

# **Dimensions of the parent-child relationship: effects on substance use in adolescence and adulthood**

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1 **Abstract**

2

3 **Background:** Several studies have uncovered a relationship between parenting styles and the  
4 likelihood that adolescents use tobacco, alcohol or illegal drugs. **Objectives:** This paper  
5 extends existing research in two ways. First, we consider a longer time-frame, investigating the  
6 relationship between parenting in adolescence and substance use in adulthood. Second, we  
7 explore the pathways by which this relationship is expressed, in particular the extent to which  
8 the relationships in question are mediated by age at first use and depression. **Methods:** Our  
9 analysis is based on data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add  
10 Health), N=2954, and is conducted using structural equation modelling (SEM). We consider  
11 warmth and control as distinct dimensions of parenting, as well as a typology of parenting  
12 which combines the two dimensions. **Results:** Warmth is associated with reduced risks of  
13 problem substance use in adulthood, via reduced risks of early initiation and a lower risk of  
14 depression. Parental control also has a protective effect via reduced risks of early initiation, but  
15 this is offset by a detrimental effect on depression, particularly in the case of older adolescents.  
16 We also find that indulgent parenting is not associated with extra risk of any kind compared  
17 with the authoritative style, whereas authoritarian and neglectful styles are.  
18 **Conclusions/Importance:** The nexus of relationships which we uncover has implications for  
19 policy aimed at reducing substance use in the longer term, suggesting that initiatives to promote  
20 warm and responsive parenting may be most effective in reducing the risks of later substance  
21 use problems.

22

23 **Keywords:** Adolescent health; substance use problems; depression; parenting styles;  
24 longitudinal analysis.

25       **1. Introduction**

26           The social costs of alcohol, tobacco and illegal drug use are considerable; recent  
27 estimates suggest that excessive drinking costs the US almost \$250 billion each year (Sacks et  
28 al., 2015), while smoking-related illness accounts for almost 9% of healthcare spending (Xu et  
29 al., 2015). Substance use also exacts heavy personal costs on the individuals involved and their  
30 families, in the form of mental and physical health problems, lost income, relationship  
31 problems, and lost years of life (Whiteford et al., 2013; U.S. Department of Health and Human  
32 Services (HHS) & Office of the Surgeon General U.S., 2016) .

33           There is evidence that parenting and family relationships influence the propensity for  
34 substance use in adolescence, and that interventions promoting effective parenting can reduce  
35 adolescent substance use (Schinke et al., 2011; Haggerty et al., 2013; Allen et al., 2016). However,  
36 there is also evidence that adolescent substance use is extremely widespread (Young et al.,  
37 2002), often experimental and self-limiting, and in itself generally not associated with a  
38 significant degree of contemporaneous or future harm (Baumrind, 1991; Englund et al., 2013).  
39 This is not to say that that adolescent substance use is unproblematic – indeed, it is a significant  
40 predictor of later substance use problems (McCambridge et al., 2011) – but given limited  
41 resources available for prevention programs, it is arguable that research on substance use  
42 should focus on identifying the determinants of problem usage beyond adolescence (Shedler  
43 & Block, 1990).

44           This paper is based on four waves of data from the *Add Health* study, a prospective  
45 longitudinal survey that follows a group of children (N=2954) from adolescence into early  
46 adulthood. We explore the effects of parenting style in adolescence (when sample members  
47 have a mean age of 15.4 years), on problem use of tobacco, alcohol, marijuana and other illegal  
48 drugs 13 years later, when sample members have a mean age of 28.2 – by which point most

49 people have jobs, many have families, and substance use is no longer a youthful indiscretion  
50 but may potentially have serious effects on life chances.

51 We use a model of parenting styles originating in the work of Baumrind (1966, 1968,  
52 1971, 1991). It proposes two distinct dimensions of parenting: warmth/responsiveness (the degree  
53 to which the parent/child relationship is warm, close and affectionate), and  
54 control/demandingness (the degree to which parents have expectations of good behavior on the  
55 part of their children, and the extent to which they encourage or enforce compliance with those  
56 expectations). Baumrind's original schema defined three parenting styles: *authoritative* (high in  
57 both warmth and control); *authoritarian* (high in control but low in warmth); and *permissive* (low  
58 in control). This schema has formed the basis for widely-used survey instruments (Robinson et al.,  
59 1995) and for a large body of research, in areas including developmental competence (Baumrind,  
60 1971, 1991); self-esteem (Buri et al., 1988; Chan & Koo, 2011); and educational achievement  
61 (Dornbusch, 1987; Steinberg et al., 1989); the authoritative parenting style is almost invariably  
62 associated with the best outcomes.

63 This threefold schema has now been largely superseded by a full orthogonal two-factor  
64 model, which divides the permissive group into an *indulgent* group, high in warmth and low in  
65 control; and a *neglectful* group, low in both warmth and control (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). This  
66 schema decouples low- and high-warmth parents among those exerting lower levels of control;  
67 many studies using this schema find that indulgent parenting is associated with outcomes as good  
68 as authoritative parenting, while outcomes for the neglectful group are poor; in other words, the  
69 major effect is via the warmth rather than the control axis. This pattern is found in several studies  
70 examining mental or psychological competence and wellbeing (Stafford et al., 2016; García &  
71 Gracia, 2009; Eun et al., 2018; Schofield et al., 2012; Martinez et al., 2017; Martinez et al., 2019).  
72 A number of studies relating specifically to substance use in adolescence also find similar results,  
73 including those of Kandel et al. (1978), Bronte-Tinkew et al. (2006), Adalbjarnardottir and

74 Hafsteinsson (2001), Ozer et al. (2011), Martinez et al. (2013), Calafat et al. (2014), and Valente  
75 et al. (2017).

