Influence of Family Dynamics on the Prevalance of Substance Use Among Emerging Adults in Bhutan

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ABSTRACT. In Bhutan rising rates of substance use among emerging adults has become a societal issue. Family structures disintegrating from two parents into single parent families, the increase of blended families and divorces are leading to low emotional connectivity in the parent-child relationship. This study explores these dynamic in substantial depth. Several studies have shown how disrupted families tend to produce youths who are a more likely to indulge in substance use (Jenkins et al., 1998). The findings of this study, obtained through qualitative methods, subscribe to this view and further suggest that a rehab setting can be planned by making the family a vital tool in the process of recovery. It also illustrates that family structures have a very definite role to play in the development process of an individual. The results attained from this study may therefore act as a reference to future addiction studies in Bhutan.

Introduction

The Bhutan Narcotic Agency made a total of 817 arrests between the years 1989 and 2005. In the year 2009 alone, 531people were arrested for drug use. In the year 2010, the police arrested 328 drug users. The Royal Bhutan Police (RBP) further arrested 154 youth in the year 2012 (Tenzin, 2012). *Kuensel*, the nation's national newspaper reported that 555 people were arrested for narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances and

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other substance abuse in the year 2017, which was an increase of about 75 percent from 2016. The report added that while 245 people were arrested for offences of substance abuse, 200 were arrested for illicit trafficking of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, 58 for illegal possession of cannabis and its derivatives, 41 for illegal trafficking of cannabis and its derivatives and 11 for illegal possession of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. More than 4,942 youth (people below 24 years) were arrested in connection with drugs, alcohol and other crimes in the last five years, going by records maintained by the RBP (Dema, 2018). These figures substantiate the observation that the use of substances by youths have been rising dramatically in Bhutan.

With more and more Bhutanese youth abusing drugs, a study on this topic has become imperative. Therefore, this study aims to explore the influence of family dynamics on the prevalence of substance abuse among emerging adults. Drug addiction is very chronic in nature and involves a very complex brain disease generally characterised by uncontrollable, compulsive and drug craving behaviour in seeking and use of drugs, even in the face of extremely negative consequences such as increasing tolerance, a condition in which the user requires more quantity of drugs to acquire the same effect. This leads them to forcefully increase the amount of drug intake and dependence. Put differently, it creates a situation in which the user becomes psychologically and physically dependent on drugs and starts becoming uncomfortable without it. Withdrawal symptoms occur when a user stops taking drugs and such symptoms are often intense in their physical and psychological manifestations (Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders, 2013).

Runeson (1990) claims that among adolescents and youth suffering from the substance use disorder, a disproportionate number have divorced parents. Ganong and Coleman (1993) also argue that depression and anxiety were more common among children belonging to step families as compared to a nuclear family. This finding is important because depression and anxiety have been identified as factors that can lead young adults to resort to using drugs. Similarly Bray, Hetherington and Cox (1985) discovered that socioemotional and behavioural problems generally seemed to emerge with the introduction of a step parent into the family. Jessor and Jessor's (1977) problem behaviour theory proposed that deviant behaviours like the intake of drugs may be the result of family problems such as divorce. Therefore, the literature is unambiguous in drawing a relationship between family influences and the intake of drugs among youths.

A study conducted among 2121 randomly selected adolescents from seventeen school districts in northeastern Ohio. In order to investigate the relation between family

structure and drug use. They found that single family structures reported more usage of drugs as compared to the adolescents from intact nuclear families (Newcomb and Harlow, 1986). They concluded that young adolescents often used drugs as a coping mechanism in the face of stressful life events. Another study found that a youth will be more prone to substance abuse if he/she is raised by a single father compared to a single mother (McArdle, 2001). However, the study found no difference in behaviour when families were headed by a father or a mother, but in which there was no divorce

A study by Partridge & Kotler (1987) further revealed that family processes play an important role in determining the self-esteem and adjustment pattern in relation to the use of substance among emerging adults, it was observed that alcohol and substance use were directly associated with low parental support, it was seen that the father figure varied between sons and daughters, while the lack of good quality father time led to problematic behaviour (such as marijuana use, cigarette use, delinquency) in male and resulted in problems of psychological well-being (anxiety, depression) among females (Salem et al.,1998). A study that investigated the associations between family structure and substance use among Asian families reported that off springs from non-intact families were seen to indulge in higher use of substance, where there seemed to be an increased use of substance in paternal than maternal families due to poor communication with the father (Mak et al., 2010). These various perspectives will be useful to frame and interpret data collected in Bhutan for this study.

