Drinking in Different Social Contexts Among White, Black, and Hispanic Men

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This paper describes alcohol use by White, Black, and Hispanic men in eight different social settings. Data were obtained from a multi-stage probability sample of the household population of White, Black, and Hispanic adults aged 18 years and over, residing in the 48 contiguous United States. The response rate was 73 percent for Whites, 76 percent for Blacks, and 72 percent for Hispanics. Results show that Whites go more frequently and drink more frequently than Blacks and Hispanics at restaurants, in clubs or organizational meetings, and in bars. Blacks go more frequently than Whites and Hispanics to public settings such as parks, streets, and parking lots; however, the mean number of drinks consumed in these public places and the proportion of men drinking five or more drinks is higher for Hispanics than for Whites and Blacks. Other places where heavier drinking is common in all three ethnic groups are bars, taverns and cocktail lounges, and parties. In all three ethnic groups, men who are younger and those who are single go more frequently than other men to bars or public places such as streets, parks, and parking lots. Men who are younger and those who are single also have a higher rate of heavy drinking and of drunkenness than other men.

INTRODUCTION

Surveys of the general population have shown that drinking norms vary according to the setting where drinking takes place. In general, norms are more liberal regarding drinking in bars, at parties, or when friends are visiting than when with small children, in the workplace, when going to drive a car, or when eating a meal at a restaurant [1]. The amount of alcohol consumed in these settings varies accordingly. Alcohol consumption is usually higher in bars than at other places [2,3,4]. The frequency of attending places of heavier drinking, such as bars and parties, is also a good predictor of heavy drinking and problems [2,3,5].

There have also been a few analyses of norms and drinking behavior in different social settings among ethnic minority groups in the U.S. population. Norms regulating drinking in different settings among Blacks and Hispanics are similar to those described for Whites or for the U.S. general population as a whole [6,7]. Analyses of drinking behavior have compared Whites' and Blacks' drinking only. Herd [6] reports that Whites go more frequently and drink more frequently than Blacks in a number of settings: parties, bars or taverns, club or organizational meetings, and when with friends at home. The major difference between these two ethnic groups, however, is in the proportion of frequent heavy drinkers (drink at least once a week and also drink five or more drinks at a sitting at least once a week) among those drinking in public

243

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places, which is twice as great among White as among Black men. Analyses of Hispanics' drinking in specific social contexts have looked at the relationship between variation in such drinking and acculturation or professional status. Acculturated Hispanics drink more frequently than less acculturated Hispanics in a number of social settings [7]. White-collar Hispanics have drinking patterns which are more similar to that of white-collar Anglos than to that of blue-collar Hispanics [8].

This paper takes these previous analyses with Blacks and Hispanics one step further by describing the frequency of being in a variety of drinking contexts and the frequency of drinking in these contexts among White, Black, and Hispanic men. This paper also identifies subjects in each ethnic group who go frequently to places where heavy drinking occurs, examining the sociodemographic and drinking-related characteristics of these individuals, and whether frequent visits to heavy drinking contexts is a risk factor for alcohol problems. Previous findings in the literature regarding the environments of drinking among Blacks and Hispanics vis-à-vis Whites are also investigated. First, descriptions of alcohol use among Blacks [6] suggest that, given a cultural emphasis on restrained behavior when drinking in public, heavy drinking among Blacks should occur more frequently in private settings (home, and so on) than in public environments such as bars. Second, Hispanics emphasize the social aspects of drinking [9], such as drinking with friends and at parties. Thus, it is expected that their drinking in general and also their heavy drinking will occur more frequently in public places such as parties, bars, streets, and parking lots. Third, given the socioeconomic differences between Whites and the two minority groups, it is hypothesized that Whites go more frequently and drink more frequently than Blacks and Hispanics in settings where drinking is more expensive, such as restaurants and bars. Finally, based on previous findings [9], it is also expected that among White men the main predictor of heavier drinking in selected drinking contexts is being young. Among Blacks and Hispanics, however, age will not be an important predictor of such drinking.

By confirming previous results and by providing new information on contexts of heavy drinking and risk factors associated with alcohol problems, these analyses should help to characterize alcohol use among Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics and should also provide information useful in the development of prevention strategies aimed at minimizing alcohol problems. Recent approaches to the prevention of alcohol problems emphasize the need for interventions directed at the environments in which drinking takes place [10]. Some advocate controlling the number of alcohol outlets in the community through the use of zoning ordinances [10]. Others have developed server intervention programs, which are directed toward manipulating contexts where heavy drinking takes place [11]. These interventions are designed to instruct servers of alcoholic beverages on how to limit heavy drinking and drunkenness; they rely on information such as the identification of places of heavy alcohol consumption and the characteristics of individuals involved in such drinking.

