PARENTING ADOLESCENTS:

A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this qualitative, phenomenological study was to explore the dynamics of the parenting experience as it relates to parenting adolescents, with the specific aim of exploring and achieving an understanding of the particular experiences that parents of adolescents and their adolescent children describe; and of discovering how they have experienced a collaborative or participatory approach to the parenting process.

The over-arching theoretical orientation is social constructionism. From a social constructionist point of view meaning making and knowledge is contextual, applying only to the specific context from which it is derived. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was the selected methodology, involving careful recording of participants' expressions in semi-structured interviews followed by thematic coding and analysis.

Three groups of parents and three groups of adolescents, from three culturally and economically diverse communities in the Western Cape, South Africa, participated in focus groups and shared their experiences of the parenting process. Through the explication of the data five main themes emerged as being important to the participants:

Connection and communication was seen as being of first importance, reflecting perceptions of effective parent-adolescent relationships as close and emotionally connected. *Parental control and protection* presented as an equally important and related area of concern, reflecting the belief that effective communication would enable a more collaborative, negotiated approach to issues of safety, limit setting, expectations and consequences. Some of the adolescent participants expressed a strong need for parents to *respect their individuality and independence,* which in their view was related to the development of trust as a two-way process. The fourth key theme was *the need for information and services.* The ability to access reliable information and services empowers both parents and adolescents to make effective and informed decisions. Finally, the *role of fathers* featured strongly in discussions with all groups and was identified as playing a significant role in parent-adolescent relationship satisfaction.

This study illustrates a *process* by which families can be enabled to arrive at a deeper understanding of the needs and challenges specific to each family; and to collaborate in generating ideas that could contribute to a meaningful parenting plan or parenting practices that work for that particular family.

Key words: Adolescence, Parenting, Social Constructionism, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, Phenomenology, Collaboration.

Opsomming

Die doel van hierdie kwalitatiewe fenomenologiese studie was om die dinamika van die ouerskapservaring met betrekking tot adolessente, te ondersoek. Die meer spesifieke doelwit was om die ervarings rakende ‘n samewerkende of deelnemende benadering tot die ouerskapsproses soos beskryf deur adolessente en hul ouers, te ondersoek en te beskryf.

Die oorkoepelende teoretiese raamwerk is die van sosiale konstruktivisme. Vanuit ‘n sosiaal-konstruktivistiese oogpunt is betekenisvorming en kennis kontekstueel en slegs van toepassing op die spesifieke konteks waaruit dit ontstaan. Interpretatiewe fenomenologiese analise was die gekose metodologie, en het die versigtige rekordhouding van deelnemers se uitdrukkings in semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude gevolg deur tematiese kodering en analise, behels.

Drie groepe ouers en drie groepe adolessente, vanuit drie kultureel en ekonomies diverse gemeenskappe in die Wes-Kaap, Suid-Afrika, het deelgeneem aan fokusgroepe en hul belewenis van die ouerskapservaring gedeel. Deur middel van data analise het vyf hooftemas na vore gekom as synde belangrik vir die deelnemers:

Verbondenheid en kommunikasie is van grootste belang geidentifiseer - verteenwoordigend van sienings van doeltreffende ouer-adolessent verhoudings as innig en emosioneel verbonde. O*uerlike beheer en beskerming* het as ewe betekenisvol gepresenteer, wat die oortuiging weergee dat doeltreffende kommunikasie ‘n meer deelnemende, onderhandelde benadering tot aspekte soos veiligheid, grense, verwagtinge en gevolge sal meebring. Sommige van die adolessente het ‘n sterk behoefte aan *individualiteit en onafhanklikheid* uitgespreek, wat na hulle mening verwant was aan die ontwikkeling van vertroue as ‘n twee-rigting proses. Die vierde sleuteltema was die *behoefte aan inligting en dienste*. Die vermoë om betroubare inligting en dienste te bekom bemagtig beide ouers en adolessente om doeltreffende en ingeligte besluite te neem. Laastens, die *rol van vaders* het prominent in gesprekke met alle groepe na vore gekom en is geïdentifiseer as ‘n belangrike faktor in bevredigende ouer-adolessent verhoudings.

Hierdie studie illustreer ‘n *proses* waardeur families instaat gestel kan word om ‘n beter begrip van die behoeftes en uitdagings wat eie is aan elke gesin te bereik; en om saam te werk om idees te formuleer wat kan bydra tot ‘n betekenisvolle ouerskapplan of ouerskappraktyke wat vir daardie spesifieke gesin werk.

Sleutelwoorde: Adolessensie, Ouerskap, Sosiale Konstruktivisme, Interpretatiewe fenomenologiese analise, Fenomenologie, Samewerking.

CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION, MOTIVATION AND AIM OF THE STUDY

There can be no keener revelation of a society's soul than the way in which it treats its children. We come from a past in which the lives of our children were assaulted and devastated in countless ways. It would be no exaggeration to speak of a national abuse of a generation by a society which it should have been able to trust. As we set about building a new South Africa, one of our highest priorities must therefore be our children. The vision of a new society that guides us should already be manifest in the steps we take to address the wrong done to our youth and to prepare for their future. Our actions and policies, and the institutions we create, should be eloquent with care, respect and love (Mandela, 1995, as cited in Bray, Gooskens, Khan, Moses, & Seekings, 2010, p. 21).

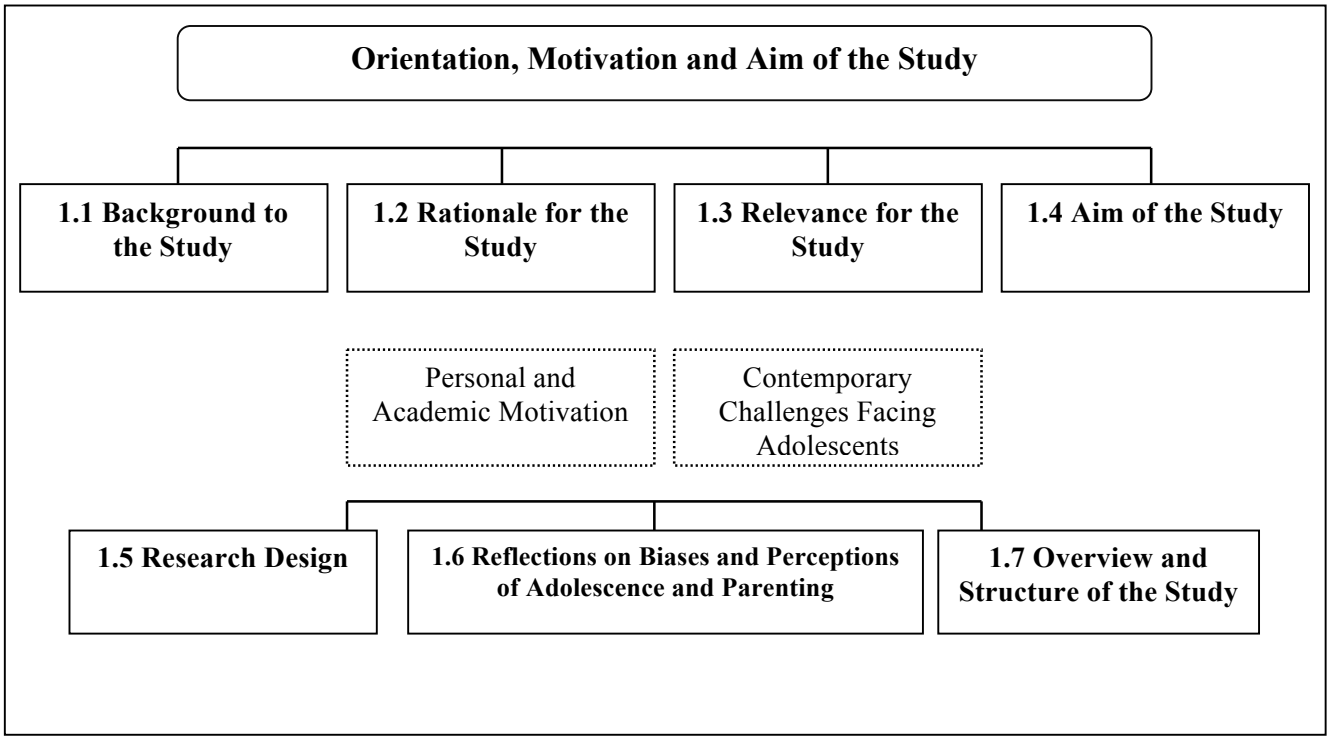

Figure 1. Visual display of Chapter 1

The following chapter presents an overview of this study in its entirety. Due to the utilisation of a postmodern, phenomenological approach, which emphasises the importance of reflexivity of both research participants and the researcher, the researcher of this study has presented a strong personal motivation in order to situate the genesis and relevance of the work within a personal and societal context. An overview of this chapter is presented in figure 1.

1.1 Background to the Study

Children in South Africa are recognised as having played a significant role in the country's social transformation to democracy on a political and public level, through, for example, their participation in student uprisings, academic boycotts and the armed struggle. Against the background of apartheid, which upheld a paternalistic worldview, children and adolescents were not readily seen as stakeholders whose views were considered important in the development of programmes and policies. Furthermore, during the time of apartheid, the majority of children and adolescents in South Africa were denied the right or opportunity to participate legally in public affairs, with the result that such participation was frequently claimed in confrontational ways (Moses, 2008).

Generally, children's participation in social process (such as transformation) occurs within two domains: That of the personal or private which includes the household and family, and the social or public domain which includes involvement or participation at a community, school or government level (Moses, 2008). The first 18 years of South Africa's democracy has heralded significant legislative developments with important implications for children's public participation, but less attention has been given to transforming their participation in private domains and in particular, the domain of the family.

In 1995, South Africa ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and went on to adopt a new Constitution in 1996. The South African Constitution is considered one of the most progressive in the world, recognising children's rights at the highest level and acknowledging children, at least in theory, as full participants in society.

In fact, the Children's Act No. 38, section 10 of South Africa (2005), *advocates* children's right to participate in matters concerning them, taking into consideration the child's age, maturity and stage of development, thus providing for the child's right for his or her views to be given due consideration, especially in the case of older children and adolescents (Moses, 2008).

The national Constitution has therefore established an excellent foundation for progressive policy development which has the potential to lead to encouraging changes in the lives of adolescents. However, despite the good intentions underlying the national Constitution and the implementation of the Children's Act No. 38, section 10 in 2006, meaningful participation of South African children in the social or public domain and more so in the private or personal domain - that of the family, household and living environment is limited (Bray & Clacherty, 2011). Interventions, particularly in the private or personal domain, in which adolescents play a participatory role, thus appear to be at a minimum, and the lack of research around adolescents' right to participate in this area has been noted (Berry & Guthrie, 2003).

1.2 Rationale for the Study

1.2.1 Personal and academic motivation.

Through my work with families over the past 15 years I have become increasingly interested in family relationships, particularly the relationship between adolescents and their parents. I have often been asked to give parenting workshops or talks about parenting adolescents and have consulted with parents and adolescents a great deal in my practice. I have noticed that while parents attended these talks and workshops and professed to find them helpful, the outcomes did not seem to be enduring or overly encouraging. A similar scenario was evident when consulting privately with parents, in the absence of their adolescent children. I started to invite adolescents to attend these sessions with their parents, and the resulting outcomes (as reported by the adolescents and their parents) were much improved. In particular, the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship improved

significantly, with both parents and adolescents reporting improved communication and feelings of closeness.

Adolescence is frequently viewed as a difficult phase in the development of the young person and many parents express trepidation at the idea of parenting adolescents – reporting that they perceive this to be a time of stress and high conflict (Collins & Laursen, 2004; King & Sobolewski, 2006; Manning & Lamb, 2003). From my experiences of working with parents and adolescents together - of including the voices of both parent and adolescent in the parenting process, I have come to believe that it is of critical importance to hear the young person's voice, views and opinions. This is particularly important amidst the noise and emotional turmoil that often accompany this period in the family life-cycle – that of parenting adolescent children. I have furthermore become increasingly aware of the need for systematic inquiry to inform a participatory or collaborative approach to parenting adolescents. My interest in the development of such a process of inquiry has brought about the conception of this research study.

At the same time that the structure of South African society was changing to one of democracy, freedom for all and a new "rainbow nation", I was reaching the end of my training as a psychologist. This training had prepared me and my fellow trainees to work using primarily traditional (modernist) Western models of psychology. These models and methods were almost entirely derived from social and clinical research in other countries, and those that were locally derived mainly dated from South Africa's most oppressive political era. For almost all South Africans the transition from apartheid has stimulated a variety of opportunities, challenges and disappointments, along with an ongoing sense of frustration and impatience for greater progress. I, and no doubt many of my colleagues in the field of psychology, have shared this sense of frustration as we have been confronted with the challenge of finding a way to work and connect with a diverse population whose worldviews do not necessarily fit with traditional Western models. In addition, we have struggled to provide needed services to the majority of South Africans given the limited resources available in our country. Despite significant changes in the South African socio-

political arena, glaring inequalities continue to abound. This ongoing lack of resources has further contributed to a sense of frustration at a professional and at a personal level.

The limiting effect of Western bias on my training was particularly evident and problematic when I engaged in community work, using a model in which I was cast in the role of an objective expert. "Traditional individual and systemic therapies generally assume that the therapist's objectivity provides the foundation for their being experts in defining clients' problems and solutions" (Smith & Nylund, 1997, p. 3). To be an expert implies command of expertise (i.e. Knowledge and skill) regarding certain events, phenomena, situations or conditions. Given the complexity of cultural influences at work in South Africa, and the diverse array of contexts within which South African families exist, it is difficult to become an "expert" on family life in South Africa. Yet Family Therapy in Africa continues to be strongly influenced by traditional Western theories and principles (Nwoye, 2006) with a persistent focus on individuals. The burden of creating multi-culturally relevant ways of working and interacting with diverse families, and of meeting the needs of more than the small number of individuals the psychologist in private practice is able to see remains pressing. In order to work in a more relevant manner within the diverse and hybrid cultural contexts (Nsamenang & Dawes, 1998) of South African communities, we need an approach that is not confined by the structures of traditional, modernist psychological theory and practice.

In seeking to discover a way to reposition myself as a therapist within the wider South African context, I engaged in ongoing training and became interested in narrative and social constructionist ideas. These approaches to therapy and community work are embedded in a postmodern world view in which there are no essential truths and in which the therapist is no longer positioned as the expert with objective knowledge of clients' lives and/or the ability to prescribe solutions to their problems. In contrast to this, the therapist facilitates client/s to research their own life experience, reach their own conclusions, and to construct new meanings and new contexts, allowing for different (and preferred) relationships and responses.

Repositioning my practice in this way has required a shift away from those (modernist) models of psychology that view the self as an object consisting of innate personality characteristics (often in isolation from the social context), and towards post-structural models that view the self as a subject constructed in social interaction (Madsen, 2007). The discovery of a postmodern paradigm and associated theoretical models such as social constructionism has served to highlight a preferred, more inclusive way of working and engaging with different communities. It has enabled me to engage more effectively with a diverse range of families, as well as various members within a particular family setting. Post-structural approaches (such as social constructionism) have provided a platform to explore transitional processes, and to connect differing theoretical perspectives concerning the factors traditionally assumed to influence parenting across the parenting career. This is particularly pertinent given the fact that adolescence is viewed as a transitional phase. From a social constructionist point of view meaning making and knowledge is contextual, applying only to the specific context from which it is derived. However, since everyone's social, interpersonal reality is constructed through interaction with other people or institutions, it is helpful for therapists to research the influence of particular social realities on the meaning that clients or research participants assign to their lives (Freedman & Combs, 1996).

1.3 Relevance of the Study

After an extensive literature search using search engines such as Academic Search Complete, Africa-Wide: NIPAD, EBSCOHost, ERIC, Lexis Nexus PscycARTICLE, PsycINFO, Sage Premier, Science Direct, SocINDEX and Web of Science I have been unable to find relevant South African research on parenting adolescents that had been constructed *after* consultation with adolescents and parents together. International research shows a similar deficiency: For instance, Day and Padilla-Walker (2009) note that "researchers claim that men and women approach the parenting of adolescents differently, but few studies interview both fathers and mothers in the same family, with even fewer including children's views" (p. 900). Essentially, then, it does appear that information on parenting adolescents lacks a collaborative dimension. Moreover, in the research literature

it is common to find *parents* being positioned as primary agents of change, with adolescents seen as the object or the 'other' (Madsen, 2007), or as "passive recipients of parenting" (Hofferth, Forry & Peters, 2010). Since adolescent voices and views have not been sought in research interviews, and their contributions have largely been discounted in terms of what promotes or inhibits change in the family system, it is no surprise that most research has reflected the voices and views of parents. Even studies that asked adolescents about aspects of the parent-adolescent relationship e.g. perceived closeness (Scott, Booth, King, & Johnson, 2007; Day & Padilla-Walker, 2009) did not generally ask them about their *preferences*. Thus the collective views of parents and adolescents do not appear to have been taken into account, in the area of parent education or parent guidance, in a significant manner.

Given a theoretical approach that emphasises the social construction and contextual specificity of knowledge, it makes sense to pay attention to the views of adolescents. It is suggested that the greater the match or level of agreement between adolescents' and parents' preferences, the greater would be the level of co-operation, harmony and relationship satisfaction in the parent-adolescent relationship. When so little information is available on the views of adolescents themselves, it is difficult for practitioners to compare their clinical experience with applicable research studies. These gaps in the research literature have left questions about how adolescents experience the parenting process unanswered. Parents and practitioners cannot know whether there would be a difference in the content or focus of existing information about parenting adolescents if the voices of adolescents were included and honoured. According to Morgan (1999), "one way of ensuring a richer description of the work is to include children's voices" (p. vii). Thus, a collaborative or participatory approach might inspire a different and more relevant approach to parent education – and the irony is that adolescents have a great deal to say if they are given the opportunity.

1.3.1 Contemporary challenges facing adolescents and the parenting of adolescents

South African adolescents and their families are facing serious risks, such as poverty, substance abuse, poor education, abuse, neglect and crime (Donald, Dawes, & Louw, 2000; Donald, Lazarus, & Lolwana, 2002; Ward et al., 2012). In South Africa today, there is a strong need for targeted, relevant interventions to help young people, and for relevant parental guidance to support parent-adolescent relationships. Yet the majority of published articles regarding parenting of adolescents originate in Europe, the USA and Australia, whilst local and international research tends to focus on parenting young children with comparatively less information on parenting adolescents. As described in the previous section, there is a worldwide lack of available research highlighting the voice of the adolescent in the parenting process. In fact, according to Jacobs, Shung-King and Smith (2005), the adolescent's rights to participation has received minimal attention internationally.

Developing countries like South Africa are also exposed to the cultural shifts of globalisation - which influence the social construction of adolescence, sometimes with effects that are very confusing for young people and their parents. Western cultural models of adolescence tend to dominate, for example, in the popular media; with the result that images of young people in developing countries are often marginalized against Western conceptualizations of this developmental period (De Boeck & Honwana, 2005; Nsamenang, 2002). South Africans are attempting to embrace our constitutional democracy by upholding and respecting cultural diversity. Considering developmental issues such as adolescence from local perspectives as well as the perspectives of global culture may play a significant role in developing a more relevant, comprehensive and balanced body of knowledge. This could lead to a deeper and more context-specific understanding of adolescence (Caldwell, Caldwell, Caldwell, & Pieris, 1998; Nsamenang, 2002).

In spite of the serious risks confronting many adolescents and their families and contrary to the dire picture often presented in the media, the lives of most South African

adolescents are not characterised by failure or a descent into marginality; they are more likely to be characterised by resilience, creativity and at least some success in the manner in which they navigate their way through the challenges they face (Bray, Gooskens, Khan, Moses, & Seekings, 2010). As Nelson Mandela himself has often emphasized, young people "are special not only because they are vulnerable, and are the first to suffer when adults get things wrong, but also because of their remarkable spirit, their ability to heal not only themselves but their societies as well" (Mandela, as cited in Crwys-Williams, 1997).

It is the author's contention that the present generation of South African adolescents, born into an era of democracy, an era that holds the promise of opportunity, are keen to engage with each other and adults alike. Many young people actively seek information to arrive at a deeper understanding of issues that affect their lives. They need to know what resources are available in order to make wise decisions that will lead to later success for them. As the developmental demands that confront adolescents are increasing so too are the demands on parents to support their adolescent children and access information and skills in order to prepare their adolescent offspring to become well-adjusted, contributing adults in their communities. Families are and will remain a fundamental source of support to adolescents in most parts of the world and "parents in many parts of the world are adopting a more responsive and communicative parenting style, which facilitates development of interpersonal skills and enhances mental health" (Larson, Wilson, & Mortimer, 2002, p. 161).

The desire and effort on the part of adolescents to engage with adults and access information is mirrored across the world. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2011), State of the World's Children Report (UNICEF, 2011) prioritises the right of children (and by implication adolescents) to express their views freely on all matters concerning them, pointing out that our fulfilment of this right not only benefits children but society as a whole: "The well-being and the active participation of adolescents are fundamental to the effectiveness of a life-cycle approach that can break the intergenerational transmission of poverty, exclusion and discrimination" (p. 4). Creating

opportunities within a local (South African) context to initiate participatory or collaborative practices could make a valuable contribution to global learning.

1.4 Aim of the Study

In this study, I have attempted to explore and describe the parenting experiences of adolescents and their parents. The diversity of their experiences, opportunities and risks has been considered. The focus of this work has not been on those families with adolescents who are especially vulnerable or most in need, instead this research has attempted to understand the lives (in relation to parenting) of ordinary urban adolescents and their parents. These families are facing many challenges in life but, for the most part, are dealing with them in ways that do not lead to the outcomes usually identified as social pathologies by the media, policy-makers or health care professionals.

The broad research objective of this study has been to explore the dynamics of the parenting experience as it relates to parenting adolescents, with the specific aim of exploring the particular experiences that parents of adolescents and their adolescent children describe; and of discovering how they have experienced a collaborative or participatory approach to the parenting process. Hence, the research task has been to utilise a methodology to attain an in-depth understanding of the parenting process, and to do this by focusing on a collaborative initiative in which the voices, opinions, concerns and views of adolescent children as well as those of their parents are included.

Against the preceding background, four investigative questions are presented: a) What information is needed from South African adolescents regarding productive parenting practices from their point of view? b) What information is needed from parents of adolescents regarding productive parenting practices from their point of view? c) How do adolescents describe the experience of being consulted and involved in parenting strategies? And finally, d) How do parents describe the experience of including the adolescents' voices?

1.5 Research Design

In this research study, I have adopted a qualitative research approach; specifically, an *interpretive* approach that "aims mainly to understand social life and the meaning that people attach to everyday life" (Fouché & Delport, 2005, p. 74). My approach has been *phenomenological* in that it has involved a detailed examination of the life-world of the participants. Adopting the method of *Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis* (IPA) has offered me the chance to engage with my research questions at an idiographic or particular level (Reid, Flowers, & Larkin, 2005). Similarly, Collins and Nicolson (2002) described IPA as a method for representing participants' subjective experiences and the meaning that such experiences hold for them. Essentially then, IPA is a qualitative approach to research that is engaged in the exploration of personal experience (Smith, 2006), assisting the development of interpretations around the participants' accounts of their phenomenological world.

The population for this research comprised three groups of parents and their adolescent children from three culturally and economically diverse communities in the Western Cape, South Africa. The adolescent participants ranged in age from 13 to 19 years, with one male participant being 21 years of age. According to the common Western/globalised understanding of adolescence (as discussed in chapter 2) a 21 year old is an adult; but in the relevant African socio-cultural context, this participant's status as "not yet adult" was accepted by himself and by other group members because he still lived at home with his mother, is single, and financially dependent on her.

The first group, (Group A), comprised a fairly affluent group of well-educated and/or professional parents (8 mothers and 6 fathers) and their adolescent children (8 girls) who attended a well-resourced private school in the area. The second group, (Group B), consisted of a less affluent group of parents (9 mothers) and their adolescent children (7 girls and 2 boys), who were mainly Afrikaans speaking. The third group, (Group C), consisted of a lower socio-economic group of Xhosa speaking parents (7 mothers and 2

fathers) and their adolescent children (3 boys and 4 girls). The 21year old participant was a member of this latter group.

1.6 Reflections on Biases and Perceptions of Adolescence and Parenting

Adolescence is often perceived to be a time of crisis, however, it is also a time of enormous opportunity. The crisis lies in the vast array of challenges and risks that face young people in this period of life. Risks abound in the areas of poverty, inadequate education, sexuality and teenage pregnancy, violence, substance abuse, and neglect. The media, too, plays a significant role in portraying adolescence as a time of difficulty, rebellion and non-conformity. Parents are frequently influenced by such biased depictions of adolescents and thus are recruited into the perception that raising adolescents is challenging, tough and fraught with conflict. Parents often report a strong sense of hopelessness and a sense that whatever they are trying to do in terms of parenting their adolescent children does not seem to make a difference. Adolescents frequently report that they do not feel that their parents understand them. Parents indicate that their children do not listen to them and adolescents frequently have a similar complaint about their parents.

Herein lies the opportunity, by highlighting the many powerful ways in which parents and families can make a positive difference in the lives of their children, by providing accessible, understandable and accurate information about adolescence and parenting adolescents, and by engaging in collaborative opportunities that involve both parents and adolescents, a more balanced picture of this life phase and greater understanding between parents and young people may be arrived at. Adults, health care practitioners, educators, and the media have an opportunity to change the way in which adolescents and the process of parenting adolescents is perceived.

1.7 Overview and Structure of this Study

It should be said from the outset that although this research study is presented using the standard report structure of Literature Review, Methodology, Results, Discussion and

Conclusions, every stage represents an integral part of the research endeavour as a whole. It is hoped that throughout the research process, the study has achieved the goal of elucidating rich and meaningful descriptions of the experiences of adolescents and their parents, to have in some way made these experiences available to awareness and reflection and ultimately to have stimulated a process of constructive engagement between the adolescents and parents who participated in this study.

This chapter presented an overview of the context, rationale, relevance and aim of the study, as well as a brief description of the research design. Chapter Two provides a theoretical overview of the conceptualisation of the life phase known as adolescence. Consideration is given to both Western and African perspectives on adolescence and to a discussion on the social construction of this life phase. Chapter Three focuses on the various historical and contemporary models of parenting, presenting an in-depth discussion on collaborative and participatory approaches to parenting. In Chapters Two and Three all relevant key terms used in this study are thoroughly defined and explored. Chapter Four comprises the methodological component of this dissertation, providing an outline of the methodology and related research issues, showing how the IPA research method, situated within its naturalistic and qualitative framework, has facilitated an understanding of the parenting experiences of adolescents and their parents. Chapter Five presents the case material and narratives of the three groups of participants in this study, while Chapter Six is devoted to a discussion of the research findings. Chapter Seven, concludes this study with an overview of the research process. The value of the study as well as limitations and suggestions for future research will be presented. An overview of this thesis is presented in figure 2.

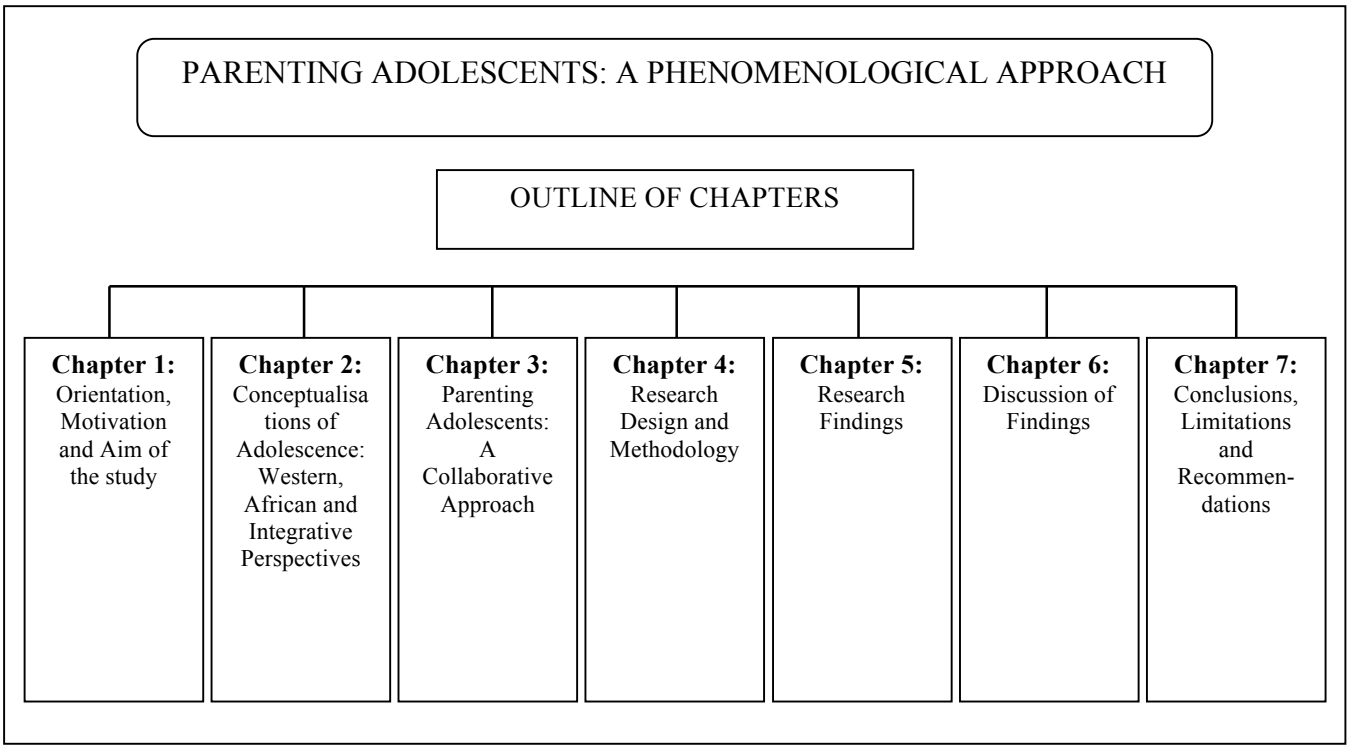

Figure 2. Visual Display of Chapters

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF ADOLESCENCE: WESTERN, AFRICAN AND INTEGRATIVE PERSPECTIVES

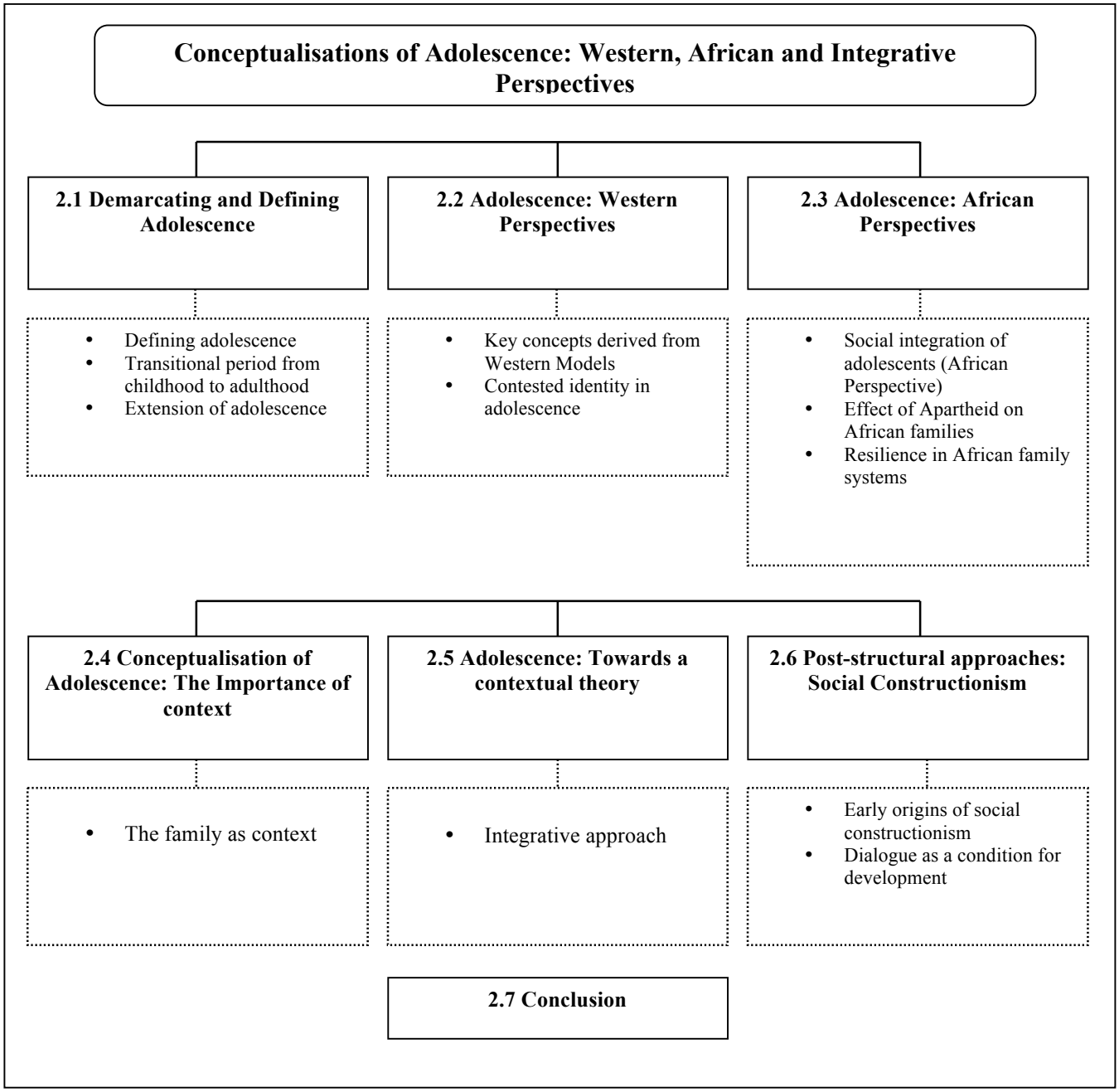

Figure 3. Visual display of Chapter 2

As mentioned in Chapter One, traditional Western models of adolescence are not particularly helpful when engaging in community work with a diverse population of families whose needs, difficulties and cultural practices may well not be familiar to the researcher. The inspiration for this study arose out of the growing awareness worldwide of the rights of children and adolescents. Such rights "require that children are not simply treated as the subjects of public policy to promote their well-being but that they should also have a say in the decisions affecting their lives" (Bray et al., 2010, p. 37).

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the transitional phase known as 'adolescence' from both a Western perspective and an African perspective as well as to give some consideration to a more contemporary, integrated, and contextual understanding of this phenomenon. Before describing the different approaches to adolescence, it is worth considering why the term 'transition' is particularly pertinent in discussing these phenomena. Cowan (1991) offers the following description of a life transition:

> …a long-term process that results in qualitative reorganisation of both inner life and external behaviour. For a life change to be designated as transitional, it must involve a qualitative shift from the inside looking out (how the individual understands and feels about the world) and from the outside looking in (reorganisation of the individual or family's level of personal competence, role arrangement, and relationships with significant others). Passing a life marker (e.g. entering school) or changing one's identity (e.g. becoming a husband or a father) does not signify that a transition has been completed. (p. 5)

Cowan's distinction between the 'inside looking out' and the 'outside looking in' is critical to the process of this research study, because it highlights the significance of context and of perspective in the way that adolescence is demarcated and/or defined. Whether 'looking out' or 'looking in,' the qualitative shifts involved in the life transition that an adolescent may be experiencing acquire meaning only in the very particular socio-cultural, ecological and – ultimately – personal context of his or her life. As Hartung (2011)

expressed it, these concepts have no reified existence 'out there' but are discovered in the "messiness of context" (p. 4). Moreover, if the objective is to arrive at a deeper understanding of adolescents and their parents, it is particularly important to show respect to this notion of context-dependency. The purpose, therefore, is to "interrogate the ideas from which respondents draw and not the respondents themselves" (Hartung, 2011, p. 60), and to do so in a way that is fully cognisant of the socio-cultural milieu and particular context that informs these ideas. Context, to some extent determines what ideas it is possible to hold about adolescence, what practices enact these ideas in everyday life, and what spaces might be made available for participants to re-envision, their lives as adolescents or parents of adolescents.

2.1 Demarcating and Defining Adolescence

Most of the available literature on adolescence falls into the category of 'modernist.' It is often, but not necessarily, tied to Western cultural contexts (meaning the contexts of industrial and post-industrial Europe and North America). Such an approach assumes a separation between the observer and the observed with notions of cause and effect providing a sense of connection between what has happened in the past, and what may happen in the future. Postmodernism or post-structural approaches, whilst not necessarily critiquing the content of modernist texts require the researcher to remain aware of areas of disconnection, to 'defamiliarise'; or as White (2007) puts it, to recognise 'the exotic' in everyday situations. According to modernist perspectives, which tend to view adolescence as an objective fact or set of facts, adolescence is conceptualised as the life-span period during which much of the individual's biological, cognitive, psychological and social maturation is taking place. This maturation sequence is seen to occur in an interrelated manner from what could be described as child-like characteristics to more adult-like characteristics in each of these areas of life (Lerner et al., 2005). These changes have been described as beginning in biology, with the onset of pubertal changes, and ending in society, with the incumbent historically, culturally and socially constructed transition to early adulthood (Petersen, 1988). Or, as Nsamaneng (2002) contends, adolescence may be

characterised as a "cultural process in the sense that adolescents throughout the world develop in niches that have been created through centuries of cultural evolution" (p. 62).

In most cultures, the final transition from adolescence to adulthood is ritually marked. Thus, even from a Western or modernist perspective, the demarcation of adolescence is understood as being at least partially determined by culture, which means that it would be expected to vary across different cultures. Despite attempts to demarcate adolescence objectively through law and other measures, which declare young people to have adult status at a particular age, terminology remains vague and cultural practices marking the entry into adulthood vary dramatically.

At an individual level, the developmental period of adolescence may be characterised by rapid physical, cognitive, social and emotional changes and growth (Call, et al., 2002; Papalia, Olds, & Feldman, 2008). These changes are influenced by both internal factors such as hormonal influences on physical development and environmental factors such as cultural influences (Louw & Louw, 2007). Both internal and external factors play a significant role in developing adolescents' endeavours to discover and evaluate ideas and roles concerning their identity, their relationships with peers and adults, and preparing to cope in adult roles (Louw & Louw, 2007; Papalia et al., 2008).

2.1.1 Defining adolescence

A precise definition of adolescence is difficult to formulate due to the complexity of the concept and the complexity of individual persons who are its referents. Firstly there is a wide variation in the manner in which each young person experiences this period depending on his or her physical, emotional and cognitive maturation. Furthermore, there is a wide variation in legislation around the world demarcating the minimum age thresholds for participation in what are considered to be adult activities such as voting, marriage, military participation, property ownership and alcohol consumption. Related to this is the concept of the 'age of majority' - "a legal age at which an individual is recognised by a nation as an adult and is expected to meet all the responsibilities attendant

upon that status" (UNICEF, 2011, p. 8). The age of majority in many countries, including South Africa, is eighteen years, supplanting previous traditions that marked the onset of adulthood at twenty-one years. The process of defining adolescence is further complicated by the fact that regardless of the legislated thresholds demarcating childhood and adolescence from adulthood, "many adolescents and young children around the world are engaged in adult activities such as labour, marriage, primary care-giving and conflict" (UNICEF, 2011, p. 10). Of concern is that by taking on such roles, these young people essentially miss out on the full experience of childhood or adolescence; and by assuming these roles before they are physically, emotionally or cognitively able to perform them effectively, young people could suffer irreparable harm.

2.1.2 Transitional period from childhood to adulthood

Prior to the beginning of the 19th century, adolescence was not recognised as a clear and separate stage in the human lifecycle. Children were treated as adults as soon as they were physically mature. However, as a result of rapid global change, greater educational opportunities for most children, and the recognition of children's rights in the Western world, the life stage of adolescence is now recognised in most parts of the world as a transitional period from childhood to adulthood, essentially incorporating all young people in the second decade of life (Richter, 2006). This transition is marked in some societies, although certainly not all, by certain rituals or rites of passage, which acknowledge this period as the time when the individual is expected to take on the roles and responsibilities of full adulthood.

The theme of adolescence as a time of transition between life stages is commonly accepted and reinforced by Spear (2000), as he describes adolescence as a period of transition rather than a moment of attainment. This is a time during which the developing individual experiences change in almost all aspects of his/her being (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 2002). Furthermore, the period of transition between childhood and adulthood is becoming more extended in many settings. While, historically, young boys and girls tended to move directly from childhood to assuming adult roles, "today the interval between childhood and

the assumption of adult roles is lengthening" (Lloyd, 2005, p. 2). As such, adolescence may be portrayed as a bridge between childhood and adulthood differing significantly from the two life stages that it joins.

2.1.3 Extension of adolescence

Generally, young people in industrialised societies are entering adolescence earlier and healthier, remaining in the education system longer, entering the labour force later and delaying marriage and parenthood (Arnett, 2000; Bray et al., 2010; Mortimer & Larson, 2002). Thus, it is no longer the norm for the late adolescent and early adulthood period to be a time of adopting and settling into long-term adult roles such as full-time work or marriage (Arnett, 2000). Instead, this period, referred to by Arnett (2000) as 'emerging adulthood', is typically characterised by further change and exploration, and as such, becomes an extension of the period of transition from childhood to adulthood. Bray et al., (2010) point out that in South Africa and similar societies, transitions seldom feature a clearly defined moment of permanent and irreversible change from one state, such as adolescence, to another, such as adulthood. Thus "there is no neat movement from school to work, from financial dependence to independence or from living with parents to marriage and parenthood of one's own" (p. 41). Instead, the phases of human development (childhood, adolescence and adulthood) are attributed to, and experienced, in different ways at various intervals of the maturation process; and young adults frequently delay certain adult roles whilst embracing others, sometimes causing concern in terms of 'failure to launch' with concomitant loss of confidence and direction (Kins & Beyers, 2010).

2.2 Adolescence: Western Perspectives

While a Westernised conceptualisation of adolescence is widely accepted, it is important to remain cognisant of the fact that it is not the only conceptualisation of adolescence and has been criticised for an overemphasis of neat or ordered transitional stages based on Western cultural norms (Bray et al., 2010).

Taking a more strictly psychological approach, Biddecom and Bakilana (2003) assert that "the pathways taken through adolescence are characterised by more disorder than order in terms of the variety of combinations and chronological sequences of important social and family formation transitions" (p. 15). This critique pertains not only to outdated psychoanalytic conceptualisations of adolescence but also emphasises the importance of considering a more integrated approach to adolescent development in which contextual and relationship perspectives are given due consideration. As Brown (2005) asserts:

> "[attempts by] the grand theories in the previous century to depict adolescent development broadly have fallen short of expectation. Their primary shortcoming was an overemphasis on either nature or nurture to explain the course of young people's development. This led to overgeneralization of findings and inattentiveness to the diverse array of young people" (p. 659).

Brown thus advocates a more integrated and flexible approach to understanding the diversity of adolescence.

2.2.1 Key concepts derived from Western models

Despite these challenges and critiques, a significant proportion of modern conceptualisations about adolescence emerge from Western cultural models and are, essentially, based on several foundational ideas. Western conceptualisations of adolescence suggest that this is a time of *new identity formation and first experiences* (Call et al., 2002) during which time young people traverse a series of mental and physical developmental phases in the process of transition from childhood to adulthood. These phases usually include increasing degrees of independence from adults and greater social mobility, sexual experiences, cognitive and moral maturation, resilience, and transitions from school to tertiary education or the world of work.

2.2.1.1 Increasing independence and social mobility

In general, adolescence is a time marked by increasing independence, when a young person's world broadens to include new contexts of interaction. According to Call et al., (2002), influences outside of the family become increasingly important as the young person spends less time with family members and more time engaging with peers, the community, work environments and romantic or sexual relationships – "these contexts can maintain well-being, support resiliency, or increase risk" (p. 72).

Sorkhabi (2010) suggests that the ways in which parents construct the rules and expectations around adolescents' activities and define the limits of adolescents' autonomy may be one possible source of parent-adolescent conflict. According to Eisenberg, Sadovsky, Spinard, Fabes, and Losoya (2005) this conflict may serve as the impetus for adaptation in the relationships between adolescents and their parents, to accommodate changes that involve adolescents' increasing maturation and developing competencies in the cognitive, social and emotional areas. Smetana (2005), therefore, proposes that a successful adaptation would include a shift in the power relations between parent and adolescent – as the adolescent strives towards achieving greater autonomy, the parent-adolescent relationship needs to transform from one where the power relations have been unilateral, with the parents holding the power, to a mutual relationship, where adolescents gain increasing independence over time and yet still receive parental support. Researchers who have explored the *participatory role* that adolescents play in family decision making have found the joint or bilateral decision making, where adolescents participate in the decision making process, as opposed to either unilateral parental decision making, or unilateral adolescent decision making, is associated with positive developmental outcomes including academic success, psychosocial development, self-esteem, and less delinquency, deviance and susceptibility to negative peer influences (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Steinberg, 1996). Furthermore, parents who use reason authoritatively to clarify their position while being open to accommodating the viewpoint of the adolescent can be said to be respecting and supporting adolescent autonomy Sorkhabi (2010).

2.2.1.2 Sexual experiences

Sexual experiences or sexual behaviour is an important area in which adolescent well-being could be negatively affected. Many developing countries, including South Africa, show increasing rates of non-marital adolescent sexual involvement, with urban youth engaging in premarital sexual involvement at earlier ages than adolescents in rural areas (Brown, Larson, & Saraswathi, 2002). In a study on the predictors of first sexual intercourse among adolescents in Cape Town, South Africa, Mathews et al., (2009) found a high incidence of first sexual intercourse among 13 year old adolescent boys and girls (13% among girls and 31% among boys), a substantial proportion of these adolescents indicated that they intended to engage in further sexual intercourse in the next 6 months. These authors also found high levels of partner violence, with more boys, than girls reporting that they had been victims of physical violence. From this study it is apparent that socio-economic status was inversely associated with early sexual experiences. Similar finding are reported by Varghese, Maher, Peterman, Branson, and Steketee (2002) who found that the probability that an adolescent will become sexually active is increased by *community risk factors,* such as low rates of educational attainment, high unemployment rates, community poverty, high crime rate, as well as *family risk factors such as* having a single parent, changes in parental marital status, low level of parental education and income, poor parental support and lack of parental supervision.

Furthermore, the quality of parent-adolescent relationships and more specifically communication about sexuality between parents and their adolescent children has been identified as a protective factor for a range of sexual behaviours, including early first-time sexual experience (Markham et al., 2010). Wang (2009) found a significant positive correlation between the extent of problems in parent-adolescent general communication and the extent of communication about sexual issues, as well as a significant negative correlation between the extent of problems in parent-adolescent communication and the quality of parent-adolescent communication about sexual issues. However, in several countries in sub-Saharan Africa, parental involvement in the sexual socialisation of their children is minimal, with this role being fulfilled instead by grandparents and aunts

(Namisi et al., 2009). However, "with increased urbanisation and social change processes the family unit and consequently adolescent socialisation may be impacted" (Bastien, Kajula, & Muhwezi, 2011).

2.2.1.3 Cognitive and moral maturation

According to Baird, Silver, and Veague (2010) one of the hallmarks of adolescent cognition is that it involves qualitative changes reflected in increased abstract reasoning, logical and idealistic thought as well as an increase in speed of information processing. This means that an adolescent is capable of generating hypothetical possibilities or entirely abstract propositions. Furthermore, the developing adolescent is capable of more sophisticated moral judgement. According to Moshman, (2005) abstract thinking can enable and motivate increased focus on moral principles as the foundation for moral judgements as opposed to concerns about family rules or the consequences of transgressions. As adolescents mature and attain higher cognitive levels, so do they become capable of more complex reasoning concerning moral issues (Papalia et al., 2008). One of the tasks of adolescence is, according to Kung (1993) the ability to establish a flexible interrelationship between modes of moral thought, to integrate them into moral principles which more accurately reflect the adult world, to reappraise earlier models of moral problem solving where necessary and, to adapt them to be more applicable to adult type problems which may be new to the adolescent.

2.1.2.4 Resilience

Adolescence is recognised as a potentially stressful period of development, with this age group encountering many stressors from numerous and varied sources such as personal, family, physical, social or environmental stressors (Kritzas & Grobler, 2005; Wolchik & Sandler, 1997). Some adolescents cope effectively despite difficulties related to their environment, while others may not cope well and experience further difficulties such as depression, anxiety, academic difficulties, or "turn to delinquent behaviour, substance abuse or suicide" (Kritzas & Grobler, 2005, p.1). The ability to cope effectively with

stressors in a manner that leads to the accomplishment of positive developmental outcomes may be referred to as resilience. Walsh (2003) defines resilience as the ability to bounce back from adverse life challenges while Masten (2001) offers a similar description of adversity describing it as adaptive behaviour in the face of adverse or difficult circumstances. Liebenberg and Unger (2009) contend that such adaptive behaviour is considered to be dynamic and nurtured by reciprocal, health affirming transactions between adolescents and their ecologies. Ungar (2008) asserts that just as the numerous antecedents to psychosocial maturation among adolescents vary according to context and culture, "young people's patterns of coping are embedded in the complex social ecologies of their families and communities" (p. 167). Typically, from a Western perspective, resilience may be understood as referring to good outcomes despite significant threats to well-being (Luthar, & Zelazo, 2003). Ungar (2006) offers a more ecologically sensitive definition of resilience: "Resilience is both an individual's capacity to navigate to health resources and a condition of the individual's family community and culture to provide these resources in culturally meaningful ways" (p. 55). Thus resilience may be understood as incorporating both the child's ability to exercise personal agency towards healthy resources and the capacity of the child's family, community and culture to provide health sustaining resources (Ungar, 2006). Furthermore, Ungar (2006) asserts that there is a "need to understand resilience as the negotiations by children with adults in order to influence the quality of the resources received such that children's needs are met in ways meaningful to the child and culturally appropriate" (p. 55). Thus strong and healthy connections to family, community and culture may significantly enhance the adolescent's ability to develop coping skills, personal resources and ultimately show higher levels of resilience.

