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**SOCIAL INHIBITORS OF ILLICIT DRUG USE AND PROBLEM
DRINKING AMONG PUERTO RICAN WOMEN**

by

MARY CUADRADO

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Criminal Justice in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The
City University of New York**

1997

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty of Criminal Justice in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

November 20, 1996
Date

Charles Minard
Chair of Examining Committee

November 20, 1996
Date

J. P. [Signature]
Executive Officer

M. Jablon

J. Flores

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT**SOCIAL INHIBITORS OF ILLICIT DRUG USE AND PROBLEM
DRINKING AMONG PUERTO RICAN WOMEN**

by

Mary Cuadrado**Advisor: Professor Charles Winick**

This dissertation is an analysis of data gathered from a sample of Puerto Ricans living in the New York City area by the Fordham University Hispanic Research Center. It examines the impact of acculturation and loss of traditionalism, analyzed as distinct concepts, on alcohol use, drinking in non-normative settings, number of drinking problems, alcohol related antisocial behavior, and drug use among 638 Puerto Rican women.

Higher levels of acculturation, as well as lower levels of traditionalism were significantly related to alcohol and drug use. Also, acculturation was significantly related to alcohol problems, while loss of traditionalism was related to drinking in non-normative settings. Combining acculturation/traditionalism into a typology did not provide a stronger indicator than the acculturation or traditionalism indices alone.

High levels of traditionalism were found to reduce the effects of acculturation on alcohol use and alcohol problems, and to nullify its effects on drug use. Age, education, importance of religion, and time in the United States only slightly influenced the relationship between acculturation and

alcohol and drug use, but the relationship between acculturation and alcohol problems was not maintained.

Simultaneous effects of the demographic variables and acculturation (used as a mediating variable) on alcohol use, alcohol problems and drug use were examined for two groups of women: those with low/medium traditionalism and those with high traditionalism. Age (youth), importance of religion (low importance) and acculturation (higher) had direct effects on alcohol use for women with low/medium traditionalism, but only age (youth) had an effect for women with high traditionalism. Only the importance of religion (low importance) had an effect on drinking problems for women with low/medium traditionalism; however none of the variables had an effect for women with high traditionalism. Acculturation (higher) and age (youth) had an effect on the drug use of women with low/medium traditionalism. None of the demographic variables or acculturation had an effect on drug use for women with high traditionalism.

Findings may be useful to help develop alcohol and/or drug treatment programs specific to Puerto Rican women.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many persons have played a role in the development and completion of this dissertation, I thank them all for their help and support.

Special recognition is due to Dr. Charles Winick, Chairperson of this dissertation Committee, for his insightful advice, encouragement, confidence, support, and generously shared knowledge, first as my professor and then as Chair of the Committee. As a student completing this dissertation from long distance, I am grateful that Dr. Winick was so flexible, patient and accommodating to my needs. It would have been extraordinarily difficult without this illustrations of Dr. Winick's dedication to his students.

I am also indebted to Dr. Marvin Yablon, the methodologist of the Committee, for the attention he paid to even the smallest details which so enhanced the final product.

My thanks to Dr. Juan Flores, committee member, for his insights on the Puerto Rican culture and the process of acculturation. His reminders and comments that acculturation is not the panacea we often assume it to be, focused my thinking at the initial stages when I was beginning to sort out the subtleties of the acculturation process.

The process of obtaining a Ph.D. has taken years and I have been fortunate to be able to rely on Ms. Christina Czechowicz, Administrative Assistant for the Criminal Justice Doctoral Program, not only for getting the paperwork where it needed to be, but for being a comforting and supportive friend. I am also grateful to Dr. James Levine, Executive Officer of the Criminal Justice Doctoral Program, for his support and encouragement.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Gerald Gurin, Principal Investigator on the Survey of Drinking Behavior, Norms and Problems of Puerto Rican

Adults study, and the Fordham Hispanic Research Center for allowing me to use their data. Without their generosity, this study would not have been possible.

On a personal note, I want to thank my parents, Juan Cuadrado and Maria Caridad Almánzar de Cuadrado, for their love, encouragement, support, and for their interest in this project just because it was important to me.

Finally, I want to thank, Dr. Louis Lieberman, my husband and mentor, for inspiring my interest in the role of tradition as a behavior modifier, which emerged from his broad interest in Jewish tradition ranging from Klezmer music to Kaballah mysticism. Thank you for your confidence in me, your unwavering patience through this whole process, but most of all for your love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS		vi
LIST OF TABLES		xi
LIST OF FIGURES		xv
 CHAPTERS		
I	STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	1
	A. Background of the Study	1
	B. Statement of the Problem	2
II	REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	9
	A. The Hispanic and Puerto Rican Communities	9
	B. Hispanic Female Criminal Behavior Patterns	10
	C. Hispanic Substance Abuse Patterns Male vs. Female	13
	D. Explanations of Substance Abuse Patterns	16
	1. Non–acculturation Explanations.....	16
	2. Acculturation Explanations.....	17
III	METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE DESCRIPTION	21
	A. Sampling Methods	21
	B. Use of Secondary Data	22
	C. Significance of this Study	22
	D. Hypotheses	25
	E. Description of the Sample	27
	1. Age	27
	2. Marital Status.....	28
	3. Years of School Completed.....	29
	4. Employment Status.....	29
	5. Household Income	30
	6. Religiosity.....	31
	7. Ethnic Identification.....	33
IV	ACCULTURATION	38
	A. What is Acculturation?	38
	B. Acculturation among Puerto Ricans	41
	C. Measures of Acculturation	42
	D. Creation and Validation of Acculturation Index	43

V	TRADITIONALISM.....	55
	A. What is Traditionalism?	55
	B. Traditionalism among Puerto Rican Women.....	56
	C. Measures of Traditionalism	58
	D. Creation and Validation of Traditional Sex Role Attitude Index.....	64
	E. Relationship Between Independent Variables.....	65
VI	ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE OUTCOME INDICATORS	67
	A. Alcohol Use	67
	B. Alcohol Outcome Variables.....	69
	1. Alcohol Use Index	76
	2. Index of Drinking in Non-normative Settings.....	77
	3. Index of Number of Drinking Problems.....	82
	4. Alcohol Related Antisocial Behavior Index	85
	C. Drug Use Index.....	86
	D. Correlations Between Outcome Measures.....	89
VII	IMPACT OF ACCULTURATION AND TRADITIONALISM ON ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE	90
	A. Impact of Acculturation on Outcomes.....	91
	1. Acculturation and alcohol use.....	92
	2. Acculturation and drinking in non-normative settings.....	93
	3. Acculturation and drinking problems.....	93
	4. Acculturation and alcohol related antisocial behavior	93
	5. Acculturation and drug use	94
	B. Impact of Loss of Traditionalism on Outcome Variables.....	94
	1. Traditionalism and alcohol use	96
	2. Traditionalism and drinking in non-normative settings....	97
	3. Traditionalism and drinking problems.....	97
	4. Traditionalism and alcohol related antisocial behavior.....	97
	5. Traditionalism and drug use.....	98
	C. A Comparison of Acculturation and Traditionalism Correlations with the Outcome Indicators	98
	D. The Impact of the Combined Effect of Acculturation and Traditionalism on Alcohol and Drug Use	101
	E. The Impact of Acculturation on Alcohol and Drug Use Controlling for Traditionalism.....	106

VIII	IMPACT OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ON RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OUTCOMES AND ACCULTURATION	112
	1. Acculturation and alcohol use.....	113
	2. Acculturation and drinking problems	116
	3. Acculturation and drug use	118
IX	ESTIMATING SIMULTANEOUS EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION, TRADITIONALISM AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS ON OUTCOME VARIABLES	123
	A. Correlations between acculturation, demographic variables and outcomes for women with low/medium and high traditionalism.....	124
	1. Relationships between independent variables.....	126
	2. Relationships between outcome variables.....	126
	3. Relationships between control variables and outcomes.....	127
	B. Simultaneous effects of acculturation and demographic variables on outcome for women with low/medium and high traditionalism.....	127
X	SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS	136
	A. Summary of findings	136
	B. Action Implication of Findings.....	140
	C. Research Implication of Findings.....	142
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	143

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 AGE	28
2 MARITAL STATUS	28
3 YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED	29
4 EMPLOYMENT STATUS	30
5 TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME	31
6 RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE	32
7 IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION IN DAILY LIFE	32
8 FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES	33
9 COUNTRY IN WHICH RESPONDENTS WERE BORN	34
10 REASON RESPONDENT'S FAMILY MOVED TO THE U.S.	35
11 WHERE DO MOST OF SUBJECT'S FAMILY LIVE?	36
12 ETHNIC SELF IDENTIFICATION	37
13 FACTOR LOADING ON ITEMS CONSIDERED FOR THE ACCULTURATION INDEX	44
14 RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION ON ACCULTURATION INDEX ITEMS	48
14A ABILITY TO READ AND WRITE ENGLISH BY ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH	51
14B INDEX OF USE OF ENGLISH WITH FAMILY, FRIENDS AND AT WORK BY ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH	52

14C	SOCIALLY LESS COMFORTABLE WITH ANGLOS BY HISPANICS SHOULD MARRY HISPANICS	53
15	ACCULTURATION INDEX	54
16	FACTOR LOADINGS FOR ITEMS CONSIDERED FOR TRADITIONAL SEX ROLE ATTITUDE INDEX	61
17	RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION ON TRADITIONAL SEX ROLE ATTITUDE INDEX ITEMS	62
18	TRADITIONAL SEX ROLE ATTITUDE INDEX	65
19	ACCULTURATION BY TRADITIONALISM.....	66
20	RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION OF WINE USE.....	71
21	RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION OF BEER USE.....	72
22	RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION OF LIQUOR USE.....	73
23	WINE USE DURING PREVIOUS YEAR.....	75
24	BEER USE DURING PREVIOUS YEAR.....	75
25	LIQUOR USE DURING PREVIOUS YEAR.....	76
26	INDEX ON ALCOHOL USE 12 MONTHS PRIOR TO INTERVIEW	77
27	PERCENT OF WOMEN DRINKING IN NON-NORMATIVE SETTINGS (OF WOMEN DRINKERS) AND PERCENT WHO DRANK OF THOSE IN SETTING.....	78
28	FACTOR LOADINGS FOR ITEMS CONSIDERED FOR INDEX OF DRINKING IN NON-NORMATIVE SETTINGS	81
29	INDEX OF DRINKING IN NON-NORMATIVE SETTINGS	82
30	PERCENT OF WOMEN WITH INDICATED DRINKING PROBLEM	83
31	INDEX OF NUMBER OF DRINKING PROBLEMS.....	84

32	PERCENT OF WOMEN ENGAGING IN ALCOHOL RELATED ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR.....	85
33	EVER ENGAGE IN ALCOHOL RELATED ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR.....	86
34	PERCENT OF WOMEN USING DRUGS DURING THE THE 12 MONTHS PRIOR TO INTERVIEW.....	88
35	DID RESPONDENT USE DRUGS DURING THE 12 MONTHS PRIOR TO THE INTERVIEW?.....	88
36	CORRELATION BETWEEN OUTCOME VARIABLES.....	89
37	OUTCOMES BY DEGREE OF ACCULTURATION.....	91
38	ALCOHOL USE BY DEGREE OF ACCULTURATION (EXCLUDING ABSTAINERS).....	92
39	OUTCOMES BY DEGREE OF TRADITIONALISM	95
40	ALCOHOL USE BY DEGREE OF TRADITIONALISM (EXCLUDING ABSTAINERS).....	96
41	CORRELATION BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND TRADITIONALISM AND OUTCOME VARIABLES	99
42	DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN TYPOLOGY OF INTEGRATION	102
43	CORRELATION BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND TRADITIONALISM, EXAMINED SEPARATELY AND JOINTLY, AND OUTCOME VARIABLES.....	104
44	CORRELATION BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND TRADITIONALISM, EXAMINED SEPARATELY AND JOINTLY, AND OUTCOME VARIABLES (WITH AND WITHOUT DEVIANT CASES).....	105
45	OUTCOMES BY ACCULTURATION CONTROLLING FOR TRADITIONALISM.....	107

46	ALCOHOL USE BY ACCULTURATION CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS.....	113
47	DRINKING PROBLEMS BY ACCULTURATION CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS	117
48	DRUG USE BY ACCULTURATION CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS	119
49	CORRELATION MATRIX BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES, AND OUTCOMES BY LEVEL OF TRADITIONALISM.....	125

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	TYPOLOGY OF INTEGRATION.....	102
2	PATH COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING ALCOHOL USE FROM AGE, EDUCATION, IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND ACCULTURATION BY LEVEL OF TRADITIONALISM.....	128
3	PATH COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING DRINKING PROBLEMS FROM AGE, EDUCATION, IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND ACCULTURATION BY LEVEL OF TRADITIONALISM.....	131
4	PATH COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING DRUG USE FROM AGE, EDUCATION, IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND ACCULTURATION BY LEVEL OF TRADITIONALISM.....	133

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A. Background of the Study

Alcohol and/or drug use have been linked to criminal behavior in a large number of court cases in the United States. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (1987) reported that alcohol use was a factor in 54 percent of those convicted for violent offenses, 29 percent of those convicted for drug offenses, 40 percent of those convicted for property offenses, and 64 percent of those convicted for public disorder. Drugs found in the urine of 42 percent to 79 percent of persons arrested in 21 cities throughout the United States (National Institute of Justice, 1991) indicate that prior illegal drug use is an important element in the analysis of criminal behavior.

Female involvement with the criminal consequences of drug and alcohol abuse, when compared to male involvement, has usually been considered low (Ball et al., 1975; Chambers et al., 1981; Wish & Johnson, 1986). Studies of these deviant behaviors—abusive drinking, drug use and antisocial behavior—of persons who become involved with the criminal justice system have too often focused almost exclusively on males (e.g., *A National Report: Drugs, Crime and the Justice System*, 1992). Thus, the analyses of these deviant behaviors among females is often cursory and superficial. This is even more problematic when considering Hispanic females, due to the scarcity of studies and data that focus on the population of female offenders. Even where there has been good research that included Hispanic females, the researchers do not go beyond the correlation of acculturation with drinking patterns. They either ignore or only touch upon

the consequences of non-normative drinking patterns and the relationship of deviant drinking patterns to illicit drug use during the process of acculturation (Alcocer, 1982; Amaro et al., 1990; Booth, Castro & Anglin, 1990; Caetano, 1984, 1986, 1987; Caetano & Medina Mora, 1988; Graves, 1967; Madsen, 1964; Page et al., 1985; Perez et al., 1980).

During the past two decades, many studies of Hispanic drinking, particularly the drinking patterns of Hispanic women in mainland United States, indicate that the traditional behavior patterns are changing (Alcocer, 1977; Caetano, 1984; Leland, 1984; Markides, Krause & De Leon, 1988; Perez et al., 1980; Wilsnack & Wilsnack, 1978). These studies indicate an increase in deviant drinking, the development of drinking problems as well as a narrowing of the gender differences in drinking patterns. Deviation from established drinking norms, reflected in a decrease in the number of women who consider themselves abstainers, may be an indication of a broader movement away from the traditional role norms that have served to limit other deviant behavior among Hispanic women, e.g., illicit drug use and other forms of antisocial behavior.

B. Statement of the Problem

Social disorganization and control theorists assume that society defines and imposes on its individuals the values and norms that are expected of them (Hagan, 1985). Thus, these values and norms serve as guides for the individuals regarding acceptable and unacceptable behavior in that culture. As a society becomes more heterogeneous—as in the case of the United States with the constant influx of immigrants—it is less likely to have a high degree of consensus regarding values and norms, since persons of different cultures will import their own. A consequence of contact among different coexisting

cultures, and the conflict that ensues because of the differences, is often the acculturation of the subordinate group into the ways of the dominant group (Berry, 1980). Some groups, such as Hassidic Jews, have been able to resist acculturation through a relatively high degree of physical and cultural isolation.

Acculturation, i.e., the process of accepting the values and norms of the host culture, although it may seem the panacea that could address many of the struggles encountered by the immigrants, is too often a process full of stress. This stress may be a factor in the involvement of immigrants in deviant behaviors, running the gamut from involvement with substances in a way that is unacceptable to involvement in criminal behavior (Alatorre, 1995; Vega, et al, 1993; Velez & Ungemack, 1989, 1995). That is, during the transitional period of adapting to a new culture, the controls imposed on individuals by their culture of origin regarding acceptable behavior may weaken. Since, at the same time, individuals have not fully incorporated the controlling norms and values of the host culture, they may become more susceptible to engaging in deviant behavior. Drinking and drug use may present a special problem for Hispanic women since Anglo culture provides more freedom regarding drinking, but does not provide clear and consistent norms regarding alcohol and drug use for men or women. That is, Puerto Rican women, if raised in a traditional setting, will have clearly defined norms regarding the use of alcohol (which plausibly generalize to the use of drugs as well) that enforce abstinence. In mainland U.S., Puerto Rican women will have greater freedom to choose to drink but the clarity of norms regarding substance use will not be present. The heterogeneous makeup of the population in the U.S., with abstinence for some groups, only ceremonial

drinking for others, and undefined freedom of social drinking for the modern urban woman, does not allow for one set of norms to be present.

Traditional Hispanic cultures have had socially explicit and rigid controls over the behavior of women. It has been suggested that these norms were instrumental in preventing Hispanic women from becoming involved in deviant behavior (Aguirre–Molina, 1991; Trotter, 1985). However, as Hispanic women move to the United States, it may be possible that the strength of these norms weakens due to the lack of traditional community support in an Anglo or mixed society. It is plausible to suggest that a weakening of these traditional role norms may result in an increase in deviant behavior of these women. This may include a departure from culturally acceptable drinking patterns as well as the use of illegal substances and engagement in antisocial behavior. Thus, the consequences of the loss of traditional normative controls may be analyzed as a function of the removal of the protective factors that inhibit the development of criminal and other deviant behaviors and attitudes.

Loss of traditional role norms appears to occur for some Hispanic women during the process of acculturation, as they strive to become more “Americanized” (Graves, 1967). Most of the researchers, however, who have studied female Hispanic alcohol consumption in mainland United States tend to explain changes from traditional behavior as a function of acculturation alone while ignoring the possible role of loss of traditional norms. Some have focused indirectly on the consequences of acculturation such as stress (Alcocer, 1982; Page et al., 1985), and others on the subsequent role behavior modification of Hispanic women after they reach the mainland (Caetano, 1984, 1986, 1987; Caetano & Medina Mora, 1988; Graves, 1967; Madsen, 1964). Recently, some researchers have incorporated the effects of

acculturation in their studies of drug using Hispanic females as well (Amaro et al., 1990; Booth, Castro & Anglin, 1990; Perez et al., 1980). Thus, explanations for deviant drinking and drug use patterns by these researchers center around the proposition that acculturated Hispanic women in the United States act with reference to a newer role image—an image that incorporates the value of individual freedom for women including greater freedom of where and when to drink and whether to experiment with drugs.

One of the difficulties with using acculturation alone (while ignoring the loss of traditional role norms) as an explanatory variable is that even if one is highly acculturated, this may not be the same as abandonment of the identity and value system of the group from which one comes. Many persons in various ethnic groups, e.g., Jews, Italians, Greeks and Chinese, may be highly acculturated but still maintain intense ties with their culture of origin and its traditions (Lieberman, 1987). A proposition raised by these observations is that the degree of acculturation may not necessarily indicate the degree to which one loses one's traditional ethnic and cultural ties and values. It is possible, as Lieberman (1987) has suggested, that it is not what they, the immigrants, may move *toward* in the process of acculturation, but rather *which traditional values were abandoned* that permit deviant substance use patterns to develop. Gilbert (1985) also has suggested that Hispanic women who are moving toward the Anglo culture, by participating more in social situations where drinking is available, alter their drinking patterns *away* from the traditional restraints that guide them.

As noted above, most of the researchers studying deviant consumption of alcohol and illicit drugs among Hispanic women have suggested acculturation alone as the explanation for deviant drinking and drug use patterns for those Hispanic women in the United States. One alternative to

this explanation may be that it is the loss of the traditional norms, which had served as brakes or control mechanisms, that effects an increase in these behaviors. Another possibility is that it may be a combination of the loss of traditional norms within the context of acculturation that best serves as an explanation. All three assertions will be examined in this study.

Many of the available studies have emphasized the temporal links between substance abuse and crime, that is, they have focused on variations of the question of “what came first, substance abuse or crime?” This study will take a different perspective in order to examine factors that may make the individual prone to *both* substance abuse and crime, as well as other forms of deviant behavior. It will expand on the understanding of cultural antecedents and factors that may help explain these deviant behaviors among Puerto Rican women, in particular.

An important question emerges from this line of inquiry: “what are the norms controlling these deviant behaviors?” Several studies regarding the drinking practices of Hispanic women suggest that the “traditional” role of women who have not yet become acculturated functions as an inhibitor of inappropriate or excessive drinking and drug use (Aguirre–Molina, 1991; Caetano & Medina Mora, 1988; Christensen, 1979; Graves, 1967; Madsen, 1964; Maril and Zavaleta, 1979; Paine, 1977; Soto, 1983; Trotter, 1985). The inhibiting influence is attributed to admonitions and negative sanctions concerning female drinking and drug use that exist in each of the Hispanic cultures. These sanctions vary from the ridiculing of a woman to ostracizing her from the community. Although “traditionalism” has been alluded to, none of these studies specify clearly what the norms are. This omission is common throughout the literature dealing with drinking practices of Hispanic women.

In the few studies that address drug use among Hispanic females, these same undocumented assumptions regarding cultural norms are presented without a specification of which traditional norms have the desired effect. Rather, the detailing of any specific norms attached to the traditional role of women is minimal and variation in the degree of acceptance of these role norms and their correlation with drug use or problem drinking is non-existent. This study will add an additional dimension to studies on acculturation and substance abuse already in existence by factoring in the role that the loss of specific traditional values may have in the development of drug abuse and the anti-social consequences of deviant drinking. In addition, this study will contribute to the literature by examining the relationship between substance abuse and deviant behavior within a normal, that is, general and non-institutionalized population of Hispanic women, specifically Puerto Rican women. This will provide an opportunity to gain knowledge on a variety of socio-cultural factors that may influence the likelihood of becoming involved with deviance.

The tendency for researchers in the past has been to label all persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central & South American backgrounds, as well as those from Spain, with the same broad category of "Hispanic." This tendency, in conjunction with the fact that most studies conducted among "Hispanics" have been done among Mexican-Americans, has lead some to the erroneous assumption that findings from studies done on Mexicans, for example, are automatically generalizable to any of the other groups. This presents a particular problem when there are social action implications of the research, as is true of all social problems. If the strengthening of traditional values is to be considered as a factor in the prevention of drug abuse and alcohol related crimes among Puerto Ricans it must be considered within the

context of the Puerto Rican population. This study will provide information on acculturation and loss of tradition antecedents of illicit drug use and deviant drinking specifically drawn from a Puerto Rican population.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A. The Hispanic and Puerto Rican Communities

According to the U. S. Department of Commerce (1992), Hispanics comprise the second largest ethnic group in the United States: nine percent of the population. The largest Hispanic group in the United States is Mexican-American at over 13 million (60 percent of the Hispanic population). Puerto Ricans, the second largest Hispanic group constitute 12 percent of the Hispanic population or a little over 2 million, living mostly in New York and contiguous states. Cuban-Americans have somewhat over one million in population and are found mostly in Florida. They constitute about 35 percent of the Miami population and 5 percent of total U.S. Hispanics. The remaining 23 percent of Hispanics are mainly from Central or South American nations.

The traditional Hispanic community can be described broadly as a patriarchal society where women are expected to stay at home to take care of their children and husbands. The characteristics of the ideal woman would follow the values defined in the concept of *marianismo* (Ghali, 1982; Soto, 1983; Stevens, 1973). That is, she is to be a chaste, passive/submissive, and motherly person (based on the model of the Virgin Mary) who will pass on to her children the behaviors and attitudes that are expected of the individuals in that culture (Aguirre-Molina, 1991; Caetano & Medina Mora, 1988; Christensen, 1979; Graves, 1967; Madsen, 1964; Maril and Zavaleta, 1979; Paine, 1977; Soto, 1983; Trotter, 1985) As Christensen (1979, p. 51) points out:

Latin American cultures share among them many of the same approaches to child-rearing, particularly as relates to differential expectations of the sexes. They also demonstrate some typical contrasts with Anglo-American patterns. Traditionally, the Latin American culture gives much emphasis to the cult of virginity and machismo, and these expectations serve to sharply demarcate the approved behaviors of each sex. Sex roles in the more traditional cultures tend to be clearly defined, and sanctions are applied with vigor to those who fail to stay within their assigned roles.

