperation and achievement within the family, as opposed to achievement in external institutions, conflicts directly with the competitive norms of the school. Ramirez argued that this conflict is internalized and results in a rejection of the school normative system and a relatively high dropout rate for Hispanic female students. Nieto-Gomez (1973) describes a range of strategies through which Chicanas attempt to resolve, or confront, the conflicts created by Anglo educational norms.

This struggle arises from the normative pressures of family, community, peers, and educators. The educational emphasis on passive "expressive" female roles cannot explain the economic achievement patterns of Hispanic women who will or must participate in paid labor. Nor can the Anglocentric model fully account for differences in the educational experiences and attainments of Hispanic women and men.

We highlight the conflicts for Hispanic females by focusing on the norms and expectations of their classroom teachers. We have tested this model at the elementary school for two reasons. First, this system has been argued to favor the behaviors emphasized in both Anglo and Hispanic cultures for the socialization of females. This educational level also allows us to include many Hispanic females who, as adolescents, may resolve conflicts with the Anglo educational system by dropping out of it. Our central hypotheses are as follows:

- Classroom teachers will expect higher attainments (educational and occupational) from those students who conform to the Anglo cultural norms of the school. These include educational, language, behavioral, and social norms.

- “Successful” female students will face conflicting norms. Hispanic females with equally conforming cultural capital (resources) and skills will only be assigned high teacher expectations when they reject the behavioral requisites of passivity, docility, and submission normally held for females.

It is this second hypothesis that generates the educational conflict for Hispanic females. If, in fact, their classroom teachers reward Hispanic female students for conformity only under certain conditions, then the schools themselves generate significant dilemmas for these students.

## Method

*Sample.* Information was collected from a total of 15,593 elementary school students and 2,262 classroom teachers from eight desegregated school districts on the West Coast in the spring of 1973. A stratified random subsample of Anglo and Hispanic sixth-grade students and their classroom teachers were selected from the final data for this study (Sudman, 1976). The final sample is comprised of 500 male and 500 female sixth-grade students from the two ethnic groups and their classroom teachers.

*Background Variables.* The student's ethnicity and sex were indicated by the classroom teacher and scored as dummy variables: Hispanic status (HISPAN) = 1, Anglo status (ANGLO) = 0; female status (FEMALE) = 1, male status (MALE) = 0. A measure of parent occupational status (OCCUP) was also taken and scored on an ordinal ranking of sub-classifications of the Duncan Socioeconomic Index (Duncan, 1961). Teachers were asked to mark which of the following occupational levels was held by each student's father or head of household: welfare, unemployed (0); unskilled laborer (1); skilled laborer or trade (2); clerical/white collar (3); managerial (4); and professional (5). The average occupational score assigned to the head of household for Anglo students was 2.84 ( $SD = 1.16$ ).

The cultural capital factor (CAPITAL) was operationalized using a standard English knowledge test score as an indicator of individual and group language resources, as defined by the Anglocentric model (The Metropolitan Achievement Word Knowledge Subtest Sixth Grade Version, 1970). Student scores ranged from 0 through 48, with a high score indicating greater cultural capital as defined by the school system. The mean score for Anglo students was 31.18 ( $SD = 10.99$ ); the mean score for Hispanic students was 21.50 ( $SD = 10.31$ ).



*Measuring the Normative Structure.* The three normative dimensions of the school—behavioral, social, and academic skills—were measured through teacher ratings of their students. Classroom teachers were asked to respond to a set of 18 semantic differentials, arranged in six-point scales, to describe the behaviors and skills of each student (c.f. Mercer, Nichols, & Lewis, 1976). Factor analysis, specifying three factors, distinguished three clusters. In Table 1, the scores for the first factor (BEHAV) represent teacher perceptions of student behavioral traits and include the following semantic pairs: disobedient/obedient; prone to anger/not prone to anger; difficult to discipline/easy to discipline; obstructive/cooperative; impatient/patient; and cruel! kind. The second factor is identified as educational skills (SKILLS) and includes teacher ratings on the following: intelligent/dull-minded; quick/slow; able to concentrate/subject to distraction; organized/disorganized; and good memory/poor memory. The third factor represents teachers' perceptions of student social skills and ranking (SOCIAL) and is composed of ratings on the following: introverted/extroverted; unsociable/sociable; cold/warm; colorful/colorless; aloof/friendly; and morose/cheerful. For each factor a cut-off point for coefficients of .70 was established. Only one redundant item was dropped. Student scores were then summed across the semantic differentials in each factor to yield a scale score. The Cronbach's Alpha coefficients for reliability ranged from .89 to .93 for the three scales (Cronbach, 1951).