METHODS

Sampling

Respondents in this paper are part of the 1984 national survey of drinking patterns and problems conducted by the Alcohol Research Group. This survey interviewed 5,221 individuals: 1,947 Blacks, 1,453 Hispanics, and 1,821 non-Black non-Hispanic respondents (Whites). This paper reports data for men only. Subjects were selected through a multi-stage area probability procedure from among individuals living in

households in the 48 coterminous United States. Sampling methodology has been described in detail elsewhere [12]. Briefly, in the first stage of selection, primary sampling units were metropolitan counties, represented by Standard Consolidated Areas or Standard Metropolitan Statistical areas, and non-metropolitan counties. Using 1985 population estimates, a total of 110 primary sampling units was selected. In the second stage of selection, secondary sampling units were formed from Block Groups and Enumeration Districts. Within each secondary sampling unit, a single tertiary unit, the Listing Area, was selected. Enumerators were sent to each Listing Area to update the housing lists before selection. In the final stage of selection, households were sampled from listing sheets and assigned to interviewers. A designated respondent in each household was randomly chosen from all household members aged 18 or over who fell into the sampling frame. The response rates were 73 percent for Whites, 76 percent for Blacks, and 72 percent for Hispanics. There are no data on non-respondents. All analyses in this paper are, however, done on data weighted to take into account variations in response rates by age, sex, and region of the country.

Data were collected by trained interviewers in face-to-face interviews that averaged one hour. The place of interview was the respondent's home, and the instrument for data collection was a standardized questionnaire. Parts of this questionnaire had been extensively used in previous surveys conducted by the Alcohol Research Group dating back to 1964 (see, for instance, [13,14,15]). Concurrent validity [16] of data on quantity and frequency of drinking obtained with this questionnaire and independent measures of frequency of drinking, frequency of drinking 8 to 11 drinks, frequency of drunkenness, and alcohol problems range from .52 to .84 (Pearson correlation coefficients). Hispanic respondents were given a choice of being interviewed in English or Spanish—a Spanish version of the questionnaire and bilingual interviewers were assigned when needed. About 43 percent of these respondents chose to be interviewed in Spanish.

Ethnic Identification

The main identifier for sample selection and in the analysis was the ethnicity of the family of origin. The respondent was asked: "Which of these groups describes your family of origin"? Seven categories were provided. Those respondents who selected "Black of Hispanic origin (Latino, Mexican, Central or South American, or any other Hispanic origin)" and "White of Hispanic origin (Latino, Mexican, Central or South American, or any other Hispanic origin)" were classified as Hispanics. Respondents who selected the category "Black, not of Hispanic origin" were identified as Blacks. Finally, subjects who said that their family of origin was "White, not of Hispanic origin" were identified as Whites.

Data Collection

The data analyzed here were collected through a series of questions inquiring about respondents' drinking and social activities in the 12 months prior to the survey. The social context data were collected by asking respondents: "How often did you go out for an evening meal in a restaurant, not including fast-food places and luncheonettes?" The same question about frequency was repeated for: lunch in a restaurant; clubs or organizational meetings; bars, taverns, or cocktail lounges; party in someone else's home; when spending a quiet evening at home; being visited by friends; and hanging around with friends in a public place such as a park, street, or parking lot. The response

categories were "Never," "Sometimes but less than once a month," "One or two times a month," "Three or four times a month," and "Once a week or more." Respondents who reported engaging in an activity were then asked: "Now thinking of when you go out . . . [each activity], how often do you have a drink?" Response categories to these questions were "Never," "Less than half the time," "About half the time," "More than half the time," and "Almost all the time." Finally, respondents were asked, "When you drink, how many drinks do you typically have during that activity?"

Data on drunkenness were collected by asking, "How often in the past year did you drink enough to feel drunk?" Responses were coded in nine categories of frequency, ranging from every day or nearly every day to never in the past year. Information on drinking problems was collected through a series of questions inquiring about 30 indicators of symptomatic drinking and social and personal problems related to drinking. Some examples of the kinds of problems covered are: impairment of control, sweating, drinking first thing in the morning, blackouts, hands shaking, tolerance, binge drinking, arrests for public drunkenness, arrests for driving under the influence, job problems, and family problems. Information on friends' drinking was collected by asking: "Among your close friends, how many would you say drink quite a bit?" Five response categories were provided, ranging from "Nearly all" to "None."