76 Not all studies find warmth to be the more important dimension. Some studies find both  
77 dimensions to be of approximately equal importance, either as determinants of competence and  
78 adjustment (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994), or as protective factors against substance  
79 use (Hill et al., 2005; Piko & Balázs, 2012). Other studies suggest that control is more important  
80 than warmth as a protective factor against adolescent substance use (Barnes et al., 2000;  
81 Kosterman et al., 2000; Aquilino & Supple, 2001; Choquet et al., 2008).

82 This paper seeks to extend the state of knowledge in two ways. First, we examine a time  
83 frame extending from adolescence into the late twenties. Most studies in this area have focused  
84 on adolescence, with longitudinal studies following subjects only into late adolescence or the  
85 early adult years (Steinberg et al., 1994; Barnes et al., 2000; Aquilino & Supple, 2001; Roche  
86 et al., 2008; Mogro-Wilson, 2008; Stone et al., 2012, Van Ryzin et al., 2012). Very few studies  
87 follow adolescents into adulthood. Dubow et al. (2008) consider a three-item composite of  
88 negative family interactions in adolescence, finding it weakly related to drinking behaviour in  
89 adulthood. Maggs, Patrick, and Feinstein (2008) find the quality of parent-child relationships  
90 at age 16 is associated with alcohol consumption at age 16 and 33, and harmful drinking at age  
91 42. White et al. (2000) find that parental warmth and hostility predict trajectories of smoking  
92 behaviour, but predict drinking only weakly. Clark et al. (2015) find that authoritarian  
93 parenting is associated with a lower risk of heavy episodic drinking at age 12 across all racial  
94 groups.

95 The second innovation of this study is that, in addition to assessing the effects of  
96 parental warmth and control on substance use problems in adulthood, we seek to investigate  
97 the pathways via which these effects are played out. We examine two potential pathways,  
98 which are suggested by different branches of the literature.

99           The first pathway is via *the age at substance use initiation*. We have already mentioned  
100 research on the relationship between parenting style and substance use; several papers in this  
101 area (e.g. Garcia & Gracia, 2009; Velleman et al., 2005) note specifically a link between  
102 parenting style and early initiation. We also expect to find a link between early initiation and  
103 the risk that an individual will go on to experience substance use problems. The “critical  
104 period” hypothesis, which originated in studies of language acquisition, suggests that there is  
105 a developmental period in the early teens during which individuals are particularly sensitive to  
106 the effects of substance use; those using substances at this age may be at substantially elevated  
107 risk of substance use disorder, or substance-related harm, in later life. The studies of  
108 Guttmanova (2011) and Maimaris and McCambridge (2014) focus on alcohol misuse, with  
109 the former suggesting evidence for a sensitive period and the latter urging more caution; Jordan  
110 and Andersen (2017) consider a wider range of substances and find evidence for a sensitive  
111 period in adolescence. Several other studies, while not specifically invoking the sensitive  
112 period hypothesis, also show that early initiation is related to higher risks of later problems.  
113 Anthony and Petronis (1995), Grant and Dawson (1998), McGue et al. (2001), King and  
114 Chassin (2007) and Richmond-Rakerd et al. (2017) consider illegal drug use, while DeWit et  
115 al. (2000), Grant, Stinson and Harford (2001), Hingson et al. (2006), Dawson et al. (2008) and  
116 McCambridge et al. (2011) consider alcohol.

117           The second pathway we investigate is via *depression*. As noted above (Stafford et al.,  
118 2016 and others), parenting style is associated with many aspects of mental health, with parental  
119 warmth exerting a protective effect. Poor mental health may in turn increase individuals’  
120 susceptibility to substance use problems. The “self-medication” hypothesis suggests that  
121 individuals with mental health problems engage in substance use as a way of alleviating their  
122 symptoms. The hypothesis was originally formulated in relation to opiate addiction (Khantzian  
123 et al., 1974), and has given rise to research on a range of substances (Weiss et al., 1992; Lerman

124 et al., 1996, 1998; Bolton et al., 2009). The theory has been critiqued on the grounds that  
125 observed associations between mental health problems and substance use may not be causal in  
126 the hypothesized direction (Lembke, 2012); however, studies examining the sequencing of  
127 onset of mental health problems and substance use suggest that mental health problems are  
128 likely to precede substance use disorders (Deykin et al., 1987; Abraham et al., 1999). The self-  
129 medication hypothesis may relate to many mental health problems; we use depressive  
130 symptoms, since detailed information on other mental health problems is not collected in the  
131 data set we use.

## 132 **2. Data and Methods**

133 Analysis is based on data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health  
134 (*Add Health*), a longitudinal study managed from the Carolina Population Center at the  
135 University of North Carolina (Harris, 2009).

136 The survey follows a nationally representative sample of adolescents who were in  
137 school grades 7-12 in the 1994/95 school year. Over 90,000 students completed an initial  
138 questionnaire in school; a subsample was selected for in-home interview in the same year, with  
139 parents also interviewed. Sample members were re-interviewed in 1996, 2001/02 for a third  
140 time, and 2008 for a fourth time. At the time of writing, a fifth wave of interviews is under  
141 way, but data are not yet available.

142 Response rates across Waves 1 to 4 are 79%, 88.6%, 77.4% and 80.3% respectively  
143 (response rates at Waves 2, 3 and 4 are calculated as percentages of the original Wave 1  
144 participants who were eligible for subsequent waves). In a study of attrition from this survey,  
145 Brownstein et al. (2010) found that Wave 1 respondents who were male, non-white, non-  
146 native-born, or from families with lower levels of education and socioeconomic status were  
147 more likely to drop out; however, attrition bias is relatively small after sample weights are

148 applied. The results presented are from unweighted regressions (see Winship & Radbill, 1994;  
149 Solon et al., 2015); weighted regressions give similar results.

