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PUERTO RICAN FAMILY FUNCTIONING, ACCULTURATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY COUNSELING

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PUERTO RICAN FAMILY FUNCTIONING, ACCULTURATION AND
ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY COUNSELING

BY
MARIA VÁZQUEZ

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
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Abstract

Puerto Ricans are the second largest Latino group in this country. Although this is a group whose demographics are changing and will probably be major consumers of counseling services in the near future, there is very little research on Puerto Rican families. A major problem identified in the mental health literature with Latinos is the underutilization of services. This study attempts to explore Puerto Rican family functioning and utilization of family counseling services.

This investigation examines the validity and applicability of the Family Functioning Scale (FFS) using a Principle Components Analysis with varimax rotation with a sample of Puerto Ricans. The FFS was found to be partially successful in measuring aspects of Puerto Rican family functioning. To further assess the validity of the FFS with Puerto Ricans, the results of this study are compared to the results in two other studies, one using a multicultural sample and one that did not.

Acculturation, using the Puerto Rican Acculturation Scale (PRAS) was used to assist in determining whether acculturation impacted the results on the FFS and with family therapy utilization. Further, it was also intended to separate acculturation from other possible explanations for results (confounding variables), such as socioeconomic status and educational level. Unfortunately, the Maximum likelihood factor analysis with varimax rotation did not provide evidence that the PRAS could measure acculturation adequately in this sample. Therefore, the results could not be analyzed further to determine acculturation levels. Although this was the case, differences

were found with respect to Puerto Ricans compared to other groups. However, because acculturation could not be measured adequately, the results are open to interpretation. Acculturation may have influenced the results, but the outcomes could have been affected by socioeconomic level, a powerful confounding variable in this study. Furthermore, a combination of factors may have affected the results.

In terms of family therapy utilization, family counseling appears to be a viable option for Puerto Ricans, given this group's strong orientation toward the family. The results of this study support this assertion in that among those who received family counseling, there was a lower drop out rate, and the majority of the subjects found family counseling to be very useful. Although this was the case, a larger percentage of Puerto Ricans nevertheless failed to utilize counseling services, and a large percentage indicated that they did not have problems that may be helped by family counseling.

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Preface

This project came about as a result of personal interest in multicultural issues. Although my interests are geared toward multicultural issues, my research has focused on Latino and Puerto Rican cultures. Because there is so little attention paid in the literature to understanding Latino groups issues, I decided to focus my research on Latinos to assist in facilitating understanding of group differences and similarities.

In addition, both from reviewing the literature and from personal experience working with Latino individuals and families, I found that it has been extremely useful to include family members in the therapy process. The eclectic family therapy approach may be among the more useful therapy modalities for Latinos. Unfortunately, not enough research has been done in this area to verify this.

This interest in multicultural and Latino issues is also personal, for I too am a Puerto Rican living in the United States and can relate to many of the issues described in this investigation. One of the most difficult aspects in conducting this research is attempting to understand and explain why Puerto Ricans encounter the difficulties that they do while living in United States. It was disappointing to see that in this sample over 40% were possibly below poverty level. One of the questions for future research, is how can we turn this around for people? It is my hope that this research project will facilitate understanding of some of the issues Puerto Ricans in the United States face. Research is meaningless if it does not help in trying to understand these important issues.

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Chapter 1

Puerto Rican Family Functioning, Acculturation and Attitudes Toward Family Counseling

Statement of the Problem:

The Latino population, the second largest ethnic group in the United States today, is rapidly growing. In the next decade, it is expected that this community will be the largest Non- Euro American ethnic group (Rosado and Elias, 1993), with a population increase from 9% to 15% by the year 2020 (Altarriba and Santiago-Rivera, 1994). Furthermore, it is expected that by the year 2000, there will be 25 million Latinos in the U.S. (Woodward, Dwinell, and Arons (1992). Because the Latino population is estimated by demographers to become the largest ethnic group in the United States in the next fifteen years, it is important to conduct research with the individual Latino groups. This is necessary in order to gain knowledge that will assist health service professionals to provide culturally appropriate services to these communities (Marcos, 1988; Lorenzo, 1988; Comas-Díaz, 1990; Woodward, Dwinell and Arons, 1992; Rosado and Elias, 1993).

Much of the knowledge gathered from multicultural groups to date has been obtained from the family therapy research literature (Martinez, 1994). Because research with multicultural families has been an instrumental vehicle for understanding ethnic groups, the focus of this study will be on learning about Puerto Rican families. In this investigation, research will be conducted with one ethnic group, Puerto Ricans using the Family Functioning Scale (FFS) (Tavitian, Lubiner, Green, Grebstein, & Velicer,

1987), Puerto Rican Acculturation Scale (PRAS) (Cortes, 1994) and the Attitudes Toward Family Counseling Questionnaire (Levin, 1995). In addition, demographic information will be obtained. Some of the goals of this study are:

- 1) To assess the validity of the FFS with a multicultural group; specifically a sample of Puerto Ricans;
- 2) To determine if acculturation affects responses to the (FFS) and,
- 3) To see if acculturation in Puerto Ricans affects the utilization of family therapy services.

Family Therapy and Multicultural Psychology:

Important gains have been made in the field of psychology with regard to understanding what roles culture, race and ethnicity play in the therapy process. The study of multicultural psychology is a relatively new one, but, there is now a small but constantly growing research literature in this area. It has been observed that the family therapy literature, in particular, has contributed much of what has been learned about therapy with diverse ethnic groups (Martinez, 1994). Salvador Minuchin, a noted family therapist, was one of the first to work with poor urban families in New York City as early as the 1960's (Minuchin, Montalvo, Guerney, Rosman & Shumer, 1967; Nichols and Schwartz, 1991). Papajohn and Spiegle (McGill, 1992) wrote about the role of culture and values as early as 1975 and McGill (1992) notes that one researcher in particular, Falicov (1983) helped to promote more acceptance of diversity and multiculturalism. Falicov expanded on the role of culture in family therapy with his broadened definition of culture and its many dimensions (Martinez, (1994; McGill, 1992). In his review of the family

therapy literature, Martinez (1994) indicated that there were important contributions made from other family therapists such as McGoldrick, Pearce and Giordano (1982), Boyd-Franklyn (1989), Pinderhughes (1982), Rotheram-Borus 1989), and Sue and Zane (1987).

The history of family therapy and multiculturalism demonstrates that the former has played a major role in the treatment of Latinos and other ethnic groups. It is, therefore important to learn as much as possible about ethnic families. Research is needed that addresses how these families function and what factors influence their development, particularly in the United States. This is crucial in order to create new models, improve existing models and provide culturally sensitive treatment approaches for these families.

Although there is a scarcity of information on the efficacy of family therapy with Puerto Rican families, many researchers have documented the usefulness of family therapy approaches with Latino and other multicultural groups (Sciarra and Ponterotto, 1991; Martinez, 1994; Cortes, 1995; McGoldrick, Giordano and Pearce, 1996). Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993) recognized that the individualistic approaches were of limited value in their work with Cuban adolescents in the 1970's. They argued that cultural factors were influencing the way families interacted in specific ways. This in turn, created family dynamics that appeared to underlie many of the problems of Cuban youths. They adopted a family approach that incorporated structural family therapy concepts and understanding families within a culturally pluralistic environment (Szapocznik and Kurtines 1993).

An important part of the Puerto Rican culture is the strong sense of family (Cortes, 1994). Garcia-Preto (McGoldrick, Giordano and Pearce, 1996)

describes some of the characteristics of Puerto Rican families in the following manner. Puerto Rican families turn to each other and to their extended network of friends. Family members, especially those who are in leadership positions and the more stable members, are obligated to help. Puerto Ricans tend to utilize mental health services as a last recourse because of this reliance on the family (McGoldrick, Giordano and Pearce, 1996). One can surmise that therapy with Puerto Ricans would more than likely require the inclusion of one or several members of the family.

Even though gains have been made, the field of psychology continues to lack theories and empirical data with communities of color to validate past and present research findings. As of 1996, there was no psychotherapy treatment research that met the criteria for demonstrating treatment efficacy for diverse or Non-Euro American ethnic groups (Chambless, Sanderson, Shoham, Johnson, Pope, Crits-Christoph, Baker, Johnson, Woody, Sue, Beutler, Williams and McCurry, 1996). Chambless et al. (1996) assert that "More research is clearly needed before conclusions can be drawn, but the point is that the data do not, at present, exist, or at least have not been reported" (p. 7). As more attention is given to multicultural issues in psychology and as more ethnic psychologists advocate for these issues, there is an increasing awareness of the importance and need for more research. Ivy, Ivy and Simek-Morgan (1993) state that "Along with expanded competence, however, the field is coming to the realization that present theories are limited by lack of awareness of multicultural and gender issues" (p. 1).

It is believed that because of the Civil Rights Movement and the creation of community mental health programs in the 1960's, psychologists encountered populations they were not normally accustomed to serving

(Rogler, Malgady, Costantino & Blumenthal, 1987). These professionals found themselves having to deal with problems faced by clients who were ethnically, culturally, racially and linguistically different. In addition, many were poor, had low levels of education, and lived in ghettos or barrios (Rogler, et al., 1987). With these encounters came frustration by Psychologists who accepted the universality of traditional therapies (psychodynamic, cognitive behavioral and humanistic) because they were not able to address the problems the clients in question presented. "Traditional therapies, based largely on the therapeutic needs of middle-class clients, often proved to be of questionable effectiveness with minority persons living in inner-city neighborhoods, thus prompting pleas for culturally sensitive modalities" (Rogler, et al. 1987. p.565).

With the awareness that there were deficiencies in the traditional service systems and theories, efforts have been made to make traditional therapies more culturally sensitive and inclusive. There are now several theoretical approaches that address multicultural issues. Among them are: psychodynamic counseling and therapy, cognitive-behavioral counseling and therapy, existential-humanistic approaches and family therapy (Ivy, Ivy and Simek-Morgan (1993).

Psychodynamic Models:

Of the three approaches, the most criticized is psychodynamic therapy because of insensitivity toward women and ethnic groups (Ivy, Ivy and Simek-Morgan (1993). Rogler, et al (1987) asserted that early on psychoanalytic therapists were not particularly interested in working with these populations because of stereotypical images of poor people of color. "Their widely shared image of the of the psychologically distressed Hispanic

was of a person pressured and harassed by problems of poverty, slum life, and lack of acculturation into American society" (Rogler, et al. 1987. p. 567). As a result of these stereotypes, it was believed that psychodynamic or insight oriented therapies could not adequately address the stress in the lives of Latino clients.

Several psychologists working in the area of insight oriented therapy sought to change this perspective. In 1982, Bluestone and Vela asserted that culturally informed adjustments can be made to the insight oriented approach and demonstrated this with a sample of low socioeconomic status (SES) Puerto Ricans in New York City (Rogler, et al. 1987). Comas-Diaz and Mintrah (1985) concluded that issues of race and ethnicity were a significant part of the psychodynamic treatment process (Ivey, Ivey & Simek Morgan, 1993). Taub-Bynum (1984, 1992) elaborates on these ideas with a complex extension of the psychodynamic model from the individual unconscious to the family unconscious. He noted that we learn about ourselves and our culture via our families (Ivey, Ivey & Simek Morgan, 1993).

These efforts, however, have not gained widespread acceptance in the field of psychology. "The issue remains, however, that even with a liberal interpretation of these qualifications, traditional insight therapy would be would be an inappropriate modality for most members of economically disadvantaged, inner-city, Hispanic communities" (Rogler, et al. 1987. p.567).

