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The Protective and Risk Effects of Parents and Peers on Substance Use, Attitudes, and Behaviors of Mexican and Mexican American Female and Male Adolescents

Monica Parsai
Sarah Voisine
Flavio F. Marsiglia
Stephen Kulis
Tanya Nieri
Arizona State University

This study explores the extent to which parental and peer behaviors and norms may affect substance use, personal antidrug norms, and intentions to use drugs in a group of Mexican heritage preadolescents in the Southwest United States, and whether these parental and peer influences differ according to gender. Secondary data from a randomized trial of a drug prevention program were used. The sample consisted of 2,733 adolescents. The outcomes were recent alcohol, cigarette, and marijuana use, personal antidrug norms, and intentions to use drugs. In this study, peer variables were more consistently related to the outcomes than parent variables, with the exception of parental injunctive norms, which were the most predictive parent factor. Recommendations are provided to further study the protective processes that are maintained through the transition into adolescence and acculturation as a foundation for the design of resiliency-focused prevention interventions.

Keywords: *parental monitoring; parental permissiveness; injunctive norms; personal antidrug norms; substance use; peers; Mexican adolescents.*

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Introduction

Adolescent substance use in the United States is a major concern for parents, behavioral health practitioners, researchers, and government policymakers because it places individuals at increased risk of numerous health, legal, and developmental concerns (Ellickson, Tucker, & Klein, 2003; Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2003). Although billions of dollars are spent annually on programs to prevent adolescent substance use, the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA; 2005) reported that adolescent alcohol consumption and cigarette smoking have declined; however, inhalant and nonmedical prescription use continue to increase among 8th and 12th graders. Although the onset for substance use is around 13 years of age in the United States (Faden, 2003), some studies have found that children, aged 12 years (Kaplow, Curran, & Dodge, 2002) and even children as young as 10, have already initiated substance use (Johnston et al., 2002). This suggests that prevention needs to start during the elementary years. Early use of substances is important because of its consequences later in life, so early detection and an examination of substance use linearly may give researchers an insight into different pathways toward substance use, and this knowledge may be applied in a variety of ways, including prevention program development and counseling strategies. In addition, there is a need to examine demographic subgroups to identify how substance use pathways differ by gender, ethnicity, and age.

Mexican heritage adolescents, who represent a rapidly growing group in the United States and comprise one quarter to one third of the American Southwest population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002, 2005), report more substance offers and use than do non-Hispanic White students in the region (Marsiglia, Kulis, Wagstaff, Elek, & Dran, 2005). A number of ecological factors have been correlated with substance use among adolescents, including parental monitoring and peer relationships (Adamczyk-Robinette, Fletcher, & Wright, 2002; Marsiglia & Waller, 2002; Schinke, Schwinn, & Cole, 2006; Simons-Morton, 2004). To understand the complex dynamics of Mexican adolescents' relationships with their families and peers, it is important to consider the context in which the adolescents live. For example, *familismo*, the Mexican value that emphasizes the centrality of family and kin networks and prioritizes the importance of family interests over those of the individual (Portes & Rumbaut, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999), is considered to protect Mexican adolescents from substance use (Holleran & Waller, 2003; Marsiglia, Miles, Dustman, & Sills, 2002). Yet, this protective factor could be undermined by the acculturation experience (Portes & Rumbaut,

2005). Differences in acculturation levels between Mexican heritage parents and children may be reflected in the differences between parents' values and norms and their children's peers' values and norms. Mexican heritage adolescents may be caught between being eager to conform to the norms of the dominant society and their obligations toward their own family. Family obligations in Mexican culture are inculcated through an emphasis on values such as obedience and *respeto*. Although literature about the relative influences of peers and parents is abundant, much of it has focused only on youth from the cultural mainstream of the United States. There is a need for studies that are specifically focused on the experiences of Mexican adolescents and their parents, and how gender may play an additional role in the way that adolescents acculturate.

This study utilizes the ecological risk and resiliency theory as a framework for examining the extent to which parental and peer behaviors and norms affect drug use in a group of Mexican heritage female and male adolescents, and whether these parental and peer influences differ according to gender. This research seeks to advance knowledge on the experiences of Mexican heritage adolescents to inform the development of culturally grounded interventions promoting the group's resilience to substance use. The hypothesis leading this study is that the substance use attitudes and behaviors of young Mexican students are influenced by parental monitoring and peer relations.

Drug Use During Adolescence

Results from the 2005 Monitoring the Future survey data, presented in *NIDA Infofacts: Marijuana*, show a decline in adolescents' overall use of cigarettes, marijuana, and alcohol compared to the previous years. This is the fourth consecutive year that a decline is reported after some years of stability in use (NIDA, 2006). However, drug use among adolescents continues to be a problem. Adolescents' self-reports of their substance use in the previous month reveal a progressive increase in alcohol, cigarette, and marijuana use, as the adolescents move from 8th to 12th grade. Alcohol is, by far, the substance most commonly used by adolescents: 17% of 8th graders reported drinking in the past month, and the numbers increase to 33% by 10th grade and 47% by 12th grade.