Methodology

This study used qualitative methods to obtain data, and subsequently to interpret their significance and meaning. This study was conducted in a Rehabilitation Centre for Drug and Alcohol Dependence (TRCDAD) located in Serbithang, Thimphu. The sample size for this study consisted of 8 participants of whom 2 were female and 6 were male. The sample size was limited to only 8 as many of the participants did not fit into the inclusion and exclusion criteria of this study. The age of the target participants were young emerging adults aged between 15 and 24 years old.

Data was collected through semi-structured interview, so that the participants attending the interview process would have the liberty to express their views in their own terms. A focus group discussion was also held. Formal permission for this research was granted by the rehabilitation head. The languages used during the interview process was primarily English and Dzongkha. Ethical considerations were also explained to the participants beforehand and in case of emotional distress the interviews were either paused or discontinued.

Understanding the Emotional Bond Among Different Family Structures and its Influence on Substance Use.

Different family structures in relation to the individual were studied here in order to see the differences between family structures and their impact on an individual's coping and growing mechanism in relation to substance use.

Nuclear family. The participants who came from a nuclear family type typically showed slightly higher well-being and emotional connectedness and closeness as compared to those who came from an extended family, the step family and the single mother family. One participant from the nuclear family structure stated thus: "There are many others in this rehab with more complicated problems and have not received even an inch of family support and some have no parents at all. In comparison to them I do feel fortunate enough, hence personally feel that family plays a major role in a substance abuse users life" (Participant 1, personal communication, October 30th 2015). Those coming from a single parent family had this to say:

We were really close with one another in the family when our father was living together with us. Now we have become distinct, separate and not so close. We have fallen apart from one another and do not share the same bond anymore after my father left home (Participant 5, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

I feel my parents' decision of separating and my father leaving the house was a major decision which made my addiction more strong (participant 4, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

It was seen in this study that young adults were more prone to emotional instability and distress while facing parents' separation and divorce. Some individuals were forced to live with a single parent at times and they found it very difficult to cope up with the new family transformation. Such family changes lead to negative behaviours and often lead to substance abuse. The final sub-theme that emerged based on the family structure was the extended family structure. Some participants described how they lived far from the family of origin since a very young age and that they did not feel emotional connected to their own biological family due to this long separation. An addict coming from an extended family stated:

I don't feel comfortable with my family members back at home even a little bit I feel like an outsider a lot and not a part of the family that is

why I use drugs. I feel more adjusted with my uncle's family but when I go back home I don't feel happy or good (Participant 7, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

Emotional Bond with Family

Lack of emotional bond with father and mother. The participants described very strong experiences and emotions in view of their relationship with their parents, which were often characterized by low forms of attachment. One respondent stated:

They don't bother much about me like what I am doing which makes me feel hopeless and worthless so at times I used to feel that if I use substance my problems would get immediately solved. (Participant 6, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

The participants discussed how their lack of effective emotional bonding led to their increased level of substance use across time. Participants described feeling neglected and ignored by their family, often making it hard for them to emotionally express themselves. It was also seen that as compared to the mothers, there was more likely to be a lack of emotional bond with their fathers.

Distressed Family Environment

One participants narrated as follows, "I was really hurt a and felt neglected and alienated by my father that is why I started using substance" (Participant 6, personal communication, October 30th, 2015). Family environment can be of various types, out of which there can be various negative family aspects such as neglect and low family emotional closeness that can lead to substance abuse. This finding subscribes to an existing study that concluded how participants who reported maltreatment from their families were more likely to engage in some level of substance use (Mackenzie et al., 2013). Two participants stated:

I was really hurt and felt neglected and alienated by my father that is why I started using substance". (Participant 6, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

I would receive a lot of negative vibes from my family like I did not belong in this family and they did not want be here...it would engulf me with feelings of being isolated by my own family so I would feel rejected by them ...it would hurt at times (Participant 5, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

All 8 Participants were seen to come from a very hostile family environment according to the statements provided by them. They described constant fights at home, especially between parents and that this had a psychological and emotional impact on them/others reported perpetual verbal taunts from their parents. Some of them reported to having begun using substances to cope up with anxiety caused by such and similar family dynamics. The experiences of the majority of the participants showed a 'lack of family support' to be an essential factor when it came to substance use problems. Some even postulated that had their parents not divorced, or their family situation been stable, they may had never begun using substance abuse. The same logic pervades the success rate of persons within the rehab. Families that showed higher amounts of support as compared to disengaging family were seen to be recovering sooner from their substance use at the rehab. Neglect was also a very strong factor among the participants where the parents refused to take any responsibility towards the participants leading to the youth being discarded by their own biological family with no basic needs provided to them.