Cognitive-Behavioral Approaches:

With regard to multicultural issues, the cognitive- behavioral perspective received criticism because of its emphasis on *control* in the therapeutic process. "Early ventures in behavioral psychology often gave the therapist, counselor, or teacher almost complete power, and decisions

sometimes focused on controlling the client rather than helping the client control him- or her- self" (Ivey, Ivey & Simek Morgan, 1993 p. 219). This very often becomes an issue when the client has experienced oppression and the therapist is from the oppressive culture. Behavioral psychologists were forced to address these issues because of the criticism of advocates and minority clients. One of the efforts to change some of these problems came from Cheek (1976) who attempted to make behavioral therapy more multiculturally applicable. He was the first to demonstrate a culturally sensitive approach to using assertiveness training with African-Americans (Ivey, Ivey & Simek Morgan, 1993). Meichenbaum (1985) emphasized the importance of cultural differences in determining adaptive coping mechanisms (Ivey, Ivey & Simek Morgan, 1993). He is one of the psychologists responsible for moving behavioral therapy in the direction of the more integrated cognitive-behavioral approach. Despite the issues with the cognitive-behavioral orientation, cognitive- behavioral techniques have become more accepted by ethnically diverse clients (Ivey, Ivey & Simek Morgan, 1993).

Existential-Humanistic Models:

The existential-humanistic tradition is another theoretical approach that has made multicultural adjustments. Lerner (1992) asserts that because of the egalitarian approach and the positive view of human nature, the existential humanistic approach is appealing to multicultural groups (Ivey, Ivey & Simek Morgan, 1993). Lerner (1992) also notes that this approach is limited because it places the burden of responsibility for growth, development, and change on the individual. He states that external influences are minimized. One of the criticisms of this theory is the

importance it places on the individual, more specifically, on the concept of "I Centered" theory. Ballou and Gabalac (1985) state that women and oppressed groups are not included in this theory's system of rewards and necessary conditions for growth (Ivey, Ivey & Simek Morgan, 1993). Ivey, Ivey & Simek Morgan (1993) assert that despite the issues raised, the strength of this tradition lies in its faith in human kindness, potential for personal growth and the countless opportunities for experience. They also caution that the often employed methods of reflection, inaction and failure to incorporate immediate problem solving may be of limited value with multicultural clients.

Multicultural Counseling and Therapy: The "Fourth Force" in Counseling:

According to Ivy, Ivey and Simek-Morgan (1993) the traditional psychotherapies, psychodynamic, cognitive behavioral and existential-humanistic tradition, are known as the three forces in counseling psychology. Recently, there has been a movement to make multicultural counseling and therapy (MCT) the fourth force of counseling theory (Ivy, Ivy and Simek-Morgan (1993). Why have a fourth force in counseling theory? Unlike the existing theories, MCT asserts that the psychotherapy process begins with an awareness of differences among clients and the significant effects of family and cultural influences on the way the client sees the world. In addition, it calls for counselors and therapists to rethink their work (Ivy, Ivy and Simek-Morgan (1993). With traditional counseling theories, culture is considered important but occupies second place at best. Culture is the central theme of MCT. There are two approaches to MCT, the universal and the focused culture specific approach (Ivy, Ivy and Simek-Morgan (1993). The universal approach stresses the importance of culture in every therapy

session. As opposed to initiating a therapy session with the individual, the universal approach begins the therapy process by examining the multicultural context and environment of each person. It may go beyond individual therapy to possibly include network and community interventions. The universal approach has been criticized for being too general and not focusing on the uniqueness of crucial cultural groups. The emphasis of the focused culture specific approach is culture specific understanding. It emphasizes the importance of therapists gaining experiences with cultural groups that they will likely encounter in their practices. This approach deals with racism in North America specifically, and calls for multicultural counseling to be focused on African-American, Asian-American, Latino, and Native American cultures. Clients are viewed as individuals, as well as members of a culturally distinct group (Ivy, Ivy and Simek-Morgan (1993).

Other Developments in Multicultural Counseling and Therapy:

In addition to the counseling theories, culturally sensitive concepts such as cuento therapy, the use of dichos (cultural metaphors) in therapy, cultural genograms and cultural storytelling have been developed (Costantino, Malgady, and Rogler 1986; Zuñiga, 1992; Hardy and Laszloffy, 1992). In 1986, Costantino, Malgady and Rogler were among the first to extract elements of culture and create a form of modeling therapy. They trained their bilingual/bicultural staff in New York City to include Puerto Rican folk tales of cuentos in therapy. These authors believed that "Because folk tales convey a message or a moral to be emulated by others, flocculate characters can be presented therapeutically as models of adaptive emotional and behavioral functioning within the Puerto Rican and American cultures

(Costantino, Malgady and Rogler, 1986. p. 640)." Malgady, Rogler and Costantino (1990) continue their research with Cuento therapy developing two versions, one based on stories from Puerto Rican folklore and the other based on adaptations created to bridge the gap in cultures. A related concept is the use of cultural metaphors or Dichos in therapy which according to Zuñiga (1992) is crucial in therapy with Latinos, in particular with Mexican-Americans. She asserts that dichos can be useful in the therapeutic process when clients resist direct statements. In addition, the use of dichos offers the clinician a way to add strength to an argument, make it more interesting, and culturally relevant. Zuñiga (1992) asserts that "the Dicho offers the clinician the opportunity to use the client's culture to motivate the client" (p.58).

Cultural stories and cultural genograms were used in family therapy early on in the movement toward multiculturalism (McGill, 1992). McGill (1992) contends that in order for therapists to become culturally competent, they must view the family and their problems within a cultural framework. The concept of the cultural story has its roots in contemporary family therapy (narrative, meaning, and beliefs). These stories offer families a way to re-tell their family history, tell their present and future status and create their own meaning of family. The cultural genogram can be used as a method of working toward that family story. Cultural genograms can record stories of generation, gender, ethnicity, race, class and migration (McGill, 1992). McGill (1992) cautions that these stories are not static, they develop further throughout the therapeutic process.

Challenges for Culturally Sensitive Services:

What does providing culturally sensitive services mean? Rogler et al. (1987) identified three commonly used therapy approaches with multicultural

populations. The first approach involves making traditional treatments more accessible to Latinos. The second is the selection by the therapist of a therapeutic modality to fit perceived features of the client's culture. With the third approach, the therapist draws from Latino culture and uses the information to alter traditional treatments or uses these elements as innovative therapy tools. There are two crucial elements to the first approach. In making services more accessible to Latinos, a level of congruence has to be achieved between the therapist and the client and their understanding of illness and treatment. The other element is that the service provider work within the lay referral system of Latinos. Rogler et al. (1987) state that this referral system can vary with the individual possibly having more flexibility in their health care decisions or the other extreme where the individual acts in strict accordance with the cultural help seeking pathways. They assert that "... an accessible treatment program for Hispanics should increase the congruence between professional mental health values and indigenous Hispanic values and also incorporate elements of the lay referral systematically forward its own purpose (Rogler et al. 1987. p. 566)."

Because Latinos received culturally inappropriate treatments in the past, it is now important to select the therapy modality to correspond with perceived features of Latino culture. Rogler et al. (1987) point this out as the second attempt toward providing culturally sensitive services. Many of the issues raised regarding culturally inappropriate therapy arose when psychologists attempted to use insight oriented therapies with minorities living in inner-cities (Rogler et al. 1987). With regard to the third approach, Rogler et al. (1987) affirm that if and when therapies are selected to fit clients needs, aspects of the therapy can be adjusted to agree with the client's

cultures. They provide an example of this with the use of language switching. Language switching is the client's spontaneous use of their native language. It is thought that client's use language switching to avoid dealing with emotionally charged issues. Another thought is that emotional expressions are freer and more spontaneous in the client's native tongue.

The literature discusses the culturally sensitive service approaches and the importance of continuing these efforts. It appears that the field of psychology would benefit greatly from learning more about and implementing these approaches, especially because Latino groups will probably be major consumers of mental health services in the near future. Although we have information about these three approaches, there is still a need to learn how best to implement them on every level of service provision.

Latinos/Hispanics: Who are they?

Demographers predict that ethnic populations are growing and will continue to grow in the United States. It is thought that Latinos will be the largest ethnic group in this country in the next fifteen years (Marcos, 1988; Lorenzo, 1988; Comas-Díaz, 1990; Woodward, Dwinell and Arons, 1992; Rosado and Elias, 1993). Some of the reasons for this rapid growth include higher birth rates, larger family sizes and a higher rate of immigration into the United States from Spanish speaking countries (Comas-Díaz, 1990). In addition to this increase, the population of whites in this country is predicted to decrease. This is due largely to smaller family sizes, and lower numbers of births.

Given the fact that Latinos will be the largest ethnic group in this country, it is important to gain knowledge about these groups in order to

provide culturally sound services. In the literature to date, Latinos have been found to be more predisposed to mental health problems due to pathology, stress, drug addiction, HIV disease, among other health related problems (Comas-Díaz, 1990; De La Rosa 1989). Many of these problems are not due necessarily to higher pathology in Latinos but to predisposition to stressors that are related to these health problems such as, the severe stress caused by poverty, unemployment, language barriers, discrimination and problems that can arise from acculturation (De La Rosa, 1989). Making it more difficult for Latinos living in the United States is that for several reasons, Latinos health related service needs are not being met (De La Rosa, 1989).

With these areas of concern and future demographics, one can predict that Latinos will be major consumers of mental health services. Although these facts are known, there is still one major problem the severe underutilization of services remain. This fact has been documented extensively in the literature over the last twenty years or so (Rosado and Elias, 1993; Woodward, Dwinell & Arons, 1992; Sanchez, 1992; Dolgin, Salazar and Cruz, 1987). De La Rosa (1989) states that over the past twenty years there has been some increase in health service utilization by Latinos because of improved health care policies toward the poor. Despite the fact there were some increases in the use of services by Latinos, they still severely underutilize the U.S. health care system. There has been much work done in this area in order to try to figure out possible reasons for this underutilization. Overreliance on extended family supports, location of mental health facilities, inflexible institutional policies, language barriers, less visible psychiatric disorders, lack of health insurance, larger average family

size, cultural methods of treatment, and prejudice were among some of the possible reasons for the underutilization of services by Latinos found in the literature (Dolgin, Salazar and Cruz, 1987; Woodward, Dwinell & Arons, 1992; Sanchez, 1992; De La Rosa, 1989).

Because there are no definitive solutions to the many issues related to the utilization of services by Latinos, it is important to learn from the groups directly via research. Rogler, Cortes and Malgady (1991) affirm that although research with Latinos has increased over the years, there is little effort to integrate the research conclusions. Woodward et al. (1992) support this assertion by noting that this area of research requires improvements in organization, and further development of theory to link all the research together. Remaining are questions that are still unanswered and issues that receive little or no attention.

Research with the Latino groups in the United States is still today in its early stages. Rogler, et al. (1991) state that "Despite numerous studies, we believe our basic understanding of this subject remains as modest today as it was a decade ago" (p. 585). Some of the basic issues that still need clarification are: Who are Latinos?; Why the terms Hispanic and Latino?; Why is it important to study individual Latino groups? Why are some Latino groups studied and others not?; What are the effects of acculturation on these groups?

To begin answering the question about who are Latinos, one has to understand the uses of the terms Latino and Hispanic as well as learn about the individual groups that comprise these categorizations. In the literature, the terms Latino and Hispanic are used interchangeably. There is an underlying assumption that the groups sharing these identifications have

common features, among them shared experiences with discrimination, common health concerns, and language (Jones-Correa, Leal, 1996). Both the terms Latino and Hispanic have been criticized in the literature. Some researchers argue that the terms mean nothing when one examines the complexity of the individual groups and others argue that the terms were created in the U.S. purely for instrumental purposes (Jones-Correa and Leal, 1996). Although both the terms Latino and Hispanic have been criticized, the term Hispanic has been criticized the most.

The term Hispanic is a term that was assigned to Spanish speaking individuals by the U.S. Census Bureau (Jones-Correa, Leal, 1996). According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Hispanics are persons of Spanish origin or others who identify themselves as Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Boricuas, Cubans, or other Spanish/Hispanic (Comas-Díaz, 1990). Jones-Correa and Leal (1996) in an article that addressed these issues, provide a brief history of these terms and their meanings to the diverse groups they describe. They note that the U.S. Census Bureau responded to questions about the term by acknowledging that the term Hispanic was created as a way to describe an amorphous group. In fact, the term actually came from the dictionary (Jones-Correa and Leal, 1996). "The perceived failure of "Hispanics" to unite in common action lies, some say, in the fact that those targeted by the term have nothing more in common than their designation as a group by an agency of the U.S. Government" ((Jones-Correa and Leal, 1996. p. 216).