The timing of adolescents' drug use initiation is also a concern because early drug use places youth at a greater risk of later use and is more harmful than experimentation at a later age (Flory, Lynam, Milich, Leukefeld, &

Clayton, 2004; Patton et al., 2004). A number of family factors, including parental attitudes toward substance use, have been found to predict initiation into substance use (Wallace & Fisher, 2007). An array of negative consequences are associated with adolescent alcohol use: automobile accidents (Hingson, 1993), earlier onset of sexual activity (Fergusson & Lynskey, 1996), and sexual risk taking (Derman, Cooper, & Agocha, 1998). Other problems include getting into fights and arguments, causing shame to someone, acting bad, missing school, passing out, driving under the influence of alcohol, and neglecting responsibilities (Arata, Stafford, & Tims, 2003). Adolescent substance use has also been linked with suicide, depression, and conduct disorders (Brown, Parks, Zimmerman, & Phillips, 2001).

Ecological Risk and Resilience Theory and Peer Influence on Adolescence Drug Use

Ecological risk and resilience theory views individuals as developing within a complex system of relationships and provides a framework to examine factors that may help explain substance use. Friends and peers who use substances may be a risk factor for adolescents. During adolescence, peers constitute a source of companionship and intimacy (Buhrmester, 1996) and exert an influence on the day-to-day behaviors (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). As children progress through adolescence, peers become more important (Hartup, 1983).

Peer cluster theory complements well the ecological risk and resilience model because it recognizes that certain basic conditions (such as the environment and individuals' beliefs and values) make a person susceptible to drug involvement or, alternatively, resilient to it (Oetting & Beauvais, 1986). Peer cluster theory suggests that group members influence each other and the association between peers and drug use is direct (Oetting & Beauvais, 1986). Several studies have shown that peer drug use and peer approval of substance use strongly affect adolescents' drug use (Dielman, Butchart, & Shope, 1993; Tani, Chavez, & Deffenbacher, 2001). As adolescents interact with drug-using friends, they observe and learn attitudes and values that encourage drug use (Mason & Windle, 2001). However, adolescents tend to pick friends who are like themselves and who reflect their family's value system, social status, and ethnic background (Garnier & Stein, 2002). Therefore, groups or cliques exercise varying degrees of influence on an adolescent's behavior, and this influence is not independent of other factors (Caldwell & Darling, 1999). In addition to peers and personality,

family factors predict adolescent risk for initiation of alcohol use (Brook, Whiteman, Gordon, Nomura, & Brook, 1984). Family conflict, low family bonding, and low levels of parental monitoring are all risk factors for adolescents' substance use. As the influence of family bonding progressively declines and the effect of peers' antisocial activities increases, the risk of substance use increases from age 12 to 21 (Guo, Hill, Hawkins, Catalano, & Abbott, 2002).

Adolescents tend to overestimate the prevalence of substance use among their peers; unfortunately, adolescents' beliefs about their peers' acceptance of drug use influence their own substance use behavior (Page, Hammermeister, & Roland, 2002). The misperceived norm concept is based on the idea that extreme behaviors draw more attention and, therefore, shapes adolescents' perceptions and norms, and subsequently, their actions. For example, if a young person believes that everyone in his class smokes, he may view smoking as "not that bad" and, therefore, take up smoking himself (Olds & Thombs, 2001). In summary, adolescents' assessment of how common a behavior is among their peers influences their engagement in that behavior. Therefore, providing youths with accurate information about their peers' substance use can reduce their risk of substance use (Haines & Spear, 1996).

Ecological Risk and Resilience Theory and Parental Monitoring and Adolescence Drug Use

Parents (and/or guardians) occupy a key place in the adolescents' system of relationships. Their parenting strategies may place the children at risk or may function as protective factors. Parents influence their children by monitoring them, setting behavioral expectations, and instilling values and norms. Parental monitoring has been conceptualized as parents' knowledge of their child's whereabouts and activities (Dishion & McMahon, 1998). Monitoring can be passive or active. However, parental monitoring is often discussed without distinguishing between passive and active strategies. Even though studies have measured monitoring in both ways, the separate effects of passive and active strategies have not been examined. Passive monitoring involves simply receiving information from the children about their whereabouts and activities, whether children share the information prompted by the parents' questions or voluntarily (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Active monitoring requires the direct involvement of the parents in the children's activities or in seeking information about their youth from other adults (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Especially during adolescence, parents typically engage in passive monitoring, relying on their