150 Our analysis uses the public use data set, which is a randomly generated subsample of  
151 the core data set. We restrict the sample to respondents aged between 13 and 18 at the time of  
152 first interview (that is, who were of the usual ages for membership of the relevant school  
153 grades); these respondents were aged between 25 and 32 at the time of the fourth interview.  
154 This gives a core sample size of 2954, which varies slightly between different specifications.  
155 Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for the variables of interest; other descriptive statistics  
156 may be found in the Appendix.

157 *(Table 1)*  
158

159 ***2.1 Outcome variables: substance use problems in adulthood***

160 Outcomes are measured in Wave 4. The instruments for problem use of alcohol, marijuana  
161 and other drugs are based on the criteria for the diagnosis of Substance Use Disorder in the  
162 Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, fourth edition (DSM-IV); these have been  
163 extensively validated (Van Dulmen et al., 2002; Hasin et al., 2006). The problem drinking scale is  
164 derived from 10 items ( $\alpha=0.88$ ); the scales for problem marijuana use ( $\alpha=0.85$ ) and problem use of  
165 other drugs ( $\alpha=0.92$ ) are each based on 8 items. These scales are standardized (mean=0, SD=1).  
166 Lists of items used to derive these and other latent scales are provided in the Appendix. The  
167 smoking indicator represents average daily cigarette consumption, derived from two questions: the  
168 number of days on which respondents smoked over the past month, and the average number of  
169 cigarettes smoked on each of these days. The smoking scale is top-coded at 20 and is  
170 unstandardized (mean=3.12, SD=6.12). As well as these continuous measures, we also generate  
171 binary variables indicating the 5% of heaviest smokers, and individuals scoring the highest 5% on  
172 the substance problem scales.



173 In certain situations, the use of multiple outcome measures may give rise to problems  
174 with statistical inference; the larger the number of outcomes, the more likely that a significant  
175 result will be found for at least one of them (Shaffer, 1995). One solution involves adjusting  
176 confidence intervals. We do not do this, since the same relationships between parenting style  
177 and later substance use are observed in relation to every outcome.

## 178 **2.2 Parenting style**

179 Parenting style is measured in *Add Health* via bespoke survey instruments which draw on  
180 several existing well-validated instruments (Udry, 2001); we use data collected at Wave 1. We  
181 generate two scales, as follows. The *warmth* scale reflects maternal responsiveness, emotional  
182 bonding, and trust. It is based on 12 items, some of which were reported by adolescents and some  
183 by mothers ( $\alpha=0.75$ ). The *control* scale is derived from 7 items ( $\alpha=0.62$ ). The measure we use is a  
184 reversed scale of the degree to which parents grant autonomy; in Section 3.1 we explore alternative  
185 conceptualisations of control, namely monitoring and demandingness. All questions relating to  
186 these scales are asked of both mothers and fathers. We use responses from mothers; the same  
187 analysis using responses from fathers gives similar results, but sample sizes are smaller.

188 Existing literature shows consistently that parenting styles vary according to adolescent age  
189 and gender (Belsky, 1984; Parent et al., 2014). We are primarily interested in the effects of  
190 parenting styles inasmuch as they are typical or atypical for adolescents at a particular stage in life;  
191 we therefore adjust the relevant scales for age and sex. The scales are then standardized.

192 We also derive an indicator of parenting style based on the fourfold schema described  
193 in the Introduction. We define a categorical variable denoting four parenting styles:  
194 *authoritative* (a score above the median for both warmth and control); *indulgent* (scores above the  
195 median in warmth and below the median in control); *authoritarian* (below the median in warmth  
196 and above the median in control); and *neglectful* (below the median in both warmth and control).

### 197 **2.3 Mediators**

198           We use several specifications for the age at first use of each substance (for drinking,  
199 marijuana and other illegal drugs, this is the age at which the substance was ever used; for  
200 smoking, it indicates the age at which the respondent first smoked regularly). Our main model  
201 is based on a binary indicator of whether first use had occurred by Wave 1. We also present  
202 models based on (a) initiation by Wave 2, for those who had not used the substance by Wave  
203 1; (b) a continuous indicator of age at first use, derived from responses to all four waves of the  
204 survey; and (c) a binary variable indicating initiation by age 16.

205           Depressive symptoms are measured in the *Add Health* survey by a modified version of  
206 the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D), an instrument in wide use  
207 which has been validated for adolescents and young adults (Roberts et al., 1990; Radloff,  
208 1991). This measure is available in each of the four waves; we use the measure at Wave 3 as a  
209 mediator, since it post-dates the measurement of parenting styles and precedes the  
210 measurement of the outcome. The scale is based on 12 items ( $\alpha= 0.82$ ), and is standardized,  
211 with higher scores denoting more depressed individuals.

### 212 **2.4 Control variables**

213           We control for the following variables at Wave 1: age, gender, ethnicity, parental  
214 education (in two-parent families, the higher), family composition, peers' substance use  
215 (Jackson et al., 1997; von Sydow et al., 2002), and maternal substance use (Baumrind, 1991;  
216 Bailey et al., 2016); we include maternal drinking in the alcohol use regressions and maternal  
217 smoking in all other regressions. Parental employment and neighborhood safety were found to  
218 be insignificant and were not included in the model.

219           We control for several variables measured at Wave 4: completed years of education,  
220 religiosity (a standardized scale based on 5 items,  $\alpha=0.83$ ), employment; marital status; and  
221 whether the individual has children.