The terms Latino and Hispanic are now being described in the literature as panethnic identifications (Jones-Correa and Leal, 1996). Panethnicity refers to a common Latin-American origin that individuals use

on the basis of a larger grouping than nationality alone. Specifically, panethnicity refers to an ethnic grouping where no one country is identified. The use of panethnic identifiers is seen mostly in the United States. "What the data suggest is that Hispanic identity is (as many have suggested) largely constructed in the United States, rather than being brought wholesale to the United States by immigrants from Latin America (Jones-Correa and Leal, 1996. p.239)." The evidence in the literature suggests that people identified as Latino/ Hispanic tend to identify themselves first by their national labels as opposed to panethnic identifiers. This is believed to be a result of deep-rooted identities (Jones-Correa and Leal, 1996). Panethnic identities are often used as secondary identifiers by people in the individual groups. In fact, individuals that use a panethnic identifier as a primary identifier alone, tend to have a weaker sense of ethnicity than those who use a national identifier and a panethnic identifier together (Jones-Correa and Leal, 1996).

One of the errors in much of the existing literature on Latinos is that these terms are used and do not provide information about the individual subgroup(s) being investigated. From these investigations, researchers made inaccurate generalizations. Jones-Correa and Leal (1996) note that the "...governments heavy handed stereotyping denies different historical experiences among populations-among some who have a common history of oppression and exploitation and others, newly arrived immigrants, who, whatever their social class, have never been oppressed or exploited in this country" (p.216-217.) Latinos from varying backgrounds were and continue to be treated as one group by health care providers (Woodward, Dwinell and Arons, 1992). Rosado and Elias (1993) maintain that in order "To service clients fairly and ethically, psychologists must develop an investigative,

nonassumptive, and flexible stance concerning the characteristics of member of the various Latino groups with whom they work" (p. 451). The general categories, Latino and Hispanic do not capture the richness and diversity of each individual subgroup. These subgroups have their individual histories, culture and experiences. Aponte (1991) asserts that it is important for researchers to gather information on the subgroups individually within the context of their history, socioeconomic status and settlement in the U.S. Sanchez (1992) points out that one of the reasons researchers band Latinos together as one group is to allow for greater strength in numbers. She states that this lumping together of the groups sacrifices cultural individuality.

The most studied group to date are Mexican-Americans. This is due primarily to the fact that this is the largest Latino subgroup in the United States and they have a longer history in the United States. Rogler et al. (1991) point out that 62% of the Hispanic population in the U.S. are Mexican Americans. The next largest group are Puerto Ricans (12%) followed by Cubans (6%), Central and South Americans (10%) and other Hispanic (8%) (Comas-Díaz, 1990).

Many of the problems with the research on Latinos stem from an overabundance of white samples in the studies, the use of unrepresentative and deviant samples, and the use of small numbers of subjects in the studies (Chambless, et al. 1996; Okazaki and Sue, 1995). In addition, Okazaki and Sue (1995) note that problems arise because researchers often use terms that are not agreed upon by all. Ethnicity, race and culture are terms often used interchangeably in the literature. The definitions of these terms are not agreed upon by all and are many times interpreted differently by each researcher.

Language and Acculturation:

In conducting research to determine what may be the cause(s) of some of the problems Latinos face in the United States, it is important to consider acculturation. Otherwise, there is the possibility that inaccurate attributions may be made about Latinos, and about the problems they face in the United States. Acculturation is the process of adaptation that individuals and families undertake when they migrate or immigrate to a new country. Cortes, Rogler and Malgady (1994) define it as "...the process through which immigrants and their offspring acquire the values, behavioral norms, and attitudes of the host society..." (p. 708). There are many stressors associated in the migration process, one in which many Latinos find themselves in a position of interacting with a new host culture and with its accompanying language, values, and behavioral norms. They often confront language barriers, low socioeconomic status, unemployment, and limited acculturation to the host culture. Acculturation is different from assimilation in that with assimilation, members of one cultural group become integrated into the social, political, and cultural life of the host culture (Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough and Escobar, 1987).

An interesting topic that has not significantly been addressed in the literature is how the acculturation process affects the dominant or host culture (Negy and Woods, 1992). Negy and Woods assert that "Although theoretically possible, rarely is acculturation discussed in reference to majority group members assimilating into an ethnic or minority subculture" (p. 224). They further argue that the existing theories fail to account for the influence of Latino cultures on the host culture. The process of acculturation involves mutual contact by both cultures and to a certain degree influence each other.

The impact of Latino cultures on U.S. Americans can be seen in the adoption of certain foods, music, etc. (Negy and Woods, 1992).

The research conducted with Latinos and acculturation has overwhelmingly been focused on acculturation and mental health status (Rogler, Cortes and Malgady, 1991). Acculturation plays a role in many areas of psychological functioning including, personality, cognitive and the expression of psychopathology (Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough and Escobar, 1987). Although this is important, Rogler et al. (1991) assert that there is little to integrate the findings in this area. They state that the knowledge gained in this research is as rudimentary today as it was ten years ago. In their review of the literature Rogler et al. (1991) found that many articles refer to acculturation directly, and others focus on the relationship of mental health status and acculturation. This relationship is examined via concepts such as ethnic identity, ethnicity, and loyalty to culture of origin. These studies have been largely conducted by comparing non-Hispanics with Hispanics. Acculturation has also been assessed via generational status, collections of related factors thought to relate to acculturation, and scales developed with reliability and validity issues in mind (Rogler et al., 1991).

There have been many acculturation scales developed over the years (Rogler et al., 1991). Rogler et al. (1991) point out two problematic assumptions related to these scales. The first is that there is a bipolar model of acculturation that contrasts American culture with Hispanic culture. The problem with this bipolarity, is that there is an assumption that increases in involvement in American culture means decreases in Latino culture. Many psychometrically sound instruments have been developed under the bipolar assumption, however, these scales often fail to account for biculturalism

(Rogler et al., 1991). The second problematic assumption is that psychometrically sound acculturation scales are thought to be applicable to all Latinos. The various Latino groups differ in their history, culture, foods, music, dances, use of Spanish, migrations and experiences in the United States. Rogler et al. (1991) state that "Recognition must be given to the fact that cultural elements specific to Hispanic nations, or configurations of such elements composing a nation's cultural heritage are being left by the wayside as a result of this assumption" (p.587).

In a review of the literature, it was noted that acculturation has been an area of focus in the study of Latino groups since the late 1960's (Ramirez, 1967). One of the earliest studies examined acculturation in Mexican-Americans and how this group retained features of Mexican culture despite being in the United States for generations (Ramirez, 1967). In earlier studies, acculturation was described as being a complete rejection of culture and values. In the early literature, not being able to acculturate meant extreme identification with culture of origin values and culture (Ramirez, 1967). One of the most cited articles in the literature is that of Szapocznik, Scopetta and Kurtines (1978). These researchers were the first to point out that acculturation is a complex phenomenon that occurs on an individual basis as well as on a societal level.

Szapocznik, et al. (1978) noted that aspects of acculturation were related to high rates of family disruption. Family disruption often occurred as a result of intergenerational differences in acculturation. Most importantly they provided some of the first hypotheses concerning the process of individual acculturation (Szapocznik, et al., 1978). One hypothesis is that individual acculturation is a linear process that is affected by the length of

time the individual is exposed to the host culture. The more time one has been in the host country, the more acculturated the person becomes. A second hypothesis asserts that the rate of acculturation is affected by age. The younger the person the more quickly they acculturate into the host culture. The third hypothesis argues that rates of acculturation differ based on gender. Males tend to acculturate more rapidly than females. Szapocznik, et al. (1978) note that earlier studies contribute toward a fourth hypothesis. This hypothesis describes two dimensions of acculturation, specifically, behavioral acculturation and value acculturation. Behavioral acculturation refers to the gradual adoption of the most obvious aspects of the host culture. This includes: language, habits, customs, and lifestyles. Value acculturation is based on the slow process of adopting the host culture's values (Szapocznik, et al. 1978).

By the early 1980's, it was observed that studies using acculturation scales used different sample populations and have used varying constructs and different operational definitions of acculturation (Cuellar, et al., 1980). Some of the significant factors used in later studies of acculturation included: language usage and familiarity, ethnic interaction, ethnic identity and pride, cultural heritage, generational status, and ethnic distance and perceived discrimination (Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso, 1980).

Neff, Hoppe and Perea (1987) explored the role of acculturation in alcohol use in Mexican Americans. They describe the concept of "cultural marginality" that is brought about by the acculturation process. "One possible implication here is that the stress of acculturation may be greatest among those who have at least partially distanced themselves from traditional cultural practices and social networks but who have not yet fully adopted

mainstream cultural values and lifestyle" (Neff, et al 1987 p. 154). Mena, Padilla and Maldonado (1987) observe that there are conflicts that arise often for immigrants in the process of trying to minimize or resolve cultural differences. The term used to describe this conflict is acculturative stress, described as being a multivariable interaction of the individual's internal resources, support systems, and the types of stressors experienced (Mena, et al., 1987). Mena, et al. (1987) note that how a person responds to the acculturative stress depends on certain personality characteristics including: self esteem, locus of control, and perceived racial discrimination. What was most stressful for respondents in their study was being isolated and perceived discrimination. In addition, the more the subjects hold on to their ethnic identity, the greater the level of stress and the lower the self esteem (Mena, et al., 1987). Acculturation studies in the 1970's and the 1980's have been observed to be related to mental health status, available levels of social support, deviancy, alcoholism and drug abuse, political and social attitudes, coronary heart disease risk, and suicide (Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal and Perez-Stable, 1987).

Marin, et al. (1987) point out some of the problems with the acculturation literature. The majority of the acculturation scales have been created for one Latino group. Another problem is that many lack extensive and appropriate psychometric analyses. A major limitation of these scales is the use of sociodemographic characteristics as a measurement of acculturation as opposed to a correlate of acculturation (Marin et al., 1987). To support acculturation scales, generational status was used in many studies as a validation criterion of acculturation. In addition, external validity of an

acculturation scale was measured by length of residence in the U.S. (Marin et al., 1987).

In recent years acculturation research has been more focused on biculturality (Moyerman, Forman, 1992; Cortes, Rogler and Malgady, 1994). Researchers thought that having a bicultural orientation where there is an equal balance of both cultures is ideal in that these individuals demonstrate greater psychological adjustment (Moyerman, Forman, 1992). In their study, Moyerman and Forman (1992) argue that socioeconomic status had more of an impact on adjustment than acculturation level. They found that lower SES samples showed higher rates of symptomatology and conflict throughout the acculturation process. Unfortunately, many acculturation studies do not account for SES (Negy, Woods, 1992). Negy and Woods (1992) state that SES often has a stronger effect on research findings than acculturation level. The idea that bicultural individuals are more psychologically adjusted may hold for individuals who have higher SES and educational levels. Moyerman and Forman (1992) argue that "...family conflict exists across cultures, and when acculturation is accompanied by increasing SES and development of ethnic support systems, the general ability to cope with stress is increased despite ongoing familial discord" (p.178).

