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Traditional gender roles and alcohol use among Latinas/os: A review of the literature

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ABSTRACT

Research indicates alcohol use among Latinas/os occurs within a gendered context. Scholars surmise this is due to traditional gender roles (TGRs) of Latina/o culture, but without an analysis of the literature these assertions are unclear. Thus, this article provides a narrative review of the extant TGRs and alcohol use literature among Latinas/os. Thirteen articles met inclusion criteria. Across studies, findings were mixed, aside from those suggesting TGRs composed of hypermasculinity (i.e., traditional machismo) were robustly related to drinking. Tests of mediation and moderation indicated TGRs and alcohol use should be assessed within a multivariate framework. Future research should address these inconsistencies through methodological refinements. In addition, we suggest the integration of existing theoretical perspectives to assist with scholarly development in this area.

KEYWORDS

Hispanic; Latina/o; machismo; marianismo; alcohol

Over several decades, researchers have increased examinations of racial and ethnic disparities related to alcohol use (e.g., Chartier & Caetano, 2009; Zamboanga et al., 2015). This attention is partly motivated by the growing U.S. Latina/o population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015) and, more importantly, problematic trends surrounding alcohol use among Latinas/os. For example, some research suggests Latina/o adolescents and young adults engage in more high-risk drinking (e.g., bingeing) than other ethnic minority groups (e.g., Johnston et al., 2019; Kann et al., 2018). Other research finds Latinas/os are more likely than people in other groups to report current drinking and engage in more daily heavy drinking (Chartier & Caetano, 2009). Finally, studies indicate Latinas/os are disproportionately affected by numerous alcohol-related problems when compared to non-Latina/o whites (e.g., Witbrodt, Mulia, Zeng, & Kerr, 2014).

For decades, researchers have examined a constellation of sociocultural variables to better understand alcohol use among Latinas/os. One cultural

determinant of drinking behaviors among Latinas/os is acculturation (Lui & Zamboanga, 2018), described as the dynamic cognitive and behavioral change experienced by immigrants and their descendants as they encounter a receiving host culture and/or people from different cultural backgrounds (see Schwartz et al., 2010). Literature suggests that U.S. acculturation is correlated with alcohol use among Latinas/os, but this association differs according to gender. Specifically, research indicates orienting toward the U.S. culture is a risk factor for alcohol use for Latina women, particularly compared to Latino men (see Lui & Zamboanga, 2018). Some research even indicates orienting toward the heritage culture, or away from the U.S. culture, is related to increased alcohol use among Latinos (e.g., Perrotte, Zamboanga, Lui, & Piña-Watson, 2018; Zamboanga et al., 2006). It has been suggested that traditional Latina/o culture encourages men to engage in alcohol use while discouraging women from the same (e.g., Gilbert & Collins, 1997; Perrotte, Baumann, Garza, & Hale, 2017; Rafaelli et al., 2007; Zamboanga, Tomaso, Kondo, & Schwartz, 2014); thus, when gender differences between acculturation and drinking behavior are found, researchers often surmise gender role norms are a factor (e.g., Perrotte, Baumann, Garza, & Hale, 2017; Schwartz et al., 2014a). While this reasoning is tenable, a narrative review of the literature will help shed light on this hypothesis. Thus, this article aims to review and analyze the existing research on the link between traditional gender roles (TGRs) and alcohol use among Latinas/os and offer recommendations for advancing this field of study.

Gender role theory

According to gender schema theory (Bem, 1981), people are socialized through environmental influences from a young age to adopt specific sex-typed characteristics. Through social learning, what society considers male and female becomes embedded into one's self-concept, creating a cyclical relationship whereby behavior and self-concept reinforce each other. Therefore, societal cues that equate being male with consuming alcohol and cues that associate being female with drinking less (or abstaining) can become encoded into a person's gender schema.