2.1.2.5 Transitions from school to tertiary education or the world of work

School life offers adolescents opportunities to learn and acquire knowledge, master new skills participate in a variety of extra-mural activities, socialise and explore vocational choices (Papalia et al., 2008). While more young people are completing high school than ever before, dropping out of school remains an area of concern not only for parents and teachers but for society as a whole. Englund, Egeland, and Collins (2008) identified

poverty, academic achievement, quality of schooling, behavioural problems, and interpersonal relationships as significant variables that differentiated high school graduates from those young people who dropped out of school, noting that low-income adolescents continue to show a higher prevalence of dropping out of school than other socio-economic groups. In a South African study Mathews et al. (2009) reached a similar conclusion noting that "adolescents from poorer homes are likely to feel they have fewer opportunities in life, and they might lack the educational, career and recreational aspirations characterising adolescents from wealthier homes" (p. 7).

Parent-child relationship factors such as the quality of care-giving, parental support (instrumental and emotional), hostility and rejection, and the quality of parent-child communication were also identified as significant predictors of successful school completion (Brewster & Bowen, 2004, Englund, Egeland, & Collins et al., 2008; Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe, & Carlson, 2000). In a study on high school dropout and the role of adults, Englund et al., (2008) found that children whose parents were involved in their academic lives, and who experienced good parent-child relationships, were more likely to "continue on a positive trajectory toward academic success (p. 89). An important implication of findings such as these is that adolescents' academic success is embedded in their interactions not only with teachers but with their parents too.

2.2.2 Contested identity in adolescence

Brown et al. (2002) note that some societies lack a specific term to describe adolescence, using, instead, a range of words referring to certain circumstances or groups of young people. Other societies feature more specific terminology. 'Teenager', which is the common term for an adolescent in the United States, conjures up images of recklessness, rebellion, irresponsibility, and conflict – images that contribute to the worried stance that most adults in that society take toward adolescents. Similarly, Dehne and Riedner (2001) note that until recently the condition of adolescence, in developing countries, has been either non-existent or a relatively new concept, with children becoming adults through institutionalised rites of passage (such as circumcision). Brown et al. (2002) assert that a

great proportion of popular perception of what happens in adolescence is based on the American and European 'teenager'. Yet even in Western cultures and traditions, there are challenges to such narrow constrictions of adolescent identity. In an increasingly globalised world culture, there is growing awareness of diversity, of difference and hence of possibility – as well as of the common themes of adolescence across cultures; and there is a growing acceptance of the notion that as a concept, 'adolescence' is continually adapted to the needs or demands of the society or cultural systems within which the individual finds himself or herself. Thus, Brown et al. (2002) note, "the forms that adolescence takes within a given culture, let alone across cultures, are remarkably diverse and distinctive" (p. 2). Similarly, Bray et al. (2010) explain, "whilst the general form of a successful transition might be common to all developing countries, the precise form will vary, for example, in terms of the balance between individual autonomy and embeddedness in larger households and communities" (p. 39).

2.3 Adolescence: African perspectives

Nsamenang (2002) describes adolescence in the African social milieu as "a way station between the stages of social apprenticeship in childhood and full social integration into adult life" (p.69). This description does not radically differ from the Western notion of adolescence described above, in terms of highlighting the importance of mastering the challenges of adolescence in a manner that allows the young person to enter adulthood as a well-functioning young adult. However, the idea that adolescence is universally experienced has been contested, with some authors suggesting that the concept of adolescence is socially constructed, arguing that until recently the social categories of 'youth' and 'adolescent' were not recognised in the African context (De Boeck & Honwana, 2005). Larson and Wilson (2002) note that "this life stage is taking unique forms in different settings. There are diverse 'adolescences' in different nations and for different groups within nations, each shaped by distinct cultural systems and social and economic circumstances" (p. 160). Similarly, McCauley and Salter (1995) question the universality of a definition of adolescence and suggest that, at best, definitions of

adolescence be restricted to describing adolescence as a period of transition, in which the young person no longer considered a child is also not yet considered an adult.

In line with this, Nsamenang (2002) contends that "adolescent psychology is a Eurocentric enterprise" (p. 2). He argues that the currently accepted notions of the field would have been significantly different "had adolescence been "discovered" within the cultural conditions and life circumstances different than those of Europe and North America, say, in Africa" (Nsamenang, 2002, p. 2). From an African perspective, therefore, one might question the appropriateness of applying Euro-American worldviews to an African population, but rather to consider a view of African social ontology as an increasing, ongoing or collective process of social integration into the family and society that becomes increasingly complex as the adolescent matures (Brown, et al., 2002). This African view stands in contrast to individualistic views of ontogenesis common within Western perspectives, which focus on the *differentiation and individuation* of adolescents – differentiating them not only from their earlier childhood selves, and from the adult they will become, but also describing adolescence in terms of identity formation in which adolescents are expected to display separation from their families and sometimes also their communities, as evidence that they are now sufficiently individualised.

2.3.1 Social integration of adolescents (African perspective)

As Nsamenang (1992) has shown, African families tend to be less interested in guiding their offspring toward 'independence,' and more interested in helping adolescent children integrate into family and society, seen typically as a greater whole. This is in line with the doctrine of Ubuntu, which can be paraphrased as "I am what I am because of who we all are" (Crwys-Williams, 1997, p.111).

Prior to the age of approximately 6 years, children in the African social milieu are primarily cared for by their mothers and other women in the community. After this time socialisation of pre-adolescent boys increasingly falls under the guidance of the father or same-sex caregiver and older brothers. Similarly, the socialisation of preadolescent girls

falls under the guidance of their mother or same-sex caregiver and older sisters. The division of labour according to gender affords the maturing child the opportunity to learn and gradually assimilate adult roles in preparation for adulthood. According to Nsamaneng (2002), these "new roles are assumed by degree, causing minimal strain. The social internship that precedes this *rite de passage* or developmental transition is designed to cultivate virtuous character and instil values of co-operation and generosity" (p. 69). Dehne and Riedner (2001) discuss adolescence in African societies as a process of social internship, noting that in Nigeria, for example, male and female adolescence was "found to be associated with going to school and trying to get a job in a modern economy" (p. 12). This process of 'social internship' is traditionally formalised during ritual celebrations of puberty. However, even though the mature African adolescent assumes the adult roles for which he or she has been prepared, he or she is not immediately accorded adult status; full adult status implies being married with children.

In African societies, traditional initiation ceremonies mark the transition from childhood to adulthood. Yet within the context of South Africa, a simplistic distinction of adolescence as starting at the onset of puberty and ending with the adoption of adult roles, such as marriage and employment (Flisher & Gerver, 2010) may neglect the myriad of transitional experiences of adolescence unique to processes of growing up in South Africa. As Bray et al. (2010), note:

> Reality in societies like South Africa is very different to the clear transitions that characterised northern Europe and North American societies in the mid-twentieth century. There is no neat movement from school to work, from financial dependence to independence or from living with parents to marriage and parenthood of one's own. Childhood, adolescence and adulthood are not neat sequential phases, but experienced and ascribed in various ways at various points in an individual's maturation. (p. 41)

2.3.2 Effect of the apartheid legacy on African families

The complex legacy of apartheid in South Africa and surrounding regions, in particular the migration of labour, has profoundly affected traditional institutions and patterns of marriage, of child-rearing, and of the African (extended) family system. In turn this undermining has severely impacted the lives of children and adolescents (Kalule-Sabiti, Palamuleni, Makiwane, & Amoateng, 2007).

Not only do continuities and discontinuities in family structure and function influence the extent to which adolescents and their families cope with competing pressures of traditionalism, modernity, and globalisation, but socio-economic conditions, too, appear to play a significant role. Dashiff, DiMicco, Myers, and Sheppard, (2009), note developmental differences between adolescents occur from disparate socio-economic groups. For adolescents in communities that have many resources, the transition to adult responsibilities is gradual and extended. On the other hand, for adolescents in poorer communities whose parents may work long hours for minimum wages, or work far from home, the adoption of adult responsibilities and increased demands for maturity from adolescent children may be more dramatic and immediate (Dashiff, DiMicco, Myers, & Sheppard, 2009). Family conflict and financial stress can ensue when, for example, young people in the family take on the roles of sexual maturity and parenthood; often assuming their own parents will continue to assume the role of caring for grandchildren (Grandmothers Against Poverty and Aids (GAPA), personal communication, August 20, 2009).

2.3.3 Resilience in African family systems

Globalisation, migration and urbanisation have resulted in an increased movement of people from rural to urban areas, precipitating change and requiring adaptation of the family system. In spite of the fact that African family structures are becoming increasingly diverse, traditional family functions and roles continue to play a prominent role in many African families. As Moore (1993) asserts, “globalisation, Western interests, the state of

the African economy, and the world economic order do matter to the contemporary, partially delocalised African family, but they do not replace the importance of the values of African familialism" (p. 4). Greeff and Holtzkamp (2007) note that resilience may be conceptualised as a family-level construct, referring to the "characteristics, dimensions, and features of families that help them be i) resistant to disruption in the face of change and ii) adaptive in the face of crisis situations. In a study on the prevalence of resilience in migrant families Greeff and Holtzkamp (2007) identified intra-familial emotional and practical support as "the most important recovery-enhancing resource" (p. 195).

As an example of this resilience, parental expectations play a powerful role in parent-adolescent relationships and family interactions. African parents expect their children, especially as they mature, to serve them and sometimes to compensate for the parents' disappointments or economic disadvantage. To facilitate these expectations, parents tend to put a great deal of effort and emphasis on supporting and educating their adolescents in order to better their opportunities in life and their potential to assist in the betterment of the family. The values of mutuality and social support common within African family traditions continue to provide for the incorporation of children and adolescents into the homes of relatives or friends to provide service and/or be apprenticed or educated. However, as mentioned above, the same values also support expectations – sometimes onerous – on the part of the young people that parents and grandparents will continually make themselves and their resources available in whatever way the younger generation may require. This can have serious implications for needs delivery when, for example, state pensions are viewed as family income whereas child grants are viewed as personal income for (youthful) unemployed parents.

Data from The Cape Area Panel Study (as cited in Bray et al., 2010) show the extent to which many of the transitional aspects of adolescence are delayed:

> By or at the age of 22, most, but not all, young people have some experience of work, and one-third of young women have children. But marriage and cohabitation are very rare, and few young men admit to

> paternity. Most young people at the age of 22 are still living with parents or other older non-sibling adults. Only a minority of young people vote; even fewer attend civic meetings. (p. 40)

This situation shows that despite economic pressure that might be expected to shorten African adolescence, according to Western demarcations, the traditional definitions, demarcations and their concomitant social expectations persist beyond their original context. However, it should also be noted that many young South Africans are effectively trapped in problematic conditions such as poverty, poor or absent service delivery, unemployment, gender discrimination, gangsterism, as well as (sometimes) in cultures of drug and alcohol abuse (Bray et al., 2010; Petersen, Bhana, Flisher, Swartz, & Richter, 2010). Under these difficult circumstances, the conflicts and confusions that prevail around traditional, contemporary and official definitions of childhood and adolescence are not helpful to families; nor conducive to good outcomes in terms of the 'social internship' that Nsamenang (2002) holds out as the ideal form of socialization for young people.

2.4 Conceptualisation of Adolescence: The importance of context

The models of adolescence adopted by researchers, policy makers, and those who work with young people are far more than notional or academic significance. These models can contribute to the disadvantaging and disempowering of adolescents, or, alternatively, provide opportunities to empower and assist them in ways that are relevant to their needs. Mullender, et al., (2002) suggest that a "deficit model of developmental psychology has contributed to the marginalisation of children as a source of information about their own lives" (cited in Vetere & Dowling, 2005, p. 13). According to these authors:

> … traditional developmental theories conceptualise children as 'growing up into the adult world' as if they are somehow incomplete, or not yet competent because of their maturational stage. They suggest that childcare policies and practices could be enriched if children were consulted around the design and delivery of services. (p. 13)

France, Bendelow, and Williams (2000), offer a preferred view less likely to marginalise children and adolescents. They describe childhood as "… a negotiated process where children are active in constructing their own social worlds, and reflecting upon and understanding its meaning and significance to their own personal lives" (p. 151). This statement may be particularly apt when referring to adolescents, who have a more sophisticated ability for reflection and meaning making than the younger child. Hartung (2011), argued however that some overly enthusiastic and naïve approaches to children's participation, can also disadvantage them by de-focusing on the very real needs and vulnerabilities of children and adolescents. A balanced approach is needed that encourages children's participation without overloading their ability to understand or to cope – especially in stressful situations such as court hearings, or other circumstances where adults are in conflict.

Families, educational systems and, to an increasing extent, experiences with peers, play a fundamental role in shaping the adolescent's experiences during this phase of life. Within these contexts the young person gains, or fails to gain, those resources and experiences (such as models of guidance, teaching, social control and material resources) necessary to the process of preparing them to take up adult roles later in life (Brown, et al., 2002). Although the challenges and social influences that adolescents experience may be similar in many parts of the world, the way they present and the effects of these challenges and experiences may differ significantly. Thus as Larson (2002) acknowledges, "the opportunities and outcomes for adolescents are constantly changing and only partially predictable" (p. 19).

2.4.1 The family as context

Whether children and adolescents are seen as active in the construction of their own social worlds, or as 'social apprentices' receiving guidance and instruction to integrate them into a world that exists apart from their actions, it is evident that preparation for their future takes place within families - if not primarily, then to a significant degree. Much research

(Antonucci, Jackson, & Biggs, 2007; Dintwat, 2010; Modo, 2001) has highlighted the diversity and changing face of present day families. Since the latter part of the 20th century there has been an increase in divorced families, single parent households and remarried families, more gay and lesbian families and child-headed households. In most areas of the world there is also evidence of greater family mobility, smaller families, less proximity to and contact with extended family and an increase in maternal employment (Antonucci et al., 2007; Dintwat, 2010; Modo, 2001).

These numerous changes in the nature and form of families means that the family experiences and resources that adolescents are exposed to may vary greatly from previous family or social traditions with its embedded knowledge and parenting practices. This is true not only for Westernised families but indeed for African families; posing difficulties for observers who attempt to reify 'the African family' within a socio-cultural context is imagined as static and unchanging. Yet, research and knowledge about adolescence is a vital resource in contributing to adolescents' well being and preparing them for healthy and constructive participation in adulthood. Since much has already been written about educational systems as well as relationships of young people to peer groups and youth culture (Englund et al., 2008; Janosz, Archambault, Morizot, & Pagani, 2008; Ramey & Rose-Krasnor, 2012), a more systematic focus on the ways in which adolescents (together with their parents) actively construct their social worlds seems well overdue.

2.5 Adolescence: Towards a contextual theory

While, classic Western developmental theories contribute much to current understanding and research about adolescence, cognisance must be taken of the fact that these theories were developed in the 1900's, and reflect the prevailing norms and value systems pertaining to Western culture at that time in history. Due to globalisation and the numerous changes that have taken place in society since the 1900's questions could be asked about the value of continuing to apply these theories. As noted above, applications of theory that are out of context can serve to disadvantage young people – and especially those who are already economically and culturally disadvantaged. Ntsayagae, Sabone,

Mogobe, Seboni, Sebego, and Brown, (2008) makes a plea for research to pay more attention to context:

> … psychological features are important and intra-psychic factors may not change much over time. But the influences of external factors – sociological, economic and cultural – change drastically and interact with the psychological features of interest. It is equally important for researchers in Western countries to be aware that the environment of today's adolescent is different from that of the adolescent in the mid-1900's. They need to be aware of how the adolescent's intra-psychic structure interacts with the sociological, economic and cultural changes of Western countries. (pp. 175-176)

Over time there has been a gradual transition from traditional developmental theories, through complex multi-system, ecological and relational models towards comprehensive contextual and post-structural models. This will be discussed in the following section.

2.5.1 Integrative approach

In response to such concerns, current thinking in the social sciences has adopted a more contextual and integrative approach to understanding human development; in which an awareness of genetic, biological, cultural, and ecological factors as well as historical time is integrated with earlier psychological theory around adolescent development (Baltes, Lindenberger, Staudinger, 2006; Bronfenbrenner, 2005). In other words, a contextual awareness has now come to the fore, but without necessarily displacing formerly dominant ideas completely. Through developing a more thorough understanding of the complex factors that impact the life of the individual from the 'inside looking out' and from the 'outside looking in' (Cowan, 1991), researchers, policy makers and others can use this knowledge to maximise the development of strengths of young people to create opportunities for them, in order to promote their wellbeing.

A truly integrative approach (as opposed to an eclectic approach) however, requires careful grounding in theory and research in order to be useful and above all to avoid doing harm. Two such approaches are described below – multi-systemic and ecological approaches – followed by a discussion on a relational approach that is socio-cultural and seen by some authors as post-structural. Finally, the development of a fully post-structural approach based on the 'interpretive turn' is traced and the implications of such an approach for researchers are examined.

2.5.1.1 Structural approaches: Multi-systemic

Attempts to encompass a contextual approach within the epistemic world of the structural and modernistic social sciences inevitably pose serious challenges, but many authors have worked hard to overcome these challenges whilst maintaining a basic commitment to modernism and in particular to the hope that the world, no matter how complex, can nonetheless be observed, measured and described objectively. Attempts to describe the life-world of the adolescent as *multi-systemic* are of particular interest in this regard.

A contextual, multi-systemic approach to adolescence implies that child and adolescent development takes place within multiple systems or contexts, including the individual, the family, the school and wider social networks (Carr, 2006).

Multi-systemic models emphasise relational factors and espouse the mutual, bi-directional nature of the person and context (Elder & Shanahan, 2006). For example, research informed by Family Systems Theory (Minuchin, 2002) continues to contribute to an increased awareness of the mutual influences and relationships among different subsystems in the family. In terms of theoretical integration, even hallmark models of early psychology such as attachment theory (Bowlby, 1982) have been extended beyond infancy leading to research examining adolescents' representations of relationships with parents, peers, and romantic partners (Schwarz & Walper, 2009).

2.5.1.2 Structural approaches: Ecological

Whilst multi-systemic approaches would analyse complexity, breaking down phenomena into smaller interacting systems subject to observation, an ecological approach uses a naturalistic metaphor (ecology) to conceptualise complex phenomena in their entirety. Thus, ecological approaches represent another creative and helpful attempt to address multiplicity and complexity in the understanding of adolescence. Ecological approaches to human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), gained prominence in the late twentieth century and continue to dominate the field (Lerner & Steinberg, 2004, Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006).

Ecological approaches promote an understanding of interactions among developing persons, as well as the contexts and processes of development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For example, the ecological model of Bronfenbrenner provides an heuristic for describing the complexity of social, familial, and cultural influences on children's development. It points to the variables available for investigation in order to better understand the relative power and interaction of different individual variables and different contexts that influence psychological functioning at different times in the lifecycle. For Bronfenbrenner, development is always seen as *development in context* and the individual is always seen as being in dynamic interaction with his environment (Hook, Watts, & Cockcroft, 2002).

Bronfenbrenner's ecological model has been particularly useful in directing researchers to consider how adolescents are situated in specific contexts, encouraging an awareness and consideration of the multiple contexts within which adolescents function, and the manner in which such contexts influence the course of adolescent development. Brown (2005) explains that an ecological model:

> depicts the hierarchical organisation of contexts that provide direct as well as indirect connections to an individual, and indicates how contexts can interconnect to influence an adolescent (e.g., when parents set down rules

> for an adolescent's interactions with peers, or when a school offers opportunities for community volunteering). (p. 658)

Thus, it appears that this model can also embrace a systems perspective, "emphasising that adolescents affect proximal and distal contexts, just as they are affected by the contexts" (Brown, 2005, p. 658). Within this model, an awareness of the contextual embedding of adolescent experience is a vital and fundamental aspect of research that helps the model to remain current and relevant. Hence, ecological approaches have contributed to a greater understanding of adolescent development beyond the contiguous influences of the family, producing significant new insights into contextual variations in adolescent development (Cook, Herman, Phillips, & Settersten, 2002). A further notable trend in current research on adolescence is the greater attention to studying diverse populations of youth (Chao, 2001; Hunter, Barber, Olsen, McNeely, & Bose, 2011).

2.5.1.3 Post-structural approaches: Relational

Multi-systems and ecological approaches represent serious attempts to account for multiplicity, diversity, and unpredictability in phenomena of interest to social science. They have contributed and still contribute technologies of development and new ideas in, for example, developmental psychology, family process and community development. The more complexity and multiplicity is described within a given model however, the more difficult it becomes to resist a critique that is essentially post-structural. Post-structural approaches (sometimes also referred to as post-modern approaches) prioritise the *relational* nature of the multiple factors and contexts that influence adolescent development. The study of adolescence, when pursued from an entirely relational perspective, moves beyond focussing on structural features of contexts (such as parents' marital or economic status, or ethnic group membership) to a consideration of significant relationships within contexts and the interpersonal processes that may inform adolescents' experiences in that context (Brown, 2005, Smetana et al., 2006). In some cases, this is merely adding further levels of complexity – but there comes a point when all possibility of prediction and/or control vanishes beyond our reach. The system is no longer a

complete, self-perpetuating whole; and instead of various measurable (or at least observable) underlying 'forces' being at work, the energy that drives the system is the energy of language and meaning. Lyotard (1984) describes the situation thus:

> A self does not amount to much, but no self is an island; each exists in a fabric of relations that is now more complex and mobile than ever before. Young or old, man or woman, rich or poor, a person is always located at 'nodal points' of specific communication circuits, however tiny these may be. Or better: one is always located at a post through which various kinds of messages pass. No one, not even the least privileged among us, is ever entirely powerless over the messages that traverse and position him at the post of sender, addressee, or referent. (p. 15)

The shift Lyotard makes here is important. It might, theoretically, be possible to observe the behaviour of persons at 'nodal points … however tiny these may be.' However, when the behaviour of the system is determined by 'messages' – over which no one is entirely powerless – it becomes impossible to tell what (or who) is determining what (or who). The nodal points are vanishingly small. This is the crisis of legitimacy in knowledge; if the objective status of the observation becomes completely precarious, obtaining its meaning and relevance not from its being certified as a representation of what is true or real but from its use-value to participants. Furthermore, in such a system, the observer or researcher is also positioned within the system, which has become a "language game" (Lyotard, 1984), Lyotard (1984) concludes as follows:

> I am not claiming that the entity of social relations is of this nature – that will remain an open question. But there is no need to resort to some fiction of social origins to establish that the language games are the minimum relation required for society to exist: even before he is born, if only by virtue of the name he is given, the human child is already positioned as the referent in the story recounted by those

> around him, in relation to which he will inevitably chart his own course. (p. 19)

It can be seen, therefore, that the post-structural or post-modern approach understands 'reality' and 'truth' to be socially constructed, by means of language, and more specifically, 'language games' – a concept from Wittgenstein (1953) who studied the ways in which language conditions thought and makes it possible.

This perspective has become very influential in the social sciences, in the form of 'social constructionism' (also sometimes called 'social constructivism'); although due to its radical epistemology (and perhaps the extent to which knowledge has already become an asset category in the modern world) it continues to generate intense disputes amongst proponents and antagonists in the professions and in academic life.

Gergen (2001) is an example of a scholar who used the lens of social constructionism to critique modernist theories and models of development along with other aspects of contemporary psychology. McNamee and Gergen (1999) argue:

> … it is becoming increasingly apparent to investigators in this domain that developmental trajectories over the lifespan are highly variable; neither with respect to psychological functioning nor overt conduct does there appear to be transhistorical generality in lifespan trajectory … A virtual infinity of developmental forms seems possible, and which particular form emerges may depend on a confluence of particulars, *the existence of which is fundamentally unsystemic.* (p. 11; italics added)

If the "confluence of particulars" on which a lifespan trajectory depends is *fundamentally unsystemic*, the notions of 'dependent' and 'independent' variables cease to make sense. What does continue to make sense however – albeit in a performative way – are the discourses which pass from one person to another, sometimes passed on, sometimes taken in, sometimes rejected, in recursive 'language games'. The work of postmodern therapist

and author Bird (2004) provides an example of the way in which these concepts can assume practical value. In her therapeutic work, Bird has evolved practices of 'relational languaging', which allow constant renegotiation of meaning, as well as the deconstruction of frames of reference. With both therapist and client positioned as researchers and explorers of meaning. Bird draws language from clients with great care and skill, avoiding and resisting the kind of language games (such as binary structures) that might position people in limited or closed relation either to a problem or to another person or people.

The above discussion shows that in a number of significant approaches – including that of theorists like McNamee and Gergen (1999) and practitioners like Bird (2004) – the so-called 'interpretive turn' has already taken place.

The notion of the 'interpretive turn' began two centuries ago with Kant's assertion that what we experience as 'reality' is in fact shaped by our mental categories (Lye, 1993). Kant believed that these categories were fixed, transcending the subject; but later thinkers including Nietsche and Freud showed that this is not so. By the end of the 20th Century, according to Lye (1993):

> What is new … is that the insights of these and others seminal thinkers have coalesced into a particular sociological phenomenon a cultural force, a genuine moment in history, and that they have resulted in methodological disputes and in altercations of practice in the social sciences and the humanities. Meaning has been relocated from 'reality out there' to 'reality as experienced by the perceiver.' (p. 92)

Theoretical approaches that have embraced this 'interpretive turn' are characterised by a few central ideas: the researcher or observer as a participant in whatever is observed; information only has value insofar as it is contextualised; and individuals themselves are 'cultural constructs', understanding the world around them through discursive structures (discourses) by means of which we are able to talk about and to imagine the world. Lye goes on to say that "the world of individuals is not only multiple and diverse but it is

constructed by and through interacting fields of culturally lived symbols, through language in particular" (1993, p. 93).

2.6 Post-structural approaches: Social Constructionism

As was the case with other historical developments in the theory of knowledge (e.g. Positivism, existentialism, and phenomenology), the conclusions of post-structural writers soon began to impact the social sciences, including psychology. Therefore, long before Berger and Luckman (1967) published their famous work 'The social construction of reality' which launched social constructionism, in earnest as a theoretical approach, the foundations had already been laid in several major disciplines, such as psychology, sociology, social anthropology, and the humanities. However, Berger and Luckman formulated the approach in a way that was clear and engaging.

Berger and Luckman's (1967) key thesis may be summarised as follows: "Social order is not part of the 'nature of things' and it cannot be derived from the 'laws of nature'" (p.52). According to Berger and Luckman (1967) the social order is an "ongoing human production" (p.52). In the same way, the raising of a child is a social enterprise, involving not only the parent or parents, other adults, older children and role models, but an entire culture – whose existence is often taken as given by both adults and children, and even assumed to be something natural, especially when social practices and institutions are handed down to a new generation.

Psychology and related social sciences have, in the past century or more, witnessed an evolutionary process by which the individual (adult or child) has come to be understood more and more in terms of his or her unique context. Social constructionism in psychology owes its genesis, in large part, to Vygotsky, a researcher of the early 20th Century. Vygotsky (1978), who died at a fairly early age, worked in Russia during the early part of the century and was closely associated with the Bolshevik social movement. Thus, his work took some time to make its mark in the West, and even today, when his ideas have become increasingly popular, some of its translation remains controversial.

2.6.1 Early origins of social constructionism

Newman and Holtzman (1997) go so far as to suggest that, from a methodological standpoint, Vygotsky (1978) was one of the first social constructionists. While chronologically, the existence of a social constructionist within social science in the 1920's and 1930's is questionable and it is equally unlikely that Vygotsky, who is upheld to have been an inspiration to scholars such as Luria, Koffka and Lewin, would have considered himself thus. However, the point made by Newman and Holtzman (1997) is that Vygotsky pioneered a *sociocultural approach to human behaviour* and to the contemporary understanding of the development of cognitive processes in childhood. Based on this approach, he worked and taught *as if* the context of learning and its content were inseparably interrelated, as this was his understanding of the process by which 'higher cognition' is acquired.

Taking a position that was radical for the time and remains fairly radical today in education, Vygotsky proposed that social interaction profoundly influences the development of higher cognitive functions; and that neither biological development nor cultural development can occur in isolation. Vygotsky (1978) did more than highlight the benefits of social collaboration for learners: he pointed out that learning and development does not take place without social collaboration.

This remains a powerful challenge to any position on child development that positions the child (or adolescent) as a separate individual on a trajectory of separation from his or her earlier self, family, parents, or culture. Instead, the child is positioned from the beginning in a network of social significance in which meanings are constructed – not 'for' the child, but 'by' the child in the context of a supportive, collaborative relationship. Regardless of diversity, adolescents cannot achieve a successful transition without help and support from the adults around them. A Vygotskyan perspective, then , would view 'adolescence' as a fundamentally collaborative process.

Vygotsky (1978) emphasised a form of collaboration known as 'scaffolding' in which the guide or teacher provides the learner with language that is familiar, in order to lead him or her to something new. Language, in this instance includes all meaningful acts, not only acts of speech. For example, a tennis coach can use scaffolding to teach ball skills, racquet skills and eventually tennis skills. When new learning is taking place in this way, both guide and learner are together and attuned to one another, in the 'zone of proximal development'. Their collaboration makes it possible for the learner to move from what is known and familiar, to whatever it is possible for the learner to know and achieve. Although Vygotsky's work has had its greatest impact in teaching, his ideas have also influenced psychology, specifically psychotherapy (White, 2007).

One reason for Vygotsky's current popularity has to do with his emphasis on the *significance of language*. For Vygotsky (1978), language (broadly defined) is not merely a vehicle for expression or for representation; he recognised that without language, higher functions of thought and imagination cannot develop. From language, children build concepts; and these concepts make it possible for them to begin to direct their own actions, shaping the course of their own and other lives. As long as there is knowledge, there can therefore be power to effect change – an observation that post-structural thinkers like Foucault have subsequently explored extensively, concluding that these concepts cannot be separated at all, but always exist as "knowledge power" (Foucault, 1980, p. 24). Although Vygotsky did not share the perspective of some contemporary postmodernists that 'language is all there is,' his approached encouraged the idea of 'personalities' as constituted by language from an early age, in a process which continues throughout life allowing continual change and growth to take place at the higher cognitive level (White, 2007).

2.6.2 Dialogue as a condition for development

Within an overarching ethic of collaboration and participation, children and adolescents can be seen as active agents, intimately involved in constructing meanings about events in their lives, through creative use of language (narrative) as well as through active

experimentation. As described in previous sections, structural models of human development, using, for example systems theory or ecological theory, have focused on aspects of complexity such as the interaction of the adolescent's level of biological maturation as well as social and cultural influences.

However, following Vygotsky, postmodern approaches show that all these influences are meaningful insofar as they create a context for the kind of dialogue that promotes individual or relational development. This dialogue is of a specific type: it does not follow the model of an argument or debate, in which parties present relevant facts, try to clear away that which is irrelevant, and/or reason together with the aim of achieving consensus or working out an answer. Instead it follows a narrative model of shared stories. In an essay reflecting on the process of her own qualitative evaluation study, Abma (2001) describes this form of dialogue:

> The dialogue we have in mind is one that is informed by narrative rationality. People with a name and face listen to each other's experiences, share personal stories, inquire into layers of meaning buried in these stories, contribute and add other, related experiences and reflect on underlying values and assumptions. This type of dialogue does not converge: it diverges … reflection means that one is willing to pause in a conversation, to spend time and be willing to explore more deeply what seems to be essential for the participants. (p. 247)

These remarks reveal a typical social constructionist approach, placing emphasis on reflexive deliberation, and seeking to facilitate the social negotiation of meaning and understanding within the constraints of the physical world.

The concept of 'narrative rationality' also provides a metaphor for a wider conversation within academia, occurring across time, involving many voices, and influencing the academic culture in predictable and unpredictable ways. This broader dialogue creates the opportunity to re-present relevant or valuable aspects of classic and contemporary theories

or models, at the same time inviting further dialogue and the emergence of new meanings. Thus, developmental psychology informed by a social constructionist world-view has the potential to enrich the knowledge base of the field and to influence new creativity and relevance into research projects.

However, the wider dialogue around postmodern and post-structural critiques are not confined to social science disciplines. According to Flick (2009), social constructionism is not a "unified program, but is developing in parallel fashion in a number of disciplines: psychology, sociology, philosophy, neurobiology, psychiatry, and information science" (p.70).

In summary, social constructionism, as developed by Berger and Luckman (1967) may be defined as an epistemological approach founded on a sociological theory of knowledge, emphasising the social production of knowledge. As discussed in this chapter it stands to reason that if knowledge is socially constructed in dialogue with others, then the forms of knowledge available (such as knowledge about the process of parenting) are continually being constructed in dialogue. Similarly, culture is a collective production; and as Vygotsky (1978) noted, the process of human maturation and development is dependent on social and cultural contexts.

Contemporary social constructivists, embracing the 'interpretive turn' more thoroughly than Berger and Luckman, hold that knowledge is socially constructed in dialogue with others. In this way they build on earlier insights such as the view of Berger and Luckman that 'culture' is a collective production; and following Vygotsky that the process of human maturation and development is dependent on social and cultural contexts and the availability of supportive language games. Given the importance of language in giving expression to forms of life and of life experience, social constructionists take time to allow stories to unfold, paying attention to the silences and to what is not said, and enquire into layers of meaning with an attitude of respectful, open-minded curiosity. Reflexive and deconstructive practices are critical to maintain awareness of context, particularly the context of the researcher or practitioner's own 'blind spots', assumptions and points of

difference. Social constructionism is, furthermore characterised by a relativist epistemology, which rejects the assumption that there is only one objectively correct representation of true reality. Rather, this approach recognises that all theories are historically situated, and best understood by researching the conditions of their emergence, as well as their relationship to the nexus of 'knowledge power' (i.e., by forms of deconstruction).

2.7 Conclusion

As Nsamenang (2002, p. 6) states:

> Whether it is short or long, whether it is unnamed, named, or understood through a variety of terms in different situations, nearly all societies have a period of transition when young people continue a process, begun in childhood, of equipping themselves to be full adult members of society.

Nsamenang thus affirms the commonplace idea of adolescence as a life phase centred around the second decade of life; but, importantly, he further conceptualises adolescence as a process, which begins in childhood and has no definitive end point.

As has been shown in the course of this chapter, this conceptual shift from adolescence as state to adolescence as process, challenges researchers profoundly. Even if their research is confined to one culture; in South Africa, that is neither possible nor desirable, given the multicultural nature of society and the pressing need for different cultural groups to understand each other.

Thus adolescence may best be described as a period of *transition between childhood and adulthood*, and as a time bound process of preparation for assuming a full adult identity – but this is by no means the only way to understand adolescence. In particular, there is a perceived need for interpretations which do not adopt a 'deficit model' in which children have to progress through defined stages before developing into 'real' people. The ideal

model of interpretation will therefore recognise the extent to which adolescents (and children generally) are able to be actors and initiators in their own lives, actively contributing to the production of society as Berger and Luckman (1967) would expect, but at the same time re-inventing themselves, their families, and their communities in ways that these early theorists might not have predicted.

In this study a contextual, dialogic and reflexive social constructionist approach allows for the emergence of diverse perspectives, demarcations, and definitions of what is meant by 'adolescence'. It also offers scope for understanding the principles and practices that might inform parenting (as represented by participants). In affirming the importance of dialogue and of 'parenting' as a joint activity of parents and their adolescent children within the "zone of proximal development" (Vygotsky, 1978). The social constructionist approach allows participants to explore and to validate widely differing social forms of child rearing and guidance, widely different ideas about roles and responsibilities, and different types of families whether conventional (two parents of different gender, few children), African traditional (extended family closely involved, gendered division of labour in child rearing, more children), and non-traditional families (single parents, gay or lesbian parents, 'blended' families, child-headed households, care homes, etc.).

Thus, it becomes clear that the physical and social definition of adolescence is fluid, variable and even to some extent arbitrary, and that this definition varies widely across cultures and eras. At the level of the individual, the age of onset and rate of maturation varies, again widely. If there is a trend it is towards extension, as Spear (2000) suggests that adolescence is generally conceptualised as a period from 12 to 18 years, but that this period can continue up to 25 years of age. Since the outer boundaries of the period known as adolescence are not definite and vary according to culture, gender, and individual transition, researchers face difficult challenges in terms of defining a 'typical adolescent' population.

Despite this lack of consensus, the United Nations demarcates adolescence as including those individuals aged 10 to 19 years of age, essentially then incorporating all young

people in the second decade of life. On the other hand, Louw and Louw (2007) suggest, "since the age boundaries of adolescence vary, it would be more acceptable to demarcate the adolescent developmental stage on the basis of specific physical and psychological developmental characteristics and socio-cultural norms, rather than on chronological age" (p. 279). The lack of international consensus concerning definition and demarcation of the nature and characteristics of this developmental phase sets up challenges for researchers, who ideally want clear and straightforward parameters, but ultimately must make their own judgements concerning this population of interest. The present study includes one participant at the upper edge of the provisional range (21 years old).

The challenges of diversity, complexity, rationality and reflexivity in the area of the parent-adolescent relationship presents an opportunity for theorists and researchers to reflect on our understanding of childhood and adolescence and their development; and to acknowledge the voice and wisdom of young people and parents as they share their experience of family life, of family roles, and of challenges and struggles that they have faced or are facing. There is an unparalleled opportunity in a research study such as this to listen to these voices from the 'messiness of context' and to attend to their expressions in ways that are not normally available in everyday life.

CHAPTER 3

PARENTING ADOLESCENTS: A COLLABORATIVE APPROACH

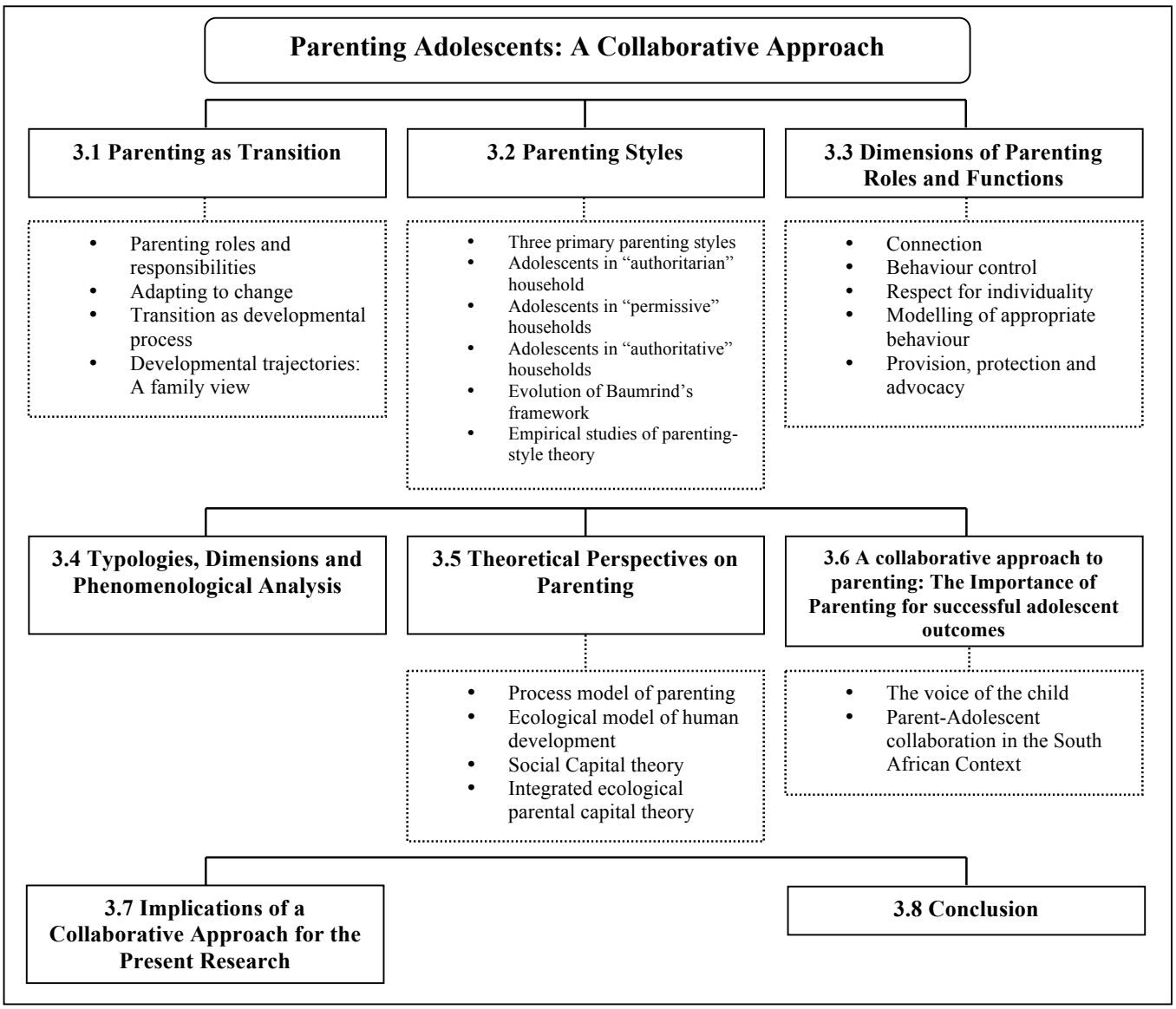

Figure 4. Visual display of Chapter 3.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the existing literature on parenting practices. The aim is to set out a theoretical framework capable of elucidating the subjective, experiential world of adolescents and their parents.

Within the social constructionist paradigm, this would be a framework for personal narratives, for shared narratives of families and communities, as well as for the transpersonal or symbolic dimension. Freedman and Combs (1996) explain that:

> ...adopting a social constructionist approach enables us to think about people's lives as stories and to work with them to experience their life stories in ways that are meaningful and fulfilling. Using the metaphor of social construction leads us to consider the ways in which every person's social, interpersonal reality has been constructed through interaction with other human beings and institutions and to focus on the influence of social realities on the meaning of people's lives." (p. 33)

By adopting a social constructionist approach, the stories of adolescents and their families can become more accessible to themselves, each other, and the researcher and ultimately better understood. The aim of social-constructionist research (as described in the previous chapter) is not to arrive at "explanations" but to present a richer, more diverse account of the phenomena of interest that includes different voices and perspectives, and explores the interaction of these perspectives.

This chapter begins by examining some key concepts related to the form of parent/child interaction called "parenting". This is followed by a discussion on styles and dimensions of parenting pertinent to adolescents, and then an overview of some pertinent theoretical models. Finally, the implications of a collaborative approach to parenting are discussed.

3.1 Parenting as Transition

3.1.1 Parent roles and responsibilities

It is clear that while there are different contexts in which the adolescent functions, which all play a role to a greater or lesser degree in preparing the adolescent for adulthood, parents in almost all cultures are considered the primary agents of socialisation. With very few exceptions, parents are primarily held responsible for the transmission of those

cultural values and norms required for the attainment of culturally determined standards of adult competence (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Markus & Kitayama, 2003). Baumrind (1978) asserts that "there is no way in which parents can evade having a determining effect upon their children's personality, character, and competence" (p. 239). Even when a drastic cultural transition is underway, it is primarily the parents and other family elders who create the bridge between past and present for their children (Nsamenang, 1999).

Hoghughi and Long (2004) describe parenting as a *purposive activity* aimed at ensuring the survival and development of children: "Activities concerning parenting are those specifically directed at promoting the welfare of the child and to enhance the child's functioning. These activities fall into three groups: care, control and development" (p. 7).

The concept of *care* refers to meeting the survival needs of the child, which include physical, emotional and social needs. *Control* relates to the setting and enforcement of boundaries, and to the parents' role in guiding or shaping behaviour. *Development* includes the parents' facilitation of aspects of the child's life such as cultural awareness, educational opportunities and physical development, in order for the child to fulfil his or her potential.

In recent times there has been a strong international research trend towards a more contextualised understanding of parent–child relationships. Aspects that may need to be seen more in context include the origins of a parent-child relationship (for example, in infant-care practices, in social roles assigned to parents and other adults); the meaning these relationships have to parents and children at different stages of development or in different cultures; and the effects that various expressions of parent-child relationships might have on a wide range of outcomes of development, from normative participation in family and community life, to work ethic or engagement in antisocial activity (O'Connor & Scott, 2007). In a South African study of adolescent perspectives, Ramsay (2006) explains:

> Sociologically, poverty becomes a way of life with its own subculture, where the norms and values are abnormal when compared to the main culture. This

> subculture is reflected by deviant behaviour and a lack of interest in formal education ... In poverty stricken circumstances group solidarity is often seen as the only means for success. (p. 55)

3.1.2 Adapting to change

Over time, the expectations of parents and the value placed by society (including children) on functions of care, control and guided development will change. Failure to adapt, for example, by keeping pace with an adolescent's aspirations to be more independent, or failure to recognise opportunities on behalf of the adolescent can impact negatively on the outcome of development. If parenting activity is first and foremost "purposive" (Hoghughi & Long, 2004, p. 7), then it is also informed, conditioned and ultimately judged within a social context in which people are understood to have a purpose in life, or even a function. For any given social context, "parenting" is a social product; beyond the most basic levels of care and nurture, the assumptions and perceptions of fathers and mothers regarding their roles and responsibilities are social products. However, as Berger and Luckmann (1967) have described, over time cultural productions become *reified* and are experienced not as the collective human projects they are, but as objective realities:

> Reification is the apprehension of human phenomena as if they were things...Reification implies that man is capable of forgetting his own authorship of the human world. (p. 89)

The transitions involved in the adolescent phase of life and society's expectations of parenting care, control and guidance are subject to reification, along with many other aspects of parenting and child development.

Cowan (1991) noted that historically the word *transition* was used in theories to "describe children's progress through a defined sequence of stages". Palkovitz and Palm (2009) extended the concept of "transition" to include individual and family changes occurring within the family life cycle. Thus, just as childhood and adolescence are times of constant

transition for young people, “parenting” (seen as activity that promotes welfare and/or enhances competence within a particular sociocultural milieu), is also a transitional process requiring ongoing adaptation.

Adopting a perspective of lifelong developmental change, Louw and Louw (2007) note that the season of parenting adolescent children may overlap with a mid-life transitional period that a parent is undergoing. The changes that occur are therefore not only changes located in the adolescent's life, but are bi-directional changes involving adaptation for both parents and adolescents.

3.1.3 Transition as developmental process

Cowan, (1991) borrows from early theories of child development (for example, Piaget, 1952) to suggest that in both child and adult development, transition could be conceptualised as a period of “disequilibrium and internal conflict prior to the establishment of new cognitive and affective structures” (as cited in Palkovitz & Palm. 2009, p. 5). According to the Piagetian view, the individual works to re-establish equilibrium, either by rejecting new knowledge; or by first accommodating it and then assimilating it. For Piaget, this process is *active and creative;* the knowledges that represent development, and form the basis for further development, are *operational* knowledges. This perspective provides a useful complement to the perspective of, for example, Vygotsky (1978), where knowledge is seen as the product of social collaboration.

Thus according to both Piaget and Vygotsky, human development is an active process involving practical and cognitive operations; and these operations include a range of activities associated with (and necessary to) social collaboration. The process can be driven by “disequilibrium and internal conflict” but the form of disequilibrium described by Vygotsky shows that learning and growth can be motivated by awareness of new possibilities and social collaboration to realise these possibilities.

3.1.4 Developmental trajectories: a family view

In the individualised developmental view, the completion of a transition is characterised by a new level of organisation of thinking and behaviour and a new state of equilibrium. According to Palkovitz and Palm (2009), some of the characteristics that reflect higher levels of functioning are: the capacity for reflexivity, responsible freedom, self-mastery and self control – in essence the developmental markers of adolescence (p. 5). However, relationships within family and other structures can also demonstrate these characteristics. If trajectories of development are marked by discrete transitions as in stage theories of development, then as Cowan (1991) aptly points out, families also undergo transitions in an interdependent developmental web of relationships that reflect many developmental trajectories.

In an era of rapid socioeconomic change, parents in all cultures are likely to be challenged by competing values around parent roles. The responsibility to prepare adolescents for adult roles may become increasingly burdensome, depending on their particular perceptions of the world in which their children will function, and the resources available to them. This has given rise to distinctive – and still to some degree competing - "styles" or patterns of parenting activity even within the limited sphere of Western/Eurocentric culture. These differing styles may be based or justified on the model or example parents derive from memories of their own upbringing, but as Piaget and Vygotsky might predict, active engagement in different social contexts, and exposure to different language practices, are reshaping parenting as a social product.

3.2 Parenting Styles

Over 50 years ago, Baumrind (1966, 1971, 1972, 1989) identified a set of primary *parenting styles*, setting the stage for major shifts in research and practice in the arena of parenting. Baumrind's typology continues to be regarded as the most accepted model of parenting styles (Baumrind, 1991; McKinney, Donnelly, & Renk, 2008; Smetana, 1994). Parenting styles may be conceptualised as combinations of parenting behaviours that occur

over a range of situations and which contribute to an enduring child-rearing climate (Berk, 2007).

In the face of societal pressure to reify these styles, locating them within the construct of "personality", it should be noted that Baumrind herself was more interested in *situating* the styles contextually, as well as in the "child-rearing climate" that might contribute to the prevalence of a particular parenting style. It is fitting, then, that the enormous popularity of her work has contributed to the prevailing "child-rearing climate" through the popular media, professional interventions, and increasingly influential child-advocacy initiatives.