Drinking Patterns Index

This index has been described in detail elsewhere [17]. Briefly, the index was constructed by combining the respondent's information on frequency of drinking a specific beverage with the frequency of drinking specific amounts of that beverage and then combining the data on all types of beverages. The original index is composed of seven categories. After preliminary cross-tabulations, using the original index to identify categories of drinkers who had homogeneous patterns of heavy drinking in the various contexts under consideration, these seven categories were grouped as follows:

Abstainer: drinks less often than once a year or has never drunk alcoholic beverages

Non-heavy drinker: drinks at least once a year

Heavy drinker: drinks once a week or more often and has five or more drinks at a sitting, also once a week or more often (A drink is taken to mean one ounce of spirits, a four-ounce glass of table wine, or a 12-ounce can of beer, each of which contains approximately nine grams of absolute alcohol.)

Statistical Analyses

Differences in the proportion of respondents who go to the various social contexts under consideration, the proportion who drink in these contexts, and the proportion who drink five or more drinks were analyzed with cross-tabulation (White versus Black and White versus Hispanic) and were tested with a test of proportions (Table 1). Differences between mean number of drinks drunk in each setting were tested by means of a t test (White versus Black and White versus Hispanic) (Table 1). Differences in the proportion of Whites versus Blacks and Whites versus Hispanics across categories of abstainers, non-heavy drinkers, and heavy drinkers who go to various social contexts under consideration (Table 3), and differences in the proportion of non-heavy drinkers and heavy drinkers who drink five or more drinks in each setting (Table 4) were also tested with a test of proportions.

The main sociodemographic predictors of drinking in heavy drinking contexts (bars, parties, and public places such as parks, streets, and parking lots) are examined by logistic regression (Table 5). The inverse natural log of the logistic coefficient equals the odds ratio, which represents how much more or less chance of drinking in a certain context an individual in a predictor category has, as compared to individuals in the other category of the same predictor. The dependent variable in this analysis is a dichotomy: drink in that particular setting versus do not drink in that setting. The predictors are also dichotomies, coded as follows: age: 18-39=1, 40 and older = 2; marital status: married = 1, single and separated or divorced = 2; education: less than high school = 1, completed high school or more = 2; income: less than \$10,000 = 1, \$10,000 or more = 2. These dichotomies are based on results of previous crosstabulations [17] of drinking patterns with the sociodemographic attributes under analysis. The dichotomies attempt to group together categories that have similar drinking habits, while at the same time to provide variables that are not too skewed for analysis.

Logistic regression is also used to describe the association between sociodemographic variables, heavier drinking, frequent visits to taverns, bars, and cocktail lounges, frequent visits to public places (parks, street, parking lots), and alcohol problems (Table 7). The dependent variable is a dichotomy: problem versus no problem. The sociodemographic variables have been coded as in the logistic regression above. Heavier drinking is coded as 1 if the respondent drinks at least once a week and also drinks five or more drinks at least once a year and as 0 if the respondent is an abstainer or any other type of drinker. Taverners and Streetcorners are coded as 1 if the respondent reports going to a bar, tavern, and cocktail lounge or to public places (parks, streets, and parking lots) at least three times a month, and as 0 if any other.

Demographic Characteristics of the Samples

There are some significant differences (test of proportions, p < .5) in the sociodemographic characteristics of the samples. The Hispanic sample has a larger proportion of men 18 to 29 years of age (43 percent versus 30 percent) and a smaller proportion of men 60 years of age and older (10 percent versus 23 percent) than the White sample. The White sample has a larger proportion of married men than the Black and Hispanic samples (67 percent versus 45 percent and 55 percent, respectively). The Black sample has a larger percentage of men who never married than the White sample (38 percent versus 23 percent). As should be expected in a comparison among White, Blacks, and Hispanics, the White sample has a significantly larger proportion than the other two samples of individuals with some college education and a smaller proportion of individuals with less than high school education (some college education: Whites, 43 percent; Blacks, 31 percent; Hispanics, 21 percent; less than high school: Whites, 22 percent; Blacks, 38 percent; Hispanics, 50 percent). There also are more White than Black or Hispanic men who report an annual family income higher than \$40,000 (Whites, 21 percent; Blacks, 6 percent; Hispanics, 4 percent).

