SALUD Y CONDUCTA HUMANA

*CORRESPONDENCE
Palmer Rivera
E-mail:
valerie.palmer@upr.edu

The Psychology of Marianismo: A Review of Empirical Research

La psicología del marianismo: Un repaso de investigación empírica

Valerie **Palmer Rivera**, Adriana **Colom Cruz**, Gabriel **Bacó Bonilla**, Yarilet **Rivera Nieves** & Adanary **Nazario Ortiz**

University of Puerto Rico – Mayagüez Campus

Abstract: The present narrative review seeks to explain the roles and expectations of women in Hispanic cultures. For this purpose, we focused on marianismo, which is generally defined as the concept that women should be spiritually family leaders and submissive to their partners. Marianismo is a cultural script deeply rooted in Roman Catholicism and embodies female gender norms and expectations in Hispanic culture. Unlike machismo, marianismo has not been widely researched. To summarize the existing literature, we reviewed 20 quantitative and qualitative studies using APA PsychInfo, EBSCO Research Databases, JSTOR, and SAGE Journals. Both positive and negative psychological outcomes were linked to Latinas high in marianismo. In particular, Latinas are less likely to abuse substances and more academically motivated but are also more likely to suffer from depression, tolerate intimate partner violence, and practice unsafe sex. However, various factors limit the validity of the literature in marianismo, such as lack of causality and sampling generalizability. Most participants were exclusively Mexican women living in the United States and Canada. Further research is needed to fully understand the effects of marianismo on Latinxs, considering that these studies underline its significant influence on Latinxs.

Keywords: marianismo, machismo, gender roles, Latin America

Resumen: La presente revisión de literatura narrativa examina los roles y expectativas de la mujer en las culturas hispanas. Para este propósito, nos enfocamos en el marianismo, un concepto que caracteriza a las mujeres como líderes espirituales de la familia y sumisas a sus parejas. El marianismo es un guión cultural profundamente fijado en el catolicismo romano y establece las normas y expectativas del género femenino en la cultura hispana. A diferencia del machismo, el marianismo no ha sido ampliamente investigado. Para resumir la literatura existente, revisamos 20 estudios cuantitativos y cualitativos utilizando APA PsychInfo, EBSCO Research Databases, JSTOR y SAGE Journals. Se encontraron consecuencias psicológicas negativas y positivas en las latinas con un nivel alto de marianismo. En particular, las latinas son menos propensas a abusar de sustancias y más motivadas académicamente, pero también son más propensas a sufrir depresión, tolerar la violencia de pareja y practicar sexo sin protección. Sin embargo, varios factores limitan la validez de la literatura en marianismo, como la falta de causalidad y la generalización del muestreo. Las participantes eran mayormente mujeres mexicanas residentes en Estados Unidos y Canadá. Se necesita más investigación para completamente comprender los efectos del marianismo en les latines, considerando que estos estudios resaltan su influencia significativa en les latines.

Palabras Claves: machismo, marianismo, roles de género, Latinoamérica

The American Psychological Association (2023., para. 1) defines gender roles as "the pattern of behavior, personality traits, and attitudes that define masculinity and femininity in a particular culture." Gender roles are deeply associated with culture. Individuals are exposed to cultural norms embedded in the language, media, religion, institutions, and traditions from a young age. They are then socialized, learning, and internalizing the behaviors, attitudes, and expectations associated with their gender. Marianismo is a cultural script rooted in Roman Catholicism that embodies female gender norms and expectations in Hispanic countries. The term comes from the adoration towards la Virgen María, or the Virgin Mary (Stevens, 1973). Researchers have established five pillars associated with women high in marianismo: Family, Spiritual, Virtuous and Chaste, Subordinate to Others, and Self-Silencing to Maintain Harmony (Castillo et al., 2010). Within these pillars, there are positive and negative aspects of marianismo. On the positive end of the spectrum, marianistas are family-oriented, community-driven, and devotional. On the other hand, marianistas can also be submissive, passive, and prone to dependency (Castillo & Cano, 2008).

Most common in Latinx cultures, marianista gender norms are often passed down from generation to generation (Carranza, 2013) and perpetuated in the media (Villegas et al., 2010). Carranza (2013) found that Latina mothers transmit particular marianista values to their daughters. For example, it is common for mothers to teach their daughters to practice abstinence until after marriage. The media also perpetuates that sexual women are not professional or even fit to be wives or mothers (Villegas et al., 2010).

.

On the contrary, Latino men are socialized to abide by machismo gender roles. Machismo is a cultural concept often associated with traditional male dominance, assertiveness, and a sense of masculine pride. Marianismo and machismo work in tandem, reinforcing gender roles and expectations in Latin American countries, resulting in a patriarchal power structure. However, according to Arciniega et al. (2008), machismo consists not only of traditional machismo (i.e., hypermasculinity) but also in caballerismo, which is rooted in chivalry. Scholars have widely researched both sociocultural concepts in the last several decades. Interestingly, it was revealed that Latino men demonstrated a significant disagreement with machismo masculinity norms and a firm agreement with caballerismo masculinity norms, demonstrating how family-centered men in Mexican American culture are expected to be.