These traditional norms will be easier to follow and maintain when they are part of the collective conscious. Various social theorists have analyzed the process of acculturation as one in which individuals often find themselves in the midst of a conflict posed by the difference in norms between their original culture and the ones to which they aspire (Park, 1921; Sellin, 1938; Stonequist, 1937, Schutz, 1971). When living within a different culture, those norms that may have previously guided persons through their daily choices in social behavior are no longer valid or at least no longer compelling. If individuals lose their attachments to the norms of their original group, but have not fully acquired the norms of the group to which they aspire, they may find themselves having difficulty in making appropriate choices. It is at this point of transition that the individual may become vulnerable to engaging in deviant and/or criminal behavior, such as the use of illicit drugs or engaging in disruptive or antisocial behavior in the community. (Stonequist, 1937; Hirschi, 1969).

B. Hispanic Female Criminal Behavior Patterns

Studies on Hispanic female criminality are virtually non-existent, unless substance abuse is also being examined. Nevertheless, studies on the connection between drug abuse and involvement with other criminal activity

among males is extensive. The few studies of female abusers, some including Hispanics, indicate that this link exists for females as well. Datesman (1981) reported on interviews conducted in Miami, Florida, with 153 female drug users. Although Datesman found that 71 percent of the women had at least one instance of involvement with prostitution during the previous year, she also found relatively high involvement with other crimes such as drug sales (79.6 percent), shoplifting (73.0 percent), forgery (29.6 percent), receiving stolen goods (39.4 percent), and burglary (21.7 percent).

Anglin & Hser (1987) studied 283 white and 48 Chicana female clients at a methadone maintenance treatment program. Among their findings were (p. 393):

1) "... for women in both ethnic groups burglary, robbery, forgery and prostitution are more likely to occur after addiction."

2) "The choice of crime after addiction shifts to forgery for Anglo women and to burglary for Chicanas, choices which seem to be more instrumental for income generating."

3) criminality increases after onset of drug use and decreases after recovery.

Furthermore, Anglin and Hser (1987, p. 394) found that the Chicana women had more deviant lifestyles than the Anglo women, and events such as treatment had a less pronounced effect on decreasing criminal activity. Thus, they conclude that "...Chicanas are particularly likely to have more serious social and personal costs associated with their addictions and may need particularly supportive intervention efforts."

Graham & Wish (1994) compared data obtained from women at the Manhattan Central Booking facility (who agreed to be interviewed and provide a urine specimen) during 1984 and 1990. They state (p. 320),

“Female arrestees in 1990 were more likely to be charged with a drug offense (29 percent vs. 17 percent, $p < .05$) and less likely to be charged with prostitution (16 percent vs. 40 percent, $p < .05$) [than women in 1984].” (One-quarter of the arrestees in both samples were of Hispanic ethnicity.) At both periods, approximately two thirds of the women tested positive for cocaine and about a quarter tested positive for heroin or opium use within 24–48 hours prior to arrest.

Although these studies show that substance abusing women are usually involved in prostitution and nonviolent income generating crimes, other researchers have found that women are not limited to these types of crimes. Chambers (1981) collected data on male and female African American and Mexican American addicts from three cities: Philadelphia, Washington and Phoenix. In general males engaged in more crimes, specifically violent crimes, than females. Nonetheless, 11.5 percent of the African American women in the Philadelphia sample, 33.3 percent of the African American women in the Washington sample and 30 percent of the Mexican American women in the Phoenix sample were involved in violent crimes during the month prior to interview. Baskin & Sommers (1989, p. 148) state “...data suggest that the number of serious women offenders who are coming into contact with the criminal justice system is on the rise.”

In their study of violent female offenders, Sommers and Baskin (1993, p. 156) found that “...in addition to differences in the underlying motivation or meaning of violence, there appear to be different behavioral patterns within the study sample. Women involved in robbery, particularly robbery and assault, were disproportionately involved in other criminal activities, particularly drug sale, and were more deeply entrenched in addictive drug use.”

Other recent studies have found that Hispanic drug users, both male and female, are at least as likely to become involved in violent crimes as are white non-Hispanics (Chavez, 1989; Soriano & De La Rosa, 1990). Watts & Wright (1990) studied violent behavior among 446 Mexican-American juveniles, 243 of them females. They found, through correlation analysis of factors that affect violent behavior, that illegal drug use explained the greatest amount of variance.

As shown by these studies, the link between female substance abuse and criminality appears to exist. Therefore, more studies in the area are needed, in particular among general populations.

C. Hispanic Substance Abuse Patterns Male vs. Female

Cross-cultural analyses by Caetano (1984, 1986) indicate Hispanic males tend more toward excessive drinking practices than non-Hispanics, but Hispanic women tend to drink less than non-Hispanic women. Researchers Caetano (1984) and Burnam (1989), have found more alcohol dependence and problems resulting from alcohol consumption for Hispanic males than non-Hispanic males. Mexican-Americans and Puerto Rican males tend to drink earlier and more heavily than their female counterparts (Austin & Gilbert, 1989; Estrada, 1982; Flores, 1994; Rachal et al., 1975). Nonetheless, studies cited above indicate that the abstinent pattern of substance use among Hispanic females should no longer be expected.

Non-institutionalized population studies regarding drug abuse among Hispanics, both male and female, have not been extensive. According to Booth, Castro & Anglin (1990, p. 22), "until the mid-1980s, very few national surveys provided accurate data on Hispanic substance abuse; most rarely gave detailed information on ethnic status." In one of the few studies

available, the position that Hispanics use drugs more than any other group, is not supported. Nonetheless their drug use does not appear to be lower, either. This report by the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services in 1988 found that 30 percent of the Hispanic adults in New York State used some illegal drug during their lifetime compared with 29 percent of the non-Hispanic residents. Although this report found that males, regardless of ethnicity, surpassed females in illicit drug use, it also found that Hispanic females had lifetime use that was similar or greater than the use by non-Hispanic males for certain drugs. That is, 10 percent of Hispanic females and 10 percent of non-Hispanic males had used cocaine in their lifetime, while 3 percent of Hispanic females and only 1 percent of non-Hispanic males had used heroin.

Similar conclusions were reached by Booth, Castro & Anglin (1990), and Chavez and Swaim (1992) in their review of studies on Hispanic drug use. Booth et al state,

National studies show that male–female differences in drug use behavior are more pronounced among Hispanics than for other ethnic or cultural groups. Among Hispanics, Puerto Ricans show the smallest difference between men and women. (p. 28)

Booth, Castro & Anglin (1990, p. 22) suggest that the lower incidence of Hispanic female use, compared with males, may be due to the fact that “...among Hispanics there are older cohorts who probably were reared with stronger traditional norms discouraging drug use by women.” Another study, the national Hispanic Health and Nutritional Evaluation Survey (HHANES), found, similar to Booth, Castro and Anglin (1990), that Puerto Rican males and females were more likely to have used marijuana or cocaine

during the previous year than their Mexican American and Cuban American counterparts, but males more than females.

The differences in drinking and drug use patterns among males and females found in these studies are not unexpected when interpreted within the cultural context. A commonly offered explanation for male excessive drinking and drug use—frequently heard among counselors working with Hispanic problem drinkers and substance abusers—is that the cultural norm of *machismo* dictates that men should have the ability to consume a great deal of alcohol. Therefore, the culture encourages and sanctions drinking among men. (Panitz, McConchie, & Sauber, 1983).

Hispanic females, on the other hand, are expected to adhere to norms of *marianismo* (chaste, passive/submissive, and motherly) that also restricts or forbids the use of alcohol. Norms such as these have been called “conduct norms” by Thorsten Sellin (1938). Conduct norms are created to protect social values that have been or may be injured by unrestricted conduct. The kind of choices individuals make will depend on what the situation means to that individual—and this meaning will have been defined by the culture. The social attitudes of a group toward the various ways in which a person may behave (the possible available choices) is part of the culture, and violations of these “conduct norms” will cause the group to respond. Thus, the Puerto Rican woman who drinks outside of the limited spectrum that is considered acceptable will be violating the Puerto Rican conduct norms regarding female drinking and she will, by definition of the conduct norm, be a deviant.

Deviant behavior, then, must be defined within the context of the culture within which the behavior is taking place. Conduct may then be viewed as normal or abnormal according to the point of view of the culture. As the individual identifies with different groups, each with its norms, the

individual is more likely to experience conflict regarding which conduct guide is to be followed (Sellin, 1938). If a Puerto Rican woman on the mainland continues to accept the legitimacy of her traditional values, her normative guidelines should prevent her from excessive or problematic drinking. Acceptance and adherence to traditional norms in the mainland, though, will be more difficult when the community controls are much more relaxed (Gilbert, 1985; Graves, 1967; Stonequist, 1938). Women who engage in illicit drugs use or in antisocial behavior may be viewed as taking a step further in their increasing deviant behavior, for they have then behaved in a manner that is criminal and therefore offensive even to those outside of the original cultural group.

D. Explanations of Substance Abuse Patterns

1. Non–acculturation Explanations

As some of the studies indicate, earlier differences in traditional drinking practices between men and women have been narrowing. What may account for the acceleration of Hispanic female problem drinking and for use of illegal drugs? Increased education has been correlated with increased prevalence of alcohol use among Mexican–American women (Gilbert & Cervantes, 1986). Gilbert and Cervantes warn that it is not known at what point in the educational process an increase in drinking takes place, nor whether the association of drinking and education is related to role change, acculturation or an increase in drinking opportunities.

Alcocer (1977) reported that poverty was related to alcohol problems. But in a study of nearly 1000 Mexican–American high school youth in Lower Rio Grande Valley region of Texas, Guinn (1978, p. 90) found that: “There was no evidence of any consistent relationship between socioeconomic level

and alcohol use. No significant trends could be established between parent's educational or occupational levels and reported use.”

Explanations for Hispanic drug use have focused less on acculturation or traditionalism and more on situational factors. Booth, Castro & Anglin (1990) outline some factors that have been found to be particularly relevant to the Hispanic experience: a disruptive family environment; drug availability; peer influence; and unconventional behavior (e.g., rebelliousness and early sexual activity). These factors, although strongly related to drug use, do not necessarily explain drug use, but may represent symptoms of the more complex problems emerging from acculturation and loss of traditional controls and inhibitors of deviant substance use.

Another explanation is offered by Hser, Anglin and McGlothlin (1987) in their study of Mexican–American heroin users. They found that more than one–third of the women did not begin to use heroin until the male partner had, suggesting that drug use for these women was tied to continuing their existing relationship. Other researchers have linked female drug use (not limited to Hispanics) to involvement with prostitution (Chambers, Dean, & Pletcher, 1981; Datesman, 1981; File, McCahill & Savitz, 1974; Winick & Kinsie, 1971). Some investigators have suggested that drugs are an important reason for women going into and remaining in prostitution in order to support their habit, while others suggest that drugs are a prostitute's form of escape from her unpleasant life.

2. Acculturation Explanations

Alcocer (1982) had suggested that the increase in female drinking among Hispanics is a function of acculturation related stress. This stress is produced by changes that take place due to cultural differences, the language

barrier, and the discrimination to which individuals may be exposed. However, it should be noted that most immigrants will be exposed to the stress of living in a foreign culture, but not all turn toward deviant behavior as an outlet for stress. This may suggest that there are other factors in addition to stress which influence individuals. Control theorists may argue that the individual's response will depend on the strength of his or her bond with the norms and values of society (Hirschi, 1969). These bonds are the norms and values of one's own culture acquired during socialization or the norms and values of the host culture acquired during the resocialization process that is acculturation.

Language knowledge and preference are among the factors usually examined to determine an individual's level of acculturation. In a study of tri-generationally linked Mexican-American families in San Antonio, Texas, researchers concluded that among the younger generation of women, language acculturation is linked to more intensive drinking patterns (Markides et al., 1988). Perez et al. (1980) in their study of 339 Mexican youths in East Los Angeles, found that language used at home and/or with peers was related to use of drugs. They found that "language use in the home presents a consistent relationship with drug use. As one moves into groups of more frequent users of drugs, one uniformly observes more English spoken. PCP is commonly considered a 'heavier' drug than either marijuana or alcohol. It is of interest to note that users of PCP report more use of English than users of either marijuana or alcohol." (1980, p. 632).

Amaro et al. (1990) used the 1982-84 Hispanic Health and Nutrition Evaluation Survey to study the relationship between acculturation and illicit drug use among Hispanics. They found that "in both Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, language use was significantly associated with marijuana use

in the previous year....The odds of using marijuana were eight times greater for Mexican Americans and five times greater for Puerto Ricans who were English-speaking than among Spanish-speakers....The odds of using cocaine were 25 times greater among Mexican Americans who scored toward the English-dominant end of the language use index than among those who were Spanish-dominant. Among Puerto Ricans, English-speakers were two times more likely than were Spanish-speakers to report cocaine use in the previous year, but the association was weak." (1990, p. 57). Although these studies have found a link between language preference and substance abuse, this is not to suggest that language preference is a causal factor for deviant behavior, but an indicator of an individual's level of acculturation.

General acculturation studies (non-stress oriented) have found a positive correlation between more intensive drinking patterns and acculturation for both men and women (Marín & Posner, 1995)—but even stronger for women (Caetano, 1984, 1986, 1987). In comparing the drinking patterns and problems in a Mexican-American sample to one from the state of Michoacan, Mexico, in order to assess the impact of acculturation, the researchers conclude that: "...the general effect of acculturation among women, contrary to what happens among men, is to increase drinking problems." (Caetano & Medina Mora, 1988, p. 469).

Explanations based on the acculturation process for Mexican-American alcoholism may be appealing but are unclear as to which elements of the process and cultural traits involved are the paramount factors. There is also the suggestion that much of Mexican-American alcoholism stems from the desire of these men and women to take on the Anglo culture despite their non-acceptance by the Anglos, while at the same time recognizing that they are often rejected by their primary reference group (their ethnic group)

because of their movement toward this new culture (Madsen, 1964). This raises the question as to whether the stress that results from this process is due more to the failure of acceptance by the Anglos or to the insecurities of the loss of traditional values uniting the Mexican–American to his or her past.

Graves (1967, p. 312) in his study of Anglos, Spanish–Americans and American Indians found that: “Relatively high rates of drinking and deviant behavior occur among Spanish–Americans *only* for relatively acculturated subjects with *low* economic access to the new goals they have adopted. Non–acculturated Spanish–Americans tend to have relatively low drinking and deviance rates *regardless* of their degree of economic access.” In other words, the stress of not being able to obtain desired goals in the new culture (Merton, 1968) was a factor only for those individuals who had become acculturated. Graves also hypothesized that: “...rates of observed heavy drinking and associated social problems will co–vary *negatively* with the strength of the social and psychological control structures into which respondents are mapped” (1967, p. 315) and suggests that marriage, church, formal and informal groups are these structures. He concludes, among other things, that: “...if the controls against deviance are traditionally strong, problem behavior may not be in evidence despite an increase in pressure for its display.” (1967, p. 316). Thus, it may be the loss of traditional values rather than the stress of acculturation that is most instrumental.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

The data to be used in this study were collected under a Department of Health and Human Services grant given to the Hispanic Research Center at Fordham University in New York City. The purpose of the grant was to conduct a cross-sectional survey of drinking behavior and norms among Puerto Rican adults. Therefore, this study will present findings obtained through secondary data analysis.

A. Sampling Methods

The data consists of a sample taken from the general population of Puerto Ricans living in the New York Metropolitan area. For this study a Puerto Rican was defined as any person who was born in Puerto Rico, or any person for whom at least one parent or grandparent was born in Puerto Rico. Although the project collected data on both male and female subjects, this study will focus on the information obtained from female respondents only.

The Hispanic Research Center subcontracted the task of actual data collection to the Institute for Survey Research (ISR) at Temple University in Philadelphia. The sample technique used was a multi-stage disproportionate stratified area probability sample design. At the first stage, block groups in 10 counties of the greater New York metropolitan area were stratified by county and concentration of Puerto Rican residents. The counties included: Bronx, Kings, Nassau, New York, Queens, Richmond and Suffolk in New York, as well as Passaic, Essex and Hudson counties in New Jersey. At the second stage, three hundred block groups were selected disproportionately

across Puerto Rican strata. Higher concentration Puerto Rican strata were oversampled to increase screening efficiency. The sample of household units was selected from listing areas consisting of one to three blocks within the group blocks.

Interviewers screened all households in the sample, obtaining information on the residents age, gender, and whether they were Puerto Rican. Whenever there was more than one eligible resident in a household, only one was randomly selected. A total of 1084 interviews were conducted, 446 males and 638 females, between March 1988 and March 1989. Respondents were paid \$10.00 as an incentive to participate in the study.

B. Use of Secondary Data

The use of secondary data has its advantages and disadvantages. The main benefit of using secondary data is that it is a cost effective way to conduct this study. In addition, it provides the opportunity to analyze data that contains measures that have been previously assessed for reliability and validity (e.g. acculturation, problem drinking, etc.) by Caetano (1985, 1987). The main disadvantage in the use of secondary data is that the researcher will have to rely on items that were selected by other researchers. That is, this researcher will not have had the opportunity to provide input into the creation of the questionnaire in a way that would best measure all of the questions being dealt with in this study.

C. Significance of this Study

The data gathered by the Fordham Hispanic Research Center attempts to fill existing gaps in the literature dealing with alcohol use among Hispanics, in particular those of Puerto Rican descent. These gaps were

apparently caused by the small size of the Hispanic sample in the existing studies as well as a lack of inquiry into and examination of cultural factors and how they relate to drinking practices.

Although existing general population studies contain data on Hispanics drinking patterns, these studies include too few of them to allow for in-depth statistical controls or for reliable multivariate analyses. The small samples have limited the analyses to simple prevalence comparisons between groups, such as Hispanic use versus Whites and/or Blacks.

The limitation placed on the examination of the data by these small samples is not restricted to findings among different ethnic groups, but also has constricted the analyses possible within the different Hispanic subgroups. Studies indicate that there are differences in drinking patterns and consequences between Hispanic males and females, while other studies have found that factors such as education tends to affect the level of drinking in which females engage. Unfortunately, the sizes of the Hispanic samples in these studies have been too small to examine these relationships in depth.

Another gap this data attempts to close is the absence of data regarding how traditional norms and attitudes influence drinking and drug use in a Hispanic population. Although existing studies provide prevalence estimates on substance use, they tend to be limited in their scope of cultural and attitudinal factors related to alcohol and drug use. The present study contains areas that are comparable to those being studied by the Alcohol Research Group in Berkeley, California, mainly among Hispanics of Mexican origin. Among the areas covered in the Berkeley, as well as the Fordham studies are: drinking consumption, drinking-related problems, drinking in the context of family and work life, attitudes and traditional norms regarding drinking, responses to drinking problems, attitudes toward

treatment and treatment experience, and an acculturation scale. Therefore, this data, in addition to the Berkeley data, should provide information to fill in many of the existing gaps that exist in the literature regarding two Hispanic groups—Mexican and Puerto Rican. Each study will have large enough samples to allow for descriptive information that can be generalizable and allow examination of different demographic subgroups and multivariate analyses of the data.

The Fordham study, by concentrating on Puerto Ricans, has a large enough sample to allow for the exploration of findings relating to different demographic subgroups and how these different subgroups are affected by the Puerto Rican culture while the respondents are in mainland U.S. By focusing on cultural norms and related behaviors and how these may influence drinking patterns this data goes beyond other studies of Hispanic populations. It allows for a formal examination of conjectures presented by some researchers in the field of Hispanic alcohol use but which have not been measured before. In addition, by providing measures of levels of acculturation this data provides the opportunity to examine the impact that moving to the United States may have on the cultural norms that affect drinking.

Using the data collected by the Fordham Hispanic Research Center, this study will test the following proposition: the differences found in drinking behavior and attitudes among Puerto Rican women living in the U.S. are based on the traditional cultural norms that restrict women's drinking. But as women migrated to the United States their level of adherence to the traditional norms were affected by the process of acculturation. Therefore, we will explore whether the degree of acculturation alone, or, whether the degree of acculturation in combination with the loss of traditional ethnic

values, or whether the loss of traditional values alone, provides the best explanation for these changes in drinking and drug use behaviors and consequences among Puerto Rican women.

D. Hypotheses

The specific hypotheses for this study are:

Hypothesis 1: Puerto Rican women who are more acculturated will engage in more extensive alcohol use than those who are not as acculturated.

Sub-hypothesis 1a: Puerto Rican women who are more acculturated are more likely to accept deviant alcohol use than those who are not as acculturated.

Sub-hypothesis 1b: Puerto Rican women who are more acculturated will have more problems due to alcohol use than those who are not as acculturated.

Hypothesis 2: Puerto Rican women who have greater loss of traditional values will engage in more extensive alcohol use than those who have a lesser loss of traditional values.

Sub-hypothesis 2a: Puerto Rican women who have a greater loss of traditional values are more likely to accept deviant alcohol use than those who have a lesser loss of traditional values.

Sub-hypothesis 2b: Puerto Rican women who have a greater loss of traditional values will have more problems due to alcohol use than those who have a lesser loss of traditional values.

Hypothesis 3: Puerto Rican women who are more acculturated will be more likely to engage in antisocial behavior than those who are not as acculturated.

Hypothesis 4: Puerto Rican women who have greater loss of traditional values will be more likely to engage in antisocial behavior than those who have a lesser loss of traditional values.

Hypothesis 5: Puerto Rican women who are more acculturated will be more likely to engage in illicit drug use than those who are not as acculturated.

Hypothesis 6: Puerto Rican women who have greater loss of traditional values will be more likely to engage in illicit drug use than those who have a lesser loss of traditional values.

Hypothesis 7: Loss of traditional values will be more highly correlated with extensive alcohol use than will be high levels of acculturation.

Hypothesis 8: Loss of traditional values will be more highly correlated with problems due to alcohol use than will be high levels of acculturation.

Hypothesis 9: Loss of traditional values will be more highly correlated with the likelihood of engaging in antisocial behavior than will be high levels of acculturation.

Hypothesis 10: Loss of traditional values will be more highly correlated with the likelihood of using illicit drugs than will be high levels of acculturation.

Hypothesis 11: Puerto Rican women who are most acculturated and have the greatest loss of traditional values will have the highest rates of extensive alcohol use.

Sub-hypothesis 11a: Puerto Rican women who are most acculturated and have the greatest loss of traditional values are most likely to accept deviant alcohol use.

Sub-hypothesis 11b: Puerto Rican women who are most acculturated and have the greatest loss of traditional values will have the highest rates of problems due to alcohol use.

Hypothesis 12: Puerto Rican women who are most acculturated and have the greatest loss of traditional values will have the highest likelihood of engaging in antisocial behavior.

Hypothesis 13: Puerto Rican women who are most acculturated and have the greatest loss of traditional values will have the highest likelihood of using illicit drugs.

E. Description of the Sample

The following is the description of the 638 Puerto Rican women interviewed in this study. A screening question served to categorize respondents into three groups: those who never drank, those who drank but not during the prior year, and all others. Individuals within the second category were not asked questions related to their alcohol use, therefore for the purposes of this study they will be grouped with those who never drank. Thus, the two basic alcohol groups in this study will be: 1) “abstainers” (N=345), and 2) alcohol “drinkers” (N=293). Differences between group means will be tested with SPSS subroutine T-Test, while percentage differences between groups will be tested with subroutine Chi Square.

1. Age

As shown in Table 1, the age of the women in the total sample ranged between 18 and 87 years of age (mean=42.2 and median=38.0) at the time of the interview. Women abstainers—mean age=46.7 and median age=44.0—were significantly older ($t=7.74$, $df=633$, $p.<.001$) than the women drinkers—mean age=37.0 and median age=34.0. For ease of presentation and for use with crosstabulations, the frequency distribution on age for the total sample was grouped into quartiles.

TABLE 1
AGE

Age:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
18-29 years old	67	19.6	92	31.4	159	25.0
30-38 years old	68	19.9	101	34.5	169	26.6
39-54 years old	81	23.7	64	21.8	145	22.8
55-87 years old	126	36.8	36	12.3	162	25.5
Total	342*	100%	293	100%	635	100%
Mean	46.7		37.0		42.2	
Median	44.0		34.0		38.0	

*Missing data=3

2. Marital Status

In general, the women tended to be separated or divorced (41.0 percent). Differences between the marital status of the women abstainers and drinkers were not significant ($p > .05$). (See Table 2.)

TABLE 2
MARITAL STATUS

Marital status:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Married/Cohabiting	74	21.5	72	24.6	146	22.9
Separated/divorced	147	42.7	114	38.9	261	41.0
Widowed	43	12.5	25	8.5	68	10.7
Never married	80	23.3	82	28.0	162	25.4
Total	344*	100%	293	100%	637	100%

*Missing data =1

3. Years of School Completed

Nearly two thirds of the women reported low levels of education (64.9 percent had less than High School education). The level of education among the women in the drinkers group was higher than in the abstainers group. A greater number of women in the drinkers group had completed education at the High School level or above (44.3 percent) than the women in the abstainers group (27.0 percent). The difference in the educational level between the abstainers and the drinkers was significant ($p < .001$).

(See Table 3.)

