Psychology   College of Arts and Sciences

1982

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Recommended Citation

Triandis, H.C., Hui, C.H., Lisansky, J., & Marín, G. (1982). Acculturation and biculturalism among relatively acculturated Hispanic young adults. Revista Interamericna de Psicologia / Interamerican Journal of Psychology, 16, 140-149.

ACCULTURATION AND BICULTURALISM INDICES AMONG RELATIVELY ACCULTURATED HISPANIC YOUNG ADULTS

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Samples of Anglo and Hispanic male Navy recruits answered a series of questions relevant to acculturation and biculturalism. Three acculturation indices were identified: (a) Length of Residence in the U.S., (b) Media Acculturation and (c) Social Acculturation. Two biculturalism indices were identified: (1) Media Biculturalism and (2) Social Biculturalism. The subject's generation in the U.S. (low score for being born outside the U.S., high score for grandfather born in the U.S.) was positively related to all indices of acculturation and negatively related to Media Biculturalism. It was unrelated to Social Biculturalism.

Muestras de hombres reclutas a las fuerzas navales de Estados Unidos de etnicidad Anglo o Hispana contestaron una serie de preguntas relacionadas a la aculturización y el biculturalismo. Tres índices de aculturización fueron identificados: (a) Años de residencia en los Estados Unidos, (b) Aculturización social, y (c) Aculturización de los medios de comunicación masiva. Dos de biculturalismo se identificaron: (1) Biculturalismo de los medios masivos de comunicación y (2) Biculturalismo social. El número de generaciones de la familia que habían vivido en EE. UU. (puntaje bajo para los que nacieron fuera de EE.UU y alto si el abuelo nació en EE.UU) se relacionó positivamente con todos los índices de aculturización y negativamente con Biculturalismo de los Medios masivos de comunicación. Generación no tuvo ninguna relación con Biculturalismo Social.

In societies in which there are major discontinuities of culture, as when the majority and minority cultures are quite distinct, one should consider the extent to which minority group members have become acculturated to the mainstream culture as well as the extent to which both majority and minority individuals have become bicultural. The present paper examines data obtained from Hispanics and non-Hispanic individuals in the United States to measure these constructs and to determine the construct validity of the obtained indices.

By culture we mean the human-made part of the environment (Herskovits, 1955). We must distinguish objective culture (e.g. foods, mass media, tools) from subjective culture (e.g., norms, values). As individuals become acculturated, they begin to adopt aspects of both the objective and the subjective culture of another group. Obviously, this can happen in differing degrees. Furthermore, as individuals learn to use the norms and values of two different cultures under differing situational conditions, they become *bicultural*.

Much research on the acculturation/assimilation of ethnic groups in the United States makes use of the theoretical framework of Milton Gordon (1964). Gordon posits seven stages of assimilation. The first stage is called cultural or behavioral assimilation, more commonly referred to as acculturation. Acculturation involves changes in cultural patterns of the ethnic group to those of the host society; this includes changes in norms, roles, and customs. The second stage is structural assimilation and this refers to the large-scale entrance of members of the ethnic group into the primary groups of the larger society. The later stages of assimilation deal with intermarriage, identification, and attitudinal, behavioral, and civic assimilation. Researchers usually focus on the first of two stages where stage one (cultural assimilation) is often measured in terms of relatively concrete and visible cultural traits such as dress, manners, and language use.

Acculturation studies among Hispanics in the U.S. have examined Mexican Americans (e.g. Achor, 1979; Keefe, 1980; Padilla, 1980) or Cubans (Rogg, 1974; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Aranalde, 1978) of specific locations. There is little information about the levels of acculturation of representative samples and almost none from samples that represent the whole country. One exception is a study of ethnicity among Detroit Chicanos, which randomly sampled 687 households in two enumeration districts with high (around 23%) percentages of Mexican - origin population. After screening, 111 Chicano adults participated in the survey. Our sampling is not representative, since our respondents were in the U.S. Navy, but it does include Hispanics from all parts of the country.