children's account of their activities rather than actively watching them (Rotenberg, 1995; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Passive monitoring provides parents with knowledge of the child's whereabouts, but it is in essence an activity of the child and not of the parent (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). In active monitoring, parents will go beyond obtaining information from their children to directly asking other informed adults about their adolescents' activities, getting involved in their adolescent's activities, and setting clear rules (Waizenhofer, Buchanan, & Jackson-Newsom, 2004). In a study that compared the ways in which parents obtain knowledge about their children activities, Waizenhofer et al. (2004) argued that parent's knowledge seems to be enhanced by active involvement in their adolescent's life, and parent's knowledge regardless of its source is "a good thing when it comes to adolescent deviance" (p. 11). Past studies have demonstrated the importance of monitoring adolescent's activities. Passive parental monitoring (i.e., children's spontaneous disclosure of information to parents) has been found to be the strongest predictor of children's norm-breaking behavior when compared to active parental monitoring, which involves parents' solicitation of information and parental control in the form of rules and boundaries for behavior. Even when no distinction was made between passive or active monitoring, some studies suggested that poorly monitored adolescents were at higher risk for substance use and for associating with peers who approve of drug use (Chassin, Pillow, Curran, Molina, & Barrera, 1993). Low parental monitoring is linked to adolescents' choice of deviant friends (Dishion, Capaldi, Spracklen, & Li, 1995) and to adolescents' involvement in delinquent acts (Fridrich & Flannery, 1995).

Active parental monitoring and rule setting are linked with less substance use and abuse among adolescents (Baumrind, 1991). Even when drug-using peers exert pressure on their friends to use drugs, perceived parental monitoring can dissuade youths from initiating drug use and influence the amount of substances used (Fletcher, Darling, & Steinberg, 1995). In one study, friends' drinking and low parental monitoring predicted advancement to heavier drinking, and parental monitoring was one of the most important elements in deterring heavier drinking by adolescents (Reifman, Barnes, Dintcheff, Farrell, & Uhteg, 1998). Comparable results were found by other studies suggesting that parental supervision is a factor in alcohol use initiation, extensiveness, and progression (Arata et al., 2003). Similarly, a study about the roles of family and peers as predictors of alcohol abuse concluded that higher levels of maternal support and parental monitoring predicted lower substance use (Barnes, Farrell, & Dintcheff, 1997). Adolescents who experience high parental monitoring are more likely to report lower levels of

substance use (Marsiglia et al., 2002). Those who have more self-control and whose parents exercise more monitoring tend not to smoke (Simons-Morton, 2002; "Parents' Involvement Helps Kids Overcome Peer Influence on Smoking," *Medical Letter on the CDC & FDA*, 2003, p. 22). Studies show that even those adolescents who have friends who smoke and drink were less likely to use substances when their parents were more involved, regardless of race and living arrangements (single-parent vs. two-parent homes; Simons-Morton, 2002).

Age and maturity may play a role in how vulnerable adolescents are to peer pressure and drug-use modeling (Reifman et al., 1998). Parental monitoring was found to significantly reduce the risk of drug initiation during adolescence by affecting the adolescent's association with peers (Guo et al., 2002). Mother's awareness of opposite-sex friends has been identified as an indicator of parental monitoring, and the mother's knowledge of friends has been found to influence the likelihood of teenage cigarette smoking. These protective effects appear to be counterbalanced by the influence of peers. As the adolescents' network expands, the peers influence outside of parental awareness increases, and it becomes more difficult for parents to know the adolescent's friends (Feiring & Lewis, 1993).

Parental permissiveness differs from parental monitoring in that it refers to the extent of freedom parents give to their children. Parental permissiveness is an attempt from parents to control the child's behavior. Permissive parents have few requirements for their children and provide little guidance about appropriate behavior (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991). Parental permissiveness discourages adolescents from developing self-control to cope with personal issues (Berzonsky, 2004) and has been linked to higher rates of substance use (Barnes, Reifman, Farrel, & Dintcheff, 2000).

Parents influence the development of children's drug norms. Injunctive norms reflect a person's perception of others' likely reactions to certain kind of behavior. Parental injunctive norms are an adolescent's perception of how parents would react to his or her drug use (Kulis, Napoli, & Marsiglia, 2002). Among preadolescents, injunctive norms are related to parental monitoring as they influence youths' motivation for engaging in certain behaviors (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991). For example, the injunctive norms can influence a youth's decision to try drugs (Kandel, 1980). Youths with strong injunctive norms expect a negative reaction from parents if they use drugs and are thus deterred from using.

The parent-child relationship and the drug-specific messages parents give to their children are key to understanding youth drug use. We hypothesize that these processes are uniquely mediated by gender and variability in acculturation levels. The cultural dimensions of parental monitoring are not

well documented, but there are some exploratory studies that suggest that parental monitoring may be expressed differently in Mexican heritage families than mainstream families (Figueroa-Moseley, Ramey, Keltner, & Lanzi, 2006). Although highly effective in many cases, parental monitoring among Mexican and Mexican American families goes through profound transformations as children and parents go through the acculturation process (Tummala-Narra, 2004). The present study aims at researching those processes and gaining a greater understanding about the ways in which families maintain traditional practices and incorporate and adapt new practices.

