

Risk and Protective Factors among Latino Families: Implications for Intervention



ESTHER CALZADA

NYU-HHC CTSI PANEL PRESENTATION

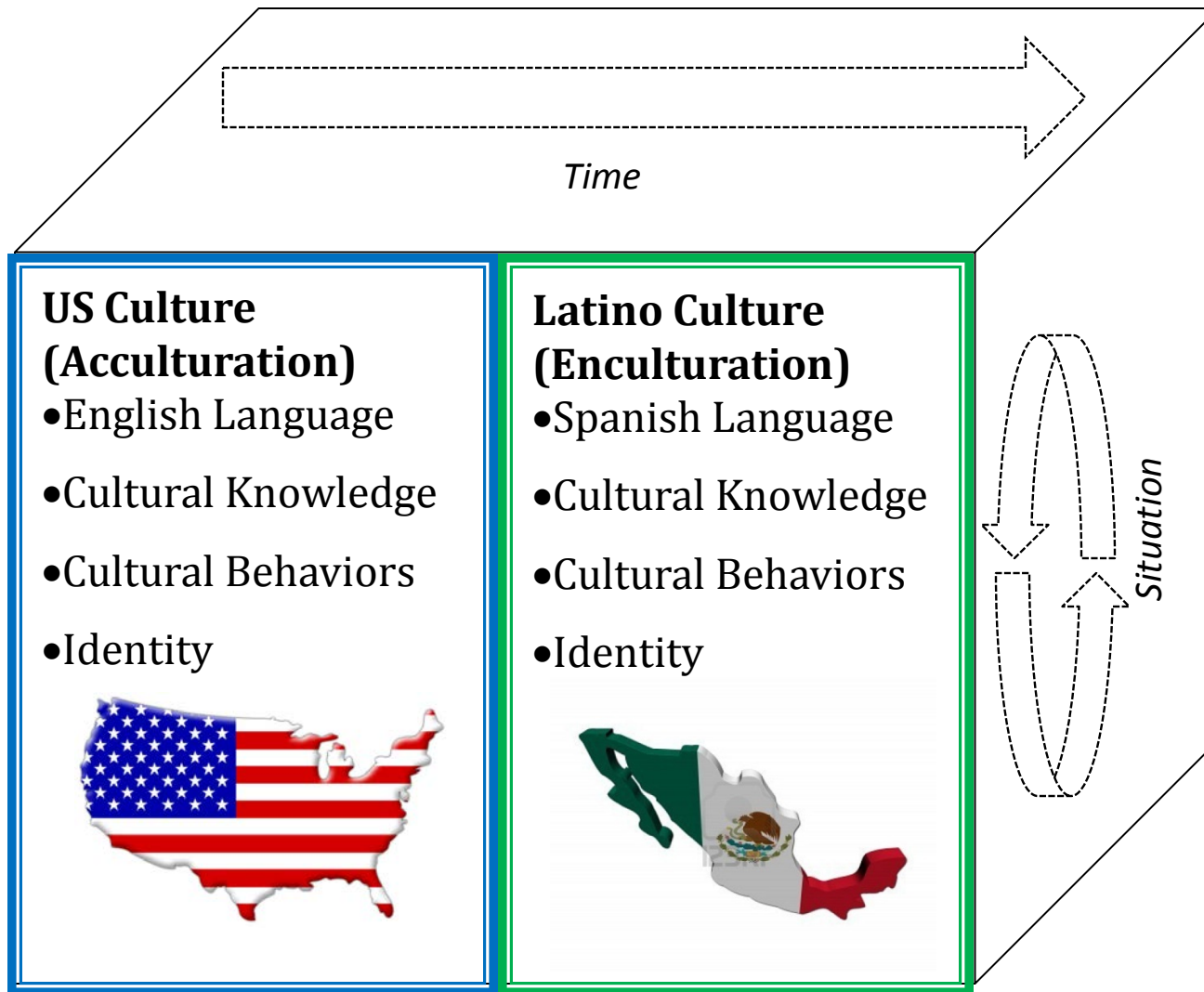
MARCH 30, 2012

Immigrant paradox



- **Immigrant adolescents, relative to US-born peers:**
 - are healthier from birth (e.g., lower infant mortality rates, higher birth rates)
 - have fewer physical health problems
 - are less likely to be depressed
 - have less experience with sex
 - are less likely to engage in delinquent and violent behavior
 - are less likely to use controlled substances
 - perform better in school (i.e., have higher grades)
 - ✦ spend more time on homework and have higher achievement-related goals