There is no question about the importance of the role of the family in the acculturation process. Many of the studies address family issues as they relate to acculturation (Sabogal, Marin, & Otero-Sabogal, 1987; Curtis, 1990; Negy, 1993). Negy (1993) states that acculturation studies with Latinos should include observation of changes in familism and socialization and Sabogal et al. (1987) state that one of the core characteristics of many of the Latino groups is familism, described as a value of attachment and identification of

individuals with families. It is believed that Latino individuals with lower rates of mental health problems are those who have the strong family supports when they arrive to the U.S. (Sabogal et al. 1987). Sabogal et al. (1987) note that acculturation impacts the three dimensions of familism: familial obligations, perceived family support, and family as referents. Family as referents is a term that was used in their study to refer to questionnaire items that dealt with attitudes and behaviors of relatives in the family, as opposed to asking about the individual's attitudes and behaviors. In essence, questions were not asked in this study about the individual in relation to the family, but were asked in the context of other relatives. For example, one item reads: "The family should consult close relatives (uncles, aunts) concerning its important decisions"(Sabogal et al. 1987). The individual in relation to the family orientation oriented question might read: "I consult with close relatives concerning important decisions. " It was noted that higher acculturated individuals had lower perceptions of family obligations and family as referents compared to lower acculturated individuals. Perceived family support was the factor that was least affected by acculturation level. Acculturation therefore, did seem to affect some core cultural values. However, Sabogal et al (1987) state that even the highest acculturated Latinos do not resemble mainstream Whites perceptions of familism. What was important for Whites in this study was familial obligations and perceived support. The family was not seen as a significant referent (Sabogal et al. 1987).

Based on the results of their review, Rogler et al. (1991) assert that acculturation is not a bipolar process where one exchanges one culture for another. It is multidimensional. Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb, and Myers (1994)

assert that bicultural individuals who can identify as very ethnic and very American, can not accurately be assessed using unidimensional scales. Keeping this and the problematic assumptions in mind, Cortes (1994) developed the Puerto Rican Acculturation Scale for Puerto Ricans. This scale was developed to assess biculturality in Puerto Ricans. The items for this scale were developed with the input from Puerto Ricans and these items were later tested in studies using large numbers of Puerto Ricans in order to assess the scales validity and reliability. Because of the validity and reliability of this scale with Puerto Ricans and because it incorporates the concept of biculturalism, it was used for this investigation.

Puerto Ricans in the United States:

Puerto Rico was first colonized by Spain in 1493. This was the beginning of three centuries of exploitation and virtual extinction of the native Taino Indian people by the Spanish. This was also an era where African slaves were brought to the island. Despite Spanish domination, Puerto Rican culture evolved as a separate entity blending Taino, African and Spanish influences to what is now the Puerto Rican heritage. Puerto Rico was colonized a second time by the United States in 1898 during the Spanish-American war. The United States was interested in Puerto Rico for economic reasons and as a strategic military site that would enable the United States to have close contact with Cuba. One of the major differences between Puerto Ricans and other Latino groups is that because Puerto Rico is a Commonwealth of the United States, Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens. Although there were efforts made by the United States to implement "American" culture and influences to assimilate Puerto Ricans, the Puerto

Rican people remained loyal to the Puerto Rican culture. This loyalty is still true today for Puerto Ricans on the island as well as on the mainland.

Puerto Rican culture is characterized by its music, food, language, traditions, customs and values. The values that are central to the Puerto Rican culture are personalismo (personalism), respeto (respect), familismo (familism) and compadrazgo (co-parent network). In point of fact, these values are important for many of the Latino groups. Familism in particular, is described as a belief system that incorporates loyalty, solidarity, and reciprocity toward family members. The family is thought of as an extension of the self (Cortes, 1995). Cortes (1995) asserts that for Puerto Ricans in the United States, the family is one of the most conserved cultural influences.

The history of Puerto Ricans in the United States is a relatively long one compared to other Latino groups with the exception of Mexican-Americans. One of the largest waves of migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States was from the mid 1940's to the mid 1960's (Rodriguez, 1992). Puerto Ricans tended to migrate to large metropolitan areas in the United States such as New York, Chicago, New Jersey, Connecticut, the Great Lake States, Florida and Texas (Santiago, 1992). The diminishing employment opportunities on the island, industrialization and increased poverty provided incentives for migration to the U.S. In addition, people were lured by promises of well paying jobs and opportunities in the "land of opportunities" (Rodriguez, 1992). Darder (1992) argues that to obtain a better understanding of the Puerto Rican experience in the United States, one has to understand the impact of colonization and immigration. Puerto Ricans are faced with a dual reality of having to historically accept foreign political and economic control as well as the cultural influence characteristic in a colonized

society (Darder, 1992). To complicate this further, in the United States, Puerto Ricans are faced with pressures from economic demands, linguistic barriers, acculturative stress, and racial and ethnic discrimination. Although other groups prospered in the United States over the last few decades, Puerto Ricans became poorer. By the 1970's the economic situation of Puerto Ricans deteriorated (Rodriguez, 1992). Continuing this downward trend, economic levels for Puerto Ricans worsened over the last ten years (Rodriguez, 1992).

Unfortunately, the literature has generally portrayed Puerto Ricans in the United States in a negative light, a fact which has made life for Puerto Ricans in the United States more difficult. The problems Puerto Ricans face in the United States have been well documented (Rogler, Cortes, and Malgady, 1994). Rogler, et al. (1994) describe Puerto Ricans in the United States as "...markedly below the national median income and poverty level, undereducated and underemployed, living in substandard housing, and confronting linguistic and cultural barriers"(p. 327). Although the literature describes these problems as relatively new ones, the economic difficulties faced by Puerto Ricans in the United States began in the 1950's (Darder, 1992). Puerto Ricans remain one of the most economically poor groups in the United States today (Darder, 1992; Rodriguez, 1992). Darder (1992) points out that social science researchers have taken the problems of the poor and labeled them with terms such as "disadvantaged," "culturally deprived," and "underclass." Darder (1992) argues that these labels and distortions can create barriers that distance the researcher from the people being studied. In addition, she notes how these terms can negatively impact the groups in question. "In many instances, when a group is labeled, the members of such a group learn to perceive themselves as persons who deserve the label and

hence, come to act accordingly" (Darder, 1992. p.151). Some of the recommendations for changing this is to empower the people by including them in every aspect of the investigative process and in the creation of recommendations (Darder, 1992).

One of the deficiencies noted in the literature is its relative focus on blaming the group in question, specifically Puerto Ricans, for its problems. Aponte (1993) asserts that the "...lack of opportunities, low and falling wages attached to existing work opportunities, and failure of our educational institutions are fundamental causes of poverty among Hispanic families, not popular explanations such as the lure of welfare or the dissolution of the family" (p. 528). Very little attention is paid to the problems that cause groups to be poor in the first place. The main problem for Puerto Ricans is joblessness (Rodriguez, 1992; Aponte 1993). Researchers fail to recognize that there has been a tremendous loss of industries over the last few decades. There have been massive decreases in manufacturing, trade, and other forms of low skilled jobs (Aponte, 1993). The few jobs that are available are in demand by growing numbers of other Latino groups including Dominicans and possibly other undocumented people. Also, the newly created job market calls for more educated professionals for a job market that is extremely competitive. In addition, the number of households lead by Puerto Rican females has increased and impacted the economic well being of the group. Another factor has been the effects of ethnic and racial discrimination (Rodriguez, 1992). In addition, Puerto Ricans have not received the support from the United States in order to thrive the way that other groups have. Aponte (1993) observed that certain Cuban groups, for example, received great support from the United States that has resulted in extremely high

levels of success and in many instances wealth. "Indeed, the favorable background characteristics of their initial and major migratory waves, along with the positive reception accorded their arrival, provided Cubans with a far more advantageous base for advancement than that afforded other Latino groups" (Aponte, 1993. p. 529). Aponte (1993) points out that poorer groups such as Puerto Ricans and Mexicans did not receive special government help.

Purpose of the Study:

The purpose of this investigation was to examine family functioning and acculturation in Puerto Ricans in order to determine whether the Family Functioning Scale (FFS) (Tavitian, et al., 1987) is applicable and findings from other studies generalizable to include Puerto Ricans. At present there is only one investigation that used the FFS with a multicultural sample (Levin, 1995). The rest of the research on the FFS was conducted with predominantly white middle class families. In Levin's (1995) investigation, it was found that the FFS was applicable with multicultural families. However, this investigation did not take language and acculturation factors into account.

The present study used the FFS in English and Spanish. This was the first investigation using a Spanish translation of the FFS, therefore, one of the goals of this study is to determine the effectiveness of the translated version. In addition, the Puerto Rican Acculturation Scale (Cortes, Rogler and Malgady, 1994), both in English and Spanish, was used in this investigation in order to examine how acculturation affects how families respond to the FFS.

It is hypothesized that acculturation will have an impact on how subjects respond to the FFS. Those more acculturated individuals rating

higher on the acculturation scale and those that are more bicultural will probably respond much in the same manner as those in previous studies. Those low acculturation rating lower on the acculturation scale will probably not respond to the FFS in the same manner as those in past investigations. In addition, acculturation will probably impact on the knowledge and utilization of family therapy services.

Another goal of this investigation is to address the issue of Latinos underutilization of services, in particular family therapy services by using the Attitudes Toward Family Counseling Questionnaire (Levin, 1995). In accordance with the literature, it is predicted that Latinos in general will underutilize family therapy services. It is also hypothesized that less acculturated Puerto Ricans know about and use family therapy services less than more acculturated Puerto Ricans.

Chapter 2

Method:

Participants:

The participants in this investigation consisted of one hundred fifty Puerto Rican adults from New York, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The sample was a convenience sample recruited via City University of New York at Hunter College contacts, University of Rhode Island contacts, local community centers, church groups, and Community Healthlink in Worcester MA. In addition, subjects were recruited via social networks. Attempts were made to recruit one adult member of each family to participate in the study, however, the numbers were too few for analysis. All subjects were recruited voluntarily.

Instruments:

Four instruments were used in this investigation, and all four were provided for subjects in either English or Spanish.

The Family Functioning Scale:

The Family Functioning scale (FFS) (Tavitian, Lubiner, Green, Grebstein, & Velicer, 1987) is a 40 item questionnaire that measures five dimensions of family life, including Family Rituals, Family Worries, Family Conflict, Family Communication, and Positive Family Affect. Each of the dimensions or subscales contains eight questions. The questions are rated on a 7-point Likert scale with anchor points that range from 1= Never to 7=Always.

The FFS was developed at the University of Rhode Island and has been used in more than 10 studies since its creation in the 1980's (Lubiner, 1989; Green, 1991; Bozicas, 1986; Gruzca, 1988; Levin, 1989; Tavitian, 1985; and, Bozicas, Tavitian, Grebstein, & Velicer, (no date). The items on the FFS were derived from an eclectic family therapy theoretical model. Results of previous investigations demonstrate that the factor structure of the items closely match with the theoretically based subscales. In past studies, the internal consistency of the FFS as measured by Cronbach alpha coefficient ranged from 0.75 to 0.85. With regard to interscale correlations, the average interscale correlation is .029 (Bozicas, 1986) with values ranging from a high of 0.58 (Positive Family Affect and Rituals) to an low of 0.02 (Family Worries and Family Communication) (Wolfner, 1996).

FFS items were either added or dropped according to the salience of the factor loadings in previous studies. Items were dropped from the FFS if they loaded values less than .40. As used in previous investigations, loading factors of .40 or greater will be considered substantial.

The FFS was translated into Spanish by the principal investigator who is bilingual. To verify the translated version, the researcher back translated the FFS from Spanish to English. In addition, a second person who is fully bilingual repeated the procedure. This was the first time the FFS was used in Spanish.

Puerto Rican Acculturation Scale:

The Puerto Rican Acculturation Scale (PRAS) (Cortes, 1994) was used for this investigation to measure acculturation levels of the subjects. The PRAS is a 50 item questionnaire that examines two factors, involvement in

Puerto Rican culture and involvement in American culture. This instrument was provided by Cortes (1994) in both English and Spanish. Focus groups were composed of mostly first and second generation Puerto Ricans in New York were used to generate the items used in both versions of the PRAS. In its early stages, this instrument had 20 items, ten questions on Puerto Rican culture and ten questions on American culture. The major themes included, language preferences and usage, values, ethnic pride, food preferences, child-rearing practices, and interpersonal relations. The current version expands on these themes.