The study of acculturation is important because there is evidence that it is linked to mental health (Szapocznik, et al, 1978; Santisteban, Szapocznik, & Rio, Note 1) the inability to cope with the social environment (Szapocznil & Kurtines, 1980), stress (Berry, 1980; Vargas, Note 2), abuse of drugs (Padilla, Padilla, Ramirez, Morales & Olmedo, Note 3), suicide (Hatcher & Hatcher, 1975) and less family control. Berry and Annis (1974) suggested that acculturative stress varies as a function of the degree of divergence between traditional cultural behaviors and behaviors which characterize the host communty, and as a function of the acculturative pressures in that community. Such pressures may cause psychological changes in different individuals in the direction of both the majority and the minority cultures (Moerk, 1974).

A recent review of the literature on acculturation (Santisteban, Note 4) shows that previous data point toward some measures as being more indicative of acculturation than others. Weinstock (1964) for example, found while studying the acculturation of Hungarian immigrants, that knowledge of English was not a reliable index of acculturation. Rather, the number of majority culture friends and mass media preferences were found to be more reliable indicators of acculturation and affiliation with ethnic churches was found to be negatively related to acculturation. Furthermore, Carballo (Note 5) has indentified two sets of variables in acculturation, antecedent and intervening variables. Education, occupation, urban-industrial background, and cognitive exposure are antecedent variables, whereas satisfaction with the new culture is an example of an intervening variable. He also distinguishes between "attitudinal" acculturation and "behavioral" acculturation, and concludes that often those who see the United States as offering more opportunities are more attitudinally predisposed to assimilate but are often those who are the least able to be behaviorally adaptable.

It is as yet unclear which elements should be included in acculturation scales.

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Some researchers have found language a very important clue concerning acculturation (e.g. Padilla, 1980); others have not (e.g. Garcia, 1982). It may well be a function of the sample's level of acculturation. As the sample becomes more and more acculturated, language may become less of a discriminator between the acculturated and non acculturated. In our case, since admission to the Navy requires some competence in English, we expect language to be of lesser significance as a discriminant of acculturation in our study. In short, we are arguing that at low levels of acculturation language may be the best predictor of acculturation, but at high levels other elements may be important. In this study we developed items appropriate for relatively acculturated samples of adults.

A number of strategies have been used to measure acculturation although most recent research follows a psychometric approach to the study of acculturation (Olmedo, 1978). One can investigate the responses of individuals who belong to different generations (e.g., Knight & Kagan, 1977), or ask questions that reflect sociocultural information (e.g., Padilla, 1980) as well as subjective culture variables (e.g. meaning of key words) as was done by Olmedo, Martinez, and Martinez (1987), or examine the preferences of individuals for situations where only individuals from one or the other group or an equal number of each group are the main actors (e.g., Ramirez, Garza, & Cox, Note 6). In most cases, then, the usual strategy includes asking the respondent to answer items regarding languages used by the subject, the types of social behavior of the subject with members of various ethnic groups, the composition of the neighborhood in which the respondent lives, etc.

Conceptually, high acculturation implies that the minority group members (e.g., Hispanics) respond to these questions in the same manner as majority individuals. Biculturalism, on the other hand, reflects an orientation in which both minority and majority subjective culture elements are found in equal proportions and the subject indicates that ideal patterns of social behavior are influenced by both cultural norms and depend on the situation.

The data of the present study are part of a larger project that examines the subjective culture of U.S. Hispanics and compares it with the subjective culture of the U.S. Mainstream. A questionnaire obtained information about demographic and attitudinal variables that have implications for acculturation and biculturalism.

METHOD

Subjects

Hispanic (N = 145) and Mainstream (N = 149) male, Navy recruits, mean ages 20 and 19 respectively, answered the questionnaire while being processed into Navy jobs. In each of the three Navy recruiting stations (Florida, California, and Illinois) when a Spanish-surname recruit was to be classified, the classification officer checked the recruit's self-identification on an application form completed at a previous time, in which "Hispanic" was one of the ways the recruit could describe himself. If the Spanish-surname recruit had selected the Hispanic self-identification label he was asked to complete a number of questionnaires, including the present questionnaire. At that time, another recruit with a non-Spanish surname was randomly selected and given the same questionnaires. These are the Mainstream subjects of the present paper.