TABLE 3
YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

Education completed*:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No formal schooling	14	4.0	2	.7	16	2.5
4th Grade or less	48	14.0	12	4.1	60	9.4
5-7th Grade	56	16.3	23	7.8	79	12.4
8th Grade	32	9.3	21	7.2	53	8.3
9-11th Grade	101	29.4	105	35.8	206	32.3
High School	63	18.3	87	29.7	150	23.5
Some College	27	7.8	36	12.3	63	9.9
BA	3	.9	6	2.0	9	1.4
Graduate School	---	---	1	.3	1	.3
Total	344**	100%	293	100%	637	100%

*Educational categories as used in the questionnaire.

**Missing data=1

4. Employment Status

Fifty-four percent of the women described themselves as “Homemaker” at the time of the interview. Nevertheless, more than twice the number of women in the drinkers group worked full or part time than did women in the abstainers group (35.8 percent vs. 14.1 percent). Conversely,

78.7 percent of the abstainers declared themselves to be retired or homemakers, while only 49.8 percent of the drinkers did. Differences between women abstainers and drinkers were found to be significant ($p < .01$). (See Table 4.)

TABLE 4
EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Employment status:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Working full/part time	45	14.1	102	35.8	147	24.3
Unemployed	10	3.1	27	9.5	37	6.1
Attending school	13	4.1	14	4.9	26	4.3
Retired	52	16.3	13	4.6	66	11.0
Homemaker	199	62.4	129	45.2	328	54.3
Total	319*	100%	285**	100%	604	100%

*Missing data=26

**Missing data=8

5. Household Income

Almost three quarters (73.9 percent) of all the women reported the total household income (for the year prior to the interview) as \$10,000 or less. However, significant differences were found between the women in the drinkers group and the abstainers (63.0 percent reported incomes of \$10,000 or less versus 82.9 percent, respectively, $p < .01$). (See Table 5.)

TABLE 5
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Total household income (year prior to interview):	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than \$4,000	88	26.2	56	19.9	144	23.4
\$4,001-\$6,000	126	37.6	69	24.6	195	31.7
\$6,001-\$10,000	64	19.1	52	18.5	116	18.8
\$10,001 - \$20,000	31	9.3	50	17.8	81	13.2
\$20,001 - \$30,000	18	5.4	37	13.2	55	8.9
\$30,001 or more	8	2.4	17	6.0	25	4.0
Total	335*	100%	281**	100%	616	100%

*Missing data=10

**Missing data=12

6. Religiosity

The large majority of women were Catholic (83.3 percent), but significant differences ($p < .001$) were found between the abstainers and drinkers. Abstainers were three times as likely to be Protestants than were women drinkers (16.9 percent versus 5.6 percent, respectively). On the other hand, drinkers were more than twice as likely than abstainers to report no religious preference (7.4 percent versus 3.1 percent, respectively). (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE

Religious preference:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	10	3.1	21	7.4	31	5.1
Protestant	54	16.9	16	5.6	70	11.0
Catholic	255	80.0	247	87.0	502	83.3
Total	319*	100%	284**	100%	603	100%

*Missing data=26

**Missing data=9

As shown in Table 7, the overwhelming majority of women (94.3 percent) stated that religion was important in their daily lives. However, those in the abstainers group were more likely to consider religion “Very Important” in their lives than the women in the drinkers group (84.3 percent versus 68.9 percent, respectively, $p < .001$).

TABLE 7
IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION IN DAILY LIFE

Importance of religion in daily life:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very Important	290	84.3	202	68.9	492	77.2
Somewhat important	41	11.9	68	23.2	109	17.1
Not really important	9	2.6	18	6.2	27	4.3
Not at all important	4	1.2	5	1.7	9	1.4
Total	344*	100%	293	100%	637	100%

*Missing data=1

Although 94.3 percent of all the women attributed at least some importance to religion in their lives, only 51.2 percent attended religious services once a month or more often (see Table 8.) The women in the abstainers group were significantly more likely to report attending religious services at least once a month than the women in the drinkers group (57.9 percent versus 43.5 percent, respectively, $p < .01$).

TABLE 8
FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES

Frequency of attendance at religious services:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Once a week or more	143	41.8	84	28.8	227	35.8
1-2 times a month	55	16.1	43	14.7	98	15.4
Few times a year	61	17.9	62	21.2	123	19.4
Rarely	48	14.0	52	17.8	100	15.8
Never	35	10.2	51	17.5	86	13.6
Total	342* 100%		292** 10%		634 100%	

*Missing data=3

**Missing data=1

7. Ethnic Identification

Seventy-two percent of the women in the sample were born in Puerto Rico, with the remainder of the women born either in mainland United States (26.8 percent) or some other country (1.1 percent). But as shown in Table 9, women in the abstainers group were more likely to have been born in Puerto Rico than the women in the drinkers group (80.3 percent versus 62.5 percent, respectively). This difference was statistically significant, $p < .0001$.

TABLE 9

COUNTRY IN WHICH RESPONDENTS WERE BORN

Country born in:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Puerto Rico	277	80.3	183	62.5	460	72.1
U.S.	66	19.1	105	35.8	171	26.8
Other	2	.6	5	1.7	7	1.1
Total	345	100%	293	100%	638	100%

For the 467 women not born in mainland U.S., the average age at time of arrival to the mainland was 19.7 years. Abstainers not born in mainland U.S. arrived here between the ages of under 1 year and 71 years of age (mean 22.6, median 21.5), while drinkers arrived between the ages of under 1 year and 63 years of age (mean 15.4, median 16.0). The mean difference between groups on time of arrival to the U.S. was significant ($t=6.84$, $df=462$, $p<.001$). Over fifty-eight percent of the women came to the mainland United States between 1950-69. This was the post World War II era when the United States was expanding its industrial base and was perceived in Puerto Rico as a likely place for individuals to prosper (Wargacki, 1986).

The predominant reason given by the women in the sample (including those born here) for their family's move from Puerto Rico to the United States was the search for a "Better Life," stated in 64.9 percent of the cases. Although the women in the abstainer group cited this reason less than the women in the drinkers group, the difference was not significant ($p>.05$). (See Table 10.)

TABLE 10
REASON RESPONDENT'S FAMILY MOVED TO THE U.S.

Why did family move to the U.S?:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Better Life	219	63.5	194	66.7	413	64.9
Family/friends in U.S.	110	31.9	80	27.5	190	29.9
Other	16	4.6	17	5.8	33	5.2
Total	345	100%	291*	100%	636	100%

*Missing data=2

The ties to Puerto Rico among the women still remains strong, although the average number of years in the U.S. was 27.7: slightly over 94 percent of the women have family or friends in Puerto Rico; 83.9 percent have traveled to Puerto Rico; and slightly under half of the women stated they would like to live on the island. No significant differences were found between the women abstainers and drinkers regarding these variables.

Although almost half of all the women (46.1%) stated that they had most of their family in Puerto Rico, this is true more for those in the abstainer group (51.1%) than for the drinkers group (40.4%). This difference was significant ($p < .001$). In addition, almost twice as many women in the drinkers group stated their family was divided between the U.S. and Puerto Rico than did the abstainers (28.2 percent compared to 15.2 percent) (See Table 11.)

TABLE 11
WHERE DO MOST OF SUBJECT'S FAMILY LIVE?

Most Family's Residence:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Puerto Rico	164	51.1	113	40.4	277	46.1
United States	105	32.7	88	31.4	193	32.1
Half in P.R./Half in U.S.	52	15.2	79	28.2	131	21.8
Total	321* 100%		280** 100%		601	100%

*Missing data=24

**Missing data=13

When asked to specify their ethnic identification, over half (51.1 percent) of all the women stated they were "All Puerto Rican". The "All Puerto Rican" self identification occurred more among the abstainers group (58.0 percent) than in the drinkers group (43.0 percent, $p < .01$). The next most frequent response was the joint identification of "Puerto Rican and American" (28.6 percent of the abstainers and 38.9 percent of the drinkers). (See Table 12.)

TABLE 12
ETHNIC SELF IDENTIFICATION

Ethnic identification:	Abstainers		Drinkers		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
All Puerto Rican	200	58.0	126	43.0	326	51.1
Mostly Puerto Rican	33	9.6	31	10.6	64	10.0
Puerto Rican&American	99	28.6	114	38.9	213	33.4
Neither P. R. or Amer.	2	.6	4	1.4	6	.9
Mostly American	9	2.6	13	4.4	22	3.4
All American	2	.6	5	1.7	7	1.2
Total	345	100%	293	100%	638	100%

In brief, the women in this sample tended to be in the middle years (30-54 years of age), separated or divorced. They had at least some high school education, were homemakers, reported low levels of income, were Catholics, and born in Puerto Rico.

CHAPTER IV

ACCULTURATION

A. What is Acculturation?

The concept of acculturation has been the focus of study in several different fields. The concept, originally developed by anthropologists for studies of groups, has also been used by psychologists in the study of individuals. It is, therefore, not surprising that Padilla (1980, p.1) refers to acculturation as an “ambiguous term.” Regardless of the focus (group or individual) the definition of acculturation has certain components that have been dissected by Berry (1980). He argued that acculturation “requires the contact of at least two autonomous cultural groups; there must also be change in one or other of the two groups which results from the contact... in practice one group dominates the other and contributes more to the flow of the cultural elements than does the weaker of the groups.” Furthermore, “the apparent domination of one group over the other suggests that what happens between contact and change may be difficult, reactive and conflicting rather than a smooth transition.” (Berry, 1980, p. 10).

Berry (1980, p. 12) also indicates that the course dictated by the process is one of contact, conflict and adaptation. Adaptation may be in the form of adjustment (“...changes are made which reduce the conflict by making cultural or behavioral features more similar”); reaction (“...changes are made which attempt to reduce conflict by retaliating against the source of conflict”); and withdrawal (“...changes are made which essentially remove one element from the contact arena”).

For individuals coping with culture conflict through Berry’s first mode of adaptation, the structure of norms that may have guided them through their daily choices in social behavior is no longer valid or at least

no longer compelling. Individuals who are in a social situation reflecting a decrease in the influence of their original culture norms, and who are pulled by different and even antagonistic ways of a new culture in which they now find themselves have been conceptualized by R. H. Park and Stonequist, as *marginal men* (Stonequist, 1937).

Persons who, through migration, education, marriage or other influences, leave their social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another find themselves on the *margin* of each but a member of neither (Stonequist, 1937, p. 3). If individuals lose their attachments to the norms of their original group, but have not fully acquired the norms of the group to which they aspire, they may find themselves having difficulty in making appropriate choices (Park, 1921; Stonequist, 1937; Sellin, 1938; Schutz, 1971). It is at this point of transition that the individual may become vulnerable to engaging in deviant and/or criminal behavior.

The conflict produced in the individual by the process of acculturation is described by Park as follows:

At home the immigrant was almost completely controlled by the community; in America this lifelong control is relaxed. Here the community of his people is at best far from complete, and moreover, it is located within the American community, which lives by different and more individualistic standards, and show, as we have seen, a contempt for all the characteristics of the newcomer. All the old habits of the immigrants consequently tend to break down. The new situation has the nature of a crisis, and in a crisis the individual tends either to reorganize his life positively, or to repudiate the old habits and their restraints without reorganizing his life—which is demoralization. [From R.E. Park and H.A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, p. 61] (as cited in Stonequist, 1937)

Another theorist who has expanded on the concept of the conflict suffered by immigrants is Alfred Schutz. Schutz (1971) used the term

stranger to describe “the adult individual of our times and civilization who tries to be permanently accepted or at least tolerated by the group which he approaches” (p. 93). Schutz views the individual who is born into a culture as being able to act without questioning the coherence or contradictions of that system. Any member born or reared within the group accepts the ready-made scheme of the cultural patterns handed down by ancestors, teachers, and authorities as a guide in all the situations that normally occur within the social world (p. 95). They will have acquired a “...knowledge of trustworthy *recipes* for interpreting the social world and for handling things and men in order to obtain the best results in every situation with a minimum of effort...” (Schutz, 1971, p. 95). The culture thus provides what Schutz calls “thinking as usual,” the “of course” assumptions relevant to a particular group that function to “... eliminate troublesome inquiries by offering ready-made directions for use, to replace truth hard to obtain with comfortable truism...” (Schutz, 1971, p. 95). The task of the stranger who is becoming acculturated is to learn the recipes and “thinking as usual” of the culture he or she may be approaching. This may be more difficult than may appear, for the newcomer will often question and misinterpret the ways of the culture being approached.

Adjusting or acculturating, therefore, is not always the panacea that many believe it should be for the immigrant coming to this country. According to Berry (1980), conflict may continue even through the process of adaptation. Acculturation, therefore, may be viewed a process to be measured on a continuum defined by the retention of the original cultural identity and the positive relationship to the dominant group. That is, different degrees of adaptation (acculturation) may be found among the individuals of a group.

B. Acculturation among Puerto Ricans

Literature on how acculturation affects Puerto Ricans (in particular, women) in daily life matters is scarce or nonexistent. Nevertheless, some authors have described life for Puerto Rican women on the Island and in the United States offering the possibility of some inferences (Aguirre-Molina, 1991; Padilla, 1958; Soto, 1983). Most Puerto Ricans, women included, came to the United States in search of a better life for themselves and their families. A better life was usually defined by improved economic opportunities (Padilla, 1958). However, few can be aware or prepared for the impact that moving to a country that is so different from their own will have on their previous way of life.

Puerto Ricans who move to the mainland, as with other immigrants, find that adhering to the norms that are part of the Puerto Rican culture may no longer be the comfortable and unquestionable path to follow, for there are cultural differences inherent in the Anglo norms that may now create conflict. For example, the notion that a wife must be subordinate to her husband's wishes and lifestyle (i.e., she should maintain the pure and virtuous image that includes not working outside the home, or not having the freedom to go to a bar) conflicts with the greater equality norms of the husband-wife roles in mainland America that have been developing over the last three decades. The Puerto Rican woman on the mainland (a *stranger*) finds herself in the situation where "thinking as usual" is no longer possible. She can no longer react to situations in the same manner as she would on the Island.

For example, often it is easier for the Puerto Rican woman to find employment than it is for her husband (Ghali, 1982). This gives women a sense of independence they may not have had on the Island, while at the same time it may result in demeaning the role of the "man of the house." Working

outside the home may not only demean the role of the man in the traditional culture but exposes women to attitudes and behaviors which she may not have encountered before, such as social drinking by women: her drinking norms are not the Anglo ones. Children (who are likely to learn the language better than their parents) are often relied upon to serve as interpreters making the adults feel inadequate and the youngster ashamed (Ghali, 1982). These stresses can be viewed as the breakdown of the "known" way of life, of the specific roles of different members of the family and the norms attached to these roles.

C. Measures of Acculturation

A review of the literature on Hispanic women and involvement in deviant substance use (both alcohol and drugs) show that the most common explanation offered for this behavior is the process of acculturation. That is, most researchers view the acquisition of new values as the explanation for substance abuse, while others view the stress that is produced by acculturation as the main explanatory factor (Alcocer, 1982; Amaro et al., 1990; Caetano, 1984, 1986, 1987; Caetano & Medina Mora, 1988; Graves, 1967 ; Madsen, 1964; Markides et al., 1988; Perez et al., 1980).

The complexity of the acculturation concept has often lead researchers to attempt to measure it through the use of multiple variables and in a variety of ways. Nonetheless, certain factors appear to be common: language knowledge and preference; and the ethnic background of the people the respondent mingles with in different environments. The present study will use these acculturation items as well as others in an acculturation index developed and validated by Raul Caetano at the Alcohol Research Group at Berkeley.

D. Creation and Validation of Acculturation Index

Among the data collected by the Fordham Hispanic Research Center were 28 variables that could be used to measure acculturation. These variables replicated those used by Caetano (1987) at Berkeley. The variables (grouped here for ease of discussion) were:

1) questions regarding ability to speak English and language used during interview;

2) questions regarding ability to read and write English and Spanish;

3) questions regarding use of English or Spanish with family, friends, neighbors and at work;

4) questions regarding preference for Hispanic books, radio and TV stations;

5) questions regarding preference of Hispanic music;

6) questions regarding feelings about associating with Anglos;

7) questions regarding the proportion of Hispanics in different environments: proportion of Hispanic friends, proportion of current church congregation who are Hispanic, proportion of current neighbors who are Hispanic, proportion of people in the neighborhood where respondent grew up who were Hispanic, and proportion of people who are Hispanic in parties respondent usually attends.

Following the method used by Caetano (1987), factor analysis (principal component) was used to determine which of the possible 28 acculturation variables should be kept and incorporated into the acculturation scale. Factor analysis distinguished three factors using the available 28 items. Table 13 presents the variables listed in descending order according to loadings on factor one.

TABLE 13

FACTOR LOADING ON ITEMS CONSIDERED FOR THE ACCULTURATION INDEX

Items	Factor Loading
11. Do you speak mostly English or Spanish with your friends or about the same?	.84238
8. Do you speak mostly English or Spanish with your brother/sister or about the same?	.82843
3. Do you speak Spanish (if interviewed in English)?	-.82087
2. Do you speak English (if interviewed in Spanish)?	.81957
6. Do you speak mostly English or Spanish with your husband/spouse (live in) or about the same?	.81932
1. Interview conducted in English or Spanish	-.81689
7. Do you speak mostly English or Spanish with your children or about the same?	.81220
13. Do you speak mostly English or Spanish with the people at work or about the same?	.79106
12. Do you speak mostly English or Spanish with your neighbors or about the same?	.78061
17. Would you say you write English?	.77990
18. When you read a book/magazine/novela do you prefer to read a Spanish language version?	.77285
16. Would you say you read English?	.76221
23. When you listen to the radio do you prefer to listen to Hispanic rather than American stations?	.74884
22. When you watch TV do you prefer to watch Hispanic rather than American channels?	.72078
10. Do you speak mostly English or Spanish with your other relatives or about the same?	.66350
21. When you listen to music do you prefer to listen to Hispanic rather than American music?	.63774
9. Do you speak mostly English or Spanish with your parents or about the same?	.54621
25. Thinking of your current church congregation, what proportion are Hispanic?	.51972
28. Thinking of the people in the neighborhood where you grew up, what proportion are Hispanic?	.48323
24. Thinking of your friends that you usually see these days, what proportion are Hispanic?	.47404
19. Socially, I feel less comfortable with Americans than with Hispanics.	.47391
20. It is better that Hispanics only marry other Hispanics.	.47145
26. Thinking of the parties you usually go to these days what proportion of the people there are Hispanics?	.46675
15. Would you say you write Spanish?	.43396
14. Would you say you read Spanish?	.41871
5. Degree of problem understanding what you hear in English.	-.26639
4. Degree of problem in making yourself understood in English.	-.26194
27. Thinking of the people in the neighborhood where you live, what proportion are Hispanic?	.18386

Factor one accounted for 42.6 percent of the variance with an Eigenvalue of 11.92. (Caetano's data for Factor one accounted for 30 percent of the variance with an eigenvalue of 6.71.) In order to keep as many of the variables that Caetano used, all variables in factor one with a loading of .47 or higher were selected (Caetano used those with a loading of .54). As a result, all but one of Caetano's items was kept for use in the Index (item 27).

Five of the twenty-eight items will not be used to create the acculturation index in this study because of their low levels of correlation with other items for this population. Four items had also been dropped by Caetano (1987). These items were: ability to write and read Spanish, problem understanding others in English, problems being understood in English. Their loadings in the factor analysis were: .43, .42, -.27, and .26 respectively.

The only variable used by Caetano that will not be used in this index is "proportion of Hispanics living in their current neighborhood." The factor analysis loading for this variable was only .18 and a Pearson correlation matrix indicated that the highest correlation with any of the other items was only .23 with most correlations being less than .10. One possible explanation for this finding may be regional (East coast vs. West coast) differences on neighborhood composition. That is, the New York metropolitan area may contain more heterogeneous neighborhoods than those found in other areas of the country, such as the one studied by Caetano.

Pursuant to Caetano (1987), 16 of the 23 variables remaining after the factor analysis were combined into four indices:

- 1) Ability to Speak English;
- 2) Ability to Read and/or Write English;
- 3) Use of English with Family, Friends and at Work;
- 4) Media Language Preference.

These four indices and the seven remaining items used by Caetano (“Socially, I feel less comfortable with Americans than with Hispanics,” “It is better that Hispanics only marry other Hispanics,” “When listening to music, do you prefer to listen to Hispanic rather than American music,” “Thinking of your friends that you usually see these days, what proportion are Hispanic?,” “Thinking of your current church congregation, what proportion are Hispanic.” “Thinking of the parties you usually go to these days, what proportion of these people are Hispanic.” “Thinking of the people in the neighborhood where you grew up, what proportion were Hispanic”) were used to create the Acculturation index.

The “Ability to Speak English” index was created by assigning the respondents to one of three categories (“Spanish Only”, “Bilingual” or “English Only”) according to their responses to questions regarding language (English or Spanish) used during interview and whether they spoke the other language (the one not used during the interview). Respondents who were interviewed in Spanish and who did not speak English were assigned to a “Spanish Only” category; respondents who were interviewed in Spanish and did speak English, as well as respondents who were interviewed in English, but who spoke Spanish were assigned to a “Bilingual” category; and, respondents who were interviewed in English and did not speak Spanish were assigned to the “English Only” category.

Two questions were asked of respondents in order to rate their ability to read and write English from “Very well,” assigned a value of 4 (higher score indicating direction of higher acculturation), to “Do not read (or write) English,” assigned a value of 1. The “Ability to Read/Write English” index was created by adding the responses to these two questions, for a maximum score of 8 indicating high ability (and higher acculturation).

The "Use of English with Family, Friends and at Work" index was created by adding the responses to the matrix question "Do you speak mostly Spanish or English with (spouse or partner, children, brother and sister, parents, other relatives, friends, neighbors, and people at work), or do you use both about the same?" Possible responses were "Mostly Spanish," with an assigned value of 1, "Mostly English," with an assigned value of 3, and "Both about the same," with an assigned value of 2. In cases with missing values or in instances where the question did not apply, the average obtained from all other items in the scale was substituted. A maximum score of 24 indicated the highest level of English use with others.

The "Media Language Preference" index consisted of adding the responses to questions regarding whether the respondent preferred to read books and magazines, listen to radio, and watch T.V. in Spanish rather than English. The responses ranged from "Most of the time," with a value of 1 to "Rarely or Never," with a value of 4. A maximum score of 12 indicated the highest preference for English media. These indices, along with the remaining seven variables were used to create the Acculturation Index.

Table 14 presents the frequency distribution of the 11 items that make up the Acculturation Index. (The higher score represents the direction of a higher degree of acculturation).

TABLE 14

RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION ON ACCULTURATION INDEX ITEMS

1. Index of Ability to Speak English	N	%
Only Spanish (score 1)	124	20.0
Bilingual (score 2)	486	78.5
Only English (score 3)	<u>9</u>	<u>1.5</u>
Total	619*	100%
2. Index of Ability to Read/Write English		
Low ability (score 2-3)	161	25.3
Medium low ability (score 4-5)	149	23.4
Medium high ability (score 6-7)	97	15.2
High ability (score 8)	<u>230</u>	<u>36.1</u>
Total	637*	100%
3. Index of Use of English with Family, Friends and at Work		
Low use (score 8)	231	36.7
Medium low use (score 9-11)	88	13.9
Medium high use (score 12-16)	163	25.9
High use (score 17-24)	<u>148</u>	<u>23.5</u>
Total	630*	100%
4. Index of Preference for Hispanic Media		
High preference (score 2-3)	151	23.7
Medium high preference (score 4-5)	141	22.1
Medium low preference (score 6-8)	173	27.1
Low preference (score 9-12)	<u>173</u>	<u>27.1</u>
Total	638	100%

(continued)

(Table 14 continued)

	N	%
5. Socially, I feel less comfortable with Americans than with Hispanics.		
Strongly Agree (score 1)	123	19.3
Agree (score 2)	165	25.9
Disagree (score 3)	280	44.0
Strongly Disagree (score 4)	<u>69</u>	<u>10.8</u>
Total	637*	100%
6. It is better that Hispanic only marry other Hispanics.		
Strongly Agree (score 1)	87	13.7
Agree (score 2)	158	24.8
Disagree (score 3)	346	54.3
Strongly Disagree (score 4)	<u>46</u>	<u>7.2</u>
Total	637*	100%
7. When listening to music, do you prefer to listen to Hispanic rather than American music?		
Most or all the time (score 1)	336	52.7
About half the time (score 2)	197	30.9
Less than half the time (score 3)	47	7.4
Rarely or never (score 4)	<u>57</u>	<u>8.9</u>
Total	637*	100%
8. Thinking of your friends that you usually see these days, what proportion are Hispanic?		
All or nearly all of them (score 1)	482	76.0
About half of them (score 2)	119	18.8
Less than half of them (score 3)	21	3.3
Few or none of them (score 4)	<u>12</u>	<u>1.9</u>
Total	634*	100%

(continued)

(Table 14 continued)

	N	%
9. Thinking of your current church congregation, what proportion are Hispanic?		
All or nearly all of them (score 1)	342	68.1
About half of them (score 2)	101	20.1
Less than half of them (score 3)	28	5.6
Few or none of them (score 4)	<u>31</u>	<u>6.2</u>
Total	502*	100%
10. Thinking of the parties you usually go to these days, would you say the group of people who usually attend are:		
All or nearly all Hispanic (score 1)	337	72.2
About half Hispanic (score 2)	102	21.8
Less than half Hispanic (score 3)	17	3.6
Few or none Hispanic (score 4)	<u>11</u>	<u>2.4</u>
Total	467*	100%
11. Thinking of the people in the neighborhood where you grew up would you say they were:		
All or nearly all Hispanic (score 1)	478	75.2
About half Hispanic (score 2)	104	16.4
Less than half Hispanic (score 3)	35	5.5
Few or none Hispanic (score 4)	<u>19</u>	<u>3.0</u>
Total	636*	100%

*Does not total 638 due to missing data or not applicable responses.