The cultural expectations that are related to marianismo and machismo contribute to heteronormativity. The expected role of women being nurturing, subservient, and virtuous while men being assertive, dominant, and leaders conform with the conventional roles of heterosexual relationships. Consequently, this creates a binary understanding of gender and sexuality in Latin American culture. Those who deviate from these traditional norms may face discrimination or stigmatization, thus cyclically reinforcing heteronormative expectations. This contributes to the oppression of LGBTQ+ identities who do not adhere to traditional gender or sexual orientation expectations (Robinson, 2016).

Regarding gender differences, literature has stressed that women are twice as likely to be depressed than men (Rai et al., 2013). Although the reason for this is unclear,

research suggests that gender socialization plays a significant role in adverse outcomes associated with women high on marianismo. However, there is limited research examining the construct and consequences of marianismo. Given how pervasive marianismo is in Latinx culture and society, it is imperative to examine it from a scientific perspective.

The purpose of this review is to better understand the psychosocial consequences of marianismo and how these cultural values impact the psychology of Latinas and their families. Furthermore, because marianismo is intertwined with machismo, both being predominant gender roles and values in Latinx culture, it can be observed how their coexistence is what allows both concepts to survive. The Latinx culture and population continue to grow more diverse, and so should our understanding of gender roles. To further grow and better manage gender-related issues, we must deep dive into the outcomes of strictly upheld gender roles. Morales and Pérez (2020) summarized existing psychosocial correlates of marianismo in studies that used the Marianismo Belief Scale (Castillo et al., 2010). The present study seeks to expand the existing review by including qualitative literature and non-correlational studies. Beyond the psychosocial correlates of marianismo as identified by Morales and Pérez (2020), what else has been found in qualitative literature and non-correlational studies in order to expand their review?

Method

Marianismo research is relatively sparse. The present paper qualitatively reviewed the existing scholarship focusing on marianismo. We conducted a narrative literature review (NLR), expanding upon the NLR conducted by Morales and Pérez (2020).

Eligibility Criteria

To carry out this NLR, the inclusion criteria included articles that researched marianismo either quantitatively or qualitatively and were peer-reviewed.

Information Sources

To identify the articles that met our criteria, we utilized the following databases due to their credibility and accessibility to our research members: APA PsychInfo, EBSCO Research Databases, JSTOR, and SAGE Journals. Selected articles were searched from May to August 2022 and published between 2008 and 2022.

Search Strategy

The search strategy for this study included the keywords: "marianismo" or "sexism" and "Hispanic" or "Latino/a/e/x". We selected only peer-reviewed scientific journal articles. There was no publishing date limit; however, due to the lack of research on the subject, the articles found ranged from 2008 to 2022.

Selection Process

To decide whether a study met the inclusion criteria, members of the research team reviewed each title and abstract to identify if they met the preliminary criteria. This included peer-reviewed scientific journal articles involving psychological research on marianismo. Those examining other forms of sexism (e.g., machismo, ambivalent sexism) other than marianismo were not included. Theoretical articles without any empirical basis were also excluded.

Data Analysis

After the preliminary review, the research members meticulously read and analyzed the selected articles. They were summarized by title, author, year of publication, journal, keywords, research method, sample, variables studied, statistical tests, main findings, and limitations on a Google Sheet. After, we identified repeating themes and grouped the articles based on the six following categories: mental health, survey creation, substance abuse, intimate partner violence, physical health, and HIV.

Findings

Table 1 shows the 20 empirical journal articles identified with both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. Four of them were related to physical health, two to survey creation and validation, three to intimate partner violence, five to mental health, three to substance abuse, and three to discrimination and acculturation. Some of the topics overlapped in multiple articles.

Table 1
Characteristics of Reviewed Studies

Author	Sample description	Methodology	Findings
Carranza, 2013	32 Salvadorian women living in a mid-sized city in southeastern Ontario; 16 mothers and one daughter ofeach mother.	Qualitative: behavioral coding	Female virtuosity, as well asrespect, and obedience are core values for both mothersand daughters.
Castillo et al.,2010	50 Hispanic women aged 50years or more living in Miami Dade County who have been sexually active inthe previous year.	Qualitative: content analyses& Quantitative: descriptive analyses	Older Hispanic women are atincreased risk of acquiring HIV and experiencing IPV due to culture and age.
Cianelli et al.,2015	Survey sample: 50 low-income urban Chileanwomen; Interview sample: 20 low-income urban Chilean women.	Qualitative: content analyses	Marianismo and machismo contribute to the rise of HIV in Chilean women, especially those of disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds.
Da Silva et al.,2021	205 young adult Latinas whorecently immigrated to Miami-Dade County and were in a romantic relationship since their arrival to the US.	Quantitative: correlational and path analyses	Marianismo is linked with various health outcomes (e.g., IPV, emotional and personality functioning, sexual risk).