3.2.1 Three primary parenting styles

Baumrind (1971) proposed three distinct parenting styles, namely, *authoritarian, permissive* and *authoritative.* Each of these parenting styles differs according to the degree of *control* that parents attempt to exert over their children, as reflected in their parenting practices; but the difference is qualitative. The styles form a typology, not a continuum. Baumrind's work originated in the empirical school of developmental psychology, from clinical observations of parents interacting predominantly with young children as well as observations of the children's responses and behaviour patterns (Baumrind).

In *authoritarian* parenting practices, the emphasis is on control. A great deal of focus and attention is placed on obedience and adherence to rules and standards of conduct, with little attention to emotional needs of children. As a result, children who are parented according to this parenting style may not feel that their needs are being considered, nor do they develop a sophisticated understanding of the needs of others.

In contrast to authoritarian parenting practices, *permissive* parenting, according to Baumrind (1971) places a great deal of emphasis on meeting the emotional needs of children with little regard to their need for structure and control. Limited guidance is given to socialise the child in terms of externally defined standards of appropriate behaviour. Potentially, this could result in children exhibiting difficulties in learning to regulate their

behaviour, and ultimately in strained relationships with parents and other members of society.

Authoritative parenting practices emphasise warm and supportive parent-child relationships but also provide age appropriate limit setting, control and monitoring. This parenting style is associated with warm and supportive family relationships and communication, and with "well-adjusted" children:

> The authoritative parent affirms the child's present qualities, but also sets standards for future conduct. She uses reason as well as power to achieve her objectives. She does not base her decisions on group consensus or the individual child's desires; but also does not regard herself as infallible or divinely inspired. (Baumrind, 1968; cited in Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 490)

There is considerable literature support for Baumrind's parenting styles as accurate descriptions of what parents do; along with her conclusions about the associated developmental outcomes. Darling and Steinberg (1993) point out that Baumrind's theoretical work presented social scientists of the day with a significant opportunity to connect the *goals* of socialisation (formerly the province of "functional" sociology) with the *techniques* of socialisation (formerly the province of developmental and social psychology). Baumrind's work thus widens the scope of socialisation as a field of study and of research. Developmental researchers agree that adolescence requires a renegotiation of the parent-adolescent relationship and one of the ways to meet this requirement is for parents to reassess and possibly alter their existing parenting practices (Baumrind, 1991; Smetana, 2005).

3.2.2 Adolescents in "authoritarian" households

Gouws, Kruger, and Burger (2000) extrapolate Baumrind's parental styles and child responses to populations of adolescents. Adolescents from households featuring authoritarian styles are said to be less stable emotionally, less self reliant and confident,

less curious and creative, less “mature in moral judgement”, and tending to lack “flexibility”. Parent behaviour in these households is stereotypically strict with a strong sense of hierarchy between the generations, expectation of obedience, and a tendency to one-way communication with little room for adolescents to negotiate or to question parents' ideas. Over strict authoritarian parenting may result in an adolescent rejecting parental influence and placing a high value on peer approval (Papalia et al., 2008), resentment towards authority and an increase in parent-adolescent conflict (Steinberg & Silk, 2002). Gouws et al. (2000) mention a low level of emotional satisfaction from either parent or adolescent in the relationship, and a readiness to resort to punishment or threats if parental authority is defied. While, Baumrind (1971) was careful to situate her observations within the framework of “normal” parenting, the line between what is considered normal and what is not, can at times be difficult to draw.

3.2.3 Adolescents in “permissive” households

Permissive parents are characterised, by Gouws et al., (2000) as being exceedingly tolerant. Often, such parents are said to be inconsistent, even contradictory, in their requirements.

Adolescents reared in permissive homes have been found to feel unsafe or vulnerable, to less mature, more irresponsible and tend to conform to their peers more than children raised in authoritative homes (Steinberg & Silk, 2002). Though less irritable and angry than children of authoritarian households, these adolescents are also seen as likely to “exhibit socially unacceptable behaviour” including drug abuse.

3.2.4 Adolescents in “authoritative” households

Authoritative parenting styles are widely upheld as a cultural ideal. These households have “clear limits” and rules, but parents are available to discuss the rules, to give reasons for them, and within reason to negotiate at a level appropriate to the adolescent's capacity for discernment. Though “accepting” and flexible, the authoritative style promotes

"autonomous and disciplined behaviour". Open communication is a feature, with parents making an effort to understand their adolescent's point of view and emotional needs and taking his or her emotions seriously. Sorkhabi (2010), found that the frequency of conflict in the parent-adolescent relationship is significantly impacted by parent's willingness to use reason, to reciprocally allow adolescents to use reason, and to accommodate the position of the adolescent. Thus, "discipline" in the authoritative household includes reason.

Adolescents who have been reared in authoritative homes are described as being more psychosocially competent than those who have been raised in non-authoritarian homes (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). When children are given a voice, they learn to be confident in stating their views; show more responsible behaviour and they are likely to appreciate their parents more for setting boundaries and limits and for the good relationship they have with their parents. Thom (1990, as cited in Gouws et al., 2000), notes that parents who adopt an authoritative, democratic parenting style promote responsible and independent behaviour in their adolescent children. This is achieved by giving the adolescent the opportunity to be independent whilst maintaining communication with, interest in and adequate control over him or her. However, the authoritative parent also provides a positive role model for practices of respect, and of "reasonable independence" - meaning the exercise of personal autonomy but not at the expense of other people (Thom, 1990, as cited in Gouws et al., 2000, p. 71).

Despite the enduring popularity of Baumrind's model, it has not been without critics. One such critic is Lewis (1981, as cited in Darling & Steinberg, 1993) who raised doubts about how strong external controls exerted by parents might result in the *internalisation* of parental values, against the predictions of, for example, attribution theory:

> In her reinterpretation of Baumrind's findings, Lewis suggested that it is not the high control characteristic of authoritative families that helps children develop an independent and autonomous sense of self while conforming to rules, but rather the reciprocal communication.... Lewis (1981) did not question the empirical

validity of the association between authoritative parenting and child competence. In essence, however, she redefined authoritative parenting in terms of its emphasis on mutual accommodation rather than on a certain type of control". (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 490 – 491)

The concepts of “mutual accommodation” and “reciprocal communication” immediately move Baumrind's theoretical approach away from its dependence on a single parenting variable (control). It also becomes apparent that there is more to the process of parenting than the style or 'emotional climate' involved, important as that may be.

3.2.5 Evolution of Baumrind's framework

Maccoby and Martin (1983) reviewed the status of contemporary literature on parental variation and child development. At that time, the models available included earlier models featuring orthogonal dimensions of parenting derived from psychological theory. Examples include self-efficacy from social learning theory, (Bandura, 1973; 1977; 1986); emotional security, from attachment theory, (Bowlby, 1969); as well as concepts from psychoanalytic theory such as “holding environment” (Winnicott, 1960), or “selfobject transference” (Kohut, 1971).

Maccoby and Martin (1983) proposed that “parenting style” as a concept includes two essential elements of the parent role: parental *responsiveness* and parental *demandingness*. In a later work, Baumrind (1991, p. 62) defined *responsiveness* as “the extent to which parents intentionally foster individuality, self-regulation, and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive, and acquiescent to children's special needs and demands" (Baumrind, 1991, p. 62). Parental *demandingness* on the other hand refers to "the claims parents make on children to become integrated into the family whole, by their maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts and willingness to confront the child who disobeys" (Baumrind, 1991, pp. 61- 62).

It is evident that both of these qualities (demandingness and responsiveness) are positive, or at least potentially so. Without responsiveness, the child or adolescent is left to struggle with problems and may be left feeling insignificant and unheard. Without demandingness, children may choose to go their own way, resist discipline and fail to learn skills of self-direction and self-management that are critical to social and economic success in the contemporary post-industrial context.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) were able to divide the too-broad "permissive" configuration into two types - *indulgent* and *neglectful or uninvolved.* Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, and Dornbusch (1991) provided empirical support for this distinction. An indulgent parenting style is low on demandingness, but not on responsiveness. The parent who shows a neglectful or uninvolved parenting style is typically disengaged, exhibiting low levels of both responsiveness and control. Children who are parented in this manner are said to experience their parents as having failed to meet both their emotional needs and their needs for structure, monitoring and control (Karavasilis, Doyle & Markiewicz, 2003).

The notion of engaged/disengaged appears to stand up well in cross cultural research as a marker for developmental outcomes. In a study of African-American adolescent girls, Pittman and Chase-Lansdale (2001) found positive relationships between parent characteristics and a range of outcomes including "externalizing and internalizing behaviours", academic achievement, work orientation, sexual experience and pregnancy history. Yet they found no significant difference between authoritative and authoritarian households. There was, however, a marked difference between households where mothers were "disengaged" and those where they were not (fathers were not included); markedly negative outcomes were associated with maternal disengagement (Pittman & Chase-Lansdale, 2001).

In Maccoby and Martin's (1983) formulation, an "authoritarian" parent leans more towards demandingness, a "permissive" parent towards responsiveness, a "neglectful/uninvolved" parent shows neither quality in sufficient degree, and an "authoritative" parent shows a balance of these attributes. This model offers flexibility in terms of research with families

other than the normative Western family, allowing for sophisticated descriptions of parent/child relationships and interactions.

Following her early work on parenting styles, Baumrind (1971) identified the key characteristics of parent-child relationships as: warmth and nurturance, clarity and consistency, parental expectation, and communication (Louw & Louw, 2007). Each characteristic emerges more or less, according to the parenting style adopted by the parent. Thus, over time, Baumrind's typology became more flexible, though she retained her primary interest in socialisation. Baumrind (1978) depicted the parent's role as, on the one hand, the representative of society working to "socialise" the child in acceptable ways; on the other, as the supporter of a child's individuality and particular needs – representing the legitimate demands of the child on society.

3.2.6 Empirical studies of parenting-style theory

The "authoritative parenting style", which balances qualities of responsiveness and demandingness, has now become a dominant prescription for parenting, as noted above, and a common theme in all types of parenting literature.

Yet empirical support for the style is inconclusive beyond its Euro-American context of origin. Kritzas and Grobler (2005), in a South African study of parenting styles and "resilience" in adolescence, found against expectations that there was a *positive* relationship between fathers' authoritarianism and "emotional coping" in adolescents. They recommended that the theory be "refined" to take account of other factors that might influence the parent/adolescent relationship.

In a study of young adults who were University hostel residents, Lowe (2005) found a correlation between "caring" parents, especially mothers, and young adults' satisfaction in intimate relationships. It is interesting that in this research "caring fathers" did not have a significant influence on the young adults' capacity to experience fulfilling relationships with romantic partners, yet "caring mothers" did, for both genders. Lowe (2005) attributes

this to a cultural bias amongst her sample, that might position mothers as the purveyors of sensitive caring, whilst fathers are seen as providers and disciplinarians. The majority of participants, in Lowe's study were White and Afrikaans speaking, most came from intact families and had experienced a "high degree of positive parental care" (Lowe, 2005, p. 29), for the most part within a fairly strict gendered dichotomy of roles. It is evident, however, that researchers need more than typologies of parenting styles in order to develop a flexible, responsive and sophisticated understanding of narratives from lived experience of being in a parent/child relationship.

3.3 Dimensions of Parenting Roles and Functions

Some thirty years after Baumrind's work drew attention to parenting styles, Simpson (2001) published an analysis of over 300 reviews of research on parenting adolescents, identifying five important dimensions of the parenting role. These are connection, behavioural control, respect for individuality, modelling of appropriate behaviour and provision, and lastly, protection and advocacy.

Simpson's original work, known as the Harvard Project, was followed in 2007 by a collaborative project with the World Health Organisation (WHO) titled "Helping parents in developing countries improve adolescents' health". In the World Health Organisation report (2007) the central concerns expressed by most parents of adolescents were identified as including: building their relationship with their adolescent child, communication, monitoring their behaviour, discipline and setting limits and boundaries while still giving them room to become happy, independent young adults.

The five dimensions of parental roles or functions identified by Simpson (2001), highlight the developmental and guidance needs that are so prominent (if not distinctive) in adolescents, compared with younger children. Simpson's research also indicates those roles in which parents may be particularly influential over young people, compared with other influential individuals or groups. In particular, the Harvard Project has underscored functions of *monitoring and advising* as being especially important. These functions may

be termed “transitional” because they involve a shift from the forms of parental guidance that are typical during childhood, towards forms that are appropriate between parents and their adult children – when this relationship has remained close and supportive over the years. As the child grows up, parental guidance shifts from direct control towards social influence; but parents still monitor and guide, or attempt to do so.

Another transitional function highlighted by the Harvard Project research is that of *advocacy* (Simpson, 2001; WHO, 2007). As the adolescent’s world becomes broader and their focus moves beyond their home and school environment, they may need to seek out resources beyond those their parents are able to provide. In order to make this possible, an effective parent helps to facilitate the adolescent’s access to other resources as he or she negotiates new territories of identity.

When applying the five dimensions to parenting of adolescents, these five critical dimensions can (according to Simpson) be derived in a logical manner from the better-researched parenting function in earlier childhood; “but with critical changes in emphasis and strategy to accommodate the dramatic transition that is under way from childhood to adulthood” (Simpson, 2001, p. 48). Each of the five dimensions is described in more detail below, along with its theoretical contribution to positive developmental outcomes.

3.3.1 Connection

Connection, according to Simpson (2001; WHO, 2007), refers to a positive, secure, emotional connection between parents and adolescents and is a significant protective factor for healthy adolescent development. Despite a strong emphasis in developmental psychology on separation and individuation as a key developmental task of adolescence, research indicates that a strong sense of connection, sometimes interpreted as parental warmth or acceptance, is linked to the psychological adjustment of adolescents (Flouri & Buchanan, 2002; Hair, Moore, Garrett, Ling, & Cleveland, 2008; Khaleque & Rohner, 2002; Sheeber, Davis, Leve, Hops, & Tildesley, 2007).

Parental involvement has also been shown to be a critical factor in healthy parent-adolescent relationships with adolescents who report higher levels of parental connection to score higher on positive and lower on negative behaviours (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004).

In a study on mother and father connectedness, Lamb (2004) found that mothers' parenting may be more focussed on relationship-building whereas as father's parenting centred, to greater extent on norm compliance. The work of Day and Padilla-Walker (2009) revealed similar findings and noted that parental connectedness and involvement in the lives of their adolescent children was a fundamental aspect of parenting, with fathering being more significantly related to internalizing behaviours and mothering more important in terms of pro-social behaviours and hope.

Communication has been shown to be a key aspect of connection in the parent-adolescent relationship. According to Collins and Laursen (2004) positive, routine, and daily parent-adolescent communication serves to foster feelings of closeness, Brotherson, Yamamoto, and Acock, 2003, and Bulanda and Majumdar, 2009 noted that positive parent-adolescent communication was linked to the healthy development of a child or adolescents' self-image as well as the image of the parent-child relationship. In a study of perceptions of parent-adolescent communication within families Xiao, Li, and Stanton (2011) found that adolescents showed poorer psychosocial adjustment if they perceived a lower level of open communication between themselves and their parents, independent of their parents' perceptions of the level of parent-adolescent communication. Xiao et al, thus note, that these findings indicate "an important role of adolescents' own perceptions of the openness of the family communication in relation to psychosocial adjustment" (p. 53).

3.3.2 Behavioural control

Behavioural control encompasses those parent actions or interventions that are aimed at shaping or restricting adolescents' behaviours. Aspects include regulation, supervision and monitoring of adolescents' activities. Behavioural control also involves establishing behavioural rules and consequences for misbehaviour, and conveying clear expectations

for behaviour. This form of control serves an important function in terms of protection and safety (Simpson, 2001).

Simpson notes that "although the importance for behavioural control extends across cultures, there are many factors relevant in differing circumstances that determine the amount of control that is optimal" (WHO, 2007, p.10). In environments that are unsafe - for example due to high levels of drug and alcohol abuse, crime or gangsterism - parents would need to be more vigilant in their monitoring of young people in order to ensure their safety. This vigilance could shift their parenting styles in the direction of the so-called authoritarian approach in Baumrind's classification.

Research in low socio-economic, high-risk environments indicates that these parents do indeed tend to be more controlling, and to demand compliance as a protective measure (Berk, 2004). It may therefore be suggested that Baumrind's approach, useful as it is for middle class Western studies of the parenting process, may not be as adaptive in other social or cultural settings. Adolescents' ability to negotiate societal rules, appreciate consequences and make sound decisions for themselves are likely to vary at different stages of adolescence, with additional variance due to individual or family factors. This complexity can make it difficult to measure the positive aspects of control and protection.

In an attempt to clear up this grey area, some researchers have tried to distinguish between *psychological control* and *behavioural control.* Psychological control refers to "parents' attempts to control the child's activities in ways that negatively affect the child's psychological development" (Smetana & Daddis, 2002, p. 563). As such, psychological control would hold a negative valence from a developmental point of view. Examples of psychological control, according to Smetana and Daddis (2002), would include parents acting in ways that are experienced by young people as intrusive such as, disrespecting privacy and/or dignity, as inducing guilt or shame, or punishing the adolescent by withdrawing love.

In contrast, *behavioural control* refers to "rules, regulations and restrictions that parents have for their children" (Smetana & Daddis, 2002, p. 563). These rules and regulations are ideally formulated in negotiation with older children, and are associated with fair and consistent consequences. They are appropriate both to the age and developmental level of the child and to the reality of the social environment. The element of negotiation and fairness aligns this concept of behavioural control with "authoritative" parenting; with little or no negotiation present, the approach would fit with the "authoritarian" style. Lack of restrictions indicates either the "permissive" or the "under-involved" style (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

While, behavioural control refers to parents' active attempts to restrict behaviour, set limits and keep track of their adolescent's activities, parental monitoring refers to parents' *knowledge* about their children's movements and activities (Smetana, Villabos, Tasopoulos-Chan, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2009). Parental monitoring becomes increasingly important during adolescence, when young people tend to spend less time with parents and more time with peers. Parental monitoring is commonly accredited as an important protective factor against adolescent risk behaviours such as substance abuse and decreased or delayed sexual activity, including unprotected sex (Magoon & Ingersoll, 2006; Rose et al., 2005). Monitoring is also considered to be a product of positive parent-adolescent relationships being positively associated with family warmth (Fletcher, Steinberg, & Williams-Wheeler, 2004) and communication (Cottrell et al., 2007). However, recent research has challenged the prevailing conclusion that vigilant parental monitoring is associated with less externalising behaviour among adolescents (Smetana et al, 2009). Stattin & Kerr (2000) found that that adolescents' voluntary disclosure to parents about their activities and social relationships led to parents' greater knowledge about the lives of their children, which in turn, led to less norm breaking and delinquency. Yau, Tasopoulos-Chan, and Smetana, (2009) found that adolescents from Mexican, Chinese and European backgrounds differed in their disclosure to parents with young people reporting that they disclose more to mothers than fathers, concerning activities such as drinking alcohol, experimenting with illegal drugs, or having unprotected sex. Furthermore, parental awareness or knowledge of their child's behaviour has been

associated with socialising the adolescent in a way that results in a wider range of social competencies, such as effective decision-making abilities, better social adjustment and a healthier self-esteem (Lac & Crano, 2009).

Shek (2005; 2006) identified trust as an important dimension of parental control. According to Shek (2006), mutual trust between parents and adolescents, the readiness of the adolescent to communicate with parents, satisfaction with parental control, and the overall satisfaction with the parent-adolescent relationship are all important dimensions to be considered in research on parental control. The adolescent's perceived satisfaction with parental control would, according to Shek (2010) be a good indicator of the quality of the parent-adolescent's relationship. Similarly, according to Stattin and Kerr (2000), the adolescent's voluntary disclosure or readiness to communicate with parents would be a good indicator of the overall parent-adolescent relationship. Shek, in a study on parent-adolescent trust and parent adolescent relationships in Chinese families, found that the adolescent's readiness to communicate with parents were different in the father-adolescent dyad compared to the mother-adolescent dyad. This finding was related to weaker father-adolescent communication and, consistent with similar findings by Kerr and Stattin (2000), was considered to be a predictor of mother-adolescent trust. Parent-adolescent trust is important for the development of the parent-child relationship, plays a role in promoting communication and interaction skills in the parent-adolescent relationship as well as fostering parent-adolescent relational qualities (Shek, 2010).

The dimension of parental or behavioural control is absent in Maccoby and Martin's (1983) description of the 'underinvolved' or 'permissive' parent; where so much freedom is given to the adolescent that parents may become unable to monitor his or her behaviour in any practical way.

3.3.3 Respect for individuality

Respect for individuality gives support to a primary developmental task of adolescence, in terms of a healthy sense of identity that is distinct in some sense from that of the

adolescent's parents or family. Simpson's (2001) research confirms that parental respect for and active support of this sense of individual worth and identity is important for all adolescents. While individuality might be assumed in some contexts to be a typically Western value, it appears from the work of Simpson and the WHO (2007) that even in cultures which set a high value on being part of a collective (as in parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America), it remains important for parents to respect their growing child's individuality.

The assumed universal importance of respect for individuality is "further reflected in the UN Convention on the Rights for the Child, which explicitly acknowledges the evolving capacity of children" (WHO, 2007, p. 13). Cross-cultural studies have demonstrated that when adolescents complain of disrespectful, controlling, manipulative or intrusive behaviours from their parents, these same young people are more likely to have significantly higher rates of problem behaviours (Barber, Stolz, & Olsen, 2005).

On the other hand, parents can foster and contribute to the adolescent's sense of worth and individuality by respecting what the adolescent has to say, involving him or her in family discussions and decisions (especially those decisions concerning the adolescent's life), expressing confidence and trust that the adolescent will be able to take responsibility and achieve expectations, and perhaps above all by encouraging and supporting their interests, hopes and goals (WHO, 2007). These more democratic practices are consistent with the 'authoritative' parenting style as set out by Baumrind (1971).

3.3.4 Modelling of appropriate behaviour

Social-psychological theories of behavioural change on a community or sociological level have emphasised the concept of social norms. These comprise "a set of idealised attitudes and behaviours that are considered acceptable in a culture or society" (WHO, 2007, p.16). The *modelling of appropriate behaviour* is vital at each stage of development, and particularly in adolescence, when young people can become increasingly critical of adult behaviour. Parents who operate on the principle of "do as I say, not as I do", cannot

reasonably, according to Simpson's (2001) research, expect compliance from their adolescent children.

It is important in this context to appreciate the complexity of the world which the modern adolescent is learning to negotiate. As adolescents move between different social domains such as school, church, friendship circles, extended family and extramural groups, they can often adapt to their surroundings with chameleon-like facility. At home, it may seem to parents that adolescents are doing their best to distinguish themselves as being different from their parents – as indeed they might be – and yet the influence and example of parental behaviour remains powerful for the adolescent. Simpson concludes that it "really does matter how parents act, what they say and how they handle problems, because they continue to be significant role models" (WHO, 2007, p. 16).

From this perspective it appears that a key difference, in terms of outcome, between the neglectful/under-involved parenting style and other styles can be perceived in the availability of a role model. However controlling or over-protective they may be, an authoritarian or permissive (yet loving and involved) parent still provides a role model for his/her children. This can meet the adolescent's need for structure and build a framework for positive socialisation (Karavasilis et al., 2003).

3.3.5 Provision, protection and advocacy

Simpson's (2001) fifth dimension of parenting function refers to *provision, protection and advocacy*. As the adolescent grows to maturity, at least in a complex modern economy, he or she eventually reaches a point at which even well-resourced parents may be challenged to meet all the different needs. These needs include mentoring, guidance, educational opportunities beyond basic schooling, training or experience in readiness for employment, and the social experience (of which parental involvement remains a key factor) that contributes to full psychological maturity. In cases of poverty or deprivation, parents may find it extremely difficult to provide even the basic resources that their children need (WHO, 2007).

While most parents continue to provide as they are able to, regardless of their circumstances, at some stage they are likely to need to become advocates for their children, assisting them to access other resources, relationships and opportunities in the community, beyond the family unit. In societies that are subject to rapid social change and development (such as South Africa), this parental role is especially important, but may also be very difficult for some parents, especially those whose own foothold in an economy or culture is relatively insecure.

McNeely and Barber (2010), in a study on supportive parenting practices involving adolescents across 12 cultures (including South Africa), found that the supportive parenting behaviours that adolescents in their study validated, included; providing comfort, attention, physical affection, companionship, help, and the provision of money and things. According to McNeely and Barber (2010), "these parenting behaviours are perceived as loving by adolescents in all cultures" (p. 622). Furthermore, their study revealed that amongst Xhosa speaking adolescents in their sample, the provision of necessities was rated more highly than the provision of things they wanted, as was support for education.

In more traditional communities, leading figures such as village elders, coaches or teachers and religious leaders often play a key role. They are able to supplement what parents can provide in the way of support, guidance, information and opportunities that adolescents need to fulfil adult roles. It is this function that has been described by Chamberlain (1996) in his work with community coalitions aimed at promoting positive parenting and strengthening families as: "It takes a whole village to raise a child" (p. 803). Young people who have benefitted from this collective effort may show a strong sense of loyalty and pride in their community, which in turn could reinforce their own sense of self-esteem. Therefore, if parents lack the capacity to meet their children's needs, extended families, neighbourhoods, schools and peers become crucial in providing that connection (UNICEF, 2011). These alternative resources have, historically, been of vital importance to young people in the developing world and especially in South Africa, where many parents have been significantly disempowered in terms of their ability to support their children.

Practices such as migrant labour or the Group Areas Act have undermined the structures of traditional African family life and have profoundly affected the ways in which young people are enabled to transition into adult life, as well as the forms of knowledge and of power that are available to them.

The role of advocate may require parents to act in defence or protection of their adolescent children (Simpson, 2001). With greater independence and mobility, common in adolescence, the adolescent becomes exposed to a greater number of risk factors and may not have adequate information, skills or experience to avoid or counteract these threats. Parents, thus, continue to play a role in protecting and guiding the child until they are able to cope more effectively.

Research has shown that parents can be effective advocates for their children regardless of 'parental style'. This conclusion is supported by cross-cultural observations of child-rearing practices. For example, Brown et al., (2002), note that Chinese parents use more control and directive measures to foster self-control and high achievement. African-American mothers also use more control and strictness to develop self-control and a watchful attitude, especially in high-risk environments (Brown et al., 2002). These cultural variations remind us that child-rearing practices should be understood in their broader context. Many factors contribute to good parenting, over and above the element of authority or control that is so heavily emphasised in earlier models.

3.4 Typologies, Dimensions, and Phenomenological Analysis

Ultimately, models based on typologies may be limited by their inability to accommodate other factors (Kritzas & Grobler, 2005). Thus a conceptual model integrating the typology approach with the dimension approach, such as the work of Simpson (2001), provides a helpful framework for the task of phenomenological analysis as utlised in this study. In maintaining a post-structural perspective, this model is treated metaphorically as a map, to aid the discovery of experience-narratives from the "messiness of reality" (Hartung, 2011),

and not in reified form as a representation of reality in itself, thus helping to keep the research focus on meaning-making, mutuality, dialogue, and on practices of collaboration.

3.5 Theoretical Perspectives on Parenting

Four theoretical perspectives on parenting are briefly discussed here, to provide a foundation for the exploration of a more collaborative approach to parenting. These theories are Belsky's (1984) process model of parenting; Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory; Coleman's (1988) social capital theory and Pleck's (2007) integrated ecological-parental capital theory.

3.5.1 Process model of parenting

There seems to be consensus that parenting forms part of a developmental process, not only for the child who is 'parented' but also within wider family, societal and cultural systems. Baumrind's model (1971) did not offer explanations for *why* parents differ in the ways she describes. A variety of psychological explanations are available, but the typology model is not committed to any of these. Baumrind's model was empirically derived setting a new standard for future parenting models (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Yet for that research to take place, researchers needed to know what questions to ask, and this was a key issue that Belsky (1984) attempted to address in a seminal review article that introduced a new model for understanding parenting as a social process with multiple determinants.

Belsky's (1984) starting point was with a growing body of research on 'dysfunctional' parenting that was assumed to lie behind parental child abuse. From this research base, along with other research on 'functional' or 'healthy' parenting, he began to construct a model of 'functional' parenting. Belsky asserts that as children mature, the use of well-attuned parenting practices such as induction and reason, consistent discipline, understanding, empathy, and the expression of warmth foster positive developmental

outcomes including social competence, emotional security, self-esteem, internalised controls, and intellectual functioning (Belsky, 1984).

The model sets out a linear process of "multiple determination" with features of a feedback loop:

> ... Sources of contextual stress and support can directly affect parenting or indirectly affect parenting by first influencing individual psychological well-being, that personality influences contextual support/stress, which feeds back to shape parenting, and that, in order of importance, the personal psychological resources of the parent are more effective in buffering the parent-child relation from stress than are contextual sources of support, which are themselves more effective than characteristics of the child. (Belsky, 1984, p. 83)

This process model represents parenting as *multiply determined,* but nonetheless reflects a view that the determinants of parenting take a structured or orderly form ("process") with a defined function ("buffering stress"). At the time of publication and perhaps still today, such functionalist models held out the hope of going beyond logical explanation into prediction, and hence into technologies of measurement and of change. However, even in 1984 it is evident that Belsky recognised the challenges that complexity and multiple determination might pose for reductionist approaches in so far as he argued that given that parental competence is multiply determined, it stands to reason then, the parenting system would be protected or buffered, to some extent, against threats to its integrity that originate from a single source (Belsky, 1984).

The suggestion of buffering implies that lapses in 'integrity' would be difficult to trace, because of multiple confounding variables. Moreover, where 'weaknesses in any single source' are buffered or mitigated by strengths elsewhere, reductionist methodologies will be similarly challenged to make relevant observations.

According to Belsky (1984), there are three general domains (he uses the term "systems") of influence on parental functioning: the *parent's* own upbringing and personal

psychological resources, the characteristics of the *child,* and contextual sources of *stress and support* for the parent.

Like Baumrind, Belsky (1984) praises parents who could provide "attentive, warm, stimulating, responsive, and nonrestrictive caregiving" (p. 85). He is particularly interested in characteristics of parenting “sensitivity”:

> The sensitive individual, one might argue, is able to decenter and to appraise accurately the perspective of others, is able to empathise with them, and, in addition, is able to adopt a nurturant orientation. It seems reasonable to speculate that people most able to do this would be mature, psychologically healthy adults. (Belsky, 1984, p. 85)

In line with this, Belsky suggests that “sensitive parenting that is attuned to the needs of the child” (1984, p. 85) promotes desirable development – but is itself dependent on a store of positive experiences of being parented. Belsky proposes a virtuous cycle:

“Indeed, a hypothesis that I advance is that, in general, supportive developmental experiences give rise to a mature healthy personality, that is then capable of providing sensitive parental care which fosters optimal child development” (Belsky, 1984, p. 86).

Based on a wide-ranging research review, Belsky suggests that factors such as maternal age, locus of control, levels of trust, coping style, levels of "observed warmth, acceptance, and helpfulness", and "low levels of disapproval when interacting with their young children" might be important influences on functional parenting (Belsky, 1984, p. 85).

In terms of “the child's contribution”, the aspect of greatest interest to Belsky was *temperament*, and in particular “difficult temperament”. Belsky goes on to cite the work of Lerner and Lerner (1983; as cited in Belsky, 1984) who offered a “goodness-of-fit” model to help understand the effects of temperament on the social adjustment of young adolescents. He suggested that this model might apply to parenting in general, in terms of

a *reciprocal* goodness-of-fit between parent and child. The notion of reciprocal goodness-of-fit is important, because it represents a relational variable; even though, in this case, it is being treated as something given - an object to be observed or measured.

The category of "contextual sources of support" also invokes the goodness-of-fit idea, in this case as a goodness-of-fit between the form of support parents want and the form that they have available (Belsky, 1984, p.88). Belsky identifies the *marital relationship* as the foremost source of potential support or potential stress.

The *social network* is second in importance, according to Belsky (1984), social support works by providing emotional support, instrumental assistance, and by communicating expectations.

Thirdly, Belsky (1984) looked at work factors. Dissatisfaction with employment status is identified as a risk factor for parenting, and Belsky quoted some evidence to suggest that women's job satisfaction correlated with aspects of "attunement" in parenting, such as mothers being affectionate and less severe with children (Belsky, 1984, p. 89).

Despite the detailed attention given to the secondary "system" of the child's contribution and the trio of support factors (co-parent partnership, social network, work status), Belsky (1984) was clear that individual parent characteristics were of first importance. Yet his model recognises that *interaction* is happening between the factor systems and that it is important to understand these interactions.

Belsky's work has made a valuable contribution to the study of parenting for a number of reasons.

In the first place, he continued the trend of empiricism established by Baumrind, by turning to numerous research studies to underpin his model. Whilst much still depends on speculation, or possibly unwarranted extrapolation from families with problems, Belsky's

work cleared the way for future research, especially research on more functional or ‘normal” families.

Secondly, Belsky promotes ecological themes established by Bronfenbrenner (1979), with whom his thinking is to a large extent in dialogue. Belsky asks important *systemic* questions about how 'normal' processes can be discerned in the “routine ebb and flow” of life (p. 92).

Lastly, by introducing relational concepts such as “goodness-of-fit”, reciprocality, feedback that “shapes parenting”, “system”, and subjectivity (such as, in the descriptions of work issues, and how parents feel about the support available to them), Belsky's approach stimulated new thinking about the parenting process. This new thinking would move from being interested in context and taking context seriously, to being fully informed by context to the extent that context can no longer be separated from observation except in a temporary and provisional sense.

3.5.2 Ecological model of human development

Bronfenbrenner (1979; 2005) proposes an ecological model of human development that proffers a useful framework for organising the plethora of developmental research published in the 1970s and 1980s. Bronfenbrenner’s model is possibly best known for distinguishing between five ecological or systems levels (nested within one large system) that interact with and impact the development of the child or adolescent.

The innermost level is the *microsystem,* characterised by individuals and events most proximal in the individual’s life (such as the parents, siblings, school and peer group), with each person mutually influencing the other. The *mesosystem* is the next level of Bronfenbrenner’s model and demarcates the relationships between microsystems (such as the relationship between the child’s parents). This is followed by the *exosystem,* which refers to external influences or relationships in which members of the child’s microsystem are embedded, but in which the child does not directly participate (such as parents'

workplace relationships). The *macrosystem* follows and refers to those attitudes, beliefs, values, and ideologies pertaining to the particular society or culture of the individual (for example, the role of the parents in the child's life). Finally, Bronfenbrenner (1979) includes the *chronosystem*, referring to the various developmental time frames that cross through all interactions within the systems (e.g. The development of a child's life within the development of the family).

According to Pleck (2007), Bronfenbrenner's ecological model enables the accommodation of:

> ...new lines of research such as effects on children of their relationships with siblings, peers, teachers, and child care providers; the effects on children of the relationships between their parents, and between parents and teachers or child care providers; the effects of parents' jobs; the effects of social policies concerning employment, welfare and parental leave. (p. 199)

Most significantly, Bronfenbrenner emphasises the complex dynamic nature of interaction in microsystem relationships as being responsible for the promotion of development: "...human development … takes place through a process of progressively more complex, reciprocal interactions between active, evolving, biopsychological human organism and the persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate environment. Such enduring forms of interaction are referred to as 'proximal processes'" (Bronfenbrenner, 2005, p. 178).

As with Vygotsky's (1978) account of learning through collaboration in the "zone of proximal development", Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model focuses on *relational processes* as engines of change and development at all levels of the larger system; and these processes are primarily *learning* processes. According to Bronfenbrenner, interactions become increasingly complex as a more mature microsystem partner introduces higher order interaction or concepts that stimulate more complex or higher order functioning by the child. These "enduring patterns of reciprocal, increasingly complex interaction with

significant others … ultimately are what drives development of the child into an adult"' (Pleck, 2007, p. 199).

Placed in this perspective, Baumrind's (1971) 'authoritative parent' can be represented as someone who models certain behaviours, trains the child in the skilful use of language, and generally assists him or her to understand his world and to act in accordance with expectations and purposes derived from less immediate levels of the larger system. This is also the guidance role which Nsamenang (2002) described as "bridging" the past, present and future as a parent assists a child to engage with the wider society and culture and (in African contexts amongst others) to become more thoroughly integrated within that wider system. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) approach recognises that at wider levels of the system, changes can occur – gradually - as more and more parents alter their parenting practices under the influence of other changes such as increased availability of information.

From the perspectives of both Vygotsky and Bronfenbrenner, development may be described as an inherently relational process. Bronfenbrenner's theory, however, includes components of the experiential world such as the exosystem and the macrosystem which can too easily be missed in more individualistic models of development.

3.5.3 Social Capital theory

Another theory that has gained prominence in developmental science and may be particularly relevant to parenting adolescents is that of Coleman's (1988) social capital theory. Social capital theorists typically describe family life as the foundation of social capital (Putnam, 1995; Bourdieu, 1993; Winter, 2000). *Social capital* is an evolving concept, broadly referring to the social norms, networks and levels of trust that are found in a social group or society. Essentially social capital denotes social connections and the benefits that may result through these connections. According to Putnam (2000) "social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trust that arise from them" (p. 21). Such networks "can facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 2000, p. 21).

Trust, sometimes identified as a form of social capital and sometimes as the product of it, refers to a level of confidence that people have in the reliable words or actions of others in their social systems. The Commonwealth Productivity Commission, describes trust as "the bedrock of most personal relationships...living in a trustworthy community reduces the need for expenditures on personal security and policing, and gives parents more confidence to allow children to meet and play together outside the home" (Productivity Commission, 2003, p. xi).

Coleman (1988) was interested in the creation and transmission of social capital within families, because of the role it may play in maintaining social advantage or disadvantage. Coleman (1988) identified two types of social capital that parents provide in order to promote optimal development. *Financial capital* refers to the provision of material resources to children such as food, housing, and other resources such as education. *Social capital* is differentiated into *family social capital* (referring to parents' socialisation of their children by promoting the child's cognitive-social development) and *community social capital* (referring to the parents' ability to introduce or connect the child to knowledge and resources within the community at large, acting as go-betweens and advocates for their children.

According to the Productivity Commission's study (2003), the functions of social capital are *bonding, bridging* and *linking*. These functions are similar but not the same. Bonding occurs amongst "relatively homogenous" groups and serves to strengthen social ties by mobilizing solidarity and reciprocity. Within the family system, bonding social capital refers to trusting and mutually supportive family bonds. Both Coleman and Bourdieu highlight the role of family social capital in the transmission of human and cultural capital from parents to their children.

Following these theorists other researchers have related family social capital to a wide range of positive developmental outcomes for children and adolescents, including educational attainment, as well as social and emotional development (Furstenberg &

Hughes, 1995; Israel, Beaulieu, & Hartless, 2001). Furthermore, in these studies parent-centred variables, that relate to time spent with children, such as parent-child ratios (relating to families with one child or many children) and single versus two-parent households to be independent variables used as indicators of family social capital.

Bridging occurs between heterogenous groups, strengthening group ties around common concerns. In terms of social capital and family life, bridging social capital is concerned with the ways in which family life translates into community and neighbourhood ties.

Linking social capital reflects transfers between people who may or may not be close, but who represent different social strata and different capacities to access power, social status and/or wealth. Linking brings into play elements such as altruism and patronage.

3.5.3.1 Social capital research in the South African context

South African society is a very divided and unstable place, in which it is difficult to maintain cohesion without some level of coercion. According to social-capital theory, South Africans have strong local or specific sources of social capital, but "generalised" social capital is very weak.

The literature associated with social capital research in South Africa is growing, and much of it is relevant to adolescents and their families. Campbell, Williams, and Gilgen (2002) used social capital to explore "community level influences" on HIV infection (a topic raised by participants in the present study). Emmett (2003) studied social disorganisation and violence prevention – also topics that came up in the present research, particularly in contexts where parents struggled to access social resources for themselves and their children.

3.5.4 Integrated ecological parental capital theory

Within a broadly ecological approach, Pleck (2007) has integrated Bronfenbrenner's concept of 'proximal process' with the social capital concept, using the term ‘parental social capital’ and 'family social capital' to refer to social capital within the family, as Coleman (1988) did, but extending these concepts to higher level systems in terms of the various forms of support available to parents and to adolescents.

The key propositions of Pleck’s integrated ecological-parental capital theory include the idea that mothers, fathers and other adults “potentially contribute material capital, family social capital (socialisation), and community social capital to their children’s development” (Pleck, 2007, p. 201). Family social capital or socialisation of the child is ideally provided by both mothers and fathers, taking place through proximal process interactions such as “providing a secure base, modelling, responsive/sensitive reciprocal interaction, monitoring, controlling, teaching” (2007, p. 201). These proximal processes are consistent with the dimensions of parenting described by Simpson (2001).

On a macrolevel social capital refers to – or consists of - the networks, norms, values and relationships that influence the quantity and quality of the social interactions of a society (Aldridge, Halpern, & Fitzpatrick, 2002). The future of children as social capital in developed as well as developing countries is in many ways dependent upon the investments made in them during their formative years (including adolescence). In this model, parents are undoubtedly ideally positioned to play a fundamental role in this process.

However, the emphasis is on the extent to which the social capital of a society is invested in children's development and welfare. It is also critical that the form of social capital available to parents and children would support positive development. It does appear that Pleck's (2007) integrated process model may be helpful in terms of setting the South African parenting experience in a meaningful and rich theoretical frame.

The future of the youth of South Africa seems precarious and alarmingly bleak in many ways. It is often remarked that breakdown in family structures, the increasing prevalence of single parent households, the devastation of crime and violence, substance abuse, poor healthcare and education systems, poverty and the HIV/AIDS pandemic are among the many difficulties facing the youth of this country.

The connected, informed and empowered parent is able to act as a channel for societal investment in youth. In this view the home is positioned as a key site of social investment in children, but for this to happen the "microlevel" needs investment and support, especially in situations where parents experience rapid social and cultural change, adverse social conditions, and loss of trust or confidence in their own ability to parent their adolescent children.

3.6 A collaborative approach to parenting: The importance of parenting for successful adolescent outcomes

Despite increasing degrees of autonomy during adolescence, parents continue to play an important role in the development of their adolescent children (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). In 2011 the World Health Organisation (WHO) conducted a study aimed at identifying protective and risk factors in the social environment of adolescents and found that while individuals, extended family members and schools play an important role in supporting and guiding young people, it is their parents who ultimately play the most significant role in facilitating their development and growth on all levels. Meanwhile, the viewpoint from parenting research is that positive parent-adolescent relationships are balanced in terms of power sharing, are mutually involved and emotionally warm; these high-quality relationships provide buffering (Belsky, 1984) or protection when families experience marital conflict or disruption, and are associated with lower levels of adolescent depression (Barber, Ball, & Armistead, 2003). Adolescents whose relationship with a parent is positive are also less likely to get involved in delinquent behaviour (Hair et al., 2005). Positive parent-adolescent interaction can be facilitated by such parenting practices as

awareness or monitoring, supportiveness, strictness and family routines and rituals (Paschall, Ringwalt & Flewelling, 2003).

However, the pathways by which positive relationships with parents influence adolescent behaviour are not clearly defined in these correlational studies. In order to develop a fuller understanding of how the parent-adolescent relationship can be *experienced* by adolescents as supporting them in terms of mood, prosocial behaviour, responsible choices, and other important outcome measures, it is necessary to investigate the knowledge that adolescents themselves hold about the socialisation process and the roles played by their parents.

3.6.1 The voice of the child

Nsamenang (2002) offered a critique of research on adolescence in Africa, noting that the voices of adolescents are largely muted. Research has been formulated, carried out and interpreted within the *value orientation of researchers* and the *dominant culture.* This dominant culture provides funding for research and opportunities to publish it. Baumrind's work is a case in point, emerging as it did during an era of intense controversy about child rearing in Europe and North America. Value orientations thus "determine the extent, and direction, to which youth may be objectified, empowered or understood and their needs addressed" (Nsamenang, 2002, p. 68). Edwards (1996) remarks that "sensitivity to the power of participation - and to the fact that data *about* adolescents differ from data *by* them - necessitates the inclusion into the research agenda of adolescents as knowers and creators of meaning" (p.96).

Despite the obvious mutuality and inter-subjectivity of the relationship in which parenting takes place, popular and professional literature generally represents parents as the main purveyors of "parenting". The focus is on parents as agents of change, with adolescents seen as the object or the "other" (Madsen, 2007). Thus, while a great deal of the literature on traditional or conventional family therapy focuses on working with parents, the voices of the child or adolescent often seem to be minimised or are not directly represented, and a collaborative, mutual dimension is lacking (Smith & Nylund, 1997). In the cultural space

created by international co-operation, there are many positive opportunities being created for, and by, children. Children's voices, speaking about their own lives, are being heard at international conferences, in National Parliaments, at the United Nations, in community organisations and in international children's advocacy organizations.

The recent interest in children's own voices raises questions about the ways in which parenting is typically portrayed in popular literature, and to some extent in professional literature. Inclusion of adolescent voices becomes feasible within an ethic of collaboration which does not frame one generation as acting on the other, but affirms the value of inter-subjectivity and of shared meanings around which strategies and plans can form.

3.6.2 Parent-Adolescent collaboration in the South African context

Whilst learning to take responsibility for their own well-being, children rely on parents and other adults such as teachers and/or health care professionals to make decisions for them, ensure that their needs are met and see that their rights are respected. This dependency, together with limiting beliefs about children's status in society, often leads adults to regard children as objects of their protection rather than individuals in their own right, resulting in little opportunity for children to participate meaningfully in adult decision making (Jamieson, 2010).

In recent decades, progressive legislation including the Constitution of South Africa and the Children's Act of 2005 has offered hope of real change for the better in children's lives; including giving them more of a say in matters such as care and contact when parents divorce. Yet – as is predicted by the theories discussed in this chapter – societal attitudes often trail behind, hampering the implementation of the progress envisaged in the legislation. In 2009, after the election in April of that year, Media Monitoring Africa published a report which concluded with the following comment:

> With the exception of a handful of articles by some journalists, election coverage highlighting the serious issues faced by South African children has been extremely

> disappointing for its absence .... South African children have been truly marginalised by government, political parties and media, which is inappropriate under ordinary conditions, but almost unforgivable under the severe conditions currently faced by many South African children (Naidoo, Meyer & Bird, 2009).

In the area of family life, popular and professional literature has similarly paid minimal attention to the contributions of children or adolescents themselves. This absence of children's voices leads to a partial and limited understanding of the parenting process. As Vetere and Dowling (2006) point out: "children's voices so easily get lost in the work and the literature" (p. xiv). This is a moral or ethical issue, but it is also an epistemological issue. The absence of children's voices may have an effect on the accuracy and usefulness of the picture painted by a research enterprise that purports to represent the "reality" of adolescents' lives.

The preferences, opinions, needs and hopes of young people do not speak directly in the majority of the quoted studies, but must be inferred from measures such as behavioural outcomes. Yet, when young people are directly canvassed, aspects of the parents' task that may hitherto have been invisible or downplayed can be clearly and helpfully revealed. For example, in a study by McNeely and Barber (2010), adolescents in the developing world placed a high emotional valence on *parental advocacy* on their behalf, an aspect not highlighted previously in research that focused on parents' descriptions of the parenting process.

Wright (1984) (as cited in Brown, 2002) asserts that "the theoretical issue is to sensitise and train social scientists to the diversity that exists. The empirical problem is to include adolescent voices" (p. 96). The inclusion of previously marginalised voices compels exploration of alternatives to the conventional views and approaches, not so that these conventional views become necessarily displaced, but in order to arrive at a fuller understanding.

3.7 Implications of a Collaborative Approach for the Present Research

From a procedural point of view, collaboration may be seen as the process of brainstorming, negotiating and working out a plan together (Beveridge & Berg, 2007). For the purposes of this research, it may be defined as "parents and adolescents actively engaging with one another in order to access knowledge bases, share resources and explore joint problem solving and coping" (Berg & Upchurch, 2007; Berg, Schindler & Maharajh, 2008).

Insights around the value of collaboration in psychological research also derive from the field of family therapy. Following Vygotsky's seminal work on collaboration in the learning process (Vygotsky, 1978), collaboration is assumed by some therapists to serve a useful cognitive function by developing problem solving and negotiation skills (Meegan & Berg, 2002). An interpersonal function is also affirmed in terms of providing support and encouragement (Meegan & Berg, 2002), and building closer parent-adolescent relationships.

Anderson (2001) suggests that when people begin to experience trust in collaboration, they begin to talk with themselves and others in a new way. Interacting in a collaborative manner helps people to describe their lives in ways that acknowledge agency and competency, as people are encouraged to converse *with* each other instead of talking to, for, or about each other. As families discuss, for example, ways of handling conflicts that arise, the 'ownership' of both the problems and solutions are likely to be shared more readily.

While collaboration may be a relatively new approach for family therapists and clinical researchers (Murry, & Brody, 2004; Turner, Weiling, & Allen, 2004), collaborating with families and communities to design, implement and evaluate programmes has long been a primary area of focus in the field of community psychology (Dalton, Elias, & Wandersman, 2001). These authors highlight the recurring link between 'the development of psychologically valid knowledge' and the application thereof for the relevant

community. In community work, the importance of establishing respect for the knowledge/power resources of all stake-holders is acknowledged; and it is apparent that unless researchers (or change agents) approach communities with respect for the community's own knowledge, experiences, resources, expertise and preferences, their efforts may flounder (Dalton et al., 2001).

