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The Influence of Parental Warmth and Control on Latino Adolescent Alcohol Use

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Latino adolescent alcohol use is related to substance use, later life addiction, and other negative outcomes. The lack of knowledge on parenting and the parent-youth relationship in Latino families in the context of acculturation and its affects on alcohol use prompted this study. Secondary data analysis using the Add Health data set indicates that high amounts of parental control function positively for Latino families, contrary to some findings for non-Latinos. In addition, parental warmth significantly reduced alcohol use and also positively affected the parent-youth relationship which decreased alcohol use. When families spoke English at home, parental control decreased which lead to an increase in alcohol use. A critical examination of the implications for the cultural understanding of parental influences on adolescent alcohol use is discussed. Findings indicate that there are unique family mechanisms for Latino families that should be considered when developing intervention options.

Keywords: *Latino; adolescent; alcohol; parenting*

Introduction

Currently and over the past 20 years, non-Latino adolescent alcohol use has declined, yet alcohol use among Latino youth has remained high

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(Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 2003). The Latino population continues to grow and is at a high risk because of the trends in demographics. Latino youths have a higher high school drop out rate, a higher proportion of families living in poverty, and the highest fertility rate compared to other minority groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). For many reasons, such as limited access to the population and an increased diversity of the Latino population, research on Latino adolescent alcohol use is sparse (Delva et al., 2005).

Alcohol use is related to many social problems, such as low academic achievement, delinquency, and school misconduct (Barnes, Welte, & Hoffman, 2002). In particular, alcohol use among adolescents was shown to be a strong predictor of delinquency and illicit drug use (Barnes et al., 2002). Less acculturated Latinos use alcohol much less, then as they become more acculturated their use approaches that of non-Latinos (Carvajal, Photiades, Evans, & Nash, 1997; De La Rosa, Vega, & Radisch, 2000; Epstein, Botvin, & Diaz, 2001; Warheit & Vega, 1996).

The epidemiology literature on alcohol use concentrates more on risk factors and less on the protective factors that prevent or reduce alcohol use. One protective factor, particularly for Latinos, could be the influence of the family. Parental influences on the decision to use alcohol are more profound for Latino adolescents compared to non-Latinos (Coombs, Paulson, & Richardson, 1991). Without identifying the protective factors associated with Latino ethnicity, stereotypes and racial prejudices will continue to be a part of the understanding of alcohol use.

Among Latino families, parenting in their country of origin is often supported by the larger extended family and the community (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). Once the family moves from their country of origin to the United States, the loss of social support that the family once had makes parenting and raising the children more difficult (Miranda, Estrada, & Firpo-Jimenez, 2000; Pantin, Schwartz, Sullivan, Coatsworth, & Szapocznik, 2003).

Parental acculturation has a strong effect on the adolescents' development (Rodriguez & Kosloski, 1998). Vega, Gil, and Wagner (1998) found that overall levels of adolescent and parent acculturation are better predictors of alcohol use than the gaps between adolescent and parent acculturation. As acculturation increases, there is an adoption of alcohol abuse norms and practices of the larger society, and a loss of the protective qualities of Latino culture.

Although peer relationships have a strong influence on alcohol use, a study done by Frauenglass, Routh, Pantin, and Mason (1997) suggests that family support reported by Latino adolescents predicted alcohol use after controlling for peer deviance variables. Research on parenting supports the

relationship between parenting effects on youth development (Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Frauenglass et al., 1997). There is evidence that authoritarian discipline by parents is correlated with behavior problems for adolescents, particularly non-Latino adolescents (Frauenglass et al., 1997; Steinberg, 2001; Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Latino families usually have authoritarian parenting with rights and responsibilities that are clearly prescribed based on age (Bulcroft, Carmody, & Bulcroft, 1996).

Findings on what types of parenting styles lead to alcohol use for Latino adolescents are sparse. However, there are studies on non-Latino families, and findings show that frank communication, mutual trust, and avoidance of controlling strategies result in adolescents using alcohol and other substances less (Ennett, Bauman, Foshee, Pemberton, & Hicks, 2001; Lilja, Larsson, Wilhelmsen, & Hamilton, 2003). Non-Latino parents who apply more relaxed, flexible, and less rigid parenting techniques, which are often associated with the authoritative parenting style, use alcohol less (Fletcher & Jefferies, 1999).