D'Alonzoa, 2012	28 immigrant Latinas from 14 Latin American countries.	Qualitative: ethnosemantic analyses (Spradley's Developmental Research Sequence)	Marianismo, acculturation stress, loss of social support, and cultural conflicts combine to influence physical activity.
D'Alonzoa & Sharma, 2010	Eight 1st generation Latinas, members of a women's ministry group.	Qualitative: ethnosemantic analyses (Spradley's Developmental Research Sequence)	Marianismo and socioeconomic pressures negatively influence women's physical activity.
Ertl et al., 2019	530 young adult Latinx immigrants in Miami-Dade County.	Quantitative: descriptive, correlational, and multiple regression analyses	The 'Family' pillar was protective against acculturation stress over time.
Jones & Briones, 2022	273 Latina women from multiple countries around the world.	Quantitative: descriptive, correlational, and cluster analyses	The effect of discrimination on depression was strongest for Distressed Marianismo and weakest for Contemporary Feminists.
Nagoshi et al., 2022	955 Mexican American 7th and 8th-graders.	Quantitative; path analyses & bootstrapped mediation models	Adaptive coping mediated the relationship between affective femininity and alcohol use in girls.
Nuñez et al., 2016	16,415 Hispanics recruited from the Bronx, Chicago, Miami, and San Diego.	Quantitative: descriptive, correlational, and regression analyses	The 'Family' and 'Spirituality' pillars were related to higher levels of negative cognitions and emotions.
Perrotte et al., 2018	248 Latinx undergraduate students attending an HSI in southwest US.	Quantitative: descriptive, correlational, comparative, and path analyses	Positive marianismo was associated with greater alcohol consumption as stress increased.
Piña-Watson et al., 2013	170 Mexican American college women attending an HSI in a mid-sized city in south Texas.	Quantitative: descriptive, correlational, and regression analyses	Parental conflict mediated the relationship between marianismo and depression.
Piña-Watson et al.,2014	524 Mexican American adolescents in a midsized South Texas city.	Quantitative: factor analyses	Validated the MBS (Castillo et al., 2010)

Rodriguez et al., 2013	98 Mexican American female high schoolers from South Texas.	Quantitative: correlational and path analyses	Positive marianismo was associated with academic motivation.
Sanchez et al., 2016	205 Mexican American middle school girls.	Quantitative: factor and path analyses	Most marianismo pillars were negatively associated with sexual precursor behaviors.
Sanchez et al., 2017	211 Latina undergraduate students attending a large, Southwestern university in the US.	Quantitative: regression and path analyses	Discrimination was positively associated with the 'Family', 'Spirituality' and 'Self-Silencing' pillar were negatively related to mental health.
Sanchez et al., 2018	277 Mexican American early adolescent women from Central Texas.	Quantitative: regression and path analyses	Positive marianismo was predictive of stronger ethnic identity while the 'Self Silencing to Maintain Harmony'.
Terrezas-Carrillo & Chiara Sabina, 2020	305 college students recruited at an HSI located on the U.S.-Mexico border.	Quantitative: comparative and regression analyses	Endorsement of DV attitudes decreased among men embracing the 'Virtuous and Chaste' pillar.
Villegas et al., 2010	202 television commercials broadcasted on Channel 2 Televisa in Mexico for one week during September 2006 from 7:00 pm-11:00 pm.	Mixed methodology: content analysis	Independent women were sexualized, whereas dependent women displayed characteristics aligned with positive marianismo.

Qualitative Research on Marianismo

Some of the first studies investigating marianismo from a psychological perspective were primarily published in the early 2010s and utilized a qualitative approach. These focused on examining the potential links between marianismo and overall physical health and well-being. For example, Cianelli et al. (2013) found that traditional gender roles increased the probability of contracting HIV in older Hispanic women. Women high in marianismo were more likely to have partners with riskier sexual activity, resulting in higher instances of STDs like HIV. Consequently, the HIV crisis put the Hispanic and Latinx populations in a colossal disparity. The population accounted for almost 20% of all HIV cases in the United States (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009).

Additionally, these gender power dynamics make infidelity, the non-use of condoms as protection against sexually transmitted diseases, and sexual violence a norm. These sociocultural norms also perpetuate a lack of communication about sexuality, preventing women from practicing safe sex and stopping abusive relationships (Cianelli et al., 2008). Hussain et al. (2015) also suggest that women's sexual satisfaction and pleasure may be affected by sexual morality, which stems from marianismo.