In the present study, the active engagement of an adolescent group and a parent group, followed by engagement of parent and adolescents together, is an essential element in terms of promoting collaboration, and avoiding the imposition of an 'expert voice' on the process of dialogue. By giving the adolescent participants a voice, and facilitating a narrative dialogue featuring collaboration between participants, it becomes possible to access what is meaningful for them.

3.8 Conclusion

Ultimately the purpose of theories is to mark out a territory within the mass of available information, in which reflection and metacognition becomes possible. Theories provide researchers with an invitation to position ourselves in a way of thinking; so that the practices we employ are thoughtful and intentional, and the theories we follow are consistent and congruent. When theory and practice inform each other in this way, it is possible to trace the interconnections between lower-level and higher-level systems in ways that are informative and respectful. On the one hand, experience is irreducible; on the other, it is impossible to have assured knowledge of complex systems in ways that enable prediction and control, except in the most trivial, partial or temporary fashion.

The dimensional framework proposed by Simpson (2001) and the WHO (2007) mark out a theoretical territory for research purposes that is sensitive to developmental processes of the individual and family through the adolescent years. Being able to communicate with young people, treating them with respect, affording them a voice, teaching them to negotiate, helping them to weigh up consequences for themselves (within safe and reasonable limits and boundaries), providing a consistent role model for them at home, and

being willing to facilitate and support them into a position of being able to contribute to society and support themselves – all of these functions have been identified by parents as areas of concern in much research and reported on by Simpson (2001) and the WHO (2007).

This chapter has also introduced some broader and more abstract theoretical maps of the territory: from Baumrind's typological schema, to Belsky's "multiply determined" process model, Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems model, Coleman's version of field theory featuring social capital as a central concept, and Pleck's integrative approach, some common if not universal hope for "parent/adolescent relationships can be discovered. However, the importance of reflecting on the wide variations in social and cultural conditions affecting South African adolescents, and the different traditions that prevail around family life cannot be underestimated. In order to arrive at a rich understanding of parent-adolescent relationships and experiences necessitates the involvement of both parents and adolescents. In the final analysis, then, it could be said that participation and collaboration is not just a right, it is also a responsibility.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

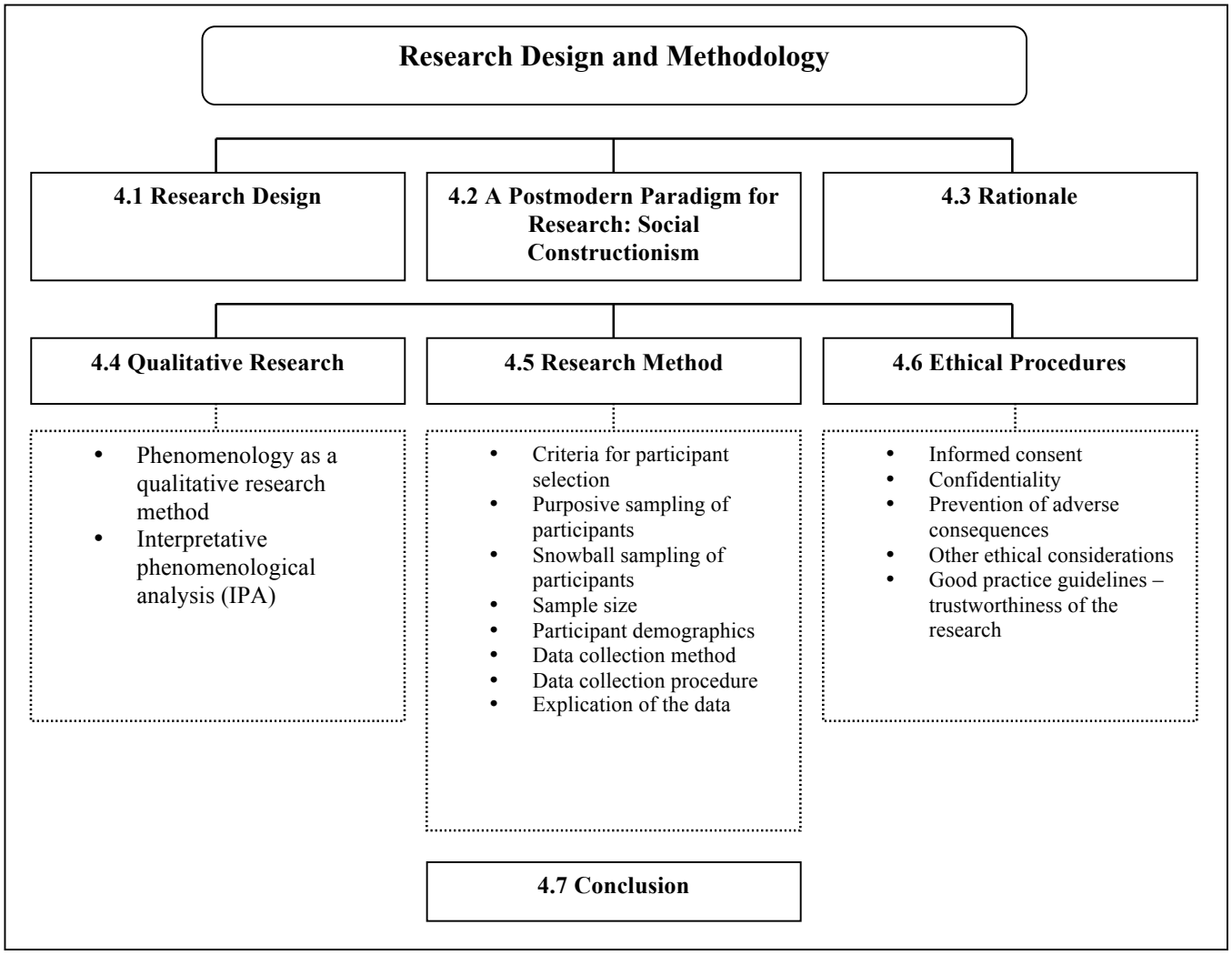

Figure 5. Visual display of Chapter 4.

This chapter provides a detailed description of the processes that were followed for the purposes of this study. The rationale for using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as the research method is placed within the theoretical context and an exposition of the method is presented. This study made use of focus groups. A detailed description of the process followed for integrating the focus group data into this IPA study will be discussed. Following a discussion of the research design, sampling procedures and data collection methods, the various steps of the explication process will be outlined and a

discussion of how these were employed and adopted for the purposes of this research will be discussed. Finally, attention will be given to ethical issues as they pertain specifically to a qualitative research project.

The broad research objective of this thesis is to explore the dynamics of the parenting experience as it relates to parenting adolescents. The aim is to arrive at an understanding of the particular experiences that parents of adolescents and their adolescent children describe, as well as to discover how they have experienced a collaborative approach to the parenting process. Hence, the task is to utilise a methodology to attain an in-depth description and understanding of the parenting process by focusing on a collaborative initiative in which the voices, opinions, concerns or views of parents, as well as their adolescent children, are included.

4.1 Research Design

According to Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2000), a research design may be conceptualized as a strategic framework for action that links the research questions and the implementation of the research. Thus, it serves as a map that specifies how the research will be conducted in order to answer the research questions. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2000) note that the development of a research design requires the researcher to make decisions according to four dimensions: the purpose of the research; the theoretical paradigm underpinning the research; the context within which the research will be conducted; and the research techniques that will be utilised to collect and analyse the data. The research design may be depicted in the following manner:

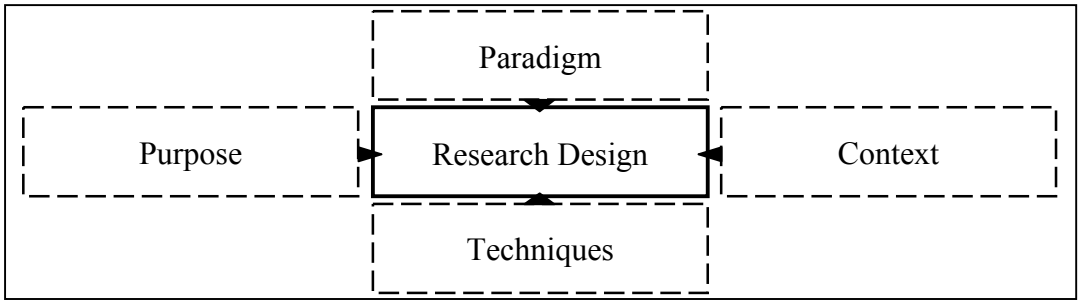

Figure 6: Four dimensions of design decisions (Adapted from Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2000, p.33).

4.2 A Postmodern Paradigm for Research: Social Constructionism

As a starting point from which to approach this study, it seemed appropriate to adopt a postmodern, social constructionist stance and draw on the principles of phenomenology as it informs the methodology of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as the selected methodology for this research. In its broadest sense this paradigm has been referred to by many labels or names; while "post-structuralism," "deconstruction," "the interpretive turn," and "the new hermeneutics" are all labels that have been proposed, it does appear that "postmodernism" is the term most commonly used for the worldview that informs this work.

As was discussed in the first three chapters of this study, the intellectual period known as modernity had its roots in the Enlightenment, and ended some time around the 1960's (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Modernity essentially attempts to describe the world, and to view knowledge, in rational, empirical and objective terms. As such it is characterized by a positivistic search for a truth and an accumulation of knowledge (Kvale, 1992) that could be discovered, in variously prescribed ways, especially through the scientific method. From a modernist perspective, then, reality is knowable – its elements and workings can be accurately and replicably uncovered. "In the sciences, it is the world view according to which people believe it is possible to find essential, "objective" facts that can be tied together into overarching, generally applicable theories that bring us closer to an accurate understanding of the real universe. In the humanities, it is the kind of humanism that seeks to develop grand, sweeping, meta-narratives about the human condition and how to perfect it" (Freedman & Combs, 1996, p. 20). Thus, the "objectivity" of the modernist worldview, with its emphasis on facts, universal meaning and generally applicable rules, fails to consider the specific, localised meanings of the individual person or small groups of people. "When we treat people with this kind of "objectivity," we regard them as objects, thus inviting them into a relationship in which they are the passive, powerless recipients of our knowledge and expertise" (Freedman & Combs, 1996, p. 21). On the other hand, the postmodern argument rejects a posture of authoritative truth (Gergen, 2001), embracing,

rather, the diversity, multiplicity and different subjectivities that may become apparent from the more transparent perspective of the postmodern researcher. The epistemological stance of the postmodern researcher shifts from an objective and detached observation of the scientific/positivistic position (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2000) towards a constructionist, interpretive and reflexive orientation (Lyotard, 1984), or towards what Cromby and Nightingale (1999, p. 9) refer to as "relativism", as opposed to the "realism" of positivism.

Furthermore, because postmodernism is concerned with discovering diversity and multiplicity, it can inclusively embrace aspects of modernism, positivism and reflexive paradigms. According to Agger (1991, p. 112) "this has the advantage of challenging singular methodologies, whether quantitative or qualitative." Thus, postmodern research is able to potentially be inclusive of multiple methodologies, not privileging any single method or paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Postmodern researchers tends to be committed to naturalistic, interpretive, multi-method approaches to research, and an ongoing critique of the politics and methods of positivism, which they view as only one way of telling a story about our social world (Bagshaw, 2004). From a postmodern perspective, the positivists' search for 'grand narratives' is replaced by a focus on more localized approaches to research, focusing instead on the perspective of the 'other', located in a particular point in time and maintaining an awareness of the effects of the context or research setting on the research participants and the researcher.

Essentially then, it is apparent that postmodernists believe that there are limits on any person's ability of to measure and describe the universe in any precise, absolute, and universally applicable manner. They differ from modernists in that they are concerned with exceptions more than rules. Thus, the post-modern thinker would choose to look at specific, contextualised details more often than grand generalizations, difference as opposed to similarity. Fundamentally while the modernist thinker tends to be concerned with facts and rules, the postmodernist is concerned with meaning.

Similarly, social constructionism rejects traditional empirical research methods in favour of a transcendence of traditional schools and models, effecting a shift across disciplinary boundaries to a freedom of thinking beyond what would be possible within the confines of traditional paradigms.

As social constructionists began questioning conventional scientific epistemology, some turned to the narrative, the interpretive and storytelling, to uncover local realities. These postmodern scholars adopted a stance as participant-observers in a search for *thick descriptions* (Geertz, 1973) of lived experience through the deconstruction of texts and discourse.

4.3 Rationale

Approaching this study from within a postmodern, social constructionist paradigm, and drawing on the principles of phenomenology as it informs the methodology of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), a qualitative research design was considered to be the best choice of methodology. As noted by Shaw (2001), the selection of a qualitative methodology is guided by what the researcher is endeavouring to discover about a particular phenomenon as well as what kind of data collection is required.

Phenomenology is ideally indicated for studying life experiences. The primary focus of this type of inquiry is to comprehensively describe certain phenomena, in order to arrive at a thorough understanding of the phenomenon, such as the participants' experience of the parenting process in this study. This enables the phenomenological researcher to arrive at an understanding of the meaning or essence of the phenomenon under investigation so as to present it in a manner that mirrors the experience of the participants (for example the parent and adolescent particpants in this study).

A qualitative approach, specifically, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), was used to conduct interviews, transcribe and explicate data and offer a discussion of implications based on resulting themes. In the context of the present study, IPA was felt to

be the methodology of choice, enabling the researcher to highlight and engage with the centrality and meaning of the subjective experiences of the participants. Thus, IPA was selected in order to portray the experiences of the parents and their adolescent children who took part in this study, and to afford the researcher the opportunity to gain some insight into the experiences of the participants. It provides the most appropriate lens through which the obtained data can be interpreted.

4.4 Qualitative Research

There has been a shift in social science research in the last decade, from the almost exclusive domain of empirical methodology of quantitative inquiry, to a greater utilisation of qualitative inquiry (Smith, 2006). Qualitative research is fundamentally exploratory in nature and refers to inquiry aimed at achieving depth of understanding rather than "quantity of understanding" (Henning, van Rensburg, & Smit, 2005, p. 3). Furthermore the accrual of data, which may add to quantitative studies by either constructing or investigating plausible hypotheses, may be considered an additional benefit of a qualitative study. With reference to subjective experience, an assuming and explorative stance to social science (Alvesson, 2002) is notably contained in the postmodern infrastructure. The postmodern infrastructure is scenically exemplified by Derrida and Venuti (2001). From a phenomenological point of view, qualitative research is concerned with describing, clarifying and understanding experience as it is lived and constituted in awareness (Creswell 2007). Essentially then, qualitative methods are designed to study the experiential life of people. "Qualitative inquiry deals with human lived experience. It is the *life-world* as it is lived, felt, undergone, made sense of, and accomplished by human beings that is the object of study" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 84). As such, hypotheses and theoretical explanations are based on interpreted observations of the world as it occurs naturally (Johnson & Christensen, 2004, p.360).

The role of the qualitative researcher is to attempt to develop an understanding of the phenomena under investigation, based as much as possible on the perspective of those being studied. This implies that the researcher is essentially involved in a sustained and

intensive experience with participants (Creswell 2007). Henning, van Rensburg, and Smit, (2005) maintain that the qualitative researcher is immersed in the data and in the setting as the main instrument of the research, and makes meaning not only from the data gathered during the research process, but from "her engagement in the project" (p.1). The data gathered is primarily in the form of spoken or written language, and analysis of the data ensues "by identifying and categorizing themes" (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2000, p. 42). Thus qualitative inquiry is concerned with the exploration and interpretation of human phenomena, the purpose of which, according to Morrow (2007), is to provide rich or 'thick' (Geertz, 1973) descriptions of the phenomenon being studied. According to Henning et al. (2005), a thick description gives a coherent, detailed, rich account of the research participants' *experiences* of the phenomenon under investigation as well as rich descriptions of the *contexts* in which the experiences occur. The "thickness" of the descriptions relates to the multiple layers of culture and context in which these experiences are embedded (Morrow, 2007). Furthermore, Polkinghorne (2005) notes that the intention behind the process of gathering data in qualitative research is to provide evidence for the purpose it is investigating. The purposes of this study could be defined as *obtaining rich descriptions of parents' and adolescents' experiences of the parenting process*. The data obtained serves as the foundation on which the findings are based. The evidence is in the form of accounts that people relate of their experience, and it is this evidence that is used, by the researcher, for the explication of the data to produce an in depth description of the experience. As such, data collection is inherently a dynamic, interactive process between researcher and participants. In constructing the research report, the researcher "draws excerpts from the data to illustrate the findings and to show the reader how the findings were derived from the evidential data" (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 138).

Human experience is varied and multi-layered; therefore, methods of data gathering need to be sufficiently thorough to capture the richness and fullness of experience (Polkinghorne, 2005). The data gathered for qualitative inquiry would necessitate first-person accounts or self-reports of participants' own experiences. Therefore, the primary purpose of qualitative research is to understand meaning about the phenomenon of interest from the perspective of the participant (Schwandt, 2001; Smith, 2006). "Such a philosophy

assumes a socially constructed reality rather than an objective factual one and searches for understanding rather than causality" (Sadler-Gerhardt, Reynolds, Britton, & Kruse, 2010, p. 267). Thus it could be said that, in contrast to quantitative research, which focuses on control and the prediction of variables by means of quantifying and measuring (typical of a modernist approach to research), qualitative approaches to research reject predetermined categories or hypothesis testing focussing, instead, on the meaning and significance of themes by means of direct and personal experiencing and participating (congruent with a postmodern approach to research). Or as Nelson and Quintana (2005) so eloquently put it "whereas quantitative methodology is often associated with confirmatory activities, qualitative research methodologies are most closely associated with a discovery orientation" (p. 345). As such, qualitative approaches may be deemed particularly useful when investigating complex, novel, or under-researched phenomena in so far as it creates the possibility for discovering new or unexpected outcomes as opposed to predicting an expected outcome which would be a more common expectation of quantitative research. Furthermore, the exploratory nature of qualitative research allows for a focus on meaning, context and culture and as such richer descriptions of the data and a deeper understanding of the meaning of phenomena to the research participants are more likely to be achieved. According to Nelson and Quintana (2005), qualitative methods focus on verbal analyses, as opposed to mathematical analyses, and are "particularly suited to research by clinicians, who are skilled at listening and making sense of people's lived experience" (p. 344).

Furthermore, recent research, according to Nelson and Quintana (2005) has described difficulties in generating research that aptly reflects the growing cultural, ethnic and racial diversity in many societies. Quintana, Troyano, and Taylor (2001), identified what they described as threats to cultural validity in the manner in which quantitative methods have been applied to research. It is suggested then, that qualitative research methods can play an important role in addressing such threats, by for example, collaborating with members of the communities involved in all steps of the research process. In so doing there is a greater chance of arriving at a deeper understanding of the particular as opposed to the universal.

Shaw (2001) notes that when choosing a qualitative methodology certain important questions need to be taken into consideration. These include a clear idea of what it is that the research wishes to discover about a particular phenomenon and what kind of data collection would be required. A further important contributing factor that favours the utilisation of qualitative methodology, when conducting research with children and adolescents, is the consideration of developmental factors (such as cognitive skills and reading ability). Because qualitative researchers have the option of involving research participants as co-researchers and thus able to explore, in conversation, responses to interview questions, some of the challenges inherent in research involving children may be mitigated. Following the above discussion it is then apparent that qualitative research may enhance the capacity of child and adolescent researchers to understand and play a role in giving a voice to those who are still in the process of finding their voices. Given that the above discussion on qualitative research meets the aim of the current study, a qualitative approach is considered to be the most suitable approach.

4.4.1 Phenomenology as a qualitative research method

Epistemologically, the phenomenological approach could be said to be based in a paradigm of personal, subjective knowledge. The purpose of the phenomenological approach is to identify phenomena, as they are perceived by the perceiver, to highlight the specific, gain insight, or understanding of research participants' experiences, and emphasise the significance of a personal perspective and interpretation. This would translate into gathering in-depth information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews and participant observation and representing it from the perspectives of the research participants. Thus, a phenomenological approach is well suited to a qualitative method of inquiry.

The origins of phenomenology may be found in the quest by philosophers for a reliable qualitative research method that would be applicable to the pursuit of scientific knowledge. Influential thinkers include Rene Descarte (1596-1650) who is generally regarded as the first modern philosopher and Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), who is generally regarded as

"the fountainhead of phenomenology in the twentieth century" (Van den Berg, 1997, p. 11). Husserl set out to develop an approach that would lend itself to the investigation of human experience and yet be considered scientific in its own right (Spiegelberg, 1965). Essentially, Husserl rejected the belief that objects in the external word exist independently, arguing instead that experience is key to understanding and that to arrive at certainty, anything outside of immediate experience should not be considered. In this way the external world is reduced to the contents of personal consciousness (Fouché, 1993). Reality is treated as pure 'phenomena' and represent the only absolute data from where to begin. As such, Husserl rejected the use of scientific approaches to the study of lived experiences arguing, instead that human meanings are the key to studying and understanding lived experience Groenewald (2004).

Phenomenological studies describe the meaning for individuals of their "lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon" (Creswell, 2007, p. 57). Creswell further explains that phenomenological research focuses on describing shared experiences of participants. According to Moustakas (1994), phenomenology's approach to research is to understand "meaningful concrete relations implicit in the original description of experience in the context of a particular situation" (p. 14). Phenomenology is also described as the study of the collective meaning of experience of a phenomenon for several persons (McCaslin & Scott, 2003), and "the aim is to determine what an experience means for the persons who have had the experience" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 13). Furthermore, "phenomenology aims to remain as faithful as possible to the phenomenon and to the context in which it appears in the world" (Smith, 2006, p. 27). Thus, phenomenology is interested in the personal experiences of individuals regarding situations in their lives and the aim is to "capture as closely as possible the way in which the phenomenon is experienced within the context in which the experience takes place" (Smith, 2006, p. 27). A primary objective of the phenomenological approach is to develop a clear, accurate and complete description and understanding of the particular human experience or experiential event under investigation.

The advantages of using a phenomenological approach lie in the rich and comprehensive descriptions that can be obtained about human experiences and meanings. The findings

that arise out of qualitative, phenomenological research are able to emerge rather than being imposed by a researcher.

4.4.1.1 Important concepts of the phenomenological perspective

Important to this process of arriving at a deeper understanding of the experiences of the participants themselves, is the requirement for the researcher to take steps in order to suspend or hold in abeyance his or her own "personal experiences, preconceptions, beliefs and attitudes to the research situation" (Wall, Glenn, Mitchinson, & Poole, 2004, p.21). The act of holding in abeyance the researcher's assumptions or preconceptions is known as *bracketing*. Thus, phenomenological description is defined as the process of bracketing one's presuppositions about the research phenomenon, and then explicitly describing "what presents itself precisely as it presents itself, neither adding nor subtracting from it" (Giorgi. 1992, p. 121). Essentially, then, phenomenological description emphasizes the "context of discovery, rather than the context of verification" (Giorgi, 1985, p. 14).

Meaning, the phenomenologists argue, is not to be discovered through the association or correspondence of words to an underlying reality, but is constituted within the intersubjective processes of culture and language (Lepper, 2007). This descriptive approach attempts to remain faithful to the phenomenological reality of a subject's experiential world, and operates within the "constraints of intuitive or presentational evidence" (Giorgi, 1992, p. 121).

However, some researchers (Elliot, Fischer, & Rennie, 1999) refute the possibility of initiating or conducting research without preconceptions or biases and thus advocate for transparency on the part of the researcher in reporting his role in the research process as a subjective participant, as opposed to an impartial observer. Similarly, Groenewald (2004) notes that individual researchers hold clear beliefs and, unlike positivists, phenomenologists "believe that the researcher cannot be detached from his/her presuppositions" (p.7). Given the above, transparency in reporting the role of the researcher is of critical importance, and does not overshadow the researcher's attempts to

bracket his/her personal presuppositions during the interview process, as the aim of qualitative phenomenological research is to "enter into the individual's life-world and use the self as an experiencing interpreter (Groenewald, 2004, p. 13).

Postmodernist qualitative researchers are concerned about the intimate relationship between the researcher, what is being studied and the situational constraints that may influence or affect the inquiry. This places a requirement on the researcher to adopt the particular views of the 'other'/the participants in the research study, which requires a wide range of interpretive and interconnected methods, and a continuous struggle with the ethics and politics of the research. This has implications for research and the researcher, in so far as, if one were to agree that political and ideological agendas influence our research, then representing or speaking for others becomes difficult, if not questionable. The researcher is intimately implicated in the research process and outcomes, and this gives rise to both the need for, and indeed the importance of, self-reflexity (Gergen, 2001; Steier, 1991).

Reflexivity refers to a process of "reflecting upon and understanding our own personal, political and intellectual autobiographies as researchers and making explicit where we are in relation to our research respondents" (Mauthner & Doucet, 1998, p.121). As such reflexivity is important both within the interaction, as well as in the production and interpretation of the research account (Dowling, 2006). It is based on postmodern and constructivist approaches to inquiry, stemming from the idea that "worlds are constructed, or even autonomously invented, by 'scientific' inquirers who are simultaneously, participants in their worlds" (Steier, 1991, p.1).

This implies an acceptance of the idea that knowledge is embedded in the constructing process. Steier variously described reflexivity as the: "turning-back of one's experience upon oneself" (Steier,1991, p.2); "being conscious of ourselves as we see ourselves" (Steier, 1991, p.5); "holding our own assumed research structures and logics as themselves researchable and not immutable, and by examining how we are part of our data" (Steier, 1991, p.7).

Furthermore, reflexivity is probably of even greater importance when research involves children or adolescents. Ribbens and Edwards (1998) suggest that the researcher's power operates on at least three levels in research with young people. Firstly, the hegemonic cultural perspective that is often adult-centered in terms of the language that we use – adults are notoriously culturally central in language and the representation of children and adolescents as being characterized by 'otherness'; secondly, the positions that adults take up for example, that of adult and adolescent and researcher and researched, and finally our personal unconscious projections concerning the way we view adolescents, including those triggered by our own experiences.

Intentionality, referring to the "essence of consciousness" (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003), is another fundamental element of the phenomenological approach. Intentionality, essentially refers to the notion that our consciousness is always directed toward something, that whenever there is consciousness, then consciousness is always consciousness of something and any acts of consciousness are communicated by means of description.

4.4.2 Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA)

According to Palmer, Larkin, De Visser, and Fadden (2010), IPA researchers have generally adopted an eclectic approach to phenomenological inquiry and have drawn variously on Giorgi (Smith, 2006), Heidegger (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006; Smith 2006), Solomon, Merleau-Ponty, and Van Manen (Eatough & Smith, 2006a; 2006b), Gadamer and Schleiermacher (Smith, 2006) to elucidate the conceptual underpinnings of the approach. These sources share a commitment to the hermeneutic understanding of people's experiences and to situating these experiences in the context of the lived world. Thus, the aim of IPA is to understand and make sense of a person's sense-making activities, pertaining to a given phenomenon, in a given context. The contextual dimension of IPA is an integral part of hermeneutic phenomenology and accordingly the dominant tenet is that person and world are not separate but instead are co-constituting and mutually disclosing (Palmer, et al, 2010). Essentially then, IPA is phenomenological in the manner in which it is concerned with subjective experiences, as opposed to the formulation of

objective accounts of a phenomenon. Understanding experience is fundamentally the essence of psychology and IPA offers psychologists and researchers the "opportunity to learn from the experts – the research participants themselves" (Reid et al., 2005, p. 20). The experiences of the research participants are linked with the reflective process of interpretation on the part of the researcher – albeit in a cautious manner, maintaining an awareness of the "contextual and cultural ground against which the data are generated" (Reid et al., 2005, p. 20). Especially as the contention is that meaning making occurs and is made sense of in interaction with others and a person's perception of a situation is ultimately reflected in how they talk about and behave in relation to an event (Dean, Smith, & Payne, 2006).

IPA thus offers the researcher the chance to engage with a research question at an idiographic or particular level (Reid et al., 2005). Similarly, Collins and Nicolson (2002) describe IPA as a method for representing participants' subjective experiences and the meaning that such experiences hold for them. Essentially then, IPA is a qualitative approach to research that is engaged in the exploration of personal experience (Smith, 2006), and interpretations are developed around the the participants' accounts of their phenomenological world.

A key contention of IPA is that the researcher plays a fundamental role in the process of gaining access to the participant's personal, subjective world, through the skilful process of interpreting or determining prominent verbal and non-verbal messages or cues of the participants in order to highlight their life-world and explore their viewpoints (Smith, 2006). Additionally, the researcher strives to engage with the interpretation of participants' mental and emotional state from what they are saying, especially when they find it difficult to discuss feelings and emotions or to self-disclose (Smith, 2006). In summary then, IPA is phenomenological in so far as it is concerned with participants' perceptions of objects or events which, as in the case of this study, include participants'perceptions of the parenting experience. It is also, however, interpretive as the researcher seeks to gain access to and understanding of the the 'other's' personal world. This depends on, and is impacted by, the researcher's own preconceptions which need to be accommodated and accounted for in

terms of, for example, bracketing and reflexivity. While the research participants' seek to make sense of their world, the researcher is trying to make sense of their sense-making. In this way IPA used in-depth qualitative analysis and a process of explication to arrive at a deeper understanding of the phenomenon in question.

4.4.2.1 Description of IPA

In order to arrive at a deeper understanding and produce a detailed account of the of the phenomenon in question, IPA may use a variety of research designs. The examination of the data, according to the IPA method, involves the repeated reading of the transcripts of the collected data in order to become throughly familiar with the data and then to engage in a process of thematising and categorising (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2000; Touroni & Coyle, 2002; Smith, 2006). This is accomplished through the notation of key phrases and processes in each transcript. Further notation includes summaries of content, connections between different aspects of the participants' responses and initial interpretations. Once the themes have been identified, the themes and data are subjected to a process of coding according to the relevance to the identified themes. The themes are then grouped together according to similar ideas across transcripts, producing a final set of superordinate themes (Touroni and Coyle, 2002). The ordering of the themes and data obtained serve to produce a logical and comprehensive narrative which is ultimately a rich, insightful description of the essence of the experience for the participants in the study. The final step in this process involves the interpretation of the data, followed by the rechecking of the interpreted data. Lastly, the researcher reflects on his own involvement in collecting the data and creating the interpretation (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2000).

The explication process for this study was based on the IPA method described above. However, unlike many studies that utilised one-to-one interviews, this study made use of focus groups. In this study, three groups of parents and three groups of their adolescent children were interviewed to gain an understanding of their experience of the parenting process as it relates to either parenting an adolescent child or being parented as an adolescent. Phenomenology, as a research design, depends primarily on interview data

(Morrow, 2007). Accordingly, an interview schedule was utilised in the focus groups in order to explore, understand and describe the underlying structure or essence of parents' and adolescents' experiences, and to gain an understanding of the essential nature of their experiences.

4.4.2.2 IPA and focus groups

IPA is a well established methodology in qualitative psychology, proposing a framework for research that draws on the traditions of phenomenology and hermeneutics, and which may be conceptualised as being "idiographic, inductive and interogrative" (Smith, 2006). Underpinning the IPA methodology is an explicit theoretical foundation and a detailed and practical set of procedural guidelines (Tomkins & Eatough, 2010). Brocki and Wearden (2006) assert that the popularity and ever-increasing body of IPA research is fundamentally linked to both of these aspects. Traditionally, the aims of IPA studies have essentially been met through the use of one-on-one interviews, with relatively few studies utilising group interviews or focus group discussions as the basis for IPA studies (Reid et al. 2005). However, Brocki and Wearden (2006) note that due to the flexible nature of IPA, with regards to both its intent and application, IPA analytic techniques are increasingly being combined with a diverse range of types of data and data collection methods. One of which is IPA with focus group data, a proposition which is "ripe for detailed theoretical and empirical exploration (Tomkins & Eatough, 2010, p. 244) and certainly focus groups may provide rich experiential data.

Focus groups have been used successfully in many areas of qualitative research across the social sciences. By definition, focus groups comprise a selected, small group of participants who share a specific experience (Blackburn, 2000; Wilkinson, 2006), and involves the participants engaging in an organised discussion or interview focussed on a particular topic under the guidance of a facilitator (Blackburn, 2000; Wilkinson, 2006). The role of the facilitator is to facilitate group discussion - "actively encouraging group members to interact with each other" (Wilkinson, 2006, p. 185). Interaction between participants is an important aspect of focus group research – essentially distinguishing it

from individual interviews. An advantage of utilising focus groups lies in the collective nature of the activity, where several perspectives on a specific topic may be obtained, and where the data is produced in interaction (Smith, 2006). Furthermore, focus group research is not particular to a specific theoretical framework and thus the type of analysis used is dependent on the theoretical orientation of the researcher as opposed to any specific feature of focus group data. Focus group research undertaken from within a social constructionist framework "presupposes that sense-making is produced collaboratively, in the course of social interactions between people. Within this framework, the particular advantage of focus groups is the opportunity they offer for the researcher to observe how people engage in the process of collaborative sense-making: how views are constructed, expressed, defended and (sometimes) modified within the context of the discussion and debate with others" (Wilkinson, 2006, p. 187).

The theoretical orientation of the research will influence the type of data analysis undertaken. To this end it is apparent that the utilisation of focus groups may be less obviously suited to IPA research in so far as they create a more complex interactional environment but the attraction of working in this manner is that it offers the opportunity for "multiple voices to be heard at one sitting, drawing a larger sample into a smaller number of data collection events" (Palmer et al, 2010, p. 100). Furthermore, in situations, as was the case in this study, where a researcher wishes to engage with naturally occurring groups (such as family, friends or support group) *as a group*, the group discussion may educe more experiential reflection than an individual interview.

Thus, the group dynamics may add to the information gathered that would otherwise have been missed. However, Palmer et al., (2010) caution that within the context of the focus group experiential reflections are likely to be embedded within a relatively complex set of social and contextual relationships and thus, "the presence of multiple voices, the complexity of their individual and shared contexts, and the interactional complexity of the discussion itself do make it more difficult to infer and develop personal, *phenomenological* accounts" (p.100). Essentially then, it is important for the researcher using focus groups to maintain an awareness of the fact that the participants' accounts of their experiences are

likely to be "shaped not only by the researcher's questions and reactions but also by the degree of shared experiences among participants, the nature of pre-existing relationships, the sensitivity or privacy of the subject matter, the positions opened up and closed down by other participants' contributions, and the developing dynamic of the interaction itself" (Palmer et al., 2010).

Smith (2004) noted that the successful use of focus groups requires an awareness of the potential challenges involved in applying experiential analyses to more complex social activities. Smith thus advocates the benefit of approaching the analysis twice: "once for group patterns and dynamics and subsequently, for idiographic accounts" (Smith, 2004, p. 50). The protocol outlined in this chapter attempts to show both the experiential and interactional elements of focus group data. However, the focus is on the group and as Morgan, (1997) states "nearly all discussions of analysis issues in focus groups assert that the group, not the individual, must be the fundamental unit of analysis" (p. 60). Smith (2006) offers similar advice by suggesting that when parsing IPA focus group transcripts this is done first for group level patterns and dynamics and then for individual accounts. In working through the steps of the protocol, an attempt was made to develop a meaningful analysis of the patterns in the participants' lived experience while acknowledging the wider socio-cultural factors involved in accessing their stories in this way.

When using IPA with focus groups the collection of data from a relatively homogenous group of participants applies as it does when using IPA with individual interviews. Unless, according to Palmer et al. (2010), the design is explicitly 'muliperspectival" (reporting two different sets of perspectives on the same phenomenon, for example), similar to the attempt in this study where the perspective of adolescents and the perspectives of their parents will be reported on.

4.4.2.3 IPA Protocol for analysis of data with focus groups

The literature on analysis in IPA does not prescribe a single method of working with data. Instead, a set of principles (for example, moving from the particular to the shared and from

the descriptive to the interpretative) are applied flexibly, according to the analytic task (Reid et al., 2005). Typically, however, analysis is seen as an interactive and inductive cycle (Smith 2006), the process of which is depicted in figure 7.

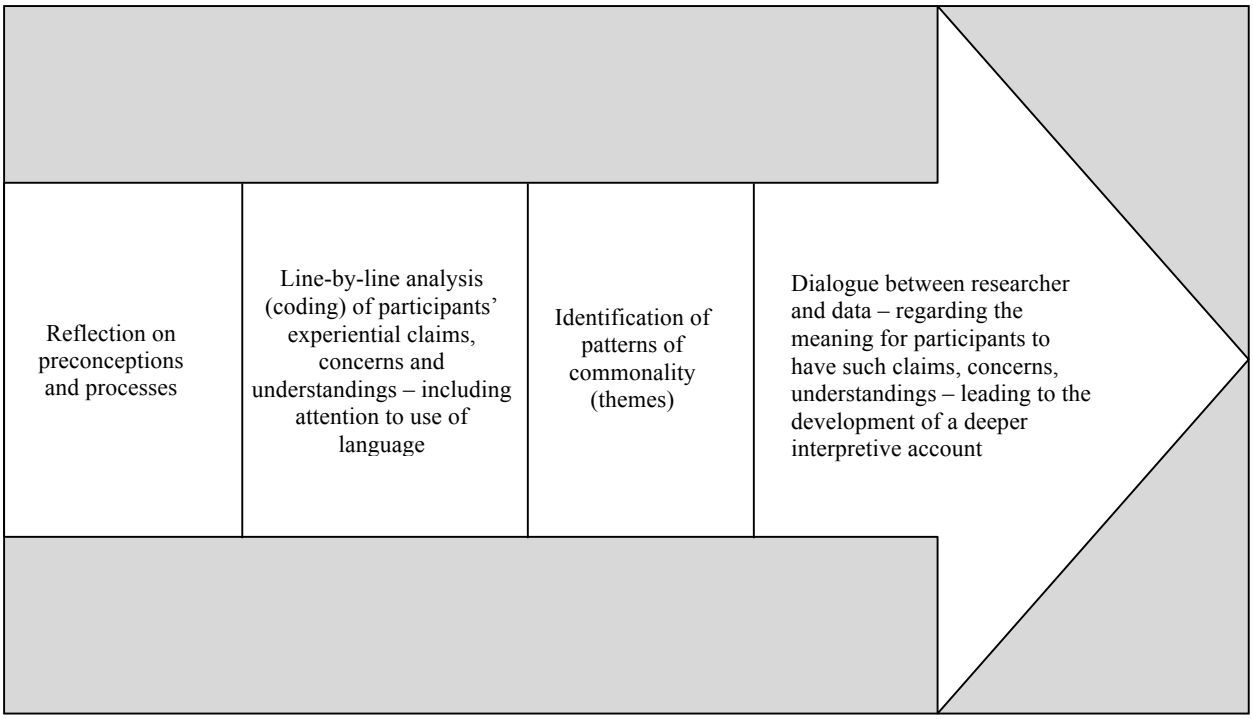

Figure 7: An overview of the explication process (adapted from Eatough & Smith, 2008; Larkin et al., 2006; Smith, 2006)

For the purposes of this research the steps described in section 4.4.2.1 provided the overall framework that guided the explication process. With specific reference to working with focus groups, the steps taken in order to explicate the data may be summarised as follows: The first step involved a close reading, re-reading and discussion (with the research assistant) of the focus group transcripts in order to become familiar with the texts and maintain an awareness of the individual claims and concerns evident in each transcript. This level of the analysis process is known as 1st order codes (Eatough and Smith, 2008; Larkin et al., 2006; Rostill-Brookes, Larkin, Toms, & Churchman, 2010; Smith, 2006). The next level involved the development of conceptual ideas of the participants' experiences. These second order codes serve to move the researchers understanding beyond the text by capturing more of the meaning and context of the participants (Rostill-

Brookes et al., 2010). The next step in the process involved a within group analysis. Thus, attention was given to commonalities and differences within and across interviews. Emerging patterns or themes were organised according to meaning, context and patterns of recurrence across the transcripts and were interpreted as a shared understanding amongst the participants. Focus group analysis, guided by a protocol developed by Palmer et al. (2010) was utilised at this step of the process. As described above, this involved not only developing 1st and 2nd order codes but also served to direct the researcher's attention to the function of statements made by the participants, the way in which they made their experiences meaningful to one another, areas of conflict and consensus as well as group dynamics and processed. All of these factors play an important role in organising emerging patterns of meaning and understanding within the group (Rostill-Brookes et al., 2010). Finally attention was paid to across group analysis, by noting commonalities and differences across the groups. These were organised diagrammatically into themes. This process was reviewed by the researcher and research assistant, for reflection, and in an ongoing endeavour to retain a focus on the essence of what it means to experience the process of parenting for both the parents and adolescents in this study.

4.5 Research method

The process involved in selection of participants, a description of the participants, the gathering of data and explication process as well as ethical issues will be addressed below.

4.5.1 Criteria for participant selection

Osborne (1990) contends that from a phenomenological perspective, only two criteria are strictly necessary for the selection of participants for this type of research design: i) to have experienced, or presently be experiencing, the phenomenon of interest; and ii) to be verbally proficient enough to communicate that experience to the researcher. Thus, for the purposes of this study, two populations were sampled: parents of adolescent children and their adolescent children. Having experienced the phenomenon of interest was specifically defined for the first group as being a parent of one or more adolescent children, whilst

selection for the second group required that the children should fall into the life phase known as adolescence. With regards to the second criterion identified by Osborne (1990) - the requirement for participants to be verbally proficient enough to communicate their experience to the researcher – one of the groups sampled spoke Xhosa, as the researcher is not proficient in Xhosa, the services of a translator was engaged to facilitate with this process.

Research in psychology has traditionally excluded people whose mother tongue is not English or, as Vara and Patel (2012) note, in studies using interpreters often the role of the interpreter is rendered invisible by researchers "describing the research as 'through' an interpreter rather than 'with' an interpreter" (p. 76). In order to obtain a sample that was relevant and representative of the greater population of South Africa posed the challenge of interviewing a group of people whose mother tongue was not English. In order to over come this challenge and allow the participants (many of whom were able to speak English) the opportunity to express themselves in their mother tongue (Xhosa) if they so wished, the services of an interpreter was made available. In seeking collaboration as early as possible, in this study, efforts were made to identify a key contact person from the community of the research participants to assist with recruitment of participants as well as act as an interpreter. Collaboration involved discussing the research purpose with the interpreter in order to minimise the likelihood of the research being misrepresented to potential participants by the interpreter. The person who was identified as the key contact person was a Xhosa speaking woman in the community from which the third group of participants were selected. This woman teaches Xhosa at a well-resourced private school in the Western Cape. She was also studying for a teaching degree at the time of the interviews.

4.5.2 Purposive sampling of participants

Purposive sampling seeks participants who meet the criteria of "desirable participants" (Henning et al., 2005, p. 71). Purposive sampling may be described as a technique that is used to select participants for a study "because they can purposefully inform an

understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon of the study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 125), this afforded the researcher some control over who was included in the study and who was not. IPA generally makes use of purposive sampling to identify appropriate participants (Smith, 2006). For the purposes of this study participants were required to be parents of adolescent children (forming the parent group of participants) and their adolescent children who formed the adolescent group of participants.

Henning et al. (2005) note that the need for additional sampling may arise during the preliminary stages of the research process and in such instances, "purposive sampling may be adjusted to accommodate snowball sampling, a technique in which the data collected thus far indicate which other interviewees are needed" (p. 4).

4.5.3 Snowball sampling of participants

Neuman (2006) defines snowball sampling as "a non-random sample in which the researcher begins with one case, and then based on the information about interrelationships from that case, identifies other cases" (p. 223). Thus, snowball sampling refers to a method of identifying and sampling a few participants and locating others by using information supplied by the initial participants identified (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché, & Delport, 2005). The underlying principle is that "each person or unit is connected with another through direct or indirect linkage" (Neuman, 2006, p. 223).

Initially the researcher approached two people with regards to taking part in the study. Both people then identified other people who fit the criteria for selection and two focus groups formed out of this process. During the course of the first focus group interviews, a participant approached the researcher and asked if we could repeat the process with a group of parents and adolescents from her church, as she felt this would be a very valuable experience for them, this gave rise to the third group.

Purposive sampling and snowballing as techniques for selecting participants are related to each other in that the researcher chose initial participants who fulfilled the requirements

for the study, and as information was provided about other potential participants, the researcher determined their suitability according to the established criteria. The researcher was therefore in control of the selection of participants, to some extent, but by adding a third group the size of the sample for this study did become rather large, which is not optimal in terms of the IPA data analysis method.

4.5.4 Sample size

The number of participants required in a qualitative study is determined by the purpose and goals of the study. "Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources" (Patton, 2002, p. 244). Participants were divided into three focus groups. The size of the groups ranged from between 7 and 9 adolescents, and 9 and 14 parents. Focus groups comprise participants with similar experiences, concerns, or cultural backgrounds (Hansen, 2006, Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). The use of three focus groups afforded the researcher the opportunity to access the experiences and views of a diverse range of parents and adolescents, which added richness and diversity to the data gathered. Furthermore, this afforded the researcher the opportunity to compare similarities and differences in the experiences of the participants in the different groups. As this is a qualitative study, a small number of participants is deemed acceptable (Patton, 2002), IPA too is ideally suited to a small number of participants. The number of participants in this study rendered it a rather large sample and yielded an enormous amount of information that made the analysis process difficult. In order to ensure that the richness of the data gathered was not compromised and to keep the discussion of the results as focused as possible to the topic of parenting adolescence, only the most prominent and relevant themes were chosen for discussion. Thus, focus group interviews were conducted until the researcher had reached a point in the investigation of the phenomenon where it was felt that the phenomenon had been thoroughly explored and richly described, following this all the data was transcribed and coded before selecting the most relevant themes to be discussed.

4.5.5 Participant demographics

The population for this research comprised three groups of parents and three groups of adolescents (ranging in age from 13-19 years, with one of the male participants being 21 years old) from the Western Cape. The three groups were representative of three different South African socio-cultural contexts. In the first group, (Parent Group A) there were 8 mothers and 6 fathers and their adolescent children (Adolescent Group A), which contained 8 girls, who attended well-resourced private schools in the Western Cape. The second group, (Parent Group B), consisted of 9 mothers and their adolescent children, 7 girls and 2 boys (Adolescent Group B) who were mainly Afrikaans speaking and were connected through their church. The third group consisted of a group of 7 Xhosa speaking mothers and 2 Xhosa speaking fathers (Parent Group C) and their adolescent children - 3 boys and 4 girls (Adolescent Group C).

Table 1: Description of participants

Group	SES	Language	School	Number of parents	Number of adolescents	Total participants	Total family units
A	Upper-middle	English	Private	8 mothers 6 fathers	8 girls (14-16 years)	22	8
B	Middle to lower middle	English and Afrikaans	State	9 mothers	7 girls 2 boys (13-19 years)	18	9
C	Lower	Xhosa	State	7 mothers 2 fathers	4 girls 3 boys (14-16) with 1 boy aged 21	16	7

While it is noted the a 21 year old participant does not fit into the commonly accepted definition of adolescent, it was decided to retain and report on the data gathered from this participant as it adds value to the discussion in chapter 2 of this study with regards to both the African perspective on adolescence as well as providing an interesting example of the

extending period of adolescence, which was also discussed in chapter 2.

4.5.6 Data collection method

Data collection started in April 2009 and continued until September 2009. Twenty-six families were recruited and agreed to participate in the study. Twenty-six families is a rather large number of participants for an IPA study and thus it was decided to utilise a focus group approach. As discussed earlier in this chapter, focus groups provide an opportunity to engage in the collective nature of a group process, enabling several perspectives to be obtained in a shorter period of time than would be possible if the researcher were to have conducted one-to-one interviews. Furthermore, from a social constructionist perspective where meaning-making is seen to be produced collaboratively, through social interaction a focus group approach seemed to be the best choice. Focus groups would afford the researcher the opportunity to observe how participants engaged in the process of collaborative meaning-making and offer the opportunity for multiple voices to be heard at one sitting, thus drawing a large sample into a smaller number of data collection events, as noted by Palmer et al. (2010). However, ultimately the aim of this study was to explore parents' and adolescents' experience of a collaborative parenting process and thus by virtue of the nature of this endeavour one-to-one interviews would not suit a collaborative approach. Finally, as suggested by Palmer et al. (2010), in situations, similar to this study, where a researcher wishes to engage with naturally occurring groups (such as families) the group discussion may educe more experiential reflection than an individual interview.

Focus groups have several advantages for data collection. Data collection is enjoyable for the participants, cost effective, and interactions among participants enhance the quality of the data (Patton, 2002). For the purpose of this study, an interview schedule was developed and utilised to collect information, from the parents and adolescents in the focus groups, about their experiences of the parenting process.

The participants were divided into focus groups based on the time and nature of the

sampling process. Semi-structured interview were then conducted in the focus groups.

According to Smith (2006), semi-structured interviews serve as a guide for the researcher, without being restrictive. The semi-structured interview allows the researcher to explore interesting areas that arise, and follow the participant's ideas, interests or concerns more closely which may ultimately provide an in depth collection of richly described data (Smith, 2006). Similarly, Chapman and Smith (2002) indicate that using a semi-structured interview in an IPA study allows the researcher and participants to engage in a discourse whereby original questions may be adapted in accordance with the participants' responses. This indicates an open-ended approach to interviewing. In this study all the interviews with the parent groups started with the question "What is your experience of parening an adolescent child? The adolescents commenced with the question "What is your experience of the way you are parented?" Although the interview schedule was constructed with the aim of the research in mind, it was used in a flexible manner, allowing the participants the freedom to express their views and experiences in their own words (See Appendix A).