Gender roles, then, are the enactment of this gender identity (Miville & Ferguson, 2014). From a social constructionist perspective, gender exists as a social interaction, and gendered behavior is therefore a performance of gender (see Peralta, 2007; Wilkinson, Fleming, Halpern, Herring, & Harris, 2018). This framework is often applied to alcohol use through the lens of hegemonic masculinity and illustrates how drinking is an expression of manhood (e.g., Lebreton, Peralta, Allen-Collinson, Wiley, & Routier, 2017). Research suggests women may refrain from high-risk drinking to not

appear masculine or otherwise be looked down upon (Lebreton et al., 2017). Thus, it stands to reason that for some women, limiting or abstaining from drinking can be an expression of the feminine gender role.

Members of racial/ethnic minority groups must navigate their environment according to their experience of gender along with their experience of race/ethnicity (Miville & Ferguson, 2014). As suggested by Griffith and colleagues (2012), there is much overlap between the prescribed gender roles of different groups, but each will adapt variants of these norms to best suit their respective cultures. For example, for Latinas, gender roles can be informed by cultural values such as *respeto* (i.e., deference to authority figures within a social hierarchy) and religious symbolism (i.e., the Virgin Mary; Miville & Ferguson, 2014). Therefore, the cultural prescriptions for drinking behavior for Latinas may be different from those for women from other cultures who might not incorporate these values and symbols into a gender role. It is from this perspective that we will examine the relation between TGRs and alcohol use among Latinas/os.

Traditional Latina/o gender roles

The male Latino gender role is often referred to as *machismo*. In the past, machismo has been characterized by hypermasculinity, sexual risk-taking, substance use, and dominance (Stevens, 1973). According to this perspective, machismo norms may encourage men to drink recklessly. Many scholars agree that this is a narrow and negative conceptualization of a complex gender role (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Falicov, 2010; Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002) and that Latino masculinity is better represented by multiple dimensions. For example, in addition to the traditional machismo characteristics just mentioned, another dimension of machismo encompasses attributes such as chivalry, respect, and honor (i.e., *caballerismo*; Arciniega et al., 2008). There has not been much discussion of *caballerismo* in relation to alcohol use as there is not as clear a conceptual link for *caballerismo* as for traditional machismo. Research shows *caballerismo* is related to both a greater sense of well-being and increased problem-solving coping (Arciniega et al., 2008), which in turn have been found to be protective against problematic drinking (Corbin, Farmer, & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2013).

Psychologists generally agree on the term *marianismo* to describe TGRs for Latinas (see Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010). Stemming from the idyllic Virgin Mary, some characteristics of *marianismo* encourage a woman to be virginally pure, subordinate to men, and passive. Thus, a Latina conforming to this gender role may abstain from alcohol use to maintain a sense (or at least a portrayal) of purity. Concurrently,

conformity to marianismo implies that a Latina is expected to display an almost superhuman strength, particularly when it comes to caring for the family, rendering the gender role a seemingly paradoxical cluster of dimensions (Gil & Vasquez, 1996). Each dimension places unique demands on how Latinas are expected to conduct themselves across contexts, making it difficult to conceptually disentangle how marianismo may relate to alcohol. For example, drinking alcohol would be incongruent with the expected ideals regarding purity. On the other hand, the demands placed upon Latinas may foster a sense of distress (Nuñez et al., 2015), which drinking may temporarily help ease.

Qualitative studies suggest traditional machismo may be related to increased alcohol use for men while marianismo may be related to decreased alcohol use for women. Multiple studies suggest Latino men are socialized by men and women to drink, as it is traditional practice for men and a gauge of masculinity (Fiorentino, Berger, & Ramirez, 2007; Gonzalez-Guarda, Vasquez, Urrutia, Villaruel, & Peregallo, 2011). Research on marianismo tends to emphasize its role in health behaviors such as sexual risk-taking rather than alcohol use; however, parallels may be drawn from one behavior to another. Marianismo scripts are enforced from a young age as Latinas are taught to refrain behaviors that are considered impure and socially unacceptable (Carranza, 2013). Research also suggests that, as Latinas acculturate to mainstream U.S. society, maintaining values characteristic of marianismo becomes more difficult, and the presence of a new and relatively more liberal environment may help explain their participation in risky behaviors (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2011).