Gender and Drug Use

Young men generally have higher rates of alcohol and illicit drug use than young women (Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1991). However, when examining specific subgroups, the pattern is less clear. A study of Mexican American preadolescents suggests that boys in the fourth and fifth grades use more substances than do girls in the same grades; however, these differences attenuate by the sixth grade (Katims & Zapata, 1993). One explanation for the narrowing of this gap may be found in elements of traditional Mexican gender roles and cultural norms. Traditional Mexican gender roles can protect against drug use, possibly for both girls and boys (Kulis, Marsiglia, & Hurdle, 2003). In the Mexican culture the values of *machismo* and *marianismo* are very important. Machismo allows greater social freedom to boys and at the same time instills a sense of responsibility and accountability, even in the absence of strict monitoring. Boys who have been raised with the values of machismo may experience more freedom in their social interactions and, therefore, get more exposure to drug offers and opportunities for drug use. Marianismo emphasizes girls' obligations to their family. In Mexican families, girls often experience a greater degree of parental monitoring. Marianismo keeps girls closer to home and protects them against drug use. However, as girls acculturate, they may cease to adhere to prescribed gender roles, becoming more vulnerable to drug use.

Another important value within Mexican communities is *respeto*. Traditional Mexican families socialize their children to respect the authority of parents and adults (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). Adolescents' sense of obligation to and respect for their parents may translate into a preference for peers who allow them to fulfill their obligation to their families and maintain respect for their parents, thereby reducing the risk of engaging with deviant peers (Fuligni et al., 1999).

Acculturation can be stressful if it involves a struggle to adapt to the dominant culture while maintaining the culture of origin (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990). More acculturated adolescents are at higher risk of substance use (Marsiglia & Waller, 2002). Acculturation also influences youths' expectations of the parent-child relationship and perceptions of parental behavior. Relative to European American parents, Latino parents tend to use an authoritarian style of parenting, characterized by stricter discipline. However, as Latino parents acculturate, their parenting practices may change. Acculturation has an eroding effect on the traditional protective factors emanating from the culture of origin. Mothers of more acculturated Mexican American adolescents have been found to use inconsistent discipline and monitor their children less, with the result of higher levels of delinquency among the youth (Samaniego & Gonzalez, 1999). It is hypothesized that when parental monitoring is weaker and permissiveness is high, they will have an effect on the adolescent's drug use.

This study utilized self-reports from a large sample of Mexican middle school students, mostly from Latino majority schools in a southwestern U.S. city. The main objectives were to gauge the relative extent to which parental and peer influences affect these students' substance use norms and behavior, with emphasis on alcohol, cigarettes, and marijuana, and to test for whether these two influences differ by gender.

Method

Data

This study is a secondary analysis of data drawn from the pretest surveys of a randomized trial of a drug prevention program administered to middle school students in a southwestern city in the United States (for details, see Hecht et al., 2003). Surveys were administered in classrooms at 35 schools that had been block randomized into experimental and control conditions. Students were given the opportunity to complete the survey in English or Spanish. Institutional review boards at the investigators' university, and at each school district, reviewed and approved the recruitment procedures. The investigators obtained authorization from the school districts, principals, and teachers, and parents of participating students gave passive consent after receiving a letter explaining the purpose of the study. Pretest data were collected in seventh-grade classes during fall 1998. To maximize the number of questionnaire items that could be included in the data collection,

three versions of the questionnaire were utilized, each containing a core of common questions. Multiple imputation techniques were used to address planned missing data (Allison, 2002), which have been used successfully in other studies (Graham & Schafer, 2002). The multiple imputation approach created 10 complete datasets. The imputation models contained measures related to substance use, including substance use, drug norms and attitudes, and intentions to use drugs. The multiple imputed datasets were analyzed with complete-data methods. The results of these complete-data analyses were combined to arrive at a single estimate that properly incorporates the uncertainty in the imputed values, using the PROC MI and PROC MIANALYZE procedures in SAS.

Participants could choose their race/ethnicity from a list that included Mexican/Mexican American, other Hispanic, Black, White, and Other (with a blank space to write down their race/ethnicity). This study includes only respondents who identified as Mexican or Mexican American. This subgroup constitutes a total of 2,733 students. Most of the students in the sample had low socioeconomic status, demonstrated by receipt of either a free or reduced-price school lunch (90%). The sample was gender balanced with 49% boys and 51% girls, and 81% of the participants were either 12 or 13 years of age, which is the age appropriate for the seventh grade. Hence, the participants' young-age use of drugs may actually reflect the starting of experimentation with drugs. This is important because, as discussed earlier, drug initiation at a young age leads to greater risk of later use (Flory et al., 2004). As is shown by Monitoring the Future survey data (NIDA, 2006), by the eighth grade, 17% of adolescents reported drinking in the previous month. Because attitudes toward substance use are a key precursor to actual use (Simons & Carey, 2000; Sutherland & Shepherd, 2002), we included attitudes as one of the dependent variables.

Measures

The outcomes examined in this study are Likert-type items that summarize the student's behaviors and attitudes concerning alcohol, cigarette, and marijuana use. Substance use was measured by asking students their recent use of alcohol, cigarette, and marijuana. The questions were modeled on those previously used by Flannery, Vazsonyi, Torquati, and Fridrich (1994) and were chosen for their developmental appropriateness for the age group under study. The substance measures are ordinal scales assessing the quantities used within the past 30 days, ranging from 1 to 9 for alcohol (1 = *none* to 9 = *more than 30 drinks*), 1 to 8 for cigarettes (1 = *none* to 8 = *more than*

two packs), and 1 to 8 for marijuana (1 = none to 8 = more than 40 hits). These variables were examined separately in multivariate analyses. A composite substance use measure was constructed by calculating the mean of these three variables; this measure was used to present bivariate (correlational) relationships in a presentation of descriptive results. The Cronbach's alpha for the substance use scale was .73.