Lastly, marianismo was linked to poor physical health behaviors, including a lack of physical activity due to putting family needs above their own (D'Alonzo & Sharma, 2010; D'Alonzo, 2012). More recently, literature on marianismo has taken a quantitative approach to understanding further the psychosocial correlates and causes of marianismo (Morales & Pérez, 2020).

Quantitative Research on Marianismo

The Marianismo Beliefs Scale

Using factorial analyses, Castillo et al. (2010) retained 24 out of the 75 pilot-tested items to develop the Marianismo Beliefs Scale (MBS). The 4-point Likert scale represents the five complementary pillars of marianismo: 'Family' (e.g., "A Latina is considered the main source of strength for her family."), 'Virtuous and Chaste' (e.g., "A Latina should wait until after marriage to have children."), 'Subordinate to Others' (e.g., "A Latina should satisfy her partner's sexual needs without argument."), 'Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony' (e.g., "A Latina should not discuss birth control."), and 'Spiritual' pillars (e.g., "A Latina is the spiritual leader of the family."). Because the 'Spiritual' and 'Family' pillars are associated with positive outcomes, these are sometimes known as positive marianismo. On the contrary, because the 'Subordinate to Others', 'Virtuous and Chaste,' and 'Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony' pillars correlate with adverse outcomes, these are often known as negative marianismo.

Piña-Watson et al. (2014) further validated the MBS (Castillo et al., 2010) and explored gender differences among the marianismo pillars. Female participants endorsed the 'Family' and 'Spiritual' pillars more than their male counterparts. In contrast, male participants endorsed the 'Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony' and 'Subordinate to Others' pillars more than their female counterparts. The 'Virtuous and Chaste' pillar was the only one without significant gender difference.

More recently, Castillo et al. (2021) validated the MBS "across language, sex, and Latino subgroups (Mexican American, Central American, Cuban American, Dominican American, Puerto Rican, and South American)." All quantitative studies mentioned in the present review measured marianismo using the 24-item MBS.

Marianismo and Intimate Partner Violence

Research indicates that approximately 59% of Latinx college students endorsed tolerant domestic violence attitudes (Terrazas-Carrillo & Sabina, 2019). The characteristic moral values of Latinxs indicate that heteronormativity and gender role standards allow or tolerate certain violent behaviors. This can lead to accepting violence against women within the family or other men. In addition, women's adherence to traditional femininity can make them more likely to allow or tolerate violence. However, endorsement of domestic violence attitudes was more likely to decrease for men when they embraced the marianismo expectation of virtuosity in women. The adherence to those

cultural values that Latinxs practice creates the notion that a man must protect the women in his family and assure their "purity" to maintain his honor.

Exposure to different types of violence, such as dating violence, generates psychological stress in the victims. Several factors can potentially cause psychological stress to increase, including marianismo. According to Da Silva et al. (2021), women who endorsed the 'Subordinate to Others' and 'Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony' pillars reported higher levels of psychological distress and were less likely to report any intimate partner violence to authorities compared to their counterparts. As mentioned previously, traditional gender roles also make it difficult for women to negotiate using preventive devices (e.g., condom use) during sexual intercourse (Cianelli et al., 2013). Considering the evidence gathered on intimate partner violence that women experience, quantitative associations between marianismo and mental health should be explored.

Marianismo and Mental Health

Although the 'Family' and 'Spiritual' pillars of marianismo have been linked to higher academic motivation (Rodriguez et al., 2013), most psychological outcomes associated with marianismo are negative (Jones & Briones, 2022; Nuñez et al., 2016; Piña-Watson et al., 2013; Sanchez et al., 2016). According to Nuñez et al. (2016), traditional gender roles are significantly associated with negative cognitive-emotional factors, such as depression symptoms, cynical hostility, and anger. These findings suggest that the demanding marianista expectations that a woman serves as the primary source of strength for her family and that she be responsible for the family's well-

being and spiritual growth may contribute to the psychological burden in Hispanics.

Furthermore, the 'Subordinate to Others' pillar, characterized by the expectation that women should obey patriarchal power structures, was associated with a greater tendency to have a negative view of others, such as cynicism and mistrust (i.e., cynical hostility). Lastly, lower endorsement of traditional gender roles beliefs suggesting that women should be pure in sexuality and abide by high moral standards (i.e., 'Virtuous and Chaste') was associated with increased negative cognitions and emotions. In addition, research demonstrates that Latinas who have migrated to Western countries experience elevated distress due to the tension of navigating the gender roles of the host country and their own Latinx culture (Sanchez et al., 2016). Moreover, the literature suggests that specific mental health issues seen in Latinas are related to both their endorsement of marianismo and the contact between cultures.