Since language knowledge and preference has been used as the most significant measures of acculturation (Amaro et al., 1990; Markides et al., 1988; Perez et al., 1980) a closer examination of these variables is appropriate. As presented above, in Table 14, the majority of the women were classified as speaking both English and Spanish (78.5 percent), that is, being bilingual. When examining the association between being bilingual as classified by the interviewer with the respondent's self assessment of her

ability to read and write English, we find high correspondence. As shown in Table 14A, 99.2 percent of the women who were categorized as only speaking Spanish assessed their ability to read and write English as medium low or low. Of the bilingual women, nearly two thirds (64.7 percent) assessed their ability to read and write English as medium high or high, while all of those categorized as speaking only English assessed their ability to read/write English as high. The relationship between measures was significant, $\chi^2=334.9$, $df=6$, $p.<.001$.

TABLE 14A
ABILITY TO READ AND WRITE ENGLISH
BY ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH*

Read/Write Ability	Spanish Only		Bilingual		English Only	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low ability	107	86.3	44	9.1	---	---
Medium-low Ability	16	12.9	127	26.2	---	---
Medium-high Ability	1	.8	93	19.2	---	---
High Ability	---	---	221	45.5	9	100.0
Total	124	100%	485	100%	9	100%

*Missing data=20

In Table 14B we see that monolingual women spoke the specific language (Spanish or English) with their family, friends and at work, while 61.1 percent of the bilingual women scored medium high or high on their use of English with their family, friends and coworkers ($\chi^2=295.8$, $df=6$, $p.<.001$). Whether the apparent tendency to use English among the bilingual women is due to their preferences or situational requirements of others cannot be ascertained from these data.

TABLE 14B

**INDEX OF USE OF ENGLISH WITH FAMILY, FRIENDS
AND AT WORK BY ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH***

Use of English	Spanish Only		Bilingual		English Only	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low Use	124	100.0	101	20.9	---	---
Medium-low Use	---	---	87	18.0	---	---
Medium-high Use	---	---	157	32.4	---	---
High Use	---	---	139	28.7	9	100.0
Total	124	100%	484	100%	9	100%

*Missing data=21

When asked about their preference for music, 52.7 percent indicated that they preferred Hispanic rather than Anglo music most of the time (see Table 14 above). A greater likelihood for socializing with Hispanics was also found, indicated by questions regarding the proportion of Hispanics among: friends, in church, and at parties — 76.0 percent, 68.1 percent, 72.2 percent, respectively (see Table 14.8 to 14.10 above). Although the respondents indicated a greater likelihood of associating with Hispanic friends, church and party associates, less than half (45.2 percent) indicated they felt less comfortable with Americans than with Hispanics (see Table 14.5 above) and only slightly over a third (38.5 percent) agreed with the statement that Hispanics should only marry other Hispanics (see Table 14.6 above).

As Table 14C shows, individuals who tended to feel socially less comfortable with Anglos were more likely to agree that Hispanics should

only marry other Hispanics (57.6 percent) than those who felt socially comfortable with Anglos (22.6 percent). This relationship was significant ($\chi^2=81.6$, $df=1$, $p<.001$).

TABLE 14C

**SOCIALLY LESS COMFORTABLE WITH ANGLOS
BY HISPANICS SHOULD MARRY HISPANICS***

Hispanics should Marry Hispanics	Socially Less Comfortable with Anglos			
	Agree		Disagree	
	N	%	N	%
Agree	166	57.6	79	22.6
Disagree	122	42.4	270	77.4
Total	288	100%	349	100%

*Missing data=1

The Acculturation index was created by adding the scored responses to the 11 items in Table 14. In those cases with missing values or in instances where the question did not apply, the average obtained from all other items in the scale was substituted. The indices in items 2 - 4 described above had been recoded into quartiles, therefore, scores for the 11 item ranged from 1 to 4 or 1 to 3 according to the answer options in the question. The actual scores for the Acculturation Index ranged from a low of 11 to a high of 41 with the higher number indicating a greater degree of acculturation.

In order to validate this acculturation scale, both internal and external validation procedures were used as indicated by Caetano. An item to item Pearson Correlation of the eleven items used in the index produced correlations ranging between .18 and .76 (Caetano found correlations between .27 and .79). Correlations between the items and the Index ranged

from .54 to .86, while for Caetano it ranged between .46 and .82. Caetano used several external items for validation: Born outside of mainland U.S., number of years in U.S., and age, all of which he found to correlate with the Index: .58, .22, and -.36 respectively. For this study, correlations of .50, .13, and -.48 ($p < .01$) were obtained for the same items. In this study, the Acculturation Index was also correlated with a question on primary self identification and the age of the respondent when she came to the U.S. The self identification item asked the respondent to select among responses which ranged from "All Puerto Rican" to "All American". The correlation coefficient with this item was .45 ($p < .01$). The "age came to the U.S." variable was calculated using questionnaire items on year of birth and year in which the respondent came to the U.S. Correlations with "age came to U.S.," produced a coefficient of -.60 ($p < .01$). Reliability tests used to obtain Cronbach's Alpha and Guttman's split half produced an Alpha of .87 and a Guttman of .74. Caetano found an Alpha of .91 and a Guttman of .87.

For some of the analyses to be conducted the respondents will be divided into groups of low, medium and high according to their score on the Acculturation Index with approximately a third of the respondents in each group. This was done following Caetano's (1987) method. (See Table 15.)

TABLE 15
ACCULTURATION INDEX

	N	%
Low Acculturation (score 11-17)	203	31.8
Medium Acculturation (score 18-25)	228	35.7
High Acculturation (score 26-41)	207	32.4
Total	638	100

CHAPTER V

TRADITIONALISM

A. What is Traditionalism?

Traditionalism has been defined as “the attitude or philosophy that the established patterns of the past are the best guides in deciding behavior in the present and the future” (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 441). The term traditionalism derives from the concept of tradition, which has been defined by Shils (1981, p. 12) as “...anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present. ...The decisive criterion is that, having been created through human actions, through thought and imagination, it is handed down from one generation to the next.” A statement confirmed by Winthrop’s (1991, p. 300) definition of tradition: “a continuity of understanding relative to some activity, way of life, or mode of expression, which guides particular acts and beliefs.”

Tradition includes physical or material things (i.e., building, paintings, books), as well as conceptual or abstract things (i.e., beliefs, norms, values, human actions). In the case of the latter there is no concrete object to hand down or transmit. What is transmitted are:

“...the patterns or images of actions which they imply or present and the beliefs requiring, recommending, regulating, permitting, or prohibiting the reenactment of those patterns. What particular actions and complexes and sequences of actions leave behind are the conditions for subsequent actions, images in memory and documents of what they were when they happened and, under certain conditions, normative precedents or prescriptions for future actions.” (Shils, 1981, p. 12).

Individuals that accept various aspects of tradition do not necessarily need to recognize it as something from the past. On the contrary, it may be considered and accepted as much a part of the present as recent innovations.

These individuals do not accept tradition just because it has been handed down to them, but because they believe in it (Shils, 1981).

Traditions, though, do not remain unchallenged. Progress and innovation are viewed as antithetical to tradition, leading some to view adherence to traditional ways as potentially damaging or stifling to a society (Shils, 1981). The process of acculturation may be seen as a threat to tradition, for as individuals move away from the ways of their own culture to adopt the ways of the host, often tradition (at least as defined by the original culture) is abandoned. This is not to say that individuals cannot remain traditional as defined by their culture should they become acculturated. Nevertheless, as the individual becomes acculturated the stress of balancing what may be contradictory norms and values can be great, and furthermore, the individual may not be able to become fully assimilated if their traditional values distinguish them as being too different from the host culture.

B. Traditionalism among Puerto Rican Women

Traditional Hispanic cultures have had socially explicit and rigid controls over the behavior of women. It has been said that these norms were instrumental in preventing Hispanic women from becoming involved in deviant behavior (Aguirre–Molina, 1991; Trotter, 1985). The ideal Hispanic woman would follow the values defined in the concept of *marianismo*. As explained in Chapter II, she would be a chaste, passive and submissive person (such as the Virgin Mary) who will pass on to her children, most emphatically to the daughters, the behaviors and attitudes that are expected of the individuals in that culture.

These values of *marianismo* complement the values that define the concept of *machismo* or male superiority. Adhering to a patriarchal family

structure, a husband/father is expected to be the authority figure in his family, and as such he is to be respected by all of his immediate family members. He is supposed to provide financial security for his family, protect the virginity of the women in his household and family and show his virility through the sexual conquest of women other than his wife. (Ghali, 1982; Soto, 1983; Stevens, 1973).

Puerto Rican women have been socialized within the principles of *marianismo/machismo*, although some researchers have claimed that Puerto Rican women are less traditional than other Hispanic women (Aguirre-Molina, 1991; Soto, 1983). The oppressive nature of the socialization process, that does not allow women to demonstrate any aggressiveness, has been thought to cause the *mal de los nervios* or *ataques* (malady caused by nervousness or nervous attacks) not uncommon among Puerto Rican women. Ghali (1982, p. 99) describes *ataques* as,

... a form of hysteria characterized by hyperkinetic seizures as a response to acute tension and anxiety. The *ataques* is a culturally expected reaction to situations of serious stress and can be an ordinary occurrence.

The culture, therefore, allows psychosomatic displays on the part of women, but traditionally does not allow for use of alcohol or drugs as self-medicating stress reliever.

Traditional norms regarding drinking among Hispanics tend to be restrictive for women and permissive for men. These norms are not only accepted by men but by women as well. It is the group acceptance of these traditional norms that make them work. Ullman (1958, p. 50) states,

...in any group or society in which the drinking customs, values and sanctions—together with the attitudes of all segments of the group or society—are well established, known to and agreed upon by all, and are consistent with the rest of the culture, the rates of alcoholism will be low.

Ullman's assertion does not need to be limited to the study of alcoholism but can be used as well in the study of problem drinking. With changes occurring regarding the independence of women economically, in particular those coming to the U.S., it is not surprising that this system is being threatened as women move to become less subservient and tolerant of the *machismo* values and the restrictive use of alcohol that are part of the cultural norms (Comas-Díaz, 1989).

C. Measures of Traditionalism

Review of the literature reveals that there are few studies that examine the traditional sex role among Hispanic women. Among the available scales created are the traditional sub-scale adopted and expanded by Maldonado Sierra, et al. (1960). This scale consists of thirty-two items (within a 123 item questionnaire) "aimed specifically at determining Ss' expressed acceptance of traditional Latin -American family beliefs" (Maldonado Sierra, et al., 1960). The items consist of questions regarding the role of women, men, and children in the family, as well as in relation to one another. The Attitude toward Women Scale (AWS) has also been used to measure the female sex role among Hispanic women. The AWS developed by Spence and Helmreich (1972), or some variation of the scale, was found to have been used in 8 of the 10 studies conducted between 1976 and 1983 and reviewed by Vazquez-Nuttall, et al (1987). The AWS consists "of statements describing the rights, roles and privileges women ought to have" (Vazquez-Nuttall, et al., 1987, p.

413.). Notwithstanding the existence and use of these scales, there is no standardized and generally accepted scale to measure traditional sex role created specifically for use with Hispanic women. Therefore, for the purpose of this study a scale will be created based on traditional sex roles as defined by the literature (Aguirre-Molina, 1991; Christensen, 1979; Ghali, 1982; Soto, 1983; Stevens, 1973; Trotter, 1985) and drawn from the questions asked by the Fordham Hispanic Research Center (data used in this study).

Among the information gathered were eight (8) questions that reflect the norms governing behavior of women. The questions measure attitudes in the areas of child rearing, female versus male status, household responsibilities, and female independence that can be used to indicate traditional sex role attitudes among Puerto Rican women, in a similar manner that the above studies have done. The Likert type questions, with response categories from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree," were:

1. Raising children should be just as important to a man as it is to a woman.
2. Husbands should make all the important decisions in the marriage.
3. It is O.K. if a wife with young children has a job outside the home, if she want.
4. Men should not do housework.
5. It is O.K. for a wife to earn more money than her husband.
6. A wife should do whatever her husband wants.
7. Married women have a right to continue their education.
8. Only girls, and not boys, should help with housework.

In questions 2, 4, 6, and 8 agreement indicates the traditional belief, while in questions 1, 3, 5, and 7 disagreement represents the traditional belief. Taking into consideration the wording of the question, the values assigned to the responses “Strongly Agree” to “Strongly Disagree” were recoded so that the higher number reflected a higher level of traditional attitude. Therefore, for questions 1, 3, 5, and 7 above “Strongly Agree” was assigned a value of 1 and “Strongly Disagree” a value of 4; while for questions 2, 4, 6, and 8 “Strongly Agree” was assigned a value of 4 and “Strongly Disagree” a value of 1.

Factor analysis was used to determine which of the eight items would best measure traditional sex role attitudes. Factor one explained 29 percent of the variance with an eigenvalue of 2.3. The lowest loading found was .29277. Since this loading was very close to the generally accepted cutoff point of .30, all items were kept. Table 16 presents the loadings for the 8 items on factor one (in descending order).

TABLE 16
FACTOR LOADINGS FOR ITEMS CONSIDERED FOR
TRADITIONAL SEX ROLE ATTITUDE INDEX

Items	Factor Loading
8. Only girls, and not boys, should help with housework.	.65493
2. Husbands should make all the important decisions in the marriage.	.65446
6. A wife should do whatever her husband wants.	.61110
4. Men should not do housework.	.57347
5. It is O.K. for a wife to earn more money than her husband.	.56210
7. Married women have a right to continue their education.	.54490
3. It is O.K. if a wife with young children has a job outside the home, if she want.	.29855
1. Raising children should be just as important to a man as it is to a woman.	.29277

Table 17 presents the frequency distributions for the items to be included in the Traditional Sex Role Attitude Index. As indicated, these items reflect some of the different facets that have been used to describe traditional Hispanic families, including Puerto Rican. Questions 1 and 3 relate to the woman's attitude regarding responsibility for child rearing. Questions 2 and 6 concern the role of women as submissive with respect to the man of the house. Questions 4 and 8 relate to the tasks that women are expected to perform in the house for the husband and the rest of the family. Questions 5 and 7 address issues of independence and power, to which traditional women would not have much access.

TABLE 17

**RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION ON TRADITIONAL SEX ROLE
ATTITUDE INDEX ITEMS**

	N	%
1. Raising children should be just as important to a man as it is to a woman.		
Strongly Agree (score 1)	439	68.8
Agree (score 2)	186	29.2
Disagree (score 3)	11	1.7
Strongly Disagree (score 4)	<u>2</u>	<u>.3</u>
Total	638	100%
2. Husbands should make all important decisions.		
Strongly Disagree (score 1)	133	20.8
Disagree (score 2)	351	55.0
Agree (score 3)	122	19.2
Strongly Agree (score 4)	<u>32</u>	<u>5.0</u>
Total	638	100%
3. It is O.K. if a wife with young children has a job outside of the home, if she wants.		
Strongly Agree (score 1)	86	13.5
Agree (score 2)	288	45.1
Disagree (score 3)	164	25.7
Strongly Disagree (score 4)	<u>100</u>	<u>15.7</u>
Total	638	100%
4. Men should not do housework		
Strongly Disagree (score 1)	175	27.5
Disagree (score 2)	374	58.6
Agree (score 3)	69	10.8
Strongly Agree (score 4)	<u>20</u>	<u>3.1</u>
Total	638	100%

(continued)

(Table 17 continued)

5. It is O.K. for wife to earn more than her husband	N	%
Strongly Agree (score 1)	171	26.8
Agree (score 2)	362	56.7
Disagree (score 3)	92	14.5
Strongly Disagree (score 4)	<u>13</u>	<u>2.0</u>
Total	638	100%
6. A wife should do whatever her husband wants		
Strongly Disagree (score 1)	172	27.0
Disagree (score 2)	383	60.0
Agree (score 3)	72	11.3
Strongly Agree (score 4)	<u>11</u>	<u>1.7</u>
Total	638	100%
7. Married women have a right to continue their education		
Strongly Agree (score 1)	295	46.2
Agree (score 2)	333	52.2
Disagree (score 3)	8	1.3
Strongly Disagree (score 4)	<u>2</u>	<u>.3</u>
Total	638	100%
8. Only girls, and not boys, should help with housework		
Strongly Disagree (score 1)	154	24.1
Disagree (score 2)	387	60.7
Agree (score 3)	71	11.1
Strongly Agree (score 4)	<u>26</u>	<u>4.1</u>
Total	638	100%

As shown above, four of the eight questions seem to better differentiate traditional sex role attitudes than the others—questions 3, 2, 5, and 8. Each of the four items corresponded to one of the traditional roles

areas discussed above. Item 3 which relates to the woman working outside the home if she has children had 41.4 percent of the women disagreeing with that statement. This was followed by item 2 on whether the husband should make the important decisions with 24.1 percent agreeing; item 5 on whether the wife may earn more with 16.4 percent of the women disagreeing with that statement; and, item 8 regarding only girls should help with household work with 15.2 percent of the women agreeing. The lower percentage of women reflecting traditional attitudes in the remaining four questions may be due to the effects of acculturation on these women.

D. Creation and Validation of Traditional Sex Role Attitude Index

The Traditional Sex Role Attitude Index was created by adding the responses to the above eight items. A maximum possible score of 32 would indicate the highest level of traditional attitudes and a score of 8 would indicate the lowest level of traditional attitude. The actual scores ranged between 8 and 24. Pearson Correlations between the variables used in the index and the Traditional Sex Role Attitude Index ranged between .32 and .64 (all relationships significant, $p < .01$). The internal reliability of the Index was tested by using Cronbach's Alpha and split-half Guttman coefficients. The Alpha was .64 and the Guttman coefficient was .65. The Traditional Sex Role Attitude Index was externally validated by using Pearson Correlations with the variables on Age and Place of Birth (where born in Puerto Rico was assigned a value of 1 and born in the U.S. or other country was assigned a value of 2 and 3, respectively). The coefficient with Age was .26, and the coefficient with Place of Birth was -.20 (both statistically significant, $p < .01$).

For some of the analyses the index will be collapsed into groups of low, medium and high according to their Traditional Sex Role Attitude Index scores with approximately a third of the respondents in each group. (See Table 18.)

TABLE 18
TRADITIONAL SEX ROLE ATTITUDE INDEX

	N	%
Low traditional attitude (score 8-13)	186	29.2
Medium traditional attitude (score 14-16)	251	39.3
High traditional attitude (score 17-24)	201	31.5
Total	638	100%

E. Relationship Between Independent Variables

Table 19 shows the relationship between acculturation and traditionalism. An inverse monotonic relationship was found ($\chi^2=71.52$, $df=4$, $p<.001$), that is, those with higher levels of acculturation tended to have lower levels of traditionalism and vice versa. However, the variables do not necessarily vary together, 15.4 percent of the women who scored high on traditionalism also scored high on acculturation. Correspondingly, 15.1 percent of women scoring low on traditionalism also scored low on acculturation. This lack of complete congruence is reflected in the correlation coefficient of .34 ($p<.001$). (See Table 19.)

TABLE 19
ACCULTURATION BY TRADITIONALISM
(N=638)

Acculturation	Traditionalism		
	Low %	Medium %	High %
Low	15.1	30.6	48.8
Medium	34.4	36.7	35.8
High	50.5	32.7	15.4
Total	100%	100%	100%

CHAPTER VI

ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE OUTCOME INDICATORS

A. Alcohol Use

Alcohol has been an important part of human history since ancient times. It has been found to have played a role in early human social development (Chafetz & Demone, 1962). The functions of alcohol have been described as religious, ceremonial, hedonistic and utilitarian (Pittman, 1967). Its religious functions can be found throughout the Bible and other literature, as well as sacraments in Judaism and Christianity; its ceremonial functions can be viewed through its use in events ranging from the celebration of birth to the grieving of death; its hedonistic function is found in the pleasurable feeling which the individual can experience from drinking; and, its utilitarian functions are found in the stress relief and medicinal benefits that individuals in some cultures obtain from it. The function of alcohol has been generally described by de Ortiz (1981, p. 3) as,

“...associated with and valued for its function as behavior modifier, and for diminishing social distance and strengthening group bonds. In the former, mild consumption promotes the expression of individually and socially shared values such as relief and relaxation from fatigue, tension, apathy and a sense of isolation. In the latter, it is expressed through ritual functions symbolizing status changes such as births, marriages, new jobs, coming of age and bereavement.”

Thus, alcohol provides societies with important benefits. However, inappropriate or excessive use (as defined by the culture) may cause effects which may be considered opposite to the functions attributed to alcohol. That is, inappropriate or excessive use may modify behavior in ways that are not accepted by others in the society, and in that way increases social distance and

isolation. In order to study problem drinking¹, then, there must be an understanding of acceptable drinking practices within the culture of the individual or group being studied.

Pittman (1967, p. 5), in his discussion of the attitudes a culture may have regarding drinking, defined four cultural positions: Abstinent, Ambivalent, Permissive, and Over-permissive. The abstinent culture "...is negative and prohibitive toward any type of ingestion of alcoholic beverages." The ambivalent culture has attitudes toward alcohol which conflict with other values in the culture or the attitudes of two legitimate social groups are conflicting. The permissive culture is permissive "...toward ingesting alcohol... but negative toward drunkenness and other drinking pathologies." The over-permissive culture "is permissive toward drinking, to behavior which occurs when intoxicated, and to drinking pathologies." The latter type, Pittman notes, "does not occur completely in societies, but only approximations...", where drunkenness is accepted only under certain circumstances such as special celebrations.

Pittman's (1967) culture classifications of the different types of attitudes toward drinking appear to be more relevant to the drinking of men than to the drinking of women even today. Even among permissive and over-permissive cultures, the drinking of women tends to be regulated more than the drinking of men. In the traditional Puerto Rican culture the attitudes toward female drinking may be better classified as "Restrictive-permissive." That is, although the drinking among traditional Puerto Rican women is rigidly controlled by the culture, it is not totally forbidden if it occurs within

¹ The purpose of this study is not to focus on alcoholism among Puerto Rican women, but to study drinking practices— some which may be deemed as problematic within the framework of the traditional Puerto Rican culture.

a specific context, such as the baptism of a child or a wedding. However, not all gatherings of family and/or friends are considered acceptable occasions for women to drink. More often in traditional households, alcoholic beverages will be offered to male guests only while female guests will be offered coffee or soft drinks. The traditional woman is not expected to offer other women drinks, as well as she will not expect others to offer them to her. These behavioral norms, and other similar to these, have been provided as an explanation for the low rates of drinking found among Puerto Rican women when compared to male drinking (Aguirre-Molina, 1991). Some of these norms will be presented and analyzed in the Index of Non-normative Drinking Settings presented below.

B. Alcohol Outcome Variables

In order to simplify the analysis of the data, a number of alcohol and drug indices will be created and described below. These are:

1. Alcohol Use Index (combining wine, beer and liquor use indices).
2. Index of Drinking in Non-Normative Settings.
3. Index of Number of Drinking Problems
4. Alcohol Related Antisocial Behavior Index
5. Drug Use Index

As discussed in Chapter III, respondents were asked screening questions permitting them to be classified into three groups: those who never drank, those who drank but not during the prior year, and all others. Women who never drank or did not drink the prior year were not asked the questions regarding drinking, therefore for the purposes of this study these two groups of women will be classified as “abstainers” (N=345), while the remaining women will be classified as “drinkers” (N=293).

Women who drank once or more a year were asked, in three separate sections, questions regarding their drinking practices. The sections consisted of questions regarding the drinking of wine, beer and liquor. The first question in each section asked whether they had the beverage “Less than once a year” or “At least once a year.” If the respondent said she drank that beverage at least once a year, additional drinking questions were asked.

The women were asked, for each alcoholic beverage (wine, beer and liquor), the frequency with which they had specific amounts of the substance. The specific amounts asked for were: five or six glasses, three or four glasses and then one or two glasses, (e.g. “When you drink wine, how often do you have five or six glasses:”). The possible responses ranged between “Nearly every time” and “Never.”

Tables 20 through 22 present the response distribution for the questions regarding drinking frequency and amounts for the three types of alcoholic beverages.