Smith (2006) identifies certain advantages to using the semi-structured interview, which include it serving as a means of establishing rapport and building trust with the participants, allowing for flexibility to explore new areas of interest that may arise during the interview and, as a result, obtain more detailed information than one would obtain using a structured interview. Before commencing with the interviews rapport was established by ensuring that all the participants in the group were comfortable, allowing the group members to introduce themseslves to the other members, and with the researcher explaining the nature of the research and process that would be followed during the focus group interviews, in order for the participants to be fully informed and oriented with regards to their involvement in this study. Throughout the study, the researcher remained aware of maintaining rapprt and building trust, this was done through showing a respectful, genuine and sensitive interest in the participants' experiences. According to Smith (2006), the disadvantages of using a semi-structured interview include less control for the researcher during the interview which could result in data that is more difficult to interpret. In this study recording of the focus group interviews and observation notes taken

throughout the session ensured a careful process of data collection.

Field notes are another important source of data collection in qualitative research that were utilised in this study. Fields notes facilitate the recording of "what the researcher hears, sees, experiences and thinks in the course of collecting and reflecting on the process" (Groenewald, 2004, p. 13). This took the form of a reflective diary whereby the researcher and research assistant documented their thoughts and observations as well as the affect the processes and dynamics within the group had on them. This was done at a meeting between the researcher and research assistant, directly after each group.

4.5.7 Data collection procedure

Appointments for the interviews were set up by the researcher by consulting with the parents regarding times that were suitable for themselves and for their adolescent children. Between 90 – 120 minutes per session per group was allocated. All groups were held in the Western Cape between April and September 2009. Before the commencement of the interview, the researcher allocated time to establish rapport with the participants without video recording the informal, rapport building conversation. The researcher then explained the purposes of the research and its goals as well as how research results would be disseminated. Interviews were video-taped with the written permission of the participants (the parents also co-signed for the children). The recording of each interview was then transcribed verbatim by the researcher and an assistant.

For the purposes of this research, a semi-structured interview guide or interview schedule was developed by the researcher prior to commencing the research. This was then used to facilitate the discussion among participants within the groups.

The interviews were conducted within the focus groups. Three steps were involved in the process for each focus group. First the researcher and research assistant (who is a qualified psychologist) met with the parent group to explore their experiences of parenting their adolescent children. The second step involved the researchers meeting with the adolescent

group to explore their experiences of the parenting process. Step three comprised the researchers meeting with both the parents and adolescents together to give feedback about the discussions that took place during steps one and two and to facilitate a group discussion between the parents and adolescents which, in turn, facilitated the process of parents and adolescents being able to collaborate and negotiate a parenting plan, or way forward, that was preferred for each family unit in the group. In this study, having three group sessions served to clarify the picture of the participants' participation and collaboration with each other. Having a third session in which both parents and adolescents met together with the researcher created an opportunity to present the participants with the data gathered during the first two sessions in order to check accuracy and clarify any information that may not have been clear. Furthermore, feedback provided by the parents and adolescents in the third session enhanced the richness of the participants' experiences and offered improved understanding of the research topic.

The data collection process with focus groups in this study is represented in figure 8

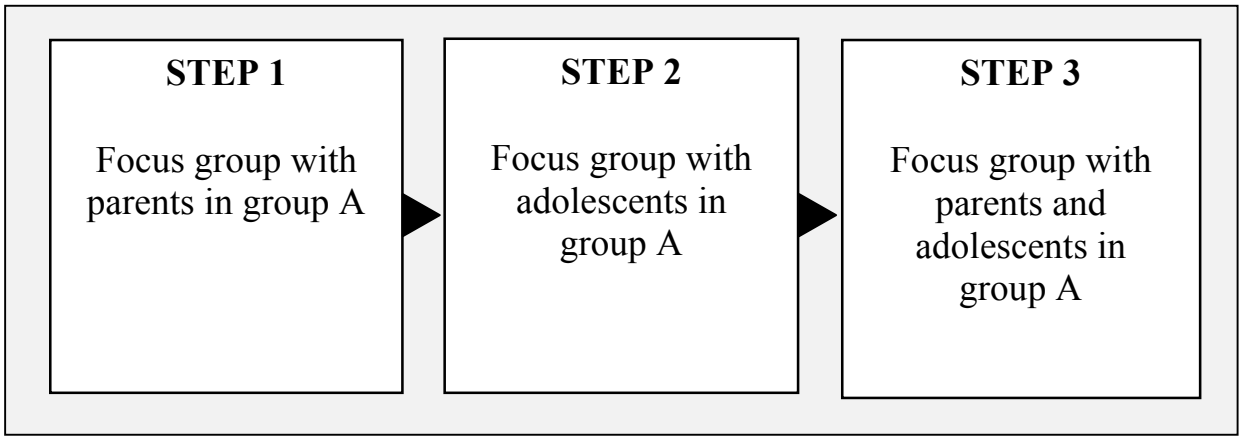

Figure 8. Process of data collection with focus groups in this study. (Note: The process was repeated for the participants in groups B and C.)

4.5.8 Explication of the data

Data explication, using the IPA methodology, is both phenomenological and interpretive, in so far as the resulting descriptions and interpretations arise from an interaction between

the participants' accounts of their experiences of the phenomenon under investigation and the researcher's framework of meaning (Touroni & Coyle, 2002). Once the data had been collected and the interviews transcribed, IPA methodology was utilised in order to develop a comprehensive description that captured the essence of the participants' experiences (Creswell, 2007). According to Creswell (2007), this description takes into account 'what' the participants experienced and 'how' they experienced it. As mentioned above, such a philosophy assumes a socially constructed reality as opposed to an objective, factual one and seeks understanding rather than causality. Interviews focused on the experiences of parents and their adolescent children of the parenting process. The meanings of central themes or patterns arising through the interviews were interpreted using the IPA approach.

Smith (2006) explains that the purpose of IPA is to "explore in detail how participants are making sense of their personal and social world, and the main currency for an IPA study is the meanings particular experiences, events and states hold for participants" (p. 51).

This process was undertaken in order for the researcher and participants to arrive at an understanding of the participants' world as well as an understanding of the social and psychological factors involved in their process (Smith, 2006). Essentially the explication process involves an in-depth investigation of the interview data, converting the data into themes, and linking these themes in order to gain greater access to, and understanding of, the collective experiences of parents and their adolescent children relating to the parenting process. Given that focus groups were utilised, cognissance also needs to be taken of group dynamics and processes that may have impacted the researcher and or participants in order to interpret and report,in an unbiased manner, on the meaning-making process for the participants.

The aim of the study was to explore the experiences of adolescents and their parents by gaining an understanding of their perceptions and emotions. Since this information is clearly specific to the selected sample, generalisations about the findings to other groups of adolescents or parents cannot be made.

4.6 Ethical Procedures

Approval from the Research and Ethics Committee of the University of the Free State was obtained before the research commenced. In addition, the following steps were taken to ensure ethical standards were maintained:

4.6.1 Informed consent

Participants were informed about the nature and purpose of the study by means of a Participant Information Sheet (refer to Appendix B) which all participants were required to sign before commencement of the first interview. The general purpose of the research, the nature of the participant's involvement and the participant's freedom to withdraw from the research at any point was also explained to the participants at the commencement of the first interview. This would assist the participants in being able to make an informed and knowledgeable decision about participating in the study. None of the participants exercised their right to withdraw from the research. Written consent was obtained from each participant, noting that they were aware that participation in the study was voluntary, and also giving permission for the interviews to be video-recorded.

4.6.2 Confidentiality

The confidentiality, right to privacy and anonymity of the participants was assured. The researcher explained to the participants that all information would be treated as confidential and no identifying information would be made public without the written consent of the participant. Furthermore, for the purposes of this study, confidentiality was ensured through the use of numbers, as opposed to participants' names, in the reporting and discussing of the data.

4.6.3 Prevention of adverse consequences

"Qualitative researchers are morally bound to conduct their research in a manner that minimises potential harm to those involved in the study. As such, researchers need to convey with confidence to participants that they will not come to harm as a result of involvement in research" (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2006, p. 409). In order to exercise ethical caution in this regard a qualified psychologist who served as a research assistant, was present for all the interviews. This afforded the researcher (and participants, if necessary) extra support and the presence of another qualified person to observe the process and to monitor that ground rules were set up and adhered to. The interviews for data collection were arranged to take place at a convenient time so as not to interfere with the adolescents participants' daily school routine. Furthermore, the groups were held in an environment familiar to the participants, and agreed on by them. The group members were all known to each other before the research and this may well have helped to create a safe, supportive environment, where the participants felt comfortable sharing their experiences with each other.

4.6.4 Other ethical considerations

According to Smith (2006), the following ethical considerations also need to be taken into account during research: Qualitative researchers must remain attentive to the relationships between the researcher and the participants. This relationship is determined by roles, status, language and cultural norms. The researcher needs to pay attention to the research processes of giving information, reciprocity, collaboration and be sensitive to how these processes are viewed by the participants in research. The stipulated criteria for the selection of participants did not discriminate against any potential participants based on the grounds of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, family status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, disability or medical condition, conscience or beliefs, religion or culture.

Every attempt was made to honour the above ethical considerations. Both the researcher and research assistant were qualified psychologists who are skilled in working with

groups, able to maintain respectful communication and be sensitive to inclusive practices that do not marginalise people in any way.

4.6.5 Good practice guidelines – trustworthiness of the research

Whereas quantitative research is best evaluated against criteria such as reliability and validity, qualitative research is perhaps more accurately assessed according to principles of trustworthiness (De Vos et al., 2005). Qualitative research provides a valuable source of evidence to enhance social science research. The value of qualitative research in a study such as this lies in the fact that it focuses on the participants own perspectives, views and experiences; recognises the importance of understanding and acknowledging experience in context; allows for the ongoing discovery and exploration of new and emerging findings and provides a basis for the development of collaboration and partnership to between researcher and participants (Curtin & Fossey, 2007). However, valuable as this may be, it is equally important that the rigour of both the conduct and reporting of qualitative research be assessed in order to establish the trustworthiness of the research. Curtin and Fossey (2007) suggest that establishing the trustworthiness of research enhances the reader's confidence that the findings are worthy of attention and are an authentic reflection of the phenomenon under investigation. Stiles (1993) attempted to organise quality standards or good practice guidelines for qualitative research under two main headings. Firstly, according to Stiles (1993), *good practice* refers to the trustworthiness of observations and data obtained during the research process; as well as what would be referred to as reliability in conventional quantitative research. This includes or requires: disclosure of the researchers orientation and preconceptions; explanation of the socio-cultural context of the research; descriptions of the internal process of the researcher; close engagement with the research material; grounding of the data with examples from the data obtained; and presenting descriptions as opposed to explanations. Thus, in qualitative research, the terms *trustworthiness and understanding* are used to describe the validity of the data.

4.6.5.1 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness can be established by addressing the credibility, dependability, transferability and the confirmability of the findings of the study. These four criteria, as well as the steps taken by the researcher to establish trustworthiness, will be briefly discussed.

4.6.5.1.1 Credibility

According to Henning et al. (2005), credibility is the alternative to internal validity in empirical research. The argument for this is that the concept of internal validity is based on the idea that there is a single reality which can be measured, as opposed to the idea that there are multiple realities, which the researcher needs to represent comprehensively and accurately. Researchers establish credibility by raising confidence in the extent to which account has been taken of the complexities that present themselves in a study, that the research accurately reflects the experiences of the participants, as well as the researcher's ability to deal with patterns that are not easily explained (Gay et al., 2006, p. 405). While the participants themselves are best positioned to verify the credibility of the research findings, the responsibility lies with the researcher to establish, as best as possible, the credibility of the research. In this study, this was achieved through documenting on a large flip chart the comments participants made, in their presence, in the focus group interviews. At the end of the group session, the researcher and participants revisited all the pages on the flip chart in order to agree to the accuracy of the content that had been recorded on paper. All the sessions were video recorded and watched and re-watched by the researcher and research assistant. Thus collaboration between the researcher and participants contributed to privileging the views, perspectives and opinions of the participants as well as contributing to the trustworthiness of this study. The transcripts too were independently checked and re-checked, by the researcher and research assistant, before writing up the research. Having recorded the sessions the recording remained available for continued checking as needed. The fact that the researcher met with each of the groups of participants over three occasions also provided the opportunity for the participants to

become more familiar with the researcher and thus feel more comfortable than may have been the case if we had only met once. This also provided the researcher the opportunity to document (from the flip charts and video recordings the emerging themes and present these to the groups (parents and adolescents together) during the final session for their verification.

4.6.5.1.2 Transferability

Transferability or applicability refers to the extent to which the research findings apply to, or may be generalised, to other contexts. The purpose, in qualitative research, is not to generalise findings that could theoretically be generalized to a similar population, but rather to describe the phenomenon or experience of the population of the specific study. Henning et al. (2005) note that transferability, in qualitative research, is the alternative to external validity or generalisability for quantitative research.

Every attempt has been made to provide a thick description of the research process and the findings. Thick description (Geertz, 1973) involves providing a detail-rich description of the context and circumstances surrounding the phenomenon being studied, in order to facilitate a full understanding of the phenomenon. This study has demonstrated the use of thick description by providing a clear rationale for the use of theory and methodology in exploring the parenting experiences of parents and their adolescent children. Furthermore a detailed description of the participants has been provided, substantial narrative from the participants together with an interpretive commentary was provided, as well as a clear description of all attempts to establish the trustworthiness of this study.

4.6.5.1.3 Dependability

Dependability is considered to be the alternative to reliability in quantitative research. Research findings are considered to be consistent were the same results obtained had the study been repeated with the same subjects or in a similar context. This implies stability of data (Gay et al., 2006, p. 405). In this study detailed records were kept of all the steps in

the process, challenges that arose and the reflections of the researcher and research assistant. Furthermore, a set of reflective questions were used to guide the process of reflection.

4.6.5.1.4 Confirmability

*C*onfirmability is similar to objectivity in a quantitative study. In a quantitative study objectivity would be concerned with whether the results of the study could be confirmed by another similar study. This, however, would not be possible in a qualitative study of this nature. What would be possible, though, is the repetition of the research process – albeit that it may reveal different findings. In order to establish confirmability a rich description of the research process has been provided. Furthermore, every attempt was made to privilege the voices of the participants, remaining as "faithful as possible to the phenomenon and to the context in which it appears in the world" (Smith, 2006, p. 27). Thus, it has been an imperative on the part of the researcher to "capture as closely as possible the way in which the phenomenon is experienced within the context in which the experience takes place" (Smith, 2006, p. 27).

In summary, various attempts were taken throughout the process of this research to establish trustworthiness in this study; the researcher and research assistant met after each focus group, to discuss their perceptions of the process. A reflective diary was kept to assist in the explication process. Of significant importance was that the same researcher and research assistant worked together through the data collection process in order to maintain consistancy. The research participants were consulted regarding the accuracy of the researcher's understanding of what they had said. During the groups, what the participants said was noted on a flip chart for all to see and the participants were thus involved in clarifying any information that had not been clearly recorded. The groups were also videotaped and transcribed and the transcriptions were checked by two parties. Furthermore, a guide containing reflective questions was utilised in the reflective process engaged in by the researcher and researcher assistant (see Appendix C).

4.7 Conclusion

In terms of Terre Blanche and Durrheim's (2000) description of a research design as a strategic framework for action that links the research questions and the implementation of the research, the design described in this chapter links the questions presented in earlier chapters about the way parenting is experienced, with the life-worlds of the participants. The phenomenological approach to rich or thick description (Geertz, 1973), the interview schedule and focus group approach, giving the participants in this study the opportunity to contribute their own unique thoughts and perceptions, the IPA methodology for the explication of the data and the reflexive approach to interpretation – all of these features serve the aims of the research in terms of exploring the experiences of parents and adolescents with regard to parenting practices in this life phase. It is also hoped that the utilisation of a qualitative research methodology may have enhanced the capacity of the researcher to understand and give voice to those who are still in the process of finding their voices.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS

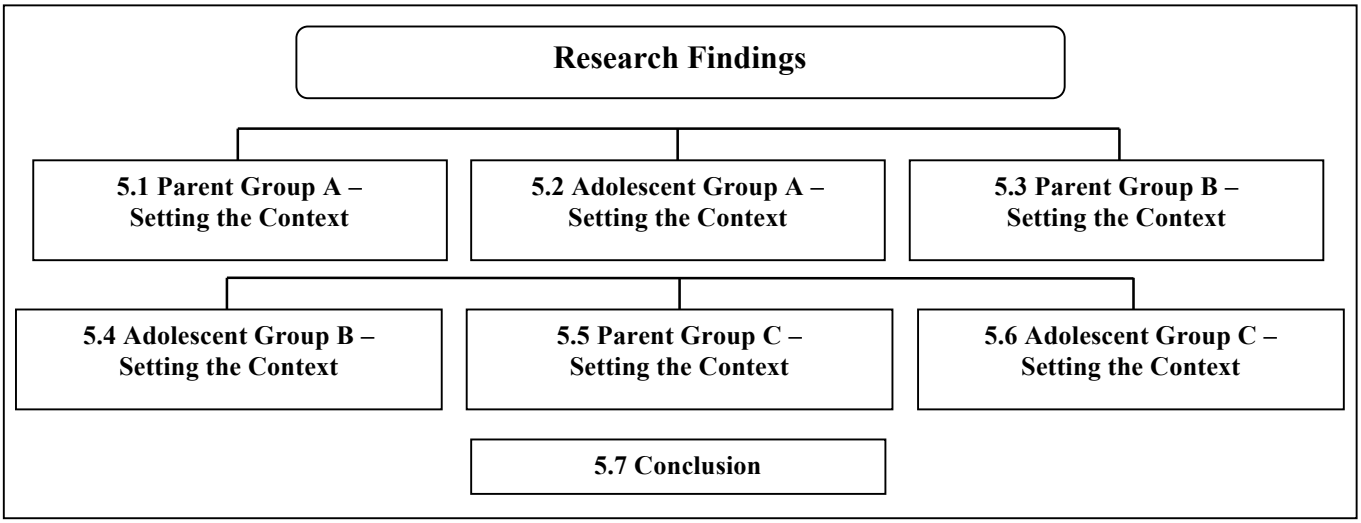

Figure 9. Visual Display of Chapter 5.

This chapter presents the research findings of this study. As a qualitative study concerned with the experience of the process of parenting, and the symbolic processes by which this experience is understood and represented by individuals and by groups in dialogue with one another, these findings take the form of expressions from participants, and reflections on the expressions of other participants. For the most part, the expressions are verbal, although sometimes non-verbal expressions also hold significance.

Themes and sub-themes were identified during the process of the explication of the data. The emergent themes are described in this section, illustrated by direct quotations from participants. Participants' names and identifying information are not disclosed in order to preserve anonymity.

Verbatim extracts from the original data are used in order to reflect the true voices of the participants and to enhance trustworthiness. To ensure confidentiality all personal or identifying information has been either removed or altered. Clarifying information appears within square brackets []; three ellipsis points (...) indicate a pause in the flow of the

participant's speech, and four points (….) indicate an editing cut. The quotations used in this chapter can be traced in the full interview transcription in Appendix D-K by using the appendix number, page number and paragraph number as indicated in brackets after each quotation.

Themes emerging from interviews with the parents are discussed first, followed by themes that emerged from interviews with the adolescents in each of the three groups – data collected from the third focus group session (the joint session where the parents and adolescents met together is woven into the themes and sub-themes where applicable).

Rostill-Brookes et al., (2010) note that interview and focus group data may differ. As discussed in the previous chapter, interview data is closely concerned with personal accounts, whilst focus group data may be more involved with group processes of debate and dialogue. However, as noted by Rostill-Brookes et al., in order to elicit the views of children, adolescents or "those in other marginalised groups, methods need to be sufficiently flexible and creative" (2010, p.109). Children and adolescents are not always ideal interview partners, but in the group setting they were able to encourage and affirm each other within the collective narrative that each one helped to weave.

Themes and sub-themes which offer new insights, or which are important in contextualising participants' experiences, are reported in greater detail than those themes and sub-themes which reflect common motifs in the literature. Each section commences with a brief description of the participants in order to make visible the context of the participants in each group, and a reflection from the perspective of the research team.

5.1 Parent Group A – Setting the Context

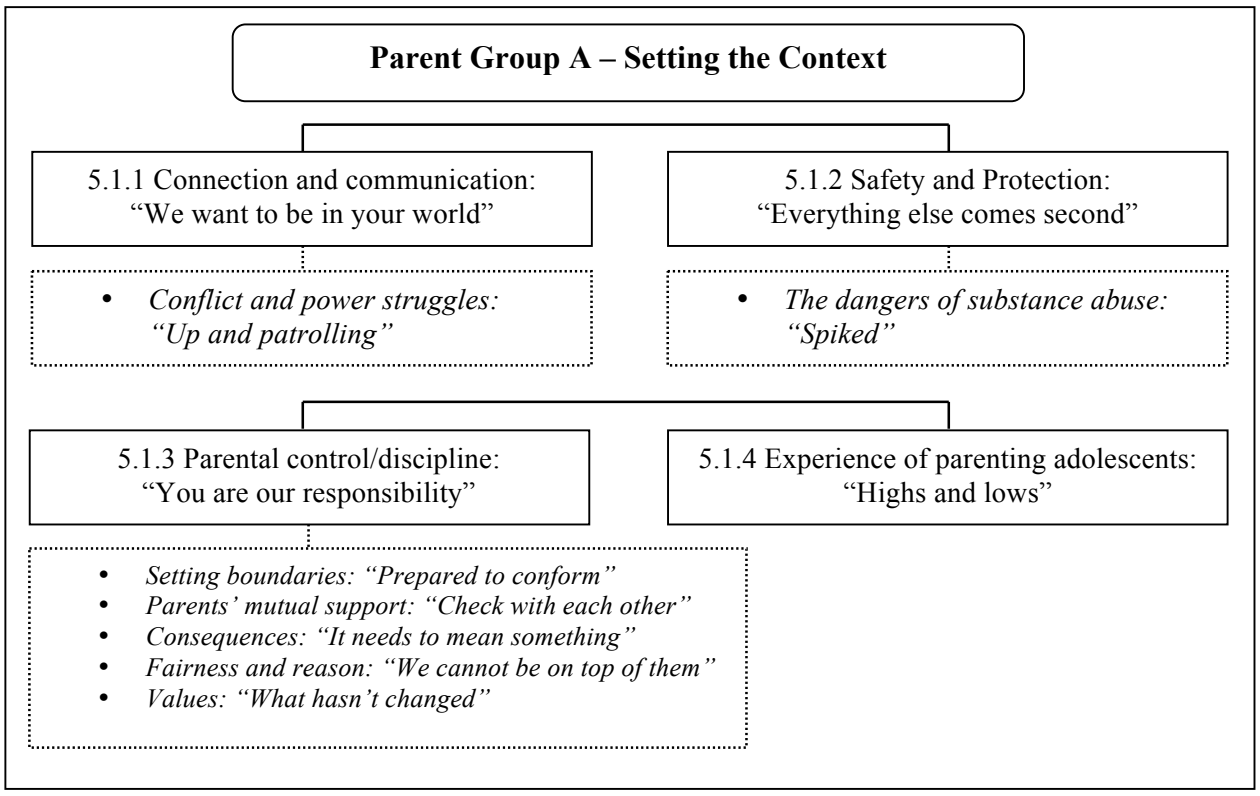

Figure 10. Visual display of themes and sub-themes

The participants in this parent group were fairly affluent and well-educated residents of upper-middle class suburbs in the Cape Town metropole. Initially the group included seven mothers who all knew each other and socialised regularly.

During the course of the interviews one of the mothers spent a great deal of time expressing her frustration and speaking at length about her ongoing struggle to gain co-operation and/or compliance from her daughter. Initially, this felt uncomfortable and I had be mindful of my facilitation role, to avoid interrupting her, or offering advice. However, due to positive group dynamics and a sense of comfort in the group, the other mothers were able to express themselves easily and to give honest, helpful feedback to this mother. After the first focus group session, this group of mothers requested that the group be re-run for the fathers of their adolescent daughters. Meeting with the fathers yielded valuable data, the information gathered was thought provoking and often moving, as was my experience in

witnessing the warm, affectionate manner in which the girls and their fathers interacted, and the fathers' obvious enjoyment of the relationship they have with their adolescent daughters.

Dynamics in the group were however very different to those of the mother group, in which a great deal of frustration had been expressed about adolescent behaviour. The fathers appeared more open with their daughters. They were quick to adopt a problem solving approach to any relationship challenge that was identified or emerged in the interaction; and they made consistent use of "teachable moments" with their daughters.

While the mothers spent a great deal of time talking about communication and their connection with their children, issues of safety were the fathers' main concern. Though relatively powerful in their daily lives, these men experienced a sense of helplessness in their longing to protect their daughters from harm, along with a realistic appreciation that should they give the adolescents freedom to grow up and to make mistakes, they would have to accept the consequent anxiety and an unfamiliar sense of helplessness.

5.1.1 Connection and communication: "We want to be in your world"

The need by both mothers and fathers to feel connected to their adolescent children and to build better relationships with them featured strongly in the expression of all these parents. The parents spoke emotionally about their relationships with their children and were motivated to find ways of staying connected to their adolescents: *"I do find that I have more pleasure with my teenagers. You have to fight with them but I also joke a lot with them too." [Mother 4][D][p. 15: par 1.6].* In the moving joint session, one father explained to the girls: *"We want to be in your world." [Father 5][E][p. 30: par 1.11]*, to which another added: *"We don't want to lose you girls" [Father 2][E][p. 30: par 1.11]*

The fathers showed awareness that the father/daughter relationship was important to the adolescents, as well as a strong sense of responsibility and understanding of their influential role in the young people's lives and in particular, how they could help their

daughters to feel emotionally secure: *"We do influence our children by example, and so the question is not should we be influencing them. The truth is, we are influencing them, we need to look at the things that are the foundations of relationships: dependability, reliability, and knowing that no matter what, your parents are there for you… They need to know that our job as parents is to equip them to cope with difficult situations and that we are not trying to be difficult" [Father 5][E][p. 4: par 1.5].*

Another father extended this theme by explaining to the girls the importance of love and connection in the father-daughter bond and the possible consequences that could ensue if there were problems in the parent-child relationship: "*It is a fact that a daughter has her father as her first male role model, and if there is a lack of communication or love in that relationship, it is a fact that the first boy that comes along and gives you a hint of love that you didn't get from your father, more than likely you will have a relationship and take it further …If you feel you are in love with the guy and take it physically forward – almost like you are looking for love … The risk is that you will look at the boy to meet all the needs that you feel were not met by your dad and you may try to please him and could end up doing more than you should for the wrong reasons." [Father 1][E] [p. 3: par 1.5].*

Shortage of time and general busyness was a frequently represented problem – not only because parents were busy, but because adolescents were busy too. Some mothers and several fathers described being at a loss for ways to spend time with their children that would assist connection. *"I really don't know what to do together. Whenever I suggest something my daughter already has plans. It really does seem that friends take precedence over family at this stage"[Father 5][E][p. 28: par 1.11]*

However, taking advantage of the learning opportunity offered by the group, these parents began to share ideas for connection. A mother spoke about the daily school run as an opportunity to hear what was happening in her adolescents' life, which triggered the following response from another parent about meal-times as a good time to connect: *"Touching on Father 5's point about the value of having a couple of moments in the car while taking your child to school. Sitting around the table and just discussing the day, as much as it may be a difficult thing for everybody to discipline themselves to be there, is also an opportunity to spend time together. For us that is fundamental in our family - so every night for the last 20 odd*

years, it is literally sitting down for half an hour or an hour and just hearing what everybody else has got to say and has done and then getting up and carrying on with our own individual lives. I think that's very important" [Father 4][E][p. 28 par:1.11]

Many of the comments made by the parents in this group were reflective of high levels of empathy, and an acute awareness of what might be 'special' to the young person that takes the adolescent's perspective: *"Before we move on, I want to say that perhaps it is about finding the right time and way to connect with them. The other day Adolescent 1 and I went for a ride together on my motorbike and you know how special that was. If I died tomorrow she would always remember that day forever, because we did something special together" [Father 1][E][p. 31: par 1.12]*

Despite their motivation to connect and ability to empathise, parents sometimes found it difficult to communicate with their adolescent children, who were not always willing to 'open up' to parents: *"I need help around how to communicate with my children in an open manner" [Mother 1][D][p.1: par 1.2].* A father described his frustration at his daughter's minimal level of disclosure: *"Oh so I say 'Hi Adolescent 7, how was your day?' She says 'fine' then I say "what did you do?" She says 'stuff'" [Father 5] [E] [p. 28: par 1.11]*

Later in the joint discussion with the adolescents, this topic was addressed, and the girls had some helpful advice in the following exchange between Adolescent 3 and her father, Father 3

"You need to broaden your questions. If you ask how is my boyfriend, I will say good because he is – what else can I say?" [Adolescent 3][E][p. 30: par 1.11]. "Okay, so give us an example of the kind of questions we should ask" [Father 3][E][p. 30: par 1.11]. "You could ask what school does he go to? Or when does he matriculate? Or when is his birthday? Or does he play sport? Or how is his golf going?" [Adolescent 3][E][p. 30: par 1.11].

Adolescent 7 added that parents should think about when to address an issue, because comments made in anger may be experienced as hurtful: *"You must also choose your time to talk… If you are mad at me you must have thought about what to say before you say*

something....when I had run out of my insulin you couldn't stop shouting at me, saying that I was the biggest idiot – that was hurtful and wrong" [Adolescent 7][E][p.48: par 1.19].

This was, however, a rather exceptional situation and did not represent the general experience as represented by the parents. Mother 5, spoke on behalf of herself and other mothers in the group: *"We find communication with our teenagers is mostly positive and we enjoy it." [Mother 5][D][p.15: par 1.6].*

A mother, Mother 6, described a form of connection and engagement with her adolescent children that she experienced as enjoyable and rewarding. This mother sought to help Mother 2 in her struggle to communicate with her adolescent children, by explaining that the actions and attitudes of the parent can influence the responses of the adolescent. She explained that she had come to realise that using positive reinforcement, affirmation and the use of humour can be a useful style of communication with adolescents: *"... once I see commitment, I praise her for what she is achieving. If we say they are problematic, then they will be difficult. So I view my kids as stunning kids and I have enjoyed them the older they have got. I can have conversations with them around the dinner table and I can laugh with them and we can joke about drinking and smoking and sex. We have really nice conversations" [Mother 6][p. 14: par 1.6].*

Conflict and power struggles as barriers to effective connection and communication was identified as a sub-theme.

5.1.1.1 Conflict and power struggles: "Up and patrolling"

Many of the parents in this group expressed frustration around conflictual communication patterns, which they attributed to their adolescents *not listening* to them. One mother, clearly upset, tried to express her sense of weariness at being 'on patrol' to enforce household rules: *"I'm tired of talking and not being heard. By that I mean, if I say 'Please don't go to bed late tonight, you know how you battle to get up in the morning', I expect at this age, of 14 going on 15, for her to accept this....And unless I am up and patrolling to make sure that the TV is*

off, or she is not on the computer or is in bed when I want her to be, it does not get done. That's my frustration - that everything is an argument" [Mother 1][D][p. 1: par 1.2].

At a later stage Mother 1 commented further on her feelings of hopelessness and exhaustion around parent-child conflict: *"I've got two children that want to do what they want to do, when they want to do it... They are not prepared to change. It's a continual fight, I just want them to listen. I just feel that I am exhausted now" [Mother1][D][p.5: Par 1.3].* Another parent summarised by noting that *"Fighting takes away from our pleasure together" [Mother3][D][p. 15: par 1.6].*

One father suggested that parents keep needless power struggles going, by using fighting talk to the detriment of learning opportunities for their adolescent: *"One has also got to accept that if we bring up past issues as a weapon e.g. You were so bad you did this - that's not the way. It is about did you learn from that experience and have you moved on from that. As long as it's constructive and not destructive…" [Father 5][E][p. 37: par 1.14].*

The parents in this group did appear to have a strong sense of the significance of effective communication for their relationship with their adolescents. Occasionally, when particularly tired or frustrated with their children, they may lapse into, what they considered to be, less effective modes of communication but in general they appeared to work towards maintaining the conditions for good communication. Mother 3 said that she had told her adolescent daughter, and her daughter's friends that, *"they are at a point where they have to decide what type of people they would like to be, and it is our job as parents to try and help them and guide them" [Mother 3][D][p. 14: par 1.6].* Mother 4 agreed: *"all this can best be achieved through good communication." [Mother 4][D][p. 15: par 1.6]* or as one of the fathers summarised at the end of the joint session: *"I think it boils down to an attitude and a change of attitude that we may be talking about. If we talk like this together, that attitude will be respect and trust and communication" [Father 1][D][p.52: par 1.22].*

5.1.2 Safety and protection: "Everything else comes second"

As mentioned above, the parents in Group A, especially the fathers, showed great concern for the safety and protection of their daughters: *"Our greatest concern is for their safety" [Father 1][E][p. 8: par 1.7];* and as Father 1 explained to the girls *"You need to understand that it is not because we are trying to block anything that you do. It is purely because we want to protect you, and maybe it sounds overprotective, but it is purely because we love you" [Father 1][E][p. 16: par 1.7].*

The greater sense of mobility that adolescents generally enjoy (compared to younger children) was a factor in the parents' experience of being less able to monitor or to protect their adolescents, than they might have preferred. The fathers offered practical suggestions for enhanced safety: *"They all have cell phones, and if they are out and we call, and they do not answer, we worry. I realise that it may be irritating for the girls, but we need them to be contactable … Perhaps there could be boundaries around this" [Father1][E][p. 3: par 1.4].*

Father 1 went on to explain to the adolescents what he believed that they should do if they were in an unsafe situation, presenting fathers as being the first person the girls should call if they were in trouble in contrast to mothers whom he thought might be too emotional: *"You should know that the first person that you phone is your father – before your mother - because your father won't overreact but he will react, your father won't be cross with you, he will come through and he will sort it out. He will come quickly and he will do it without emotion" [Father1][E][p. 7: par 1.6].*

Father 1 clearly tried hard to explain to the girls that their safety comes first: *"Even if you have had a bad day with your dad or a bad week you must know that there is no doubt, everything else comes second and it's your safety and your security that comes first" [Father1][E][p. 8: par 1.7].*

5.1.2.1 The dangers of substance abuse: "Spiked"

Parental concern around the dangers of alcohol, drugs, drunk driving, rape and date rape was high on the parents' list of concerns, and was identified as a sub-theme of safety and protection. The parents in this group indicated that they felt that social norms are changing and this shift presented a source of concern, even anxiety: *"It's the biggest pandemic now of smoking and drugs ever in this country. In our day you, in the old surfer day, you would have an odd guy sitting on a rock and having a joint* [smoking marijuana]. *Now it's the norm ... all the guys do it. ... Alcohol is very bad; it is probably attributed to more deaths in the world than anything else. Our children need to be aware of this. Also, their drinks get spiked and then they're raped – it is happening all the time. That is scary" [Father 1][E][p. 12: par 1.7].*

The fathers in this group appeared to try hard to utilise learning opportunities throughout the discussion. In preparing their daughters for future independence, fathers recognised the value of trusting one's own instincts regarding social dangers, including (but not limited to) drugs and alcohol: *"But they shouldn't be scared to speak up. It's just like if my daughter was walking down a street in London and looks down an avenue and says "I don't feel good walking down there" and walks another way. If you girls can learn to do that you will be safe in life.... If you can learn to trust your instinct and in any situation if it doesn't feel right, to listen to your gut and say: this doesn't feel right, I don't know what it is but it doesn't feel right, and walk away – you will be fine" [Father 4][E][p.36: par:1.14].*

Issues around alcohol presented as contentious and pertinent for both parents and adolescents in this group. Besides the issue of alcohol on offer at adolescents' parties and concerns about driving under the influence, the sensitive issue of Group A parents' own excessive or irresponsible drinking was addressed by the adolescents: *"We are just as scared of alcohol as you are" [Adolescent 3][E][p. 36: par 1.14].* Those adolescents who perceived their fathers' use of alcohol to be problematic took the opportunity to confront them about it: *"... Dad, I'm not saying you do this but, say you go out tonight and you drink 10 bottles of wine, the next time I go out, I'm going to be like, 'my dad did it maybe I can do it'. You said earlier that you are our biggest role models, not only you but the other dads are also our role models. You guys set the example for how we want to be"[Adolescent 7][E][p. 33: par 1.14].*

"It's just sometimes you must also respect us if we come across and say 'you know dad maybe just slow down a bit with the drinking' - you should respect that" [Adolescent 2][E][p. 33: par 1.14].
"We can't fault that logic ... if you think about it so many fights, divorces and other bad things happen because of alcohol, there is no doubt about it, so that is a good point… so if your father is making a total idiot of himself …" [Father1][E][p. 33: par 1.14].
"…You all have rights, as do we, every individual has rights and if you feel unsafe… say if I came to fetch you and I had had a bottle of wine and one of you feels uncomfortable, you have the right to speak up and say I'm sorry I'm not getting into that car with you I'm phoning my dad" [Father 5][E][p. 35: par 1.14].

The fathers all indicated agreement with this with one of the fathers trying to make the process easier for the girls to feel that they could address this concern with their father: "*What would be good ... is if that father did not take offence to that but respected their [adolescent's] view" [Father 4][E][p. 35: par 1.14].*

5.1.3 Parental control/discipline: "You are our responsibility"

In the discourse of parents from Group A and commonly in South Africa, the dimension of parental control is translated as "discipline". Although all parents indicated that this is an area of concern for them, some emphasised the teaching/learning more, and others emphasised coercive control.

5.1.3.1 Setting boundaries: "Prepared to conform"

Group A parents indicated that the setting of, and respecting boundaries, was an important aspect of parental control – this group of parents mentioned several such boundaries: respecting priorities such as school work, not being alone with boys and being on time. Mother 1, who previously described her parenting experience as a "continual fight", also indicated that she experienced a great deal of conflict with her adolescent children around boundaries: *"She has her own agenda. It just seems that there are never any boundaries that they*

are prepared to conform to. She obviously doesn't think they are relevant, or she doesn't want them to apply to her" [Mother 1][D][p. 1: par 1.2].

It does appear that most of the parents in Group A agreed with Father 3 who set the 'boundary' discourse in the context of maturity and parent responsibility: "*You girls have a perception of us trying to spoil your fun all the time… The problem is that you are our responsibility until you are 21 and fully fledged adults and can go into the world and do your own thing. Until then we have got to have those boundaries in place all the time"[Father 3][E][p. 40: par 1.15].*

5.1.3.2 Parents' mutual support: "Check with each other"

Father 2 noted that it is important for parents to support one another when dealing with issues of discipline and rules: *"It is important for mom and dad to check with each other and stand together" [Father 2][E][p. 2: par 1.3].* Mother 3 indicated that when she and her husband did not stand together the level of conflict with children would increase. This mother was complaining that her daughter was "never ready" to leave for school on time, when another parent gave an example of how she dealt with this problem: *"One of my rules is that we leave for school at 7 o'clock. At 7 o'clock I am in the car and I leave. If anyone is left at home it is tough luck" [Mother 3][D][p. 7: par 1.3].* However, Mother 1 indicated that this strategy caused a great deal of conflict between her and her husband "*But the problem is I have left without her before and then there is a huge fight….But that's my children. If they don't get it from me then they will phone their dad. Then their dad will phone me and shout at me and ask what's going on, why are the children phoning him and, and, and ... I have tried to explain to him that if they are phoning him, it is because I have said no. So please say no. It's just continual" [Mother1][D][p. 7: par 1.3].*

In a discussion about conflict between parents, the adolescents explained to their parents that they experienced parental conflict as very distressing. Father 5 dealt with this in a reciprocal way; showing sympathy for young people caught in their parents' conflict but urging them not to take advantage of weakness in the parent system: *"I mean we really shouldn't ever fight in front of you or say we fight because of you but what you mustn't do is try and*

manipulate. Meaning you go to your dad and say 'Mom said I can go' meanwhile mom doesn't know about it. It is important for Moms and Dads to check with each other" [Father 5][E][p. 42: par 1.17].

5.1.3.3 Consequences: "It needs to mean something"

In the discussion between the parents in this group it appeared that the notion of "consequences" has largely displaced notions of punishment as a corrective measure: *"We are always talking about consequences ... The consequences need to mean something to them. It must be that they miss out on something or they cause themselves to get a detention at school" [Mother 3][D][p. 8: par 1.4].*

One parent explained that she had come to understand that using reason and reflection was helpful in her interactions with her adolescents: *"... If they go to bed too late, they will be tired the next day...I have explained to them 'if you are tired and irritable it will irritate me and I will be irritable with you'. So it's a lose-lose situation"*
[Mother 5][D][p 2: par 1.2].

Mother 5 explains "consequence" to her daughter *relationally* – the relationship will be one of tired irritability, and no one wants that. In this way, she creates common ground around the issue. Parent 5 highlighted the value of structure and routine in maintaining desired behaviours, using 'natural consequences' as a back-up: *"I don't police my children.... We have just got into a routine or a habit that at a certain time, when they have finished watching a program on TV – say at 10pm, we say good night and they go to their room and I go to mine…. They know there are consequences" [Mother 5][D][p. 2: par 1.2].*

Parent 5 indicated that she believed that her adolescent children respond well to her trust in them to manage their own bedtime. This led to a discussion on the importance of believing in children and having confidence in them.

5.1.3.4 Fairness and reason: "We cannot be on top of them"

This group of parents showed a great deal of enthusiasm around the idea of believing in their children and allowing them to manage key aspects of their own lives, and expressed a keen interest in offering fair and reasonable feedback and support to their children*: "We need to believe in them and have confidence in them and believe that they have the ability to make good choices" [Mother 3][D][p. 15: par.1.6] "We need to validate them" [Mother 5][D][p. 15: par.1.6]*. These parents also appeared to have arrived at an understanding about allowing the adolescents to take some responsibility for themselves: *"At some point we do need to hand some responsibility over to them" [Mother 4][D][p. 5: par 1.3]*. Mother 3 agreed with this statement adding: *"I think at the stage they are at now [adolescence], we must realise that we cannot be on top of them all of the time" [Mother 3][D][p. 12: par 1.5]*. Mother 1, reflecting on her ongoing struggle with her children, appeared to become anxious about the suggestion made by Parent 1: *"But by ignoring the small stuff, won't it bring on the big stuff?" [Mother 1][D][p. 22: par 1.10]*.

In the joint discussion group one of the fathers offered a 'position statement', attempting to suggest a reasonable middle ground between allowing misbehaviour to go unremarked, and turning every incident into a battle: *"I'm not saying we should do it all the time but there are occasions where we can't be hard and fast on rules as parents and sometimes you've got to let go a little bit" [Father 1][E][p. 20: par 1.8]*.

These parents appeared to have arrived at an understanding about reciprocal communication: *"It is important to be reasonable – I think that we should pick our battles wisely because we can't say 'no' to everything….I did tell my girls that we would look at everything and discuss it" [Mother 3][D][p. 19: par 1.7]*.

5.1.3.5 Values: "What hasn't changed"

The parents in this group spoke of an explicit value system which they felt strongly that their adolescents needed to understand and respect: *"Times are different… When I grew up, we didn't have cell phones - even television wasn't around....But what hasn't changed are morals and*

values like trust, love, respect etc. Those things have not changed; they are the same, and were for my parents and me, and should be for my children and even their children. A big reference point here is values, especially trust and respect" [Father 2][E][p. 2: par 1.3].

Honesty was another value that parents saw as vital in terms of effective parenting: *"…deceit is a negative, and has a negative effect on our relationship with them" [Father 2][E][p. 2: par 1.2].* Deceit was seen by these parents as having a negative effect on their relationships with their adolescent children and affected the trust in the relationship in a detrimental manner.

In the joint session the parents highlighted an incident that had caused them to lose trust in their daughters, the adolescents were keen (even desperate) for the parents to show that they would trust them again, as a group. Speaking for the group of girls and referring to the past as "mistakes", Adolescent 3 appealed to the parents: *"…trust us we have made mistakes but we have learnt from them" [Adolescent 3][E][p. 52: par 1.21].* Father 3 offered a supportive, affirming response: *"We trust you girls. We do trust you. You are very special girls. You are a great group of girls and very different" [Father 3][E][p. 23: par 1.9].*

Despite agreeing to put the incident behind them, the parents still indicated that they were experiencing a certain amount of anxiety around the idea of allowing their adolescent children opportunities to learn from mistakes. Father 5 spoke for all the fathers: *"The problem is, it's the bad mistakes that maybe you haven't made that could be life changing that scares us"[Father 5][E][p. 52: par 1.21].*

5.1.4 Experience of parenting adolescents: "Highs and lows"

This group of parents indicated that there were both *"highs and lows when it comes to parenting adolescents" [Mother 4][D][p.1: par 1.2].* They clearly identified that while, for many of them, there was increased pleasure in their interactions with their adolescent children: *"I do find that I have more pleasure. You have to fight with them but I joke a lot with them too" [Mother 4][D][p. 16: par 1.6]* . Mothers commented that levels of energy and worry affect the extent to which they find parenting enjoyable. *"I haven't really found this*

stage to be too bad" [Mother5][D][p. 15: par 1.6]. "Bringing up teenagers takes a lot more energy though" [Mother3][D[p. 15: par 1.6] .

This mother went on to express concerns that echoed the fathers' experience: *"There are just more things to worry about. When they are young, you worry about them falling into the pool, but now that they are older there is just so much more that can go wrong" [Mother 3][D][p. 16: par 1.6].* Mother 5 adopted a philosophical approach, drawing comfort as she recalled her own mother's attitude: *"My Mom used to say small children small problems, big children big problems. But I have not found it that difficult" [Mother 5][D][p. 16: par 1.6].* Mother 1, on the other hand, indicated that she was finding parenting adolescents to be extremely difficult, and was desperate for someone to understand what she was going through: *"My biggest wish would be to be on a Dr Phil show where there is a big camera in your home 24 hours a day so that somebody could understand because it is so difficult for me to express how I am feeling and what I am trying to say" [Mother 1][D][p. 16: par 1.6].*

Though Father 1 did present as being most distressed mother in the group, she was not alone in wrestling with the question of expectations around aspects of parenting: Father 4 referred to fast-changing social circumstances: *"the world is changing so fast and we don't have a reference point, especially about how to keep our children safe" [Father 4][E][p. 36: par 1.14].* Another father said:*"I would like to arrive at a better understanding of my teenage children...of what they think of the way they are parented and what they want from us [parents] and for their own lives" [Father 1][E][p. 41: par 1.17].* Parents would like more reassurance*: "We need to know if we are doing it [parenting] right"* [Father 5][E][p. 42: par 1.17].

In the face of changes in their children, in the world around them, and perhaps also in societal expectations of parent behaviour, Father 1 summarised his perception of the process of parenting adolescents as requiring a change in attitude and perspective: *"I think it boils to an attitude and a change of attitude that we may be talking about. That attitude is respect and trust and communication." [Father 1][E][p. 53: par 1.22].*

When asked what these parents appreciated about their adolescent children and their roles as parents to these adolescents, parents spoke warmly of the admiration they have for the

young people: *"The amazing openness of teenagers today and how they talk about so much more than was probably true of previous generations" [Father 2][E][p. 2: par 1.3],* whilst AP9 said, *"We respect the tremendous way the youth of today socialize and care for each other." [Father 5][E][p. 17: par 1.8].*

5.2 Adolescent Group A – Setting the Context

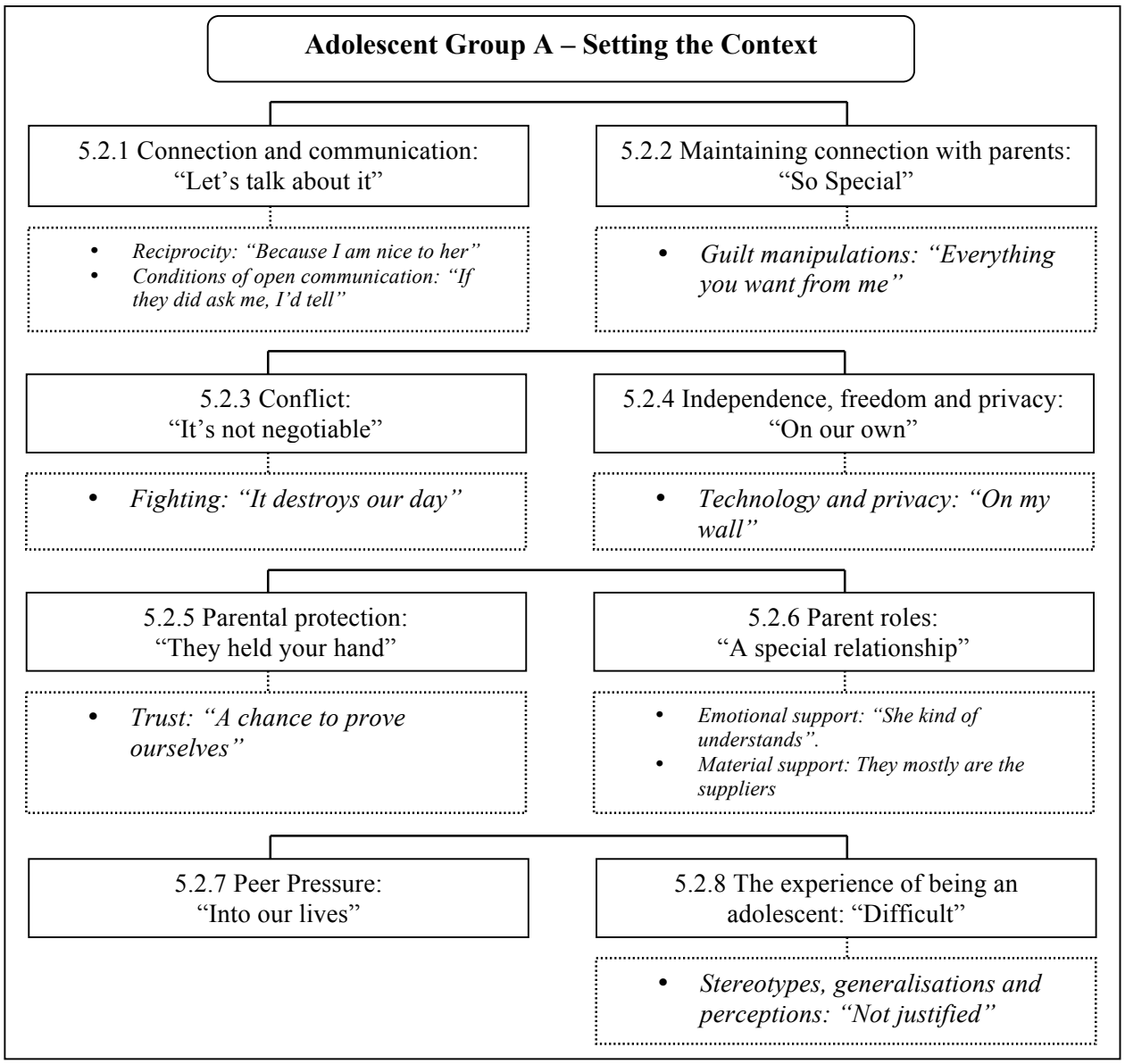

Figure 11: Visual display of themes and sub-themes

This group comprised eight adolescent girls, all in grade 9 at the same private school. They had been friends since primary school and were said to be close as a group. It was energising for the researchers to witness the enthusiasm expressed by these young people for taking part in the group. They also showed a high level of openness and trust in their response to the researcher and co-researcher. Furthermore, we were left feeling a great respect for the maturity these girls showed and their willingness to be reasonable in their negotiations with their parents. Once again, the researcher needed to guard against moving the process along at a faster pace, due to the many times these girls became side-tracked by their own conversations. Often, these "side tracks" elicited valuable ideas from them.