222 **2.5 Methods**

223 Our analysis is based on structural equation modelling (SEM) in Stata 13. SEM treats  
224 all relationships in the model as linear; Hellevik (2009) shows that the inclusion of  
225 dichotomous mediators (here, initiation by Wave 1) does not cause problems in this context.  
226 One of our robustness checks uses a dichotomous outcome; this is estimated with generalized  
227 structural equation modelling (GSEM), described by Rabe-Hesketh et al. (2004).

228 We specify a system of relationships which allows parenting behavior to exercise a  
229 direct effect on the outcome variables, as well as indirect effects via initiation and depression.  
230 Of the two mediators, initiation is measured prior to depression; we therefore allow initiation  
231 to influence depression. Controls measured at Wave 1 may influence both mediators and  
232 outcomes; controls measured at Wave 4 influence only outcomes.

233 Four models were estimated, one relating to problem usage of each of the four  
234 substances considered. Full results are available in the Appendix; Tables 2 and 3 in the body  
235 of the paper, which present results from the two-dimension and fourfold models of parenting  
236 respectively, contain only the coefficients on the parenting style variables and the mediating  
237 pathways.

238 Tables 2 and 3 also contain test statistics for the significance of the mediation pathways;  
239 these are from the Sobel procedure (Sobel, 1982), which tests whether the estimated effects of  
240 the parenting variables on the outcome variables are significantly attenuated by the inclusion  
241 of the mediators. We performed two alternative tests, the Aroian and Goodman tests  
242 (MacKinnon et al., 2002); these are not reported but the results are similar.

243 **3. Results**

244 Figure 1 presents estimates from a model estimating the determinants of marijuana  
245 problems at Wave 4. This is based on the two-dimensional model of parenting style. Of the two  
246 dimensions, only warmth has a direct effect on the outcome. Both mediators (first use by Wave

247 1 and depression at Wave 3) are positively and significantly associated with marijuana  
248 problems at Wave 4. Parental warmth has a significant negative association with both  
249 mediators. Parental control is negatively associated with initiation, but is positively related to  
250 depression at Wave 3. These results suggest that warm parenting is related to a lower risk of  
251 problem marijuana use in adulthood, by three pathways: (1) directly; (2) via a lower risk of  
252 early initiation; and (3) via lower risks of depression. It also suggests that a parenting style high  
253 in control has (1) no significant direct effect on the outcome, (2) a beneficial effect via a  
254 lowered risk of early initiation; and (3) a negative effect via a higher risk of depression. We  
255 return later to a fuller discussion of these findings.

256

257

***(Figure 1)***

258 Table 2 presents results from the same model, for all four outcomes. The top panel  
259 contains estimates of the effects of parenting styles on the outcome variables: direct effects  
260 (the effects attributable to all parts of the model except the mediators); indirect effects  
261 (effects via the mediating pathways) and total effects (the sum of these). There are significant  
262 direct effects from warmth for all outcomes except smoking, and significant indirect effects  
263 from warmth for all outcomes. There are no significant effects, direct or indirect, from  
264 control.

265

***(Table 2)***

266

267 The second panel shows mediation effects. Both mediators are significantly related to  
268 all outcome variables, except that depression at W3 is not significantly related to smoking.  
269 Warmth is associated with lower risks of initiation and with lower risks of depression. Control  
270 is associated with lower risks of initiation (for drinking and marijuana), but with higher risks  
271 of depression (in all except the smoking model).



296 **3.1 Robustness checks**

297 We estimated several alternative specifications as robustness checks; results are  
298 presented in Table 4. As an initial check (not shown), we tested for nonlinearities and  
299 interactions in the effects of parental warmth and control. We found no evidence that any of  
300 the estimated relationships were significantly nonlinear, and no interaction effects beyond what  
301 is evident in the fourfold typology.

302 Panel 1 of Table 4 shows results from a model based on binary outcomes identifying  
303 the 5% of heaviest smokers and the 5% of highest scores on the alcohol and drug problem  
304 scales. The fact that this specification yields results similar to our previous results indicates  
305 that our model successfully predicts severe substance use problems as well as variations across  
306 the full range.

307

308 *(Table 4)*

309

310 Panel 2 addresses the implicit assumption that adolescents' substance use is influenced  
311 by parenting, rather than parenting responding to substance use; it is plausible that effects could  
312 run in the opposite direction. We analyze the sample of adolescents who had not initiated  
313 substance use by Wave 1, with initiation by Wave 2 as a measure of first use. Parenting at  
314 Wave 1 predicts initiation by Wave 1 more strongly than initiation by Wave 2; this may indicate  
315 a degree of bidirectional causality, or simply that in the former case, parenting style is a more  
316 proximal measure. In any case, the fact that significant relationships remain in the second  
317 specification indicates that at least part of the estimated relationship operates in the assumed  
318 direction.

319 We then restrict the sample to those who have initiated substance use by Wave 4.  
320 Results (not reported) are substantially unchanged; this suggests that that parenting style affects

321 not just the probability of initiation, but also the propensity to develop problems following  
322 initiation.

323 We next explore alternative specifications for the indicator of initiation. Panel 3 reports  
324 results using a continuous measure of age at initiation (individuals who had never used the  
325 substance by Wave 4 are excluded). Results are once again similar: warmth is related to older  
326 age at initiation and negatively related to depression, while control is also related to older age  
327 at initiation, albeit with smaller coefficients than warmth.