An important step in achieving the purpose of this article is to establish the relationship between Latino parenting style and Latino adolescent alcohol use while taking into consideration the parents' acculturation level and how that impacts parenting style. The adolescent's acculturation level has been well established as a factor in predicting substance use, so this article seeks to further the knowledge on how parental acculturation affects substance use while controlling for the known effects of adolescent acculturation.

Theoretical Framework

Diana Baumrind's (1978) theoretical framework of parenting delineated four dimensions to parenting styles: permissive, authoritarian, authoritative, and uninvolved. One of the critical ideas from Baumrind's four quadrants of parenting styles is that parenting revolves around issues of warmth and control. The categorization of these two characteristics, warmth and control creates a typology of four parenting styles. This interaction of warmth and control that the parents demonstrate toward their children results in four different types of parenting. *Permissive* parents are nondirective and are lenient and are warm and loving. *Authoritarian* parenting is associated with low parental warmth and stricter rules. *Authoritative* parenting is associated with high parental warmth and clear limits that are negotiated between parent and child (Bulcroft et al., 1996; Gonzalez-Ramos, Zayas, & Cohen, 1998). *Uninvolved* parents can be at the extreme rejecting and neglectful.

Baumrind's (1978) seminal studies showed that adolescents with authoritative parenting, or warm and firm parenting, have higher levels of adolescent competence and psychosocial maturity than their peers who were raised by parents who were permissive, authoritarian, or uninvolved. Dozens of studies during the past 15 years that used different methods, samples, and measures reached the same conclusion that authoritative parenting is associated with advantages in adjustment, school performance, and psychosocial maturity (Steinberg, 2001; Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Research on parenting styles and alcohol use among non-Latinos indicates that authoritative parenting is associated with less alcohol use (Ennett et al., 2001; Lilja et al., 2003). Authoritarian parenting is associated with traditional Latino parenting, but has not yet been linked to adolescent alcohol use. The question remains however, is authoritative parenting in Latino families associated with low alcohol use similar to their non-Latino counterparts? Or does authoritarian parenting that is usually associated with traditional Latino families result in youth who use alcohol less?

Based on the theoretical framework discussed above the following five research questions will be asked utilizing the Add Health data set (Figure 1).

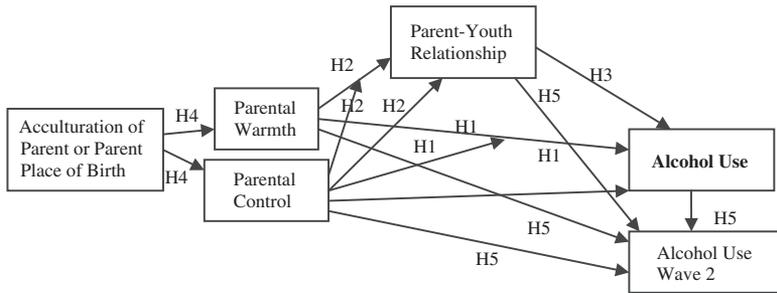
Methodology

The data used for this article is from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) based in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Add Health was mandated by Congress to collect data for the purpose of measuring the impact of the social environment on adolescent health. Add Health is a school-based, longitudinal study of the health-related behaviors of adolescents and their outcomes in young adulthood.

Add Health uses a clustered sampling design that is school-based so that the school is the initial point of contact between the researchers and the respondents. There are 132 schools involved in the core study. A self-administered questionnaire was taken in schools between September 1994 and April 1995 during a class period for Grades 7 to 12. All of these students (83,105) were used as a sampling frame to identify a stratified (by grade and gender) random sample of 16,044 adolescents (Chantala & Tabor, 1999).

These 16,044 students comprise the core sample, and were used for in-home interviews. All data used in this article is taken from the in-home interview (Tourangeau & Shin, 1999). A parent, usually the mother, also completed a questionnaire. Of the respondents for the in-home interview,

Figure 1
Model With Labeled Hypotheses Based on Baumrind's Parenting Framework Explaining the Relationship Between Parenting Style, Acculturation and Alcohol Use in Latino Adolescents



Note: Covariates used in this model are income, peer alcohol use, adolescent place of birth, and language spoken at home. Multiple indicators were used for parent-youth relationship and alcohol use and alcohol use Wave 2. All exogenous variables are considered to be correlated.