5.2.1 Connection and communication: "Let's talk about it"

In response to parents' comments that their children do not talk to them easily, the adolescents explained that they can talk more easily if they feel the person understands them. Many of the adolescents in this group indicated that they usually prefer to talk to friends: "*We do talk to our friends more because they can understand more easily…. but this does depend on our relationships with our parents"[Adolescent 8][G][p. 1: par 1.2].* *B*ut some adolescents noted that depending on the kind of relationship they had with a parent, they might be able to talk more with their parents*: "I have a good relationship with my parents, but if they say I have to be home at like 10 o'clock, I get so scared to say 'no' because they shout. They don't want to sit down and say 'Maybe, let's talk about it'. They just think they are right from the beginning"[Adolescent 2][F][p. 1: par 1.2].* Adolescent 6 added: *"They say 'why do you always have to argue?' It's like they never say it is good enough. You just have to accept 'no!'" [Adolescent 6][F][p. 1: par 1.2].*

5.2.1.1 Reciprocity: "Because I am nice to her"

This group set a high value on reciprocal communication with parents with some of the adolescents reporting pleasure in their interaction with their parents, especially if they felt that they could talk to their parents and their parents were open to entering into a discussion with them:: *"I sit down with my Mom. She will ask what my plans are for the weekend. I tell her I'm doing this or that and I'll ask her if it's okay. She will say maybe not this*

or that. We will have a discussion [Adolescent 5][F][p. 5: par 1.5]. Adolescent 6 appears to show an understanding of the reciprocal nature of her relationship with her mother: *"But that's because I am nice to her" [Adolescent 6][F][p. 5: par 1.5].* Adolescent 5, reflecting on reciprocity in her own relationship with her mother, admitted, *"I am really rude to my Mom sometimes" [Adolescent 3][F][p. 5: par 1,5].*

5.2.1.2 Conditions of open communication: "If they did ask me, I'd tell"

The adolescent girls in this group showed an appreciation and pleasure in their ability to talk openly with their parents: *"...yeah, I can speak openly with my parents. They says things like, 'oh my gosh, did you kiss him last night?' and I can say 'yes'" [Adolescent 5][G][p. 5: 1.5].* "*I can also talk to my Mom about things that I can't talk to my friends about…I get on with her very well" [Adolescent 5][F][p. 5: par 1.5].*

Trust or confidentiality were identified as important to the adolescents: *"I can tell my Dad but I don't like telling my Mom because she tells her friends" [Adolescent 3][G][p. 6: par 1.5]*

In contrast, a perceived lack of interest from the parent can be experienced as painful: *"I don't really tell my parents anything because, if they did ask me, I'd tell them – but they don't really show any interest, and they don't ask me. So I won't tell them" [Adolescent 7][G][p. 11: par 1.8].* A parent who offers reassurance is experienced by these adolescents as more comfortable to talk to than one who demands an explanation: *"...say I do badly in a test, my Mom is like, 'Well why did you...' and my Dad is like [soothing tone] 'You know what, don't worry, try again'" [Adolescent 2][G][p. 7: 1.6].* Other girls too, appear to share this experience: *"...My Dad is also like that. So chilled…say we're going somewhere and I forget something and I'm with my Mom, she'll be like 'No, I'm not turning back, this is your problem!' and my Dad he'll be like, 'OK, just don't let it happen again,' but he'll turn around and he'll go back to the house and he'll help [Adolescent 2][G][p. 10: par 1.8].*

5.2.2 Maintaining connection with parents: "So special"

Although there were a few expressions of unhappiness and one participant in particular (Adolescent 7) indicated that she was going through a stressful and sad time, most of the Group A adolescents agreed that they felt connected to their parents and often enjoyed being with both their mothers and their fathers. The young people indicated that they enjoy being active and their preferred activities include*: "going shopping or on other outings with our parents" [Adolescent 3][G][p. 25: par 1.15]; "… if we go out for lunch" [Adolescent 7][G][p. 33: 1.17] "I like to play golf with my dad in the holidays" [Adolescent 1][G][p. 20: par 1.13]; "Movies, not coffee dates! Like, I don't mind going to movies but on a Sunday"[Adolescent 5][G][p. 26: par 1.15]; "I go camping with my Dad on the motorbike, but then like that's for one night, it's so special…" [Adolescent 2][G][p. 20: par 1.12]*

Two sub-themes were identified as obstacles to connection, namely 'trying too hard' and 'making us feel guilty'.

5.2.2.1 Guilt manipulation: " Everything you want from me"

It became apparent that these adolescents struggled with feelings of guilt and often felt pressurised, some of the adolescents shared that they found it very difficult when a parent invited them to participate in an activity and they turned the invitation down: *"My dad sms's me and if I'm busy then he'll sms me like 10 minutes later then he'll sms me again, and if I don't reply, he says 'are you ignoring me now?' Like we went for supper, and then he sms'd me: 'Oh, so now as soon as you've taken everything you want from me now you're not replying to me?'"[Adolescent 5][G][p. 12: par 1.9].* Similarly Adolescent 2 said: *"… I hate it when I can't do something with my Dad. I feel so bad, because he shows me that, like you know, he makes me feel bad, because I said no to him, but I'm busy!" [Adolescent 2][G][p. 13: par 1.9].* It does appear that these experiences do not only involve the adolescents' interactions with their fathers: *"My Mom's like 'OK well I did this for you why can't you do that for me' - my Mom's kind of like that" [Adolescent 5][G][p. 13: par 1.9].*

5.2.3 Conflict: “It's not negotiable”

The Group A adolescents indicated that conflict with parents often arose around practices of parental supervision, monitoring, communication of expectations, and regulations which the parents previously called “boundaries”. The adolescents indicated that they experienced parental control as an assertion of authority, and sometimes as unreasonable: *“They don’t always need to take control, they need to be more reasonable sometimes” [Adolescent 5][F][p. 7: par 1.6]*. Adolescent 1 expressed a strong need for her parents to give her a reason for saying ‘no’: *“But, my parents don't give a reason for saying no.... They'll say no, and if I ask them, ‘Please tell me why, I just want to know why’, and they just say ‘No it's not negotiable ...I said no, it's no!’... I hate it when they do that!” [Adolescent1][G][p. 16: par 1.10]*. Another adolescent too expressed frustration around not being given a reason: *“I said ’Mom, tell me why’ and she's,‘because I'm your Mom!’ But that's not like a reason.” [Adolescent 5][G][p. 16: par1.10]*.

Fairness too presented as an area that the adolescents felt strongly about: “*They moan at us about being on our phones or the computer all the time – but that is also what they do*. E*very single day, my mom is sitting on her laptop, playing scrabble.”[Adolescent 7][G][p. 8: par 1.7]*. *“My Dad shouts at me for being on my phone but then he'll take the newspaper and sit there and read for like half an hour. And then what am I to do?” [Adolescent 5][G][p. 34: par 1.16]*.

5.2.3.1 Fighting: “It destroys our day”

The adolescents described their experience of angry, emotional conflict between themselves and their parents, and even more between their parents, as *“heartbreaking” [Adolescent 1][E][p. 42: par 1.16]*. However, they recognised that conflict could be equally distressing for their parents: *“If we have a fight with our mother or father, it destroys our day and our mind is on it all the time – it’s probably like that for them too. It does play a role in our lives. We get really emotional and it is sad. If our parents fight it is heartbreaking” [Adolescent 2][E][p. 42: par 1.16]*. The adolescents indicated that parental conflict was very difficult for them to experience – more so than conflict between siblings: *“Our parents say when they*

fight that it doesn't affect us....But then my Mom always says "But you and your sister fight", but it's not like that fighting, it's different to them fighting" [Adolescent 2][G][p. 22: par 1.14].

5.2.4 Independence, freedom and privacy: "On our own"

The adolescents spoke passionately about their need for greater freedom and independence. Their perception, however, was that their parents found this difficult to accept and manage: *"When we were little, our parents did everything with us, but now that we are older, we would like to do more things on our own… We would like to be given more personal space and parents struggle with this" [Adolescent 3][F][p. 9: par 1.9]* .

The adolescents showed an awareness of the safety aspect of control, but described resistance to parental intrusion on their privacy. For instance, they understood that their parents wanted to phone them to check if they were safe, but were keen to place limits on this form of monitoring. In the joint group, a father (Father 9) asked if the problem was that they would find *it "embarrassing if we call you when you are at a party" [Father 2][E][p. 3: par.1.4]* . The adolescents insisted that this was not the case*: "it is just that when we are at a party that is our time to socialize with our friends" [Adolescent 3][E][p. 3: par 1.4].* They did however offer a possible solution to this dilemma: *"it would be better if we arranged a time when parents could call us or us them, especially if we are at a party, because otherwise we may not hear our phone" [Adolescent 2][E][p. 3: par 1.4].*

Parental supervision, according to the adolescents is acceptable but they did indicate that there needed to be some form of respect concerning parental monitoring: *"Adults can be on the premises at parties but mustn't watch us. They must respect our space and privacy and trust that if things go wrong we will call them" [Adolescent 3][E][p. 3: par 1.4].*

The adolescents showed an awareness of the risk factors that caused their parents a great deal of concern. They attributed a shift in the amount of freedom they were currently permitted, compared to when they were younger, to the fact that they were exposed to dangers such as alcohol and sexual pressure, that were never an issue at a younger age: *"In Grade Seven we were allowed to do so much* [the other adolescents nodded in agreement]. *"...And*

now..." [Adolescent 8][G][p. 17: par 1.10]. "Ja, Ja, we went to a party every single weekend"[Adolescent 5][G][p. 17: par 1.10]. When I asked the girls why there had been a change, Adolescent 5 explained: *"Because it's more...in Grade Seven it was never about drugs, like drugs and alcohol wasn't even in our minds" "[Adolescent 5][G][p. 18: par 1.11].*

Adolescent 5 acknowledged enjoying the freedom to stay at home by herself, and seemed to accept her mother's limitations regarding social occasions: "*Well, that's the nice thing about being older my Mom will let me stay at home, alone. So she's fine with that, it's just the parties and that if I go to my boyfriend's house his parents have to be there. When we get to his house it's like 'are his parents here?'" [Adolescent 5][G][p. 18: par 1.11].*

5.2.4.1 Technology and privacy: "On my wall"

The sub-theme of technology was identified in relation to independence, privacy and personal space with the adolescents objecting to their parents' desire to be friends with them on Facebook. One of the adolescents' concern was that she could not control what her friends might write on her facebook wall and that this could result in her mother thinking badly of her friends: *"I don't want my Mom to see what other people are writing on my wall. If they write the F word on my wall, It's all my fault, and she's going to think badly of the person" [Adolescent 3][G][p. 7: par 1.7].* Adolescent 5 had a different concern, she worried that that allowing her parents into her Facebook world might make relating to them less comfortable, especially if her boyfriend wrote something on her wall, they might tease her about it: *"If my boyfriend writes something on my wall, I don't want my parents to see because they are going to tease me" [Adolescent 5][G][p. 7: par 1.7].*

5.2.5 Parental protection: "They held your hand"

The adolescents in this group appeared to be touched and really interested, when the facilitator explained that the parents had indicated that their safety was of great concern for the parents, especially for the fathers. Adolescent 3 was very interested in hearing what her father had had to say: *"They are so cute. Why...what did they say?" [Adolescent 3][G][p. 2:*

par 1.3]. Although not all of them were surprised, Adolescent 2, who was especially close to her father, was not surprised: *"No! No. I knew it..." [Adolescent 2][G][p. 2: par 1.3].*
The adolescents affirmed the fathers' impression that as a group they do "look out for each other: "*Yes, of course we do. Like that's the biggest thing" [Adolescent 3][G][p. 3: par 1.4]*, and *"that's our main priority" [Adolescent 5][G][p. 3: par 1.4].*

The adolescents went on to describe practices of looking out for each other. These include giving guidance and advice, making sure they know where the others are, and monitoring each other's social and romantic interests. Adolescent 7 summed up their position: *"One thing you guys* [parents] *don't understand, is that we are not just friends, we're like a family ... We stick together all the time." [Adolescent 7][E][p. 9: par 1.7].* These adolescents felt that they were able to look out for each other and thus they were safety conscious, which led them to be somewhat dismissive their parents' concerns: "*They always want to know where we are" [Adolescent 7][F][p. 9: par 1.9]*, which some of the girls saw as going "*overboard*": *"They go overboard" [Adolescent 6][F][p. 8: par 1.9].*

5.2.5.1 Trust: "A chance to prove ourselves"

Trust was a significant area of concern for the parents of these adolescents, and was also identified as important by the adolescents themselves. They spoke at length about feeling that they were not trusted and expressed concern that past mistakes made by themselves or their friends would be held against them for long periods of time: *"Our parents don't trust us enough to let us do things by ourselves. We have made mistakes, but we should be given another chance" [Adolescent 7][G][p. 42: par 1.3].* The adolescents acknowledged that they had played a role in their parents feeling that they could not trust them: *"Trust is an issue. But we have brought trust down"[Adolescent 3][F][p. 11: par 1.11]. "That is our fault" [Adolescent 8][G][p. 7: par 1.7].* The adolescents expressed a need for their parents to believe in them: *"They need to understand that we've made mistakes and we do realise this but we also do good" [Adolescent 8][G][p. 41: par 1.20]*, to respect their ability to make wise choices or decisions and give them the responsibility not to break their trust in future: *"They [parents] need to believe that I will make good decisions and respect that and give me my freedom – it is my responsibility not to break their trust" [Adolescent 5][F][p. 6: par1.5].* Participant Adolescent

1 added: *"If we are trusted, it is harder to break the rules … If they don't trust us, it is almost as if we have nothing to lose." [Adolescent 1][G][p. 41: par1.20]*. These adolescents indicated that they felt that being able to discuss and negotiate with their parents would be helpful: *"…because then we would be included. They will get their way and we will get our way. We can meet each other half way and then everybody wins" [Adolescent 5][F][p. 3: par 1.4]*. They continued to explain that they would be more willing to stick to the rules because they have made the rules together: *"I would stick to them because we had a say" [Adolescent 8][G][p. 41: par1.20]*, *"... And you know that your parents have taken the time to listen. You don't want to break that" [Adolescent 5][G][p. 41: par 1.20]*.

5.2.6 Parent roles: "A special relationship"

The adolescents were able to identify two primary roles that their parents played in their lives; the role of providing emotional support, and the role of providing material support.

5.2.6.1 Emotional support: "She kind of understands"

The adolescents generally indicated that they enjoyed a great deal of emotional support from mothers and fathers alike. *"My dad and I actually get along well, … like at the dinner table he'll ask me about school and stuff and he's really supportive" [Adolescent 2][G][p. 7: par 1.6]*. *"I really respect my mom's rules. I don't have a problem with it because she kind of understands" [Adolescent 4][F][p. 13: par 1.11]*. *"My mom is so caring. I love it" [Adolescent 4][F][p. 4: par 1.4]*.

5.2.6.2 Material support: "They mostly are the suppliers"

The adolescents saw their fathers as the main providers of money and material possessions: *"He gives money…" [Adolescent 7][G][p. 6: par 1.6]; "Well dads do supply, I mean they mostly are the suppliers" [Adolescent 2][G][p. 6: par 1.6]*. These adolescents indicated that they appreciated this but that they also felt bad or guilty about asking for money: *"I know I can always go to my dad and say 'Dad can I please have some money.' But I also feel … I feel so bad! I feel bad because I know he'll give it to me." [Adolescent 2][G][p. 21:*

par 1.13]. *T*he girls also showed an awareness that their fathers worked hard in order to provide for them: *"My dad works so hard and everything and then I'm just taking his money" [Adolescent 2][G][p. 21:par 1.13]*.

5.2.7 *Peer pressure: "Into our lives"*

The issue of peer pressure formed an area of potential disagreement between the adolescents and their parents. According to the adolescents, parents thought they were subject to "peer pressure", both from their own friendship group, and from others: *"My mom says that the boys are a bad influence on us. They bring the alcohol and all of that to the parties. They bring that into our lives"[Adolescent 1][F][p. 7: par 1.7]*. The adolescents strongly reject this idea: *"That's rubbish" [Adolescent 6][F][p. 7: par 1.7]*. It appears that not only did they deny experiencing "peer pressure", the adolescents felt insulted that their parents might think they were subject to peer pressure: *"Surely it's our decision if we want to do it" [Adolescent 1][F][p. 8: par 1.7]*. As a group, the girls represented themselves as very confident about their ability to make choices, and not succumb to outside influences: *"We know our boundaries; we know that if we go too far it will be a mistake. What we stand for is what guys should respect." [Adolescent 7][E][p. 6: par 1.6]*.

5.2.8 The experience of being an adolescent: "Difficult"

The adolescents were asked how they experienced being a teenager. Their responses indicated that they experienced being an adolescent as quite challenging at times: *"Being a teenager is not easy" [Adolescent 5][G][p. 9: par 1.8]*. AA4 added: *"We do have good days and bad days*" *[Adolescent 3][G][p. 10: par 1.8]*.

5.2.8.1 Stereotypes, generalisations and perceptions: "Not justified"

Adolescence is a phase about which opinions, generalisations, perceptions and stereotypes abound. These young participants seemed aware of the generalisations and stereotypes that surround them. On the one hand, they reflect on the ways in which these stereotypes lack empathy with the lives of young people: *"There is a perception that teens are difficult and*

people are suspicious of teens – but we are exposed to so much more and have to cope with a lot." [Adolescent 7][F][p. 7: par 1.6]. The adolescents were quite clear that they rejected stereotypes: *"There are stereotypes about our friends, peer pressure and our appearance which are not justified" [Adolescent 6][F][p. 7: par 1.6].*

Despite the difficulties, these adolescents acknowledged that they experienced happiness and security in their lives. When asked what they appreciated about their parents and the way they are parented, adolescents said that: *"I appreciate that my mom trusts me. She does trust me. She does trust me a lot" [Adolescent 5][G][p. 18: par 1.11].* They also acknowledged that they appreciated: *"Our parents caring for us, their driving us around and their friendship" [Adolescent 3][G][p. 43: par 1.20];* as well as *"Our dad's showing an interest and caring" [Adolescent 6][G][p. 43: par 1.20].*

5.3 Parent Group B – Setting the Context

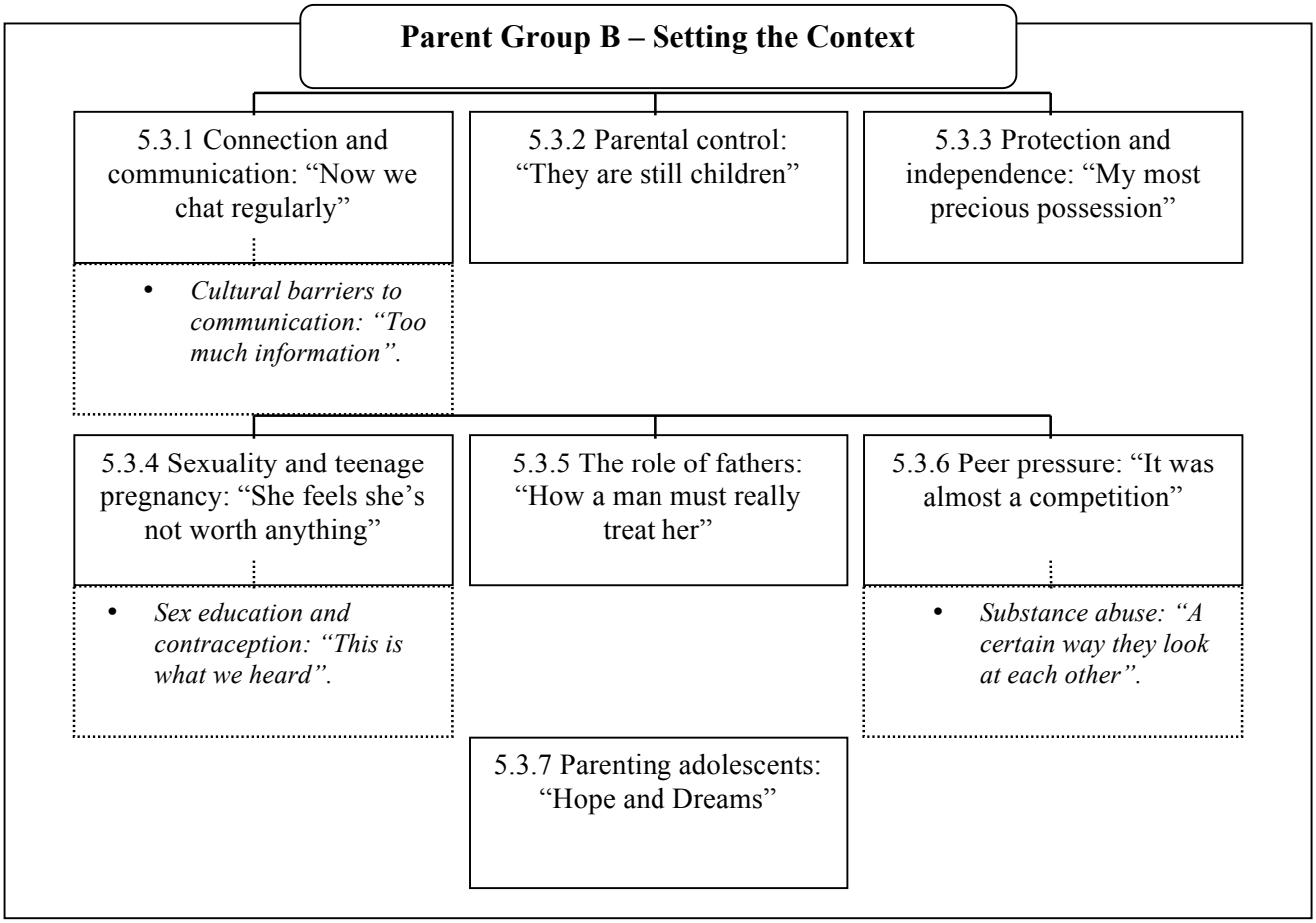

Figure 12. Visual display of themes and sub-themes.

Ten mothers participated. They were all members of the same church and lived in a less affluent area than the participants in Group A. This group stood out because all were mothers; no fathers attended the focus group session, although most of the adolescents in this group had fathers living at home. These men were not absent, however. Their practices, beliefs, and the roles they played in their families had a strong impact on the narratives recounted by the participants in this group. Thus fathers were a silent but constant presence.

It soon became clear that these mothers experienced enormous pressure to conform to external standards of "good parenting". Messages about good parenting came to them not only from popular culture and their own upbringing, but from the discipline of their church and the wider Christian subculture. Being privileged to share the mothers' delight in their children was also personally touching. At first group members seemed tense and somewhat anxious, but they relaxed and spoke more personally as time went on. The researcher taking an interested but non-judgmental stance may have facilitated the members relaxing and becoming more open and trusting. It was also very important for the researcher in this group to be careful not to be recruited into an advice giving role as the mothers in this group tended to ask direct questions such as: *"Is it wrong for me to tell that to a child?"[Mother 2][H][p. 7: par 1.6]*.

5.3.1 Connection and communication: "Now we chat regularly"

Concerns around communication played a large role in this group of parents. Communication was presented as a way of avoiding problems in the relationship*: "I don't have a problem with my daughter. Her and I have very good communication" [Mother 3][H][p. 4: par 1.5]*. It was also apparent that some of the adolescents did turn to their parents for advice and when this happens the parent-child relationship is described as being a close relationship: *"My daughter had a friend that wanted to go for an abortion and didn't know what advice to give her, so once she had discussed it with her Dad, she knew what to say. He gives her a lot of positive information. They have a close relationship" [Mother 3][H][p. 24: par 1.16]*.

Other parents, however, described experiences of being excluded from being able to assist or support their adolescent children due to the adolescents' reluctance to communicate with them: One parent was concerned that her daughter often failed to communicate her needs, whilst defining the mother's offers of help as 'interference': *"My daughter doesn't speak that much and doesn't want me to interfere, either" [Mother 2][H][p. 4:par 1.5].* Another parent thought communication was failing because her daughter had lost confidence in her mother's ability to help her with problems: *"I can try and communicate with my child as much as I want to, but she just cuts me out and says what would I be able to do in any case even if I was able to help. What is the use of telling mom anything? She says she will sort the problem out on her own. So I can't talk to her. …" [Mother 3][H][p. 4: par 1.6].*

Being sensitive to identifying an appropriate time to talk to adolescents was highlighted by one of the mothers: *"When I got home my older daughter showed me my youngest daughter's suicide letter that she had written preceding the day's events. She asked me to leave her alone and wanted to sort out her own problems. I waited until she became calm so that we could speak rationally. Now we chat regularly. I stand back sometimes for her to look at the problem and try and sort it out on her own" [Mother 1][H][p. 6: par 1.6].*

This parent, whose youngest child was an adolescent, showed an understanding of individual differences between siblings and adolescents: *"I need to discuss other stuff with her that I didn't need to discuss with my older two." [Mother 7][H][p. 2: par 1.2].*

The parents in this group appeared to connect trust to their struggle to communicate openly with their adolescent children. One mother (Mother 2) expressed how difficult it was for her to experience a lack of trust from her daughter, indicating that she finds her daughter reluctant to believe her, although sometimes she will test out her mother's advice and then (later on) give feedback that her mother was right: *"….When we tell them something, we also want them to believe us, but it is so difficult for them to believe that we only want the best for them... Often she comes back to me and says, 'it's a good thing I listened to you'. Listen and learn, so that next time we don't have to fight unnecessarily" [Mother 2][H][p. 8: par 1.6].*

5.3.1.1 Cultural barriers to communication: "Too much information"

Cultural factors were identified as playing a role in parent-adolescent communication and one parent who explained the cultural difficulties concerning talking to adolescents about sex also indicated that she had arrived at an understanding that it was important to break through this barrier: *"In the Coloured community, we are afraid to give our children too much information about sex, but we all need to get past that point because our kids are so vulnerable" [Mother 3][H][p. 11: par 1.8].* This parent went on to show an understanding of the fact that adolescents do choose for themselves. Giving information can help them to make wiser choices: *"At the end of the day, it stays the choice of the child. They must make that choice" [Mother 3][H][p. 11: par 1.8].*

5.3.2 Parental control: "They are still children"

This group of parents showed a high level of anxiety about their adolescent children being outside of their control and thus control featured strongly in their discussions: *"If she goes to the mall, I take her. I control who she is with, and I watch her from a distance so I know what is going on" [Mother 7][H][p. 3: par 1.3].* Another mother added: *"Last Saturday, in the early hours of the evening, near Spar these "friends" were walking around alone which is dangerous" [Mother 5][H][p. 5: par 1.6].*This parent continued, expressing a sense of conflict and deep concern: *"....my daughter is controlled by us not to do things like this. But where is the balance? If you control them one way, they might freak out in another way" [Mother 5][H][p. 5: par 1.6].*

The parents, in this group, showed an awareness of keeping pace with the developmental process by which their son or daughter transitions from the social world of childhood to the social world of adulthood, but felt that their perception was different to that of their child's: *"... for them, they are old enough and wise. For us, they are still children and as parents we know the dangers and naturally want to protect them" [Mother 3][H][p. 4: par 1.6].*

Many of the parents shared stories of past trauma that concerned either themselves or family members and indicated that this influenced the fear they experienced around their adolescent children's safety. Participant Mother 1 recounted a story about her 17 year-old

daughters' sexual and emotional abuse. The perpetrator was an adult neighbour who would pick her up early from school, completely unsuspected by her parents: *"I was under the impression that she was at school and was the perfect scholar that attended school every day. She was the most obedient child ever. Therefore I never looked for any fault or reason to worry. When the whole story was exposed, we were extremely shocked and hysterical. It got to a point where she wanted to run away" [Mother 1][H][p. 5: par 1.6]*. This mother explained that her child did leave home and lived with the perpetrator for four years, after which *"she realized that she was only a child and wanted to move back home. We are now living with a broken child" [Mother 1][H][p. 6: par 1.6]*. This experience, the mother explained, has had an impact on how she parents her younger adolescent daughter: *"We live in fear that the same thing will happen again. Therefore there is double pressure on our youngest" [Mother 1][H][p. 6: par 1.6]*. Despite recognising that her actions are "over-protective", Mother 1 keeps her younger adolescent daughter close, not allowing her to go out with friends for fear that she too will end up being abused: *"Now my daughter feels under pressure and feels smothered and becomes aggressive towards me and her Dad...." [Mother 1][H][p. 6: par 1.6]*.

This group of parents also explained that they had strict rules which they expected their children and their children's friends to respect: *"When my teenager wanted a party, I asked her if the children knew about our rules - that there is no alcohol [allowed] here. She should tell her friends beforehand and they can decide whether they were going to come" [Mother 2][H][p. 14: par 1.10]*.

These parents indicated that they believed that 'house rules' can relieve anxiety for their children*: "Sometimes they want you to say 'no' because they can't say 'no' to their friends" [Mother 4][H][p. 14: par 1.10]*. This mother explained to the other mothers present that you will know that the child is relieved when the parent says no by the absence of resistance or: *"When they don't fight back and just drop it"[Mother 4][H][p. 15: par 1.10]*.

Despite their anxiety some of the parents showed a sensitivity and recognition that control should be age-appropriate and that if it is not, the consequences can be dire: "*I recently witnessed a young girl who is 16 who had tried to commit suicide say that she wished everyone would just back off. Her granny that she lives with is over- protective and she feels that she is*

treated like a 10 year old. Her granny controls her and doesn't listen to what she has to say…. But that is where control is monitored by the age of your child" [Mother 2][H][p. 5: par 1.6].

5.3.3 Protection and independence: "My most precious possession"

This group of parents expressed an awareness that their reactions may not be ideal, but they also struggled with the idea of giving their children more freedom. The following comment reflects this, as a mother admits that her son, a popular boy with many female "admirers", might not share her perception of potential danger: *"It's different for me because he is the one bringing the girls home and he can see by my reaction that I don't want them there. It's wrong for me to react that way. I need to give him a little more freedom" [Mother 6][H][p. 17: par 1.11].*

Mother 6 said that she would observe her son carefully, *"watch what he does"[Mother 6][H][p. 17: par 1.11]* and use that as a guide for increasing his 'freedom'. According to another parent: *"You can also watch their school work and emotions and moods and friends" [Mother 8][H][p. 17: par 1.11].*

After describing a period of conflict, between herself and her daughter, around 'being over-protective', one mother changed her approach and saw a small improvement: *"I am allowing her to do more. I am letting her go to my friend's house and then the kids go to the mall to see a movie and then she comes home ….There is a slight change. She is not that aggressive towards me any more. Because of a little freedom or "back off," she treats me better. There is a change" [Mother 1][H][p. 7: par 1.6].*

These parents also expressed concern about other areas of risk that their adolescents were exposed to. Bullying and physical aggression was identified as an area of concern by the parents in this group, leaving at least one of the mothers at a loss for the best way to respond: "*I had a situation with my daughter last week. There was a girl threatening her and saying on MXit and Facebook (which is a whole new world) that she will slap her and kill her. I told her that I was going to go to the headmaster and she begged me not to because she said: 'The*

children will single me out as somebody who runs to her Mommy and then they are going to push me out" [Mother 5][H][p. 3: par 1.4].

Mother 5 did not want to expose her daughter, but neither could she "stand back":
"So I went to the school and saw the teacher and asked for advice and what must be done. The teacher called my daughter in and asked my daughter if she wanted the school to do something about the situation. She said 'no'.... Later my daughter did tell me that the girl bullying her did actually slap her through the face in the bathroom and actually carried out the threat... To try to do something and your child says no is frustrating. The most difficult thing for me was to stand back" [Mother 5][H][p. 3: par 1.4].

The dangers of driving under the influence of alcohol presented as a further source of great anxiety for this group of parents: *"I give my most precious possession permission to go in a car with a young 18 year old who is going to drink and who has probably just got his licence. He assures me that everything will be OK, and then he wants to show off. My nerves can't handle it!" [Mother 7][H][p. 14: par 1.10].*

5.3.4 Sexuality and teenage pregnancy: "She feels she's not worth anything"

A deep concern about adolescent sexuality and early pregnancy was evident in the discussion with these parents. The parents debated what they saw as contributing factors that put adolescent girls at risk of becoming sexually active at an early age. Reasons given include poor self-esteem, lack of social confidence, desperation for love especially if a father was absent, trying to impress the peer group, and wanting to act like an adult.

Many of the parents in this group cited poor self-esteem or lack of confidence: *"... she doesn't have enough confidence in herself so I am scared that she would do things to please the boyfriend" [Mother 2][H][p. 8: par 1.7].* Mother 7 believed that the main reason her daughter had begun to sleep with her boyfriend was because "*she feels she is not worth anything if she is not sleeping with him" [Mother 7][H][p. 8: par 1.7].*

5.3.4.1 Sex education and contraception: "This is what we heard"

This group of parents struggled with the fact that sex education was part of the school curriculum and indicated that while they were willing to discuss puberty and menstruation with their children, they would like to draw the line at giving younger adolescents explicit details about sex and contraception. However, this was no longer up to them, as the school curriculum included detailed sex education from senior primary level. Many parents had not been informed about this, and it came as a shock to hear what their children had been told at school: *"When my girls started to menstruate, I would start telling them about the changes in their body. And a bit later I would tell them about sex … but my daughter came home one day quite upset because they had showed her everything about sex – like how to use a condom, and she was totally disgusted. She felt she was not ready" [Mother 7][H][p. 15: par 1.11].*

Many of the parents experienced conflict in terms of honouring the doctrines and teachings of their church whilst at the same time protecting children. These parents felt that telling adolescents about sex and contraception was indirectly giving them permission to become sexually active: *"…if I offer birth control pills to my daughter, I am saying that I am okay with her having a sexual relationship. Biblically I do not agree with a person giving their child birth control pills…" [Mother 2][H][p. 10: par 1.7].*

5.3.5 The role of fathers: "How a man must really treat her"

These mothers expressed a belief that fathers played an important role in their adolescent children's lives, and especially in supporting their emotional well-being. Mother 4 explained that having a very "strict" father had left her vulnerable to flattery from young males: *"...then you get a boy that tells you he loves you and that you are special" [Mother 4][H][p. 13: par 1.9].* For this mother, the loving father should tell: *"… his daughters that they are beautiful, that she is special, that he spends time with her and takes her out and shows her how a man must really treat her. Then she will look for qualities like that. We need to tell the dads to become more involved" [Mother 4][H][p. 13: par 1.9].*

5.3.6 Peer pressure: "It was almost a competition"

Some of the parents in this group indicated that they felt their children's resentment and withdrawal when they tried to discuss concerns about their adolescents' friends with them: *"...but now it's a huff and a puff, and she feels that I am picking on her and her friends" [Mother 7][H][p. 3: par 1.3]*. The parents tried to keep abreast of their children's friendships, but this was not easy. Adolescents with good self-esteem or seen by parents as "strong", are thought to be less likely to get into the "wrong crowd" in the first place, or to be influenced by their friends, but these parents felt that there was still a risk: *"My daughter is very strong and I don't think she will be influenced that quickly, but because she wants to be in with that crowd, she might just follow what they want her to do" [Mother 7][H][p. 2: par 1.3]*.

5.3.6.1 Substance abuse: "A certain way they look at each other"

These parents had experience of alcohol and drug issues with some of their children, which presented as a great concern for them. One parent had a son who was actively using drugs, and was struggling to make sense of the situation: *"He was brought up by my mother, and now that he is living back with us and is a committed Christian, the pressure from his peers has been too strong and he has started taking drugs" [Mother 3][H][p. 4: par 1.5]*.

The parents showed a strong awareness of the prevalence of drugs in the Western Cape, and drug dealing in or around schools presented as a great cause of concern for these parents: *"My daughter told me the other day that they know there are certain children who have drugs at school. There is a certain way they look at each other. The children know who is selling drugs" [Mother 4][H][p. 19: par 1.14]*.

5.3.7 Parenting adolescents: "Hope and dreams"

The parents in this group described their experience of parenting adolescents as: *"This is all new for me. It's very tricky at this stage – you must just cope" [Mother 4][H][p. 2: par 1.2]*. Sometimes the parent finds herself feeling differently about her adolescent child and trying to make sense of what is happening: *"It's very difficult for me to transfer the feelings of when your child is young and innocent to this teenage stage" [Mother 7][H][p. 14: par 1.9]*.

These parents, however, were also able to express their appreciation and enjoyment of the individuality and positivity of their adolescents: *"The way they see the world is totally different to us. They have so much hope and dreams. They are more positive. My daughter wears shocking pink tekkies [shoes] and in her head, she looks beautiful and she believes that" [Mother 4][H][p. 24: par 1.16]*. Another mother added that she appreciated: *"The way they dream" [Mother 3][H][p. 24: par 1.16]*.

One of the mothers in this group reflected on her experience of hearing what her adolescent daughter had shared with the group, revealing that this had helped her to arrive at a deeper understanding of her child's feelings: *"It was interesting to see the teenagers' point of view... because they give us a different side to the story. I couldn't believe the things they said – my child actually appreciates me more than I thought she did. Then I got insight into how she felt" [Mother 8][H][p. 1: par 1.1]*. Another added: *"What I picked up is actually, in general, they [the adolescents] are actually really good kids" [Mother 3][H][p. 4: par 1.5]*.

5.4 Adolescents Group B – Setting the Context

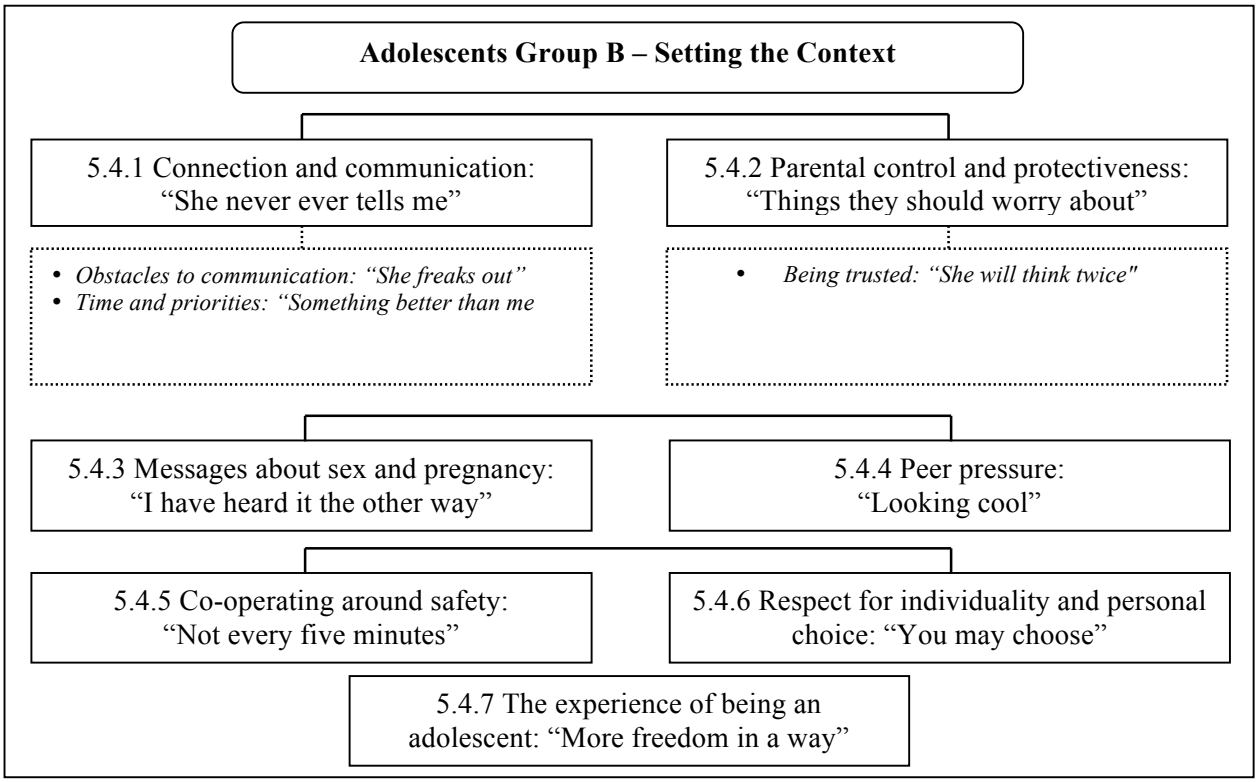

Figure 13. Visual display of themes and sub-themes

The adolescents in this group were younger on average than either of the other adolescent groups, being aged between 13 and 16 years. Both boys and girls were represented, though most were girls. It was soon apparent that the adolescents were excited to be in the group and more than ready to co-operate with the process. On the whole, they didn't (initially) report the traditional "sturm und drang" or stress of teenage life. Rather, they said being a teen was "fun" because of friends, greater freedom and more privileges than before, and being able to go out more. The difficulties they faced, as also indicated by the parents, were mostly related to this enhanced freedom, such as peer pressure and "wrong friends". Peer pressure included pressure to drink alcohol (not only at parties but at the Mall), smoking, and bullying especially between girls. There was an unforgettable moment when these adolescents said that their parents worry about things they shouldn't worry about, but don't worry about things they should worry about. When we asked what the parents should worry about, the adolescents said "our feelings!"

It was affirming in terms of the research philosophy to hear the young people speak in front of the parent group, offering their own suggestions for "steps to keep ourselves safe so parents can worry less". There was also a moving moment during the final group session when parents and adolescents admitted that some of the ways in which *both* parents and children had been communicating before, served to "break us down".

5.4.1 Connection and Communication: "She never ever tells me"

This group of adolescents experienced the process of communication and connection as a difficult part of their relationship with parents. They appeared to struggle with feeling that their parents were not always emotionally available to them and expressed sadness that communication was sometimes hindered by a tense, angry atmosphere: *"I can't talk to my mother about stuff because I know she is going to like scream at me. I really want to talk to my mother, but she doesn't really give that feeling that I can go to her" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 9: par 1.9].*

"My mother is always angry and she reacts too fast before she hears the story completely" [Adolescent 6][I][p. 11: par 1.10].

One of the adolescents was struggling with the question of whether her mother loved her or not: *"I want to know, is it wrong if you tell them you love them, and they don't respond? Sometimes I just really want to know if my Mom loves me or not ... but she never ever tells me" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 23: par 1.17]*.

The adolescents expressed a sense of both sadness and hopelessness about their struggle to connect with their parents, who they saw as busy, irritable and at times unavailable: *"My Dad works late, so some nights I sit with him at the computer and watch him play games. I can't really talk to my Dad because I feel I don't really have a close relationship with my father because he is like my Mom - you can't talk to him because he will get mad about something and he will just say 'no don't do that'" [Adolescent 6][I][p. 11: par 1.10]*.

These participants indicated that they knew that they should talk to their parents, but often found it difficult if their parents reacted by being critical or judgemental: "*You should talk to them [parents] about stuff, but sometimes I can't talk to my mother about things because she will judge me... She would say 'The Lord would have done this; you must talk to the Lord'. I try to do stuff differently, but my Mom always sees something wrong with me and my friends" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 21: par 1.16]*.

These adolescents were able to identify certain obstacles to connection and communication which are presented as a sub-theme of this theme.

5.4.1.1 Obstacles to communication: "She freaks out"

Judging, over-reacting and over-protection were identified by the adolescents as obstacles to connection and communication. The adolescents said that they found it difficult to talk to parents if they expected that their parents were going to judge them or their friends, or would overreact to what they were saying: *"My mother is always angry and she reacts too fast before she even hears the story completely" [Adolescent 6][I][p. 11: par 1.10]*. These adolescents acknowledged that sometimes their parents were right, but they felt that the way a parent chose to take up the issue affected their willingness to listen: *"Sometimes our*

parents are right when it comes to choices about school, friends and our future. You must try and listen to them... but if they tell us in a nicer way, we would probably listen better" [Adolescent 5][I][p. 28: par 1.21]. Adolescent 4 indicated that she could trust her parents to help, but said that: *"If they are wrong about something, they must admit that they were wrong." [Adolescent 4][I][p. 29: par 1.21].*

The adolescents' reported that they felt that their parents were very over- protective and that this made it difficult for them to open up to their parents. They also appeared to feel, at times that there were no adults that they could turn to for support: *"Our teacher says that if we have problems at home and we don't have people to talk to, we should come talk to them. So when I went to go talk to her about stuff, then she says I should talk to my parents.... But my Mom is very overprotective! If I try to talk to her and I say 'Mommy a guy asked me out,' she freaks out. She never lets me finish" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 21: par 1.16].*

5.4.1.2 Time and priorities: "Something better than me"

Shortage of time and parental priorities were identified as further obstacles to communication and connection leaving at least one of the adolescents feeling that her mother chooses something else over her: *"They put a lot of stuff higher than you. If I try to talk to my mother, she would rather say, 'No, I can't talk to you now. I need to go to church or I'm busy.' There is always something better than me to do. My mother always chooses something over me" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 12: par 1.11].*

While the adolescents showed an understanding that church activities are important for their parents, they also revealed that they want their share of attention: *"They must also spend time with us" [Adolescent 7][I][p. 12: par 1.11].* Some of the fathers of the adolescents in this group deal with heavy work demands, which children experienced as pushing their needs aside and felt resentful of outside demands on the time their parents could be spending with them: *"I would like my Dad to spend more time with me. When his boss calls him at nine at night when you want to watch TV with your Dad, or talk to him.... That makes you angry because his boss actually took up your time that you wanted to spend with your Dad" [Adolescent 6][I][p. 13: par 1.12].*

When asked how they liked to spend time with their parents, the adolescents came up with a list of suggestions of things they would like to do with their mothers: *"Shopping, making food together" [Adolescent 2][I][p. 14: par 1.12]* and *"We like to go for coffee or a milkshake or a walk with our parents" [Adolescent 2][I][p. 15: par 1.13]*.

However, the adolescents were clear that time together should facilitate mutual interests, and not be used in a one sided way by parents: *"…they mustn't preach while you are going for a walk. We should all talk about what we did that day and things like that"[Adolescent 6][I][p. 16: par 1.13]*. This group also listed activities they enjoyed doing with fathers: *"playing soccer or watching rugby on TV" [Adolescent 7][I][p. 17: par 1.14],* or *"Going to the beach" [Adolescent 6][I][p. 17: par 1.14]*. One on one time with a father can leave a young person with special memories: *"One time I went to the beach with my Dad and we swam, that was the most fun I've had with my Dad since we moved here" [Adolescent 6][I][p. 17: par 1.14]*.

5.4.2 Parental control and protectiveness: "Things they should worry about"

The theme of over-protectiveness, alluded to above, was explored more fully by the adolescents who considered 'over-protectiveness' and 'worry' to be areas of difficulty between them and their parents: *"They worry a bit too much and they are over protective" [Adolescent 1][I][p.6: par 1.6],* the adolescents believed that parents don't understand what is a problem, and what is not: *"Sometimes our parents worry about things that they shouldn't worry about, and when it comes to things they should worry about, then they don't worry" [Adolescent 1][I][p. 6: par 1.6]*. *W*hen asked what the parents worried about Adolescent 6 explained: *"They worry about us and our friends. Like when I go to the movies with my friends, they will send my big sister with us to see that we don't kiss a guy or something" [Adolescent 6][I][p. 6: par 1.6]*.

According to the group, there is no need for their parents to worry if they are at the movies or at the mall with a group of friends, because they will take care of each other, and they felt that their parents need not worry about *"Things like MXit" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 7: par*

1.6]. When asked what the parents should worry about (but did not), the adolescents' reply was though-provoking and heartfelt: *"Our feelings!" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 8: par 1.8]*.