Overview

While qualitative research is useful for formulating testable hypotheses, quantitative investigations bolster meaningful theoretical conclusions. Thus, we present a narrative review of the quantitative research on TGRs and alcohol among Latinas/os and suggest an avenue for future research directions by bridging existing theoretical perspectives into this field of study. This review addresses the following research questions: (a) What is the breadth and depth of the extant literature on TGRs and alcohol use among Latinas/os? (b) What relations emerge between TGRs and alcohol use among Latinas/os across studies? (c) How might researchers move this field forward?

For this review, TGRs are considered as such when contextualized in terms of traditional machismo, caballerismo, and/or marianismo. Some articles use culturally general gender role measures with a Latina/o sample but draw inferences from knowledge of TGRs. These will be included, and

TABLE 1. Summary of Empirical Studies Examining Gender Roles and Alcohol Use in the Context of Machismo and Marianismo.

Author(s) (year)	Design	Sample characteristics	TGR measure	Alcohol use measure
Arciniega et al. (2008)	cross-sectional (studies 1 & 2)	Study 1: 154 Mexican-origin men (mean age = 32); Study 2: 477 heterogeneous Latino men (403 Mexican-origin; mean age = 31)	Traditional Machismo and Caballerismo Scale (TMCS; Arciniega et al., 2008)	Alcohol quantity
Ceballos et al. (2012)	cross-sectional	376 heterogeneous Latina/o undergraduates (290 in United States; 80% female; mean age = 22)	Machismo subscale of the Multiphasic Assessment of Cultural Constructs-Short Form (MACC-SF; Cuéllar et al., 1995)	1) Alcohol quantity and frequency 2) Alcohol expectancies
Ertl et al. (2017, 2018)	cross-sectional	530 Latina recent immigrant women (18–23 years old)	Marianismo Beliefs Scale (MBS; Castillo et al., 2010).	Alcohol quantity
Kissinger et al. (2013)	longitudinal	125 Latino immigrant men (79.7% from Honduras; mean age = 30.1)	TMCS (Arciniega et al., 2008)	Binge-drinking frequency
Kulis et al. (2003)	cross-sectional	1,332 multiracial/ethnic adolescents (66% Mexican-origin; 10% other Latina/o origin; 92% age 13 or 14)	Assertive masculinity, aggressive masculinity, affective femininity, and submissive femininity (adapted from Antill et al., 1981; Marsh and Myers, 1986; Ricciardelli and Williams, 1995; Russell and Antill, 1984).	1) Lifetime alcohol use 2) Alcohol quantity 3) Age of alcohol initiation
Kulis et al. (2010)	cross-sectional	151 Latina/o adolescents, primarily Mexican-origin (most age 15 or 16)	See Kulis et al., 2003, above	1) Drinking frequency 2) Lifetime sips of alcohol 3) Binge-drinking frequency 4) Alcohol quantity
Kulis et al. (2012)	cross-sectional	1,466 Mexican-origin adolescents (53% female, mean age = 12.7)	See Kulis et al., 2003, above	1) Drinking frequency 2) Alcohol quantity 3) Binge-drinking frequency
Neff et al. (1991)	cross-sectional	481 adult male drinkers; multiracial/ethnic (31% Mexican-origin)	Male role and dominance (adapted from Abad & Suarez, 1975; Markides & Vernon, 1984; Panitz et al., 1983)	High-maximum drinking frequency
Perrotte, Baumann, et al. (2018)	cross-sectional	248 Latina/o college students (69% MexicanAmerican)	TMCS (Arciniega et al., 2008); MBS (Castillo et al., 2010)	1) Quantity 2) Frequency of binge drinking
Soto et al. (2011)	cross-sectional	1,616 heterogeneous Latina/o adolescents (mean age = 14)	Machismo; 7 items on a 4-point scale (adapted from Cuéllar et al., 1995)	Lifetime alcohol use
Vaughan et al. (2014)	cross-sectional	660 heterogeneous Latina/o emerging adults (mean age = 21.87)	Bem Sex Role Inventory - Short (BSRI-S; Bem, 1974)	1) Binge-drinking frequency 2) Alcohol problems 3) Typical quantity per drinking episode
Venegas et al. (2012)	cross-sectional	160 heterogeneous Latina/o college students (mean age = 19.9)	Hypergender Ideology Scale (Hamburger et al., 1996)	Heavy Episodic Drinking (Revised Daily Drinking Questionnaire; Kruse et al., 2005)