328 In panels 4 and 5, we use a binary variable indicating whether initiation occurred by  
329 age 16. This has the advantage of being a common benchmark for all sample members, but the  
330 disadvantage that initiation and parenting are measured at different times. For those aged over  
331 16 at Wave 1, parenting is measured after initiation has (or has not) occurred; for those under  
332 16, parenting is measured before the cut-off point for measuring initiation. We therefore  
333 analyze 13-15-year olds and 17-18-year-olds separately. Effects differ substantially between  
334 the two age groups, with the main differences being in the determinants of depression. The  
335 effect of warmth on depression is about twice as large for the younger group as for the older  
336 group; the effect of control on depression is insignificant for the younger group, but large and  
337 significant for the older group. This suggests that parental warmth is important for all  
338 adolescents, but particularly so at younger ages, while the relationship between control and  
339 depression is most pronounced at older ages. We also investigated whether there are differences  
340 by gender: greater parental control is associated with depression at Wave 3 for both sexes, but  
341 the effect is larger in the case of boys.

342 Our final robustness checks explore alternative specifications for the control dimension.  
343 Our original variable indicates the control which parents exercise over several domains of their  
344 children's lives. However, some other studies have used alternative concepts: monitoring  
345 (knowing/controlling children's whereabouts), or a wider concept of "demandingness", which

346 involves expectations of maturity good behavior, and a degree of enforcement of these  
347 standards (Baumrind, 1991). Replacing the indicator of control with an indicator of monitoring  
348 based on whether adolescents are allowed to make their own decisions about (a) who they  
349 associate with, and (b) what time they come home on weekends yields coefficients of the same  
350 sign but reduced magnitude (Panel 6); the effect of monitoring on initiation becomes tiny and  
351 insignificant, while its relationship with depression is positive, but significant only at the 10%  
352 level. We also test an indicator of demandingness which includes adolescents' frequency of  
353 participation in housework. This was not included in our original indicator of control because  
354 it reduced the fit of the model. The housework indicator is negatively (albeit insignificantly)  
355 related to depression (Panel 7), suggesting that, to the extent that the control/demandingness  
356 dimension is negatively related to depression, this is driven by parental control. Results (not  
357 shown) using a composite indicator of demandingness which also includes housework are  
358 similar to our initial results.

#### 359 **4. Discussion**

360 Prior research has demonstrated that parenting style is associated with the risk of  
361 substance use in late adolescence and/or early adulthood (e.g. Steinberg et al., 1994; Barnes et  
362 al., 2000; Aquilino & Supple, 2001; Stone et al., 2012). This paper shows that these effects  
363 persist into the longer term: warm parenting protects against problem substance use when  
364 subjects are well into adulthood. In addition, we have highlighted two pathways via which this  
365 effect can be shown to work: the age at initiation of substance use, and depression.

366 We used two specifications for parenting style: one which includes continuous  
367 measures of warmth and control, and a fourfold typology based on those two dimensions. In  
368 each case, the results are unequivocal: it is parental warmth, and not control, which protects  
369 against substance use problems in adulthood. In the fourfold typology, it is the authoritarian



370 and neglectful styles which are associated with elevated risks of later substance use; the  
371 indulgent style is not associated with extra risks of any kind.

372 Our analysis of mediating pathways may shed light on heterogeneity between prior  
373 studies. Virtually all studies show that warm parenting is protective, and we show the same.  
374 However, some studies (Aquilino & Supple, 2001, and others) have found parental control to  
375 be protective against substance use in adolescence, while others (Calafat et al., 2014 and others)  
376 have not. We have found that parental control *does* inhibit the initiation of substance use in  
377 adolescence (see Tables 2 and 4), but that this protective effect does not persist into adulthood;  
378 we suggest this may be due to a link between controlling parenting and depression. Thus, the  
379 effects of parental control may differ according to the age at which the outcome is measured,  
380 and may account for the range of findings in different studies.

381 Our study has several strengths. It is based on a nationally representative sample, with a  
382 considerably longer follow-up period than is typically used in studies in this area; its findings  
383 make a novel and useful contribution to the state of knowledge. However, our study is not  
384 without its limitations. First, our measures of substance use initiation and of parenting style  
385 were collected contemporaneously. While it is reasonable to believe that parenting affects  
386 substance use, it is also likely that parenting style is itself influenced by adolescents' prior  
387 substance use. We have addressed this problem partially in the robustness checks, but we  
388 believe there is more scope for disentangling issues of timing and directionality in this  
389 relationship. We also believe there is scope for a better understanding of the  
390 control/demandingness dimension; our robustness checks suggest that an alternative definition  
391 based on adolescents' contributions at home may yield interesting results, but data including  
392 an expanded survey instrument would be needed to test this. Finally, there is evidence that  
393 individuals self-medicate for a range of mental health conditions, notably for anxiety, which is

394 an extremely common condition (Robinson et al, 2009) but the data allowed us to test only for  
395 a pathway via depression.

## 396 **5. Conclusions and implications for policy**

397 There is already evidence that interventions promoting effective parenting may reduce  
398 substance use in adolescence (Haggerty et al., 2013). One justification for interventions in  
399 adolescence is that teenage substance use predicts problems in adulthood; our results confirm this,  
400 and thus indicate that parenting initiatives may be protective in the longer as well as the shorter  
401 term.

402 However, our finding that over the longer term warmth is of much greater importance  
403 than control may have important implications for the formulation of future parenting  
404 interventions. This would be true even if substance problems in adulthood were the only  
405 outcome of concern; however, if mental health is considered as locus of concern in its own  
406 right, rather than solely as a forerunner of substance use problems, the relative importance of a  
407 parenting style high in warmth assumes an even higher importance.