RESULTS

Frequency of Going to and Drinking in Various Contexts

A higher proportion of White men than men in the other two ethnic groups reports ever going to an evening meal or a lunch at a restaurant, to clubs and organizational

TABLE 1
Alcohol Use in Various Social Contexts Among Men by Ethnicity

		% Who Go	o.		% Who Drink	ink	% Wh	% Who Drink 5 or More	or More	;	;	:
	Whitee	Rlacke	Hisnanics	White	Rlacke	Hismanics	Whitee	Rlacke	Hispanice	Mean	Mean Number of Drinks	t Drinks
	(741)	(716)	(602)	(741)	(716)	(602)	(741)	(716)	(602)	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
Evening meal in a restaurant	92	,89	77°	58	284	46"	*	*	*	1.8	1.7	1.7
Lunch in a restaurant	<i>L</i> 9	45	44°	22	∞	16°	*	0	*	1.4	1.3	1.2
Club or organization	46	36"	234	21	17	10°	7	*	*	2.3	1.9	1.86
Bars, taverns, and cocktail	51	404	36"	47	25	31"	6	3	∞	3.5	2.5	3.6
lounges												
Party in someone else's home	7.1	64	9/	28	46,	59	12	∞	12	3.3	3.1	3.5
Spending quiet evening at	86	26	26	51	47	44	3	٣	S	2.1	2.2	2.3
home												
When friends drop over for a	94	868	854	57	44ª	434	4	7	9	2.3	2.3	3.16
With friends in parks, streets,	25	35"	26	12	194	17"	2	2	7	3.1	2.5	4.0
or parking ions												

Test of proportions, White versus Black and White versus Hispanic, p < .05 ^{b}t test, White versus Black and White versus Hispanic, p < .05 $^{*} \le .5$

meetings, or to bars, taverns, or cocktail lounges, or ever drinking while there (Table 1). Fewer Blacks than Whites or Hispanics report going to and drinking at a party in someone else's home. More Blacks and Hispanics than Whites report drinking while hanging around with friend in parks, streets, or a parking lot. Data on the proportion of those who report typical consumption of five or more drinks in each context and on the mean number of drinks typically drunk on an occasion in each context indicate that the places where heavier drinking occurs more frequently are bars and parties for White and Black men, and these two settings plus public places (parks, and the like) for Hispanic men.

Since frequency of drinking in restaurants during an evening meal or lunch and frequency of drinking in bars may be dependent on income, these data were examined controlling for income (Table 2). Results show that more Whites than Blacks report drinking in restaurants during an evening meal, independent of income. Drinking in a restaurant during lunch and in bars is also more frequent among Whites than Blacks for those who earn up to \$30,000; among those with a higher income, there is no difference between these two ethnic groups. There is no difference in the proportion of Whites and Hispanics drinking in a restaurant during an evening meal for those who earn up to \$20,000. Among those in higher income groups, the proportion of Whites who report such drinking is higher for Whites than for Hispanics. Drinking in a restaurant during lunch is also more frequent among Whites than Hispanics in all income groups, with the exception of the highest one. In this latter group, there are no differences between Whites and Hispanics. Finally, drinking in bars is more frequent among Whites than Hispanics in all income groups.

Frequency of Going to Contexts by Drinking Pattern

This analysis is done with those who report going at least three times a month to one of the contexts being studied. In general, more heavy drinkers than other drinkers or abstainers report regular attendance at all contexts except having an evening meal at a restaurant, or going to clubs or organizational meetings, or staying home for a quiet evening (Table 3). Among abstainers and non-heavy drinkers, more Whites than Blacks or Hispanics report regular attendance at restaurants for an evening meal or lunch. Among abstainers and non-heavy drinkers, more Whites than Blacks report going regularly to parties or spending a quiet evening at home. Also among abstainers and non-heavy drinkers, more Blacks than Whites and Hispanics report regularly "hanging around" public places such as a park, street, or parking lot. Among heavy drinkers, there is no difference between Blacks and Whites on the frequency of attendance at parties, spending a quiet evening at home, and having friends drop in for a visit.