their limitations will be discussed. Alcohol use is defined to include cognitions (e.g., alcohol expectancies) and outcomes (e.g., general use, binge drinking, alcohol-related problems). Because the co-occurrence of alcohol use and other health behaviors (e.g., other substance use; Sanchez, Vandewater, & Hamilton, 2017) is outside the focus of this article, they will not be included in our review. Inclusion criteria for this review were (a) samples were entirely or predominantly from the United States, (b) participants were not preadolescent, (c) one or more TGRs was a primary variable of interest, and (d) either the sample consisted only of individuals who identify as Hispanic or Latina/o or findings pertaining to participants who identify as Hispanic or Latina/o were clearly specified. There were no exclusions associated with publication date. Several databases were searched (i.e., ProQuest [includes PsycARTICLES, PsycInfo, Psychology Database], Google Scholar, EBSCOhost) using combinations of the following key terms: traditional gender roles, Hispanic, Latin*, machismo, caballerismo, marianismo, alcohol*. This search yielded a total of 12 peer-reviewed articles. These 12 studies met certain key minimum quality criteria thresholds (e.g., design quality was at minimum cross-sectional; validated measures; Khan, Riet, Popay, Nixon, & Kleijnen, 2001); however, we elected to refrain from excluding studies according to more stringent quality criteria. As noted in a literature review by Monk and Heim (2013), excluding studies that do not meet more stringent quality requirements (e.g., external validity) may inhibit an accurate depiction—and discussion—of the extant literature. Thus, this narrative review discusses the findings and limitations of all 12 articles found during the search. A summary of each of these articles can be found in Table 1.

Literature review

Direct associations

Across studies, the most consistent patterns indicate masculinities closely aligned with traditional machismo are robustly related to alcohol use among Latinas/os. For example, a measure of gender identity referred to as *aggressive masculinity* was related to increased prevalence of numerous alcohol-related outcomes for adolescents (Kulis et al., 2003; 2012). Similarly, other research indicated traditional machismo beliefs were related to general alcohol consumption and binge drinking among Latino men (Arciniega et al., 2008; Perrotte, Baumann et al., 2018). However, some studies found no link between attitudes representative of traditional machismo and alcohol use (e.g., Kissinger et al., 2013; Venegas et al., 2012). Other studies used machismo belief scales composed of gender comparative items and found that machismo was linked to alcohol outcomes in

women only. One of these studies found machismo beliefs were positively related to several alcohol expectancies (e.g., sexual enhancement, risk-taking) for women, but not men (Ceballos et al., 2012). The other examined machismo among adolescents and indicated machismo was protective against lifetime alcohol use for Latina girls but unrelated for boys (Soto et al., 2011), suggesting machismo measured this way may serve as a proxy for marianismo.

There is limited research on TGRs and alcohol use among Latinas/os exploring dimensions of masculinity other than those encompassing characteristics of traditional machismo. Those studies that exist have mixed findings. One study found that a measure of gender identity labeled *assertive masculinity* (e.g., goal-oriented, self-confident) was protective against alcohol use among adolescent boys (Kulis et al., 2010). Another study employed latent class analysis and found that a gender role identity labeled *personal masculinity* (e.g., leader, independent) was related to lower odds of binge drinking and was predominantly composed of women. The same study showed that the class *social masculinity* (e.g., forceful, aggressive) had more men than women and was related to higher odds of binge drinking (Vaughan et al., 2014). Three studies directly examined caballerismo beliefs among Latino men, with conflicting findings. Two of these failed to detect any association between caballerismo and either general alcohol use or binge drinking (Arciniega et al., 2008; Kissinger et al., 2013). The third, however, indicated that caballerismo was related to less frequent binge drinking in a Latino college sample (Perrotte, Baumann et al., 2018).