408

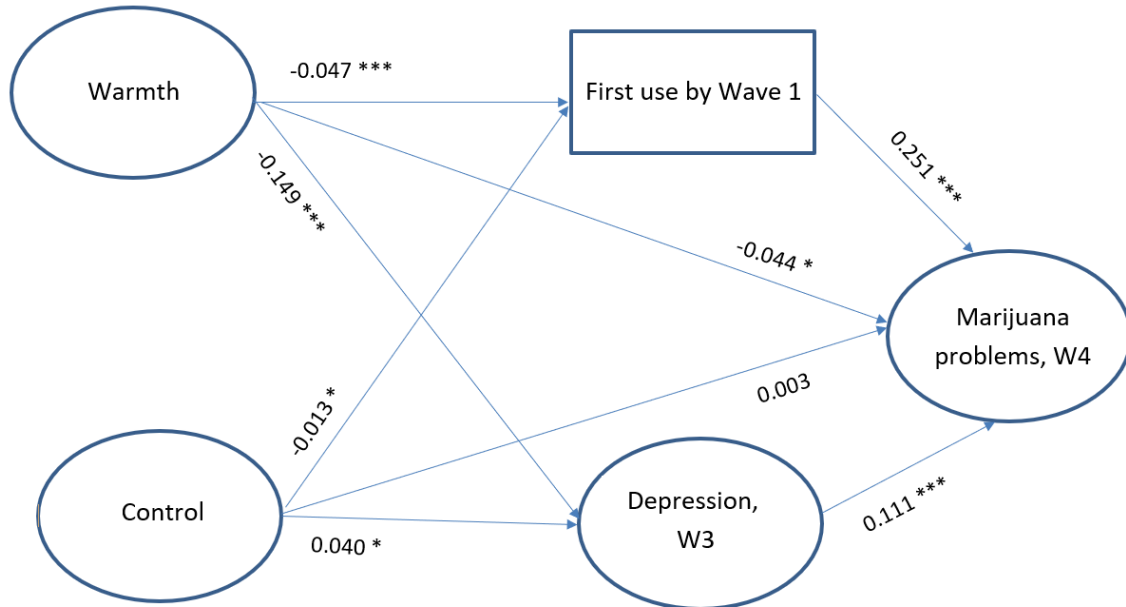
409

### **Declaration of Interest**

The authors report no conflicts of interest.

410

**Figure 1: The relationship between parenting in adolescence and marijuana problems in Wave 4; path diagram showing results from SEM analysis.**



*Note: For clarity, some relationships have been omitted from the diagram. These are: (1) the determinants of the latent constructs that are not directly observed, such as the parenting dimensions and mental health problems; (2) control variables; (3) the relationship between first use and mental health problems. Standard errors in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by asterisks: \* sig at 5%, \*\* sig at 1%, \*\*\* sig at 0.1.*

**Table 1 Descriptive Statistics: outcome variables, parenting style variables and mediators**

Variable	Range of Values		Mean (SD) or %
	Min	Max	
<b>Outcome Variables, W4</b>			
Ave. number of cigarettes per day in past 30 days	0	20 or more	3.12 (6.11)
Drinking problems	-0.61	3.58	0.01 (0.99)
Marijuana problems	-0.39	5.52	0.00 (1.00)
Other illicit drug problems	-0.27	5.92	-0.01 (0.98)
<b>Variables of Interest</b>			
<b>Parenting styles in dimensions</b>			
Warmth, W1	-4.50	2.30	-0.01 (1.02)
Control, W1	-1.96	4.00	-0.01 (0.97)
<b>Fourfold schema of parenting styles, W1</b>			
Authoritative (Ref)	0	1	24.6
Indulgent	0	1	25.1
Authoritarian	0	1	25.4
Neglectful	0	1	25.0
<b>Mediators</b>			
Cigarette use by W1	0	1	0.19 (0.39)
Alcohol use by W1	0	1	0.45 (0.50)
Marijuana use by W1	0	1	0.24 (0.43)
Illegal drug use by W1	0	1	0.27 (0.44)
Age first smoked regularly (years)	10 or younger	30	16.4 (3.31)
Age first used alcohol (years)	10 or younger	30	16.2 (3.13)
Age first used marijuana (years)	10 or younger	29	16.7 (3.02)
Age first used illegal drug (years)	10 or younger	31	18.3 (4.25)
Mental health problems, W3	-1.35	4.92	-0.03 (0.96)
<i>Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health Waves I (1994-1995), III (2001 - 2002), and IV (2008)</i>			
<i>N = 2954</i>			

**Table 2: Relationships between parenting style in adolescence and substance use problems in adulthood; two dimensions of parenting style, coefficients from SEM analysis (N=2954)**