Personal drug use norms were measured by three questions concerning the student's opinions on whether the use of alcohol, cigarettes, and marijuana is "OK for someone your age." The scale was scored from 1 = *definitely OK* to 4 = *definitely not OK*, with a response of 1 indicating weak antidrug norms and a response of 4 indicating strong antidrug norms. When combined into a single additive scale, the Cronbach's alpha was .86.

Adolescents were asked, "How many students in the school would you guess used drugs at least once?" and were also asked, "How many kids use drugs regularly?" The responses to these two questions were combined and averaged to compose a new variable, *perceived school peers' use*. The Cronbach's alpha was .76 for this composite. We also measured the friends' drug use as reported by the response to the question, "How many of your friends use alcohol, cigarettes, chewing tobacco, or marijuana at least once per month?" with answers ranging from 1 = none to 6 = *five or more*. Friends' injunctive norms were assessed through two questions: "How would your best friend react if he or she found out that you smoked cigarettes?" and ". . . that you smoked marijuana?" with answers for both questions ranging from 1 = *very friendly* to 4 = *very unfriendly*. A high score indicates strong friends' antidrug injunctive norms. These two items were combined and averaged to compose a new variable, *friends' injunctive norms*. The Cronbach's alpha for this composite is .77.

Students' report of their parental monitoring was measured by the question, "How often do your parents ask where you are going when you leave the house?" with answers ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *most of the time*. A low score indicates low or no monitoring, and a high score indicates high monitoring. This is a measure of passive monitoring by the parents. The dataset did not allow for measuring active monitoring, however, parental permissiveness and parents injunctive norms were included because they require more active parental involvement in the adolescents' lives. Parental permissiveness was measured using two questions. The first question, "How often your parents let you drink alcohol at parties?" was measured on a scale of 1 = *never* to 4 = *most of the time*. A low score signifies less parental permissiveness and a high score signifies more permissiveness. The answers to the second question, "How often do your parents let you go

out whenever you want?" range from 1 = *never* to 5 = *most of the time*, meaning that a low score represents low permissiveness and a high score represents more parental permissiveness.

Parental injunctive norms were measured by three items that capture the adolescents' perceptions of their parents' anger in response to learning that the youth was using alcohol, cigarettes, or marijuana. Responses ranged from 1 = *not at all angry* to 4 = *very angry*. Cronbach's alpha was .72 for these three items.

Linguistic acculturation (use of English vs. Spanish), a control variable in this analysis, has been demonstrated to be a powerful predictor of drug use among Latinos (Epstein, Botvin, & Diaz, 2001; Marsiglia & Waller, 2002). Students were asked separately what language they usually use when speaking with their family, and what language they usually use when speaking with their friends. Answers ranged from 1 = *Spanish preference* to 3 = *English preference*. These items were combined and averaged to create a single item with good reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .76). Students who spoke Spanish with their friends and family all or most of the time were considered less linguistically acculturated than the group that spoke English most or all of the time.

In addition to the linguistic acculturation, several demographic variables acted as controls. Age was calculated in years based on date of birth, and each student identified their gender as male or female. Student participation in the federal lunch program acted as a proxy measure of socioeconomic status. The variable was measured dichotomously with the receipt of a free or reduced-cost lunch indicating lower socioeconomic status, and receipt of no assistance indicating higher socioeconomic status. School achievement was measured by the student's report of the grades they usually receive. Responses ranged from 1 = *mostly F* to 9 = *mostly A*.

Analysis Strategy

This study examined the relative influence of parental and peer factors on drug use in a group of Mexican heritage girls and boys, and whether these influences differ by gender. Initial tests explored bivariate correlations between the dependent variables, parent and peer variables, and control variables. Subsequent tests explored multivariate relationships. Multiple regressions were initially run with the full sample of Mexican heritage youth. Then, they were run for boys and girls separately. Gender interaction terms were also created to test whether the effects of the parental and peer predictors differed by gender. These tests are reported in summary form

only—that is, specifying only those predictors that significantly differed by gender.

Hierarchical regression models were examined, but only the final models are presented. The initial model included demographic variables and peer factors: respondent's perception of school peers' substance use, respondent's report of friends' substance use, and friends' injunctive norms. In the second model, parent factors were added from the previous model.