This instrument was designed using Likert scales. Four versions of the responses were used. Two involved responses with values from 1 to 6, where the first is, 1="Strongly Agree" to 6="Strongly Disagree" and the second is 1="Rarely" to 6="Most of the time." The other two allowed for four choices of responses: "Strongly disagree," "Disagree a little," "Agree a little," "Strongly disagree" or "Rarely," "Some of the time," "Occasionally," and "Most of the time."

For the PRAS, factor loadings of .30 and greater were used measure the salience of the items by the creators of the scale (Cortes, 1994). For the latest version of the PRAS, Cronbach alpha coefficients for the involvement in Puerto Rican culture factor was .8434 and for the involvement in American culture was .7586. Cortes (1994) conducted Zero-order correlations on the subscales and found no significant differences between the two. It was further validated by comparisons to the number of years in the United States and place of birth.

Attitudes Toward Family Counseling Questionnaire

The Attitudes Toward Family Counseling questionnaire (ATF) (Levin, 1995) was developed to examine help-seeking behaviors with a multicultural sample. Participants were asked to answer questions about family counseling service utilization. The first page of the form asked whether subjects had ever been in family counseling. If they had not, they were asked whether their family had problems that might have been helped by family therapy. Then they were asked to examine and select among sixteen possible reasons why their family might not pursue family counseling services. More than one selection from these items was possible.

The respondents who did participate in family counseling were asked to fill out the second page of this questionnaire. The questions included, number of sessions attended, effectiveness of the counseling, ethnicity of the counselor, respondent's perception of the cultural sensitivity of the counselor, and reasons for utilizing family counseling services. In addition, the participants were asked about problems that might have occurred in the process. The subjects had the option of selecting from a number of possible problems. This questionnaire was designed to elicit descriptive statistics.

The ATF was translated into Spanish by the principal investigator who is bilingual. To verify the translated version, the researcher back translated the ATF from Spanish to English. In addition, a second person who is fully bilingual repeated the procedure.

Demographic Questionnaire

The demographic questionnaire that was used for this study was developed by Levin (1995). Initially the questionnaire gathered information

about age, gender, marital status, religious preference, highest level of education, annual family income, position in the family, a list of persons living in the household, and year and country of origin (if the subject immigrated to the United States).

Some changes were made to the demographic questionnaire to obtain additional information that is more pertinent to the Puerto Rican culture. The race question was changed to "Race/Nationality" because Puerto Ricans tend to use national labels as ethnic identifiers. The selections for this item were "Puerto Rican" and "other." Questions about country of birth were asked for the individual, their parents, and their grandparents. This was added to obtain information about generational status, which has been used in other acculturation studies to validate results of acculturation scales. The respondents were asked about where they live now (state and city), type of dwelling and whether they rent or own their dwellings.

The background questionnaire was also translated into Spanish using the same translation procedure described above for the FFS and the AFT.

Procedures:

Participants in this study were asked to take part in this investigation by the principal investigator and trained research assistants. The assistants were contact people at the City University of New York at Hunter College, Community Healthlink in Worcester, MA, University of Rhode Island, social networks, church, community groups in New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. Subjects were recruited both individually and in groups. The majority of the subjects were recruited from groups of individuals in community centers, community organizations, and social networks. All of the participants filled out the surveys independently.

The subjects were told that their participation would assist the researcher in describing Puerto Rican family functioning, acculturation and attitudes toward family counseling. The researcher or assistants then presented and explained the consent forms and what was involved in the process of participation. The consent forms, the FFS, the Background Questionnaire, and the Puerto Rican Acculturation Scale forms were offered to the participants in Spanish and English and were selected according to subject preference. No personally identifiable information was recorded on the forms. None of the subjects were paid for their participation. It took subjects between twenty to thirty minutes to fill out the survey.

Because subjects were largely recruited in groups, there were very few members from same families in these groups. The consent forms were kept separate from the forms in order to protect subject confidentiality. The forms were color coded according to the state in which the participants lived in by the principal researcher. Red stickers were used to identify subjects from New York, green stickers were used for Massachusetts subjects, and blue for Rhode Island.

Chapter 3

Results

In the process of data collection, approximately two hundred surveys were circulated. Data collection ended when one hundred and fifty subjects completed surveys. Upon review of the data, it was noted that four surveys could not be used for this study because of excessive missing data. Four additional subjects were sought to complete the one hundred and fifty participants required for valid statistical analyses.

Culture and Demographics:

Of the 150 adults, 53.1% were from New York, 38.8% from Massachusetts, and 8.2% from Rhode Island. With respect to gender, 72.5% were females and 27.5% were males. The majority of the sample identified themselves as Puerto Rican (94.7%). The other identifications included Puerto Ricans with blended ethnic backgrounds (3.3%) and all other classifications (2%). The other classifications were either American or Neuyorican. No subjects used a panethnic identifier as a primary or secondary cultural identity. In terms of language preference, 54% filled out the survey in English and 46% in Spanish. The average age for this sample was 36.5 years. The ages of the participants ranged from 18 to 67 years.

Of 146 subjects that responded to this item in the questionnaire, 35.6% were married, 35.6% single, 18.5% divorced, 7.5% widowed, 2.1% separated, and .7% all other. With regard to religious preference, 62% were Catholic,

20% were Evangelical, 7.1% were Baptists, 2.1% had no preference, .7% were Jehova's Witnesses, .7% Adventists, and 7.1% were all other religions.

Generational status for each individual subject was recorded for three generations. In this sample, 57.7% were born in Puerto Rico, making them the first generation in the United States. The second generation (the first children born in the United States) comprised 41.5% of the sample. Point seven percent of the individuals were born in another country. The places of birth of the parents of the subjects were: Puerto Rico (88%), United States (4.9%), other countries (.7%). In this group, there were some individuals whose parents were not born in the same country (5.6%). In these cases, one parent was born in the United States and one parent was born in Puerto Rico. The grandparents place of birth was largely Puerto Rico (93.6%), followed by the United States (1.4%), and other countries (.7%). Of the grandparents place of birth, 4.3% of the individual grandparents were born in different countries.

Household and Occupational Information:

Information on Puerto Rican households was obtained for this investigation. Only 124 subjects out of 150 provided information about their households. Of these, the average household had 3.3 people. Per household, the mean number of adults was 2, and the mean number of children was 1.3. In reference to family size, 18.4% lived in a one person household, 16.8% in a two person household, 24% in a three person household, 23.2% in a four person household, 8% in a five person household, 4% in a six person household, 3.2% in a seven person household, 1.6% in a eight person household, and .8% in a 12 person household. The adults in the household range from 1-6. Of these 33.6% lived alone, 45.6% lived in a two adult

household, 12.8% in a three adult household, 6.4% in a four adult household, .8% in a five adult household, and .8% in a six adult household. The children in the household ranged from 0-9. No children households comprised 42.7% of the households. Of the households with children, 20.2% had one child in the household, 21% had two children, 6.5% had three children, 4.8% had four children, 4% had five children, .8% had nine children.

Insert Figure 1 about here

The majority of the subjects lived in apartments (76.6%). Those that lived in houses comprised 20.4% of the sample. Two point nine percent of the subjects lived in other types of dwellings. Of these, 81% rented the place where they live, 13% owned their dwelling, and 5.8% lived in dwellings owned by other relatives. Subjects were asked about their positions in their families. Out of 138 responses to this item, 56.5% identified themselves as mothers, 16.7% as children, 15.2% as fathers, 2.9% lived alone, 2.9% as wives, 1.4% as husbands, and 2.1% all others. All others were subjects who identified themselves as sisters, brothers and grandchildren.

The socioeconomic status of this sample was assessed according to family annual income. Fourteen subjects did not respond to the family income item. Out of 136 subjects, 24.3% had a family income of less than \$5, 000. Sixteen point two percent had incomes between \$5, 001 and \$10, 000. Together 40.5% of the Puerto Rican family incomes for this sample were less than \$10, 000. Fifteen point four percent of the sample's family income was

between \$10, 001 and \$20, 000. Family incomes that were between \$20, 001 and \$30,000 comprised 16.2%, and 10.3% had family incomes between \$30,001 and \$40, 000. Family incomes for individuals between \$40,001 and \$50, 000 were 5.1%. Those between \$50,001 and \$60, 000 were 4.4%. Family incomes for those between \$60,001 to \$80,000 were 3.7%. Family incomes between \$80,001 and \$100,000 made up 2.2% of the sample. Families with incomes of over \$100,000 were 1.5%.

Insert Figure 2 about here

With regard to level of education, 141 subjects provided information about their educational levels. Of these, 2.8% had under sixth grade education, 12.8% had levels between sixth and eighth grade, 19.1% had between eighth and eleventh grade levels, 18.4% completed high school, 8.5% had one year of college or technical school, 19.9% two years of college or technical school, 8.5% had Bachelors degrees, 9.2% had Masters degrees, and .7% were at the doctoral level. This sample had individuals from every educational level. Of the total, 53.2% had high school education and below and 46.8% had some college education.

Insert Figure 3 about here

Family Functioning Scale (FFS)

In order to assess the results of the FFS using a Puerto Rican sample, a Principal Components Analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation was performed. This was done with the 40 item scale in order to assess whether the component structure of the FFS remained the same for this sample of Puerto Ricans as it did in previous studies using mostly White, middle class samples and one study using a multicultural sample. A forced 5-factor solution was used in this study in accordance with past studies. In this investigation, the five factors accounted for 50.3% of the total variance.

As in previous studies, items loading $> .40$ were considered valid for a component (Tavitian et al., 1987). The components obtained in this PCA partially corresponded to the five components in past studies (Tavitian, et al, 1987; Levin, 1995; Wolfner, 1996). Out of the 40 items, 29 items loaded on the components for which they were created. Of the remaining eleven items, eight items loaded on a different component and two did not load on any component. The components that loaded six or more items include: Family Communication, Family Conflict, Family Rituals, and Family Worries. The Positive Family Affect component loaded only two out of the eight items making up the component. However, it loaded four items in the Family Rituals component. Also, the Family Communication component loaded items from the Family Rituals component. Although there were six items that loaded on the Family Communication component, there were four items that loaded on the Family Rituals component. Two of these loaded on both factors and two on the Family Rituals component alone. Therefore, of the five components, three appeared to measure the theoretical concept in question. The items for the Family Communication component were

sufficient enough to be valid, however, it loaded four items in another component, Family Rituals, decreasing its strength as a component.

Insert Table 1 about here

The internal consistency of the (FFS) scales was assessed using the Cronbach alpha procedure (see Table 2). The overall Cronbach alpha coefficient for the FFS was .79. Interscale correlations ranged from a high of .873 (Family Conflict and Family Worries) and a low of .047 (Family Worries and Family Communication (See Table 3 for interscale correlations).

Insert Table 2 about here

Insert Table 3 about here

The Spanish translation of the FFS appeared to yield valid responses to the items of the FFS as suggested by the subscale loading scores which were comparable to scores in other studies.

One of the goals of this study was to compare the results of the PCA using a Puerto Rican sample with the results of two studies, one using a multicultural sample and one that used largely a Euro-American, middle class sample (Levin, 1995; Wolfner, 1996). For the sake of ease, the study using a Euro- American, middle class sample will be referred to as "Euro-American." The study using a multicultural sample will be referred to as "Multicultural group," and results from this study will be referred to as "Puerto Ricans." The same criteria, factor loadings $> .40$, were used in the three investigations to assess the items. For Euro-Americans and the Multicultural group, the factor loadings of the PCA were significant for all five subscales (Family Communication, Positive family Affect, Family Rituals, Family Worries, and Family Conflict). With Puerto Ricans, the factor loadings were meaningful for three out of the five subscales (Family Rituals, Family Worries, and Family Conflict). One of the subscales, Positive Family Affect, loaded only two out of eight items, and loaded values $> .40$ on four items from the Family Rituals component.