Proportion Who Drink Five or More Drinks by Drinking Pattern

Consumption of five or more drinks at a sitting is more frequent in certain contexts than in others (Table 4). For men in all three ethnic groups, it occurs more frequently in bars, taverns, and cocktail lounges, and at parties, and less often at home, when with friends, and in public places such as parks, streets, or parking lots. Differences to be noticed across ethnic groups are: Fewer Black heavy drinkers than Whites or Hispanics report ingesting five or more drinks at a sitting in bars, taverns, and cocktail lounges, and at parties; more Hispanic heavy drinkers than those who are White or Black report

TABLE 2 Frequency of Drinking in Various Social Contexts by Income and Ethnicity

		Up to \$10,000	000	\$10	\$10,001 to \$20,000	0,000	\$2(\$20,001 to \$30,000	0,000	83	\$30,001 or More	fore
	Whites (80)	Blacks (230)	Hispanics (174)	Whites (135)	Blacks (151)	Hispanics (164)	Whites (131)	Blacks (72)	Hispanics (77)	Whites (253)	Blacks (95)	Hispanics (115)
Evening meal in a restaurant	57	27°	52	63	33*	09	78	45°	52	06	71°	292
Lunch in a restaurant	14	54	4	19	12	70	77	<u>6</u>	11,	46	38	22
Bars, taverns, and cocktail	21	48	384	24	20	35*	99	46	46°	99	69	47°
lounges												

Test of proportions, White versus Black and White versus Hispanic, p<.05

TABLE 3 Frequency of Going to Various Social Contexts by Ethnicity and Drinking Patterns: Percentage of Men Who Go at Least Three Times a Month

		Abstainers		Ž	Non-Heavy Drinkers	ıkers		Heavy Drinkers	ers
	Whites (175)	Blacks (225)	Hispanics (156)	Whites (427)	Blacks (371)	Hispanics (332)	Whites (139)	Blacks (120)	Hispanics (114)
Evening meal in a restaurant	34	12"	154	36	184	204	29	184	15"
Lunch in a restaurant	17	70	, 11	27	194	70	29	16	494
Club or organization	12	6	16	6	5	7	13	13	4
Bars, taverns, and cocktail	4	7	ď	12	12	6	44	38	54
lounges									
Party in someone else's home	9	2ª	1,0	٣	9	2	15	18	=
Spending quiet evening at home	96	906	95	94	868	96	85	79	734
When friends drop over for a visit	46	29ª	134	39	43	314	53	54	36
With friends in parks, streets, or	5	14"	7	9	26°	∞	20	22	28
parking lots									

Test of proportions, White versus Black and White versus Hispanic, p < .05

	Non	-Heavy D	rinkers	Н	eavy Dri	nkers
	Whites (427)	Blacks (371)	Hispanics (332)	Whites (139)	Blacks (120)	Hispanics (114)
Evening meal in a restaurant	*	0	0	2	1	1
Lunch in a restaurant	0	0	0	2	0	1
Club or organization	1	0	0	6	3	2
Bars, taverns, and cocktail lounges	2	*	3	39	17ª	38
Party in someone else's home	5	6	7	49	33ª	49
Spending quiet evening at home	1	1	2	10	16	22ª
When friends drop over for a visit	1	1	3	19	13	26
With friends in parks, street, or parking lots	*	*	2	8	11	314

TABLE 4
Proportion of Men Who Drink Five or More Drinks in Various Social Contexts
by Drinking Pattern and Ethnicity

consuming five or more drinks when spending a quiet evening at home, or when in parks, streets, or parking lots.

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Drinkers in Bars, Parties, and Public Places (Streets, and the Like)

Table 5 shows the logistic coefficients, standard errors, and odds ratios for the variables in this analysis. Drinking in bars, taverns, and cocktail lounges is associated with being younger (18–39) and being single among men of all three ethnic groups. Other significant predictors of drinking in bars are: for White men, income equal to or higher than \$10,000; and for Black men, having completed high school education or more.

The predictors of drinking at parties are similar to those for bars. Among Whites and Blacks, younger (18-39) and single men have more chance of drinking at parties than other men. Among Whites, higher income and higher education are also associated with this behavior. Among Hispanics, being younger and having a higher income increases men's chances of drinking at parties. For Whites and Blacks, drinking in public places such as parks, streets, and parking lots also occurs more often among young and single men, but among Hispanics such drinking is associated only with being younger.