Results

Table 1 offers descriptive statistics and correlations with recent substance use and personal antidrug norms. The students' ages primarily fell between 12 and 13 years (81%), and the students came from lower-income families as indicated by their receipt of either a free (83%) or reduced-cost school lunch (7%). All of the parental and peer variables were correlated with substance use amount, antidrug norms, and attitudes to use drugs in the predicted direction. Students who reported higher amounts of substance use, weaker antidrug personal norms, and stronger attitudes to use drugs reported less parental monitoring, more parental permissiveness, weaker parental injunctive norms, perceptions of more substance use by school peers and friends, and weaker friends' injunctive norms. Control variables were also associated with the outcomes. Older students and students with lower grades reported more substance use, weaker antidrug personal norms, and stronger attitudes to use drugs. Students with higher socioeconomic status reported recently using larger amounts of substances. More linguistically acculturated students reported more recent use of alcohol, cigarette, and marijuana, weaker personal antidrug norms, and stronger attitudes to use all three substances.

Table 2 displays, by gender, the effects of peer and parental factors on recent substance use, and antidrug personal norms and intentions, controlling for key demographics. The results show both parent and peer factors to be important predictors. Turning first to the parental factors, we found that passive parental monitoring did not predict any outcome. The first of the two parental permissiveness measures—allowing the adolescent to drink alcohol at parties—predicted greater alcohol use for boys and girls, and greater cigarette use and weaker antidrug personal norms for girls. The second parental permissiveness measure—allowing the adolescent to go out whenever he or she wants—predicted greater alcohol use and weaker antidrug norms for girls only, greater marijuana use for girls and boys, and stronger intentions to use for boys. Antidrug parental injunctive norms predicted all

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations With
Drug Use and Personal Antidrug Norms

	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Correlation With Drug Use	Correlation With Antidrug Personal Norms	Intentions to Use Drugs
Recent alcohol use	2733	1.93	1.72	.857***	-.425***	.486***
Recent cigarette use	2733	1.34	1.03	.756***	-.358***	.465***
Recent marijuana use	2733	1.57	1.52	.833***	-.442***	.537***
Gender	2733	0.51	0.49	.078***	-.136***	.080***
Age	2733	12.8	0.56	.169***	-.165***	.153***
Usual grades in school	2733	6.45	1.83	-.197***	.144***	-.197***
Socioeconomic status	2733	0.90	0.29	-.095***	.071***	-.080***
Linguistic acculturation	2733	3.20	1.09	.121***	-.112***	.141***
Parental monitoring	2733	4.07	0.88	-.117***	.167***	-.153***
Parents allow to drink	2733	-.001	1.00	.293***	-.277***	.244***
Parents allow out whenever	2733	-.002	0.99	.199***	-.211***	.210***
Parents' injunctive norms	2733	3.48	0.59	-.411**	.420***	-.393***
Schools' peers-perceived use	2733	2.54	0.87	.327***	-.300***	.323***
Friends' substance use	2733	3.03	1.92	.332***	-.285***	.352***
Friends' injunctive norms	2733	2.85	0.81	-.450***	.469***	-.486***
Personal norms	2733	1.69	0.72	-.509***	1	.513***

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

of the outcomes for both boys and girls, specifically, less use of the three substances, weaker antidrug personal norms, and weaker use intentions. However, the effect on cigarette and marijuana use was stronger for boys than girls.

Peer factors also predicted the outcomes. The perception of more widespread substance use among school peers was associated with weaker antidrug norms, stronger intentions to use, and more use of all three substances for both genders; however, this factor's effect on marijuana use was stronger for boys than girls. The perception that one's friends use drugs significantly predicted alcohol and marijuana use, and intentions to use, for girls. Among boys, it predicted greater use of all the three substances, stronger intentions to use, and weaker antidrug personal norms. Again, the effect on marijuana use was stronger for boys than girls, as indicated by the significant gender interaction. Stronger friends' injunctive norms predicted less substance use, regardless of which specific substance was used, stronger

Table 2
Unstandardized OLS Regression Coefficients (Standard Errors) Predicting
Drug Use, Drug Norms, and Use Intentions by Gender