*Teacher Expectations.* Teacher expectations for each student's educational and occupational attainments as adults were assessed through teacher responses to the following two questions:

On the basis of your knowledge of the student's aptitudes and motivations for education, how many years of schooling do you expect he/she will probably complete? Less than high school (1); high school (2); some college or vocational training beyond high school (3); B.A./B.S. degree (4); graduate training in some field (5).

The average score for Anglo students was 3.27 ( $SD = 1.10$ ); the average score for Hispanic students was 2.73 ( $SD = 0.98$ ).

What level of occupation do you expect this student will probably achieve as an adult? Unskilled laborer (1); skilled laborer or trade (2); clerical, white-collar (3); managerial, white-collar supervision (4); professional (5).

The average Hispanic score was 2.78 ( $SD = 1.23$ ); the average Anglo student's score was 3.39 ( $SD = 1.33$ ).

**Table 1.** Factor Loadings for Teacher Ratings of Sixth Grade Students Principal Components Factor Analysis Varimax Rotation

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
<b>Teacher Perceptions of Student Behavioral Traits (BEHAV)</b>			
Disobedient/Obedient	.86	.23	.07
Prone to anger/Not prone to anger	.75	.09	.06
Difficult to discipline/Easy to discipline	.87	.20	.06
Obstructive/Cooperative	.83	.26	.15
Impatient/Patient	.78	.29	.06
Cruel/Kind	.74	.15	.32
<b>Teacher Perception of Student Educational Skills (SKILLS)</b>			
Intelligent/Dull minded	.12	.83	.24
Quick/Slow	.07	.84	.30
Able to concentrate/Subject to distraction	.41	.73	.05
Organized/Disorganized	.44	.70	.07
Good memory/poor memory	.19	.84	.17
<b>Teacher Perception of Student Social Skills (SOCIAL)</b>			
Introverted/Extroverted	-.31	.16	.70
Unsociable/Sociable	.11	.19	.79
Cold/Warm	.34	.08	.76
Colorful/Colorless	-.05	.25	.71
Aloof/Friendly	.28	.04	.78
Morose/Cheerful	.36	.16	.72
<b>Redundant item removed from scales</b>			
Quitting/Persevering	.56	.60	.15

**Results**

We first examined the impact of sex and ethnicity on the students' conformity to school norms. In Table 2, the Pearson product-moment correlations indicate that Hispanic and Anglo females do conform to the normative environment of the schools to a greater extent than do their male peers. The dummy variable FEMALE is positively associated with two of the dimensions, indicating more conforming scores from their teachers on SKILLS (.09,  $p \leq .001$ ) and behaviors (BEHAV, .18,  $p \leq .001$ ).

The correlation of FEMALE with BEHAV and SKILLS cannot, however, be sufficient evidence to conclude that school norms are female norms. The Anglocentric model suggests a similar association

**Table 2.** Pearson Correlations Between Student Characteristics, School Norms, and Teacher Expectations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 FEMALE								
2 HISPAN	.00							
3 CAPITAL	.01	-.41***						
4 OCCUP	-.01	-.38***	.44***					
5 SOCIAL	-.01	.06**	.12***	.13***				
6 BEHAV	.18***	.07**	.08***	.06**	.38***			
7 SKILLS	.09***	.10***	.44***	.28***	.43***	.47***		
8 EDEXP	-.02	-.25***	.57***	.49***	.33***	.28***	.68***	
9 OCCEXP	.03	-.23***	.50***	.50***	.31***	.25***	.62***	.82***