5.4.2.1 Being trusted: "She will think twice"

The adolescents linked their experiences of *over-protectiveness* with the question of whether their parents could trust them. The circumstances most likely to evoke parental distrust include any situation involving an opposite-sex friend, *"Our parents are over-protective when guys come to the house, because they always think they are going to do something wrong" [Adolescent 1][I][p. 8: par 1.8]*. The adolescents explained that this did not only apply to boys but also to same-sex friends if their parents felt that the friend had done something wrong: *"I told my Mom about my friend - she and her boyfriend went to the movies and they slept together ... My Mom over-reacted and said that she will think twice before letting me go out with my friends because I have friends that did that. She said that my friends are going to say that if I want to be in their group, I will also have to do it. They [our parents] have to just let go and trust us more with this because we all know we can control ourselves" [Adolescent 6][I][p. 19: par 1.15]*.

The adolescents indicated that they believed that the reason why their parents are so over-protective was because: *"They made their mistakes and now they don't want to give us our space. They hold us back from having fun, because they are worried we will make the same mistakes." [Adolescent 4][I][p. 8: par 1.8]*.

These adolescents expressed a strong need for their parents to speak frankly about their lives and experiences when they were young: *"They can tell us how they handled these problems when they were teenagers, and then we can learn from their mistakes" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 10: par 1.9]*. The adolescents appeared to try very hard to understand their parents' protective ways: *"the reason why they are so protective over you is because they don't want you to get hurt from [committing] their mistakes" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 25: par 1.18]*. Adolescent 3 added: *"They try to warn you about sex, but they made a mistake before marriage to have sex themselves." [Adolescent 3][I][p. 20: par 1.16]*.

It emerged that not only should parents not worry about social networking such as MXit, in the adolescents' view parents can (and sometimes do) use technology to understand what their adolescent children are doing with their friends: *"Our parents have MXit on their phones, they use it to chat to us and check up on us" [Adolescent 6; Adolescent 2][I][p. 5: par 1.5].* Adolescent 2 added: *"My Dad can actually check, but he doesn't."[Adolescent 2][I][p. 5: par 1.5].* The adolescents expressed sadness and some frustration about the lack of trust in their relationships with their parents: *"They don't trust us" [Adolescent 6][I][p.5: par 1.6].*

It appears that when it comes to earning the parents' trust, these young people feel that they are in a difficult position. They feel that if they try to tell parents about troublesome experiences in their world, it raises the level of parental distrust. On the other hand, when they seek to learn from their parents' own "mistakes" they experience their parents as evasive. *"My Mom doesn't trust me that much, but that's why I really want to tell my Mom stuff, but she doesn't trust me with anything because my one friend, a boy, came to see me and we were standing outside, in front of my house, just talking, and then she made a scene just because he talked to me. There is nothing wrong with that but she doesn't trust me, and I want to know how I can build up trust with her because she doesn't want that." [Adolescent 4][I][p. 18: par 1.15]*

5.4.3 Messages about sex and pregnancy: "I have heard it the other way"

In discussing perceptions of parents' concerns around sexuality and teenage pregnancies, this group of adolescents expressed confusion, much of it based on statements that their parents had offered as true and factual. Amongst themselves, the young people could dispute such claims: *"My Mom says that all boys want sex" [Adolescent 7][I][p. 19: par 1.15]. "No, don't believe that ... I have heard it the other way from boys that it's the girls that are really pushy" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 20: par 1.16].*

Some adolescents, having been warned of the consequences of falling pregnant, were scared and confused. One took the opportunity to raise a troubling issue: *"Can I ask you something? Say you get pregnant, mothers say they won't allow you back in the house, is this true? But when you have the baby they allow you back in the house.... Is it because they don't love you, or what?" [Adolescent 7][I][p. 20: par 1.16].*

5.4.4 Peer pressure: "Looking cool"

The question: "Do you experience much peer pressure?" elicited mixed answers, indicating individual differences and varied experiences, with some group members saying that they did not experience much peer pressure and others saying that they were exposed to peer pressure. One adolescent associated it with feeling "out" when friends do something together that she would not do herself: *"Like on weekends, my friends want to go out and drink and I don't drink, so it's hard for me to go with them." [Adolescent 3][I][p. 2: par 1.3].* Another participant said that, *"There is pressure to have a girlfriend or a boyfriend – it is part of looking cool" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 4: par 1.4].* Looking cool, fits with other statements from these adolescents who admitted to feeling under pressure to have *"Cool things, like cell phones and Mxit" [Adolescent 6][I][p. 5: par 1.4].* There appeared to be more consensus from the adolescents around what peer pressure is *not*. They assert that association with the 'wrong friends' is more about making unwise choices due to low self-esteem: *"Sometimes we have to choose our friends better and sometimes we are trying to fit in" [Adolescent 8][I][p. 2: par 1.3].*

5.4.5 Co-operating around safety: "Not every five minutes"

The adolescents had previously expressed a wish for their parents to worry less and be less protective. To this end they started discussing steps that they could take to keep themselves safe and to show their parents that they were responsible, so that their parents could worry less. These steps included a commitment to share information with parents. They also thought it might help to stay in contact, in order to put their parents' minds at rest: *"One thing we could do is inform them about where we are going and what we will be doing" [Adolescent 3][I][p. 32: par 1.23].* The adolescents showed an understanding of their parents' high levels of anxiety around their safety and thus understood that their parents would also want to be able to initiate contact with them. This was acceptable to the young people, but within reasonable limits: *"It's okay if my Mom phones, but then not every five minutes, asking am I still there? What am I doing? Am I drinking? They must give us some space and relax" [Adolescent 4][I][p. 32: par1.23].*

5.4.6 Respect for individuality and personal choice: "You may choose"

The adolescents indicated that they struggled with feeling that their parents did not give them much room for self-expression and the freedom to make choices: *"When we go shopping and my Mom doesn't like my style, then she will say 'don't buy that', and then you can't buy it" [Adolescent 2][I][p. 15: par 1.12].* Adolescent 4 confirmed that parents often take adolescents out to buy clothes, holding out the hope that the adolescent may choose what she would like and become critical of the adolescents choice: *They [parents] take you to the shop and say you may choose two things of your choice ... I will pay for it. Then you go to the shop and see sneakers, (my Mom hates sneakers). Now, I'm like 'yes, I want these,' then she will scream, 'No, you may not get those!' And she embarrasses me in front of all the people" [Adolescent 4][I][p.15: par 1.13].*

5.4.7 The experience of being an adolescent: "More freedom in a way"

In response to the question "What is it like for you to be an adolescent?", the adolescents in this group indicated that their experience is mainly positive. Enjoyable aspects included increased social interaction, and increased freedom or mobility.

A typical response was: *"It is fun to be a teenager. We like spending time with friends. We have more privileges, like staying up later. It is nicer than when we were in Primary School - High School is fun." [Adolescent 1][I][p. 1: par 1.2].* Adolescent 2 added, *"There is more freedom in a way." [Adolescent 2][I][p. 1: par 1.2].*

The difficult aspects of being an adolescent concern tensions between where they believe themselves to be in their development towards adulthood, where their parents believe them to be, and where they would like to be. The adolescents referred again to issues such as parents being over-protective *"Our parents are very over-protective" [Adolescent 1][I][p. 6: par 1.6],* the responsibility of having more choices including the choice to handle peer pressure: *"Choices, you have to take more responsibility because you are older. There is peer pressure" [Adolescent 3][I][p. 1: par 1.2],* and *"Sometimes there are the wrong friends" [Adolescent 4][I][p.2: par 1.2].*

Despite the frustrations these adolescents expressed in terms of communicating with parents, building trust with them, and negotiating some space for personal expression, they also indicated that they did see their parents as role models in certain aspects of their lives, and appreciated their parents morals and values: *"We appreciate who they are... their moral values. Values like don't have sex before marriage . And their willingness to stand up for us" [Adolescent 3][I][p. 26: par 1.19].* At the end of the focus group, one of the adolescents shared with the group: *"I think this makes us feel closer to our parents" [Adolescent 6][I][p. 33: par 1.23].*

5.5 Parent Group C – Setting the Context

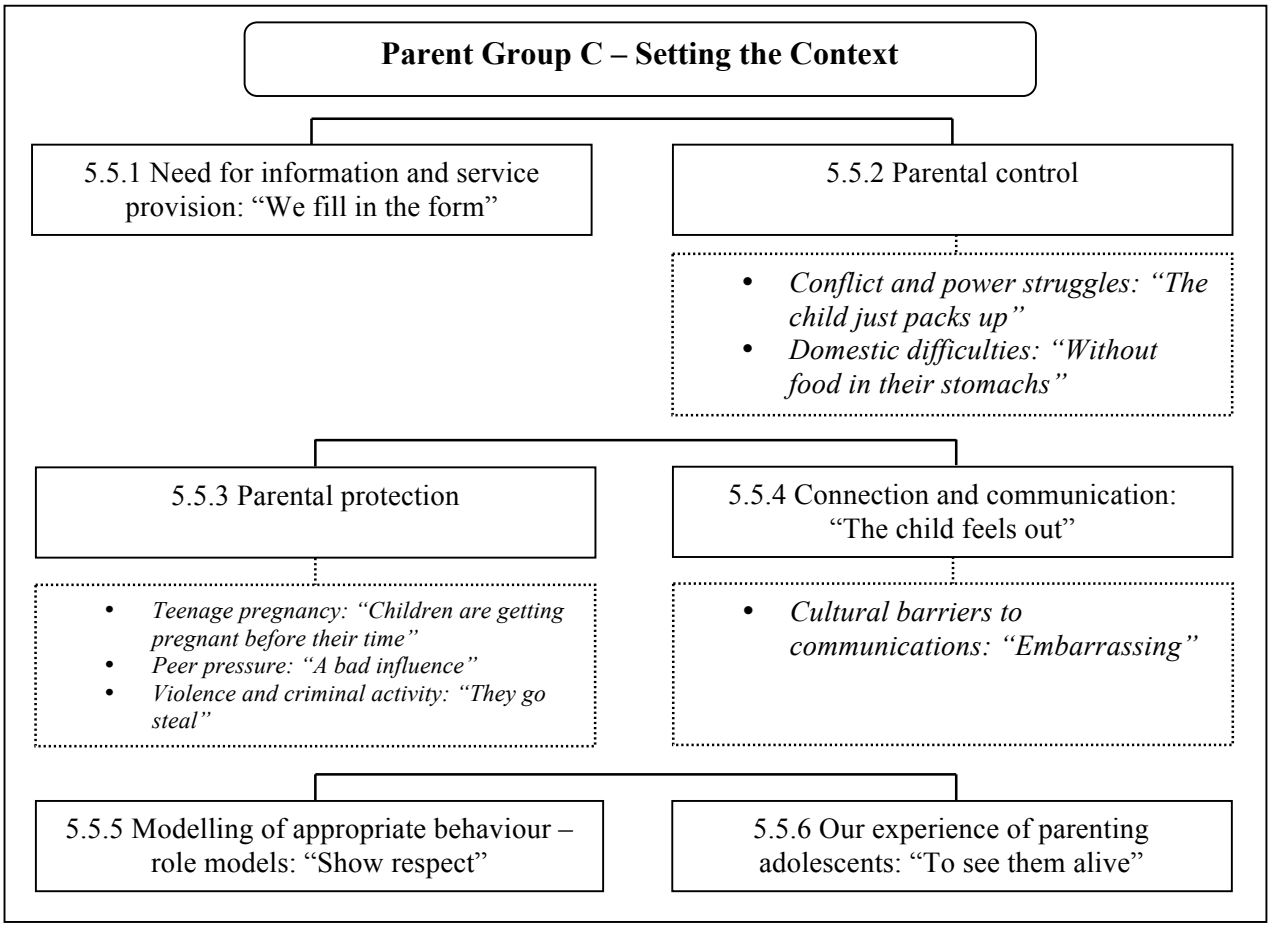

Figure 14. Visual display of themes and sub-themes.

Eight parents participated in this group. Two fathers were present and the rest of the participants were mothers. These participants knew each other to a greater or lesser degree as they all lived in the same neighbourhood and many lived in the same street in a predominately economically disadvantaged area. As the participants were introduced and described their children, it was immediately apparent that they had a different notion of child. Two had boys aged 15 and 13. There were some younger girls aged 11,12, 13 and 16. Others though we're 18, 19, 21, 22 and 23. So over half of those represented were 18 or over. For the purposes of this research no data for candidates younger than 13 or older than 21 were included.

As parents complained that their children "can't talk openly", the researcher and research assistant wondered if this would also be a problem for us, and what factors might inhibit either children or parents from talking openly with us. On the other hand, our status as outsiders might make open talking easier, so long as we succeeded in showing interest and not being judgmental in any way.

Fathers were not well represented in the group, and there were complaints about fathers being absent, or abusive. The one father who was there seemed very conscious of his gender role and in particular the need to manage his own household without outside help. This made him seem isolated both in the life he described and in the group.

The need for information and guidance, sometimes in regard to the most basic issues, was intense. At times during the session and in later analysis, it was overwhelming and very sad to realize how disempowered these parents felt and how many obstacles lay in their path as parents.

All agreed though that the "Ubuntu" spirit is lacking in the urban life compared to the rural life. It seems that in rural areas material survival is difficult but in the city, cultural survival is difficult while poverty is still a reality.

It seemed that the parents have a limited interest in or concern about emotional issues. Their focus was on material provision for the children; and the big fear was that if they fail in this, their children will run away, join a gang or become a prostitute. However, the love they feel for their children was apparent and heart warming for us to witness.

5.5.1 Need for information and service provision: "We fill in the form"

The parents in this group indicated that they felt that they needed information about almost every aspect of parenting as well as broader types of information such as assistance regarding special needs. There were many parents in this group who had children with special needs: *"It is hard to parent when we don't have information. We need a plan and we need to know what we can do" [Father 2][J][p. 7: par 1.7]. "We need information about the child care grant and social support networks and about education when our children have problems" [Father 1][J][p. 7: par 1.7].*

They also indicated that a lack of adequate services in their community made it more difficult to parent effectively: *"The main problem is that I don't know who the social worker is around here" [Father 2][J][p. 7: par 1.7].* This was even apparent in terms of their adolescents' education: *"Some schools help children who come from poor, disadvantaged homes... but here we fill in the form that I can't fully support my child, but your children never gets the school uniform. So the teachers give to those who are friends, not those who need the clothing" [Father 1][J][p. 10: par 1.7].* The same father expressed a deep sense of hopelessness and frustration around trying to support his child: *"My child is disabled; her mother lives somewhere else, and she is getting paid the grant for the disabled, but the child lives with me. Now my child didn't go to school from last week because her mother didn't pay the money for the transport" [Father 1][J][p. 7: par 1.7] .*

5.5.2 Parental control

The parents in this group did not have a strong sense of having any control over their adolescent children and seemed to feel that if they could not provide well for their children they almost had no power in their children's lives.

5.5.2.1 Conflict and power struggles: "The child just packs up"

These parents noted that much of the conflict they experienced with their adolescent children arose from the adolescents feeling frustrated about a lack of resources: *"Teenagers get demanding. Like if a parent can't provide them with a certain thing, they get frustrated and start talking back. Then you start arguing and fighting. Then the child just packs up her bag and moves out of the house. That's what kids usually do" [Mother 1][J][p.14: par 1.7].*

5.5.2.2 Domestic difficulties: "Without food in their stomachs"

These parents indicated that domestic difficulties as well as a lack of resources made parenting and protecting their children difficult: *"I took my children to school, but some of them dropped out because of the problems inside the house. Sometimes they are going to school without food in their stomachs, and at the end of the day, people call them gangsters because of the problems we are experiencing. The children's father is working, but he doesn't support us at all – he chases the children away, and even me. When I speak with him, he beats me. It is very bad for the children" [Mother 1][J][p. 4: par 1.6].*

5.5.3 Parental protection

The parents in this group expressed great difficulty in terms of their experience of being able to protect their children. They indicated that a lack of resources and the limitations of their ability to provide for their children resulted in their children engaging in activities that placed them at great risk:

Three sub-themes were identified in this regard namely; teenage pregnancies, peer pressure and criminal activity.

5.5.3.1 Teenage pregnancy: "Children are getting pregnant before their time"

In discussing difficulties that they experience with regard to parenting their adolescent children, the parents in this group indicated that they felt quite helpless in exercising any control over their children and that teenage pregnancies were a significant problem in their community: *"The big difficulties are that the children are getting pregnant before time and they are having children" [Mother 1][J][p. 2: par 1.3]*. Another parents explained that their adolescents were very resistant to discussing or using contraception: *"Some children, if they're old enough and the parents say 'Come we are going to make a family plan' [contraception]. They don't want to make a family plan. That is why they get pregnant before time" [Mother 7][J][p. 3: par 1.3]*.

5.5.3.2 Peer pressure: "A bad influence"

Peer pressure was identified, by these parents, as being an area of difficulty over which they felt they had very little ability to intervene and exert any form of influence:*"We don't have any control when the children go out and their friends are a bad influence sometimes" [Father 1][J][p. 3: par 1.4]*. Mother 3 showed an understanding and sensitivity to his daughter's concerns around peer pressure: *"The school sent a letter saying what is disturbing her? Sometimes I notice that she looks disturbed outside but inside at home there is nothing, nothing wrong with her but she is not an open child who can talk but she worries about the outside like peer pressure" [Mother 3][J][p. 4: par 1.4]*

The parents expressed a great deal of concern and fear that their adolescents would ally themselves with anyone who could buy them what they wanted. One of the mothers present indicated that a great deal of peer pressure was related to the adolescent's desire to have certain material possessions, which the parents were unable to provide for their children, and the desperate measures some of the adolescents resorted to in order to obtain these possessions: *"I am trying my best to find a job, but I am not working, and then my child sees the opportunity to make a life outside, and sometimes they sell their body like a prostitute. It doesn't mean she doesn't get any attention in the house, because she does, but the problem is that*

they are competing for clothes. She is always saying, 'I need shoes' and 'I need this' and 'I don't have this' and is going outside for a person who is going to give her the money, you know" [Mother 1][J][p. 14: par 1.7].

5.5.3.3 Violence and criminal activity: "They go steal"

Another parent also indicated that sometimes a lack of resources led to their children engaging in criminal activity: *"What children usually do - they go for house theft. They go to the shops and steal just to get money to buy certain things. Maybe my friend gets a pair of Adidas - now I feel out because I don't have Adidas. I ask my mother, but she has no money, and I ask my father and he has no money, so what do I do? I go steal. That is why most of the teenagers go to jail for theft and housebreaking*" [Mother 3][J][p. 15: par 1.9]. Father 1 added: *"There are also gangs in our community ... We have to get up very early to go to work, and we have to walk from here to the station because there are no taxis, and there are teenagers waiting on the side of the road ... then they want your cell phone ... they want it for drug money" [Father 1][J][p. 16: par 1.10].*

5.5.4 Connection and communication: "The child feels out"

There was a distinct sense of helplessness from the parents in this group - many seemed overwhelmed, not only by the task of parenting their adolescent children, but by many, if not most, aspects of their lives. It seemed that these parents found connection and effective communication with their adolescent children extremely difficult – but their love and concern for their children was apparent: *"Yes, single parenting is very difficult because you can't always be a mother and a father to the children. Sometimes the child wants the mother's love and then the child wants the father's love. Now we as mothers stay with our children because the fathers are not available. So that child gets frustrated because he/she wants their father also in their life and when the father is not supporting in any way, like in sport or even in the house with his homework, then the child feels out and then doesn't feel like talking to the mother about what the problem really is about. Then there is a disconnection between the mother and the child" [Mother 2][J][p. 5: par 1.6].* Father 1 explained to their other parents that he had learned that it was important to be patient and speak calmly to his child: *"Sometimes I ask her to go get something but she keeps forgetting. You mustn't shout at her; you must talk softly [calmly]"*

[Father 1][J][p. 3: par 1.4]. Mother 5 expressed agreement and understanding: *"Yes…. It's the same…. Sometimes I shout at her so I think I make things worse" [Mother 5][J][p. 4: par 1.4]*.

5.5.4.1 Cultural barriers to communication: "Embarrassing"

The parents explained that there was not a culture of open communication between parents and children and thus their children may be influenced more by peers than parents: *"Firstly our culture is different so the parents and the children can't just talk openly. Sometimes you are talking with your child in the house, telling them about the rules, and then your child goes outside and she meets friends and then the friends turn her* [influence]*, then you just find out your child is pregnant" [Father 1][J][p. 3: par 1.4]*. These parents also identified inherent difficulties in the health care system available to the adolescents in their community, in terms of having one clinic in the community that is staffed by members of that community. They explained that this implies a lack of privacy and confidentiality: *"Parents nowadays don't talk to their children about sex and that. That's why the girls feel it is embarrassing to walk into a clinic and there is an elderly person sitting there looking, because here, all the people are looking because the girl is 14/15 years old getting an injection. So they will think this girl is having sex that's why she is on a pill or injection" [Mother 2][J][p. 3: par 1.4]*.

These parents indicated that it was not only the adults who struggled to talk openly with their children, but that the children, too, were aware of these cultural barriers: *"In our culture the children don't talk openly so it is hard for the parents to know their lives, like what they are doing when they are outside of home, who they are with, what they are feeling" [Mother 1][J][p. 15: par 1.8]*.

5.5.5 Modelling of appropriate behaviour – role models: "Show respect"

Amongst such hardship and poverty parent Mother 5 was able to show an understanding of the importance of being an example to one's children and was able to suggest to the other parents that there was still something they could do – that of modelling a respectful way of being: *"All of us woman and men have problems, so the only thing we [parents] can do is to talk*

about the things, and show respect to each other, and help each other where we can help. That can make our children stronger" [Mother 5][J][p. 18: par 1.11]

5.5.6 Our experience of parenting adolescents: "To see them alive"

The parents in this group described the process of parenting adolescents in their community as being very difficult. The areas they identified as being their greatest challenges were teenage pregnancies, substance abuse and criminality. School refusal due to problems at home, financial difficulties and a general lack of support too presented as major areas of concern, as did conflict between themselves and their adolescent children, and the fact, as many of these parents reported, that when there was conflict, their children often ran away from home. Many of them were single parents and this added to the pressure they were experiencing, as one parent described: *"It is very, very difficult. It is a problem. The difficulties are that the children are getting pregnant. Another problem is that when my child was in school, she left in grade 10, and her father was in an accident, and I didn't get any benefits [financial benefits] from the accident so she just quit schooling" [Mother 1][J][p. 2: par1.3].*

The group complained that fathers are absent and mothers are mostly left to cope on their own*: "Some fathers are abusive, they chase the children away or beat the woman" [Mother 2][J][p. 5: par1.6].*

When this group of parents were asked about the joys of parenting adolescents, they were unable to answer the question. When the question was rephrased and the parents were asked what their *hopes* were for their children, the answer preferred was: *"To see them alive!" [Mother 5][J][p. 20: par 1.11].*

A parent, in group C, offered the following as a suggested next step in the process of supporting parent adolescent relationships, showing an awareness of the importance of knowing what was happening in the adolesents' lives, and expressing a strong need for change in order to meet the adolescents' needs: *"I think we need a community call, where we can call the parents to let them know that time now is not the old times. Times are changing. It is*

for the parent to allow the child to talk about the things she feels or doesn't feel. So we need awareness. Parent awareness for them to know time has changed. They must know what is happening in their child's life" [Mother 5][J][p. 18: par 1.11].

5.6 Adolescents group C – Setting the Context

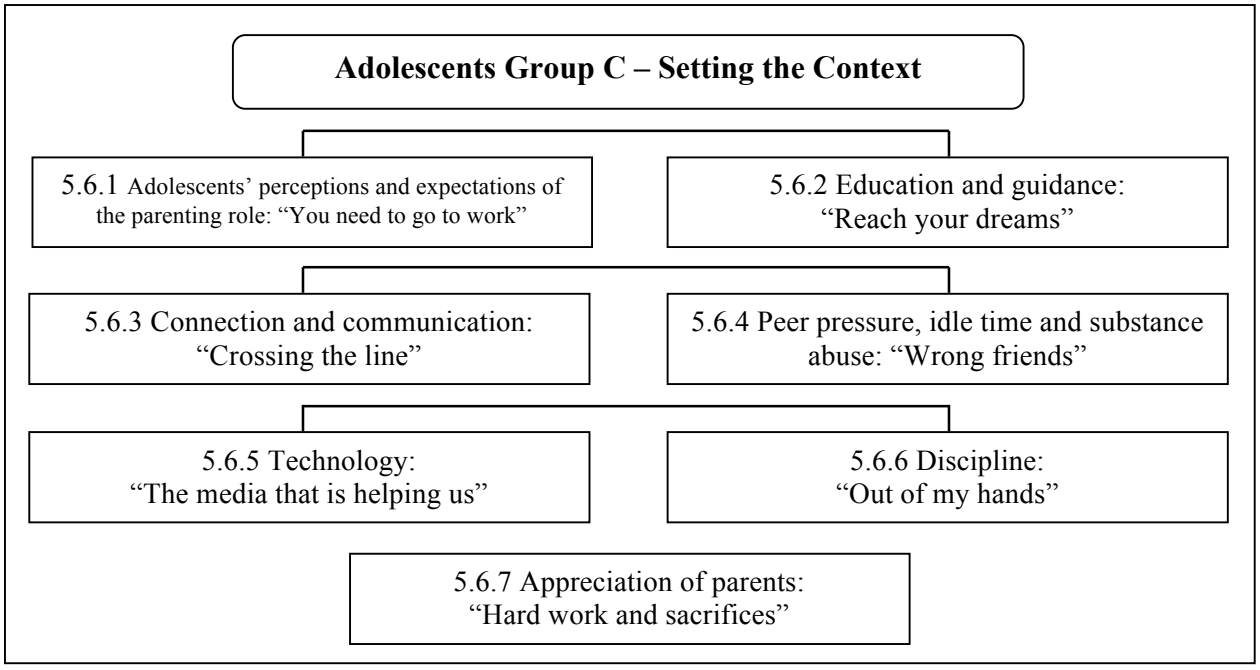

Figure 15. Visual display of themes and sub-themes

The data from five adolescents in this group was considered for this study. Initially difficulty was experienced by the researcher in terms of the number young people that arrived to take part in the focus group - it did seem that the parents really did not understand the concept of the group being for adolescents only and many of the young people that arrived were outside of the age limits we had requested. Furthermore there was a strong theme of "relative deprivation" and frustration among the young people present who appeared to feel that life was not fair. Thus they presented as more politically aware than other groups interviewed, though not necessarily better informed about the issues.

One sad consequence of being exposed to other cultures was poignantly captured by one of

the adolescent boys as he described how, when he played in sports matches at more privileged schools, he could see how the parents of the more privileged adolescents were routinely well represented as supporters at matches.

Despite the despair and worry expressed by the parents we found this young group energizing and uplifting. Their hope and confidence in a better future was contagious. It seemed a shame that the parents we spoke with did not seem to have a strong awareness had such of how much their adolescent children valued their friendship, advice, company, protection, and the links to family that parents provide.

5.6.1 Adolescents' perceptions and expectations of the parenting role: "You need to go to work"

When these adolescents were asked about their experiences and expectations around parenting, they had many suggestions regarding how they would like to be parented and how they would parent differently if they were parents: *"If you have a child, you must support him. You need to go to work so you can buy him clothes to wear and then he will see that his father cares about him" [Adolescent Male 2][K][p. 11: par 1.9].* Adolescent Male 1 expressed the idea of reciprocity in caring: *"You must look after your children so that when you get old, they will look after you" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 12: par 1.9].* Still referring to caring Adolescent Male 1 added: *"Some mothers get drunk. They don't care about their children."[Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 11: par 1.9].*

The adolescents in this group presented as being very concerned about being prepared for the future: *"One thing I would do different is teach my children those kinds of challenges you face in life, like drugs or alcohol or pregnancy, so that he doesn't face the same consequences as I did" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 13: par 1.10].* Another adolescent spoke his need for parents to be more aware of what was happening in their children's lives: *"Another thing I would do differently if I was a parent, is to be more concerned about what's happening in my child's life. For example, what kind of friends they have, are they good or bad? Our parents really don't know what is happening in our lives" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 13: par 1.10].* He added: *"What I would do different is I would listen to my child."[Adolescent Male 1][K][p.22: par 1.14].*

5.6.2 "Education and guidance: Reach your dreams"

It was very apparent that this group of adolescents realised the value of education: "*Education is a big thing – we need to stay in school" [Adolescent Female 2][K][p. 10: par 1.7]*. Adolescent Male 1 indicated agreement: *"It is not easy being a teenager, but if you want to reach your dreams, you must go to school" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 10: par 1.7].*

He then continued explaining the need for support, information and guidance especially around career guidance: *"... the thing we need from school is more support. To guide us in the right direction and tell us the things we need to know and about the kind of opportunities there are" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 10: par 1.7]. A*nother adolescent expressed a wish for guidance to be available on a wider scale than just at school: *"At our school we have a subject called 'Love Life'. They teach us how to protect ourselves and how to say 'This is right and I have to choose what I want now.' If there was a 'Love Life' counsellor available all the time to teach us, maybe our mothers and sisters wouldn't get pregnant" [Adolescent Male 2][K][p. 10: par 1.8].*

5.6.3 Connection and communication: "Crossing the line"

In discussing communication, the adolescents in this group indicated that they perceived a difference in the communication patterns or styles between Black adolescents and their parents in comparison to White adolescents and their parents – thus indicating an awareness of cultural differences and cultural barriers to communication:*"White guys [boys] can ask their fathers for advice about ladies ... but with us Black people, you can't do that - we know we will be crossing the line ... If the teenagers start taking about their love life to their parents, the parents think that the child is being disrespectful. We can talk to our friends or our big brother ... even our older sister ... not your parents" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 1: par 1.2].*

However, some of the members of the group expressed concern about the reliability of advice or information that friends could give them: *"If we can't talk to our parents, then your friends can tell you the wrong things, and you do it wrong, then maybe you will get a beating or HIV" [Adolescent Male 2][K][p. 2: par 1.2].* This led to a discussion around their need to

have more open communication with their parents: *"Our parents must talk to us more openly – what we need is for them to open up to us" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 16: par 1.12]; "Our parents need to give us information; they must be more open," [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 16: par 1.12]* and *"... give us emotional support" [Adolescent Male 2][K][p. 13: par 1.10]*.

The adolescents in this group reflected on the level of parental involvement in their lives and indicated that they would like to have support from adults. They explained that they have noticed that in more affluent communities, parents were more available to their children, for example, supporting their children at sports matches, and said: "We feel sad about this" Adolescent Female 1: Another participant, however showed an understanding of the role that young people may play in the communication struggle they have with their parents: *"It's because we don't tell them [what is going on in our lives]. Some of us hide it from our parents. Like our parents ask us things and we say "No man!" We always try to change the subject" [Adolescent Female 1][K][p. 14: par 1.11]*

One of the adolescent males in the group continued to explain that the potential for a greater sense of connection and communication between adolescents and their parents was perhaps easier for the girls than boys (In this community most of the children were being brought up by their mothers, and many of the fathers were absent from their lives): *"The girls are closer to their moms who can teach them how to be a good wife one day... their mothers will guide them on how to respect themselves as a lady. Then they will have more of a relationship with their mothers" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 9: par 1.7]*.

5.6.4 Peer pressure, idle time and substance abuse: "Wrong friends"

Peer pressure was identified by all the adolescents of this group as being prevalent in their lives. Adolescent Male 2 was emotional when he explained that for a while he had dropped out of school and lived a troubled life: *"We need to choose our friends. I had the wrong friends and I did many things wrong. I didn't go to school for four years. I was on the streets; I stole many things from peoples' houses" [Adolescent Male 2][K][p. 4: par 1.4]*. Alcohol too was identified as a problem: *"Alcohol is a problem because it is something to do, but it can lead to violence and rape" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 13: par 1.10]*. Not having access to recreational

activities seemed to leave these young people with 'too much time and not enough to do: *"Often we have too much time and not enough to do, especially if we are not in school. A big challenge is the friends we choose, places we go, styles we try to be cool, maintaining self-respect" [Adolescent Male 2][K][p. 4: par 1.4]*.

5.6.5 Technology: "The media that is helping us"

The adolescents in this group expressed frustration at the fact that they did not have much access to technology and all indicated that they would like more access to the Internet, in particular: **"***We don't use MXit" [Adolescent Female 1][K][p. 7: par 1.6]; "We don't have access to computers. For the Internet Café you need money to use it and there is a lot of information on the Internet that can help us" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 7: par 1.6]*.

All the adolescents present admitted that they had cell phones and used them to connect with their family and friends: *"Yes we have those old cell phones without the Internet" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 8: par 1.6]*.

The adolescents in this group also acknowledged that there is a big gap between what they are exposed to, for example, through the media and computers, and being more literate than their parents: *"Yes, there is a big difference; sometimes we can tell our mothers about things they don't know about" [Adolescent male 1][K][p. 22: par 1.14]*. They showed an awareness that they had more exposure to information than their parents did: *"We are more exposed* [to information] *with the media. It is the media that is helping us. You learn from it. For example, if you use a drug then you know what it is" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 3: par 1.3]*.

5.6.6 Discipline: "Out of my hands"

In discussing discipline, this group of adolescents acknowledged that some of the boys did get beatings [hidings], but mostly the parents would try to talk to them and then give up:*"now it is not like old school that they* [parents] *would spank you, if you do something wrong; they will sit you down and talk to you – but then they say, 'it's enough, I don't want to talk to you, it's out of my hands' and then they give up." [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 6: par 1.5]*.

5.6.7 Appreciation of parents: "Hard work and sacrifices"

When these adolescents were asked what they appreciated about their parents and the way they were parented, they engaged with the question very quickly and showed a deep understanding of the difficulties, challenges and obstacles that their parents were confronted with: *"The hard work and sacrifices our parents make, and the strength of character parents show, especially single mothers" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 16: par 1.13].* They also showed an appreciation of the efforts their parents make to provide for and guide them: *"They give us a roof over our heads, and that is important because you see there are a lot of people on the street, right here in this community, who don't have a home … and that they want more for us than they had for themselves. They are our inspiration and they teach us to appreciate what we have. We have learned from them that small things are important" [Adolescent male 1][K][p. 18: par 1.13]. A*s well as the caring they received from their parents: *"When I get sick they will pay for me to go to the doctor" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 18: par 1.13].*

These young people seemed to find it very easy to identify the efforts that their parents did make for them: *"I do appreciate that my mother sacrificed so many things for me to go to school and have a roof over my head" [Adolescent Male 2][K][p. 19: par 1.13]* and were very aware of making their parents proud of them: *"My mother is uneducated. …She says that it doesn't mean that if 'I am uneducated then my children will be uneducated'. My children will be educated to have a brighter future. I want to do something to make her* [mother] *proud. She inspires me. She has raised a man, and I am someone who loves to learn things everyday"[Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 17:par 1.13].*

Another participant showed a strong awareness of family and protecting his family's reputation in the community: *"The wrong things that you do in the community come back to your parents. Like people will ask how did his parents raise him? You will see that the good things that you do, they [parents] will get credited for that. When you go out, you represent your parents" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 2: par 1.2].*

The adolescents in Group C said that they felt that interacting with their parents, as had happened in the group sessions, could make a difference: *"This will be a big difference. You will not see so many street kids and drugs. See, firstly when you go outside, you are unhappy with things at home. If you can communicate more with the parents, you won't go to live on the streets. You will see less kids using drugs and alcohol" [Adolescent Male 2][K][p. 28: par 1.17],* Adolescent Male 1 added: *"Even teenage pregnancies. If you and your parents can sit down and talk, it will be easier. The ladies can talk with their mothers, and the guys can speak with their fathers; then you will get good advice" [Adolescent Male 1][K][p. 29: par1.17]*

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter the master and sub-themes identified by the researcher were presented. Emerging themes that were relevant to the research question were supported by verbatim accounts from the participants. The information presented in this chapter will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six in order to capture the essence of the participants' experience of the parenting process, and obtain a deeper understanding of their experiences.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

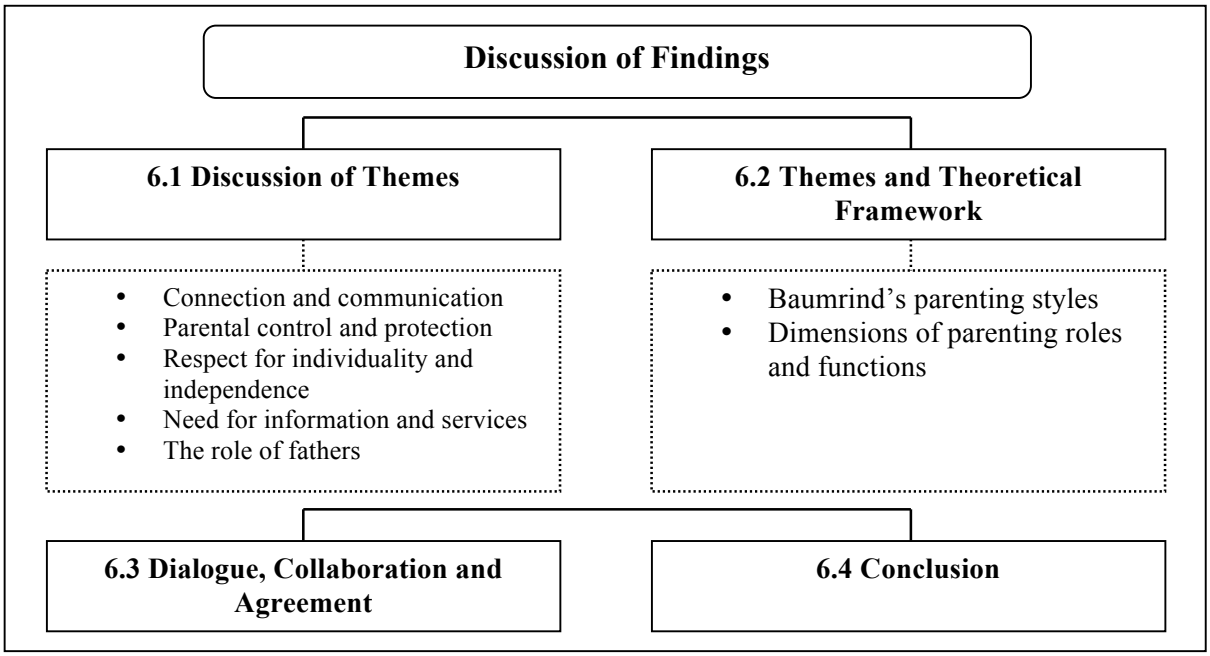

Figure 16. Visual display of chapter 6

The current study has attempted to highlight the value of examining those experiences of the parent-adolescent relationship, which fall under the broad category of parenting. Experiences, which, have been revealed as being multi-faceted with both positive and challenging dimensions. The previous chapter has imposed structure upon these experiences using the rigorous qualitative methodology of IPA, thus enabling a rich account of the experiences of adolescents and their parents, as well as the group dynamics inherent in focus group research, to be presented.

In the following section, and in accordance with the process of IPA, the main aspects of the results are discussed and interpreted. The intention here has been to explore the way in which parents and adolescents experience the parenting process as it relates to adolescents. While every attempt has been made to explore both the shared and the individual claims made by the participant groups, the researcher acknowledges that by concentrating on the group level, analysis may be at the expense of valuable and interesting individual variation. This, however, is in accordance with the view of Morgan, (1997) who states,

"nearly all discussions of analysis issues in focus groups assert that the group, not the individual, must be the fundamental unit of analysis" (p. 60). Smith (2006) offers similar advice by suggesting that when parsing IPA focus group transcripts this is done first for group level patterns and dynamics and then for individual accounts.

The elements and constituents of participant experience in reality would be interrelated and overlap with multiple and subtle nuances. However, in the interest of highlighting significant meanings and group differences, and of making the discussion more accessible to the reader, this discussion integrates the themes and sub-themes.

The discussion and interpretation of identified themes and sub-themes are first presented, and then linked to the research questions; bearing in mind that each individual's experience of parenting adolescent children remains unique, as is the experience of being parented as an adolescent. By careful and persistent reflection on these experiences the researcher has attempted to capture the relational complexity of the participants' lived experiences in order to gain a richer understanding, not only of what is meaningful to them, but also in terms of new and promising possibilities that emerge in the process of dialogue.

6.1 Discussion of Themes

6.1.1 Connection and communication

All three groups of parents and adolescents identified communication and connection (sometimes interpreted as parental warmth) as being one of the most important aspects that affected the parent-adolescent relationship. The perceived need of both mothers and fathers, to build a greater sense of connection between themselves and their adolescent children featured strongly in discussions with all three groups. However, parental differences were noted in the parent expressions of connection. Connection for the mothers (especially in group A) centred on relationship building and the emotional bond between themselves and their adolescent children. While this was clearly important to the fathers

who took part in this study, the fathers' focus, in terms of connection, did appear to be more strongly concerned with rules and compliance. This is supported by the work of both Lamb (2004) and Day and Padilla-Walker (2009).

Those parents, who indicated that they had a warm and loving relationship with their adolescent children, attributed this to the fact that the communication between themselves and their child was good. Similarly, the adolescents who identified their relationship with their parents as warm and supportive indicated that the communication between themselves and their parents was mostly good. These results support the findings of Collins and Laursen (2004) who found that positive, routine, and daily parent-adolescent communication served to foster feelings of closeness; as well as the findings of Brotherson et al., (2003) and Bulanda and Majumdar (2009) who noted that positive parent-adolescent communication was linked to the healthy development of a child or adolescents' self-image as well as the image of the parent-child relationship.

Similar to the parents in Group A, the parents in Group B indicated that having a strong bond and good communication with their children would contribute to the adolescents' sense of self-worth and ultimately serve as a protective factor against them looking for love in the wrong relationships, or confusing love with sexual feelings. Thus, for these parents, open communication and a strong sense of connection is not only seen as a route to 'feelings of closeness', but also serves as a protective factor. Similarly the work of Khaleque and Rohner (2002) attributed a significant percentage of adolescents' psychological adjustment to perceived parental warmth.

6.1.1.1 Barriers to connection and communication – conflict

Most participants in the parent groups were able to identify specific obstacles to communication and connection, such as dishonesty, power struggles or conflict. Arguing and fighting were viewed as playing a role in diminishing closeness, contact and warmth in the parent-adolescent relationship. The adolescents also reported that *interparental conflict* was distressing for them and that when they had a fight with their parents it was

'heartbreaking', a similar trend was noted by Barber et al., (2003). Not listening nor paying attention were identified as factors which contributed to conflict between the parents and adolescents, for example, the parents indicated that they struggled when their adolescents did not listen to them. Similarly, adolescents in groups A and B expressed frustration around not being heard by their parents. Xiao and Stanton (2011) found that it was the adolescent's perceptions of the level of openness in family communication that played a greater determining role in the psychosocial adjustment of adolescents that the perceptions of parents. Adolescents in Group C noted that their parents did not know what was happening in their lives and thus the level of parental involvement was low, these young people acknowledged that this was because they did not communicate with their parents and experienced this with a sense of loss and sadness. Parental involvement has been shown to be a critical factor in healthy parent-adolescent relationships with adolescents who report higher levels of parental connection scoring higher on positive and lower on negative behaviours (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004). The Adolescents in Group C acknowledged that the low levels of parental involvement and poor communication between themselves and their parents resulted in interpersonal difficulties between themselves and their parents. The parents in Group C reported that much of the conflict they experienced with their adolescent children resulted from their children's frustration around a lack of resources, this appears to have resulted in further feelings of disempowerment for the parents in this group, whereas the parents in groups A and B did not present as feeling defeated or overwhelmed in their roles as parents, even when confronting difficult problems. A similar trend was noted by McNeely and Barber (2010), in a study on Xhosa speaking adolescents in the Western Cape noted that adolescents rated the provision of necessities more highly than the provision of things they wanted and perceived receiving rare or valuable resources as love.

6.1.1.2 Barriers to connection and communication – cultural

The participants in Groups B and C identified cultural barriers that affected their ability and freedom to communicate effectively – in particular, about romantic relationships and sex. While some of the parents present were able to acknowledge that this needed to

change, their adolescent children were much clearer about the need for this to happen. The parents in Group B feared inadvertently giving their children positive messages about sex and contraception. These parents expressed conflict: On the one hand, wanting to protect their children from becoming sexually active with the incumbent risks of teenage pregnancy, but on the other hand, subscribing to a belief system that engaging in pre-marital sex was 'un-Godly' and not to be contemplated. These parents were fearful that were they to engage in discussions about "safe sex" with their children, the children might interpret this as tacit permission to become sexually active. Yet the Group B adolescents expressed sadness that their parents were not more open and available to discuss romantic relationships, sex and sexuality. A similar trend was noted amongst the adolescents in Group C, who expressed dissatisfaction with the level of information they received from their parents and actually stated that without being able to talk openly to their parents and get accurate information from them, the risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV, as well as the risk of early pregnancies was very high. Namisi et al., (2009) confirm that sex is a subject that is not discussed in the African family. These narratives from adolescents in Groups B and C concerning their reported difficulties in engaging in positive communication with their parents generally and their specific difficulties in terms of communication about sex are consistent with the findings of Wang (2009) who found a significant positive correlation between the extent of problems in parent-adolescent general communication and the extent of communication about sexual issues, as well as a significant negative correlation between the extent of problems in parent-adolescent communication and the quality of parent-adolescent communication about sexual issues. It was stated by the adolescents in Group C, that it is difficult for African youth to initiate conversations about sex with their parents (although there are other adults in the extended family that they could approach); however this cultural taboo would be especially difficult to break through in the context of a generally low level of personal sharing between adolescent and parent.

Based on the findings of research into parent adolescent communication and/or adolescent risk taking behaviour in South Africa the concern of the parents in Groups B and C around sexual safety do not appear unfounded. These concerns are supported by the findings of

Varghese *et al.* (2002) who found that the probability that an adolescent will become sexually active is increased by community risk factors (e.g., low rates of educational attainment, high unemployment rates, community poverty, high crime rate), family risk factors (e.g., having a single parent, changes in parental marital status, low level of parental education and income, poor parental support and lack of parental supervision. To a greater or lesser degree all these factors are operative in the life-worlds of participants in groups B and C.

Parents in all three groups acknowledged the importance of attending to the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship, the feelings of the young person and their need to feel validated or accepted. These ideas are consistent with Simpson's (2001) conceptualisation of connection as one of the most significant dimensions of parenting adolescents. Simpson (2001) highlights the importance of a positive, secure, emotional connection between parents and adolescents as a significant protective factor for healthy adolescent development. As viewed by participants, communication is essential to the maintenance of a warm, trustworthy connection through the transitions of adolescence. As one parent remarked, "All this can best be achieved through good communication*"* (AP4).

6.1.1.3 Barriers to connection and communication: Time with parents

The adolescents in Group B expressed sadness at their perception of their parents not having time to talk to them. This left them with a sense that they were not as important as some of the parents' other activities, for example going to church meetings. The mothers, when they were given this feedback, struggled with this, as they clearly felt torn between loyalty to their children and loyalty to the church. Such issues, however, cannot easily be resolved without dialogue; unless the starting position of parties to a conflict can be adequately represented, there is no space for "mutual accommodation". A conflict can appear to be about competing values, and can easily slide from there into mutual blaming and accusation. It may be relevant here that these same adolescents reported experiences of psychological control, including guilt manipulation. When positioned vis a vis a problem in such a way that there is no certainly of being in the right, a parent with an

'authoritarian' style might feel guilt and shame. In such a situation, there is a need for support and even for 'scaffolding' so that parents can learn to find their way through an interpersonal impasse such as this conflict of loyalties. In the process, parents can acquire important negotiation skills and will then be able to model these skills for their children, as was occurring in the Group A situation where parents already had a command of such skills to a fairly high degree.

6.1.1.3.1 Reciprocal communication

On another level, however, and in accordance with research by Witt and Caldwell (2005) who identified parental involvement as one of the strongest protective factors an adolescent can have with regard to maximising his or her potential, all of the participants in this study (parents and adolescents) indicated that spending time together would facilitate a greater sense of connection and create the opportunity to talk. However, the adolescents, specifically in groups A and B, were clear that the time needed to be used in a positive manner, and not as an opportunity for their parents to “preach” or “lecture” them. A great deal of time in the feedback groups was spent discussing activities that the adolescents and parents would enjoy doing together, and agreements were reached between the individual adolescent and parent dyads. This presented as a very positive interaction between the adolescents and their parents. It served several purposes, namely: modelling and practising techniques of dialogue; building emotional connection and trust; respecting each other's roles and preferences; and opening the parent/adolescent system to some new and creative thinking.

6.1.2 Parental control and protection

While parental control and protection were identified as two separate themes in chapter 5 they are discussed together in this section as it is evident from the data that the degree of parental control exercised by parents in this study was fundamentally influenced and informed by their perception of the environmental risks confronting their children and hence their need to protect their children. This is in accordance with the views of Simpson

(2001) who found that parental control, specifically behaviour control, serves an important function in terms of protection and safety. Similarly, control featured as a central factor in Baumrind's (1971) classification of parenting styles. The numerous situations that parents in this study perceived as risky for their children are also discussed under this broader theme of control and protection.

6.1.2.1 Factors influencing parental control and protection

Parental anxiety around monitoring and/or being in control of their adolescents' behaviour and safety featured strongly in the responses from all three groups of parents. The parents seemed acutely aware of the many risks confronting adolescents today, and experienced a great deal of anxiety around keeping their children safe. Environmental dangers identified by these parents, and supported by extant literature, as being significant risk factors in the lives of adolescents, especially in developing countries (Mathews et al., 2009; Varghese et al., 2002) include substance abuse, violence and rape, as well as early pregnancy. It was also apparent that part of this concern was related to parental fear that their children's education could be terminated prematurely. Research on high school drop out supports the fears expressed by these parents, implicating the above mentioned risk factors as indeed playing a role in early school drop out (Englund et al., 2008).