95% were female head of households, 88% of which were the biological mother; the remaining were grandmothers, step mothers, or aunts. One year later, the Wave 2 in-home sample was comprised of adolescents who participated in Wave 1 of the in-home component and resulted in 10,547 participants (Tourangeau & Shin, 1999). The response rate for Wave 1 is 78.9%, and the response rate for Wave 2 is 88.2% (Harris et al., 2003).

Measures

The measures used in this study are as follows:

Alcohol use. There are two alcohol use variables which are referred to as drink and drunk. The drink variable is: "During the past 12 months, on how many days did you drink alcohol?" The response options are 7 = *everyday or almost every day*, 6 = *3 to 5 days a week*, 5 = *1 or 2 days a week*, 4 = *2 or 3 days a month*, 3 = *once a month or less*, 2 = *1 or 2 days in the past 12 months*, 1 = *never*. This question was also asked in Wave 2 (drink 2). The drunk variable is: "Over the past 12 months, on how many days have you gotten drunk or 'very, very high' on alcohol?" Response options were the same as above. This question was also asked in Wave 2 (drunk 2).

Parent acculturation. "Were you born in the United States?"

Parental control. "Do your parents let you make your own decisions about (a) the time you must be home on weekend nights? (b) the people you hang around with? (c) what you wear? (d) how much television you watch? (e) which television programs you watch? (f) what time you got to bed on week nights? (g) what you eat?" Answers were 1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*. A scale was created where the sum of the seven questions was divided by 7, then multiplied by 100, giving a percentage. Those with a high percentage are highly controlled.

Parental warmth. "Most of the time, my mother is warm and loving toward me"; this was also asked of the father and options ranged from 5 = *strongly agree*, 4 = *agree*, 3 = *neither agree nor disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 1 = *strongly disagree*, where high numbers indicate high warmth. Mother and father warmth were averaged together.

Parent-youth relationship. "How often would it be true for you to make each of the following statements about your child: Indicator #1: you get along well with him/her; Indicator #2: you make decisions about his/her life together; Indicator #3: you feel you can really trust him/her." This was measured using a 5-point scale starting at *always*, *often*, *sometimes*, *seldom*, and *never*, where 1 is *never* and 5 is *always*, higher numbers indicating a better relationship.

Income. "About how much total income, before taxes did your family receive in 1994? Include your own income, the income of everyone else in your household, and income from welfare benefits, dividends, and all other sources?" This was measured in thousands from 0 to 600.

Language spoken at home. This was asked of adolescents: "What language is usually spoken in your home?"

Adolescent country of birth. "Were you born in the United States?"

Peer alcohol use. "Of your three best friends, how many drink alcohol at least once a month?" 0 = *no friends*, 1 = *one friend*, 2 = *two friends*, 3 = *three friends*.

Results

The study sample consisted of 1,887 Latino adolescents ($n = 1,887$) of which 956 were Mexican Americans, 363 Puerto Ricans, 305 Cubans, 211 Central or South Americans, and 52 adolescents who identified as Latinos but did not self identify as part of any of the above subgroups. Parental acculturation level measured by parent place of birth indicated that almost half of the parents were born inside the United States (42%) with 58% born outside of the United States. Most of the Latino adolescents were born on the U.S. mainland (76%). About half of the Latino adolescent sample spoke primarily English in the home (55%), indicating that 45% of the sample spoke primarily Spanish in the home. Gender was divided almost equally among Latino adolescents with slightly more females (52%) than males (48%).

The adolescents in the sample ranged from 7th grade to 12th grade in Wave 1. In total, 11% of the Latino sample were in the 7th grade, 10% in 8th grade, 17% in 9th grade, 23% in 10th grade, 19% in 11th grade, and 17% in 12th grade, and 3% of the sample refused to answer or was not in a school that had traditional grade levels. The Latino sample had 38% of the adolescents in Grades 7 through 9. Income levels indicated that 64% of the families earned less than \$34,000 annually, and income levels across the subgroups were fairly similar.