Insert Table 4 about here

The three studies were further examined by comparisons of valid high and low loading factors for the five subscales (See Table 4 for factor loading comparisons). For the Family Communication subscale, the high factor loadings were equal (.77) for the Multicultural group and Puerto Ricans. It was slightly higher (.80) for Euro-Americans. With regard to the lowest

valid factor loading, the Multicultural group and Puerto Ricans scores of .44 and Euro Americans had a score of .60. For the Positive Family Affect subscale, the high loading scores were identical for Euro-Americans and Multicultural groups (.75). The highest and lowest factor loading score for Puerto Ricans was .61. Euro-Americans yielded a low factor score of .57 and the Multicultural group had a low valid score of .59. With the Family Rituals subscale, the high scores for Euro-Americans and Puerto Ricans were similar (.73 and .72, respectively) and lower for the Multicultural group (.64). With the Family Rituals subscale, the high factor loadings were similar for Euro-Americans and Puerto Ricans (.73 and .72, respectively). For the Multicultural group it was .64. For the Family Worries subscale, the high factor loadings were identical for Euro-Americans and the Multicultural group (.75) and lower for Puerto Ricans (.61). The lower valid factor loadings for Puerto Ricans was .57, followed by Euro-Americans with .53, and the Multicultural group with .50. With the Family Conflict subscale the high factor loading for Euro-Americans was .73, in the Multicultural group, it was .70, and with Puerto Ricans it was .67. The low valid factor loadings were: .41 for Euro-Americans, .47 for the Multicultural group; and .52 for Puerto Ricans.

Average scores were computed for the valid factor loading scores for the three studies. In general, the scores were higher for Euro-Americans, followed by the Multicultural group, and lowest for Puerto Ricans (See Table 4 for scores).

Puerto Rican Acculturation

The Puerto Rican Acculturation Scale (PRAS) was analyzed using the same statistical procedures as the original study (Cortes, 1994). A Maximum Likelihood Factor Analysis with varimax rotation was performed using the 50 item PRAS with 150 subjects. The initial exploratory factor analysis yielded 15 factors that accounted for 62.5% of the variance, which differed from the original study. The original study yielded six factors that accounted for 46% of the variance (Cortes, 1994). Cortes (1994) narrowed the factors down to two, one was involvement in Puerto Rican culture and the second was involvement in American culture. In accordance with the original study, a second Maximum Likelihood Factor Analysis was attempted with a forced 2 factor solution. The two factors accounted for 23.96% of the variance in this sample.

Out of the 50 items, 25 items describe involvement in Puerto Rican culture and 25 describe involvement in American culture (Cortes, 1994). Cortes (1994) used factor loadings of $>.30$ to assess the subscales. The same measure was used for this investigation. Of the 50 items, 16 items loaded $>.30$ on the corresponding factor. Out of the 25 items that pertain to Puerto Rican culture, 5 items had factor loadings of $>.30$. For the items that pertain to American culture, 11 items loaded values $>.30$. The highest factor loading (.80) was for the item: "How much are Puerto Rican Values a part of your life?" The lowest valid factor loading for the Puerto Rican involvement subscale was .49 for the item: "How much do you enjoy Spanish TV programs?" Of the 25 items that pertain to American culture, 11 items had factor loadings greater than .30. The highest factor loading (.71) was for the item: "How comfortable would you be in a group of Americans who don't

Speak Spanish?" The lowest valid factor loading was .32 for the item: "My family is not always that important to me." (See Table 5 for the PRAS Factor Loadings). Four items loaded on both factors. All four items were on the involvement in Puerto Rican culture subscale. Three of the items loaded on opposite factors. Two of these were in the involvement in American culture subscale and one in the involvement in Puerto Rican culture subscale. There were 28 items that did not have any factor loadings $>.30$. Both subscales had 14 items each that did not have valid loadings on either subscale.

Insert Table 5 about here

Insert Figure 4 about here

The Cronbach alpha procedure was used to for reliability analysis with the PRAS. The alpha coefficient was .66. The interscale correlation was .198. Because the PRAS did not appear to be a valid measure of acculturation based on the results of the factor analysis, no further interpretations on acculturation using the PRAS will be made.

Attitudes Toward Family Counseling

Information regarding Puerto Rican utilization of family counseling services will be provided in terms of frequencies and percentages. Out of 147

subjects who responded to the Attitudes Toward Family Counseling Questionnaire (ATF), 68% have never been in family counseling, and 32% have received family counseling services. With regard to the individuals who have not received family counseling services, 47.9% indicated that they did not have any problems that may be helped by family therapy services. Another 30.9% indicated that they had problems that may be helped by family counseling, and 21.3% answered "maybe" to this item.

The subjects were asked to select possible reasons for not utilizing family counseling services. The ten most rated choices, out of sixteen, will be listed (See Table 6). Out of the 100 subjects who responded to these items, the majority of the subjects, 76.1% selected "my family works out problems that come up." The second highest rated response (50.4%) was "in my family, we seek help for family troubles by talking to friends or relatives." Another 32.7% responded to the item: "my family did not want to talk about family problems with someone we did not know." Following this, 29.2% chose the item: "I would have liked to try family counseling but other family members would probably not go to counseling." Subjects selected the following two items equally (27.4%): "my family does not think counseling works," and "family counseling costs too much money." Participants chose the next two items equally (22.1%): "in my family, we seek help for family troubles by talking to our priest/minister (or other clergy)," and "my family would have trouble finding the time for counseling." Another 20.4% endorsed the item: "my family would consider it a form of weakness to seek help from a counselor." Finally, 16.8% chose the item: "my family would be ashamed to go to a counselor for help."

Insert Table 6 about here

Out of the 47 subjects who participated in family counseling, 44 responded to the question about number of sessions. Of these, 29.5% attended 20 or more sessions, 13.6% attended between 15 and 20 sessions, 6.8% between 10 and 15 sessions, 13.6% between 5 and 10 sessions, 9.1% between 3 and 5 sessions, 11.4% between 1 and 3 sessions, and 15.9% attended only one session. In terms of helpfulness, 15.2% checked off that family counseling was not helpful. Another 17.4% indicated that it was a "little bit helpful" and 8.7% checked off "moderately helpful." Thirty-four point eight percent indicated that it was quite a bit helpful and 23.9% said that family counseling was extremely helpful.

In terms of the ethnicity of the counselor, 46 people responded to the item. Of these, 50% had a clinician of the same ethnicity and 50% did not. Twenty-nine subjects responded to the question about whether they would like a counselor of the same ethnicity. Of those that responded, 69% indicated that they would like a counselor of the same ethnicity and 31% indicated that they would not. Forty-five participants responded when asked about the counselor's understanding of their family's cultural values. Of these, 11.1% said "no", 66.7% indicated "yes," and 22.2% chose "maybe."

The participants were asked for reasons why they came to counseling. Out of 47 subjects, 40.4% went at the recommendation of a family doctor. Another 27.7% went at the recommendation of their children's school. Nineteen point one percent went at the recommendation of a friend or

relative. Fourteen point nine percent went because of court related reasons, and 10.6% went because of the Department of Social Service involvement.

The subjects were then asked about possible problems during the family counseling. Out of the 47 subjects who attended family therapy, 36.2% indicated that getting family members to attend was a problem. Twenty-nine point eight percent identified transportation as a problem. There were two responses that were rated equally (25.5%) by the participants: cost of counseling, and finding the time for counseling. Another 21.3% indicated that language was a problem. Nineteen point one percent identified childcare as a problem, and 12.8% indicated that location of the counselor was a problem.

Chapter 4

Discussion

Puerto Rican Family Functioning

The results of this investigation yielded valuable information about the differences between Puerto Rican families and other cultural groups, particularly, Euro-American families. It is also important because it provides further evidence for the need to re-examine the FFS for its applicability with multicultural groups. The construct validity of the FFS was partially demonstrated with Puerto Rican families. The component structure was replicated with some variations compared to Levin's (1996) study using a multicultural sample. Levin (1996), the only other researcher who used the FFS with a multicultural sample, found that the component structure for the FFS with non-white families was comparable to that of Euro-American families. In this study, however, the Family Conflict, Family Rituals, and Family Worries subscales were valid for Puerto Rican families. The Family Communication and the Positive Family Affect subscales did not successfully meet the criteria for inclusion. Possible reasons for these findings will be explored below.

One of the major findings in this investigation was that the Positive Family Affect subscale was not valid for this sample of Puerto Ricans because it had only two items that load values $> .40$. One hypothesis for this result is that because the items for this subscale are worded with an orientation toward individualism, they do not fit with the family orientation of the Puerto Rican culture. Sabogal et al. (1987) asserted that even the most acculturated Latinos still have a stronger family orientation than Euro-Americans. All of the

questions on this subscale have to do with the individual and the individual's perspective on how the family perceives and interacts with him or her.

In a study that examined Latino familism, Sabogal, et al. (1987) used items on a questionnaire that were oriented toward the family, not the individual per se. An example of one of the items on this questionnaire is, "A person should share his/her home with uncles, aunts or first cousins if they are in need (p. 402)" The questions on this questionnaire were not "I" centered questions, like they are on the Positive Family Affect subscale of the FFS. Sabogal, et al. (1987) had items on their questionnaire that asked about individual perceptions but the wording of the questions differed from the "I" or individualistic orientation. Another example from this questionnaire demonstrating this point is, "One should be embarrassed about the bad things done by his/her brothers or sisters (p. 403)." All of the items on the Positive Family Affect subscale have "I" or "me" in the wording of the question. One possibility for improving the FFS for applicability with Puerto Rican and possibly other multicultural groups is to alter the wording of the items in such a way that they are not individually oriented.

With regard to Latino family functioning, some of the dimensions that have been explored in other studies include, loyalty to the family, strictness of child rearing, respect for adults, separation of sex roles, male superiority, time orientation, religiosity, and cooperation (as opposed to competition) (Negy, 1993). These are also dimensions that are very close to acculturation.

The family orientation of Puerto Ricans is such that the individuals within the family often do not think of themselves as separate from the Family. Garcia-Preto (McGoldrick, et al. 1996) stated that the emphasis is not

on the individual but rather the family as a group. Negy (1993) observed that family and socialization are considered to be among the major differences between Euro-Americans and Latinos. Aspects of individualism such as "emptying the nest," when children are over the age of 18 and individual success that Euro-Americans embrace are not necessarily shared by Puerto Ricans. Garcia-Preto (McGoldrick, et al. 1996) asserted that for Puerto Rican families, "the family guarantees protection and caretaking for life as long as the person stays in the system. Leaving implies taking a grave risk" (p.186). With Puerto Rican families, the success of one is the success of all in the family.

Another interesting result for the Positive Family Affect subscale is that four out of the eight items loaded on the Family Rituals subscale. The four items that dealt with positive feelings about the self in relation to the family were the ones to load values $> .40$. The items were, "my family accepts me as I am," "people in my family listen when I speak," "I feel respected by my family," and "I feel loved by my family." Levin (1996) noted that a possibility for other items loading on the Family Rituals subscale is the relationship between rituals and values. Garcia-Preto (McGoldrick, et al. 1996) states that Puerto Rican families have "a system of ritual kinship with binding mutual obligations for economic assistance, encouragement, and even personal correction (p. 186)." Puerto Ricans are a very proud people who value their culture and their families. In many ways, the family is the hallmark of the culture for Puerto Ricans (Cortes, 1994). The four items that loaded positively on the Family Rituals subscale may be the result of the combination of pride in the family, family rituals and cultural pride.

The results of the Family Communication subscale were similar to that of the Positive Family Affect subscale. The major difference was that for the Family Communication subscale six items loaded on the corresponding factor. Of these, two were complex, with values $> .40$ on two subscales (Family Communication and Family Rituals). Two additional items loaded on the Family Rituals subscale totaling the number of items to four. Levin, (1996) found similarities with the multicultural sample she used. She hypothesized that this may have occurred because of the importance of rituals in multicultural family life as described above. The communication aspect adds another layer to the rituals hypothesis. Levin (1996) states that one of the major forms of communication in multicultural groups is via the rituals.