Among Latinas/os, research on the link between feminine gender roles and alcohol use is less common than research on masculine gender roles, yet the research that does exist also shows inconsistency across studies. Interestingly, one of these studies indicated that a measure of gender identity called *submissive femininity*—with characteristics aligned with submissive aspects of marianismo—was protective against alcohol use only for adolescent boys. Three studies examined the relations between dimensions of marianismo beliefs and alcohol use among Latinas. Two of these studies used the same sample and indicated a negative zero-order relation between dimensions of marianismo capturing deference and repression and general alcohol use (Ertl et al., 2018; Ertl, Dillon, Martin, Babino, & De La Rosa, 2017). A third study did not detect a direct association between two dimensions of marianismo (i.e., positive marianismo and negative marianismo) and general alcohol use or binge drinking (Perrotte, Baumann et al., 2018).

In summary, although empirical trends suggest there is a link between TGRs characterized by aspects of traditional machismo and alcohol use, the literature is largely mixed. While many of these inconsistencies may be due to discrepancies in design across studies (e.g., samples, measures used; see

“Methodological issues”), multivariate models in the reviewed studies suggest other important factors are at play. That is, some studies explored the added influence of key moderating and mediating variables in relation to TGRs and alcohol use; these are described in the following section.

Indirect associations and moderators

To gain a more nuanced understanding of TGRs and alcohol use, one study examined the indirect effects of internalizing behavior (e.g., crying, lethargic), externalizing behavior (e.g., aggression, skipping school), and peer substance use norms on the relation between gender identity and alcohol use (Kulis et al., 2010). For boys, assertive masculinity (dubbed as a *positive gender role*) was negatively related to alcohol use, beyond internalizing and externalizing behaviors, and peer norms. For girls, both submissive femininity and aggressive masculinity (dubbed as *negative gender roles*) were related to increased alcohol use, but these effects were diminished with the inclusion of internalizing behaviors, externalizing behaviors, and peer norms, indicating some of the relation between TGRs and alcohol use is accounted for by these additional variables. Kulis and colleagues (2010) speculated the mediating effects were, in part, due to psychological distress experienced from socialization into a submissive gender role.

Demonstrating the importance of cultural context, two studies examined the moderating effect of acculturation on the relation between gender identity and alcohol use among adolescents. Aggressive masculinity was related to greater lifetime alcohol use for highly acculturated, but not less acculturated, Mexican American participants (Kulis et al., 2003). A subsequent study indicated assertive masculinity was a risk factor for binge drinking only for Latino boys who endorsed lower levels of acculturation. No interaction effects between gender identity and acculturation among the girls were found (Kulis et al., 2012).

Two studies using adult samples examined the conditional effects of other variables on the association between TGRs and drinking. The first showed machismo was related to high-maximum drinking for Mexican American men only when self-esteem and education levels were either both low or both high (Neff et al., 1991). A more recent study (Perrotte, Baumann et al., 2018) found the relations between TGRs and alcohol use vary depending on stress levels. Women who endorsed high levels of positive marianismo were more likely to drink when experiencing high levels of stress. Conversely, endorsing lower levels of positive marianismo was related to more binge drinking for women, but at lower levels of stress. Among men, traditional machismo had a stronger effect on drinking when

stress levels were low. Low *caballerismo* and experiences of low stress were also associated with greater frequencies of binge drinking (Perrotte, Baumann et al., 2018). Taken together, these studies provide compelling evidence that to understand the connections between well-known factors (e.g., stress, education) and alcohol use, it is beneficial to model them within a gendered, sociocultural context.

Current limitations and future directions

Methodological issues

The lack of a standardized measure for TGRs in Latinas/os likely affects the theoretical interpretation of these studies' results in numerous ways. First, some authors measured gender identity (e.g., Vaughan et al., 2014) while others measured gender role beliefs (e.g., Ceballos et al., 2012, 2018). Although a person's identities and beliefs are interrelated (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004) and likely relate to a given behavior in similar ways, they cannot be interpreted as synonymous. Thus, the gender role identity someone ascribes to and the gender role beliefs the same person possesses may not identically predict behavior. Therefore, future research should distinguish between TGR identities versus beliefs as these are not interchangeable domains of the self (as suggested by McCreary et al., 2005; Wilkinson et al., 2018) and may have nuanced associations with alcohol outcomes.