Parental warmth measured on a scale of 1 to 5 ranging from *very low warmth* to *very high warmth* had more parents indicating very high or high warmth (59%) and the rest (41%) indicating very low, low, or average warmth. Adolescents indicated on the parental control scale of 0 to 100 that 19% were not controlling, 63% were slightly controlling, and 17% were very controlling with only 1% being totally controlling.

The parent-youth relationship was measured by three different variables. The first, get along well together, or *py1*, found most parents (89%) saying often or always with the remaining 11% indicating never, seldom, or sometimes. The second parent-youth relationship variable asking parents if they make decisions together with their adolescents, or *py2*, found that 71% often or always make decisions together and 28% never, seldom, or sometimes make decisions together. The third parent-youth relationship variable asked the parents if they trust their adolescents, or *py3*, and found that 83% always or often trust them and 17% never, seldom, or sometimes trust them.

Analytic Strategy

Structural equation modeling is used for an analysis of the effects between identified independent variables. The model for this analysis will be based in the existing research and theory as broadly defined in Figure 1. The fit of the model in Figure 1 was evaluated with AMOS 6.0 using the sample covariance matrix as input and a maximum likelihood solution. Then the data was analyzed using Mplus and the appropriate weights created by the Add Health staff. Weighted data is presented.

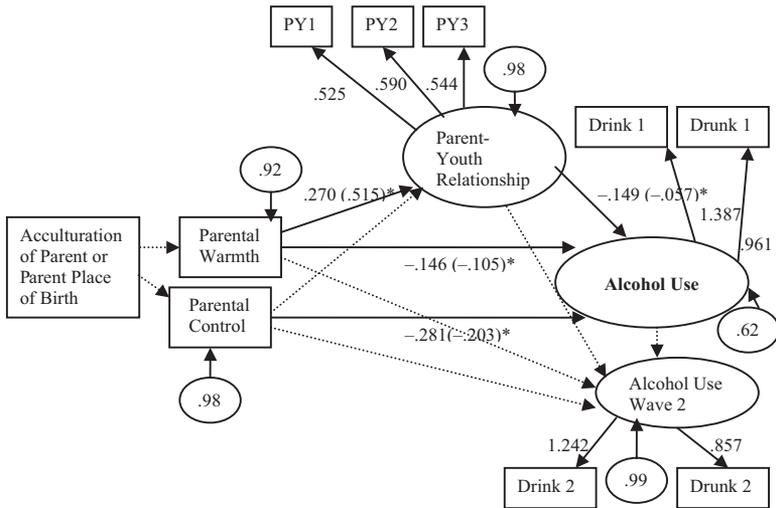
Preliminary Analysis

The first analysis conducted was the model depicted in Figure 1, which contains an interaction effect of warmth and control on alcohol use and the parent-youth relationship. The critical idea from Baumrind's four quadrants of parenting styles is that parenting revolves around issues of warmth and control. The interaction of warmth and control should contribute something unique to parenting that does not exist in the relationship of warmth or control separately. However, when the model in Figure 1 was tested it resulted in a bad model fit, with modification indices indicating that the interaction of warmth and control was creating most of the problems. The model results are not presented as the model resulted in a bad model fit. Therefore, the first hypothesis that parental warmth and control, as an interaction, should help explain the variation in alcohol use is rejected. There is no unique contribution when warmth and control are combined; instead, warmth and control are functioning separately to explain alcohol use. In addition, ordinary least squares analysis was run with the independent variables of all three parent-youth relationship variables, warmth, control, parent place of birth, and the interaction of warmth and control. The interaction of warmth and control did not produce a significant coefficient ($t = .273, p = .785$). Based on the model fit indices, and on theoretical concerns with Baumrind's model when applying it to other ethnic groups, the model was altered to remove the interaction effect. This resulted in the model presented in Figure 2.