Acculturation/Enculturation



Acculturation and Negative Outcomes

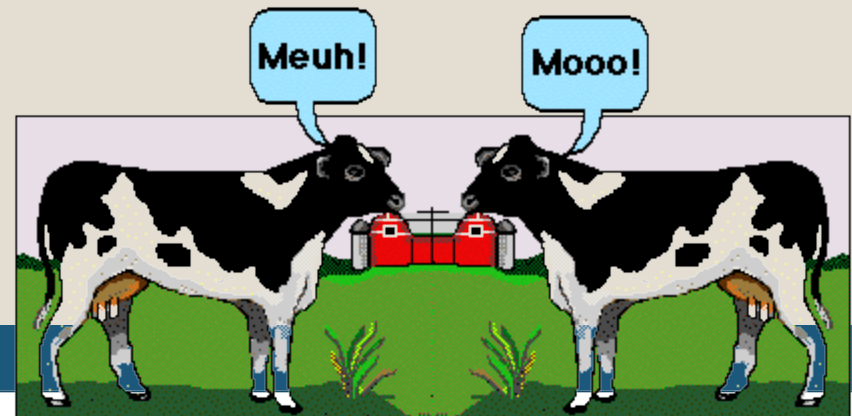


- **associated with conduct problems, delinquency and gang involvement** (Dinh et al., 2002; Fridrich & Flannery, 1995; Samaneigo & Gonzales, 1999; Vega et al., 1995)
- **associated with substance use** (Lara, Gamboa, Kahramanian, Morales, Bautista; Vega & Gill 1996; Vega & Dimas; Velez & Ungemack)
 - English language preference/use associated with:
- **Substance use** (Epstein et al 2001), **such as marijuana** (Chavez & Swaim, 1992) **and cigarette use** (Bethel & Schenker)
 - Spanish language use associated with:
- **Latinos who primarily speak Spanish with peers and family are less likely to use drugs.** (Epstein et al., 1996; Welte & Barnes, 1995; Zapata & Kims, 1994)
- **Theory of segmented assimilation** (Portes & Zhou, 1993)
 - assimilation into the urban underclass

Differential Acculturation



- Differences between parent and adolescent in their levels and rates of acculturation → acculturation gap
 - Decreased reliance on parents
 - Increased reliance on peers
 - Inconsistent values
- Related to substance use (Martinez, 2006; Portes & Zhou, 1993)



Contradictory Findings



- **Separation or lack of assimilation related to higher substance use** (Fosados et al., 2007; Sommers et al., 1993; Warner et al., 2010)
- **May depend on personal characteristics, social conditions**
- **Lack of clear conceptualization, measurement problems, lack of longitudinal studies**

Benefits of Acculturation



- *Language*: children need English skills to succeed in school
- *Value-driven behaviors*: children with critical thinking skills may be more likely to succeed in school (Okagaki & Sternberg, 1993)
- *Identity*: children who identify with mainstream US culture have higher self-esteem (Valentine, 2001)

Risk of Marginalization



Deculturation: alienation from both Latino and mainstream American culture that may lead to conduct problems and school failure (Buriel & DeMent, 1997)

Double jeopardy: unacculturated US born youth at highest risk for poor outcomes (Vega, Gil, Wagner, 1998)

Acculturative Status (Berry, 2006)



High Acculturation

Integrated

Assimilated

OPTIMAL

High

Low

Enculturation

Enculturation

HIGHEST RISK

Separated

Marginalized

Low Acculturation

Biculturalism



- knowledge of both cultures
- a sense of efficacy within both cultures
- a sense of identity within both cultures
- communication competency in both cultures
- a role repertoire appropriate to each culture
- social affiliations within both cultures