\* Significant beyond the .05 level

\*\* Significant beyond the .01 level

\*\*\* Significant beyond the .001 level

for ethnicity and social class. The data strongly support this notion. CAPITAL, as a measure of ethnic resources, shows considerable evidence of Anglocentric bias in school norms. The correlation between CAPITAL and SKILLS (.44,  $p \leq .001$ ) is such that greater English proficiency is related to higher teacher perceptions of skill conformity. CAPITAL is also correlated with SOCIAL (.12,  $p \leq .001$ ) and BEHAV (.08,  $p \leq .001$ ). Teacher perceptions of student conformity rise with higher cultural capital scores, as teachers within an Anglocentric school system are likely to positively evaluate students who have English language skills. While the variable HISPAN is positively associated with SKILLS (.10  $p \leq .001$ ), it is more marginally related to BEHAV and SOCIAL. It is especially important to be conservative in interpreting significance scores for such a large sample of students whose "n" may inflate the  $F$  scores.

The data also support the notion that economic status (OCCUP) is related to student conformity. OCCUP is correlated with SOCIAL (.13,  $p \leq .001$ ) and BEHAV (.06,  $p \leq .001$ ), but is most substantially associated with SKILLS (.28,  $p \leq .001$ ). Overall, it appears that economic and cultural factors are at least as strongly associated with the educational and behavioral norms of the school as is FEMALE status.

Conformity to the Anglo normative structure of the school is also associated with teacher expectations of students' educational and occupational futures. The variable BEHAV is associated with higher teacher educational expectations (.28,  $p \leq .001$ ) and higher teacher occupational expectations (.25,  $p \leq .001$ ). The sociability dimension correlates similarly (.33,  $p \leq .001$  and .31,  $p \leq .001$ , respectively). As in the other correlation, the variable SKILLS is the most strongly associated with positive teacher perceptions, in this instance with educational expectations (.68,  $p \leq .001$ ) and occupational expectations (.62,  $p \leq .001$ ).

In the next section, we examine the independent contributions of each of the conformity variables, and their interactions, to the expectations of teachers. The hypothesis that the school normative environment intervenes differently in the development of teacher expectations for their female Hispanic students is tested with multivariate regression analysis.

*Predicting Teacher Expectations.* Standard regression analysis was utilized, with all major predictor variables entered simultaneously in the equations. Table 3 indicates the explanatory power of student ethnicity, sex, cultural capital and parental occupation for predicting teacher expectations. The hypothesis is that the public schools reflect

an Anglocentric bias is supported. The first equations indicate that FEMALE, HISPAN, CAPITAL, and OCCUP combine to explain 41% of the variance in teacher expectations for student attainments and 37% of the variation in teacher occupational expectations for their students. When the three normative dimensions are included (BEHAV, SOCIAL, and SKILLS) the amount of explained variance increases significantly to 61% and 55% for those two equations.

The variables OCCUP and CAPITAL consistently predict higher teacher expectations for students, even when controlling for the effects of Anglocentric norms. The positive effects of HISPAN on teacher expectations in the first set of equations are apparently explained by the higher conformity scores of Hispanic students. A similar shift is evident for FEMALE, which now has a negative influence on teacher educational expectations when conformity is taken into account. The once positive effect of FEMALE on occupational expectations is also negated. The interaction effects of these variables are displayed in Table 4. The  $R^2$  for teacher expectations are not significantly affected by the interaction terms, that is, the amount of variance explained is not increased. The only significant interactions suggested are between FEMALE and CAPITAL.

The shifts in the relationships of HISPAN and FEMALE to educational expectations have important implications for Hispanic women. First, cultural capital and economic background characteristics retain a significant direct effect on teacher expectations, even after controlling for conformity to Anglo norms of skills and behaviors. Direct economic and cultural biases, which are not accounted for in the traditional academic and behavioral school norms, do exist in the development of teacher expectations. Second, the behavioral conformity scores of Hispanic female students do not contribute significantly to either their educational or occupational scores. Thus their conforming behaviors are not viewed as an asset by teachers. The previous association of conforming behaviors with higher teacher expectations is accounted for by the other economic and cultural capital variables in the model.