The minumum age of the samples was 17; 90% of them were included in the 17-21 range (Mainstream) or 17-25 range (Hispanics). Fifty-six precent of the Mainstream sample was of British or old American background; 13% identified themselves as coming from Central Europe, and 11% as being Afro-American. Less than 1% were Asian Americans. The remaining came from Scandinavia, West, South and East Europe in about equal proportions. Forty-three percent of

the Hispanic sample identified Mexico as their place of origin, 31% Puerto Rico, 21% various South American and Spanish-European backgrounds, and 2% Cuban, the remaining 3% did not answer. Seventy-nine percent of the Mainstream indicated that their grandparents were born in the United States. The corresponding information for Hispanics was 23%. Sixteen percent of the Main - stream and 27% of the Hispanics had only their fathers born in the U.S. Only 2% of the Mainstream but 20% of the Hispanics were new immigrants, in that they had been born abroad, and so had their parents and grandparents.

Instrument

A 24-question Personal Background Information Form was developed from inspection of the literature on acculturation (Cuellar, Harris & Jasso, 1980; Olmedo, Martinez & Martinez, 1978; Padilla, 1980; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines & Aranalde, 1978) and biculturalism (Ramirez, Garza & Cox, Note 6). It was answered in English by all subjects.

We can distinguish conceptually four kinds of items: (1) acculturation, (2) biculturalism, (3) acculturation items scored with a biculturalism code and (4) biculturation items scored with an acculturation code. For example, consider the number of years the subject has lived in the U.S. We assumed that the longer a person lived in the U.S. the more acculturated he would be. So, we used that information as one measure of acculturation. However, the same information can be used as a measure of biculturalism. We constructed an index as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Age -No. of years in the U.S.}}{\text{Age}} - \frac{1}{2}$$

If that index is less than .1 we gave the person a high score (5) on biculturalism; if the index was between .4 and .5 we gave the person a low score (1) on biculturalism. For instance, a 20-year old who lived 10 years in the U.S. would get a score of 5, but a 20-year old who lived 2 years in the U.S. would get a score of 1;

An example of a Type 4 item is one which was designed to measure biculturalism and was also scored for acculturation. For example, one item asked "When you watch TV what type of shows do you prefer"? Biculturalism was measured by giving a score of 5 for the answer "equally shows in English and Spanish", 3 for the answers "mostly Spanish" and "mostly English" and 1 for the answers "only shows in Spanish" or "only shows in English". The same item can be scored for acculturation by giving a 5 for the "only shows in English" and a 1 for the "only shows in Spanish" answers, and 2, 3, and 4 for the logically corresponding other answers.

Analyses

Since factor analyses were used we had to make sure that we did not extract artifactual factors by utilizing the same information in the same analysis. This was accomplished by doing factor analyses on different sets of the items:

1. We put the acculturation and the biculturalism items in one analysis.
2. We put all the recoded acculturation and biculturalism items in a different analysis.
3. We put all the acculturation items and the biculturalism items coded as acculturation items in one analysis.

4. We put the biculturalism items and all the acculturation items coded as biculturalism items in one analysis.

Thus, analysis 1 examines entirely different items, some of which we designed and scored to measure acculturation and some to measure biculturalism; analysis 2 focuses only on the recoded items (i.e. items Type 3 and Type 4); analysis 3 is the best analysis for finding the broadest measure of acculturation (using both kinds of items); analysis 4 is the best analysis for finding the best measure of biculturalism (using both kinds of items).

RESULTS

Inspection of the four factor analyses mentioned above suggested that the best way to present them is to describe the factor analysis of all the Acculturation and all the Biculturalism items first, and then mention the results of the other analyses. On the assumption that some readers may wish to use these items, we present the exact wording and suggest the scoring approach for the items that measured Acculturation and Biculturalism.