	Recent Alcohol Use		Recent Cigarette Use		Recent Marijuana Use		Personal Antidrug Norms		Intentions to Use	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Age	.201** (.08)	.036 (.07)	.174*** (.05)	.012 (.04)	.282*** (.07)	.165 (.06)	-.119*** (.03)	-.068* (.03)	.060* (.03)	.063*** (.03)
Usual grades	-.054* (.03)	-.077** (.02)	-.039* (.02)	-.058*** (.01)	-.076*** (.02)	-.084*** (.02)	.013 (.01)	.020* (.01)	-.038*** (.01)	-.039*** (.01)
Socioeconomic status	-.356* (.15)	-.111 (.15)	-.335*** (.09)	.069 (.09)	-.293* (.14)	-.066 (.12)	.088 (.06)	.004 (.06)	-.095 (.05)	-.034 (.06)
Linguistic acculturation	.006 (.04)	.011 (.04)	-.048 (.03)	.014 (.02)	.056 (.04)	.042 (.03)	.006 (.02)	-.034* (.02)	.003 (.01)	.039* (.02)
Parental monitoring	.023 (.06)	-.046 (.06)	.062 (.04)	.009 (.04)	.068 (.06)	.010 (.05)	.002 (.03)	.038 (.03)	.006 (.02)	-.03 (.02)
Permissiveness: Parents allow to drink	.129* (.06)	.225*** [†] (.06)	.062 (.05)	.095** (.03)	.087 (.05)	.075 (.05)	-.034 (.02)	-.079** (.02)	.026 (.02)	.026 (.02)
Permissiveness: Parents allow to go out	.053 (.06)	.159*** [†] (.04)	.028 (.03)	.051 (.03)	.100* (.05)	.117** (.04)	-.044 (.02)	-.055* (.02)	.050* (.02)	.040 (.02)
Parents' injunctive norms	-.462*** (.10)	-.467** (.14)	-.326*** (.07)	-.185** [†] (.06)	-.541*** (.09)	-.325** [†] (.09)	.305*** (.04)	.238*** (.04)	-.233*** (.04)	-.186*** (.04)
Perception of peers' use	.225*** (.06)	.255*** (.05)	.148*** (.04)	.105*** (.03)	.265*** (.05)	.189*** [†] (.04)	-.125*** (.02)	-.109*** (.02)	.115*** (.02)	.097*** (.02)
Friends' use	.130** (.03)	.110*** (.03)	.053* (.02)	.030 (.02)	.073* (.02)	.047 [†] (.02)	-.027* (.01)	-.018 (.01)	.048*** (.01)	.056*** (.01)
Friends' injunctive norms	-.301*** (.08)	-.409*** [†] (.07)	-.172** (.05)	-.196*** (.04)	-.037*** (.08)	-.353*** [†] (.05)	.238*** (.03)	.229*** (.03)	-.192*** (.03)	-.266*** [†] (.02)

Note: OLS = ordinary least squares.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. [†] significant interaction with gender.

antidrug personal norms, and less intentions to use for both boys and girls. However, the effect on alcohol use and use intentions was stronger for girls, whereas the effect on marijuana use was stronger for boys. The effect on the other outcomes did not differ by gender.

Controlling for peer and parental factors, older boys reported more alcohol, cigarette, and marijuana use, stronger intentions to use, and weaker antidrug norms. By contrast, older girls only reported stronger intentions to use and weaker antidrug norms. Higher grades predicted more desirable outcomes, except in the case of boys' antidrug norms, where the effect was not significant. Higher socioeconomic status was related to less substance use among boys but was not related to any girls' outcome. Linguistic acculturation was associated with weaker antidrug norms and stronger intentions to use for girls but was not associated with any outcome in the case of boys.

Discussion

Guided by the ecological risk and resilience theory, this study focused on microlevel relationships, in this case, between the adolescent and parents and the adolescent and peers, attending to culture-specific values (*familismo* and *respeto*) that form the context of these relationships. This study assessed the relative extent to which parental and peer influences affect Mexican students' alcohol, cigarettes, and marijuana norms and behaviors. The strength of our study rests in that we addressed a gap in the existing literature by focusing on Mexican youth, a rapidly growing group in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau News, 2004). Given that previous studies have reported the onset of substance use as early as fourth grade (Donovan, 2007; Katims & Zapata, 1993) it seems appropriate to measure substance use among seventh graders. In addition, we add to the body of knowledge about parental strategies by separately testing parental measures, including a passive monitoring measure, parental permissiveness measures, and parental injunctive norms, and we examined the differences by gender, relying on possible cultural explanations to interpret the results.

In this study, peer variables were more consistently related to the outcomes than parent variables, with the exception of parental injunctive norms, which were the most predictive parent factor. This finding of peer effects is consistent with the past literature that documents the growing influence of peers relative to parents during adolescence (Steinberg et al., 1992; Hartup, 1983). This seems counterintuitive within the Mexican culture in which the parent authority is very important. However, other past studies have reported

that adolescents tend to choose peers whose values are similar to their parents' values (Kim, Hetherington, & Reiss, 1999). Within the context of the Mexican culture, *respeto* is a value equated to being obedient (Gonzalez-Ramos, Zayas, & Cohen, 1998). This value may lead Mexican-heritage adolescents to make choices that will make their parents proud, including choice of peers and decisions about whether to use substances. Therefore, it may not be that peers are more influential than parents but that some parental effects operate through peers. Indeed, the finding of parental norms as a potent predictor supports this idea. If adolescents perceive that their parents would react negatively to their substance use, they may steer clear of substance-using peers. Future research could examine the extent to which adolescents select peers who match their parent's norms.

Although the parent variables less consistently predicted the outcomes, some measurable effects were found from the analysis. Parental permissiveness and injunctive norms were related to several outcomes in the expected direction, whereas passive parental monitoring had no effects on youth substance use. The finding of no parental-monitoring effect suggests that parents need to be mindful of the normative expectations they establish with their children and of the extent of their permissiveness, regardless of the extent to which they monitor their children, as these strategies relate to adolescent substance use. Adolescents may benefit from behavioral expectations that clearly prohibit substance use and from moderate permissiveness. Parents who are raising their children in a culture other than their own may face challenges as they attempt to put in practice parental strategies that they are more comfortable with, and at the same time trying to adjust their practices to the new environment.