Sociodemographic and Drinking-Related Characteristics of Three Subgroups of Men: Taverners, Streetcorners, and Others

Taverners and Streetcorners are those who report going to one or the other of these two contexts at least three times a month; the third group, for comparison, is composed of all other men. Streetcorners are the youngest group of the three (Table 6). Roughly two-thirds of the men in this group are 18 to 29 years of age, independent of ethnicity. Among Whites and Blacks, Taverners are also younger than Others, but not among Hispanics. Being single, separated, or divorced is associated with regular presence at streetcorners among men in the three ethnic groups, but particularly so among Blacks. Being single, separated, or divorced is also associated with regular attendance at

^{*&}lt;.5

[&]quot;Test of proportions, White versus Black and White versus Hispanic, p < .05

TABLE 5
Logistic Coefficients from Multiple Logistic Regression of Drinking in Bars, Parties, and Public Places on Selected Sociodemographic Variables (men only)

	Whites		Blacks		Hispanics	3
	Coefficient	Odds Ratio	Coefficient	Odds Ratio	Coefficient	Odds Ratio
	Drinking in Bars	, Tavern	s, Cocktail Loung	es		
Age (40+)	$-1.12 \pm .18**$.3	$62 \pm .18**$.5	$-1.08 \pm .20**$.3
Marital status (single)	1.04 ± .18**	2.8	$.36 \pm .16**$	1.4	.50 ± .18**	1.6
Education (high school or more)	$.10 \pm .22$	1.1	.44 ± .20*	1.6	$0.28 \pm .18$	1.3
Income (\$10,000 or more)	$0.48 \pm .24*$	1.6	$0.14 \pm .18$	1.1	$0.10 \pm .20$	1.1
	Dri	inking in	Parties			
Age (40+)	$-0.78 \pm .18**$.4	$-0.80 \pm .18**$.4	$-0.90 \pm .18**$.4
Marital status (single)	$0.50 \pm .20$ *	1.7	$0.40 \pm .16$ *	1.5	$0.06 \pm .18$	1.0
Education (high school or more)	0.96 ± .22**	2.6	$0.28 \pm .18$	1.3	$0.34 \pm .18$	1.4
Income (\$10,000 or more)	.66 ± .22**	1.9	$0.44 \pm .18$	1.5	0.52 ± .18**	1.7
,	Drinki	ng in Pu	blic Places			
Age (40+)	$-1.76 \pm .36**$.2	$-1.58 \pm .28**$.2	$-1.68 \pm .32**$.2
Marital status (single)	$0.68 \pm .26**$	2.0	$0.50 \pm .22**$	1.6	$.32 \pm .22$	1.4
Education (high school or more)	$-0.58 \pm .34$		$-0.60 \pm .24$.5	$-0.18 \pm .22$.8
Income (\$10,000 or more)	$0.20 \pm .36$	1.2	$-0.26 \pm .22$.8	$0.10 \pm .24$	1.1

 X^2 , df = 1, p < .05

taverns among Whites and Blacks, but not among Hispanics. Education and income are not as strongly associated with tavern or streetcorner attendance as are age and marital status.

All drinking-related variables seem to be good markers of regular attendance at tavern and streetcorner, but some differences across ethnic groups need to be noted. There are fewer heavy drinkers among Black Streetcorners than among Streetcorners in the other two groups. Fewer Black Taverners than those who are Whites or Hispanics report getting drunk at least once a month. A similar difference occurs between Hispanic Streetcorners and those who are Whites or Blacks. A smaller proportion of Black and Hispanic Taverners than those who are White report four or more alcohol-related problems, but, among Streetcorners, more Hispanics report four or more alcohol-related problems than Whites or Blacks. Finally, both Taverners and Streetcorners in all three ethnic groups report a higher proportion of friends who "drink quite a bit" than Other respondents. This reporting is especially high among Black Taverners and Hispanic Streetcorners.

Relationship Between Frequency of Going to Selected Contexts and Problems

None of the sociodemographic attributes (age, marital status, education, and income) is a predictor of problems in this model (Table 7). Among Whites, heavier drinkers and Taverners have a greater chance of reporting an alcohol problem than other individuals. Among Blacks, the same is true for heavier drinkers, Taverners, and

^{**} X^2 , df = 1, p < .01

TABLE 6
Sociodemographic and Drinking-Related Characteristics of Three Types of Drinkers (men only)