Exploring the Adjustment Pattern of Different Family Dynamics and its Relation with Substance Use

Adjustment pattern of different family dynamics in relation to substance use was deliberated across within several themes and sub themes.

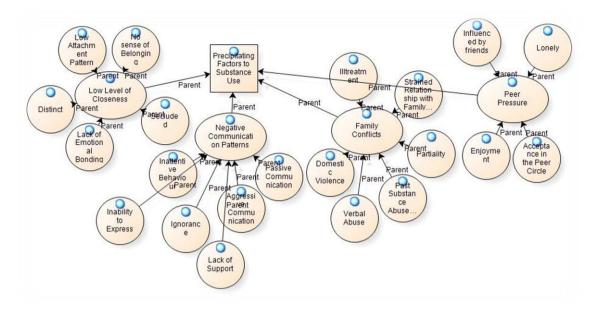


Figure 1 Precipitating factors to substance use.

Precipitating factors to substance use. Research has shown that children who live in punitive family atmospheres face lower forms of emotional adjustment impacting their social adjustment, behaviour adjustment and academic adjustment problems (Ronstein et al.1993).

Family conflicts. This was the first organising theme that was studied under the precipitating factors to substance use. The sub-themes that amalgamated under this category were chiefly domestic violence, partiality, ill-treatment, verbal abuse, strained relationships with family members and past substance abuse history in the family.

It was seen in this study that few of the participants revealed that they were facing a lot of verbal abuse either by their parents or siblings. For instance one the participant mentioned that "they keep pressurising me a lot with their taunts" (Participant 4, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

In this study negative family communication pattern were also seen among families of participants. As recounted by numerous participants the patterns of communication in the family were mostly either of passive communication or aggressive communication. Most participants also expressed that due to the lack of closure with their family they found it really hard to bond and express their feelings to them. Studies have confirmed that parents who were close to their children and openly discussed issues formed more positive relationships with their children as compared to families who used punitive methods of parenting and were detached from their children. Families with low level of closeness and were there was lack of warmth, the risk to problematic behaviour and substance use were also reportedly high (Kandel, & Denise1990). Therefore, communication pattern greatly impacted their behaviour. This is what some participants of the study had to say:

Coming to the family portion fights between my mother and father also influenced me to taking drugs as my mother was a substance user and as well as my father (Participant 3, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

When I used to initiate conversation regarding my addiction with any one of my family member they would get really angry ,and no one would listen to me they completely used to ignore me ,in turn making my relationships with them go bad and strained . My step father would shout at me and we would end up fighting (Participant 6, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

The participants in this study were seen to have less close emotional bond with their family members. Participants described feeling lonely and secluded from their family members and often felt that they had no one emotional support available for them within the family. They also referred to feeling distinct from their families due to low levels of emotional bonds and poor attachment patterns present in the family. It was seen that participants that came from unstable family environments reported higher disregard from their families and often did not have feelings of belonging to their respective families.

Family Response to Substance Use

Emotional distress was seen as most common among families as a responsive factor to substance use by the individuals as stated above. A large number of participants believed that they experienced emotional distress from their families in the form of frustration of their parents, getting pressured by their family members in an attempt to quit substance use, scolding from their parental figures and crying, which put them in a very awkward position in turn making the participants take a step back from their families and increase their intake. Said one participant:

They kept pressurizing me a lot with their taunts asking me not to use substance time and again. At times they cry would cry and break down in front of me, which would make me feel awkward. I personally feel that it actually led to increase of my intake .I hate it when people shout at me, it makes me more frustrated.(Participant 5, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

Participants that had been given assistants and for whom attempts were made to understand their situation of substance use better usually fared better in the rehab. It was also seen that participants sensed feelings of disregard, lack of concern and avoidance from their family members as a response to their substance use. These participants also said they were neglected by their family members and alienated due to drug use which in turn drastically increased their substance intake as they were seen getting strongly affected by their families inattentive behaviour patterns. Avoidance behaviours from family members in this study was seen to be due to low emotional support from their parents, uncaring attitude from their family members, low parental desires for their children, lack of proper parent-child monitoring, lack of child acknowledgment leading to negligence, seclusion and unhealthy patterns of emotional adjustment of the youth. Such issues resulted in substance use which in turn affected the level of substance usage as was observed in this study.

