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### Reducing Alcohol Abuse in Gay Men: Clinical Recommendations From Conflicting Research

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# Reducing Alcohol Abuse in Gay Men: Clinical Recommendations From Conflicting Research

Christopher W. Blackwell

**ABSTRACT.** Gay men entering the health care system present with unique needs essential for health care providers to comprehend and address. While data indicate mental health and substance abuse disorders are more prevalent among gay men compared with their heterosexual counterparts, the literature assessing abuse of alcohol by gay men is conflicting. This article explores the conflicting research examining the use and abuse of alcohol by gay men, common findings and themes among studies addressing the issue, the theoretical concepts of internalized homophobia and heterosexism as they relate to alcohol abuse, and clinical strategies providers can implement when encountering this issue among their gay male patients. This comprehensive assessment of the literature will also provide direction for future critical inquiries and outline ways to improve the current methods of inquiry.

**KEYWORDS.** Alcohol, alcoholism, discrimination, disparity, gay patients, health, homosexual, primary care, wellness

## INTRODUCTION

Health and social scientists have identified multiple health disparities in gay men, and a recent editorial in the *Journal of Adolescent Health* has directed the responsibility in improving the health and well-being of this population to clinicians and health researchers (Children's Hospital Boston, 2009). Gay men have higher rates of mental health disorders including depression, suicide attempts, and substance abuse in comparison with heterosexual men (Dahan, Feldman, & Hermoni, 2007). Yet despite the persistence of these disparities within that population, data indicate healthcare needs of gay men go largely ignored (Dahan et al., 2007). Very little study has been dedicated to assessing the overall efficacy of health care providers in treating gay patients,

and the etiology for the perpetuation of health disparities in gay men is vague. The limited research that exists suggests a significant lack of concentration on sexual orientation issues in the education of health care professionals (Dahan et al., 2007), and often, cultural aspects are not properly addressed in the intervention process.

Research conducted on nursing students indicated very low knowledge levels about the health needs of gay patients (Rondahl, 2009). This has also been found in medical students (Kelley, Chou, Dibble, & Robertson, 2008). To address this need in education, some interventions have been identified as beneficial. Strengthening the gay-related content in the medical curriculum yielded increased knowledge levels among 2nd-year medical students at the University of California at San Francisco (Kelley et al., 2008).

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Data also indicate students with increased exposure to patients with nonheterosexual orientations during clinical experiences tend to perform more comprehensive health histories, hold more positive attitudes toward nonheterosexual patients, and possess greater knowledge of the health care concerns of nonheterosexual patients compared with their counterparts who had not had exposures to nonheterosexual patients during their education (Sanchez, Rabatin, Sanchez, Hubbard, & Kalet, 2006).

Furthermore, only a few studies have attempted to define cultural competence and the precise knowledge levels of gay men's health needs and disparities among health care professionals (Crisp, 2006; Eliason & Hughes, 2004). Rather, a greater number of studies have looked at provider attitudes toward providing health care services to these persons and their level of homophobia. Kissinger, Lee, Twitty, and Kisner (2009) explored the attitudes of health care providers in the mental health field toward providing care to gay men. They indicated providers' own family dynamics are significant factors in their attitudes toward gay men.

Specifically, the family dimensions of conflict, intellectual-cultural orientation, and moral-religious emphasis were related to their levels of homophobia. Blackwell (2008) found that belief in the "free choice" model of homosexuality (the belief that gay men consciously choose to be homosexual and participate in a lifestyle conducive to that choice) was the strongest predictor of homophobia in nurses. So, while it is important to consider that personal prejudice by providers might be partly responsible for the perpetuation of health disparities experienced by gay men, it is essential for all providers to understand the specific needs and disparities of this population. As asserted by Rhodes, McCoy, Hergenrather, and Durant (2007):

Understanding the health behavior disparities between gay and heterosexual men is crucial to identifying associated factors and intervening upon them using appropriate and meaningful tailored strategies to reduce these disparities and improve health outcomes. (p. 15)

Through a comprehensive review of the literature, this article will answer the following questions: 1) What specific conflicting data have been found in various studies assessing alcohol use and abuse in gay men?; 2) what are the common themes and findings within these studies?; and 3) what are the implications of internalized homophobia and heterosexism as possible etiologic factors for increasing the prevalence of alcohol abuse among gay men? Clinical strategies providers can employ when encountering this issue among patients will be suggested along with recommendations for future research.