Analysis for Latino Sample

A variety of indices of model fit were evaluated ($n = 1,887$). The Bollen-Stine bootstrapped chi-square test yielded a value of 98.341, with degrees of freedom of 35, and a p value of .001. The root mean square error of approximation was 0.031, which was less than 0.08 indicating good model

Figure 2
Structural Equation Model for Explaining the Relationship Between Parenting Style, Acculturation, and Alcohol Use in Latino Adolescents



Note: Those arrows that are dotted had nonsignificant estimates. Standardized estimates are presented on the arrows with unstandardized estimates in parenthesis. All exogenous variables are considered to be correlated.

* $p < .001$.

fit. The p value for the test of close fit was 1.00, which was nonsignificant indicating good model fit. The Comparative Fit Index was 0.991, which was higher than 0.95, indicating again good model fit. The indices uniformly point toward good model fit. Inspection of the residuals and modification indices revealed no significant points of ill-fit in the model.

Figure 2 presents the parameter estimates that were produced by the Mplus analysis incorporating the sampling weights. Standardized coefficients appear on each path, with unstandardized coefficients in parentheses. The covariates used in this model are income, peer alcohol use, adolescent place of birth, and language spoken at home. The residuals are in standardized form and are reflective of unexplained variance in the endogenous variables. The variables in the model were able to account for approximately 38% of the variance in alcohol use in Wave 1 and only 1% in Wave

2, 8% of the variance in parental warmth, 2% of the variance in parental control, and 2% of the variance in the parent-youth relationship.

For every one unit increase in parental warmth the parent-youth relationship increases by 0.270 ($p < .001$), and for every one unit increase in the parent-youth relationship adolescent alcohol use during Wave 1 decreases by 0.149 ($p < .001$). Parental control did not result in a significant estimate when predicting the parent-youth relationship. For every one unit increase in parental warmth alcohol use decreases by 0.146 ($p < .001$); for every one unit increase in parental control alcohol use decreases by 0.281 ($p < .001$). Acculturation or parent place of birth did not result in statistically significant coefficients. Parental warmth, parental control, the parent-youth relationship, and alcohol use in Wave 1 did not result in statistically significant estimates when predicting alcohol use in Wave 2. Alcohol use in Wave 1 was not considered a covariate for alcohol use in Wave 2 because it is an endogenous variable (meaning that it is a variable that is caused by more than one variable in the model) and the main dependent variable of interest. It resulted in a nonsignificant estimate, where for every one unit increase in alcohol use in Wave 1 alcohol use in Wave 2 increased by 0.033 ($z = 1.094$).

The covariate estimates for presentation purposes are not put on the figure. For every one additional friend who uses alcohol parental control decreases by 0.004 ($p < .001$). Peer alcohol use was a strong predictor of alcohol use in Wave 1, for every additional friend who uses alcohol, alcohol use increased by 0.688 ($p < .001$). Language spoken at home did result in a significant estimate when predicting parental control. On average if English was spoken at home parental control would decrease by 0.002 compared to those who spoke Spanish at home ($p < .001$). Adolescent place of birth did result in a significant estimate when predicting alcohol use in Wave 1. On average if the adolescent was born in the United States alcohol use in Wave 1 increased by 0.030 compared to those who were born outside the United States ($p < .001$). Income did significantly affect parental warmth, parent-youth relationship, and alcohol use in Wave 1. For every \$1,000 increase in income parental warmth increased by 5.730 ($p < .001$), and parent-youth relationship decreased by 2.782 ($p < .001$). For every \$1,000 increase in income alcohol use in Wave 1 increased by 2.782 ($p < .001$).

Discussion

The results of this study contribute to the understanding of how family mechanisms, specifically parenting and the parent-youth relationship,

affect alcohol use for Latino adolescents and the effects of acculturation on these factors.

The lack of research on protective factors preventing alcohol use contributed to the conceptualization of this study (Felix-Ortiz & Newcomb, 1999; Lilja et al., 2003). Prevention theory often looks at the number of risk factors and it is well documented that the more risk factors the more likely an adolescent will use alcohol or substances (Newcomb & Felix-Ortiz, 1992). For this reason, this study focused on protective factors. In particular, this study focused on family characteristics, as Latino families have a well-documented list of family mechanisms that are positive features. Parenting styles, the parent-youth relationship and how these factors contribute to alcohol use for Latino adolescents were the central questions in this study. However, because of the population, the acculturation of the parent, and how this affects parenting styles, became issues that should be investigated to understand family mechanisms.