			Smoking (cigs/day)	Drinking problems	Marijuana problems	Other illicit drug problems
<b>Effects of parenting style on Wave 4 outcomes</b>	<b>Direct effects</b>	<i>Warmth</i>	0.016 (0.101)	-0.038 (0.017)*	-0.044 (0.018)*	-0.046 (0.018)**
		<i>Control</i>	0.037 (0.104)	-0.014 (0.018)	0.003 (0.019)	0.006 (0.018)
	<b>Indirect effects</b>	<i>Warmth</i>	-0.201 (0.031)***	-0.023 (0.004)***	-0.029 (0.005)***	-0.024 (0.004)***
		<i>Control</i>	-0.031 (0.024)	-0.005 (0.003)‡	0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)
	<b>Total effects</b>	<i>Warmth</i>	-0.180 (0.101)‡	-0.060 (0.017)***	-0.071 (0.018)***	-0.069 (0.018)***
		<i>Control</i>	0.002 (0.106)	-0.019 (0.018)	0.004 (0.019)	-0.008 (0.018)
<b>Mediation effects</b>	<b>Via initiation by Wave 1</b>	<i>Warmth → initiation</i>	-0.048 (0.006)***	-0.052 (0.008)***	-0.047 (0.006)***	-0.054 (0.007)***
		<i>Control → initiation</i>	-0.010 (0.006)	-0.025 (0.008)**	-0.013 (0.007)*	-0.014 (0.007)‡
		<i>Initiation → outcome</i>	3.614 (0.303)***	0.295 (0.042)***	0.251 (0.052)***	0.263 (0.048)***
	<b>Via depression at Wave 3</b>	<i>Warmth → depression</i>	-0.146 (0.017)***	-0.156 (0.017)***	-0.149 (0.017)***	-0.145 (0.017)***
		<i>Control → depression</i>	0.040 (0.018)*	0.039 (0.018)*	0.040 (0.018)*	0.041 (0.018)*
		<i>Depression → outcome</i>	0.175 (0.108)	0.051 (0.019)**	0.111 (0.019)***	0.068 (0.019)***
<b>Sobel test statistics for significance of mediating pathways</b>	<b>Initiation</b>	<i>Warmth</i>	-6.644***	-4.771***	-4.109***	-4.467***
		<i>Control</i>	-1.651‡	-2.855**	-1.733‡	-1.879‡
	<b>Depression</b>	<i>Warmth</i>	-1.592	-2.576**	-4.861***	-3.300***
		<i>Control</i>	1.335	1.686‡	2.077*	1.922‡
<b>Statistics of fit</b>	<i>RMSEA</i>		0.040	0.041	0.040	0.040
	<i>SRMR</i>		0.008	0.008	0.008	0.008
	<i>CFI</i>		0.964	0.957	0.960	0.957
	<i>CD</i>		0.434	0.437	0.443	0.409

*Standard errors in parentheses.*

*Statistical significance is denoted by asterisks: \* sig at 5%, \*\* sig at 1%, \*\*\* sig at 0.1%. Insignificant results with  $p < 0.1$  denoted by ‡.*

*Post-estimation tests on differences between parental warmth and parental control:*

*Direct effects: Other illicit drugs \*; Indirect effects: all substances \*\*\*; Total effects: marijuana \*\* other illicit drugs \**

*Effects on initiation: all substances \*\* or better. Effects on depression: all substances \*\*\**

**Table 3: Relationships between parenting style in adolescence and substance use problems in adulthood; fourfold typology of parenting style, coefficients from SEM analysis (N=2954)**

			Smoking (cigs/day)	Drinking problems	Marijuana problems	Other illicit drug problems
<b>Effects of parenting style on Wave 4 outcomes</b>	<b>Direct effects</b>	<i>Indulgent</i>	-0.001 (0.283)	0.017 (0.049)	0.006 (0.051)	0.006 (0.050)
		<i>Authoritarian</i>	0.158 (0.284)	0.062 (0.049)	0.049 (0.051)	0.079 (0.050)
		<i>Neglectful</i>	0.002 (0.287)	0.115 (0.050)*	0.079 (0.051)	0.072 (0.051)
	<b>Indirect effects</b>	<i>Indulgent</i>	0.055 (0.064)	0.020 (0.008)*	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.003 (0.007)
		<i>Authoritarian</i>	0.261 (0.070)***	0.045 (0.009)***	0.039 (0.009)***	0.031 (0.008)***
		<i>Neglectful</i>	0.295 (0.069)***	0.048 (0.009)***	0.039 (0.009)***	0.037 (0.008)***
	<b>Total effects</b>	<i>Indulgent</i>	0.056 (0.289)	0.036 (0.049)	-0.001 (0.051)	0.003 (0.050)
		<i>Authoritarian</i>	0.407 (0.289)	0.105 (0.049)*	0.085 (0.051)‡	0.108 (0.050)*
		<i>Neglectful</i>	0.292 (0.292)	0.160 (0.050)**	0.117 (0.052)*	0.108 (0.051)*
<b>Mediation effects</b>	<b>Via initiation by Wave 1</b>	<i>Indulgent</i> → initiation	0.019 (0.017)	0.082 (0.022)***	0.008 (0.018)	0.011 (0.019)
		<i>Authoritarian</i> → initiation	0.061 (0.017)***	0.110 (0.021)***	0.047 (0.018)**	0.054 (0.019)**
		<i>Neglectful</i> → initiation	0.075 (0.017)***	0.134 (0.022)***	0.087 (0.018)***	0.098 (0.019)***
	<b>Via depression at Wave 3</b>	Initiation → outcome	3.599 (0.302)***	0.297 (0.042)***	0.264 (0.052)***	0.271 (0.048)***
		<i>Indulgent</i> → depression	-0.083 (0.049)‡	-0.086 (0.049)‡	-0.089 (0.049)‡	-0.090 (0.049)‡
		<i>Authoritarian</i> → depression	0.229 (0.049)***	0.240 (0.049)***	0.230 (0.049)***	0.227 (0.049)***
		<i>Neglectful</i> → depression	0.140 (0.049)**	0.157 (0.050)**	0.141 (0.049)**	0.134 (0.049)**
		Depression → outcome	0.167 (0.107)	0.053 (0.018)**	0.114 (0.019)***	0.070 (0.019)***
<b>Sobel test statistics for significance of mediating pathways</b>	<b>Initiation</b>	<i>Indulgent</i>	1.113	3.297***	0.443	0.576
		<i>Authoritarian</i>	3.436***	4.209***	2.322*	2.539*
		<i>Neglectful</i>	4.137***	4.615***	3.501***	3.808***
	<b>Depression</b>	<i>Indulgent</i>	-1.148	-1.508	-1.738‡	-1.644
		<i>Authoritarian</i>	1.480	2.524*	3.697***	2.884**
		<i>Neglectful</i>	1.370	2.148*	2.595**	2.196*
<b>Statistics of fit</b>	RMSEA	0.041	0.043	0.042	0.041	
	SRMR	0.008	0.009	0.008	0.008	
	CFI	0.961	0.952	0.955	0.951	
	CD	0.421	0.428	0.431	0.396	