The androcentric model, then, correctly criticizes the notion that female behavioral conformity will be an advantage to female students. The model may be appropriate for those Hispanic women who do not participate in the labor force, and who do not define their own roles outside of "expressive" family oriented behaviors. However, Parsons' model is clearly deficient for a majority of Hispanic women

**Table 3.** Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Equations Predicting Teacher Expectations for Students

Student Characteristics	Educational Expectations	Occupational Expectations	Educational Expectations	Occupational Expectations
FEMALE	.002	.165***	-.147***	.006
HISPAN	.151***	.164***	-.049	-.063
CAPITAL	.042***	.040***	.022***	.017***
OCCUP	.246***	.346***	.173***	.263***
R <sup>2</sup>	.410	.367		
Standard error	.843	1.058		
BEHAV			.003	-.003
SOCIAL			.009**	.010**
SKILLS			.111***	.131***
R <sup>2</sup>			.614	.550
Standard error			.683	.894

who struggle in the "instrumental" roles of the labor market and the schools.

This does not mean that the behavioral norms of the schools are irrelevant to Hispanic women. As students, they experience the conflict between teacher reinforcement of those norms and the contradictory norms of their communities and other institutions.

*Conformity for Hispanic Female Students.* In Table 5 we contrast the betas for the regression equation predicting teacher expectations specifically for Hispanic female students with the equations for their Hispanic male peers and Anglo male and female students. The data highlight the complex effects of overlapping minority ethnic and female statuses. CAPITAL and OCCUP are consistently significant predictors for all groups, but these effects vary. The CAPITAL beta is similarly significant in both Hispanic male and female prediction equations. The beta is substantively greater in the Anglo male equation, indicating that teacher expectations are more dependent on language skills when assessing this group. It should be noted that Anglo males

**Table 4.** Interaction Effects for Equations Predicting Teacher Educational and Occupational Expectations

Student Characteristics	Educational Expectations	Occupational Expectations
FEMALE	-.013	.423
HISPAN	-.043	.144
OCCUP	.126***	.297***
CAPITAL	.024***	.038***
BEHAV	.002	-.005
SOCIAL	.007	.008
SKILLS	.112***	.129***
CAPIT ALIFEMALE	-.010***	-.021***
CAPITALIHISPAN	.001	-.010*
CAPITALIOCCUP	.001	-.023
FEMALE/HISPAN	.034	.063
FEMALE/OCCUP	.049	.062
HISPAN/OCCUP	-.014	.022
R <sup>2</sup>	.617	.559
Standard error	.683	.888

**Table 5.** Standardized Regression Coefficients Teacher Expectations for Male and Female Ethnic Students

Student Characteristics	Educational Expectations			
	Hispanic		Anglo	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
CAPITAL	.183***	.220***	.301***	.172***
OCCUP	.191***	.292***	.174***	.242***
BEHAV	.081	-.104***	.020	-.021***
SOCIAL	.094*	.153***	.083**	.103***
SKILLS	.574***	.410***	.511***	.533***
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.533	.540	.702	.601
$\bar{X}$	2.74	2.72	3.32	3.24
<i>SD</i>	0.98	0.98	1.18	1.01
Occupational Expectations				
CAPITAL	.102*	.101*	.264***	.163***
OCCUP	.222***	.331***	.253***	.270***
BEHAV	.050	-.034	.021	-.124***
SOCIAL	.071	.092	-.050	.203***
SKILLS	.503***	.371***	.462***	.476***
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.405	.402	.647	.563
$\bar{X}$	2.70	2.85	3.40	3.37
<i>SD</i>	1.29	1.17	1.35	1.30



do have significantly higher CAPITAL scores than either Hispanic males or females. However, Anglo females, whose scores are significantly higher than any of the other groups, do not show the same substantive effects of CAPITAL as do their Anglo male peers.

The OCCUP background variable is also significant. Parental occupation has more impact on teacher expectations for Hispanic females than for any other student group. OCCUP also plays a relatively more significant role in predicting expectations for Anglo females. These findings are consistent with other research (Ramirez, et al., 1971). It is evident that differences between economic groups and between males and females are taken into account by teachers, and that the effects on their expectations are not accounted for by differences in skills or cultural capital. These direct effects substantiate an economic bias in teacher expectations for Hispanic females.