Acculturation

Parent place of birth did not significantly affect parental warmth or control. This is an interesting finding because as hypothesized in Figure 1 based on the literature, there would be a strong connection between acculturation of the parent and warmth and control. However, in this study there were no significant effects. The effects of adolescent place of birth on parental warmth and control also did not produce significant effects. However, language spoken at home did significantly affect parental control but not warmth. If English was spoken at home, parental control decreased. This indicates that as the family becomes more acculturated the parental rules become less controlling. This is consistent with the hypothesis that those families that are more acculturated will be less controlling. Perhaps the family characteristics of machismo and a dominant male figure would be less pronounced in an acculturated home where English is spoken, thus resulting in a decrease in the traditional authoritarian parenting.

The finding on the impact of language spoken at home on control, and then the effects of control on alcohol use, is interesting and adds to the literature. If English is spoken in the home parental control decreases and a decrease in parental control leads to an increase in alcohol use. This is contradictory to some of the findings on non-Latino adolescents. Non-Latino adolescents with less controlling parents, and thus with more choices and flexible rules, use alcohol less (Lilja et al., 2003).

A limitation to the acculturation findings relates to how acculturation was measured. Measuring acculturation by language spoken at home and how

long the individual has been in the country still holds validity. Many researchers continue to conceptualize and measure individual acculturation in a unilinear way (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Ghuman, 1991; Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). The variety of acculturation measures also shows that there is no consistent way to measure acculturation in the field. For these reasons and because of constraints of the secondary data set, acculturation was measured by place of birth and language spoken at home. However, this is a unidimensional way to measure acculturation and better measures of acculturation should be used in the future to see if the results are similar.

Research shows those Latino adolescents that are more acculturated than their peers use alcohol more; however, why this is happening is less clear (Carvajal et al., 1997; De La Rosa et al., 2000; Epstein, Botvin, & Diaz, 2001; Warheit & Vega, 1996). This study shows that one of the contributing factors may be that as an adolescent becomes more acculturated (i.e., English is spoken in the home) parental control decreases; this decrease in Latino families, which is opposite to the effect in non-Latino families, causes an increase in alcohol use. It seems that control works well for Latino families, whether they are more or less acculturated; family values remain intact and function better when stronger, more enforced rules are used.

Parental Warmth

Parental warmth was found to have a significant effect on alcohol use. An increase in parental warmth leads to a decrease in alcohol use for Latino adolescents. None of the acculturation variables had significant effects on parental warmth. This finding is contradictory to the hypothesized (Figure 1) relationship. It was hypothesized that most Latino families use high control and low warmth as a parenting style, and this would cause adolescents to use alcohol less. The findings indicate that high warmth is a positive attribute for Latino families. What we do not know from these findings is which parent, the mother or the father, is contributing to the warmth in the framework. Further research would be extremely interesting to see how this model works for mothers compared to fathers.

An increase in parental warmth causes an increase in the parent-youth relationship, and in turn decreases alcohol use. This indicates the power of parental warmth, that it not only contributes to a decrease in alcohol use directly, but also affects the parent-youth relationship. Further exploration into which parent is fostering the parent-youth relationship would be interesting. Interestingly, parental warmth is a question asked of the adolescent and the parent-youth relationship questions are asked of the parent. The

adolescent perceived view of parental warmth affects how the parent views their relationship with their child. The importance of the role of the adolescent in perceiving parental warmth contributes significantly to the understanding of the relationship dynamic.

As the literature mentions, parental warmth as a parenting style is something that is passed down from generations and is a reflection of the parent's upbringing (Ge, Best, Conger, & Simons, 1996; Krampen, 1989). However, the parent-youth relationship has more to do with the individual characteristics of the parent and child (Ge et al., 1996; Krampen, 1989). This finding shows that parenting style, particularly parental warmth, has an influence on the parent-youth relationship and thus the two do not function independently.