A substantial amount of the articles reviewed sampled Latinas living in the United States. Discrimination has been linked with depressive symptomatology (Jones & Briones, 2022). This relationship was made either stronger or weaker depending on marianismo endorsement in women. Based on the way female participants responded to the MBS (Castillo et al., 2010), Jones and Briones (2022) were able to profile and cluster women into five separate clusters: Contemporary Feminists, Traditional Marianismo, Adapted Marianismo, Distressed Marianismo, and Conflicted Marianismo—those categorized as Contemporary Feminists rejected all of marianismo's pillars and happened to be younger. On the contrary, Traditional Marianistas scored high on all of marianismo's pillars. Those categorized as

Adapted Marianistas endorsed positive marianismo (i.e., 'Family', 'Virtuous and Chaste', and 'Spiritual') but rejected negative marianismo (i.e., 'Subordinate to Others' and 'Self-silencing'). Adapted marianistas were more likely to be older, heterosexual, and Christian. Although women under Distressed Marianismo endorsed the 'Spiritual' pillar, they rejected positive marianismo and endorsed the negative pillars instead. Lastly, women profiled as Conflicted Marianistas endorsed and rejected seemingly complementary pillars. For example, they endorsed the 'Virtuous and Chaste' pillar but rejected spirituality. The relationship between discrimination and depressive symptoms was weakened for women under the contemporary feminist's cluster. On the contrary, the relationship was most substantial for those in the distressed marianismo cluster.

The contact between two cultures may cause conflict, and resolving this conflict by changing one's beliefs, customs, and traditions may cause cultural loss. This is defined as acculturation (Ertl et al., 2019). The acculturative family distancing theory suggests that during the acculturation process, cultural values (e.g., marianismo beliefs) develop and change over time at different rates for parents and their children, thus forming an acculturation gap (Castillo et al., 2010). Greater acculturation gaps increase the risk of family conflict, leading to decreased family cohesion and psychological dysfunction, including depressive symptomatology (Lee & Liu, 2001) and distress in Mexican American college women (Piña-Watson et al., 2013). In addition, those high in marianismo reported higher levels of depressive symptoms, especially when parental conflict was considered. Given the importance of familismo in Latinx culture and the notion of the "self-sacrificing Latina," it is plausible that experiencing conflict with parents would negatively affect Mexican American women's mental health.

Marianismo, Discrimination, and Acculturation

Immigration can cause accumulative stress in Latinxs who must leave their homelands for a better lifestyle. Factors such as the pressure to maintain and preserve their culture, the need to adapt to a new environment, and the person's gender predict acculturative stress. Furthermore, researchers have recently found that marianismo could potentially be a contributing factor to acculturative stress. According to Ertl et al. (2019), the expectations that Latinas should be morally pure in thought and sexuality (i.e., 'Virtuous and Chaste') and should silence themselves to maintain positive relationships (i.e., 'Self-silence to Maintain Harmony') were associated with increased acculturative stress. However, over the years, the endorsement of marianista beliefs is reduced in Latina immigrants, especially if the new culture practices female empowerment.

Despite the increasing population of Latinx college students in recent years, they still experience racial discrimination. This is an aspect of racism that has been identified as a psychosocial stressor with significant mental and behavioral health consequences for ethnic minorities (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Regardless of the growing body of research, few studies directly examine how Latinxs cope with perceived discrimination. The increased pressure to conform to culturally sanctioned gender roles is theorized to be an underlying factor in the emergence of gender differences in coping strategies between college men and women (Brougham et al., 2009). For example, more women reported using disengagement coping strategies, such as denial, avoidance, and

self-punishment, than their male counterparts.

Sanchez et al. (2018) findings suggest that perceived discrimination is positively linked with the 'Family' and 'Spiritual' pillars in Latinas. The interdependence of the family provides Latinas with a positive reference system for ethnic group knowledge and positive feelings about one's ethnicity. Similarly, the importance and centrality of Latinas as their family's spiritual role models (Azmitia & Brown, 2002) may also provide Latina college students with a strong sense of purpose and connection with a network of social support when faced with discrimination experiences.

Although marianismo mediated the link between perceived discrimination and coping strategies among participants, findings showed that negative marianismo was linked to disengagement coping strategies and poor mental health. In particular, the 'Subordinate to Others' and 'Self-silencing to Maintain Harmony' marianismo pillars were significantly and positively linked to disengagement coping strategies and negatively linked to behavioral/emotional control (Sanchez et al., 2018). This may lead Latina college students to resolve racial conflicts reflecting their concern for others over themselves, such as avoiding or evading conflicts to preserve interpersonal relationships (López & Chesney-Lind, 2014).

Marianismo and Substance Abuse

Sanchez et al. (2018) predicted that both the positive and negative pillars of marianismo may protect Latinas against substance abuse. To maintain harmony within the family, women tend to respect and follow such cultural gender roles, which limit exposure to risky behaviors at an early age. Later in life, the negative pillars may put

women at risk of substance abuse due to psychological distress due to the gender role archetype. Perrotte et al. (2018) found that marianismo, when combined with stress, was associated with greater consumption of alcohol.