Acculturation. Table 1 presents the highest loadings items of the factor analysis. There were three factors that accounted for 32, 14 and 8 percent of the variance respectively. The first one we named Length of Residence in the U.S.; the second Media Acculturation; and the third Social Acculturation.

Table 1

Factor Analysis of All Acculturation Items

	Loading
Factor 1: Length of Residence in the U.S. (32% of variance)	
Please write the number of years you have lived in the U.S.	.78
Have you lived in a country other than the U.S.?	.83
(answers No get high score; answers Yes get low score, depending on the number of years, with lowest score if he lived a large number of years abroad)	
Where did you spend the first fifteen years of your life?	.86
(If the answer is in U.S., high score; if not in U.S., low score)	
Factor 2: Media acculturation (14% of variance)	
What type of music you prefer?	.69
only music in Spanish scored 1	
music mostly in Spanish scored 2	
equally music in English and Spanish scored 3	
music mostly in English scored 4	
music only in English scored 5	
When you watch TV, what type of shows do you prefer?	.73
(scored as in previous question)	
What type of movies do you prefer?	.76
(scored as in previous question)	

Factor 3: Social Acculturation (8% of variance)
If you could choose five co-workers, of what ethnic
    backgrounds would they be?   .41
    (lists only Cuban, Mexican, or Puerto Rican, score 1;
    lists some Anglo, score 3; lists all Anglo, score 5)

Using the ethnic categories listed in question 6 what is the
    ethnic background of your five closest friends?   .69
    (scored as the previous question)

What was the ethnic background of the persons you have
    been romantically involved with?   .60
    (room for 5 to be listed from "most serious" to "least
    serious"; scoring system took notice of ethnicity and
    importance of involvement)

Biculturalism. Table 2 presents the results of the factor analysis of the biculturalism items. We have two factors, accounting for 25 and 15 percent of the variance respectively. They represent Media and Social Biculturalism.

Table 2

Factor Analysis of All Biculturalism Items

	Loading
Factor 1: Media Biculturalism (25% of variance)	
What type of music do you prefer?	.73
only music in Spanish scored 1	
mostly music in Spanish scored 3	
equally music in English and Spanish scored 5	
music mostly in English scored 3	
music only in English scored 1	
When you watch TV, what type of shows do you prefer?	.83
(scored as in previous question)	
What types of movies do you prefer?	.72
(scored as in previous question)	
Factor 2: Social Biculturalism (15% of variance)	
Using the ethnic categories listed in question 6 what is	
the ethnic background of your five closest friends?	.57
(score 5 if very mixed Anglo and Hispanic; score 1	
if only one or the other ethnic group; scored 2, 3, 4	
for intermediate)	
What was the ethnic background of the persons you have	
been romantically involved with?	.78
(scored as in previous question)	

If your children were to attend a school and you could pick the ethnic
   background of the students, what percentage of the students would
   you like of each of the ethnic backgrounds shown below?   .39
   (10 backgrounds shown. High score for picking several)

Description of the Results of the Other Factor Analyses. The analyses that
placed all original items in one analysis, extracted two factors. The first was
highly loaded on the Residence in the U.S. acculturation items, and had small
negative loadings on the Media Biculturalism items (ranging from −.26 to −.33).
The second factor had loadings (in the .64 to .81 range) on the Media Bicultura-
lism items. In short, the mixed Acculturation and Biculturalism items suggest that
the most important factor of the Acculturation items factor analysis and the most
important factor of the Biculturalism factor analysis dominate the scene when
the two kinds of items are placed in the same analysis. The factor analysis of the
combined recorded acculturation and biculturalism items extracted two factors: a
Social and Media Acculturation and a Years in the U.S. factor, suggesting that in
this analysis the three factors of the Acculturation analysis collapsed into two
factors.