### **CONFLICTING DATA: ALCOHOL USE AND ABUSE IN GAY MEN**

Studies comparing the prevalence of alcoholism in gay versus heterosexual samples have yielded mixed results. Although regional in design, Stall and Wiley (1988) found an 8% higher rate of alcohol abuse in homosexual versus heterosexual males in their research (11% vs. 19%) in randomized samples recruited in San Francisco. With a moderately sized sample ( $n = 207$ ), Armadio and Chang (2004) predicted 25% of the gay men in their sample had the strong possibility of suffering from alcoholism. But in their comprehensive review of the literature, Paul, Stall, and Bloomfield (1991) found the rate of alcohol abuse in gay men to be much lower at around 8%. Other data indicate alarmingly higher rates of alcohol abuse (Hatzenbuehler, Corbin, & Fromme, 2008; Wong, Kipke, & Weiss, 2008).

A 2008 Los Angeles-based study by Wong et al. found a high level of alcohol use (91%) among gay men ( $n = 526$ ). Perhaps of more concern, 21% of the participants in their study reported binge drinking, while 40% reported frequent binge drinking. Hatzenbuehler et al. (2008) found gay men increased their alcohol use at greater rates than heterosexual men during their initial transition to the college and university setting. Their sample compared responses of 64 gay or bisexual men with 830 heterosexual men. But conclusions made from the research of Trocki, Drabble, and Midanik (2005) suggested

although gay men spend more time socializing in bars and in environments that promote heavy drinking, this does not correlate to heavier drinking in gay men. Their study was based on data collected from the 2000 National Alcohol Survey and compared a sample of 1,179 heterosexual men to 60 men who have sex with men. Findings suggested drinking patterns among gay men do not differ from those of other men (Trocki et al., 2005). Morgenstern et al. (2001) asserted that although gay men do not have higher rates of alcohol dependence, they are less likely to abstain from its use, and they studied the phenomenon in a sample of 89 gay men. In addition, gay men report problems related to drinking nearly twice as often as heterosexual men, and drinking rates do not decrease with age in gay men as quickly as those of heterosexuals (Gruskin & Gordon, 2006; Skinner, 1994).

Some data indicate a correlation between male homosexual orientation and borderline heavy drinking. Gruskin and Gordon (2006) found this in their California-based study of 331 gay men. In addition, heavy drinking also appears to be prevalent among young gay men (Bradford & Ryan, 1987; Gay and Lesbian Medical Association [GLMA], 2001; Skinner, 1994).

### ***Cultural Influences***

Hughes (2005) has conducted extensive research studies assessing alcohol use and abuse among homosexuals. Her work, which consisted of a comprehensive literature review of studies published from 1985 to 2004 and listed in Medline, CINAHL, and PsychINFO, suggested gay men are more likely to drink alcohol than heterosexual men as a consequence of cultural and environmental influences associated with being part of a stigmatized and marginalized group. These implications were also suggested in the theoretical works of Cabaj (1999) and Bobbe (2002), who suggested stress associated with accepting oneself as gay plays a key role in the eventual development of alcoholism.