Nagoshi et al. (2022) found that acculturation, along with maladaptive gender roles such as aggressive masculinity and submissive femininity, increases the alcohol intake in both females and males due to antisociality, depressive symptoms, and avoidant coping. However, adaptive aspects of marianismo (i.e., 'Family' pillar) helped with acculturation and protected women and men against early substance use (Nagoshi et al., 2022; Sanchez et al., 2018).

Discussion

Morales and Perez's (2020) review of marianismo was expanded by including qualitative and non-correlational studies that involved topics not covered initially, such as HIV. This allowed the addition of studies about marianismo's impact in multiple contexts, forming a more developed review. We successfully expanded the existing literature on marianismo by including five qualitative studies and two mixed-method studies shedding light on marianismo's relationship with risky sexual behaviors, substance abuse, and overall mental health. Current marianismo research found positive and negative psychological consequences and outcomes in Latinas. Women high in the family and religiosity pillars are more academically motivated (Rodriguez et al., 2013), less likely to practice substance abuse (Nagoshi et al., 2022; Perrotte et al., 2018), and show resilience in adverse situations like discrimination (Sanchez et al., 2017), and have extensive support networks (Sanchez et al., 2018). On the other hand, women high in marianismo are more likely to practice unsafe

sex (Cianelli et al., 2008; Sanchez et al., 2016), tolerate intimate partner violence (Da Silva et al., 2021), and are generally more depressed (Piña-Watson et al., 2013) than women with lower levels of marianismo. Latinx's traditional expectations in society would lead community members: to punish participants who took a political stance against female purity, and hence machismo (Carranza et al., 2013), and to believe that intimate partner violence is part of couple life and couple privacy and is not something to be discussed in a group setting (Cianelli et al., 2013). In completing this narrative literature review, we identified psychological outcomes directly related to and impacted by the marianismo pillars. We suggest clinicians incorporate education on traditional gender roles, including marianismo and machismo, and awareness of its consequences in their practice. Additionally, by understanding how marianismo's outcomes are intertwined with particular adverse consequences, such as depression and unsafe sex practices, clinicians will be better equipped to treat patients who present high marianismo levels and their corresponding behaviors.

Strengths and Weaknesses

Machismo is a known concept in Latin American culture. Marianismo, on the other hand, is not widely known, much less studied. With this literature review, we aimed to make a contribution to the shallow understanding of the impact of marianismo in Latinas. We (1) successfully provided a more comprehensive review of marianismo in Latinas, (2) contributed to existing literature, and (3) enhanced the external validity of findings by synthesizing evidence from diverse sources.

However, our study does present some limitations: (1) a limited database search, (2) a broad approach lacking a narrow focus, and

(3) a more critical analysis. The only databases utilized were APA PsychInfo, EBSCO Research Databases, JSTOR, and SAGE Journals; this can present a bias due to certain databases being more likely to present certain types of publications, thus excluding interdisciplinary perspectives with valuable contributions from other fields. Furthermore, this literature review has a broad approach that enabled us to assess a diverse range of variables; however, this may create a lack of depth and a superficial understanding of each subject matter. Lastly, a more critical appraisal, based on the strengths and weaknesses of each study, should be implemented to analyze biases and identify confounding variables.

Suggestions for Future Research

Research on the topic is currently lacking, and the existing studies tend to oversample specific communities (e.g., Mexican Americans) and lack causation. Although each contribution is imperative in further understanding the impact of marianismo, it is necessary to diversify sampling techniques and methodological approaches going forward. For future literature reviews, we suggest a systematic methodology such as PRISMA, which provides a set of guidelines for conducting meta-analysis and, thus, creates a more rigorous and reproducible study. Additionally, although gender differences have been examined, no direct manipulations have been applied to any existing research. Since most analyses were correlational and regressional, future research should address the need for more causality in existing studies examining marianismo.

Participant sample demographics also posed a limitation in the current literature. As seen in Figure 1, participant samples mainly consisted of Latinxs living in the United

States and Canada, predominantly of Mexican descent. This overrepresentation does not provide generalizable conclusions for the Latinx population in the United States and other Latin American countries. Future research should focus on studying marianismo in Latin American countries to fully understand the underlying mechanisms. It would be beneficial to start the research with qualitative studies conducting in-depth interviews of Latinxs to identify leading psychological and social factors. An ethnographic approach with participant observation and document analysis can be very useful to provide different perspectives on this phenomenon. Once the main concerns of marianismo are established, correlational studies can be used to explore or measure relationships between them, such as important social or gender issues. Our study found intimate partner violence, substance abuse, depression, and less use of preventative sex measures to be negative consequences for women high in marianismo. Replicating these studies previously conducted on different populations or creating different methodologies to investigate them will help assess the validity of the findings.