				· · · · · ·					
		Taverners			Streetcorners	S		All Others	
	Whites (103)	Blacks (74)	Hispanics (51)	Whites (58)	Blacks (112)	Hispanics (72)	Whites (576)	Blacks (335)	Hispanics (470)
Age		<u>.</u>							
18–29	37	34	23	71	65	76	24	29	4
30–39	28	36	38	13	25	15	21	21	25
40+	35	30	39	16	10	10	55	20	34
Marital Status									
Not married	53	53	42	89	81	89	20	36	38
Married	47	47	28	32	19	32	80	64	62
Education									
Less than high school	13	29	34	14	39	49	25	38	53
High school +	87	71	99	98	61	51	75	62	47
Income									
Less than \$10,000	∞	37	34	∞	46	36	19	4	32
\$10,000 or +	92	63	99	92	54	64	81	26	89
Proportion who are heavy drinkers	47	43	52	45	15	43	12	10	œ
Proportion who get drunk at least	22	16	21	36	29	19	9	7	3
once a month									
Proportion who report four or more	21	15	10	38	39	84	ς.	7	4
prooreins	;	į	•	•	•	;	,	ď	•
Proportion who say "more than half" of friends drink "quite a	13	25	19	%	%	31	S.	œ	S
bit"									

1.6

	Whites		Blacks		Hispanic	S
	Coefficient	Odds Ratio	Coefficient	Odds Ratio	Coefficient	Odds Ratio
Age (40+)	$-0.40 \pm .24$.7	$-0.14 \pm .24$.9	$-0.40 \pm .24$.7
Marital status (single)	$0.40 \pm .24$	1.5	$0.08 \pm .20$	1.0	$.20 \pm .26$	1.2
Education (high school or more)	$-0.20 \pm .30$.8	$.06 \pm .24$	1.0	$38 \pm .26$.7
Income (\$10,000 or more)	$-0.42 \pm .30$.7	$-0.38 \pm .22$.7	$.26 \pm 0.26$	1.3
Heavier drinker	2.42 ± .24**	11.0	2.12 ± .20**	8.3	2.66 ± .28**	14.3
Taverner	1.2 ± .28**	3.3	$0.78 \pm .30*$	2.2	$0.30 \pm .36**$	1.3

TABLE 7

Logistic Coefficients from Multiple Logistic Regression of Alcohol Problems (1 - problem, 0 - no problem) on Selected Sociodemographic and Drinking-Related Variables

Streetcorner

Streetcorners. Among Hispanics, the only factor increasing the risk of reporting an alcohol problem is heavier drinking.

1.8

 $0.6 \pm .24*$

1.8

 $0.50 \pm .34$

 $0.58 \pm .36$

DISCUSSION

Before discussing the results of this paper, two limitations of this study should be mentioned. First, the response rate for each of the three population groups analyzed here is at an acceptable level for this kind of research, and the data have been weighted to correct for variations in response by respondents' age, sex, and region of the country. Correction for age and sex covers the two main predictors of drinking described in the literature [14,15]. Still, the characteristics of survey research do not allow for the collection of information on alcohol use from non-respondents, and the possibility of some difference between respondents and non-respondents in these variables cannot be discarded.

Second, all the data analyzed in this paper are categorical, and some were collected by allowing the respondent to choose multiple answer categories within the same question. This fact, plus the characteristic skewness of alcohol data, limits considerably the type of statistical techniques that can be employed in data analysis. The grouping of information for tabulation places an additional limitation on the analysis, and the results may not reflect the full complexity of the data being examined.

The results in this paper show that, in the social contexts under consideration, drinking by White, Black, and Hispanic men is generally similar. With a few exceptions, which will be discussed below, contexts of moderate and heavy drinking are shared by men in the three ethnic groups. Trocki [18] and Herd [6] have reported similar findings. This fact suggests the existence of general rules of behavior that are shared by White, Black, and Hispanic men, and which can perhaps be seen as national standards. The variation observed in attitudes toward drinking and drunkenness, in norms regulating access to drinking of specific gender and age groups, or in the patterning of drinking by age across Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics is not reflected in the manner by which men drink in the social contexts studied here (see [6,17,18]). It is also possible that these data do not reflect differences in drinking in these contexts across ethnic groups. The bars regularly attended by Hispanics may be different from

 X^2 , df = 1, p < .05

^{**} X^2 , df = 1, p < .01

those to which Blacks or Whites go. There may be differences in drinking companions, time of drinking, or type of beverage, and these topics are not covered by the data in this paper.