### ***Regional Differences***

Perhaps the etiology for some of the conflicting data examining alcohol use and abuse among

gay men is partly due to the regional focus of most inquiries. Nationwide epidemiological data collection tools such as the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse and the Monitoring the Future Study do not currently ascertain participants' sexual orientation (GLMA, 2001). Thus, the statistics available are limited to regional or local studies of specific populations (GLMA, 2001). Perhaps the overall consensus of the data suggests that the differences in alcoholism between heterosexuals and homosexuals are not as dramatic as once hypothesized (Bux, 1996). Data do show that differences do exist. For example, the social context of where drinking occurs for heterosexual males (sporting events or other heterosexually attended social settings such as weddings) may differ from that of homosexual males (bar or club settings, which have traditionally served as a major source of socialization for gay men). These differences must be addressed by health care professionals. However, before successful interventions can be employed in the clinical setting, it is important to examine some of the theoretical frameworks that may explain this phenomenon.

### ***THE ROLE OF INTERNALIZED HOMOPHOBIA AND INTERNALIZED HETEROSEXISM***

Many authors have examined the relationships between internalized homophobia and internalized heterosexism in gay men and the higher propensity to use and abuse alcohol (Armadio, 2006; Kus, 1988; Rosser, Bockting, Ross, Miner, & Coleman, 2008; Span & Derby, 2009). Internalized homophobia and internalized heterosexism are interchangeable terms, which are operationalized in most contexts to mean "a set of negative attitudes and affects towards homosexuality in other persons and oneself" (Armadio, 2006, p. 1153). The existence of these personal beliefs and attitudes in gay men has long been theorized as strong causative agents in the development of numerous psychopathologic diseases in gay men such as major depression and increased suicidal ideation and suicide attempts (Rosser et al., 2008).

Also, internalized homophobia and heterosexism in gay men have been theoretically linked to higher-risk behaviors (Rosser et al., 2008), and some studies have indicated internalized homophobia/heterosexism as a stronger predictor for alcohol abuse in gay men than other psychiatric illnesses, such as depression (Armadio, 2006; Span & Derby, 2009). A 2006 review of the literature conducted by Armadio found five studies published between 1973 and 2004 assessing the role of internalized homophobia/heterosexism in alcohol use by gay populations; the findings within some of those studies highlighted the significant interactions between these beliefs and attitudes and alcohol abuse.

An older qualitative study by Kus (1988) found all twenty gay males within his sample expressed difficulty in the self-acceptance of their homosexual orientation while drinking abusively. Kus (1988) concluded this overall lack of self-acceptance was the predominant cause of their drinking problems. Armadio's (2006) more recent inquiry with a much larger sample of gay men ( $n = 184$ ) reached different conclusions. Among the gay men in this sample, internalized homophobia/heterosexism did not positively correlate with: a) the number of days using alcohol during the past month and the average number of drinks per occasion during the last month; b) the number of days consuming five or more drinks during the past month; c) binge or heavy drinking; d) the number of days consuming an alcoholic beverage during the past year; e) the number of days being drunk during the past year; and f) alcohol-related problems.

Perhaps an important consideration is the research conducted among gay male youth, who are often struggling with their own self-acceptance as homosexual (Wright & Perry, 2006). Rosario, Hunter, and Gwadz (1997) assessed the relationship between internalized homophobia/heterosexism in a large sample of gay male youth in New York City and suggested stress and the difficulties associated with growing up gay were most likely the cause of their elevated rates of problematic substance use.

Earlier data from Rotheram-Borus, Junter, and Rosario (1994) found a direct link between

gay-related stress on overall emotional distress. A more recent youth-based study conducted by Wright and Perry (2006) specifically examined the role of homophobia in alcohol use and abuse among this population. Their analysis did not find a significant correlation between internalized homophobia and heterosexism and excessive alcohol use; however, this was supported by the assertion that sexual identity distress isolates gay male youth both socially and psychologically from traditional peer groups where these behaviors are likely to occur (Wright & Perry, 2006).