The only component that loaded $>.40$ for all of the items was the Family Conflict subscale. It was independent of all the other subscales in that it did not have valid factor loadings on any of the scales. One possibility for this finding is that these items are true for all families. In addition, another possibility is that together with the possibility that these items are true for all families, the questions were not worded with an "I" orientation making them more family oriented. None of the questions were worded with an "I" orientation. Instead the statements began with "the children," "people in my family," or "family members."

Another strong subscale was the Family Rituals subscale. Seven out of eight of the items loaded values $>.40$. The only one item that did not load on the subscale was "family members eat at least one meal together." This item loaded on the Family Worries subscale. It is unclear what might be the reason for the item loading on the Family Worries subscale. Two possibilities exist which may or may not be true for Puerto Rican families and would need

to be further examined in future research. One is that many Puerto Rican families do not eat meals together. The other is that this concept of eating a meal together is nice but with the economic hardship of many Puerto Rican families, a major concern or worry is to just have food on the table. The positive results of this subscale were not surprising given the ongoing discussion about the importance of family rituals.

The Family Worries subscale loaded values $>.40$ for six out of the eight items. One item did not load on any subscale, the item: "I worry when I disagree with the opinions of other family members." One possible hypothesis for this finding is that disagreeing with a family member does not reflect a culturally sanctioned behavior in Puerto Rican culture. One of the values among Puerto Ricans is that of respect, (*respeto*) and people do not challenge or disagree with older individuals and persons in positions of authority. Compton, Jones (1991) observed that ..."conflict...is dissonant with traditional Puerto Rican values (p. 352)." They further asserted that this is the case among U.S. Puerto Ricans and mainland Puerto Ricans. One item, "It is important to know the mood of certain family members," did not load on any factor. This finding is unclear but one hypothesis may be that this may be related to what was discussed above in terms of disagreeing with persons of authority and avoiding conflict.

Differences were found in the way Puerto Ricans responded to the FFS compared to a multicultural sample and a sample of Euro-Americans used in other studies (Levin, 1995; Wolfner 1996). In general, subscale scores for Puerto Ricans were the lowest among the three groups, followed by the multicultural sample, and the highest average scores were for the Euro-American sample. Acculturation level may have played a role in these

results. It is hypothesized that because Levin (1995) used a college sample, this group may be more acculturated than the Puerto Ricans in this sample which had both college educated and non college educated adults. Although attempts were made to obtain rates of acculturation for Puerto Ricans, the PRAS did not measure acculturation adequately.

Socioeconomic status is another confounding variable that could have affected the results. Both groups, the multicultural sample and the Euro-American sample were of middle class backgrounds. In the Puerto Rican group, 40.5% had incomes of \$10,000 and below. The average Puerto Rican household in this sample was 3.3 people. The U.S. Census Bureau and the Department of Health and Human Services Guidelines for Poverty (1999) indicate that two person households with incomes of \$11, 060 , and three person households \$13, 880 meet the criteria for poverty. Unfortunately, many of the Puerto Ricans surveyed in this sample meet the criteria for poverty. Because of the powerful effect of socioeconomic status and because acculturation levels could not be adequately assessed, the results of many of the findings in this investigation are open to several interpretations. A more detailed analysis of the results using the PRAS will be provided in the next section.

Puerto Rican Acculturation

The results of the PRAS with this sample of Puerto Ricans were discouraging. Because this was a fairly new instrument, the same statistical analyses were conducted as in the original studies by the creator of the PRAS (Cortes, 1994). A Maximum Likelihood factor analysis with varimax rotation was conducted to assess the two factors. In conducting these analyses, it was

noted that the items, which were supposed to measure involvement in Puerto Rican culture and involvement in American culture did not do so adequately. A lower criterion ($>.30$) was used for the factor loadings in this investigation to closely match the conditions in the original studies. Even still, the results were poor. Five items out of 25 loaded values of $>.30$ on the Involvement in Puerto Rican culture factor. Eleven items out of 25 items loaded values of $>.30$ for the Involvement in American Culture factor. Four items loaded on both factors and 14 items on each subscale did not load on any factor. It was decided by this researcher not to further analyze the results using this acculturation scale because of the poor results. To further analyze this data may give inaccurate information about acculturation in this sample of Puerto Ricans.

One of the possible reasons for the poor results may have been the sample size. Cortes (1994) used large samples with numbers ranging from 642 to 1,084. Another possible cause may be that the items on the PRAS may not be truly measuring aspects of Puerto Rican and American culture. Many of the items appear not be exclusive to one or the other culture. Items such as, "it is important to teach your children about the importance of religion in life," and "It is very important to help each other," are examples of items that are not exclusive to one culture or the other.

Because acculturation levels were not obtained due to the poor results of the PRAS, rough estimates based on available demographic information about acculturation were made. This sample was largely first generation (57.7%) and second generation (41.5%) in the United States. In terms of language preference, 54% filled out the surveys in English and 46% in

Spanish. It is estimated that the sample is probably divided evenly between less acculturated and bicultural individuals.

Unfortunately, accurate determinations about the effect acculturation had on the FFS and the ATF could not be made due to the problems with the PRAS. Two major goals of the study were directly impacted as a result. The full impact of acculturation on how subjects respond to the FFS is estimated but not obtained. The same issues impact the results of the ATF questionnaire which will be discussed in the following section.

Attitudes Toward Family Counseling

One of the issues facing service providers is the underutilization of mental health services among Latinos (Rosado and Elias, 1993; Woodward, Dwinell & Arons, 1992; Sanchez, 1992; Dolgin, Salazar and Cruz, 1987). With regard to family therapy, efforts have been made to understand the issues facing non Euro-American ethnic cultural groups in the United States. This study used the ATF to gather information about utilization of family therapy services and help seeking behaviors in Puerto Ricans. The results of this investigation demonstrate that a large percentage (68%) of Puerto Ricans have not utilized family therapy services. In addition, 47.9% indicated that they did not have problems that would have been helped by family counseling. This supports Garcia-Preto's (McGoldrick, et al. 1996) assertion that family problems are expected to be worked out among the family members. She further stated that Puerto Ricans will use social services as a last resort. Although many Puerto Ricans in this investigation have not used family therapy services, 30.9% indicated that they had problems that may have been

helped by family counseling and another 21.3% indicated that it may be a possibility.

Among the reasons why families did not seek family counseling services, the most cited response was that families work out their problems on their own. The second most selected response was that they relied on friends and relatives for help with family troubles. The third most cited reason for not seeking family counseling was feeling uncomfortable talking to someone not known to the family. These findings were not surprising given the strong orientation of Puerto Ricans toward the family and the compadrazgo network (friends and extended relatives). These three reasons were the same reasons chosen by the subjects in Levin's (1995) study with a multicultural sample. Another finding that supports the strong orientation toward the family was the fourth most selected reason. Twenty-nine point two percent of people indicated that they would be interested in family therapy but their family would not attend. As in Levin's (1995) study, the participants in this investigation do not appear to be denying the existence of family problems. Instead, Puerto Ricans choose to deal with the problems in a culturally acceptable manner.

Out of 147 subjects, 32% had experiences with family counseling. A larger percentage of people (29.5%) attended twenty sessions or more compared to those who attended fewer sessions. This result is relatively unexpected given the high drop out rate of Latinos in individual therapy. One possibility why the drop out rate was lower in this sample may be because family therapy as opposed to individual therapy was used. As discussed earlier, family therapy may be more applicable for Puerto Ricans, especially because of the family orientation. To support this assertion, a large

percentage of people in this sample indicated that family counseling was helpful. Based on the information gathered, the majority of those who engaged in family counseling went at the recommendation of a doctor or a school. Many went on their own and at the recommendation of a friend or relative. In terms of counselor preference, 69% indicated that they would have liked a counselor from their own ethnic background. Of those that obtained family counseling, half had clinicians of their ethnic background.

With regard to problems that might have come up for the Puerto Ricans who attended family therapy, getting family members to attend was the most cited problem. Once again, this may be related to the reliance on family and extended family support. Transportation, cost and finding the time for counseling were the next highest rated problems.

Limitations of this Study and Suggestions for Future Research

Although some important revelations about Puerto Rican family functioning and help seeking patterns of Puerto Ricans with family counseling were found in this study, there are some limitations. First, because acculturation levels could not adequately be assessed with this sample, many of the initial questions about how acculturation affects family functioning and utilization of family counseling services could not fully be explained. It was hoped that more definite interpretations could be made about acculturation that would assist in separating it from confounding variables such as socioeconomic status and level of education.

Another limitation of this study is that it was conducted with a convenience sample of Puerto Ricans and may not be reflective of the population of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Therefore, the results

should be interpreted with caution. In addition, another limitation of this study is that it did not examine other factors that could affect family life including, family violence, alcohol and substance abuse, and mental illness.

It is hoped that future research with the FFS will involve refining the instrument to be more applicable to Puerto Ricans and other multicultural groups. One suggestion to aid in the process refining the FFS is to re-examine the validity of the "I" or individual oriented questions. Another suggestion regarding future research with the FFS and multicultural families would be to determine whether the Family Rituals subscale is indeed separate from the other subscales for multicultural families.

With regard to acculturation, future research with Puerto Ricans and other multicultural groups should take into account acculturation and language factors. In addition, researchers should make every attempt to separate effects of acculturation from possible confounding variables (i.e. socioeconomic status). The PRAS may need further refinement in order to select the more applicable items and delete items that may not be unique to one or both cultures.

Research with Puerto Ricans should not neglect the ongoing economic hardships of many Puerto Ricans in the United States. The economic difficulties have been unrelenting for this group and research efforts should make every attempt to understand and improve conditions for this group. It is clear from the scarcity of these types of studies, that more are needed. So much more can be learned about Puerto Ricans and other multicultural groups that may help in the understanding of human differences. This statement refers to differences, not deficiencies.

Appendix A

Table 1

Varimax Rotated Component Pattern for a Forced 5-Factor Solution

<u>Item and Hypothesized Component</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>COM</u>	<u>POS</u> <u>FAM</u> <u>AFF</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>CONF</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>RIT</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>WOR</u>
<u>Family Communication (FAMCOM)</u>					
When I have questions about personal relationships, I talk with family members	<u>.59</u>	.26	.01	<u>.41</u>	.15
I let my family know when I am sad	<u>.77</u>	.19	-.21	.21	.09
I let family members know when I feel upset	<u>.70</u>	-.02	-.24	.21	.07
People in my family discuss their problems with me	<u>.71</u>	-.06	-.07	<u>.49</u>	.00
In my family we talk about what is right and wrong with regard to sex	.30	.06	.18	<u>.50</u>	.06
In my family we talk about the physical changes that go along with growing up	.30	-.19	.08	<u>.45</u>	.17
I tell people in my family when I am angry with them	<u>.44</u>	-.20	.01	-.03	.13
I let my family know when I am upset	<u>.69</u>	-.05	-.08	.27	.11

Table 1 (continued)

<u>Item and Hypothesized Component</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>COM</u>	<u>POS</u> <u>FAM</u> <u>AFF</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>CONF</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>RIT</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>WOR</u>
<u>Positive Family Affect</u> (POS FAM AFF)					
People in my family do not care enough about what I need	.20	<u>.61</u>	.12	-.02	.06
My family accepts me as I am	.20	.02	-.24	<u>.67</u>	-.15
People in my family listen when I speak	.33	.14	-.20	<u>.68</u>	.09
I feel respected by my family	.25	-.07	-.42	<u>.56</u>	.02
My family sees me as a hopeless case	-.18	.19	.11	-.63	.33
I feel loved by my family	.26	-.26	-.20	<u>.63</u>	-.01
I feel like a stranger in my own home	-.41	.35	.34	-.31	.29
People in my family are not interested in what I do	-.12	<u>.61</u>	-.04	-.19	.13

Table 1 (continued)