Parental Control

Parental control had a significant effect on alcohol use. As parental control increased, alcohol use decreased. It was hypothesized (Figure 1) that contrary to some of the literature for non-Latinos high parental control would benefit Latino adolescents. Latino adolescents would respond better to parenting that is more controlling because this is a traditional and cultural norm. Some of the literature on non-Latinos indicates that more controlling parents have adolescents who use alcohol more. However, this is not the finding in this article; for Latinos, high control is related to a less alcohol use.

Language spoken at home influenced parental control, indicating that more acculturated families (those who speak English at home) have less controlling parents. There are not many findings in the literature on how acculturation of the family impacts parenting practices. The present findings indicate that acculturation of the family has a significant impact on parental control. However, adolescent and parent acculturation (both measured by place of birth) in isolation do not have an effect on parenting style. However, language spoken at home can be conceptualized as a measure of family acculturation, a combination of the acculturation of the parent and the child, as both parent and child need to be acculturated to speak English in the household. Results in this article demonstrate that family acculturation level, operationalized as language spoken at home, does affect parental control.

There have been very few research studies that show the impact of acculturation on parenting style. However, literature on the effects of acculturation on alcohol use show that there is contradictory evidence; some studies show that the gap between the child and parent acculturation levels lead to

more alcohol use, whereas others have found that the overall level of parent and child acculturation determines alcohol use (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Vega et al., 1998). Martinez (2006) found that family acculturation level is a better construct rather than differences in parent and adolescent acculturation when predicting substance use. This article supports the finding of Martinez (2006) that the combined level of parent and child acculturation, or family acculturation level, affects parenting style and in turn influences alcohol use.

What is interesting is that parental control did not have a significant relationship with the parent-youth relationship. No hypothesis was made because of the lack of literature on the subject; however, intuition says that control would have a strong effect on the relationship with the adolescent. However, in this model parental control had no effect on the parent relationship with the adolescent. It is possible that Latino adolescents expect a high amount of control from their parents and they do not allow this to contribute to their relationship with their parent, as it is viewed as a cultural norm. Deater-Deckard and Dodge (1997) found that the effects of discipline on youth can differ depending on how acceptable the disciplinary behaviors are within the cultural group. This finding adds evidence that cultural values impact the way relationships are perceived.

Parent-Youth Relationship

As the parent-youth relationship increased alcohol use decreased for Latino adolescents. This demonstrates that whether an adolescent uses alcohol is impacted not only by the parenting style, or amount of warmth and control used in the family, but also by the relationship between the parent and the adolescent. The parent-youth relationship questions were asked of the parent, usually the mother, and show that parental perception of the relationship has an effect on substance use. This finding highlights the importance of the parent-youth relationship in the use of substances. Further research on the parent-youth relationship perhaps as measured as adolescent perception and the effects on other types of substances such as marijuana use and cocaine use would be a valuable addition to the literature. Interestingly, language spoken at home and adolescent place of birth, two measures of acculturation, did not significantly impact the parent-youth relationship. More research on this important dynamic of the parent-youth relationship is necessary to better understand the impact of acculturation.

Future Research and Conclusion

Further research on understanding parenting styles for Latinos is necessary. Baumrind's framework did not result in a good model fit as an interaction term; however, main effects of warmth and control were seen. This leaves the door open for new conceptualizations of how parenting works for Latino families in the context of acculturation. Research on the specific Latino subgroups is needed to help differentiate between Latino groups such as differences between Mexican American and Puerto Rican youth. Research questions should focus on considering if this model works similarly for different dependent variables, such as marijuana use, cocaine use, and inhalant use.

This study confirms the importance of peer alcohol use as a contributing factor for use in adolescence. However, it highlights the importance of the family. Parenting and the relationship the parent has with their child influences an adolescent's choice to use or get drunk from alcohol. The role of parents to reduce the risk taking behavior of alcohol use is a strong finding.

High amounts of parental control work well for Latino families in preventing alcohol use. However, this is in the context of parental warmth, which is a necessary component to the model. Common beliefs about Latino families characterize parenting as strict, controlling, and abrasive. However, in truth parental warmth plays a large role; this warmth decreases alcohol use and increases the relationship the parents have with their adolescents, which in turn affects alcohol use. This article supports the idea that traditional Latino families have a protective quality of high control and high warmth and as they acculturate control decreases and alcohol use increases.

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