While female students are perceived as more conforming to the SKILLS norms of the school, and Hispanic ethnicity was also associated with higher skills scores, these effects are nullified in this prediction equation. The SKILLS factor is substantively less important in the prediction equation for Hispanic females than for any other group. It appears that Hispanic females, as a group, may not be rewarded proportionately for their conformity to the SKILLS norms of the schools. Both the CAPITAL and SKILLS variables indicate that Hispanic females are at a greater disadvantage in the assignment of teacher expectations than are their male peers who have equivalent resources and skills.

The BEHAV and SOCIAL variables also figure significantly in the prediction equations for Hispanic females. In general, teacher expectations are positively affected by higher SOCIAL conformity among Hispanic females, and this is also evident in the Anglo male and female equations. The BEHAV variable highlights a significant dilemma for Hispanic female students. The coefficients for this variable are significant only for the female student groups and are not significant in every equation. The most notable pattern is the direction of the coefficients. In the male equations, while the effects are not significant, the direction of the betas follows the "feminized" model of schooling: The greater the conformity to behavioral norms, the higher the teacher expectations. In the female equations, the beta consistently contradicts the Parsonian hypothesis that females are rewarded disproportionately for their conformity to those norms. In fact, the greater the behavioral conformity, the lower the teacher expectations

for Hispanic females, once other educational and background factors are controlled.

## Discussion

Our data indicate that Hispanic females generally conform to the schools' behavioral and social norms to a greater extent than their male peers, but these norms are selectively evaluated by their teachers. The Anglocentric model of schooling suggests that behavioral conformity can become a hindrance to individual attainments. If Hispanic females are to be perceived by their teachers as educationally and occupationally successful, then they must exhibit leadership, assertiveness, and independence. Apparently, teachers reinforce these behavioral requirements and differentiate among female students of equivalent skills and cultural capital. Parsons' notion that the elementary school is a female-normed environment, which is advantageous to conforming females, is clearly rejected.

These contradictions in behavioral norms, as well as the cultural and socioeconomic biases also evident in teacher expectations, become significant for the educational socialization and occupational futures of Hispanic women. In an educational environment which exerts pressure toward cultural assimilation and behavioral conformity, the Hispanic female is in conflict. As these pressures move them toward Anglocentric skills, these women are caught in the double jeopardy of their female status. While they are conforming to the behavioral, social, and academic norms of the school, their teachers do not weigh this conformity equally for their male and female students. The behavioral norms of passivity, docility, and conformity no longer bring high achieving students an advantage. These factors have less weight (in the case of skills), or a negative effect (in the case of behavioral conformity), when teachers consider their expectations for these students' success. Hispanic women's educational achievements and conformity do not create the same outcomes as those of other student groups.

In the future it will be necessary to investigate the continued influence of Anglocentric and androcentric norms on Hispanic women's attainments and cultural resiliency. As Hispanic community members grapple with the cultural conflicts of the educational system, it will be especially important to remain sensitive to the educational needs and experiences of Hispanic women. As Hispanic women themselves ex-

perience the sex segregation and ethnic discrimination of labor market processes, they need information and support in resolving the conflicts between their educational and community experiences. The present study suggests that the conflict between behavioral conformity and achievement in the schools is central to this conflict.

### Resumen

Los logros educativos y ocupacionales de mujeres hispanas fueron unidos con normas anglocéntricas y androcéntricas del sistema escolar. En el pasado investigaciones han indicado que mujeres estudiantes jóvenes obtienen ventaja durante los primeros años escolares debido a que conforman ciertas conductas incluyendo pasividad, docilidad y pulcritud. Se especificaron las normas establecidas por los profesores en tres dimensiones: conductual, social y académica, y se analizaron las expectativas de los profesores hacia el éxito de sus estudiantes. El análisis se basó en una muestra de 1000 estudiantes hispanos y anglos de ambos sexos y sus profesores. Los profesores clasificaron a las mujeres hispanas como más apegadas a las normas de conducta de la escuela. Se llevaron a cabo análisis correlacionales y regresiones. Los resultados indicaron que las evaluaciones altas de los profesores fueron asignadas a las mujeres hispanas que tenían combinaciones de altos puntajes académicos y puntajes bajos en las normas conductuales de conformidad. Asimismo los profesores recompensaron asertividad, liderazgo y acción cuando consideraban el éxito en instituciones educativas y económicas. Se discute el dilema de normas conflictivas para mujeres hispanas.

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