Perhaps one of the most comprehensive analyses of the relationship between internalized homophobia/heterosexism is found in the work of Brubaker, Garrett, and Dew (2009). In the meta-analysis performed by these researchers, four studies conducted between 1988 and 2008 supported a statistically significant relationship between internalized homophobia/heterosexism and alcohol and/or substance abuse; seven studies indicated partial support; and five studies failed to show support (Brubaker et al., 2009). Although much more research is needed to either strengthen or disprove the theoretical link between internalized homophobia/heterosexism and alcohol abuse, the supportive data do suggest at least partial causality, which clinicians should take into consideration in working with their gay male patients.

The nation's largest gay health advocacy organization, the GLMA, deems it significant to approach this issue as a public health threat and for providers to address alcohol use with gay patients (GLMA, 2008). In addition, researchers have emphasized the need for health care professionals to focus special attention on addressing internalized homophobia because of its potential relationship with psychological distress and psychopathology (Gruskin & Gordon, 2006). Thus, it is important to identify ways to enhance community-oriented strategies to reduce alcohol abuse among this vulnerable population and for providers to be aware of this potential issue among gay male patients and have the skills necessary to assess and address it.

**REDUCING ALCOHOL USE AMONG GAY MEN**

To assist in the scholarly assessment of provider knowledge related to the disparities of alcohol use by gay men, specific recommendations to reduce this disparity have been supported in the literature. The *Healthy People 2010: Companion Document for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Health* (GLMA, 2001) is an exhaustive resource document designed to assist public health efforts in reducing health disparities in the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender population. Specific recommendations include incorporation of sexual orientation-related questions in nationwide epidemiologic surveys, increasing standards for accreditation by requiring inclusion of treatment modalities aimed at gay men, and expanded cultural competence education for current providers as well as those in health care education programs.

***Clinical Strategies Providers Need to Implement With Gay Male Patients***

These guidelines also provide provider-initiated strategies that can have an immediate impact. Providers should make substance abuse literature available to their gay male clientele, including youth. Providers should also review how consumer data are collected for statistical purposes, program reporting requirements, and funding or reimbursement sources and should discuss with data collection entities how best to collect data on health needs and service usage by gay male consumers (GLMA, 2001). In the clinical setting, screening for alcohol abuse can be easily done through administration of the CAGE questionnaire (Seidel et al., 2010): A patient who reports cutting down on alcohol consumption, aggravation with others criticizing his drinking, guilt for drinking, or consumption of eye openers to reduce hangover effects should be referred for further evaluation for probable alcohol abuse.

If providers diagnose a clinically significant alcohol abuse issue in a patient, he or she needs to be referred to the appropriate resource for treatment. Research conducted in the

early 1990s examining substance abuse treatment facilities indicated staff members were not trained in gay-specific treatment and had few or no gay staff members (Hellman, 1991). Research occurring at that same time suggested gay patients were more likely to participate in treatment programs that address gay issues (O’Hanlan, Cabaj, Lock, & Nemrow, 1997; Paul et al., 1991). One resource providers and patients might find especially helpful is the Web site <http://gayalcoholics.com>, which lists quite a few resources for gay men who are in need of treatment services. The site includes a complete national listing of gay Alcoholics Anonymous meetings and recovery support groups as well as a comprehensive list of treatment centers that focus on gay and lesbian substance abuse (Gay and Lesbian Alcoholics, 2009).

Although data assessing the relationship between internalized homophobia/heterosexism and alcohol abuse in gay men are conflicting, a large body of literature supports a relationship between sexual identity distress and mental health issues and pathology. Consequently, evidence supports screening patients for internalized homophobia/heterosexism and ensuring appropriate referral for those gay males identified as having high levels of sexual identity distress. The Sexual Identity Distress Scale (Table 1) is one such tool that can assist clinicians in identifying gay men with higher levels of internalized homophobia/heterosexism. The validity and reliability of this scale has been extensively supported (Wright & Perry, 2006; see Table 2).