Measurement inconsistencies noted in this review also include "choice of alcohol" variable, which adds to the difficulty in drawing overarching conclusions across studies. Research indicates that distinct alcohol outcomes are differentially associated with variables related to acculturation (Schwartz, Zamboanga et al., 2014). There is an array of standardized alcohol measures available, the use of which would foster the ability for cross-study comparison. This speaks to a need to standardize alcohol measures in future studies and highlights the need to expand this body of literature in general, so multiple studies can examine how TGR relates to many facets of alcohol use (e.g., frequency, expectancies) and a more comprehensive pattern of findings can emerge.

Furthermore, some researchers used TGR measures that were not designed to capture TGRs unique to Latinas/os (e.g., Vaughan et al., 2014; Venegas et al., 2012). TGRs such as *caballerismo* and *marianismo* represent a unique intersection of gender and Latina/o culture likely lost in a global measure. Some research suggests that certain TGRs (e.g., *machismo*) are generalizable across racial/ethnic groups (Neff, 2001). Indeed, although some research suggests Latino men may endorse higher levels of *machismo* than men from other racial/ethnic groups (Neff et al., 1991), this does not indicate measurement bias. Interestingly, in a psychometric study (Neff,

2001) of an expanded version of a multi-dimensional machismo measure taken from an earlier study (see Neff et al., 1991), data indicated the underlying factor structure was not invariant across men from different racial and ethnic groups. Neff (2001) noted that the general pattern of factor loadings were remarkably similar across groups, however.

Other research suggests Latina/o gender roles are even more complex than contemporary conceptualizations. For example, Torres et al. (2002) identified five dimensions of masculinity among a sample of Latino men. Together, these studies offer support for considering cultural nuances when examining the role of TGRs in predicting behavior. Relatedly, Arciniega et al. (2008) and Castillo et al. (2010) created multidimensional measures to capture the complexity of TGRs for Latinas/os; however, they are largely unused in alcohol research. In addition, scholars note that traditional definitions of gender are likely being challenged—and perhaps reshaped—by newer roles within an increasingly nontraditional context (Miville, Mendez, & Louie, 2017). Thus, moving forward, it will be important to consider how Latina/o gender roles are expanding beyond current definitions.

Another limitation of the TGR and alcohol use literature among Latinas/os is each study's design. Each study used a self-report questionnaire, and all but one were cross-sectional (Kissinger et al., 2013). Since cross-sectional designs do not support temporal conclusions, the direction of the relations between TGRs and alcohol use remains unknown. Longitudinal designs would lend themselves to understanding the development of and changes in TGRs over time and their role in predicting future drinking behaviors. Research on TGRs and alcohol use may also benefit from the use of experimental designs. For example, a hallmark of identity is its fluidity; each person has a collection of identities and these are continually (albeit temporarily) retrieved or abandoned according to context, creating a sense of self that is flexible across situations (see Oyserman, Elmore, & Smith, 2012). Thus, experimentally priming a participant's TGR identity (e.g., Fugitt & Ham, 2018) and then measuring an alcohol outcome (e.g., drinking intention) may further our understanding of the relation between TGRs and alcohol use beyond what is currently known.

Theoretical considerations

Although scholars assert TGR influences gendered drinking patterns among Latinas/os, the extant research devoted to this study remains underdeveloped. This presents researchers with a remarkable opportunity for growth in this area. However, there is currently no unifying theoretical framework to inform future research. There is evidence in this review that the relation between TGRs and alcohol use is best understood as part of a larger

network of factors (e.g., Kulis et al., 2012; Perrotte, Baumann et al., 2018). In addition, the alcohol use literature supports the importance of alcohol-related cognitions (e.g., decision making, expectancies; Furby & Beyth-Marom, 1992; Monk & Heim, 2013). Thus, the remainder of this article will focus on recommendations for integrating existing well-established theoretical models to account for environmental and cognitive influences on drinking.