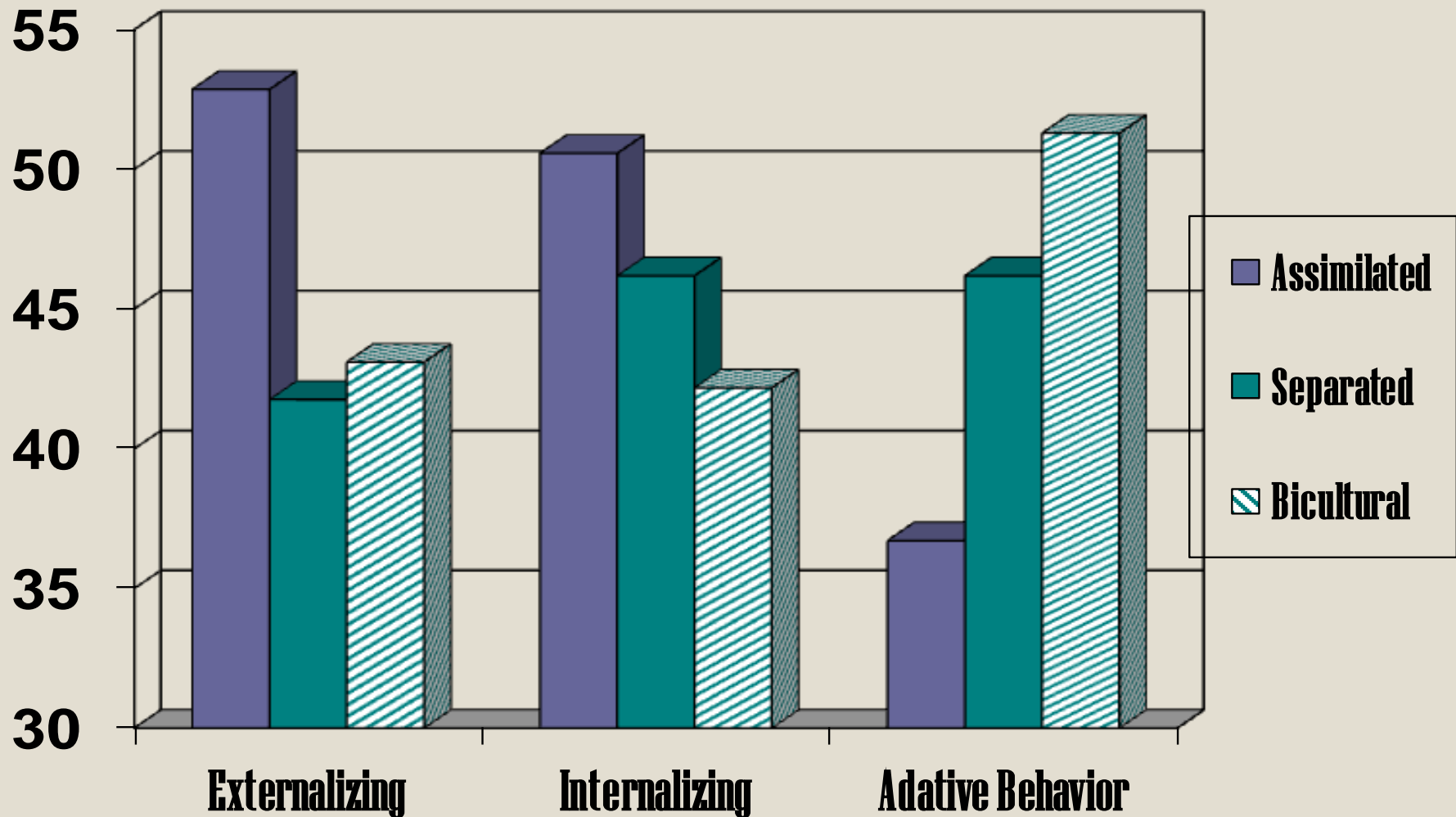
Benefits of Biculturalism



- intergenerational conflict minimized
- access to social support networks within two cultures
- better able to negotiate mainstream and culture of origin institutions
- demonstrate cognitive flexibility
- tailor behavior to situational demands

- children who are bicultural →
 - positive academic orientation (Gomez & Fassinger, 1994)
 - better school adjustment (Coatsworth et al., 2005)
 - higher self-esteem/self-worth (Birman, 1998; Phinney et al., 2001)
 - higher social competence (Bautista de Domanico et al., 1994)
 - lower involvement in delinquency and substance use (Brook et al., 1997)