TABLE 20
RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION OF WINE USE

	N	Wine Drinkers% (N=192)	All Drinkers% (N=293)	Total Pop.% (N=636)
1. When you drink wine how often do you have five or six glasses:				
Nearly every time	3	1.6	1.0	0.5
More than half the time	3	1.6	1.0	0.5
Less than half the time	9	4.7	3.1	1.4
Once in a while	25	13.0	8.5	3.9
Never (of those who drank wine)†	152	79.1	52.0	23.9
Does not drink wine	99	--	34.0	15.6
Abstainers	<u>345</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>54.2</u>
Total	636*	100%	100%	100%
2. When you drink wine how often do you have three or four glasses:				
Nearly every time	8	4.2	2.7	1.3
More than half the time	7	3.7	2.4	1.1
Less than half the time	18	9.3	6.1	2.8
Once in a while	39	20.3	13.3	6.1
Never (of those who drank wine)	120	62.5	41.0	18.9
Does not drink wine	99	--	34.0	15.5
Abstainers	<u>345</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>54.2</u>
Total	636*	100%	100%	100%
3. When you drink wine, how often do you have one or two glasses:				
Nearly every time	58	30.4	19.8	9.1
More than half the time	30	15.7	10.2	4.7
Less than half the time	26	13.6	8.9	4.1
Once in a while	56	29.3	19.1	8.8
Never (of those who drank wine)	21	11.0	7.2	3.3
Does not drink wine	99	--	34.0	15.6
Abstainers	<u>345</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>54.3</u>
Total	635**	100%	100%	100%

† "Never" response applies to the specific amount asked in each question.

* Missing information on 2 cases.

** Missing information on 3 cases.

TABLE 21
RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION OF BEER USE

	N	Beer Drinkers% (N=215)	All Drinkers% (N=293)	Total Pop.% (N=636)
1. When you drink beer how often do you have five or six glasses or cans:				
Nearly every time	15	7.0	5.1	2.4
More than half the time	6	2.8	2.0	0.1
Less than half the time	11	5.1	3.8	1.7
Once in a while	33	15.5	11.3	5.2
Never (of those who drank beer)†	148	69.5	50.5	23.3
Does not drink beer	76	--	26.0	12.0
Abstainers	<u>345</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>54.4</u>
Total	634*	100%	99%	100%
2. When you drink beer how often do you have three or four glasses or cans:				
Nearly every time	13	6.0	4.4	2.0
More than half the time	16	7.4	5.5	2.5
Less than half the time	23	10.7	7.8	3.6
Once in a while	45	20.9	15.3	7.1
Never (of those who drank beer)	118	54.9	40.3	18.6
Does not drink beer	76	--	26.0	12.0
Abstainers	<u>345</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>54.2</u>
Total	636**	100%	99%	100%
3. When you drink beer, how often do you have one or two glasses or cans:				
Nearly every time	49	22.8	16.7	7.7
More than half the time	31	14.4	10.6	4.8
Less than half the time	29	13.5	10.0	4.6
Once in a while	56	26.0	19.1	8.8
Never (of those who drank beer)	50	23.3	17.1	7.9
Does not drink beer	76	--	26.0	12.0
Abstainers	<u>345</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>=</u>	<u>54.2</u>
Total	636**	100%	100%	100%

† "Never" response applies to the specific amount asked in each question.

* Missing information on 4 cases.

** Missing information on 2 cases.

TABLE 22
RESPONSE DISTRIBUTION OF LIQUOR USE

	N	Liquor Drinkers% (N=168)	All Drinkers% (N=293)	Total Pop. % (N=636)
1. When you drink liquor how often do you have five or six drinks:				
Nearly every time	5	3.0	1.7	0.8
More than half the time	5	3.0	1.7	0.8
Less than half the time	15	9.0	5.1	2.4
Once in a while	26	15.7	8.9	4.1
Never (of those who drank liquor)†	115	69.2	39.2	18.1
Does not drink liquor	123	—	42.0	19.4
Abstainers	<u>345</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>54.4</u>
Total	634*	100%	99%	100%
2. When you drink liquor how often do you have three or four drinks:				
Nearly every time	9	5.4	3.1	1.4
More than half the time	7	4.2	2.4	1.1
Less than half the time	24	14.2	8.2	3.8
Once in a while	38	22.6	13.0	6.0
Never (of those who drank liquor)	90	53.6	30.7	14.2
Does not drink liquor	123	—	42.0	19.3
Abstainers	<u>345</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>54.2</u>
Total	636**	100%	99%	100%
3. When you drink liquor, how often do you have one or two drinks:				
Nearly every time	41	24.4	14.0	6.6
More than half the time	21	12.5	7.2	3.3
Less than half the time	32	19.0	11.0	5.0
Once in a while	48	28.6	16.4	7.5
Never (of those who drank liquor)	26	15.5	8.9	4.1
Does not drink liquor	123	—	42.0	19.3
Abstainers	<u>345</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>54.2</u>
Total	636*	100%	100%	100%

† "Never" response applies to the specific amount asked in each question.

* Missing information on 4 cases.

** Missing information on 2 cases.

Of the beverages, beer was the most likely to have been used by the respondents followed by wine and then liquor (74.0%, 66.0%, and 58.0%, respectively). In addition, a greater percent of all drinkers reported heavy drinking of beer (7.1% of all drinker reported drinking five or six cans of beer “Nearly every time” or “More than half the time” when they drank beer), than liquor (3.4%) or wine (2.0%). (See Tables 20-22.)

An index of use for each one of the alcoholic beverages was created. The different beverage use indices were created by assigning those who stated they had three or more glasses of the beverage “Nearly every time” into the Heavy Drinker category (assigned a weight of 3). Those who stated that they never had three or more glasses, but did drink two or less glasses “Less than half the time” or “Once in a while” were assigned to the Low Drinker category (assigned a weight of 1). The remaining women were assigned to a category of Moderate drinkers, for they stated some use of the substance in all three amounts asked but they could not be classified at either a High or Low extreme (assigned a weight of 2).

Tables 23 through 25 present the distribution for the indices on the three types of beverages. For all three types of alcoholic beverages, the women tended to be moderate drinkers, with the largest group of “Heavy Drinkers” for each type found among beer drinkers (23.3%), followed by liquor (15.4%) and wine drinking (11.0%).

TABLE 23
WINE USE DURING PREVIOUS YEAR

	N	Wine Drinkers % (N=191)	All Drinkers % (N=290)	Total Pop. % (N=635)
Abstainers	345	---	---	54.3
Non-wine drinkers	99	---	34.2	15.6
Low drinkers	60	31.4	20.7	9.5
Moderate drinkers	110	57.6	37.9	17.3
Heavy drinkers	21	11.0	7.2	3.3
Total	635*	100%	100%	100%

*Missing data on 3 women.

TABLE 24
BEER USE DURING PREVIOUS YEAR

	N	Beer Drinkers % (N=215)	All Drinkers % (N=291)	Total Pop. % (N=636)
Abstainers	345	---	---	54.2
Non-beer drinkers	76	---	26.1	11.9
Low drinkers	61	28.3	21.0	9.6
Moderate drinkers	104	48.4	35.7	16.4
Heavy drinkers	50	23.3	17.2	7.9
Total	636*	100%	100%	100%

*Missing data on 2 women.

TABLE 25
LIQUOR USE DURING PREVIOUS YEAR

	N	Liquor Drinkers % (N=168)	All Drinkers % (N=291)	Total Pop. % (N=636)
Abstainers	345	---	---	54.2
Non-liquor drinkers	123	---	42.3	19.3
Low drinkers	52	31.0	17.9	8.2
Moderate drinkers	90	53.6	30.9	14.2
Heavy drinkers	26	15.4	8.9	4.1
Total	636*	100%	100%	100%

*Missing data on 2 women.

1. Alcohol Use Index

These three indices were combined into an Alcohol Use Index. This was created by adding the assigned scores (0=Non-user of the beverage, 1=Low Drinker, 2=Moderate Drinker, or 3=Heavy Drinker) for each of the three beverage categories. The resulting index was trichotomized containing approximately one third of the sample in each category. (See Table 26.)

TABLE 26

INDEX ON ALCOHOL USE 12 MONTHS PRIOR TO INTERVIEW

	N	Drinkers % (N=290)	Total Pop. % (N=635)
None (abstainers)	345	---	54.1
Low (score 1-2)	95	32.8	15.0
Moderate (score 3-4)	107	36.9	16.9
High (score 5-9)	88	30.3	14.0
Total	635*	100%	100%

*Missing information on 3 respondents.

2. Index of Drinking in Non-normative Settings

As already noted above, the literature suggests that drinking among Hispanic women is very regulated, and it also suggests that when it does occur it is more likely to happen within private settings (Aguirre-Molina, 1991, Fernandez-Pol, et. al, 1986). To examine the milieu in which women drink they were asked question regarding different settings in which they drank. The questions addressed how often the women drank in eight different settings: during the evening with dinner at a restaurant; during lunch at restaurant; at clubs or organizational meetings; in bars, taverns or cocktail lounges; someone's home party; while spending quiet time at home; when a friend comes to visit; when in the company of friends in public places such as parks, street and parking lots. The responses available ranged between "Never" (with and assigned value of 1) to "Almost all the time" (with an assigned value of 5). Table 27 presents the percent of women drinkers who attended each type of setting, and the incidence of drinking by the women when attending each setting.

TABLE 27

**PERCENT OF WOMEN DRINKERS ATTENDING EACH SETTING
AND INCIDENCE OF DRINKING WITHIN SETTING**

How often do you have a drink when you...	N	Attendees Only%
1. Go out for an evening meal in a restaurant...		
% of drinkers who dined in restaurants (N=283*)	210	74.2%
Never	64	30.5
Less than half the time	79	37.6
About half the time	29	13.8
More than half the time	16	7.6
Almost all the time	<u>22</u>	<u>10.5</u>
Total	210	100%
2. Go out for lunch in a restaurant...		
% of drinkers who lunched in restaurants (N=286*)	121	42.3%
Never	87	71.9
Less than half the time	23	19.0
About half the time	5	4.1
More than half the time	2	1.7
Almost all the time	<u>4</u>	<u>3.3</u>
Total	121	99%
3. Go to club or organizational meetings.		
% drinkers attending club/organizational meetings (N=290*)	70	24.1%
Never	29	41.4
Less than half the time	15	21.4
About half the time	9	12.9
More than half the time	6	8.6
Almost all the time	<u>11</u>	<u>15.7</u>
Total	70	100%
4. Go to bars, taverns or cocktail lounges.		
% drinker attending bars, taverns (N=291*)	54	18.5%
Never	5	9.2
Less than half the time	12	22.2
About half the time	7	12.9
More than half the time	7	12.9
Almost all the time	<u>23</u>	<u>42.6</u>
Total	54	100%

(continued)

(Table 27 continued)

5. Go to a party in someone else's home.

% drinkers attending parties (N=283*)	217	76.7%
Never	25	11.5
Less than half the time	71	32.7
About half the time	32	14.7
More than half the time	38	17.5
Almost all the time	<u>51</u>	<u>23.5</u>
Total	217	99%

6. Spend a quiet evening at home.

% drinkers spending quiet evenings at home (N=279*)	275	98.6%
Never	157	57.0
Less than half the time	60	21.8
About half the time	26	9.5
More than half the time	12	4.3
Almost all the time	<u>20</u>	<u>7.3</u>
Total	275	100%

7. Have friends drop over and visit in your house.

% drinkers receiving friends at home (N=284*)	194	68.3%
Never	69	35.5
Less than half the time	66	34.0
About half the time	26	13.4
More than half the time	18	9.3
Almost all the time	<u>15</u>	<u>7.7</u>
Total	194	100%

8. Hang around with friends in a public place such as a park, street or parking lot.

% drinkers attending public places (N=289*)	91	31.5%
Never	50	55.0
Less than half the time	32	35.1
About half the time	3	3.2
More than half the time	1	1.0
Almost all the time	<u>5</u>	<u>5.5</u>
Total	91	100%

*N does not equal 293 due to missing information.

As may be expected of behavior that is controlled or regulated by the community, these women were more likely to report attendance in settings considered more family oriented or intimate. Moreover, the less normative the setting for Hispanic women, the less the women reported attending them, although these were the respondents classified as drinkers. As shown in Table 27, the largest percent of respondents reported spending quiet evenings at home (98.6%), while the lowest percent reported spending any time at bars, taverns or cocktail lounges (18.5%). The low attendance to bars, tavern or cocktail lounge attendance is not surprising since this is generally considered a male activity and could be classified as the least normative setting.

Even when the drinkers spent time at the setting they did not necessarily report drinking while there. The largest percent of women drinking at any setting was associated with the drinking at bars, taverns or cocktail lounges (90.8%), but again only 18.5% of the women reported going to bars. It is interesting to note that 9.2 percent of the women who attended bars never drank while at bars, these response may be explained by the practice that some men have of taking their spouses/partners to bars, but not allowing them to drink. The smallest percent of drinking in a setting occurred in the restaurant for lunch setting (28.1%).

Factor analysis (principal component) was used to determine if any of the eight drinking setting variables should be dropped from the drinking settings scale. Table 28 presents the loadings for each item on factor one.

TABLE 28
FACTOR LOADINGS FOR ITEMS CONSIDERED FOR INDEX
OF DRINKING IN NON-NORMATIVE SETTINGS

Items	Factor Loadings
5. Go to a party in someone else's home.	.79094
1. Go out for an evening meal in a restaurant.	.76564
7. Have friends drop over and visit in your house.	.73817
6. Spend a quiet evening at home.	.56563
2. Go out for lunch in a restaurant.	.54538
3. Go to club or organizational meetings.	.49276
4. Go to bars, taverns or cocktail lounges.	.48343
8. Hang around with friends in a public place such as a park, street or parking lot.	.29460

Factor one accounted for 36.7% of the variance with an Eigenvalue of 2.9. Since all variables had loadings for factor one of .29 or higher (.29 to .79), all variables were kept. An Index of Drinking in Non-normative Settings was created by adding the responses to the eight variables. Drinkers who did not attend a setting were assigned to the "Never" category, since it is plausible to assume that non-attendance of the setting indicated an adherence to traditional norms. Missing information for any of the variables was replaced by the average of all available responses. The resulting scores were trichotomized after isolating those who never drank in any these settings (See Table 29.)

TABLE 29
INDEX OF DRINKING IN NON-NORMATIVE SETTINGS

	N	Drinkers % (N=292)	Total Pop. % (N=637)
Abstainers	345	---	54.2
Never in settings (score 8)	39	13.4	6.1
Low (score 9-11)	81	27.7	12.7
Medium (score 12-15)	87	29.8	13.6
High (score 16-28)	85	29.1	13.4
Total	637*	100%	100%

*One case had missing data for all variables, therefore the average of available responses could not be substituted for missing data.

3. Index of Number of Drinking Problems

The respondents were asked about possible “experiences” they may have had “in connection with drinking”. These experiences (a total of 32) constituted problems in the areas of family, employment, health, loss of control over drinking, and antisocial behavior. Table 30 presents the percent of respondents for each item in rank order reporting to having a problem.

TABLE 30

PERCENT OF WOMEN WITH INDICATED DRINKING PROBLEM

Problem (Ever)	%
1. I have awakened the next day not being able to remember some of the things I had done while drinking.	11.3
2. I have skipped a number of regular meals while drinking.	9.2
3. I was drinking 5+ drinks at one sitting as often as once a week.	7.4
4. A physician suggested I cut down on drinking.	5.0
5. I have gotten into a heated argument while drinking.	4.9
6. I felt my drinking was becoming a serious threat to my physical health.	4.6
7. I sometimes kept on drinking after I had promised myself not to.	4.3
8. I was afraid I might be an alcoholic.	4.2
9. I have gotten into a fight while drinking.	4.2
10. I felt my drinking was not completely under my control.	3.5
11. My hands shook a lot the morning after drinking.	2.8
12. I deliberately tried to cut down or quit drinking, but was unable to do so.	2.8
13. I got pressured to cut down on my drinking from my family or friends or at my job.	2.8
14. Once I started drinking it was difficult for me to stop before I became completely intoxicated.	2.5
15. A spouse or someone I lived with got angry about my drinking or the way I behaved while drinking.	2.5
16. Sometimes I have needed drink so badly I couldn't think of anything else.	1.8
17. Sometimes I have awakened during the night or early morning sweating all over because of drinking.	1.8
18. I had an illness connected with drinking which kept me from working on my regular activities for a week or more.	1.8
19. I have taken a strong drink in the morning to get over the effects of last night's drinking.	1.4
20. A spouse or someone I lived with threatened to leave me because of my drinking.	1.4
21. I had trouble with the law about drinking when driving was not involved.	1.4
22. I have often taken a drink the first thing when I got up in the morning.	1.1
23. I need more alcohol than I used to, to get the same effects as before.	1.1
24. I stayed intoxicated for several days at a time.	1.1
25. My drinking contributed to my getting hurt in an accident in a car or elsewhere.	1.1
26. My drinking contributed to getting involved in an accident in which someone else was hurt or property was damaged.	1.1
27. My drinking interfered with my spare time activities or hobbies.	0.7
28. I have lost a job, or nearly lost one, because of drinking.	0.7
29. I had fits or seizures after stopping or cutting down on drinking.	0.7
30. A policeman questioned or warned me because of my drinking.	0.7
31. I've had the DT's (hallucinations and fever) when I quit drinking.	0.4
32. I've seen or heard thing that really weren't there after cutting down on drinking.	0.0

An Index of Number of Drinking Problems^{2,3} was created by counting the number of family, employment, health, and loss of control over drinking problems the respondents ever had. After removing the 6 items to be used for the Index of Alcohol Related Antisocial Behavior, 26 items were used for this index. The number of problems for the respondents ranged between 0 and 18. Table 31 shows the Index with responses of 2 or more problems grouped for presentation purposes. Approximately 22 percent of the drinkers reported having at least one problem caused by alcohol in their lifetime.

TABLE 31
INDEX OF NUMBER OF DRINKING PROBLEMS
(EXCLUDING ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR)

	N	Drinkers % (N=293)	Total Pop. % (N=638)
Abstainer	345	---	54.1
None	230	78.4	36.1
One	29	10.0	4.4
Two or more	34	11.6	5.4
Total	638	100%	100%

² Items relating to antisocial behavior will be used in a separate index, therefore they have been excluded from the index on Number of Drinking Problems. This should avoid issues of correlating variables that contain the same items.

³ While some students of alcoholism may extrapolate from certain of these responses and suggest that an index of alcoholism could be constructed based on similarities with currently used alcoholism screening tests, this is not only beyond the scope of this dissertation but would digress into the controversy of problem drinking versus the disease (alcohol addiction) concept of alcoholism. Some of these women may be alcohol addicts by any definition, but from the traditional Puerto Rican social definition there is little, if any, distinction between the *borrachona* (drunk) and the woman engaged in non-normative drinking.

4. Alcohol Related Antisocial Behavior Index

Among the 32 alcohol related problems presented in Table 30, six could be categorized as relating to antisocial behavior. Although these antisocial types of behavior are directly linked to the respondents drinking and therefore do not measure deviance independent of the drinking activity, it is important that measures of behavior affected by use of substances be examined. Studies linking criminal behavior and substance use (alcohol and drugs) are widely available (see discussion in Chapter I)—most of these studies conducted among institutionalized individuals. These items chosen are behaviors that lead or could have lead to encounters with the law within a non-institutionalized population. Table 32 presents the percent of respondents engaging in the different types of alcohol related antisocial behaviors.

TABLE 32
PERCENT OF WOMEN ENGAGING IN ALCOHOL RELATED
ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>%</u>
I have gotten into a heated argument while drinking.	4.9
I have gotten into a fight while drinking.	4.2
I had trouble with the law about drinking when driving was not involved.	1.4
My drinking contributed to my getting hurt in an accident in a car or elsewhere.	1.1
My drinking contributed to getting involved in an accident in which someone else was hurt or property was damaged.	1.1
A policeman questioned or warned me because of my drinking.	0.7

An Alcohol Related Antisocial Behavior Index was created by adding the number of problems of this type the respondents reported ever having. The index was dichotomized as show in Table 33. Over 6 percent of the women reported problems classified as antisocial behavior problems.

TABLE 33

EVER ENGAGE IN ALCOHOL RELATED ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR

	N	Drinkers % (N=293)	Total Pop. % (N=638)
Abstainers	345	--	54.1
No	274	93.5	42.9
Yes	19	6.5	3.0
Total	638	100%	100%

C. Drug Use Index

Goode (1989, p. 38) defines drugs as “both chemical substances and social, cultural and symbolic phenomena that are perceived, dealt with, and used in certain ways by the general society and by groups within it.”

Therefore, Goode indicates that drugs are more than just chemicals, they are also whatever societies or groups define them to be: good or evil. Alcohol is obviously included in Goode’s definition. As noted earlier, certain benefits are ascribed to alcohol use (e.g., individual relaxation, social lubricant, group bonding), nevertheless, other drugs (particularly in the U.S.) are not perceived or dealt with so benignly. As Goode (1989, p. 54) states,

“... the most widely accepted general approach to drug use and abuse...cannot be located in any particular field. It is adhered to by much, probably most, of the public, and by most practitioners.... It is called the *medical* or the *pathology* model, and its basic assumption is that nonmedical drug use is very much like a disease—a malfunctioning, an abnormality, a pathology. It is not ‘normal’ to use drugs outside a medical context, only a drug-free existence is normal.”

Although in the Hispanic culture there is no specific traditional condemnation of drug use, its use can also jeopardize the values defined by the concept of *marianismo* . It is plausible to assume that drugs are, therefore, implicitly prohibited by the same traditional norms as alcohol.

While the purpose of the Fordham Hispanic Research Center for gathering the data used in this study was mainly to examine patterns of alcohol use, there were a limited number of questions on drugs. All the respondents (regardless of their alcohol use) were asked questions related to drug use. The women were asked whether they had used different substances (i.e., uppers (including cocaine), downers (including Valium), codeine or methadone, marijuana, hallucinogens, and heroin) during the 12 months prior to the interview. The women were not asked whether they had ever used drugs prior to the 12 months before the interview. Therefore, this study will not be able to report or examine findings for women who ever used drugs. Nevertheless, the data available will allow for analyses on the more current users. Table 34 presents the percent of women reporting any use during the past year.

TABLE 34
PERCENT OF WOMEN USING DRUGS DURING THE
12 MONTHS PRIOR TO INTERVIEW
(N=638)

Drug*	N	%
Uppers (speed, amphetamines or cocaine)	12	2.0
Downers (tranquilizers, barbiturates, Quaaludes, Librium or Valium)	14	2.0
Codeine or methadone	8	1.0
Marijuana, hash, THC or grass	21	3.0

*The women were also asked about Hallucinogens and Heroin, but none reported using it during the prior 12 months.

Marijuana was found to be the prevailing drug used during the 12 months prior to the interview. Similar findings were reported by the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Service in their 1986 Statewide Household Survey of Substance Abuse report of their telephone survey of more than 6,300 residents. They found that marijuana was the "leading illicit drug used by both Hispanic and non-Hispanic residents in New York State." (1988, p. 4).

An additive scale of positive drug use responses was created and dichotomized (see Table 35). Approximately 7 percent of the respondents reported using at least one of the stated substance during the past year.

TABLE 35
DID RESPONDENT USE DRUGS DURING THE
12 MONTHS PRIOR TO THE INTERVIEW?

Used Drugs	N	%
No	596	93.4
Yes	42	6.6
Total	638	100

D. Correlations Between Outcome Measures

Considering that the outcome variables measure substance use and consequences of that use, it should be expected that the variables are related. Correlations of the dependent or outcome variables (presented in Table 36) show that all variables are statistically related with the exception of Index of Drinking in Non-normative Setting and Drug use Index. The highest correlation found was between Index of Number of Drinking Problems and Alcohol related Antisocial Behavior Index. Since the Index of Number of Drinking Problems does not include those items used to create the Alcohol related Antisocial Behavior Index, it appears that individuals who reach the level of antisocial (often law violation) behavior also experience other types of problems (family, employment, health, and/or loss of control).

TABLE 36

CORRELATION BETWEEN OUTCOME VARIABLES

Outcome Variable	2	3	4	5
1. Alcohol Use Index†	.46***	.19***	.26***	.19***
2. Index of Drinking in Non-normative Settings††		.19***	.19***	.03
3. Index of Number of Drinking Problems††			.64***	.14**
4. Alcohol related Antisocial Behavior Problems Index††				.13*
5. Drug Use Index†				

†N=638, all respondents ††N=293, drinkers only

*p. < .05 **p. < .01 ***p. < .001

CHAPTER VII

IMPACT OF ACCULTURATION AND TRADITIONALISM ON ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE

As previously stated, the focus of this study is to explore whether the degree of acculturation alone, or the degree of loss of traditional values alone, or, acculturation in combination with the loss of traditional values provides the best explanation for drinking and drug use behaviors and their consequences among Puerto Rican women.

Questions posed by this study can be summarized as follows:

A) What is the impact of acculturation on:

- 1) alcohol use,
- 2) drinking in non-normative settings,
- 3) number of drinking problems,
- 4) alcohol related antisocial behavior, and,
- 5) drug use?