The idea that environmental norms shape human behavior is not new. Decades ago, Bronfenbrenner (1977) posited that humans develop within various environmental systems. A person's immediate environment consists of family, school, work, etc. (i.e., the microsystem) and the interactions occurring between the elements of this environment (i.e., the mesosystem). These systems are contained within another, consisting of institutional structures, such as mass media (i.e., the exosystem), and all systems are housed in the macrosystem, which provides a rubric for shaping societal structures (e.g., via educational systems). Researchers recently applied this socioecological framework to alcohol use (Sudhinaraset, Wigglesworth, & Takeuchi, 2016), demonstrating its usefulness as a tool for illustrating how the environment shapes drinking behavior.

An extension of this framework may provide a new perspective regarding TGRs and alcohol use. Specifically, considering the socioecological system in conjunction with the alcohol-related decision-making process may be particularly useful. Researchers describe decision making as a dynamic activity with five steps (see Furby & Beyth-Marom, 1992) and influenced by the salience of varying signals, preferences, and rules (see Finn, 2002). First, one must assess all potential options (e.g., to drink alcohol or not). Second, an individual assesses the consequences that may result from each option (Furby & Beyth-Marom, 1992). The second step is likely influenced by the mental representations (i.e., expectancies; Monk & Heim, 2013) one has of alcohol use. From a gendered socioecological perspective, these expectancies may develop via the transmission of norms throughout a person's immediate and distal environment. For example, magazines portray different alcohol consequences for each gender. Among women, drinking alcohol can be characterized as more problematic than for men and is considered harmful to femininity (Atkinson et al., 2012). The third step in the decision to drink is assigning weight to the desirability of each perceived consequence (Furby & Beyth-Marom, 1992). During the second step, exposure to gender-specific environmental norms could be responsible for many alcohol-related mental representations. For the third step, however, the extent to which he or she values or identifies with the gendered norms of either the heritage or mainstream culture may be more important. For example, a young Latina attending a mainstream university may come

from a traditional family that believes women should limit drinking. However, she may prefer to align herself with the more liberal drinking norms of the mainstream environment. Here, motivational models of alcohol use (see Cooper, 1994) may be applicable. If she is motivated to drink to avoid social rejection (i.e., conformity motives; Cooper, 1994), the salient positive consequences of alcohol (i.e., fitting in with peers by adopting mainstream gender role behaviors) could outweigh the salient negative consequences of alcohol (i.e., going against the *marianismo* gender role). Currently, drinking motives are not addressed in TGR and alcohol use research, although the broader gender role literature indicates a relation between various forms of gender role ideology, drinking motives, and alcohol use (e.g., Fugitt, Ham, & Bridges, 2017).

The fourth and fifth steps in the decision-making process are to determine the likelihood of each of the consequences and glean a rule from each of these steps that identifies the most optimal option (Furby & Beyth-Marom, 1992). Because the decision-making process is not static (Finne, 2002), once the decision to drink has been made, one must also decide to stop or continue drinking. Therefore, drinking (or abstaining) will reciprocally reinforce (or modify) the alcohol-related cognitions and motivations, subsequently influencing future drinking behavior and repositioning the individual within his or her own socioecological environment. To continue with the hypothetical scenario, should the young woman begin engaging in regular, heavy alcohol use with her university peers, her family may experience conflict over her choices. Depending on the value she places on familial relationships versus peer relationships, she may either limit future drinking to avoid further familial conflict or continue with her drinking behavior to maintain harmony with her peers. On the other hand, if she feels distress from the familial conflict and endorses coping motives for drinking (Cooper, 1994), she may drink to alleviate the distress. This is admittedly a somewhat simplistic example, but it nonetheless illustrates how this process does not simply end with the decision to drink.

Conclusions

This article reviewed the empirical literature on the relations between TGRs and alcohol outcomes among Latinas/os and provided methodological and theoretical recommendations for future research. Trends noted in this review support continuing this line of research, with an emphasis placed on addressing key limitations (e.g., measurement and design discrepancies) and structuring future studies within an integrated theoretical framework. While the link between TGRs and alcohol use among Latinas/os remains understudied, this review suggests there is merit in empirically

accounting for TGRs. These considerations make it even more important that researchers continually acknowledge the various expressions of Latina/o TGRs as uniquely related to alcohol use. Providing adequate contextual complexity will permit more appropriate conclusions to be drawn.

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