Finally, because gay men have higher rates of HIV transmission, it is important to consider that data assessing the potential correlation

TABLE 1. The CAGE Questionnaire (Ewing, 1984)

1. Have you ever felt you ought to <i>cut</i> down on your drinking?	Yes	No
2. Have people <i>annoyed</i> you by criticizing your drinking?	Yes	No
3. Have you ever felt bad or <i>guilty</i> about your drinking?	Yes	No
4. Have you ever had a drink first thing in the morning to steady your nerves or get rid of a hangover ( <i>eye-opener</i> )?	Yes	No

TABLE 2. Sexual Identity Distress Scale (Wright &amp; Perry, 2006)

1. I have a positive attitude about being gay, lesbian, or bisexual.				
Agree	Mixed Feelings	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
2. I feel uneasy around people who are very open in public about being gay, lesbian, or bisexual.				
Agree	Mixed Feelings	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
3. I often feel ashamed that I am gay, lesbian, or bisexual.				
Agree	Mixed Feelings	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
4. For the most part, I enjoy being gay, lesbian, or bisexual.				
Agree	Mixed Feelings	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
5. I worry a lot about what others think about my being gay, lesbian, or bisexual.				
Agree	Mixed Feelings	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
6. I feel proud that I am gay, lesbian, or bisexual.				
Agree	Mixed Feelings	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
7. I wish I weren't attracted to the same sex.				
Agree	Mixed Feelings	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know

*Note.* Scoring is summed by adding the overall values of the response: "Agree" = 1; "Mixed Feelings" = 2; "Disagree" = 3; "Strongly Disagree" = 4; and "Don't Know" = 5. The level of the overall score indicates a higher level of internalized homophobia.

between alcohol use and unsafe sexual behaviors and transmission of HIV are largely conflicting. Older studies by Perry et al. (1994), Ryan, Huggins, and Beatty (1999), and Weatherburn et al. (1992) did not support a correlation between alcohol use and unsafe sexual practices or transmission of HIV in gay men. These findings conflict with the newer studies from Bimbi et al. (2006), Parsons et al. (2004), Ramirez-Valles, Garcia, Campbell, Diaz, and Heckathorn (2008), and Wilton (2008) that supported that heavy drinking and other substance abuses were correlated to unsafe sexual practices and HIV transmission among gay men. Providers should discuss safer sex practices with their gay male patients, including condom use and refraining from use of substances that might impair judgment during sexual decision making.

### CONCLUSION

Although the current body of research lacks consistency, it remains clear that gay men entering the health care system present with unique needs that are essential for health care providers to understand and treat. This article examined the data addressing three specific research ques-

tions: 1) What specific conflicting data have been found in various studies assessing alcohol use and abuse in gay men?; 2) what are the common themes and findings within these studies?; and 3) what are the implications of internalized homophobia and heterosexism as possible etiologic factors for increasing the prevalence of alcohol abuse among gay men? This comprehensive review uncovered data that suggested gay men have higher rates of alcohol abuse, yet found others that indicated they do not. However, despite differing statistical conclusions, commonalities were also found. For example, internalized homophobia and heterosexism were implicated as at least partial causal factors by many authors.

In addition, clinical strategies providers can implement when encountering this issue in gay male patients were suggested. Appropriate use of screening tools with strong validity and reliability (such as the CAGE questionnaire) and effective referral to treatment specialists educated and experienced in gay issues were highlighted as beneficial. Future studies assessing the use and abuse of alcohol among gay men and taking into account a national focus are desperately needed. These studies should be of high scientific rigor so more precise clinical conclusions can be derived. For example, methodologies that employ randomization should be favored over

those that use convenience techniques for recruitment. This has been a difficult issue within prior inquiries.

It is also essential to ensure data derived from research are implemented into clinical treatment guidelines that are evidence based. The transition from research to practice should also be implemented more rapidly. Research suggests that effective teamwork and interprofessional collaboration between nurses, physicians, social workers, and other health care professionals is essential to this process (Alanen, Vallmaki, & Kalia, 2009). Numerous interventions can be implemented by providers to effectively reduce this possible health disparity among gay men. Finally, providers need to be educated on these issues to better formulate strategies to reduce health disparities among this population.

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