Abuse. This is one principal factor which in this study was seen to greatly increase the use of substance. A large number of participants was found to be exposed to physical abuse and emotional abuse in the face of learning about the youth's substance use problems. One respondent said thus:

Physical violence ...yes my mother and my step father used to beat me a lot, had they reacted otherwise instead of beating and shouting at me I would have stopped using drugs.(Participant 5, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

Participants noted that had these physical violence and emotional abuse not occurred they would have been in a healthier place today. It was seen through this study that a strong linkage could be drawn between family violence and substance use as violence increased substance use too went up relatively.

The way families respond have an important effect on the result of coping with the stressful situation. Family's coping mechanism often plays a significant role in the initiation of drugs, the intensity of substance use and the kind of substance use.

Avoidant coping style. A Lack of communication was also evident in this study among the participants' families. Additionally lack of good interpersonal relationships also played a significant part in this study, since there were no proper healthy family process among family members in face of such problematic situations the only learned way of overcoming a stressor were seen to be by adopting the avoidant style of coping. One participant said:

Actually when you become an addict people stop bothering about you and there is no one to look after you …relatives also keep ignoring. And no one would listen to me they completely used to ignore me. (Participant 1, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

Studies confirm that conflicts in interpersonal relationships may also lead to the avoidance coping styles in the family (Holahan et al., 2006). It was reported by the participants that the avoidance pattern adopted by their families provoked their substance use.

Problem-focussed coping style. Participants whose family adopted the problem focussed coping pattern recounted that on becoming aware of their substance issue, their families responded by looking for alternatives in order to deal with the participants substance use behaviours. The families offered assistance by opting to send the participants for detox and by accessing information regarding their substance use. Their families also responded by giving advice and isolating the participants in order to help curb their substance use patterns. These kinds of families had a more practical approach to the participants' substance use which surprisingly very subtlety decreased their substance use as claimed by the participants in this study.

Emotional focused coping style. Emotional focussed coping style includes self-reflection and taking control of one's emotion. This coping mechanism generally focusses on expressing and processing emotions as an approach to reassessing unalterable stressors as reported by Cameron et al (2010). It was observed that participants whose families used emotional focused coping patterns were seen to relatively decrease their substance use as compared to those whose families embraced avoidant coping style. The participants described that they felt the presence of family support which helped them curb their substance us to a certain degree. These participants felt that their parents' unhealthy outburst of emotions on them led them to using substance although they felt guilty for using it.

Emotional Adjustment

Family environment is said to be significantly related to emotional adjustment among children. In a major study it was recorded that family acceptance and family control were significantly related to family adjustment patterns (Fine 1994). A large number of participants expressed that they experienced a high amount of negative affectivity in the family. They believed that their family members were not accepting of them and showed a lack of regard towards them which according to these participants led to a higher toll of substance use. In this study it was seen that the majority of the participants were experiencing high level of negative emotions within their families. Few of the participants described that they were often consumed with feelings of disgust and distrust from their families which reasonably increased their substance use as compared to before the onset of these experiences. Parent-child communication is said to play a major role on the impact of substance use among youth. The quality of parent child relationship said to have affect rates of substance use (Luk et al., 2009). The types of communication patterns that surfaced in this study were inattentive parental pattern, low conversational, low conformity, and lack of interaction, rigid pattern and consensual pattern. The most common theme of communication across participants families that was seen were low conformity and low conversational pattern of communications. One participant confided:

I could never get myself to share anything with them ...my father would always be out and hardly at home, my elder sister too works in another state so at home it was more like we were living together just for the sake of it ,there was no good attachment or communications ...It was too awkward to share anything or I felt like it was looked upon like a burden and hence overall the family interaction pattern was really low and almost nil in my family" (Participant 7, personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

Participants viewed that their families as having a very low level of interaction which made it difficult for them to openly communicate with their family members. Some participants believed that their family was too rigid to be open to any communication with other family members. Inattentive pattern of communication were reported to increase difficulties in sharing of emotions which often affected the participants' sense of fit in the family. It was seen in most families that there were strong parental absence and lack of closeness in the family which often made the participants feel unheeded within their families. Lack of mutual understanding and non-involvement or overinvolvement in the family dynamics were seen to affect the use of substance among the participants.

Perceptions About the Position in the Family and its Relation to Substance Use

Discrepancy and Negligence were two sub themes that emerged in this theme.