B) What is the impact of traditionalism on:

- 1) alcohol use,
- 2) drinking in non-normative settings,
- 3) number of drinking problems,
- 4) alcohol related antisocial behavior, and,
- 5) drug use?

C) Which indicator (acculturation or traditionalism) is most strongly correlated with:

- 1) alcohol use,
- 2) drinking in non-normative settings,
- 3) number of drinking problems,
- 4) alcohol related antisocial behavior, and,
- 5) drug use?

D) Does combining acculturation and traditionalism provide a stronger correlation with:

- 1) alcohol use,
- 2) drinking in non-normative settings,
- 3) number of drinking problems,
- 4) alcohol related antisocial behavior, and,
- 5) drug use?

E) How do demographic characteristics affect the correlations?

A. Impact of Acculturation on Outcomes

Table 37 presents the impact of acculturation on outcomes.

TABLE 37

OUTCOMES BY DEGREE OF ACCULTURATION

	Degree of Acculturation					
	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Alcohol Use† (N=635*)						
Abstainers	142	70.0	119	52.5	84	41.0
Low drinkers	26	12.7	33	14.5	36	17.5
Medium drinkers	17	8.4	38	16.7	52	25.4
High drinkers	18	8.9	37	16.3	33	16.1
Total	203	100.0%	227	100.0%	205	100.0%
Drinking in non-normative setting (N=293**)	N	%	N	%	N	%
Never	9	14.8	13	11.9	17	13.9
Low	24	39.2	30	27.5	27	22.1
Medium	14	23.0	32	29.4	41	33.7
High	14	23.0	34	31.2	37	30.3
Total	61	100.0%	109	100.0%	122	100.0%
Number of drinking problems (N=293**)	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	52	85.2	86	78.9	92	74.8
One	5	8.2	9	8.3	15	12.2
Two or more	4	6.6	14	12.8	16	13.0
Total	61	100.0%	109	100.0%	123	100.0%
Number of alcohol related antisocial behaviors (N=293**)	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	58	95.1	102	93.6	114	92.7
At least one	3	4.9	7	6.4	9	7.3
Total	61	100%	109	100%	123	100%
Used drugs during last 12 months† (N=638)	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	200	98.5	216	94.7	180	87.0
Yes	3	1.5	12	5.3	27	13.0
Total	203	100%	228	100%	207	100%

*N not 638 due to missing cases **Question only asked of women who drank (N=293) † p. < .001

1. Acculturation and alcohol use

Acculturation was found to be significantly related to the level of alcohol use reported by the women ($\chi^2=40.42$, $df=6$, $p.< .001$). That is, the greater the degree of acculturation, the greater the likelihood that the respondent was a drinker (30% vs. 47.5% vs. 59%). Furthermore, among the drinkers the greater the level of acculturation, the greater the likelihood that women report being a Medium or High drinker (17.3 percent for low acculturation vs. 33.0 percent for medium acculturation, and 41.5 percent for high acculturation). These findings are similar to those of other researchers (Alcocer, 1982; Caetano, 1984, 1986, 1987; Caetano & Medina Mora, 1988; Graves, 1967; Madsen, 1964; Page et al., 1985). (See Table 37.)

If abstainers are excluded, medium and high drinkers combined show a similar relationship, although it is not statistically significant. (See Table 38.) That is, the higher the degree of acculturation, the more likely the respondent reported drinking at medium or high levels (57.4% of those with low acculturation, 69.5% of those with medium acculturation and 70.3% of those with high acculturation).

TABLE 38
ALCOHOL USE BY DEGREE OF ACCULTURATION
(EXCLUDING ABSTAINERS)
(N=290*)

Alcohol use	Degree of Acculturation					
	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low drinkers	26	42.6	33	30.5	36	29.7
Medium drinkers	17	27.9	38	35.2	52	43.0
High drinkers	18	29.5	37	34.3	33	27.3
Total	61	100.0%	108	100.0%	121	100.0%

*Missing data=3

2. Acculturation and drinking in non-normative settings¹

The degree of acculturation was not found to be significantly related to drinking in non-normative settings among women who drink ($p > .05$). Nevertheless, a smaller percentage of women with low levels of acculturation tended to be ranked medium or high on drinking in non-normative setting than women with high levels of acculturation (46.0 percent of those scoring low on degree of acculturation vs. 60.6 percent of those with medium acculturation and 64.0 percent of those with high acculturation). (See Table 37.)

3. Acculturation and drinking problems¹

Among women who drink the degree of acculturation was not found to be significantly related to drinking problems ($p > .05$), although women with lower levels of acculturation were less likely to report having at least one problem (14.8% vs. 21.1% vs. 25.2%, respectively). (See Table 37.)

4. Acculturation and alcohol related antisocial behavior¹

The degree of acculturation was not found to be significantly related to alcohol related antisocial behavior ($p > .05$). However, among the women who drink, those with high levels of acculturation were almost twice as likely to report ever having at least one alcohol related antisocial behavior problem than those scoring low on acculturation (7.3% vs. 4.9%). (See Table 37.)

¹ Although a tendency for greater involvement with drinking in non-normative settings, drinking problems, and alcohol related antisocial behavior problems was found among those with greater levels of acculturation, these relationships were not found to be statistically significant. This may be due to the small number of women reporting involvement in these behaviors, in contrast with those who did not.

5. Acculturation and drug use

The degree of acculturation was found to be significantly related to the use of drugs during the 12 months prior to the interview ($\chi^2=23.29$, $df=2$, $p<.001$). That is, the higher the level of acculturation the more likely women were to have used illegal substances during that time (1.5 percent of the women with low acculturation, compared to 5.3 percent of the women with medium levels of acculturation and 13.0 percent of the women with high levels of acculturation). (See Table 37.) These findings are similar to those of other researchers (Amaro et al., 1990, Booth, Castro & Anglin, 1990; Farabee et al, 1995; Perez et al., 1980).

B. Impact of Loss of Traditionalism on Outcome Variables

Table 39 presents the impact of traditionalism on outcomes.

TABLE 39
OUTCOMES BY DEGREE OF TRADITIONALISM

Alcohol Use† (N=635*)	Degree of Traditionalism					
	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Abstainers	92	50.0	129	51.6	124	61.7
Low drinkers	26	14.1	34	13.6	35	17.4
Medium drinkers	38	20.7	45	18.0	24	11.9
High drinkers	28	15.2	42	16.8	18	9.0
Total	184	100.0%	250	100.0%	201	100.0%
Drinking in non- normative settings†† (N=292**)	N	%	N	%	N	%
Never	8	8.6	10	8.2	21	27.3
Low	16	17.2	40	32.8	25	32.5
Medium	32	34.4	37	30.3	18	23.4
High	37	39.8	35	28.7	13	16.8
Total	93	100.0%	122	100.0%	77	100.0%
Number of drinking problems (N=293***)	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	71	75.5	98	80.4	61	79.2
One	8	8.5	12	9.8	9	11.7
Two or more	15	16.0	12	9.8	7	9.1
Total	94	100.0%	122	100.0%	77	100.0%
Number of alcohol related antisocial problems (N=293***)	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	87	92.6	115	94.3	72	93.5
At least one	7	7.4	7	5.7	5	6.5
Total	94	100%	122	100%	77	100%
Used drugs during last 12 months† (N=638)	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	168	90.3	234	93.2	194	96.5
Yes	18	9.7	17	6.8	7	3.5
Total	186	100%	251	100%	201	100%

*N not equal to 638 due to missing cases.

**N not equal to 293 (women who drank) due to missing cases.

***Question only asked of women who drank (N=293).

†p. < .05 ††p. < .001

1. Traditionalism and alcohol use

As shown in Table 39, the degree of traditional sex role values was found to be significantly related to the level of alcohol use reported by the women ($\chi^2=14.12$, $df=6$, $p.<.05$). That is, respondents scoring high on traditional values are less likely to report being drinkers than women ranked low on traditionalism (38.3% vs. 50%). Furthermore, among drinkers the higher the level of traditional values, the less the likelihood that women report Medium or High drinking (35.9 percent of the women with low traditionalism compared to 34.8 percent of those with medium traditionalism, and 20.9 percent of those with high traditionalism).

When women who abstained from drinking are excluded, a similar relationship is found, although there is little difference between women with low and medium traditionalism when combining medium and high drinkers (71.7% vs. 71.9% vs. 54.6%). This relationship is not statistically significant ($\chi^2=8.32$, $df=4$, $p.>.05$). (See Table 40.)

TABLE 40
ALCOHOL USE BY DEGREE OF TRADITIONALISM
(EXCLUDING ABSTAINERS)
(N=290*)

Alcohol use	Degree of Traditionalism					
	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low drinkers	26	28.3	34	28.1	35	45.4
Medium drinkers	38	41.3	45	37.2	24	31.2
High drinkers	28	30.4	42	34.7	18	23.4
Total	92	100.0%	121	100.0%	77	100.0%

*Missing data=3

2. Traditionalism and drinking in non-normative settings

The degree of traditionalism was found to be significantly related to drinking in non-normative settings ($\chi^2=29.97$, $df=6$, $p.<.001$) among the women who drank. Women drinkers with high levels of traditionalism were over three times as likely as women with low levels of traditionalism to report never drinking in non-normative settings (27.3% vs. 8.6%, respectively). Respondents who reported drinking in non-normative settings at medium or high levels were almost twice as likely to have scored low in traditionalism than women in the high traditionalism group (74.2% vs. 40.2%, respectively). (See Table 39.)

3. Traditionalism and drinking problems

For women who drank, the degree of traditionalism was not found to be related to alcohol problems ($p.>.05$), although women with low levels of traditionalism were somewhat more likely to have had at least one problem than women with high levels of traditionalism (24.5% vs. 20.8%). In addition, the highest percentage of women with two or more problems was found among those women who scored low in degree of traditionalism. (See Table 39.)

4. Traditionalism and alcohol related antisocial behavior

The degree of traditionalism was not found to be significantly correlated with drinking related antisocial behavior ($p.>.05$). (See Table 39.)

5. Traditionalism and drug use

The degree of traditionalism was found to be significantly related to the use of drugs during the 12 months prior to the interview ($\chi^2=6.05$, $df=2$, $p.<.05$). That is, the higher the level of traditionalism, the less likely women were to have used an illegal substance during that time. Women with low levels of traditionalism were almost three times as likely than women with high levels of traditionalism to have used drugs in the prior 12 months (9.7 percent of the women with low levels of traditionalism used drugs, compared to 3.5 percent of the women with high traditionalism). (See Table 39.)

C. A Comparison of Acculturation and Traditionalism Correlations with the Outcome Indicators

As shown in Table 41, acculturation is positively correlated with three of the five outcome variables—alcohol use, number of drinking problems, and drug use. Traditionalism is also correlated (inversely because of the direction of scores) with three outcome variables: alcohol use, drinking in non-normative settings and drug use.

TABLE 41

**CORRELATION BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND
TRADITIONALISM AND OUTCOME VARIABLES**

Outcome Variable	Acculturation Index	Traditionalism Index
Alcohol Use Index [†]	.25***	-.11**
Index of Drinking in Non-normative Settings ^{††}	.03	-.26***
Index of Number of Drinking Problems ^{††}	.10* ²	-.06
Alcohol Related Antisocial Beh. Index ^{††}	.03	-.03
Drug Use Index [†]	.20***	-.10**

[†]N=638, all respondents ^{††}N=293, drinkers only

*One-tail test p. < .05 **One-tail test p. < .01 ***One-tail test p. < .001

Both acculturation and traditionalism are correlated with alcohol use and drug use, but acculturation is more highly correlated with these two outcomes than traditionalism. With respect to drinking problems, acculturation has a statistically significant impact on this outcome but traditionalism does not. It is only for drinking in non-normative settings that we find a clear and strong difference between the influence of traditionalism compared to acculturation. The correlations of acculturation and traditionalism with alcohol use and drug use are consistent with the observation that traditional Hispanic cultures rigidly control the behavior of women in order to safeguard the ideal woman within the tenets of *marianismo*. Use of mind altering substances (alcohol and/or drugs) are viewed as jeopardizing adherence to the values which make up the ideal

² In Table 37, crosstabulation of Acculturation Index and Index of Number of Drinking Problem was not found to be statistically significant. This may be due to possible effects being masked by the need to group individuals into discrete categories.

woman. As women become more acculturated, as well as when women become less traditional, compliance with behavior that would threaten the values held by the traditional community should become less compelling, since the ways and values of the culture of origin will no longer be the main guides to the behavior of women.

An interesting finding is the difference between traditionalism and acculturation impacting the number of drinking problems. Researchers have suggested that there may be a likelihood of the development of problem drinking among drinkers coming from cultures which prohibit drinking (Lafferty, et. al, 1980; Larsen & Abu-Laban, 1968; Pittman, 1967; Skolnick, 1958; Ullman 1958). Puerto Rican women are socialized within proscriptive norms (Linsky, et. al, 1986), controlling all aspects of drinking, similar to abstinence norms described by Pittman (1967). During the process of acculturation these women move into an Anglo culture that has been classified by Pittman (1967) as ambivalent in its norms regarding drinking, and which does not provide the needed guidelines for appropriate drinking with respect to time, frequency, amount, and setting. Hence, there are no consistent regulating norms within the Anglo community held up as a model for female drinkers. As suggested by the researchers above, traditional values which may prevent or curtail the drinking among women does not appear to have an impact on preventing or curtailing the occurrence of problems once they begin to drink.

The strongest relationship between traditionalism and any of the outcome variables was found with regards to drinking in non-normative settings. That is, the higher the level of traditionalism, the less likely the woman was to drink in non-normative settings. The drinking norms that the

Puerto Rican culture imposes on women does not prevent them from drinking in a prescribed setting but drinking in non-normative settings will expose her to the scrutiny of the community. Drinking in non-normative settings would be considered an obvious breach of those behaviors which a traditional woman would not likely engage in even if she is a drinker (Aguirre-Molina, 1991).

Fernandez-Pol et al (1986) found that Puerto Rican women who were problem drinkers tended to drink alone in the privacy of their homes. This practice may be a red flag for possible problems to arise regarding drinking. A Puerto Rican woman who drinks alone, away from the scrutiny of the community, will also likely be a woman that will not seek help or treatment if the need were to arise because of the harsh stigma attached to being a drunk or "*borrachona*."

D. The Impact of the Combined Effect of Acculturation and Traditionalism on Alcohol and Drug Use

In order to examine possible effects that may not have been obtained by analyzing the outcome variables with both independent variables (acculturation and traditionalism) alone, a typology combining both these variables was created.³ First, both the acculturation and traditionalism indices were dichotomized (High/Low) with approximately half of the respondents in each category. Then, a nominal variable was created assigning the women into four categories according to their location in both

³ For discussion regarding types and uses of typologies see Earl Babbie, The practice of social science, 5th ed., (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1989), p. 411-414; Morris Rosenberg, The logic of survey analysis, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968), p. 182-193.

variables simultaneously. Those low in acculturation and high in traditionalism were located in group 1; those who scored low in acculturation and low in traditionalism were located in group 2; those high in acculturation and high in traditionalism were located in group 3; and, those high in acculturation and low in traditionalism were located in group 4. (See Figure 1.)

FIGURE 1
TYOLOGY OF INTEGRATION

Traditionalism	Acculturation	
	Low	High
High	1 Old Worlders	3 Bi-Culturals
Low	2 Rootless	4 Moderns

Table 42 presents the distribution of the newly created typology.

TABLE 42
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN TYPOLOGY
OF INTEGRATION

Category	N	%
1. Old Worlders (low accult/high trad)	194	30.4
2. Rootless (low accult/low trad)	120	18.8
3. Bi-Culturals (high accult/high trad)	115	18.0
4. Moderns (high accult/low trad)	209	32.8
Total	638	100%

The women in group 1 were labeled “Old Worlders” for they were low on acculturation and scored high on values considered traditional as defined in this study. Women in group 4, labeled “Modern” are highly acculturated and scored low in traditional values.

Women in group 2 were labeled “Rootless” for although they were low in acculturation they also scored low on the values traditional to Puerto Rican women. Women in group 3 were labeled “Bi-Culturals” since their scores of high on acculturation and high on traditionalism seem to indicate that they were balancing their lives between the ways of the two different cultures (Puerto Rican and Anglo). These two groups of women can be considered *deviant cases* as they are “...cases which do not exhibit the behavior or the attitudes which we expected of them...” (Kendall & Wolf, 1957, p. 167). According to Kendall & Wolf (1957, p. 167) deviant case analyses serves two purposes: 1) “... to uncover relevant additional factors which had not previously been considered”; and 2) “... to refine the measurements of statistical variables used to locate the deviant cases.” These goals are achievable if the researcher has access to the respondents and can expand the level of questions asked of them. This will not be possible in this study which uses secondary data. Moreover, to pursue either of these goals would divert from the focus of this study which is to explore the impact of acculturation and traditionalism on the use of alcohol and drugs by Puerto Rican women, and not to explore what other possible variables may best predict these behaviors in this population. Awareness of the existence of such deviant groups, nevertheless, does provide interesting possibilities for future research.

For purposes of analysis a Risk Index was created by combining the “deviant cases.” Women in the Old Worlders group were assigned to a Low

Risk category (with an assigned value of 0, N=194), women in the Rootless and Bi-Culturals groups were assigned a Medium Risk category (with an assigned value of 1, N=233) and the Modern women were assigned to a High Risk category (with an assigned value of 2, N=208). The rationale for this index follows the research question of determining whether the combined effect of acculturation and traditionalism is better than each alone.

Correlations were used to assess whether combining acculturation and traditionalism into one measure would provide stronger relationships with the outcome variables. The resulting coefficients are presented in Table 43 along with the coefficients obtained when each variable was correlated independent of the other.

TABLE 43

CORRELATION BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND TRADITIONALISM, EXAMINED SEPARATELY AND JOINTLY, AND OUTCOME VARIABLES

Outcome Variable	Acculturation Index	Traditionalism Index	Risk Index
Alcohol Use Index [†]	.25***	-.11**	.21***
Index of Drinking in Non-normative Settings ^{††}	.03	-.26***	.19***
Index of Number of Drinking Problems ^{††}	.10*	-.06	.06
Alcohol Related Antisocial Beh. Index ^{††}	.03	-.03	.02
Drug Use Index [†]	.20***	-.10**	.16***

[†]N=638, all respondents ^{††}N=293, drinkers only

*One-tail test p. < .05 **One-tail test p. < .01 ***One-tail test p. < .001

Table 43 indicates that combining the two variables is not a stronger indicator of the outcomes than using each independently. This appears to support the proposition stated earlier that acculturation and traditionalism do not vary together in all cases (i.e., an increase in level of acculturation does not always result in a lower level of traditionalism). (See Table 19.)

Since the Risk Index as used in Table 43 contains individuals whom we have called “deviant cases” (i.e., they do not fall as expected when we evaluate their combined levels of acculturation and traditionalism) it is possible that the correlations of the Risk Index were lower due to their inclusion. That is, the contradictory behavior of the deviant cases may weaken the correlations between the combined index and the outcomes. Table 44 shows the correlations excluding the deviant cases from the Risk Index.

In Table 44 we see that removing the “deviant cases” does improve the correlations between the Risk Index and the outcomes. Nevertheless, with the exception of alcohol use (.27 for Risk Index, .25 for Acculturation Index, and -.11 for Traditionalism Index) it does not provide a better correlation than those obtained by using acculturation and traditionalism alone.

TABLE 44

CORRELATION BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND TRADITIONALISM,
EXAMINED SEPARATELY AND JOINTLY, AND OUTCOME VARIABLES
(WITH AND WITHOUT DEVIANT CASES)

Outcome Variable	Acculturation Index	Traditionalism Index	Risk Index (with deviants)	Risk Index (without deviants) ^{†††}
Alcohol Use Index [†]	.25 ^{***}	-.11 ^{**}	.21 ^{***}	.27 ^{***}
Index of Drinking in Non-normative Settings ^{††}	.03	-.26 ^{***}	.19 ^{***}	.21 ^{**}
Index of Number of Drinking Problems ^{††}	.10 [*]	-.06	.06	.07
Alcohol Related Antisocial Beh. Index ^{††}	.03	-.03	.02	.04
Drug Use Index [†]	.20 ^{***}	-.10 ^{**}	.16 ^{***}	.18 ^{***}

[†]N=638, all respondents. ^{††}N=293, drinkers only. ^{†††}N=403 for alcohol and drug indices, N=186 all others.
*One-tail test p. < .05 **One-tail test p. < .01 ***One-tail test p. < .001

E. The Impact of Acculturation on Alcohol and Drug Use Controlling for Traditionalism

Both acculturation and traditionalism have been found to affect the outcome indicators (with acculturation having a greater impact). (See Table 41.) Nevertheless, it has also been found that acculturation and traditionalism do not always vary together (see Table 19). This suggests the possibility that the relationship between acculturation and the outcome variables may be affected by varying levels of traditionalism. Table 45 presents the distributions and conditional correlation coefficients⁴ for outcomes by acculturation when controlling for the level (low, medium and high) of traditionalism.

⁴ Bohrnstedt & Knoke (1988, p. 358) define conditional correlation coefficients as “correlation coefficients calculated between two crosstabulated continuous variables within each category of a third variable.”

TABLE 45

OUTCOMES BY ACCULTURATION CONTROLLING FOR TRADITIONALISM⁵

Outcomes	Low Traditionalism			Medium Traditionalism			High Traditionalism		
	Acculturation			Acculturation			Acculturation		
	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Alcohol Use†									
Abstainer	79	49	42	66	51	37	70	57	46
Drinker	21	51	58	34	49	62	30	43	55
	N=184, r=.17*			N=250, r=.28***			N=201, r=.19**		
Drinking in non-normative settings									
Never	17	--	13	15	4	8	14	36	35
At least sometimes	83	100	87	85	96	92	86	64	65
	N=93, r=-.13			N=122, r=.02			N=77, r=-.10		
Number of drinking problems									
None	67	85	71	92	71	82	83	84	65
At least one	33	15	29	8	29	18	17	17	36
	N=93, r=.13			N=122, r=.06			N=77, r=.02		
Number of alcohol related antisocial behaviors									
None	83	97	91	96	91	96	97	94	88
At least one	17	3	9	4	9	6	3	6	12
	N=93, r=.07			N=122, r=.01			N=77, r=.02		
Used drugs during last 12 months									
No	96	95	85	100	95	85	98	94	97
Yes	4	5	15	--	5	15	2	6	3
	N=186, r=.17**			N=251, r=.28**			N=201, r=.01		

†Missing data=3

*p.<.05 **p.<.01 ***p.<.001

⁵ Acculturation and outcome variables have been grouped into discrete categories for the purpose of presentation. Correlations were obtained from ungrouped versions of the variables.

In Table 45 we note that the relationship of acculturation to alcohol use, presented in Table 37, remains after controlling for traditionalism. That is, the higher the level of acculturation the more likely the respondent will be a drinker. Nevertheless, by comparing the correlation obtained between acculturation and alcohol use before controlling for traditionalism (.25, presented in Table 41) with the correlations found for each partial table we see that traditionalism does have an impact at the extreme levels of traditionalism (low and high). When we control for low and high traditionalism we find that the association between acculturation and alcohol use is affected (.25 vs. .17, and .25 vs. .19), as demonstrated by a decreased correlation after controlling for traditionalism⁶. Although the magnitude of the effect of low and high traditionalism on the relationship between acculturation and alcohol use appears to be similar (.17 vs. .19), when examining the percentage difference between high acculturation and low acculturation, the women in the low traditionalism group have a 37 percent difference, while for women in the high traditionalism group it is 25 percent. This indicates a greater impact of high acculturation for women in the low traditionalism group. Medium levels of traditionalism were not found to affect the association between acculturation and alcohol use (.25 vs. .28).

The relationship previously found between acculturation and drug use (see Table 37) was not found for all categories of traditionalism. Before controlling for traditionalism we found that the higher the level of acculturation the more likely the woman was to be a drug user, but when we

⁶ Following explanations and examples from Bohrnstedt and Knoke (1988, pp. 355-366) a higher correlation found for a partial table will not be interpreted to indicate a stronger correlation between the two variables for that particular subgroup, but just a lack of impact by the third variable.

control for traditionalism this is found only for women with low and medium levels of traditionalism (see Table 45). In addition, we note that the coefficient of .20 (see Table 41) found between acculturation and drug use before controlling for traditionalism was only slightly affected by low traditionalism (.20 vs. .17), and not affected at all by medium levels of traditionalism (.20 vs. .28). For women with high levels of traditionalism, we find a u-shape relationship with a substantial drop in the correlation (.20 vs. .01), indicating that the impact found between acculturation and drug use does not apply to women with high levels of traditionalism. These findings seem to indicate that a high degree of traditionalism may serve to affect (as in the case of alcohol use) or nullify (as in the case of drug use) the effects of acculturation upon substance use.