*Standard errors in parentheses.*

*Statistical significance is denoted by asterisks: \* sig at 5%, \*\* sig at 1%, \*\*\* sig at 0.1%. Insignificant results with  $p < 0.1$  denoted by ‡.*

**Post-estimation tests on differences between indulgent, authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles:**

**Direct effects:** None sig; **Indirect effects:** Indulgent v authoritarian and indulgent v neglectful, all substances \* or better; **Total effects:** none sig

**Effects on initiation:** Indulgent v neglectful, all except drinking, \*\* or better; other comparisons n/s;

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**Effects on depression:** *Indulgent v authoritarian and indulgent v neglectful, all substances \*\* or better; authoritarian v neglectful n/s.*

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Table 4: Robustness checks; results from alternative specification

			Smoking (cigs/day)	Drinking problems	Marijuana problems	Other illicit drug problems
1. Discrete outcomes (top 5%). Logistic model using GSEM (N = 2954)	Initiation	Warmth	-0.400 (0.052)***	-0.302 (0.045)***	-0.369 (0.051)***	-0.368 (0.049)***
		Control	-0.094 (0.062)	-0.145 (0.047)**	-0.136 (0.060)*	-0.115 (0.055)*
	Depression	Warmth	-0.146 (0.017)***	-0.156 (0.017)***	-0.149 (0.017)***	-0.145 (0.017)***
		Control	0.039 (0.018)*	0.038 (0.018)*	0.040 (0.018)*	0.041 (0.018)*
2. Restrict sample to those who had not used by W1; initiation by W2 as mediator (N = 1379-1980)	Initiation	Warmth	-0.036 (0.011)**	-0.023 (0.013)‡	-0.023 (0.008)**	-0.019 (0.008)*
		Control	-0.013 (0.011)	-0.006 (0.012)	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.008)
	Depression	Warmth	-0.159 (0.022)***	-0.153 (0.027)***	-0.146 (0.023)***	-0.138 (0.024)***
		Control	0.045 (0.021)*	0.024 (0.024)	0.051 (0.021)*	0.054 (0.021)*
3. Continuous age at initiation (restrict sample to ever used by W4) (N = 1142-2676)	Initiation	Warmth	0.387 (0.074)***	0.397 (0.053)***	0.263 (0.060)***	0.390 (0.116)**
		Control	0.147 (0.082)‡	0.228 (0.056)***	0.091 (0.064)	0.183 (0.126)
	Depression	Warmth	-0.146 (0.025)***	-0.163 (0.018)***	-0.177 (0.022)***	-0.180 (0.029)***
		Control	0.016 (0.028)	0.040 (0.019)*	0.029 (0.024)	0.065 (0.031)*
4. Initiation by age 16 (sample: those under 16 at W1) (N = 1566)	Initiation	Warmth	-0.039 (0.008)***	-0.059 (0.011)***	-0.030 (0.008)***	-0.048 (0.009)***
		Control	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.017 (0.010)‡	-0.012 (0.007)	-0.013 (0.008)
	Depression	Warmth	-0.196 (0.026)***	-0.208 (0.026)***	-0.200 (0.026)***	-0.195 (0.026)***
		Control	0.012 (0.024)	0.009 (0.024)	0.010 (0.024)	0.011 (0.024)
5. Initiation by age 16 (sample: those aged 17-18 at W1) (N = 861)	Initiation	Warmth	-0.056 (0.012)***	-0.051 (0.013)***	-0.050 (0.012)***	-0.040 (0.012)**
		Control	-0.001 (0.015)	-0.040 (0.017)*	-0.018 (0.016)	-0.014 (0.016)
	Depression	Warmth	-0.096 (0.027)***	-0.107 (0.027)***	-0.096 (0.027)***	-0.095 (0.027)***
		Control	0.114 (0.034)**	0.110 (0.035)**	0.117 (0.034)**	0.118 (0.034)**
6. Alternative definition of control: monitoring (N = 2954)	Initiation	Warmth	-0.048 (0.006)***	-0.051 (0.008)***	-0.046 (0.006)***	-0.052 (0.007)***
		Monitoring	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.008)	0.002 (0.007)	0.002 (0.007)
	Depression	Warmth	-0.146 (0.017)***	-0.157 (0.017)***	-0.149 (0.017)***	-0.146 (0.017)***
		Monitoring	0.030 (0.018)‡	0.027 (0.018)	0.030 (0.018)‡	0.030 (0.018)‡
7. Alternative definition of demandingness: housework duties (N = 2954)	Initiation	Warmth	-0.052 (0.008)***	-0.052 (0.008)***	-0.048 (0.006)***	-0.054 (0.007)***
		Demandingness	-0.023 (0.008)**	-0.023 (0.008)**	-0.018 (0.007)**	-0.019 (0.007)**
	Depression	Warmth	-0.157 (0.017)***	-0.157 (0.017)***	-0.150 (0.017)***	-0.146 (0.017)***
		Demandingness	0.029 (0.018)	0.029 (0.018)	0.031 (0.018)‡	0.032 (0.018)‡

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted by asterisks: \* sig at 5%, \*\* sig at 1%, \*\*\* sig at 0.1%. Insignificant results with  $p < 0.1$  denoted by ‡.



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