Puerto Rico faces a unique problem, where Latinx cultural norms are enforced while Western norms are assimilated. This provides profound implications for its socio-cultural landscape. It may be assumed that marianismo plays a different role in Puerto Rican culture than in other Latin American countries, given that marianismo expectations intersect with colonialist oppression. For future directions in Puerto Rico, we recommend a quantitative study to measure the relationship between marianismo and colonialism, utilizing psychological measures like mental health or resilience with cross-cultural comparisons by collecting data from other populations. The present narrative literature review is a step in the right direction, provided the existing gap in marianismo research.

Compliance with Research Ethics Standards

Financing

This NLR did not receive any funding.

Declaration of Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to report.

Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects (IRB)

This NLR does not require IRB approval.

Informed Consent/Assent

This NLR does not require informed consent.

References

American Psychology Association. (2023). Gender Role. In APA Dictionary of Psychology. APA Publishing.

Arciniega, G. M., Anderson, T. C., Tovar-Blank, Z. G., & Tracey, T. J. (2008). Toward a fuller conception of Machismo: Development of a traditional Machismo and Caballerismo Scale. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55(1), 19. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.55.1.19

Azmitia, M., & Brown, J. R. (2002). Latino immigrant parents' beliefs about the "path of life" of their adolescent children. In J. M. Contreras, K. A. Kerns, & A. M. Neal-Barnett (Eds.), Latino Children and Families in the United States: Current Research and Future Directions (pp. 77–105). Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group.

Brougham, R.R., Zail, C.M., Mendoza, C.M. et al. (2009). Stress, Sex Differences, and Coping Strategies among College Students. Current Psychology, 28, 85–97. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-009-9047-0

Carranza, M. E. (2013). Value transmission among Salvadorian mothers and daughters:Marianismo and sexual morality. Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 30(4), 311-327. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-012-0291-z

Castillo, L. G., & Cano, M. Á. (2008). Mexican American psychology: Theory and clinical application. In C. Negy (Ed.), Cross-cultural Psychotherapy: Toward a Critical Understanding of Diverse Clients., 2nd ed. (pp. 85–102). Bent Tree Press.

Castillo, L. G., González, P., Merz, E. L., Nuñez, A., Castañeda, S. F., Buelna, C., Ojeda, L., Giachello, A. L., Womack, V. Y., Garcia, K. A., Penedo, F. J., Talavera, G. A., & Gallo, L. C. (2021). Factorial invariance of the Marianismo Beliefs Scale among Latinos in the Hispanic Community Health Study/Study of Latinos Sociocultural Ancillary Study. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 77(1), 312–328. https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.23031

Castillo, L. G., Perez, F. V., Castillo, R., & Ghosheh, M. R. (2010). Construction and initial validation of the Marianismo Beliefs Scale. Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 23(2), 163-175. https://doi.org/10.1080/09515071003776036

Cianelli, R., Ferrer, L., & McElmurry, B. J. (2015). HIV prevention and low-income Chilean women: machismo, marianismo and HIV misconceptions. In Culture, Health and Sexuality (pp. 55-64). Routledge.

Cianelli, R., Villegas, N., Lawson, S., Ferrer, L., Kaelber, L., Peragallo, N., & Yaya, A. (2013). Unique factors that place older Hispanic women at risk for HIV: Intimate partner violence, machismo, and marianismo. Journal of the Association of Nurses in AIDS Care, 24(4), 341-354. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jana.2013.01.009

D'Alonzo, K. T. (2012). The influence of marianismo beliefs on physical activity of immigrant Latinas. Journal of Transcultural Nursing, 23(2), 124-133.https://doi.org/10.1177/1043659611433872

D'Alonzo, K. T., & Sharma, M. (2010). The influence of marianismo beliefs on physical activity of mid-life immigrant Latinas: a Photovoice study. Qualitative Research in Sport and Exercise, 2(2), 229-249. https://doi.org/10.1080/19398441.2010.488031

Da Silva, N., Verdejo, T. R., Dillon, F. R., Ertl, M. M., & De La Rosa, M. (2021). Marianismo beliefs, intimate partner violence, and psychological distress among recently immigrated, young adult Latinas. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 36(7-8), 3755-3777. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518778263

Ertl, M. M., Rentería, R., Dillon, F. R., Babino, R., De La Rosa, M., & Brenner, R. E. (2019). Longitudinal associations between marianismo beliefs and acculturative stress among Latina immigrants during initial years in the United States. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 66(6), 665. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000361

Hussain, K. M., Leija, S. G., Lewis, F., & Sanchez, B. (2015). Unveiling sexual identity in the face of marianismo. Journal of Feminist Family Therapy, 27(2), 72-92. https://doi.org/10.1080/08952833.2015.1030353