When presented earlier (Table 37), drinking in non-normative settings was not found to be related to levels of acculturation. A similar finding was noted when controlling for traditionalism with the exception of high levels of traditionalism. In the presence of high traditionalism, there is an inverse relationship between acculturation and drinking in non-normative settings (86 percent of women with low acculturation drink in non-normative settings compared to 65 percent of the women with high acculturation). It is plausible that women who are highly traditional but low on acculturation may be undergoing transitional changes and have not fully adopted and integrated the behaviors that are expected of them (which are consistent with their traditional ethos) in the new cultural environment, thus increasing their involvement in drinking in non-normative settings. This appears to be confirmed when comparing the percentage of high traditionalism women with medium and high levels of acculturation who drink in non-normative settings to those with low acculturation. Again, this indicates the importance

of high traditionalism in curtailing behavior even after the women have become drinkers (see Table 39 and p. 97). The correlation found between acculturation and non-normative settings (.03) was not decreased when controlling for low and high traditionalism (.03 vs. -.13, and .03 vs. -.10, respectively) and only slightly decreased for medium levels of traditionalism (.03 vs. .02).

The monotonically increasing relationship found between acculturation and number of drinking problems (see Table 37 and Table 41) was not found when controlling for traditionalism. Instead, a u-shape relationship for all three levels of traditionalism was found. Nevertheless, we find the largest percentage of women with at least one problem among the women with high traditionalism and high acculturation (see Table 45). Women in this group are likely to experience the most stress for they live in two worlds (Anglo and Puerto Rican). Their likelihood of drinking in a problematic fashion may be influenced by the greater freedom of drinking found in the Anglo culture combined with not having learned how to do so appropriately from the Puerto Rican culture, which expects a more highly proscribed style of drinking. The correlation of .10 found between acculturation and alcohol problems (see Table 41) was diminished when controlling for traditionalism at the higher end (.03 for medium, and .09 for high traditionalism) indicating that traditionalism has an effect. But, no effect was found for low levels of traditionalism (.10 vs. .13).

Previously (see Table 37) no relationship was found between acculturation and number of antisocial behaviors. This was also found when controlling for low and medium traditionalism, but not for high traditionalism. For low and medium traditionalism we found a u-shape relationship between acculturation and alcohol related antisocial behavior, for

high traditionalism a positive monotonic relationship was found (see Table 45). That is, for women with high traditionalism, the higher the level of acculturation the more likely they are to have alcohol related antisocial behavior problems. As discussed above regarding alcohol problems, this may be due to a conflict of norms that may exist for these women who may not have fully adopted acceptable forms of behavior which reconcile the ways of both cultures.

The correlations between acculturation and alcohol related antisocial found before controlling for traditionalism was .03 (see Table 41). The correlation in the partial table for low traditionalism showed that it did not affect the relationship between acculturation and alcohol related antisocial behavior found for that group (.03 vs. .07). Diminished correlations found for medium (.03 vs. .01) and high traditionalism (.03 vs. .02) indicate that traditionalism had an effect, even if slight, on the relationships found.

In sum, both the Acculturation Index and the Traditionalism Index are correlated with alcohol and drug use. Nevertheless, acculturation is a better indicator of the likelihood of involvement in these activities, in particular for the women with low and medium levels of traditionalism. For women with high levels of traditionalism, the relationships between acculturation and use are maintained although they are weakened or nullified by their traditional outlook (as measured by the index). Differences were found regarding the impact of acculturation and traditionalism on the consequences of drinking: acculturation correlated with the likelihood of problem drinking, while traditionalism was linked to drinking in non-normative settings. Combining the two variables (acculturation and traditionalism) did not provide the improved correlation coefficients expected.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPACT OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ON RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OUTCOMES AND ACCULTURATION

Acculturation was found to be a better indicator of alcohol use, drinking problems and drug use than traditionalism (see Table 41). Nevertheless, high levels of traditionalism were found to reduce or eliminate the impact of acculturation. As with traditionalism in the previous chapter, in this chapter the effects of demographic variables on the relationships already established between acculturation and alcohol use, drinking problems, and drug use will be examined¹. The demographic variables to be examined are: Age, Education Level, Importance of Religion, and Time in the U.S. mainland. These variables have been selected for they have been found by researchers to affect substance use (Booth, Castro, & Anglin, 1990; Fernandez-Pol et. al, 1985; Gilbert & Cervantes, 1986; Hawks & Bahr, 1992).

In order to simplify the tables to be presented, education level and importance of religion have been collapsed. Education level will consist of four categories: 0-8th grade, 9-11 High School, completed High School, and at least some college. In the importance of religion variable, women responding "Not Really Important" and "Not at all Important" have been grouped together. Time in the U.S. has been grouped into quartiles. The individual impact that each demographic variable has on the association between outcome and acculturation will be examined through conditional correlation coefficient analyses.

¹ Drinking in non-normative settings and alcohol related anti-social behavior will not be examined since they were not significantly related to acculturation (see Table 41).

1. Acculturation and alcohol use

Table 46 presents the relationships and conditional correlation coefficients between acculturation and alcohol use when controlling for demographic characteristics.

TABLE 46

ALCOHOL USE BY ACCULTURATION CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS†

Age	18-29 yrs. old			30-38 yrs. old			39-54 yrs. old			55-87 yrs. old		
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi
Alc. Use	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Abstainer	57.1	41.4	40.7	53.3	42.6	33.8	67.7	49.1	42.3	78.5	77.8	73.3
Drinker	42.9	58.6	59.3	46.7	57.4	66.2	32.3	50.9	57.7	21.5	22.2	26.7
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=158, r=.07			N=168, r=.18*			N=144, r=.18*			N=162, r=.05		
Education	0-8 grade			9 - 11			High School Grad.			Some College +		
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi
Alc. Use	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Abstainer	76.3	64.3	64.7	57.9	52.9	41.3	56.0	36.8	41.2	60.0	59.3	28.2
Drinker	23.7	35.7	35.3	42.1	47.1	58.7	44.0	63.2	58.8	40.0	40.7	71.8
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=208, r=.16**			N=205, r=.17**			N=150, r=.06			N=71, r=.27*		
Importance of Religion	Not at all			Somewhat			Very					
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi			
Alc. Use	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
Abstainer	33.3	33.3	38.9	60.9	42.5	22.2	71.6	56.4	47.2			
Drinker	67.7	67.7	61.1	39.1	57.5	77.8	28.4	43.6	52.8			
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
	N=36, r=.06			N=108, r=.34***			N=490, r=.18***					
Time in U.S.	Up to 20 yrs.			21-28 yrs			29-35 yrs.			36 years +		
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi
Alc. Use	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Abstainer	64.2	53.8	50.0	65.8	41.2	35.9	72.7	42.3	38.8	77.4	69.0	45.5
Drinker	35.8	46.2	50.0	34.2	58.8	64.1	27.3	57.7	61.2	22.6	31.0	54.5
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=162, r=.16*			N=153, r=.18*			N=163, r=.35***			N=155, r=.23**		

*p.<.05 **p.<.01 ***p.<.001

†Acculturation and outcome variables grouped into discrete categories for the purpose of presentation. Correlations were obtained from unrecoded versions of the variables.

Table 46 shows that the relationship between acculturation and alcohol use is maintained regardless of age. That is, women scoring high on acculturation are more likely to be drinkers than women scoring low on acculturation even after controlling for age. Nevertheless, we did find partial effects being introduced by age. Before controlling for age, the correlation between acculturation and alcohol use was .25 (see Table 41). After controlling for age, a decrease in the correlation coefficients between acculturation and alcohol use was found for all age categories. For age subgroups 30-38 and 39-54, a considerable decrease was found—from .25 to .18, for both subgroups, indicating that the relationship between acculturation and alcohol use was somewhat influenced by age. A more substantial decrease was found for women in the youngest category (18-29 years of age) and oldest category (55-87 years of age) where the correlations dropped from .25 to .07 and .05, respectively. This indicates that age is highly influential in the relationship between acculturation and alcohol use for younger and older women. It was also found that for these same groups the relationship between acculturation and alcohol use is not statistically significant ($p > .05$). One possible explanation for this disparity is that older women are more traditional and those 18-21 are still not legally able to drink.

Education was found to affect the relationships already established between acculturation and alcohol use, with the exception of those who had at least some college. For respondents with less than completed High School, the pattern of higher acculturation linked to increased likelihood of being a drinker was maintained. However, the correlations found after controlling for education were lower than the correlations found before controlling for

education (.25 vs. .16 for 0-8th grade, .25 vs. .17 for 9-11th grade). For women who completed High School education a u-shape relationship between acculturation and alcohol use was found with a decrease in correlation of .19 (.25 vs. .06). In addition, the statistical significance originally found between acculturation and alcohol use was not found for this group. For those with at least some college, no effects were found to be produced by education (.25 vs. .27). It is puzzling that completion of High School education was the only category to introduce a substantial effect on the relationship between acculturation and alcohol use.

When controlling for the importance of religion we find that the relationship between acculturation and alcohol use (the higher the level of acculturation the more likely one is to be a drinker [Table 37]) is maintained for those who deemed religion "Somewhat" or "Very" important in their lives. However, the association for 'Very important' is diminished: .25 vs. .18. The decrease in the correlation coefficient for the "Very important" category indicates that this level of religious importance influenced the effects of acculturation. The established relationship between acculturation and alcohol use was not found for those who claimed religion "Not at all Important." For this subgroup it was found that although not statistically significant, those who were more acculturated were less likely to be drinkers. In addition, because of the large decrease in the correlation for this subgroup (.25 vs. .06), we find that the inverse relationship between acculturation and alcohol use was highly affected by the lack of importance of religion.

The relationship originally found between acculturation and alcohol use was maintained for all categories of "Time in U.S." Nevertheless, diminished correlations were found for subgroups of women in the U.S for less than 29 years (.25 vs. .16 for those in the mainland for up to 20 years,

and .25 vs. .18 for those in the mainland between 21 and 28 years). A slight decrease in the coefficient was also found among women in the U.S. for 36 years or more (.25 vs. .23). No effects were found for the 29-35 years subgroup. The effect of Time in U.S. appears to be one of increasing the difference in the impact between low acculturation and high acculturation (14.2 percent for up to 20 years, 29.9 percent for 21-28 years, 33.9 percent for 29-35 years, and 31.9 percent for 36 years or more on the mainland).

2. Acculturation and drinking problems

Table 47 presents the relationships and conditional correlation coefficients between acculturation and drinking problems when controlling for demographic characteristics.

TABLE 47

DRINKING PROBLEMS BY ACCULTURATION CONTROLLING FOR
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS†

Age	18-29 yrs. old			30-38 yrs. old			39-54 yrs. old			55-87 yrs. old		
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi
Drnk. Prob.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	100.0	82.4	75.0	64.3	80.0	71.2	95.2	71.4	80.0	85.0	83.3	100
One +	—	17.6	25.0	35.7	20.0	28.8	4.8	28.6	20.0	15.0	16.7	—
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=92, r=.10			N=101, r= -.12			N=64, r=.13			N=36, r= -.17		
Education	0-8 grade			9-11			High School Grad.			Some College +		
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi
Drnk. Prob.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	87.5	70.0	83.3	75.0	76.2	68.1	90.9	88.9	75.0	100.0	72.7	83.3
One +	12.5	30.0	16.7	25.0	23.8	31.9	9.1	11.1	25.0	—	27.3	16.7
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=58, r= -.01			N=105, r=.07			N=87, r=.12			N=43, r=.18		
Importance of Religion	Not at all			Somewhat			Very					
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi			
Drnk. Prob.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
None	50.0	70.0	63.6	66.7	65.2	69.4	90.0	84.2	78.9			
One +	50.0	30.0	36.4	33.3	34.8	30.6	10.0	15.8	21.1			
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
	N=23, r=.19			N=68, r=.18			N=202, r=.02					
Time in U.S.	Up to 20 yrs.			21-28 yrs			29-35 yrs.			36 years +		
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi
Drnk. Prob.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	91.7	86.7	86.7	84.6	76.7	73.8	75.0	80.6	66.7	83.3	66.7	83.3
One +	8.3	13.3	13.3	15.4	23.3	26.2	25.0	19.4	33.3	16.7	33.3	16.7
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=69, r=.07			N=85, r= -.01			N=85, r=.23*			N=54, r=.14		

*p.<.05 **p.<.01 ***p.<.001

†Acculturation and outcome variables grouped into discrete categories for the purpose of presentation. Correlations were obtained from unrecoded versions of the variables.

Table 47 shows that the relationship we had previously found between acculturation and alcohol problems, that is, women scoring high on acculturation are more likely to report drinking problems than women scoring low on acculturation (Table 37), is not consistently maintained when we control for age, education, or importance of religion. Instead we found that the relationship between acculturation and drinking problems varies in each partial table, with the established relationship only found for the 18-29 age subgroup, those who deemed religion "Very Important," and those in the U.S. for under 29 years. Nevertheless, none of those relationships were found to be statistically significant. For the remaining subgroups the relationship between acculturation and drinking problems were found to be u-shaped and the correlations non-significant, indicating that the demographic variables affected the relationship between acculturation and alcohol problems but not in the same direction. Although acculturation levels may be linked to drinking problems a more complex and comprehensive set of variables may be needed to better examine this variable.

3. Acculturation and drug use

Table 48 presents the relationships and conditional correlation coefficients between acculturation and drug use when controlling for demographic characteristics.

TABLE 48

DRUG USE BY ACCULTURATION CONTROLLING FOR
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS†

Age	18-29 yrs. old			30-38 yrs. old			39-54 yrs. old			55-87 yrs. old		
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi
Drug Use	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
No	100.0	93.1	83.9	100.0	93.4	85.9	95.4	94.4	92.3	100.0	98.1	100.0
Yes	--	6.9	16.1	--	6.6	14.1	4.6	5.6	7.7	--	1.9	--
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=159, r=.25***			N=169, r=.17*			N=145, r=.01			N=162, r=.02		
Education	0-8 grade			9-11			High School Grad.			Some College +		
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi
Drug Use	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
No	97.8	94.6	100	100	95.5	88.8	100.0	93.0	82.4	100.0	96.3	85.4
Yes	2.2	5.4	--	--	4.5	11.2	--	7.0	17.6	--	3.7	14.6
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=208, r=.02			N=206, r=.23**			N=150, r=.23**			N=73, r=.12		
Importance of Religion	Not at all			Somewhat			Very					
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi			
Drug Use	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
No	100.0	100.0	77.8	100.0	92.5	82.6	98.3	94.8	89.5			
Yes	--	--	22.2	--	7.5	17.4	1.7	5.2	10.5			
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
	N=36, r=.33*			N=109, r=.23**			N=492, r=.17***					
Time in U.S.	Up to 20 yrs.			21-28 yrs			29-36 yrs.			36 years +		
Accult.	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi	Low	Med	Hi
Drug Use	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
No	98.5	96.9	90.0	97.4	96.1	81.5	97.7	90.6	86.8	100	94.8	93.2
Yes	1.5	3.1	10.0	2.6	3.9	18.5	2.3	9.4	13.2	--	5.2	6.8
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=162, r=.19**			N=154, r=.24**			N=165, r=.18**			N=155, r=.11		

*p.<.05 **p.<.01 ***p.<.001

†Acculturation and outcome variables grouped into discrete categories for the purpose of presentation. Correlations were obtained from unrecoded versions of the variables.

Table 48 shows that the relationship between acculturation and drug use is maintained regardless of age, education level, importance of religion, and time in the United States (with the exception of those with less than 9th

grade education and those over 55 years of age). That is, women scoring high on acculturation are more likely to have used drugs during the prior 12 months than women scoring low on acculturation even after controlling for demographic variables. Nevertheless, we did find partial effects being introduced by the demographic variables.

Before controlling for age, education, importance of religion or time in the United States, the correlation between acculturation and drug use was .20 (see Table 41). The association between acculturation and drug use was affected by age in those categories of 30 years of age and above, but was most for women who were 39 years of age or older (as demonstrated by a diminished correlation of .17 for those 30-38 years old, .01 for those 39-54 years old, and .02 for those 55-87 years old). Indicating that as age increases, it became a more influential variable in the relationship between acculturation and drug use.

Level of education was found to affect the association between acculturation and drug use mainly for women with less than a ninth grade education; where a u-shape relationship was found and the correlation dropped from .20 to .02, this relationship became non-significant. This was followed by the effects found for the "Some College +" subgroup where the correlation diminished from .20 to .12 and the relationship between acculturation and drug use was not found to be significant. No effect were found for women who had a 9-11 grade education or had completed High School (.20 vs. .23, for both subgroups).

Partial effects of the importance of religion were found for the category of "Very Important," where we found the association between acculturation and drug use slightly diminished (.20 vs. .17). This indicates that high levels of importance of religion may serve to temper engagement in

drug use even when we find high levels of acculturation—6 percent of the women who deemed religion “Very important” used drugs, compared to 10 percent of the “Somewhat” and 11 percent of the “Not at All.” (findings not previously presented). No effects were found for the other two religious importance categories (.20 vs. .23 for the “Somewhat important” and .20 vs. .33 for the “Not at all important”).

Time in the U.S. mainly affected the association between acculturation and drug use for those in the mainland for 36 years or longer, as seen through a decrease in the coefficient from .20 to .11 and the non-significant correlation. It is likely that this is largely due to women in this category being of an age where they are less likely to be drug users (average age for this category was 59.81). This is supported by noting that this category has the lowest percentage of highly acculturated women who use drugs (6.8%). The remaining categories were only slightly affected (for those less than 21 years in the U.S., the correlation diminished from .20 to .19 and for subgroup of those 29-35 in the U.S. it diminished from .20 to .18) or not affected at all (for subgroup 21-28 the coefficient obtained was .24 compared to .20 before controlling for time in the United States).

In sum, we have found that the relationship between acculturation and alcohol use was maintained regardless of age and time in the United States. However, we did find that the association diminished, indicating that age and time in the U.S. are important influences in the link between acculturation and alcohol use. Education level and importance of religion were not found to be as influential, although effects were found for specific categories within each variable. The relationship between acculturation and drinking problems was not consistently maintained when controlling for age, education level, importance of religion, or time in the United States

indicating that drinking problems may require a more complex examination of the factors. The relationship found between acculturation and drug use was maintained even after controlling for age, education, importance of religion, and time in the United States, but effects on that relationship were found for those who were 39 years of age or older, had less than a ninth grade education, had at least some college education, considered religion very important, and those who have lived in the United States for over 35 years.

CHAPTER IX

ESTIMATING SIMULTANEOUS EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION, TRADITIONALISM AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS ON OUTCOME VARIABLES

In the previous chapters it was noted that the higher levels of acculturation are related to alcohol use, drinking problems and drug use for the Puerto Rican women being studied (see Table 37 and Table 41). These relationships were also found to be affected by traditionalism, particularly the higher levels of traditionalism (see Table 45). Specifically, we found that high levels of traditionalism reduced the effect of acculturation on alcohol use and drinking problems, and nullified the effects of acculturation on drug use. It was also found that age, education level, importance of religion and time in the United States (independent of one another) affect the associations between acculturation and those outcome variables (see Table 46 through Table 48).

Among the goals of this study is to examine the influence that acculturation and traditionalism have on the likelihood of involvement with alcohol use, drinking problems and/or drug use so that the information may be useful for development or enhancement of social action programs for Puerto Rican women. Evaluation of the suitability of affecting any of the independent variables used in this study (acculturation, traditionalism and demographic variables) suggests that the variable that can most likely be influenced to prevent or mitigate the likelihood of occurrence of the outcomes is traditionalism. Acculturation could only be realistically influenced by accelerating the process, nevertheless, it has been found by others and confirmed by this study that greater acculturation is linked to greater involvement in the outcome activities (alcohol use, drinking

problems and drug use). Age and time in the United States cannot be influenced or manipulated. Education level could be increased, but as with acculturation it has been found to increase the likelihood of engaging in these undesirable outcomes. Importance of religion may entail imposing an ideology that may be inappropriate for secular programs, although the relative success of Alcoholics Anonymous may indicate the value of incorporating spiritual approaches. Traditionalism on the other hand, can involve a sense of pride for the Puerto Rican culture, attachment to values that make the family important, curtailing culturally inappropriate behavior, among other dimensions. (This will be elaborated upon in the recommendations to be presented in the last chapter).

The outcome differences between high and low traditionalism suggest that the sample should be divided into two groups according to their level of traditionalism (low/medium and high) and that the relationships between acculturation, demographic variables and outcome be reexamined for these two groups, thus, treating traditionalism as a control in the other relationships. In this chapter, we will first examine the independent relationships between the variables through the use of correlations, and then the simultaneous effects of acculturation and demographic variable on the outcomes (through path analysis) for the two groups defined by their level of traditionalism: low/medium and high.

A. Correlations between acculturation, demographic variables and outcomes for women with low/medium and high traditionalism

Correlations between independent and outcome variables are presented in Table 49.

TABLE 49

CORRELATION MATRIX BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES, AND OUTCOMES BY LEVEL OF TRADITIONALISM

	Women with Low or Medium Traditionalism (N=436)						
	Accult.	Age	Education	Importance of Religion	Time in US	Alc. Use	Drnk Prb.
Acculturation	--						
Age	-.49***	--					
Education	.44***	-.43***	--				
Importance of Relig.	-.22***	.23***	-.12**	--			
Time in US	.14**	.57***	-.11*	.07	--		
Alcohol use	.23***	-.26***	.18***	-.23***	-.04	--	
Drinking problems†	.11	-.04	.05	-.17**	.05	.10	--
Drug use	.24***	-.19***	.13**	-.11*	-.02	.22***	.11
	Women with High Traditionalism (N=201)						
	Accult.	Age	Education	Importance of Religion	Time in US	Alc. Use	Drnk Prb.
Acculturation	--						
Age	-.37***	--					
Education	.40***	-.38***	--				
Importance of Relig.	-.09	.30***	-.02	--			
Time in US	.14*	.66***	-.18**	.13	--		
Alcohol use	.19**	-.29***	.17**	-.15*	-.09	--	
Drinking problems†	.02	-.05	.17	-.12	.08	.50***	--
Drug use	.01	.02	-.03	.08	.05	.04	.32**

†N=216, only applicable to women who drink.

††N=77, only applicable to women who drink.

*p.<.05 **p.<.01 ***p.<.001

1. Relationships between independent variables

Although the relationships between the demographic variables and acculturation will not be explored in depth, a few differences between the groups are noted in Table 49: the relationship between acculturation, and importance of religion was found to be significant only for women with low/medium traditionalism; the same was found regarding the relationship between education and importance of religion. For the remainder of the variables we found statistically significant relationships in both groups.

2. Relationships between outcome variables

The relationships found between the outcome variables were quite different for each group. For women with low/medium traditionalism, alcohol use was not significantly related to drinking problems, but was significantly related to drug use. In addition, for this group, drinking problems were not related to drug use. On the other hand, for women with high levels of traditionalism, a high correlation was found between alcohol use and drinking problems and between drinking problems and drug use. These latter findings appear to indicate that Puerto Rican women who are highly traditional and who are also drinkers may be at a higher risk to develop drinking problems. As discussed in Chapter VII, this finding has been made by other researchers who have studied the effects of alcohol use among individuals reared in proscriptive environments (Lafferty, et al, 1980; Larsen & Abu-Laban, 1968; Pittman, 1967; Skolnick, 1958; Ullman 1958). Alcohol use was not directly related to drug use in the high traditionalism group as it was with the low/medium traditionalism group.

3. Relationships between control variables and outcomes.

The relationship between independent variables (acculturation and demographic variables) and outcomes was also found to be different for the two groups. With the exception of “Time in US” a significant relationship was found between the independent variables and alcohol use and drug use for the women with low/medium traditionalism. The only variable to be significantly related to drinking problems among this group was “Importance of Religion.” For women with high traditionalism, a significant relationship between independent and outcome variables was only found for alcohol use (again with the exception of “Time in US”).

B. Simultaneous effects of acculturation and demographic variables on outcome for women with low/medium and high traditionalism

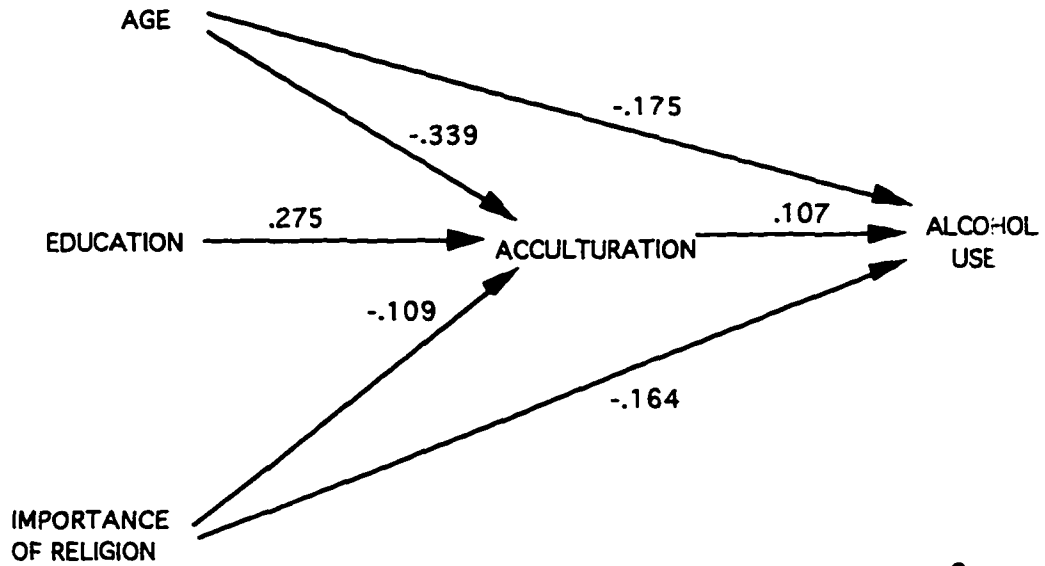
Based on the findings presented in Chapter VII, it is plausible to suggest a model in which the simultaneous effects of the demographic variables¹ and acculturation on alcohol use, drinking problems and drug use are examined for two groups: women with low and medium traditionalism and women with high traditionalism. Since acculturation has been found to vary according to the age, education, and importance of religion (see Table 49), it is appropriate if acculturation is viewed as a mediating or intervening factor.