Our parental monitoring measure captured passive rather than active supervision. With passive monitoring, parents rely on their adolescents' disclosure of information about their comings and goings. Active monitoring, by contrast, entails efforts by parents to either obtain information from other informed adults about the children's activities or directly observe their children's activities, or to become involved in the children's activities in other ways. Other studies (Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Patterson et al., 1992; Stattin & Kerr, 2000) have found active monitoring to protect against substance use and other problem behaviors. The conclusion to be drawn then is not that parental monitoring has no effect, but that certain kinds of monitoring or parental influence may be more effective than others. Future research could compare the relative effects of active monitoring, permissiveness, and injunctive norms to identify the most potent influences, which could then be targeted for intervention.

An interesting pattern emerged on the effects by gender. Parental permissiveness predicted cigarette use by girls but not by boys and, although it predicted alcohol use for both boys and girls, the relationship was stronger for girls than for boys. Among Latinos, alcohol use, particularly by men, is more accepted than the use of other substances. For example, wine or beer consumption with meals is common in some households. It is not surprising, then, that some Latino parents allow their adolescents to drink some alcohol on social occasions, such as family parties where there is adult supervision. However, such permissiveness may become a risk factor when it translates to alcohol use outside the bounds of adult-sanctioned activities. Girls may be especially at risk because by tradition they are kept closer to home, have less exposure to risky situations, and thus less experience in negotiating risk. If girls experience a greater degree of permissiveness, their increased risk of use might reflect the loss of the protective *marianista* cultural role compounded by greater freedom to operate away from the protection of their parents.

Although this study used cross-sectional data, precluding inferences about causality, these findings do add to the body of knowledge that is the foundation for prevention programming and program adaptation. Interventions should examine the strategies parents use and the contexts in which they seem to be most beneficial. Some strategies (e.g., high permissiveness) may send a wrong message to the youth. In addition, high parental permissiveness for girls may be unusual, signaling other parental issues or family-functioning problems. Clearly there is still a lot to be learned concerning how parents of different cultures may use different parenting strategies, or different levels of parental monitoring and permissiveness, and how these styles influence adolescent's behaviors, particularly when members of the family are going through the process of acculturation at a pace that is different for each member of the family. Future research could focus on this type of analysis.

This study also has implications for social workers, educators, and counselors who work in schools. Schools are important places in which adolescents form friendships, relate to peers, and learn prosocial or antisocial behaviors. This may be especially beneficial for Latino adolescents who, for the most part, attend schools that often cannot address their specific needs (Leyendecker & Lamb, 1999). School social workers, educators, and counselors who work with Latinos may increase their effectiveness if they become familiar with key Latino cultural values such as *respeto* and *familismo* (Eamon & Mulder, 2005) that underlie families' child-rearing practices. They can help promote prosocial behaviors among adolescents by assisting in the implementation of appropriate programs that cultivate a positive school environment and

healthy peer relationships, and by supporting parents' efforts to develop their children. School counselors play an important role in addressing the needs of children in schools. Counselors' skills to help students will be enhanced by becoming receptive to the experience of Latino adolescents and their families, and to the specific gender differences in attitudes concerning personal and friend's drug use. Counselors may work with children to help them understand why parents' monitoring is important to them and beneficial. Counselors working with parents may help them appreciate the difference between passive and active monitoring, and the benefits of active monitoring. Educators working with diverse populations may also benefit from using these findings to shape classroom activities, homework assignments, and to interact with Latino parents and students.

It is important to acknowledge that the present findings cannot be generalized beyond Mexican youth. Although the original study sample included members of other Latino national groups, their numbers were too small to permit meaningful analysis. However, this study contributes to the literature in that Mexicans are the largest Hispanic group in the United States and, therefore, an important one to focus on. In addition, this research may benefit those who work with Mexican heritage adolescents and families because it is specific to that group, and it may also address programmatic issues relevant to social workers, educators, school counselors, and other social service providers in the Southwest or even to those who work with populations of Mexican heritage in other parts of the United States. Further study is needed to determine the applicability of these findings to other Latinos.

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Monica Parsai, MSW, is a PhD candidate at the School of Social Work and a project coordinator at the Southwest Interdisciplinary Research Center, Arizona State University. Her research focuses on immigrant parenting, acculturation, and immigrant's stress.

Sarah Voisine, MSW, is a graduate of the School of Social Work, Arizona State University.

Flavio F. Marsiglia, PhD, is the foundation professor of cultural diversity and health at the School of Social Work and the director of the Southwest Interdisciplinary Research Center at Arizona State University. His research program focuses on the protective effects of culture of origin on the health outcomes of Latino and American Indian youth and their families.

Stephen Kulis, PhD, is a professor of sociology at the School of Social and Family Dynamics and he is the director of research at the Southwest Interdisciplinary Research Center at Arizona State University. His research focuses on gender and racial/ethnic identity and their relationship with the well-being of Mexican American and American Indian youth and their families.

Tanya Nieri, PhD, is the research coordinator at the Southwest Interdisciplinary Research Center, Arizona State University and a research assistant professor in the School of Social Work, Arizona State University.