Description of Results with Mainstream Sample. The same analyses were
carried out with the Mainstream sample. Of course, these data are much less
interesting, since the subjects are presumably fully acculturated. Nevertheless,
since we had the data we looked at them. The acculturation data revealed three
factors: (1) Place of Birth in the U.S. vs. outside the U.S., with high loadings of
father's and grandfather's place of birth, (2) Social Acculturation suggesting liking
of friends, co-workers, and neighbors of one ethnic group, and (3) Foreign Residen-
ce, indicating that the subject had lived outside the U.S. The biculturalism items
defined two factors: (1) Intimate Social Biculturalism (friends and romantic
partners were of many ethnic groups) and (2) Formal Social Biculturalism (neigh-
bors, schools, co-workers of many ethnic groups). The combined acculturation
and biculturalism items factor analysis extracted three factors, representing
place of birth of parents and grandparents, foreign residence and social bicultu-
ralism. The recoded items analysis showed the same distinction between intimate
social biculturalism and formal social biculturalism found in the biculturalism
analysis. Thus, the items appear to cluster more or less similarly even in the case
of the Mainstream subjects, though additional distinctions were made, that seem
appropriate, given the background of these subjects.

Relation of Acculturation and Biculturalism to Other Responses

For the Hispanic sample only it is useful to mention the relation ships between
the Acculturation and Biculturalism factors and other responses. First, there were
some other items that loaded highly on the Acculturation factors. Specifically the
Length of Residence in the U.S. factor had high loadings on place of birth of the
subject (U.S. vs. outside the U.S.) of .65, place of birth of father (.62) and grand-
father (.65) and language used in the family (English rather than Spanish) .59.
There were also loadings (in the .21 to .28 range) on variables measuring prefe-
rence for English rather than Spanish music, TV and movies. The Media Accul-
turation factor had loadings (in the .35 to .45 range) on Social Acculturation
items, such as having many Anglo close friends, romantic partners, neighbors
and liking a program of songs and dances for one's birthday that includes many
English elements. The Social Acculturation factor had loadings (in the .35−. 36
range) on father's and mother's birth place being in this country.

Table 3 shows the correlations of the subject's generation (S born outside the
U.S. low score; S's grandfather born in the U.S. high score) and the indices of

acculturation and biculturalism. We split the co-workers from the close friend and romantic partners to be able to see if these indices correlated a little differently with other variables. As can be among relatively acculturated Hispanics rather than among Hispanics in general.

Table 3

Correlations of Generation and the Acculturation and Biculturalism Indices
(N = 145)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Generation	(1.00)	.53***	.27**	.02	.23**	−.26**	.07
2. Length of Residence in U.S.		(1.00)	.38***	.01	.18*	−.39***	.22**
3. Media Acculturation.			(1.00)	.12	.52***	(.94)	.15
4. No. of non-Hispanic co-workers.				(1.00)	.34***	−.12	.23**
5. No. of non-Hispanic close friends and romantic partners					(1.00)	−.48***	.31***
6. Media Biculturalism						(1.00)	−.18*
7. Social Biculturalism							(1.00)

Notes: ( ) indicates that this coefficient is an artifact of the fact that the same
data were intercorrelated.

*   is $p < .05$
**   is $p < .01$
***   is $p < .001$

Our results agree with those of Weinstock (1964) who did not find English a reliable index of acculturation among Hungarian immigrants, and Garcia (1982) who did not find it in his study of Detroit Chicanos. In fact, Weinstock argued that number of friends of the majority culture and mass media preferences were the best indicators of acculturation for Hungarians. Garcia found "preferred association with other Mexicans", preference for Spanish TV and Mexican entertainers, and the ethnic background of the subject's friends to be the three most important indices of cultural orientation. Thus, Social and Media Acculturation appear in two other studies as well as in this one.

The correlation of the acculturation indexes with the subject's generation may be seen as an indication of the validity of the index. The correlation with biculturalism suggests that acculturation leads to a preference for the Mainstream media (at least for high acculturation subjects) but also to a preference for friends and romantic partners of more that one ethnic group. This suggests that choice

of friends and romantic partners may be the last element that is retained from the "old" culture as the highly acculturated person becomes completely assimilated into the "new."

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FOOTNOTES