The results also show differences among ethnic groups which deserve specific comments. The proportion of White men who report going to and drinking in restaurants and in bars is higher than the proportion of Black or Hispanic men, confirming one of the hypotheses of this paper. Income differences between Whites and Blacks and Whites and Hispanics are not totally responsible for this result. Income affects frequency of drinking in some contexts but not in others. In the highest income group, there is no difference between the proportion of Whites and Blacks who report drinking during lunch or in bars, nor is there a difference in the proportion of Whites and Hispanics who report drinking during lunch. Perhaps what is at play here is a differential preference for settings across ethnic groups which is not dependent solely on income or drinking behavior. Thus, hanging around parks, streets, and parking lots seems to be more frequent among Blacks than among men in the other two ethnic groups, and this behavior is independent of drinking pattern. In other words, among Whites and Hispanics, regular "hanging around" these public places is a behavior associated with heavy drinking. Among Blacks, however, it could well be an accepted form of social interaction, shared by non-drinkers, light drinkers, and heavy drinkers alike.

These results suggest that at least some drinking behavior among Blacks is not as private as expected from previous analysis. According to the findings, Blacks do not seem to show any more preference than Whites for doing their drinking or heavy drinking in private places as opposed to public environments. In general, Blacks seem to drink less than Whites not only in public places such as clubs, bars, taverns, and cocktail lounges, but also in private (when spending a quiet evening at home, when friends drop over for a visit).

The expectation that drinking by Hispanic men would be more public than that of Whites is confirmed only with regard to drinking in parks, streets, or parking lots. Among Hispanics, these public places seem to be settings for heavy drinking: A third of the Hispanic heavy drinkers report drinking five or more drinks in these settings, and the mean number of drinks Hispanics consume per typical occasion of drinking in these places is four, higher than the mean for Blacks and Whites. This finding may help in understanding why the rate of arrest for public drunkenness among Hispanics is more than three times higher than among non-Hispanics [19].

Hispanics, Whites, and Blacks who drink in these public places are generally young, and this fact is also true for those drinking in bars and at parties. The finding for White men is in accordance with previous research in the U.S. general population by Clark [2,3] and Fisher [20]. The finding for Black and Hispanic men is unexpected. In contrast to White men, among Blacks and Hispanics heavy drinking is not concentrated among the young, but continues until middle age [9,17]. Thus, it was expected that drinking in heavy drinking contexts would not be associated with age among men in the two minority groups. Among Whites and Blacks, being single is also a predictor of drinking in bars, parties, and public places, and this fact too has been previously reported [2,3]. Among Hispanics, however, singleness is only associated with drinking in bars. Since there have been no previous descriptions of Hispanics' drinking in different social contexts, this finding needs confirmation.

The association between age and going to bars, parties, and public places is also

demonstrated in the analysis of Taverners and Streetcorners. In this analysis, Streetcorners of all ethnic groups are younger than Others. Taverners who are White and Black are also younger than Others in each respective ethnic group, but Taverners who are Hispanics are older than Other Hispanics. This finding is in accordance with the patterning of drinking by age among Hispanics mentioned above [17].

Finally, regular attendance at bars increases Whites' and Blacks' changes of having an alcohol problem, but not Hispanics'. Regular presence in public places such as parks and parking lots increases Blacks' chances of having an alcohol problem but is not a factor of risk for Whites and Hispanics. It is difficult to explain these differences. In spite of the apparent sharing of a number of sociodemographic and drinking-related characteristics by Taverners and Streetcorners of all three ethnic groups, these findings suggest that the individuals of each of these three ethnic groups who go regularly to those places may be quite different from one another.

Independent of the effect of bar attendance on alcohol problems, the bar is a place of heavy drinking. Prevention strategies such as those in server intervention programs should take this fact into account and attempt to create some control over heavy drinking in such settings as a way to minimize alcohol problems. Preventive strategies directed to control heavy drinking in parties or public places are more difficult to develop. Most parties occur in private places; interventions here cannot be aimed at direct control over how much alcohol is consumed in the context but will need to alert host and partygoers to the dangers of excessive alcohol consumption and promote alternatives to drinking. Drinking in public places has long been controlled by the police. Prevention of heavy drinking in these places should not rely only on law enforcement agencies. Since much of this "hanging around" and drinking occurs in neighborhoods' streetcorners, parks, and parking lots, the involvement of community organizations, local merchants, and concerned citizens is essential for the success of any campaign directed toward minimizing heavy drinking in these environments.

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