<u>Item and Hypothesized Component</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>COM</u>	<u>POS</u> <u>FAM</u> <u>AFF</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>CONF</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>RIT</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>WOR</u>
<u>Family Conflict</u> ((FAM CONFL)					
The children in my family fight with each other	-.29	.16	<u>.53</u>	-.03	.18
People in my family have to be reminded when they are asked to do something	-.20	.08	<u>.62</u>	.13	-.09
Members of my family argue about money	.14	.04	<u>.62</u>	-.28	.08
People in my family hit each other	-.07	.03	<u>.61</u>	-.11	.08
People in my family use my things without asking me first	.13	-.07	<u>.65</u>	-.10	-.26
People in my family yell at each other	-.07	.16	<u>.67</u>	-.06	-.13
Family members are critical of each other's eating habits	-.02	-.16	<u>.52</u>	-.25	.16
When things are going wrong in my family, someone gets blamed	-.23	-.14	<u>.59</u>	-.19	.08

Table 1 (continued)

<u>Item and Hypothesized Component</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>COM</u>	<u>POS</u> <u>FAM</u> <u>AFF</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>CONF</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>RIT</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>WOR</u>
<u>Family Rituals</u> (FAM RIT)					
Birthdays are always important events in my family	-.03	.08	-.10	<u>.67</u>	-.02
Our family spends holidays together	.09	-.08	-.20	<u>.57</u>	.00
We pay attention to traditions in my family	-.00	.08	-.39	<u>.63</u>	.21
Our family celebrates special events such as anniversaries and graduations	.11	-.06	.01	<u>.57</u>	.20
Family members eat at least one meal together	.09	-.40	-.12	.23	<u>.45</u>
Family reunions are important to us	.08	.02	-.09	<u>.72</u>	-.00
We are interested in the history of our family	-.03	-.04	.13	<u>.63</u>	.30
We are friendly with other families	.23	-.07	-.23	<u>.64</u>	.21

Table 1 (continued)

<u>Item and Hypothesized Component</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>COM</u>	<u>POS</u> <u>FAM</u> <u>AFF</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>CONF</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>RIT</u>	<u>FAM</u> <u>WOR</u>
<u>Family Worries</u> (FAM WORR)					
When someone in my family is angry, I feel worried	.11	-.14	-.23	.13	<u>.61</u>
I worry when I disagree with the opinions of other family members	.13	.07	-.05	.12	<u>.61</u>
When things are not going well in my family I feel sick	.19	.26	.05	-.02	<u>.72</u>
It is important to know the mood of certain family members	.24	-.44	-.10	.32	.31
It is hard for me to forget the painful events that have happened in my family	-.00	<u>.65</u>	-.08	.03	.38
The mood of one family member can spread to everyone in the house	-.23	.13	.27	.18	<u>.57</u>
I have trouble sleeping when I think about family problems	.01	.05	.07	.00	<u>.72</u>
When things are not going well in my family it affects my appetite	.15	.11	.07	-.07	<u>.77</u>

Note: Loadings > .40 are underlined.

Table 2

Internal Consistency (Cronbach Alpha)

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Alpha</u>
All Scales	.794
Family Communication	.818
Family Rituals	.803
Family Conflict	.773
Family Worries	.767
Positive Family Affect	.207

Table 3

Scale Intercorrelations For Family Scales

Family Scales	<u>Correlations</u>				
	RIT	CON	WOR	COM- MUN	POS FAM
Rituals (RIT)	--	-.403*	.154*	.469*	-.100*
Conflict (CON)		--	.873*	.084	.311*
Worries (WOR)			--	.047	-.175*
Communication (COMMUN)				--	.190*
Positive Family Affect (POSFAM)					--

* $p < .05$

Table 4

Principle Components Analyses Factor Loading Comparisons

Subscales	Euro-American		Multicultural		Puerto Rican	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Family Communication	.80	.60	.77	.44	.77	.44
Positive Family Affect	.75	.57	.75	.59	.61	.61
Family Rituals	.73	.42	.64	.45	.72	.57
Family Worries	.75	.52	.75	.50	.72	.57
Family Conflict	.73	.41	.70	.47	.67	.52
Average	.75	.50	.72	.49	.69	.54

Table 5

Maximum Likelihood Forced Two Factor Solution Factor Analysis for the Puerto Rican Acculturation Scale

<u>Item and Hypothesized Component</u>	<u>Involvement in Puerto Rican Culture</u>	<u>Involvement in American Culture</u>
<u>Involvement in Puerto Rican Culture</u>		
How much do you enjoy speaking Spanish?	<u>.68</u>	.16
How much are Puerto Rican values a part of your life?	<u>.80</u>	.06
How many days a week do you eat Puerto Rican food?	-.40	-.03
How proud are you of being Puerto Rican?	<u>.59</u>	<u>.31</u>
How comfortable would you be in a group of Americans who don't speak Spanish?	-.25	<u>.71</u>
How important is it for you to raise your children with Puerto Rican values? If you had children, how important would it be to you to raise them with Puerto Rican values?	<u>.71</u>	.27
How much do you enjoy Spanish TV programs?	<u>.49</u>	-.004
How important is it to you to celebrate holidays the Puerto Rican way?	<u>.68</u>	.17
With respect to kindness and generosity, do you think that Puerto Ricans are:	<u>.53</u>	<u>.37</u>
How important would it be to you for your children to have all Puerto Rican friends?	.23	.07
How important would it be to teach your children to show respect to older people and those in positions of authority?	<u>.34</u>	<u>.40</u>
I prefer to listen to Spanish and Puerto Rican music such as salsa, aguinaldos, musica jibara, plena, bomba etc.	-.42	.02
It is important to teach your children about the importance of religion in life	-.39	.09
Family unity is very important	-.41	.07

Table 5 (continued)

<u>Item and Hypothesized Component</u> <u>Involvement in Puerto Rican Culture</u>	<u>Involvement</u> <u>in</u> <u>Puerto Rican</u> <u>Culture</u>	<u>Involvement</u> <u>in</u> <u>American</u> <u>Culture</u>
Puerto Ricans tend to help others	-.43	.19
It is very important to help each other	-.47	.08
I enjoy cooking Puerto Rican food	-.44	.01
Relatives should take care of their grandparents and elderly parents	-.19	-.13
At home, we speak more Spanish than English	-.51	.30
I feel one hundred percent Puerto Rican	-.69	.01
Feeling Puerto Rican is something that does not change	-.67	.03
Puerto Ricans are close with each other	-.44	.009
My family is most important to me	-.48	-.15
A Puerto Rican woman should be a virgin at the time of marriage	-.28	.20
Parents should be strict in the rearing of their children	-.24	-.08

Table 5 (continued)

<u>Item and Hypothesized Component</u>	<u>Involvement in Puerto Rican Culture</u>	<u>Involvement in American Culture</u>
<u>Involvement in American Culture</u>		
How much do you enjoy speaking English?	-.17	.16
How much are American values a part of your life?	-.05	<u>.60</u>
How many days a week do you eat American food?	<u>.39</u>	-.20
How proud are you of being American?	.006	<u>.68</u>
How comfortable would you be in a group of Puerto Ricans who don't speak English?	-.25	<u>.71</u>
How important is it for you to raise your children with American values? If you had children, how important would it be to you to raise them with American values?	.02	<u>.51</u>
How much do you enjoy American TV programs?	-.10	<u>.58</u>
How important is it to you to celebrate holidays the American way?	-.06	<u>.49</u>
How important is it for you to raise your children the American way?	.09	.23
With respect to kindness and generosity, do you think that Americans are:	.09	.26
How important would it be to you for your children to have all American friends?	.08	.21
How important would it be to teach your children that older people and those in positions of authority are not always right?	.05	<u>.39</u>
I prefer to listen to American music such as rock, R&B, rap etc.	.15	-.40
Teaching of religious values to your children is not that important	.13	<u>.35</u>

Table 5 (continued)

<u>Item and Hypothesized Component</u>	<u>Involvement in Puerto Rican Culture</u>	<u>Involvement in American Culture</u>
<u>Involvement in American Culture</u>		
It is not necessarily important that family members are close to one another	.04	<u>.40</u>
Americans tend to help others	-.16	.05
Helping each other is not that important	.09	<u>.37</u>
I enjoy cooking American food	.03	-.35
Grandparents and elderly parents are often better off if they live in an institution or nursing home	.05	.16
At home, we speak more English than Spanish	<u>.37</u>	-.25
I feel one hundred percent American	.18	-.30
With time, you begin to feel American	.08	-.16
Americans are close with each other	-.09	-.07
My family is not always what is important to me	.23	<u>.32</u>
There is nothing wrong with a woman having sexual relations before marriage	.25	.02
It is not necessary that parents be strict in the rearing of their children	.27	.28

Table 6

Results of Attitudes Toward Family Counseling Questionnaire

Item	Percentage (N=100)
My family works out any problems that come up	76.1%
Family counseling cost too much money	27.4%
My family did not want to talk about family problems with someone we didn't know	32.7%
My family does not think that counseling works	27.4%
A family counselor would not understand my family	15.9%
I would have liked to try family counseling but other family members would probably not go to counseling	29.2%
In my family, we seek help for troubles by talking to friends or relatives	50.4%
In my family, we seek help for family troubles by talking to our priest/minister (or other clergy)	22.1%
My family has too many troubles that can not be helped by family counseling.	14.2%
My family would have trouble with getting to counseling (no transportation)	10.6%
My family would have trouble finding the time for counseling	22.1%
My family troubles are too personal to discuss with a counselor	15.9%
My family would consider it a form of weakness to seek help from a counselor	20.4%
My family would be ashamed to go to a counselor for help	16.8%
I know of other(s) who have had family counseling who said it did not help	8%

Figure 1

Household Size

Figure 2

Family Income

Family Income

Figure 3

Level of Education

Figure 4

Puerto Rican Acculturation Scale

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Puerto Rican Family Functioning, Acculturation, and Attitudes Toward Family Counseling.

Consent Form For Research

I have been asked to participate in the research project described below. The researcher will explain the project to me thoroughly. I am encouraged to ask questions, if I have them. If I have more questions later, Maria Vázquez, the person who is mainly responsible for this study, (401) 274-0846, will be available to discuss them with me.

I am over the age of eighteen.

I have been asked to participate in this study which is intended to learn about Puerto Rican families, how they live and what things affect their families. This study will also describe how living in the United States influences Puerto Ricans lives and how they feel about their culture. It will also investigate how Puerto Ricans feel about family counseling.

If I decide to participate in this research project here is what will happen: I will fill out a series of surveys from a researcher for about a half an hour.

There are no risks or discomforts involved in participating in this study.

Although there will be no direct benefit to me for participating in this study, the researcher will learn more about Puerto Rican families and what things impact their lives in the United States. The results of this study can help service agencies learn more about what Puerto Rican families needs are.

My participation in this study is confidential. My name will not appear on the survey. None of the information will identify me by name. All of the records will be kept together in a file by the main researcher, Maria Vázquez.

Taking part in this research project is confidential, within the limits of the law. The researchers and the University of Rhode Island will protect my privacy, unless required by law to provide information to city, state, or federal authorities, or to a court of law. Otherwise, everything will be confidential and the records will be kept in a file by the main researcher.

Once again, my participation in this study is anonymous. My name will not appear on the survey or anywhere else besides this consent form.

The decision to participate in this study is mine. I do not have to participate in this research project. If I decide to participate in this project, I can quit at any time. What ever I decide will not affect me or the services I receive. If I want to quit, I can just inform Maria Vázquez, 274-0846, of my decision.

I may discuss with Maria Vázquez any complaints if I am not satisfied with any part of this study or the way it is performed. If I wish to do this anonymously, I can call Dr. Lawrence Grebstein at (401)874-4246. In addition, I can call the Vice Provost for Graduate Studies, Research, and Outreach 70 Lower College Road, University of Rhode Island, Kingston, Rhode Island, telephone:(401) 874-2635.

I have read the Consent Form and all of my questions have been answered. My signature on this form means that I understand the information and agree to participate in this research project.

Signature of Participant

Signature of Researcher

Printed Name

Printed Name

Date

Date

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