Jones, M. K., & Briones, M. (2022). The impact of marianismo on the association between intersectional discrimination and depressive symptoms among latina women: A profile analysis. Journal of Latinx Psychology, 10(4), 304–321. https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000211

Lee, R. M., & Liu, H.-T. T. (2001). Coping with intergenerational family conflict: Comparison of Asian American, Hispanic, and European American college students. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 48(4), 410–419. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.48.4.410

Lopez, V., & Chesney-Lind, M. (2014). Latina girls speak out: Stereotypes, gender and relationship dynamics. Latino Studies, 12(4), 527-549. https://doi.org/10.1057/lst.2014.54

Morales, A. and Pérez, O.F.R. (2020). Marianismo. In B.J. Carducci & C.S. Nave (Eds.), The Wiley Encyclopedia of Personality and Individual Differences: Clinical, Applied, and Cross-Cultural Research (Vol. 4, pp. 247-251). John Wiley & Sons Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119547181.ch306

Nagoshi, J. L., Kulis, S., Marsiglia, F. F., & Piña-Watson, B. (2022). Accounting for linguistic acculturation, coping, antisociality and depressive affect in the gender role-alcohol use relationship in Mexican American adolescents: a moderated mediation model for boys and girls. Journal of Ethnicity in Substance Abuse, 21(2), 499-521. https://doi.org/10.1080/15332640.2020.1781732

Nuñez, A., González, P., Talavera, G. A., Sanchez-Johnsen, L., Roesch, S. C., Davis, S. M., ... & Gallo, L. C. (2016). Machismo, marianismo, and negative cognitive-emotional factors: findings from the hispanic community health study/study of Latinos sociocultural ancillary study. Journal of Latina/o Psychology, 4(4), 202. https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000050

Pascoe, E. A., & Smart Richman, L. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: A meta-analytic review. Psychological Bulletin, 135(4), 531–

554. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016059

Perrotte, J. K., Baumann, M. R., & Knight, C. F. (2018). Traditional gender roles and the stress–alcohol relationship among Latina/o college students. Substance Use & Misuse, 53(10), 1700-1705. https://doi.org/10.1080/10826084.2018.1429472

Piña-Watson, B., Castillo, L. G., Jung, E., Ojeda, L., & Castillo-Reyes, R. (2014). The Marianismo Beliefs Scale: Validation with Mexican American Adolescent Girls and Boys. Journal of Latina/o Psychology, 2(2), 113. https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000017

Piña-Watson, B., Castillo, L. G., Ojeda, L., & Rodriguez, K. M. (2013). Parent conflict as a mediator between marianismo beliefs and depressive symptoms for Mexican American college women. Journal of American College Health, 61(8), 491-496. https://doi.org/10.1080/07448481.2013.838567

Rai, D., Zitko, P., Jones, K., Lynch, J., & Araya, R. (2013). Country- and individual-level socioeconomic determinants of depression: multilevel cross-national comparison. The British Journal of Psychiatry: Journal of Mental Science, 202(3), 195–203. https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.bp.112.112482

Robinson, B. A. (2016). Heteronormativity and homonormativity. The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies, 1-3.

Rodriguez, K. M., Castillo, L. G., & Gandara, L. (2013). The influence of marianismo, ganas, and academic motivation on Latina adolescents' academic achievement intentions.

Journal of Latina/o Psychology, 1(4), 218. https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000008

Sanchez, D., Smith, L. V., & Adams, W. (2018). The relationships among perceived discrimination, marianismo gender role attitudes, racial-ethnic socialization, coping styles, and mental health outcomes in Latina college students. Journal of Latina/o Psychology, 6(1), 1. https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000077

Sanchez, D., Vandewater, E. A., & Hamilton, E. R. (2017). Examining marianismo gender role attitudes, ethnic identity, mental health, and substance use in Mexican American early adolescent girls. Journal of Ethnicity in Substance Abuse, 18(2), 319-342. https://doi.org/10.1080/15332640.2017.1356785

Sanchez, D., Whittaker, T. A., Hamilton, E., & Zayas, L. H. (2016). Perceived discrimination and sexual precursor behaviors in Mexican American preadolescent girls: The role of psychological distress, sexual attitudes, and marianismo beliefs. Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 22(3), 395-407. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000066

Stevens, E. P. (1973). Marianismo: The other face of machismo in Latin America. In A. Pescatello (ed.), Female and Male in Latin America (pp. 89–101). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Terrazas-Carrillo, E., & Sabina, C. (2019). Dating violence attitudes among Latino college students: An examination of gender, machismo, and marianismo. Violence and Victims, 34(1), 194-210. https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.34.1.194

Villegas, J., Lemanski, J., & Valdéz, C. (2010). Marianismo and machismo: The portrayal of females in Mexican TV commercials. Journal of International Consumer Marketing, 22(4), 327-346. https://doi.org/10.1080/08961530.2010.505