Figure 2 presents the diagram for the path model predicting alcohol use from age, education and importance of religion using acculturation as a mediating factor.

¹ “Time in US” will be excluded from the model, since it was not found to be significantly related to any of the outcome variables in either group.

FIGURE 2

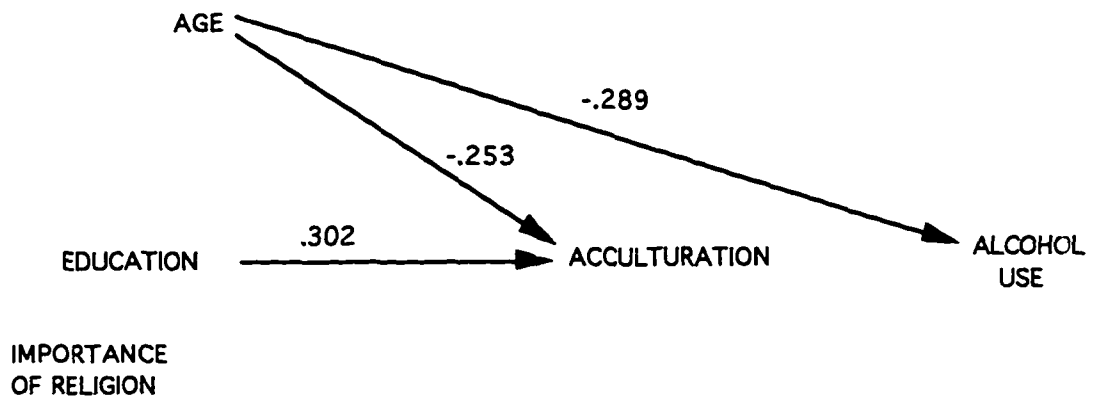
PATH COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING ALCOHOL USE FROM AGE, EDUCATION, IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND ACCULTURATION FOR WOMEN RANKED LOW OR MEDIUM TRADITIONALISM*
N=432



* Reports only statistically significant paths (p<.05).

R² = .11

PATH COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING ALCOHOL USE FROM AGE, EDUCATION, IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND ACCULTURATION FOR WOMEN RANKED HIGH TRADITIONALISM*
N=199



* Reports only statistically significant paths (p<.05).

R² = .08

In Figure 2 we find that for women with low/medium levels of traditionalism, age (being younger), importance of religion (considering religion not very important), and level of acculturation (higher) have significant direct effects on alcohol use. Age had the strongest direct effect (-.175), followed closely by importance of religion (-.164), and then acculturation level (.107). Education level was not found to have a significant direct effect on alcohol use. In addition, age and importance of religion were found to also have significant indirect effects on alcohol use through their significant effects on acculturation (-.036 and -.011, respectively). The younger the women, the more acculturated they were and the more likely to use alcohol. The less important religion was in their lives, the more acculturated they were, and the more likely they were to use alcohol. Age, education and importance of religion accounted for 31 percent of the variance in acculturation (information not presented in Figure 2). Age, importance of religion and acculturation accounted for 11 percent of the variance in alcohol use.

For women with high levels of traditionalism, we find that the only variable to have a significant effect on alcohol use is age (-.289). That is, the younger the women, the more likely they were to use alcohol. For this group, age and education accounted for 28 percent of the variance in acculturation (information not presented in Figure 2), while the importance of religion had no effect. Age alone accounted for 8 percent of the variance in alcohol use.

When comparing the effects of the different variables between the two groups of women, several findings are noted: 1) age has the strongest direct effects for both groups of women; 2) women in the low/medium level of traditionalism had levels of acculturation that were affected by all three

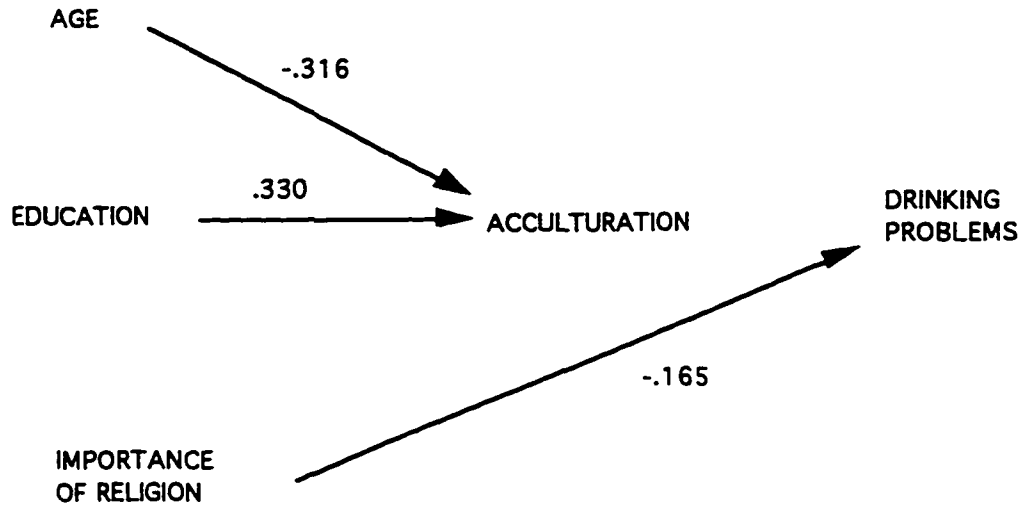
independent variables (age, education and importance of religion), while women in the high traditionalism group had levels of acculturation that were affected only by age and education levels. (It is puzzling why importance of religion did not affect acculturation for women with high levels of traditionalism.); 3) most notable, acculturation was not a factor in alcohol use for women with high levels of traditionalism. In Table 45 we found that for women with high traditionalism the relationship between acculturation and alcohol use was reduced, now it appears that when other factors (i.e., age) are taken into consideration the effects of acculturation can be nullified for this particular group.

Figure 3 presents the diagram for the path model predicting drinking problems from age, education and importance of religion using acculturation as a mediating factor.

FIGURE 3

PATH COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING DRINKING PROBLEMS FROM AGE, EDUCATION, IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND ACCULTURATION FOR WOMEN RANKED LOW OR MEDIUM TRADITIONALISM*

N=216

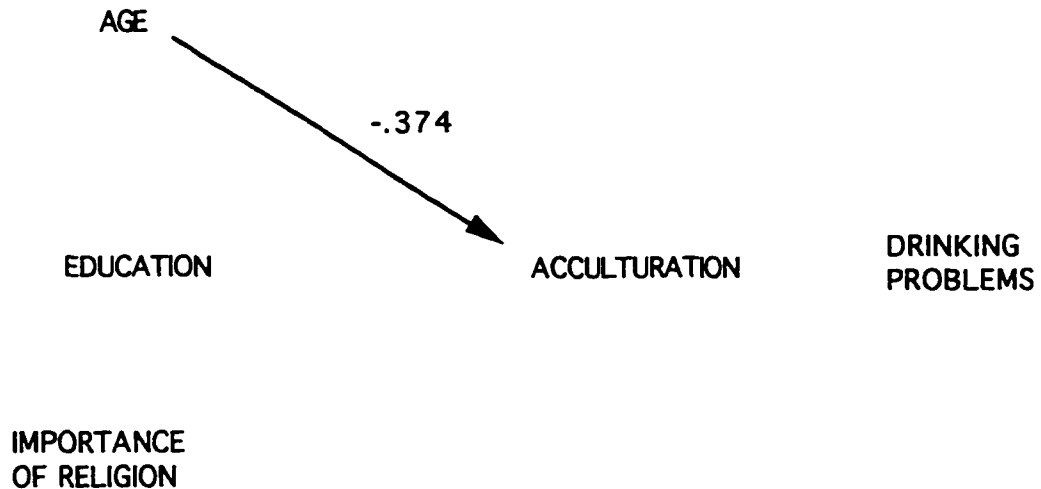


* Reports only statistically significant paths ($p < .05$).

$R^2 = .03$

PATH COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING DRINKING PROBLEMS FROM AGE, EDUCATION, IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND ACCULTURATION FOR WOMEN RANKED HIGH TRADITIONALISM*

N=77



* Reports only statistically significant paths ($p < .05$).

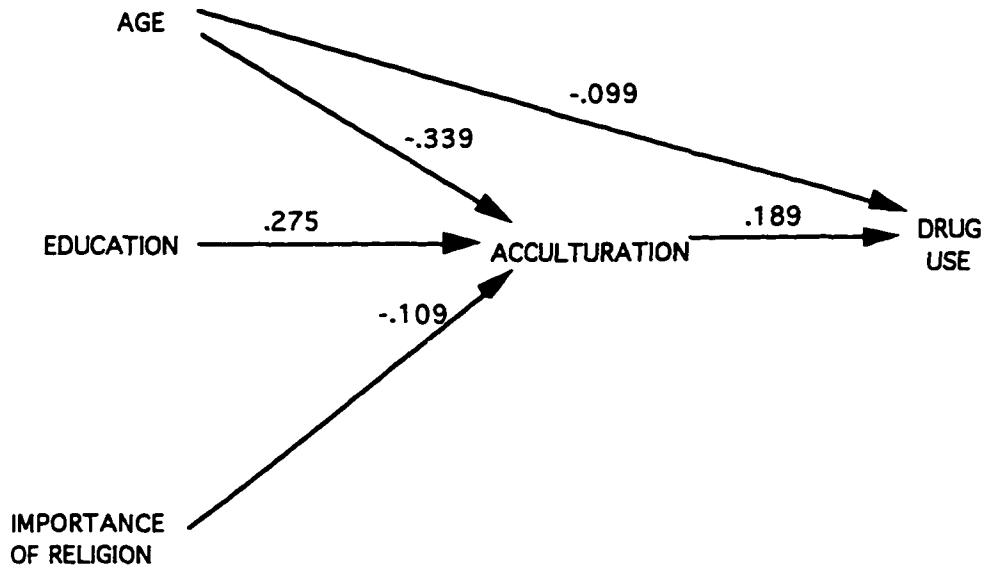
In Figure 3 we find that the model presented only explains three percent of the variance in drinking problems, confirming our findings in Table 45 and Table 47 that to predict drinking problems a more complex model is needed. Nevertheless, we did find that for women with low/medium traditionalism the only variable to provide a direct effect was importance of religion (-.165), that is, women drinkers who claimed that religion was not important in their lives were more likely to have drinking problems. For women with high levels of traditionalism, none of the variables in the model provided any effects upon drinking problems (as had also been found in Table 49). It is possible that traditionalism may serve as an inhibitor in the involvement with this outcome negating the inverse relationship between importance of religion and drinking problems.

Figure 4 presents the diagram for the path model predicting drug use from age, education and importance of religion using acculturation as a mediating factor.

FIGURE 4

PATH COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING DRUG USE FROM AGE, EDUCATION, IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND ACCULTURATION FOR WOMEN RANKED LOW OR MEDIUM TRADITIONALISM*

N=436

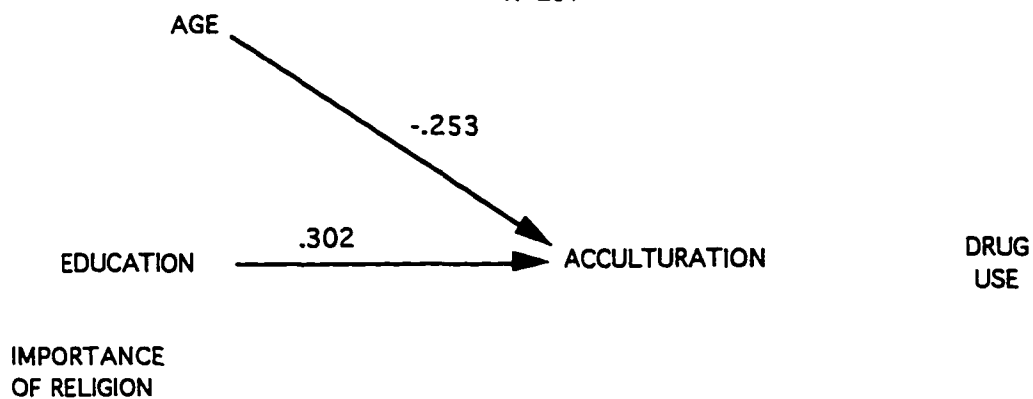


* Reports only statistically significant paths (p<.05).

R² =.06

PATH COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING DRUG USE FROM AGE, EDUCATION, IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND ACCULTURATION FOR WOMEN RANKED HIGH TRADITIONALISM*

N=201



* Reports only statistically significant paths (p<.05).

In Figure 4 we find that for women with low/medium levels of traditionalism, acculturation levels (higher) and age (younger) are the only variables that provide direct effects on drug use. The indirect effects of age via acculturation were found to be almost as strong as the direct effects (-.099 vs. -.064). Age and acculturation accounted for six percent of the variance in drug use. For women with high levels of traditionalism, none of the variables in the model had an effect on drug use, suggesting that this may be due to a higher degree of protection offered by the higher level of traditionalism.

It was also noted that importance of religion, which was found to have a inverse relationship with alcohol use for women with low/medium traditionalism (see Figure 2), was not found to have an effect on drug use for either group. That is, importance of religion was not found to prevent or affect drug use in any way. In addition, age which was found to be the strongest predictor of alcohol use for both groups of women in Figure 2 was found not to have an effect on the drug use of women with high levels of traditionalism.

In sum, when examining the independent effects of acculturation and the demographic variables among women with low/medium levels of traditionalism, we found significant relationships between acculturation, age, education, importance of religion and the outcome variables of alcohol use and drug use. A significant correlation was found between importance of religion and alcohol problems. For women with high levels of traditionalism only alcohol use had a significant correlation with acculturation and the demographic variables.

Path analytic models allowed for examination of the simultaneous effects of acculturation and demographic variables on the outcome for the

two groups of women: low/medium traditionalism and high traditionalism. For women with low/medium levels of traditionalism, we found: 1) age, importance of religion and acculturation have direct effects on alcohol use; 2) indirect effects (via acculturation) of age and importance of religion were also found; 3) the only variable to have an effect on drinking problems, after simultaneous effects of the other independent variables were accounted for, was importance of religion; 4) acculturation and age were found to have direct effects on drug use, with age also having indirect effects via acculturation. For women with higher levels of traditionalism, we found that the only variable for which there was an effect was age with regards to alcohol use. These findings indicate that women with lower levels of traditionalism appear to be more vulnerable to the effects that age, importance of religion, and acculturation have on the likelihood of involvement with alcohol use, drinking problems and drug use. That is, higher levels of traditional values appear to protect or prevent the Puerto Rican women from engaging in the culturally deviant (alcohol use and alcohol problems) and illegal (drug use) behaviors studied here regardless of their youth, their lack of importance attributed to religion or their adopting of values which allow for more freedom of behavior.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Summary of findings

In recent years, as the rate of growth of the Hispanic community increases, researchers have become more interested in studying their behavior, especially that of Hispanics migrating to this country. The process of acculturation has become a common explanation for changing behaviors (such as involvement with deviant behaviors) found by researchers in this population. This has been particularly the case for Hispanic women. In addition, some researchers have suggested that the traditional values observed by Hispanic women and expected by the community in their country of origin may explain the low levels of involvement with deviance for women in those settings. Nevertheless, few studies have pursued examining the effect of a reduction of traditional values upon deviant outcomes. In this study, we have examined the relationship among acculturation, substance use and consequences of alcohol use among Puerto Rican women, and in addition we have also expanded on the effects that loss of traditionalism may have on those behaviors as well.

The data used had already been gathered by the Fordham Hispanic Research Center to study drinking norms and behaviors among a general population of Puerto Ricans in the New York City metropolitan area. The measure of acculturation used was created and validated by Raul Caetano at the Alcohol Research Group at Berkeley. The Acculturation Index was created from questions regarding ability to speak English; ability to read and write English and Spanish; language used with family, friends, neighbors and at work; preference for Hispanic media (books, radio, T.V.); preference for Hispanic music; feelings about associations with Anglos; and, proportion of

Hispanics with whom the respondent shared different social situations (friends, church, neighborhood where respondent grew up, at parties).

The Traditionalism Index was created and validated by this researcher based on traditional sex roles defined in the literature. It consists of eight questions that measure attitudes on child rearing, female versus male status, household responsibilities, and female independence.

Outcome variables consisted of: 1) alcohol use (which considering the proscriptive nature of the Hispanic culture toward the drinking of women could be considered as a measure of engagement in deviant activity), 2) drinking in non-normative settings (according to the Hispanic culture), 3) number of drinking problems (problems with family, employment, health, and loss of control), 4) number of alcohol related antisocial behavior (behaviors that lead or could have lead to encounters with the law), and 5) drug use (use of illicit substances during the 12 months prior to being interviewed).

Higher levels of acculturation, as well as lower levels of traditionalism were significantly related to alcohol use, drug use, and at least one of the problematic consequences of drinking being studied. Acculturation was significantly related to alcohol problems and traditionalism was related to drinking in non-normative settings. Although both acculturation and traditionalism were related to alcohol and drug use, acculturation was found to be a stronger indicator.

Acculturation and traditionalism varied independent of one another, (i.e., a Puerto Rican women who is low on acculturation cannot be assumed to be highly traditional) and therefore were likely to affect the outcome variables independently. This led to two questions: 1) would combining acculturation and traditionalism provide a stronger indicator than using them

separately, and 2) does the level of traditionalism affect the relationships found between acculturation and outcomes?

A typology of acculturation/traditionalism was created in order to examine if combining the variables provided a stronger indicator. This was not found to be the case, that is, combining acculturation and traditionalism did not provide a stronger indicator than using the variables independently from one another. However, examination of the effects levels of traditionalism had on the relationships between increased acculturation and greater likelihood of engagement in the deviant behavior showed that high levels of traditionalism reduced the effects of acculturation with regards to alcohol use and alcohol problems, and nullified the effects regarding drug use.

The effects that four demographic variables (age, education, importance of religion, and time in the United States) had on the relationship found between acculturation and outcomes were also examined. These demographic variables were chosen because they were found by other researchers to be linked to substance use. We found that even after controlling for these variables, the relationships between acculturation and alcohol and drug use was largely maintained, although the demographic variables did provide different degrees of influence. The relationship between acculturation and alcohol problems was not consistently maintained when controlling for the demographic variables, suggesting that for this variable a more complex analysis involving variables beyond the scope of this data is needed.

One of the goals of this study was to examine the influence of acculturation and traditionalism on the outcome variables so that the findings

could be useful for development or enhancement of social action programs for Puerto Rican women. Based on the findings presented, a model was suggested in which the simultaneous effects of the demographic variables and acculturation (used as a mediating or intervening variable) on alcohol use, alcohol problems and drug use could be examined for two groups of women: those with low/medium levels of traditionalism and those with high levels of traditionalism. We found that age (youth), importance of religion (low importance) and acculturation (higher) had direct effects on alcohol use for women with low/medium traditionalism, but the only variable to have an effect on the alcohol use of women with high traditionalism was age (youth). Importance of religion (low importance) was the only variable found to have an effect on drinking problems of women with low/medium traditionalism, however none of the variables had an effect for women with high traditionalism. Acculturation (higher) and age (youth) were found to have an effect on the drug use of women with low/medium levels of traditionalism, but again none of the variables were found to have an effect on the drug use of women with high traditionalism.

These findings confirm those of other researchers regarding the link between increased acculturation and greater likelihood of substance use and problems from the use; however, they also suggest that high levels of traditionalism can lessen or nullify these effects. Therefore, promoting adherence to a more traditional outlook may provide a possible tool or development of a treatment modality that could be used to assist Puerto Rican women who undergo the stressful process of acculturation and who are more vulnerable to engaging in problematic substance use.

B. Action Implication of Findings

Becoming acculturated even if only at a low level is an inevitable experience for any individual who moves into a culture that is different from their own. In the United States, quick and full acculturation for immigrants is often seen as the panacea that will resolve many of the conflicts that arise for the migrant individual, as it has for other immigrant groups in the past. However, as already stated, the process of acculturation is full of stress and confusion for the individual. This may be particularly so for Puerto Ricans because of their unique migratory patterns. For example, one of those patterns has led a researcher to call some Puerto Ricans “merry-go-rounders” (Comas-Díaz, 1989). Comas-Díaz (1989, p. 169) describes “merry-go-rounders” as “Puerto Ricans who commute back and forth between the island and the mainland through a migratory revolving door.” The models of European immigration to America do not fit Puerto Ricans. It is during the periods of stress produced by the process of acculturation that the individual, in this case Puerto Rican women, could most benefit from the comfort of values and norms that are familiar, such as those which have been part of the tradition of Puerto Rican culture.

Some researchers have criticized this emphasis upon traditional values and have described it as “an imperative to preserve cultural traditions” (Perez-Arce, 1994). That is, a return to a traditional outlook is viewed as keeping Hispanic women in a role subservient to their male counterparts, a role which has been found to produce a variety of physical and psychological illnesses (Soto & Shaver, 1982) and feelings of isolation (Moore, 1994). Others have argued that this is not necessarily the case. They argue that there are components of the traditional history of Puerto Rican women that could be emphasized or appealed to in order to provide Puerto Rican

women with the strength to successfully undergo the process of acculturation which, even from a feminist perspective, would not entail her role to be subservient. In spite of the oppression that the culture has imposed, Puerto Rican women have historically played a central role in the culture—from the native Taíno to the current women (Martin, 1978; Comas-Diaz, 1989) and have demonstrated that they can adopt to harsh circumstances even better than men (Comas-Díaz, 1988). Thus, emphasis can be placed on the important role that women play within their families and communities and not limiting her role only with respect to Puerto Rican men. Comas-Diaz (1987, 1988) presents these ideas in several articles in which she discusses and proposes how feminist therapy may be reconciled with traditional values. Comas-Díaz (1987, p. 41) states “This approach [the feminist approach] also helps Latinas with their adaptation to cultural change, and offers them a more functional coping style. Hispanic/Latina women become more aware of their oppressive situations, explore more options and are empowered to make informed decisions.” She proposes that this be achieved through instilling the ideology of *hembranismo* which is the female counterpart of *machismo*. The strength and flexibility connoted by *hembranismo* would allow women to better cope with the stress presented to her by the different role expectations that exist when a Hispanic woman lives in an Anglo culture. Use of feminist therapy with Puerto Rican women has been found to be successful when applied within the cultural context of the Puerto Rican woman (Comas-Díaz, 1987b). Moreover with regards to intervention within the cultural context, Delgado & Delgado (1993, p. 149) have suggested a number of values that “influence Hispanics help-seeking preferences... Four important ones are ‘simpatia,’ cooperation, family loyalty and an action

orientation to problem solving.” They go on to explain their meaning and function within the Hispanic context.

Any intervention with Puerto Rican women must be done by professionals who are knowledgeable concerning the Puerto Rican culture. It cannot be overemphasized that for any type of intervention to prevent or treat substance use successfully, it must be carried out within the context of the culture of the individuals being served (Arredondo, et al, 1987; Delgado, 1988; Leal, 1990; Szapocznik, 1995; Vazquez-Nutall, et al, 1984; Terrell, 1993). This is because intervention may involve resolving discrepancies in definitions of the individual and social roles. Some clinicians have termed this ethnotherapy, which has been defined as often “resolving splits, conflict and discrepancies between self-definition and definition-by-others” (Weinstein, 1980).

C. Research Implications of Findings

As previously stated, although researchers have suggested that the strengthening of traditional norms is important in preventing involvement with deviant behavior, few have actually studied this relationship. In this study we have defined traditional norms based on sex roles. Nevertheless, there is more to the traditional norms of Puerto Rican women, of all Hispanic women, than their sex roles. Future studies should attempt to expand on the conceptualization and operationalization of this complex concept, for even within the narrow operational definition used in this study it was found to be important and effective in altering substance use outcomes. This would entail empirical research in the country of the group being studied, where differences in the traditional norms of individuals from different classes may also be examined.

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