Discrepancy. In this form of decision making three themes emerged based on which families followed their specific style of decision making process. These included strict parents, adamant style and hampered decision making process. "My parents were too strict and I feel that it contributed to my substance use" (Participant 6, personal communication, October 30th, 2015). Participants of this study was seen to perceive their parents' decision making process as very rigid and forceful which according to them had an escalating impact on their substance use. Participants expressed how the authoritarian pattern of decision making process due to strict parental figure had a hampering effect on their problematic behaviour and social behaviour development process, which lead to substance use. Some families in this study was seen to adopt the authoritarian pattern of decision making which may be due to parent's difficult expectations and low feedback. Parents who were seen to be high on demandingness and low on responsiveness in their decision making process seemed to impose their own wishes either by persuasion or force on to the youths in the family (Pong et al., 2010).

Negligence. Participants reported that their family's decision making process involved a lack of understanding from their family members. It was seen that the participants felt the presence of high parental negligence in the process of acceptance of other's perspectives made them feel unwanted in their family environment. This may be possibly because of wide-ranging reasons as participants stated that there were "lots of unexpressed emotions". One respondent stated:

My addiction more strongly there are lots of unexpressed emotions and they look up to me like I am some addict and not bother at all about me ,coming to making decisions in the family my idea and perspectives was never taken into account. ...Hence my relationship with them has been very complicated (Participant 8, Personal communication, October 30th, 2015).

Lack of emotional bond maybe a trigger for these pattern of negligence as the patterns of bonding and adjustment was seen low there is presence of lack of indulgent behaviour from parents.

Positions in the Family

Position in the family was taken as a major global theme under which two organising themes were lack of recognition and perceived discrimination.

Lack of recognition. Participants reported that they felt a high sense of disregard and blame from their parents, which made them feel alienated by their own family members. High feelings of "No sense of belonging" were observed across family patterns which seemed to have significant increased participant's substance intake. Some respondents explained:

They have never treated me equally ,I always felt neglected ...specially after using drugs they started completely ignoring me and they threw me out of the house .(Participant 5,Personal communication, October 30th,2015)

There is a difference in the way my parents talk to my sibling is totally different as to how they talk to me, their tone, their voice, everything .All the privileges and opportunities are given to him first I have my younger brother and my step fathers child who is my step brotherSo there is a lot difference...they are always praised for what they did do while I am always looked down upon .they always kept shouting at me for everything I did and blaming me .I feel I am not treated fairly as compared to my siblings they are treated with more love and respect so I don't feel I like I am an equal part in the family (Participant 4, Personal Communication, October 30th, 2015).

The majority of the participants reported that they had experiences of discrimination by their parents between their siblings and themselves. They expressed how most of the privileges and opportunities were given to their other siblings while they were accused by their parents for everything that went wrong in the family which often led them to feeling lonely and neglected to which they admitted using substance as a coping mechanism. Children who are not biologically related to their parents may experience higher forms of discrimination between their step sibling and themselves as was noted in this study among participants from stepparent and single mother families.

Conclusion

Low emotional bond among family members were seen to be chiefly due to varied family structures. Participants that came from step parent families, single mother families and extended families showed higher use of substance as compared to intact families. This was seen due to lower emotional closeness between parents, siblings and spouse and higher conflictual relationships which led to an escalating increase of substance use. As such, this finding subscribes to existing studies that show how instabilities in family structure such as divorce and remarriage were seen to be one major reason for various substances being used as a coping mechanism (Needle, 1990).

A number of participants described feeling extreme levels of ill treatment especially in the non-intact family structures which resulted in these participants using higher amounts of substance. It was detected in this study that the decision making process in the family had a strong influence on problematic behaviours. Participants who were reported to be coming from an authoritarian style of decision making was seen to be using substance more often due to mental stress and parental rigidity. These participants also reported higher violence accompanied by substance use. A study showed that young adolescents used drugs as a coping behaviour in the face of stressful life events where they felt loss of control and meaningless during these family circumstances (Jenkins et al., 1998).

This study revealed dominant themes among the use of substance and family in context of young emerging adults. I showed how higher use of substance associated primarily with higher family conflicts. This study indicates that family process inclusive of emotional bonding, emotional adjustment have strong effects on youth substance abuse. Since this is one of the first research on substance use and family dynamics in context of the young emerging adult population in Bhutan, interventions at a rehab setting can be planned accordingly by keeping the family as a vital tool through psych education and engagement of the family in the recovery process. This research can act as a strong ground for theoretical knowledge on substance use in context of Bhutan.

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