Bicultural Parenting and Child Functioning



Ethnic/Racial Socialization



- process through which parents transmit **cultural values, beliefs, traditions and behavioral norms** to their children (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006)
- socialization of ethnic minority children is central to their development (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990)
- serves to promote the behavioral competence of children within their own culture of origin

FAMILIA



Jaime Olaya
LA FAMILIA

Familismo



- **Latino culture emphasizes “the centrality of family life and its priority over other realities”** (Arditti, 2006)
 - have larger family networks
 - spend more time with family
 - **rely more on family for instrumental and emotional support** (Baca Zinn & Wells, 2000; Buriel & Rivera, 1980; Marin & Gamba, 2003; Shkodriani & Gibbons, 1995)
 - **socialize children to prioritize family** (Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer, & Delgado, 2005)

Familismo and Child Functioning



- **Better psychological adjustment** (Contreras, Lopez, Rivera, Raymond-Smith, & Rothstein, 1999)
- **Higher academic effort** (Esparza, & Sánchez, 2008; LaRoche & Shriberg, 2004)
- **Lower rates of behavior problems** (Gamble & Modry-Mandell, 2008; German, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2009; Gonzales et al, 2011)
- **Lower rates of substance use and cigarette use** (Schwartz et al., 2005; Wahl & Eitle, 2010) (Kaplan et al 2001)

Familismo and Parenting



- **lower rates of child maltreatment** (Coohey, 2001)
- **associated with warm parenting** (Gonzales et al 2011)
- **less parent-child conflict** (Kuhlberg, Pena & Zayas, 2010; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007)
- **more prosocial behavior opportunities** (Calderon-Tena, Knight & Carlo, 2011)
- **parental restrictions in peer relationships** (Updegraff, Kim, Killoren, & Thayer, 2010)

Familismo as risk



- **Higher association with deviant peers** (Delgado, Updegraff, Roosa, & Umana-Taylor, 2009)
- **Higher substance use** (Shih et al 2010; Unger et al 2002; Warner et al 2010)
- **Higher internalizing behaviors** (Kuhlberg, Pena & Zayas, 2010; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007)
- **Family obligations often interfere with academic success as they put a toll on children's time and energy and lead to school absences, school drop out (Velez, 1989) and lower rates of college enrollment (Desmond & Turley, 2009)**
- **Increases the negative impact of familial conflict when it OCCURS** (Hernandez, Garcia, & Flynn, 2010)

RESEPTO



Respeto



- “knowing the level of courtesy and decorum required in a given situation in relation to other people of a particular age, sex and social status”

(Harwood, Miller, & Irizarry, 1995, p.98)

- Obedience

- ✦ No matter what, no discussion

- Decorum

- ✦ Present well

- Deference

- ✦ Adult needs and desires come first
- ✦ Stay out of adult matters

Respeto as Protective



- **emphasis on respect during adolescence is associated with**
 - deference to parental authority
 - more cooperative behavior
 - less risk-taking

Respeto as Risk



- *Respeto* associated with more mental health problems in young (4 – 5 yr old) Mexican and Dominican children
 - Via authoritarian parenting practices
- *Respeto* associated with lower levels of school readiness
 - in Dominican families only

Cultural Values and Processes



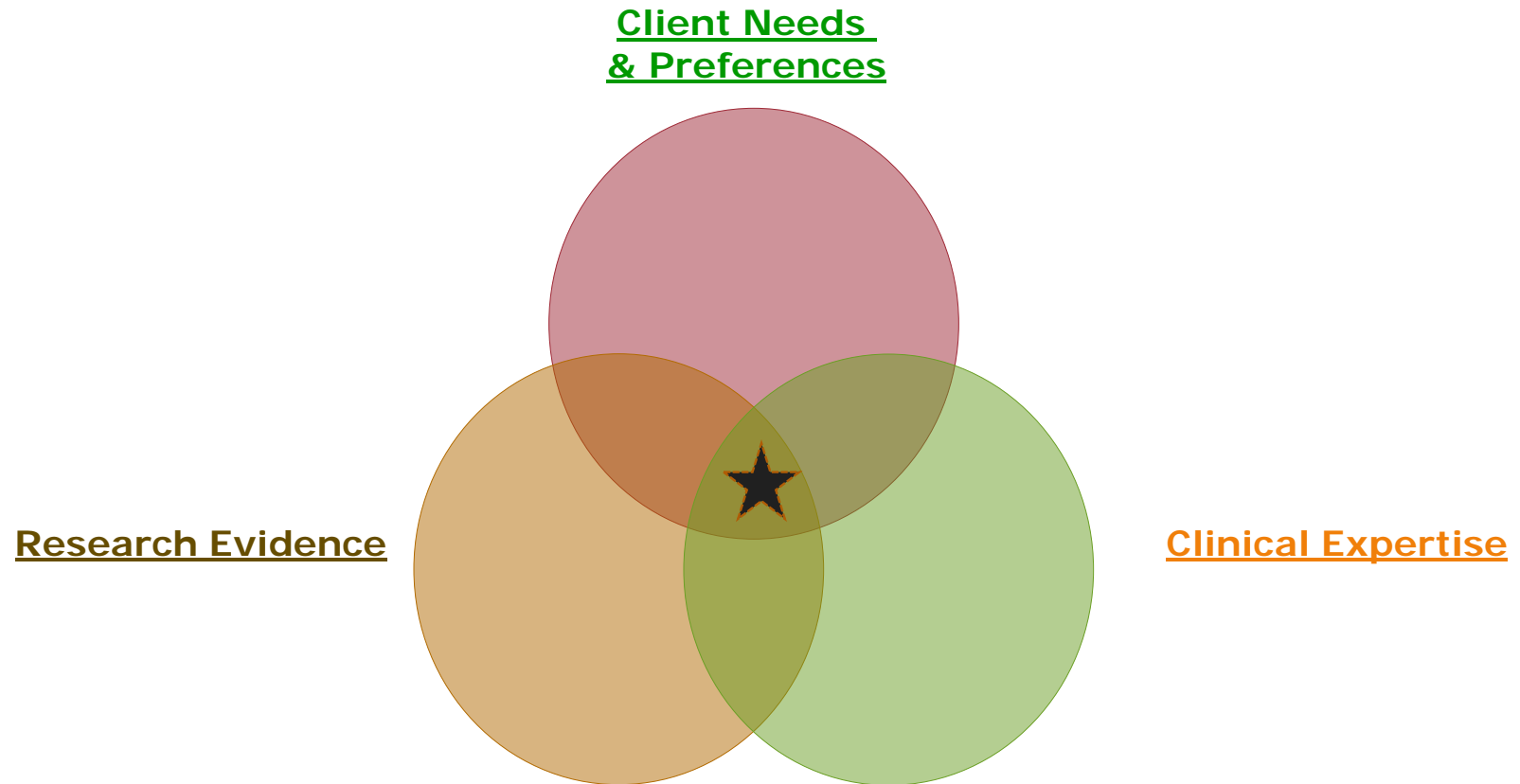
- dynamic, not static
- may be risky or protective
 - What aspects, for what outcomes, for what individuals, living in what circumstances, at which point in their developmental trajectory?

Implications for Intervention



**What is the role of culture in
prevention/intervention?**

Evidence-based Practice



	Familias Unidas	Family Effectiveness Training	Puentes
Works with...	Families of 12-17 yr olds	Families of 6 – 12 yr olds	Families of 7 th and 8 th graders
With goal of...	Preventing conduct disorder, substance use and risky sexual behavior	Preventing conduct disorder, substance use	Preventing conduct disorder, school drop-out
By conducting...	Parent groups; Family visits	Family sessions	Parent groups; adolescent groups; Family groups
Over the course of...	3-5 months	13 weeks	11 weeks

- <http://www.nrepp.samhsa.gov/ViewIntervention.aspx?id=85>
- <http://www.ojjdp.gov/mpg/Family%20Effectiveness%20Training-MPGProgramDetail-325.aspx>
- <http://prc.asu.edu/Projects/bridges>

Common Elements of Successful Programs



- **Focus on Family**
 - Particularly parent-child relationship
 - ✦ Communication and monitoring
- **Prevention Model**
- **Ecological Model**
 - Individual, family, peer, school and neighborhood networks all contribute to the health and well-being of Latino youth
 - ✦ 2 of 3 partner directly with schools
- **Explicit Focus on Culture**