The parents, in Group C, were strongly aware of the high levels of risk in their community, with most of the parents in Group C, at the beginning of the study indicating that they believed that they had very little control over their adolescents. Thus, these parents explained that when they attempted to take control, they ran the risk of their children dropping out of school and/or leaving home, fears which left them as parents with a strong sense of disempowerment and helplessness.

However, parent-child relationship factors such as the quality of care-giving, parental support (instrumental and emotional), hostility and rejection, parental involvement and the quality of parent-child communication have been identified, in much research, as significant predictors of successful school completion (Brewster & Bowen, 2004, Englund

et al., 2008; Jimerson et al., 2000). Interestingly, the parents in all three groups, but perhaps most evidently in Group C, did appear to arrive at an understanding of the importance of positive parent-adolescent relationship factors as protective factors supporting positive youth development, as is indicated by expressions such as: *"I think we need a community call, where we can call the parents to let them know that time now is not the old times. Times are changing. It is for the parent to allow the child to talk about the things she feels or doesn't feel. So we need awareness. Parent awareness for them to know time has changed. They must know what is happening in their child's life" (Parent 5, Group C).*

6.1.2.2 Peer pressure

Peer pressure was presented as an area of concern amongst all three groups of parents and featured as a sub-theme of both connection and communication as well as parental control. Group B parents expressed the belief that if their children did not feel good about themselves or loved and accepted, they were at greater risk of trying to fit in with the wrong group of friends for the sake of feeling that they belonged or were accepted. This, the parents believed, would increase the risk of pressure on their children to perform activities that are uncomfortable for them or against parental rules. The adolescents, in Group B experienced their parents' reactions to their friends as critical and judgemental.

Parents in group C felt that they had very little, if any, control when their children were with their friends, and indicated that friends were often a 'bad influence' on their children. However, their concerns were somewhat different to those of parents in other groups. These parents feared that their children might ally with anyone who could give them access to material resources that they themselves were unable to provide. Sought-after consumables such as fashionable clothes or phones were specifically singled out as resources their children desired, that were beyond their means. According to these parents, such goods served to elevate their child's status in the eyes of other young people, but this could become a dangerous cycle, which could even end up in prostitution. This terrible fear of their children being, as it were, swallowed up in a criminal underworld left the parents feeling enormously undermined in terms of their ability to provide for their children in a way that would meet their children's expectations and keep them safe.

6.1.2.2.1 Peer pressure – a social-capital perspective

'Peer pressure' is a concept that is widely accepted, forming part of the discourse of parenting and child development worldwide – an instantly recognisable term. An account of peer pressure from a systems/social capital perspective enables a richer understanding on the 'need to fit in', situating the young person who experiences 'peer pressure' as an *active participant* in a group bonding process that is more or less continuous in life and not by any means restricted to peers or to young people. According to the report of the Productivity Commission (2003), bonding occurs amongst "relatively homogenous" groups and serves to strengthen social ties by mobilising solidarity and reciprocity. Such groups represent primary reserves of social capital but in order to 'mobilise reciprocity', group norms are in a continual process of being established and re-established. The group may require certain activities, attitudes, clothing, language, in-jokes, hairstyles and so on as markers of membership. Not all would be necessary but some minimal level of participation would serve as a marker of belonging. Being able to bond with a group outside of home and family in this way is exciting and rewarding for young people and part of adolescent development (Brown et al., 2002), even in rural village upbringing, peer cohorts usually feature at some point and are ritually acknowledged through communal rites of passage.

The extension of the adolescent's inner circle into an alternative circle in which parents are less welcome can be a disturbing and worrying transitional moment for parents. However, there is hope from social capital theory. Even if a parent is not permitted as a bonded member of the circle, he or she can still be part of a wider network that is closely associated with that circle, by means of the "bridging" process. Bridging occurred at the end of the joint session with parents and daughters in Group A, when the expanded group planned an activity together that included everyone. In that case, it was helpful that the parents already knew each other and most regarded the other fathers as friends within their own bonded group.

6.1.2.3 Rules and boundaries

Following the 'authoritative' model of parenting (Baumrind, 1971), parents in Group A linked the concept of parental monitoring and control to ideas of discipline and boundary setting. Such practices are in line with the concept of *behavioural control*, which refers to parental rules, regulations and restrictions (Smetana & Daddis, 2002). Some of the parents appeared to have managed this effectively by striving to be reasonable, negotiating and communicating with their adolescent children, providing reasons for parental decisions and affording adolescents opportunities to express their viewpoints and to be a part of family decision making. Adolescents, in this study, who reported a high level of emotional satisfaction in their relationships with their parents also reported reasonable and reciprocal communication patterns and perceived the rules and regulations that applied to their lives to be fair 'behavioural control: "*I sit down with my Mom. She will ask what my plans are for the weekend. I tell her I'm doing this or that and I'll ask her if it's okay. She will say maybe not this or that. We will have a discussion* (*Adolescent 1, Group A).* These findings concur with the findings of (Sorkhabi, 2010) who highlighted the importance of parents using reason, to clarify their positions, remaining open to accommodating the viewpoint of the adolescent and being to willing negotiate rules and regulations, as playing a role in parental support of adolescent autonomy. Furthermore, in terms of Vygotsky's (1978) theory, reciprocal communication is an essential component of a learning process.

6.1.2.3.1 Psychological control

Explicit rules and regulations are external means of control. However, there are also examples of attempts by parents (particularly in Group B) to establish or invoke forms of *psychological control*. As discussed in Chapter Three, psychological control refers to "parents' attempts to control the child's activities in ways that negatively affect the child's psychological development" (Smetana & Daddis, 2002, p. 563). An example of such could be seen in parents responding to children in ways that left them feeling guilty, as mentioned by the teenagers in Group A; or giving their adolescent children negative information about romantic relationships and intimacy (parents in Group B); or suggesting

to adolescent girls that all boys want sex and will bring bad things into their lives, such as drugs (Parents in Group A).

A certain amount of anxiety around giving up some control over their children was evident in the responses of parents in groups A and B, as can be seen in the comment made by participant Parent who asked, *"By ignoring the small stuff, won't it bring on the big stuff?"(Parent 1, Group A)* Such a comment may well indicate the amount of anxiety these parents are experiencing around parental control; it also sheds light on the dynamic of power struggle between the parents and adolescents. While parents in Groups A and B expressed a great deal of anxiety around the idea of safety and protection, the adolescents in these groups saw their parents' attempts to keep them safe as their parents being strict and overprotective. This, in turn, elicited a strong sense of resentment on the part of the adolescents with escalation of conflict between themselves and their parents. The escalation of resentment and conflict in response to over strict authoritarian parenting was highlighted by Papalia et al. (2008), and Steinberg and Silk (2002), who found that the result of such resentment and conflict could lead to adolescents rejecting parental authority and placing greater value on peer approval. Parents in groups B and C expressed concern around their adolescents placing a high value on peer approval. While the parents in Group A expressed an appreciation of their adolescents' close friendships.

6.1.2.4 Adolescent contribution

The adolescents in groups A and B showed an awareness of their parents' anxiety and sense of pressure to keep their adolescents safe. They indicated a desire to reassure their parents and suggested steps that they could take to keep themselves safe, earn parent trust and show responsibility. Adolescents in Groups A and B, for example, spoke about how as a friendship group, they look out for each other: *"One thing you guys don't understand is that we are not just friends; we're like a family … we stick together all the time," (Adolescent 7, Group A).* The adolescents in both groups A and B indicated that as far as they are concerned, mutual care and protection is not exceptional, but is a key norm of their peer group.

Further strategies, suggested by the adolescents included a commitment to share information with parents. They also thought it might help to stay in contact, in order to put their parents' minds at rest: *"One thing we could do is inform them about where we are going and what we will be doing" (Adolescent 3, Group B).* The adolescents showed an understanding of their parents' high levels of anxiety around their safety and thus understood that their parents would also want to be able to initiate contact with them. This was acceptable to the young people, but within reasonable limits: *"It's okay if my Mom phones, but then not every five minutes, asking am I still there? What am I doing? Am I drinking? (Adolescent 4, Group A). T*hese ideas could well make a significant difference to the parent-adolescent relationships and parental concerns around safety, as indicated by Stattin & Kerr (2000), who found that that adolescents' voluntary disclosure to parents about their activities and social relationships led to parents' greater knowledge about the lives of their children, which in turn, led to less norm breaking and delinquency. Furthermore, parental awareness or knowledge of their child's behaviour has been associated with socialising the adolescent in a way that results in a wider range of social competencies, such as effective decision-making abilities, better social adjustment and a healthier self-esteem (Lac & Crano, 2009). Ultimately, the adolescents explained that being able to enter into discussions and negotiations with their parents would be helpful as they would feel that they had been included in the decision making process and this would afford them and their parents the opportunity to meet each other halfway. They continued to explain to their parents that they would be more willing to stick to the rules because they had had a voice in the process: *"I would stick to them because we had a say" (Adolescent 4, Group A)*, *"... And you know that your parents have taken the time to listen. You don't want to break that" (Adolescent 8, Group A). T*his assisted the parents of these adolescents to arrive at a new meaning about their interactions with their children with the parents expressing this new realisation as: *"At some point we do need to hand some responsibility over to them" (Parent 6, Group A); "We must realise that we cannot be on top of them all of the time" (Parent 3, Group A).*

Aspects of parental control identified in this study such as regulation, supervision and monitoring of adolescents' activities and the establishment of rules and consequences are

consistent with Simpson's (2001) dimension of parenting called 'behavioural control'. When this form of control is exercised in a reasonable manner, it can serve an important function in terms of protection and safety, especially if these values are actively taken up in young people's bonded groups, and communicated to network contacts. The latter, these days, might include contacts on Facebook as well as people met at parties or social gatherings, school acquaintances, or friends of friends.

6.1.3 Respect for individuality and independence

Speaking of adolescent development, Bray et al. (2010) explain, that "whilst the general form of a successful transition might be common to all developing countries, the precise form will vary, for example, in terms of the balance between individual autonomy and embeddedness in larger households and communities" (p. 39). This perception of a dichotomy between autonomy and 'embeddedness' is clearly a point of divergence among the three research groups. The adolescents in Group C clearly explained that they valued parental care and support but did not seek autonomy from parents. To the contrary, they indicated that they would like more closeness, guidance and advice. These adolescents accepted a reciprocal role in caring, both now and in the future, saying that parents need to care for their children because one day their children will be caring for them. The idea of adult children taking care of aging parents has been highlighted in the work of authors such as Brown et al., (2002) and Nsamenang (1992), as discussed in earlier chapters of this study. This African view stands in contrast to individualistic views of ontogenesis common within Western perspectives, which focus on the *differentiation and individuation* of adolescents.

As Nsamenang (1992) has shown, African families tend to be less interested in guiding their offspring toward 'independence,' and more interested in helping adolescent children integrate into family and society. In spite of the many difficulties experienced and the diversity evidenced in the family structures of the participants in Group C of this study, traditional family functions and roles and traditional values of "African familialism"

(Moore, 1993) continue to play a prominent role in the lives of both the parents and adolescents in Group C.

Responses from parents and adolescents in groups A and B, however, indicated a more typically western attitude towards autonomy, similar to that described by Simpson (2001). In this view adolescence is seen as a time when young people move towards a greater sense of individuality; sometimes defined in contrast, if not in opposition, to parental norms and values. The adolescents in Groups A and B placed a great deal of emphasis on their need for greater freedom, self-expression and independence and their perception was that their parents found this difficult to manage. These adolescents showed an awareness of the safety aspect of parental control but described their resistance to parental intrusion on their privacy. For example by indicating that they understood if their parents wanted to phone them to check if they were safe, but the adolescents were keen to place limits on this form of monitoring. Smetana (2005), therefore, proposes that a successful adaptation in terms of adolescence and parenting would include a shift in the power relations between parent and adolescent – as the adolescent strives towards achieving greater autonomy, the parent-adolescent relationship needs to transform from one where the power relations have been unilateral, with the parents holding the power, to a mutual relationship, where adolescents gain increasing independence over time and yet still receive parental support. The adolescents indicated that they placed a great deal of value on supportive parenting practice. A profound moment in terms of meaning making for the parents (in Groups A and B) arose when, towards the end of the focus group sessions, the parents showed a great deal of enthusiasm and commitment to the idea of believing in their children and allowing them to manage key aspects of their own lives, and expressed a keen interest in offering fair and reasonable feedback and support to their children: *"We need to believe in them and have confidence in them and believe that they have the ability to make good choices" (Parent 3, Group A).* Researchers who have explored the *participatory role* that adolescents play in family decision making have found the joint or bilateral decision making, where adolescents participate in the decision making process, as opposed to either unilateral parental decision making, or unilateral adolescent decision making, is associated with positive developmental outcomes including academic success, psychosocial development,

self-esteem, and less delinquency, deviance and susceptibility to negative peer influences (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993, Lamborn et al., 1996). Furthermore, parents who use reason authoritatively to clarify their position while being open to accommodating the viewpoint of the adolescent can be said to be respecting and supporting adolescent autonomy (Sorkhabi, 2010). The parents, in Groups A and B, showed an understanding of the importance of this and spoke of their commitment to raising independent children who have a good self-esteem. The adolescents, in Groups A and B, were very clear about their need to have their voices heard and for their relationships with their parents to give and discuss reasons for their decisions: "*…and if I ask them, 'Please tell me why, I just want to know why', and they just say 'No it's not negotiable ...I said no, it's no!'... I hate it when they do that!" (Adolescent 1, Group A)*. As indicated by Sorkhabi (2010), parents who use reason authoritatively to clarify their position while being open to accommodating the viewpoint of the adolescent can be said to be respecting and supporting adolescent autonomy

6.1.3.1 Trust

Trust is a component of social capital, and in some conceptualisations is also a product of social capital. Both the parents and adolescents in Groups A and B identified trust and being trusted as an important aspect of the parent-adolescent relationship and was described as facilitating the degree to which the parents would be comfortable in allowing their adolescents more independence. A sense of trust in their children affords parents greater peace of mind with regard to their concerns about safety. The parents, particularly, in Group A, indicated that *honesty* was vitally important to their ability to monitor their well being and safety. There was also a theme of trust in the adolescents' discussions: being able to trust that their parents would at least try to see their side of the story, as well as a need for parents to trust that they had learned from mistakes they had made and trust them to make wise decisions and choices. In the adolescents' view, this was akin to their parents being "reasonable".

This is an example of reciprocality (Putnam, 2000): 'authoritative' parents (like most of those in Group A) appeal to reason with their adolescents, and adolescents in turn hold

their parents to standards of rationality and fairness. These findings are in line with the views of Lewis (1981; as cited by Darling & Steinberg, 1993) that the authoritative parenting style draws its strength from elements of reciprocal communication and mutual accommodation. The respondents' comments support the idea that trust is a mutual process and is continually created within the relationship (Shek, 2010). This was expressed very clearly by the adolescents in group A, who explained that if they felt trusted by their parents it was much more difficult for them to break the rules.

6.1.3.1.1 Trust as social capital

*T*his is an example of the 'double effect' of trust: when there is trust between parent and adolescent, it eases the burden of monitoring but at the same time trust has a value in itself. Both parent and adolescent will therefore make an effort to preserve and to build trust because trusting relationships are more rewarding, important for the development of the parent-child relationship, play a role in promoting communication and interaction skills in the parent-adolescent relationship as well as fostering parent-adolescent relational qualities (Shek, 2010). From the perspective of participants in this study, it makes sense to view trust as a form of social capital and not merely a product of it.

The social capital literature indicates that trusting and supportive family bonds are associated with healthy outcomes for young people in terms of social and emotional development and educational attainment (Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995; Israel et al., 2001). Similarly, a parent in Group B spoke about the fact that adolescents want their parents to trust them, just as the parents want to feel trusted by their children. This parent went on to elaborate on what happens when both parent *and* child make an effort to include trust in their relationship, noting that when there is mutual trust, there is less conflict and more positive feedback from adolescents. Thus trust was clearly identified as a dynamic process.

Those adolescents, who indicated that the communication between themselves and their parents was good, also said that they believed their parents trusted them. This affirms the

findings of Kerr and Stattin (1999), who found that adolescents, who are more disclosing themselves, also view their parents as more trusting.

In Group C, adolescents associated trusting in their parents and other adults with aspects of wisdom and guidance. This is interesting from a cultural perspective as it may reflect a form of resistance to discourses that position 'trustworthiness' as an individual, internal quality as opposed to the property of a relationship or set of relationships. In the version offered by adolescents in Group C, trust is experienced as *relational:* it involves trust in the knowledges, skills and competencies that the parent is able to share, this relates to the views of Pleck (2007) as discussed in chapter three. Yet there was a distinct difference between the perceptions of Group C parents and those of their adolescent children regarding wisdom and knowledge. Parents seemed so painfully conscious of lacking knowledge and information, their adolescent children by comparison were far better informed about many aspects of life. However, they affirmed their parents' emotional and spiritual wisdom, and expressed a longing to be guided by this wisdom; they could access practical knowledge for themselves.

6.1.4 Need for information and services

This theme featured very strongly in discussions with both the parents and adolescents in Group C and certainly impacts the parenting process. The parents in this group appeared to feel overwhelmed by their life circumstances and the lack of resources in their community. These struggles are not, however, merely battles to obtain social capital (Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1993) or to live a better material life. They also take the form of identity struggles, on levels of personal meaning and contextual significance. The adolescent children were clearly aware of their parents' difficulties and indicated that one of their goals was to become successful in order to improve their parents lives. Thus, in these families, the pattern of parents as advocates (Simpson, 2001) can be reversed without loss of meaning and value to the adolescent. These adolescents were actively seeking bridging and linking opportunities (Coleman 1988; Bourdieu, 1993) in terms of accessing

resources and information, in order to progress in life. Similarly, their parents were very clear about the importance of education for their children.

Parental expectations play a powerful role in parent-adolescent relationships and family interactions. African parents expect their children, especially as they mature, to serve them and sometimes to compensate for the parents' disappointments or economic disadvantage (Bray et al., 2010; Nsamenang, 1992). To facilitate these expectations, parents tend to place a great deal of importance on education for their adolescents in order to better their opportunities in life and their potential to assist in the betterment of the family. The values of mutuality and social support common within African family traditions continue to provide for the incorporation of children and adolescents into the homes of relatives or friends to provide service and/or be apprenticed or educated, this was clearly evident in Group C, with some adults indicating that they were caring for other parents children, while the children's parents were out of work. The adolescents in Group C were very aware of the expectations of their parents and the sacrifices their parents made in order for them to progress in life. They also expressed a strong need for more information and support from their institutions of educations: "The thing we need from school is more support. To guide us in the right direction and tell us the things we need to know and about the kind of opportunities there are"

An example of the power of parental expectation, social support and resilience (sometimes conceptualised as the ability to bounce back from difficulties) Greeff (2007), was very evident in the story of one of the adolescents in Group C who had fallen into a life of crime and dropped out of school for four years. This young adolescent realised, with the help of a community worker (who clearly played an advocacy role in the community (Simpson, 2001), that he was failing his family and himself and went back to school, stating that he wanted to become successful and help his parents to have a better life.

6.1.5 The role of fathers

The role of fathers became an important topic in all the groups, but apart from two fathers in Group C, Group A was the only group in which father's voices were fully represented.

6.1.5.1 Father-daughter relationships

The fathers in Group A ultimately contributed a great deal to the research process, speaking in honest and authentic ways about the personal significance of their father role and their relationships with their adolescent daughters. In particular, it was notable that as a group they accepted the challenge of being an *emotional* role model for their girls, affirming the belief that fathers influence the developmental process of their children, for better or worse, and whether involved or not – a strong statement of paternal responsibility. Their views reflect those of Baumrind (1978) who stated that, "there is no way in which parents can evade having a determining effect upon their children's personality, character, and competence" (p. 239).

This group of fathers seemed to focus more on the adolescents' behaviour than on their feelings, but were willing to find out what was most important to the adolescents and to listen to them. They expressed a wish that it could be easier to know what was best to do as a parent, and admitted that they often found their daughters' behaviour somewhat hard to understand or confusing. Like the mothers in that group, the fathers in Group A welcomed the opportunity to talk with their children, acknowledging the benefit of the increasing cognitive and intellectual development of the adolescent years (Baird, 2010).

These fathers thus expressed the need and desire to be part of their children's lives, to be role models for their children and to guide them to cope with difficult situations as best they could consistent with a dimension of parenting identified by Simpson (2001) as provision, protection and advocacy. They saw their own active involvement in their adolescents' lives as contributing to the girls' present development and future well-being; expressed a wish to improve their relationships with their daughters; and tried very hard to

point out learning opportunities to their children in almost all the topics that were covered in the joint discussion.

It seems, though, that to some extent at least, contested social definitions of masculinity, of femininity, and of fatherhood can sometimes affect the father/daughter relationship in a negative way. The fathers noted that it was not easy to create a role in the family that fits with their preferred ideas of fatherhood, and the preferred ideas of their children, especially given the limited amount of time that most of them had available to become involved in their children's lives. The adolescents, meanwhile, commented on the different relationships they have with their mothers and with their fathers; as girls, it is clearly easier for them to express intimacy with mothers, more than they could with their fathers – although there were a few exceptions in that respect. This concurs with the findings of Shek (2010); Stattin and Kerr, (2000) and Yau et al., (2009), that adolescents tend to be more willing to engage in open disclosure with mothers more than fathers.

6.1.5.2 Mothers working to involve fathers more

Group B was characterised by fathers who appeared to be emotionally absent but whose behaviour (the choices they made and the roles they played in the family) had a strong impact on their wives and children. In the narratives of participants, especially the adolescents, fathers were a constant presence. Many of the mothers in this group showed a deep and personal understanding of the impact of father involvement on a child's self-esteem, relating this to their own experiences when they were adolescents*: "Based on what happened in my life...I grew up without a father and know what it is like not to have confidence, not to believe in yourself, to do things to fill those gaps and at the end of the day you get hurt" (Parent 6, Group B).* These mothers also spoke of their struggle to convince the fathers of their daughters of the importance of a father in a girl's life.

6.1.5.3 Absent fathers and social capital

While the parents in Groups A and B felt that a close emotional bond between father and child served as a protective factor and spoke with concern about the emotional absence of fathers, the parents in Group C felt that the absence of fathers left a gap in the lives of the youth in their community. These parents (Group C) also spoke about the many problems facing single parents, which make parenting their adolescents more challenging.

The effects on African families of colonialism, Apartheid, cycles of poverty and decades of misgovernment at a local level have been noted in previous chapters. Nsamenang (2002) sets out a somewhat idealised but still relevant picture of socialisation practices in traditional African culture. In this tradition, fathers and uncles play a critically important role in the upbringing of boys older than six years.

Furthermore in discussing the roles of fathers, adolescents in Group A identified that a significant role that their fathers played was that of providing financial support (identified as 'financial capital' by Coleman 1988) as well as emotional support. The adolescents in Group C on the other hand expressed a wish that if their fathers were involved in their lives they would be able to provide what Coleman (1988) referred to as 'community social capital' and in so doing have the ability to introduce or connect the adolescent to knowledge and resources in the community at large, as such acting as an advocate for their children (Simpson, 2001).

It is clear from the contributions of Group A fathers and daughters that "fathering" is an aspect of social capital, for those young people. In the Group C context, however, there was a marked discrepancy between the forms of social capital that parents could offer, in most cases as single mothers; and forms needed by the adolescents, who were so much more competent in the urban environment than their parents (e.g. In command of languages, of technology, even of knowing their way around better).

6.2 Themes and theoretical framework

As discussed in the preceding section of this chapter, five main themes were identified from the data obtained from the participants in this study. These themes are a) Connection and communication, b) Parental control and protection, c) Respect for individuality and independence, d) Need for information and services and e) Role of fathers. Two models of parenting that were discussed in chapter 3 present as particularly relevant to the findings of this study: Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles and Simpson's (2001) dimensions of parenting roles and functions.

6.2.1 Parenting styles

From the data obtained from the interviews with the parents, it does appear that the parenting styles used by the three groups of parents differs significantly. Currently, Baumrind's typology is the most accepted model of parenting styles (Baumrind, 1989; Smetana, 1994). According to Baumrind's (1966, 1971, 1972, 1989) conceptualisation of parenting styles, it is apparent that the parenting style primarily adopted by the parents in Group A could be defined as authoritative. In Chapter 3, the author suggested that Baumrind's approach might be more specifically useful when applied to middle class Western studies of parenting. While it is apparent that the parenting style of this group of parents (Group A) shows a close fit with the authoritative parenting style, as identified initially by Baumrind, it is equally apparent that out of the three groups of participants in this study, this group of parents most closely fit a description of middle class Western parents who at the end of the focus groups expressed a realisation that they did, indeed, enjoy warm and close relationships with their children and reported feeling more confident about their abilities as parents and their relationships with their adolescents. As one parent explained: *"I think it boils down to an attitude and a change of attitude that we may be talking about. That attitude is respect and trust and communication" (Parent 8, Group A).* This statement draws together the aspects of mutuality and reciprocity, values, and in particular the shared and mutual responsibility of parents and adolescents as discussed in the literature and relates to the theme of connection and communication. Furthermore, these

parents arrived at a realisation that as the adolescent strives towards greater autonomy a shift in power relations between parents and adolescents is required for successful adaptation. This realisation is in accordance with the views of Smetana (2005) who proposed that the parent-adolescent relationship needs to transform from one where the power relations have been unilateral, with the parents holding the power, to a mutual relationship, where adolescents gain increasing independence over time and yet still receive parental support.

The *authoritarian* parenting style appeared to be the style most prevalent amongst the parents in Group B. The theme of parental control featured highly amongst this group of parents. With the parents in this group exhibiting a high degree of anxiety around maintaining control over their adolescent children. They reported controlling who their children socialised with, sending older sisters with them to the movies and even getting security guards in the mall to watch their children. Feedback from the adolescents in this group also bears witness to the parents' deep concern about their children's safety, which resulted in parents attempting to maintain a strong sense of control over their children. Furthermore, the adolescents in this group indicated that their parents worried about things they need not, in the adolescents' opinion, worry about, such as the adolescents going out with friends, but did not worry about the things they should worry about, such as their children's feelings. The children felt strongly that their parents were not sufficiently concerned about their feelings, did not give them the opportunity to negotiate or even just make the time to talk to them but rather were very rule bound and controlling. These sentiments, as expressed by the adolescents serve to underpin the assertion by Gouws et al. (2000), that parents who adopt an authoritarian parenting style show fixed and inflexible ideas about right and wrong, rarely allow dialogue about rules, seldom give adolescents the opportunity to express their own views and may not be overly concerned with their children's emotional worlds.

It is important to note, however, that this group of parents and adolescents live in a high-risk area where crime, gangsterism and substance abuse are rife, and as found by Berk (2004) research involving high-risk environments shows that parents in high risk contexts

tend to be more controlling and demand compliance as a protective measure. However, during the final focus group these parents expressed that they had arrived at a deeper understanding of how their children felt and expressed a confidence that they could "let go" a little.

The dimension of high levels of control is absent in Maccoby and Martin's (1983) under-involved parenting style, and similarly in the permissive parenting style of Baumrind, where so much freedom is given to the adolescent that parents may become functionally unable to monitor his or her behaviour. The adolescents in Group C stated that their parents' involvement in their lives was limited. They also expressed regret that in their culture children do not talk openly to their parents. The adolescents in this group explained that as a result parents did not know what was happening in their lives, what they did when they were outside of their home, who they socialised with or how they were feeling. They also indicated that when there was conflict between adolescents and parents, adolescents sometimes moved out of the house or parents just gave up. One of the male participants in this group spoke about his regret that he had dropped out of school for a few years, had lived on the street and become involved in a life of crime and drugs. While it may appear that the parents in Group C seem to exhibit a permissive or even negligent parenting style, it is critical to take note that these people live in a context where there are almost no structures in place to support almost all areas of their lives, including parenting. These parents presented as helpless, over-burdened and over-whelmed, and it may well be unjust to label their parenting style. Amidst the hardships experienced by the participants in Group C, it is possible that the greatest sense of meaning that came out of this process was to have the story of their struggle witnessed and validated by people outside of their community, as well as cross-generationally in their own close family and neighbourhood circles.

It may, therefore, be suggested that Baumrind's approach, useful as it is for middle class Western studies of the parenting process, may not be as adaptive in other social or cultural settings.

6.2.2 Dimensions of parenting roles and functions

Simpson (2001) in a synthesis of major research findings (mostly derived from research on parenting in Europe and North America) identified five important dimensions of the parenting role. These are connection, behavioural control, respect for individuality, modelling of appropriate behaviour and provision, and lastly, protection and advocacy. Furthermore Simpson in collaboration with the WHO (2007) identified the central concerns expressed by most parents of adolescents to include: building their relationship with their adolescent child, communication, monitoring their behaviour, discipline and setting limits and boundaries while still giving them room to become happy, independent young adults. These concerns underpin the concerns expressed by the parents in this study; however, a significant difference is that the parents in this study experienced a high level of anxiety around their adolescent children's safety and their ability, as parents, to protect their children. Next to the importance of having a close relationship with their children, characterised by a warm sense of connection and good communication, safety and protection was a key area of parenting that elicited a great deal of discussion and was identified as causing the parents, in this study, a great deal of distress.

This finding highlights the importance of the over-arching contextual approach as advocated in this study and suggests that a consideration of context is of critical importance. This study took place in South Africa, and while the nature of the methodology of this study renders the findings specific to the population of participants in this study alone and not generalisable to a broader population, it is apparent that for the participants in this study at least, there is a perception that the environment in which their children are growing up is not safe and thus there is a strong focus on safety and protection. Having described their profound sense of helplessness around their ability to protect their children the parents in groups A and B negotiated and collaborated with their children around safety strategies that they could implement which would ultimately give the parents a greater sense of peace of mind, allow the adolescents more freedom, independence and responsibility within mutually agreed upon limits, and increase the sense of trust in the parent-adolescent relationship. The parents in groups A and B also

arrived at a realisation that they expressed as having a respect for their adolescents' individuality. The parents in group C arrived at a realisation of the importance of knowing what was happening in their children's lives and decided to call the members of their community together to explain that they needed to build their sense of awareness and knowledge concerning the lives of their adolescents.

Simpson (2001) and the WHO (2007) indicated that advocacy was another function of parenting that had been identified as important in the prevailing literature on parenting. Advocacy and *advocating for needed resources* refers to the requirement for parents to act as advocates for their children, assisting them to access other resources, relationships and opportunities in the community, beyond the family unit.

It is interesting that in the context of this study the only group that referred to advocacy directly were the parents and adolescents in Group C. The parents expressed a deep sense of helplessness in trying to access resources to help both themselves and their children, especially resources that related to health care and education. The lack of access to resources, services and information made it very difficult for this group of parents to parent their children. The adolescents in this group, too, expressed a great need for access to information, guidance, education and opportunities for their future well-being. These adolescents are ambitious and experienced their struggle to access resources, information and services as frustrating and constraining their desire to forge a way out of their current circumstances. However, given the amount of attention that was given to the role of fathers in the discussions in all of the groups, the role of fathers in terms of advocacy and as role models was certainly implied and given high valence.

6.3 Dialogue, Collaboration and Agreement

Despite the mutuality and inter-subjectivity of the parenting relationship, prevailing literature on this topic generally represent parents as the main purveyors of parenting, with the focus on parents as the agents of change and thus the predominant literature on the subject of parenting primarily represents the experiences of parents or the views of

researchers or other experts in the field (Madsen, 2007). As noted by Smith and Nylund (1997), the voices of children or adolescents often seem to be minimised or not directly represented, and therefore a collaborative dimension is lacking. The inclusion of adolescent voices becomes possible within an ethic of collaboration that affirms the value of inter-subjectivity and of shared meanings through which a greater understanding between parents and their adolescent children may result.

While there is a strong correlation between the factors that the parents in this study consider important with regard to parenting adolescents and Simpson's (2001) dimensions of parenting, it is interesting to note that a somewhat different picture emerges when considering the adolescents' responses. Without this contribution from the voices of the adolescents, parents could be left with a sense of over-responsibility for maintaining their relationships with their adolescent children, a lack of confidence that what they are trying to do is of value to the young person, lack of "buy in" from the adolescent, and confusion about where to go for help and advice.

As noted in chapter three of this study, collaboration may be seen as the process of brainstorming, negotiating and working out a plan together (Beveridge & Berg, 2007). The process of collaboration engaged in by the participants in this study led to the parents in all three groups acknowledging that hearing what their adolescent children had to say had been very helpful for them. They found this process useful in that they were able to obtain information about their children's feelings, opinions and ideas. This enabled them to arrive at a deeper understanding of individual and group needs, concerns and appreciation as well as the opportunity to connect more effectively with each other and build on respect and trust in their relationships.

A further benefit of working collaboratively that was identified by both parents and adolescents was that, as a result of this process, they had arrived at a sense of greater clarity concerning rules, expectations, and consequences that had been negotiated and agreed upon and been able to collaborate and negotiate on 'problem-solving strategies. In so doing, the parent and adolescent participants in this study agreed that they would stick

to the point when discussing issues, be mindful of trying to see the other's point of view and show mutual respect and trust. They agreed to arrange a regular time when they would get together to discuss areas of difficulty and acknowledge what was working well in their relationships. They would eat meals together regularly and participate in activities together as this would create opportunities to talk together and maintain their sense of connection.

6.4. Conclusion

The results obtained from the parent and adolescent groups in this study provide an in-depth and detailed description of the experiences of both parents and their adolescent children of the process of parenting adolescents. Furthermore, the results validate a great deal of available literature on the dimensions of parenting that are considered to be important, there are certainly points of difference too. Safety and protection was identified as one of the most significant themes by the parents in this study. This dimension certainly appeared to be given far greater valence than was evident in international research. Furthermore, the differences noted appear to lie in the nuances and finer detail of the results obtained from the adolescent groups and certainly add to those aspects of parenting that are considered to be important for healthy parent-adolescent relationships. Clearly, in order to arrive at a complete picture of what would be important for parents to know with regard to the parenting process, considering and eliciting information from adolescents certainly adds to the information that could be made available to parents.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

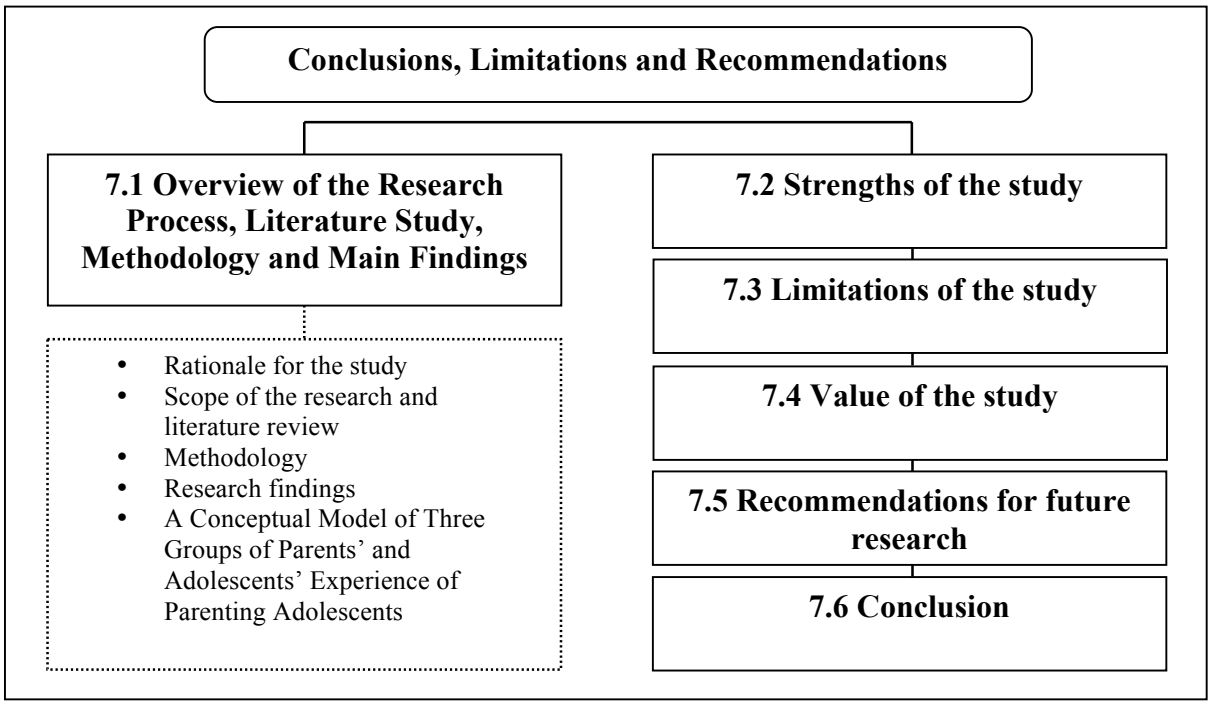

Figure 17. Visual display of chapter 6

The current study has attempted to emphasise the importance of a well-founded and thorough perspective on parenting adolescents within the South African context, not only for the purposes of research but to inform clinical practice and intervention in family and parent education, community work, and policies or strategies of youth development. As such, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities experienced by South African parents and adolescents in their different contexts, represented here by the participants recruited from three different socio-cultural milieux.

In Chapter One the researcher posed four research questions: a) What information is needed from South African adolescents regarding productive parenting practices from their point of view? b) What information is needed from parents of adolescents regarding productive parenting practices from their point of view? c) How do adolescents describe

the experience of being consulted and involved in parenting strategies? d) How do parents describe the experience of including the adolescents' voices?

This chapter presents an overview of the process that was undertaken in order to discover the answers to these questions and includes a discussion of a possible conceptual process model, which emerged from the findings of this study. The value of the research, the strengths and limitations of this study and suggestions for further research will also be discussed. The overview of this chapter is visually represented in figure 17.

7.1 Overview of the Research Process, Literature Study, Methodology and Main Findings

7.1.1 Rationale for the study

The broad research objective of this study has been to investigate the dynamics of the parenting experience as it relates to parenting adolescents, with the specific aim of exploring the particular parenting experiences described by parents and their adolescent children; and of discovering how they have experienced a collaborative or participatory approach to the parenting process.

Traditionally, research on adolescence and parenting has been dominated by quantitative or more positivist approaches. Whilst the outcomes of such research has certainly contributed a solid foundation of knowledge upon which to build, interpretive, postmodern approaches, as undertaken in this study, have the potential to broaden and deepen our understanding of the experiences associated with parenting adolescents, both from the perspective of parents as well as adolescents.

As previously described, parenting literature has tended to privilege the views of parents and professionals, and this has resulted in the marginalisation of children and adolescents who were not consulted or included in discussions and research concerning the parenting process (Madsen, 2007; Morgan, 1999). Acknowledging the child or adolescent's right to

participate and have a voice in matters concerning them is a fairly recent development, with limited literature describing adolescents' participation in the parenting process (Berry & Guthrie, 2003), yet young people have the ability to give meaning to their experiences and view their world according to their interpretation of their experiences. Thus, the research objective of developing a thorough understanding of the parenting process as it relates to, and impacts adolescents, is enhanced and facilitated by a process that includes their own descriptions and interpretations.

According to Morgan (1999), "one way of ensuring a richer description of the work is to include children's voices" (p.vii). A renewed theoretical perspective on the conceptualisation and demarcation of adolescence invites the exploration of new or deeper understandings of experiences particular to adolescents, including their experiences of the parenting process. The inspiration for this study arose out of the growing awareness worldwide of the rights of children and adolescents. Such rights "require that children are not simply treated as the subjects of public policy to promote their well-being but that they should also have a say in the decisions affecting their lives" (Bray, et al., 2010, p. 37).

7.1.2 Scope of the research and literature review

As previously discussed, the over-arching framework which has guided the development of this research, is social constructionism which falls under the broader umbrella of post-structuralism. Post-structural approaches have provided a platform to explore transitional processes, connecting differing theoretical perspectives concerning the factors traditionally assumed to influence parenting across the parenting career. This is particularly pertinent given the fact that adolescence is viewed as a transitional phase. From a social constructionist point of view meaning making and knowledge is contextual, applying only to the specific context from which it is derived.

In Chapters Two and Three, a literature review was presented in order to provide a thorough theoretical understanding of adolescence and the parenting process. The purpose of Chapter two was to present an overview of the transitional phase known as

'adolescence' from both a Western perspective and an African perspective as well as to give some consideration to a more contemporary, integrated, and contextual understanding of this phenomenon.

Chapter Three, introduced and discussed some broader theoretical models of parenting; from Baumrind's (1966, 1971, 1972, 1989) typological schema, to Belsky's (1984) multiply determined process model, Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 1986) ecological systems model, Coleman's version of field theory featuring social capital as a central concept, and Pleck's (2007) integrated parental capital theory. However, the importance of taking into consideration the wide variations in social and cultural conditions affecting South African adolescents and their families, and the different traditions that prevail around family life cannot be underestimated and thus, in order to arrive at a rich understanding of parent-adolescent relationships and experiences the involvement of both parents and adolescents is advocated.

7.1.3 Methodology

As a starting point from which to commence this study, it seemed appropriate to adopt a post-modern, social constructionist approach, and draw on the principles of phenomenology as it informs the methodology of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as the selected methodology for this research.

Phenomenology advocates an interest in the first-hand experiences of individuals regarding situations in their lives. The aim being to "capture as closely as possible the way in which the phenomenon is experienced within the context in which the experience takes place" (Smith, 2006, p.27). Understanding experience is fundamentally the essence of psychology and IPA offers psychologists and researchers the "opportunity to learn from the experts – the research participants themselves" (Reid et al., 2005, p. 20).

7.1.3.1 Data collection

For the purpose of this study, participants were divided into three focus groups comprising parents, and three focus groups consisiting of the adolescent children of the parents. Semi-structured interviews and field notes (which took the form of a reflective diary that was kept by both the researcher and research assistant) were utilised to gather the data for this study. Three steps were involved in the data collection process for each focus group. First the researcher and research assistant met with the parent group to explore their experiences of parenting their adolescent children. The second step involved the researchers meeting with the adolescent group to explore their experiences of the parenting process. Step three comprised the researchers meeting with both the parents and adolescents together to give feedback about the discussions that took place during steps one and two and to facilitate a group discussion between the parents and adolescents which, in turn, facilitated the process of parents and adolescents being able to collaborate and negotiate a parenting plan, or way forward, that was preferred for each family unit in the group. In this study, having three group sessions served to clarify the picture of the participants' participation and collaboration with each other. Having a third session in which both parents and adolescents met together with the researchers created an opportunity to present the participants with the data gathered during the first two sessions in order to check accuracy and clarify any information that may not have been clear. Furthermore, feedback provided by the parents and adolescents in the third session enhanced the richness of the participants' experiences and offered improved understanding of the research topic. The researcher and research assistant were both present for the group interviews and engaged in a process of reflection after each group as well as the checking and re-checking of the transcripts. Once the themes were identified these were again checked by a second person in order to verify the findings in order to ensure that the obtained data represented as closely as possible the descriptions, experiences and meanings of the participants.

7.1.3.2 Explication of the data according to IPA

The meanings of central themes or patterns arising through the interviews were interpreted

using the IPA approach. Data explication, using the IPA methodology, is both phenomenological and interpretive, in so far as the resulting descriptions and interpretations arise from an interaction between the participants' accounts of their experiences of the phenomenon under investigation and the researcher's framework of meaning (Touroni & Coyle, 2002). Once the data had been collected and the interviews transcribed, IPA methodology was utilised in order to develop a comprehensive description that captured the essence of the participants' experiences (Creswell, 2007). According to Creswell (2007), this description takes into account 'what' the participants experienced and 'how' they experienced it. As mentioned above, such a philosophy assumes a socially constructed reality as opposed to an objective, factual one and seeks understanding rather than causality.

Essentially the explication process involves an in-depth exploration of the interview data, converting the data into themes, and linking these themes in order to gain greater access to, and understanding of, the collective experiences of parents and their adolescent children relating to the parenting process. Given that focus groups were utilised, cognissance also needs to be taken of group dynamics and processes that may have impacted the researcher and or participants in order to interpret and report, in an unbiased manner, on the meaning-making process for the participants.

Through this process the data collected made it possible to both answer the research questions that were presented in chapter one as well as identify five main themes that present as most pertinent to the experiences of the participants in this study.

7.1.4 Research Findings

While the findings from this study show considerable agreement with much of the extant literature on parenting adolescence, there are also interesting points of differences – differences that may not have been evident had the voices of the adolescent participants not been included in this study. From the identified themes it was possible to derive a conceptual model that depicts the process of the experiences of the participants in this

study. This model is presented to capture the essence of the experiences of the participants in this study. While this model has not been empirically tested and cannot be generalised to apply to parenting adolescents in the wider South African context, it is presented as a model that could be developed further through future research. The information provided by the participants served to provide the following responses to the research questions:

7.1.4.1 What information is needed from parents of adolescents regarding productive parenting practices from their point of view?

Connection and communication, taken together as each implies the other, emerge from the data as the key area of concern for parent participants and the aspect of parenting with which they are most likely to seek information and assistance. These parents clearly identified connection and communication as being the most important area that parents of adolescents, in this study, needed to be aware of in order to build close, connected and effective relationships with their adolescent children. The parents in all three groups expressed a need for assistance in finding effective ways in which to connect with their adolescent children, as well as a need for assistance around how to communicate with their children effectively.

Parental control and protection presented as an equally important area of concern for the participants in this study, with all of the parent participants indicating a strong need for information or ideas about how to keep their children safe. In their effort to do so the parents in Group A and the parents in Group B, in particular, resorted to stringent measures of parental control in order to maintain a sense of being able to protect their adolescent children. The parents in Group C experienced a sense of having no control over their children at all and feared losing their children if they did exert any form of pressure to conform.

At the end of the third interview (the joint session with the parents and adolescents together) parents from all groups reported that they felt more confident about the process they had engaged in. They realised that by talking together and collaborating around areas

of importance they could feel more connected to their adolescent children, had a greater understanding of what was important to their children and also understood how their children felt about the various aspects of the parenting relationship that had been discussed. Parents also indicated that they felt more confident in their ability to interact and communicate with their children in a positive and constructive manner at home.

7.1.4.2 What information is needed from adolescents regarding productive parenting practices from their point of view?

From the information obtained from the adolescent participants it is apparent that the adolescents felt it is important for parents to know that adolescents need to feel trusted, respected and important in their parents' lives. They expressed a need to be given the opportunity to talk to their parents and explain their point of view about various situations and feel that they had been heard. The adolescents accepted that they need information and guidance from their parents but, thereafter, they want opportunities to make decisions for themselves without feeling judged or criticised, and without their parents over-reacting. The adolescent participants acknowledged that they understood that being trusted by their parents and being given more opportunity to be involved in the decision-making process as well as being able to make more decisions for themselves placed a greater sense of responsibility on them and they were happy to take on this responsibility. Most importantly, the adolescents need their parents to show an interest in their lives and in how they are feeling.

7.1.4.3 How do parents describe the experience of including the adolescents' voices?

The parents in all three groups acknowledged that hearing what their adolescent children had to say had been very helpful for them. They found this process useful in that they were able to obtain information about their children's feelings, opinions and ideas. This enabled them to arrive at a deeper understanding of individual and group needs, concerns and appreciation as well as the opportunity to connect more effectively with each other and

build on respect and trust in their relationships. The parents reported that they had enjoyed the process and appreciated getting feedback from their children. Furthermore, they indicated that they felt supported by the presence and input of the other parents.

The parents indicated that through this process they had come to realise that their adolescents were actually *"good kids" (Mother 3, Group B).* It is possible that through the process of more open communication and narrative dialogue, stereotypical thinking may have diminished as a more realistic, deeper understanding of their adolescent children emerged.

7.1.4.4 How do adolescents describe the experience of being consulted and involved in parenting strategies?

The adolescent participants appreciated being included, which for them meant having a say in the parenting process. They felt that their needs, feelings and thoughts had been heard; as a result they were more invested in the process, which can be seen in the quality and quantity of the expressions from adolescent participants. Adolescents confirmed that they had appreciated the experience of being heard by their parents and would not, in future, want to act in ways that would damage the enhanced quality of their relationships or the new-found closeness at which they had arrived.

As regards problems in their relationships with parents, the adolescents said that they believed it would be easier to solve these problems if they and their parents communicate in a caring manner, without shouting or fighting. Through participating in a process of dialogue in the research groups, they had seen for themselves that this way of communicating opens up space for mutual understanding. Increased confidence that their parents were willing and able to understand them, made it easier for adolescents to acknowledge that their parents are often right, and do have good ideas from which adolescents can benefit.

All of the adolescent participants expressed a belief that interacting more openly with their parents and being able to have a voice in the parenting process would contribute to feeling more happy at home, more confident about their relationships with their parents, and that ultimately it may lead to a decrease in the serious social problems that were experienced in some of their lives, particularly in the context of the adolescents in group C.

7.1.5 A Conceptual Process Model of Three Groups of Parents' and Adolescents' Experience of Parenting Adolescents

The development of a conceptual or process model was not identified as an aim of this study, however, through the analysis of the data, the identification of themes, and the discussion of the meaning making process for the participants in this study, it is possible to present the findings, as derived from this study, in the form of a conceptual process model. According to Fawcett, (1992) a "conceptual model is defined as a set of abstract or general principles and the propositions that state something about the concepts" (p. 224). The model presented in figure 18 comprises five stages, which are hierarchical in nature and previous stages inform later stages. Furthermore the model describes the reciprocal processes involved in the dimensions of parenting identified as pertinent to the participants in this study and the meanings derived from the optimal realisation of these dimensions for both parents and adolescents. This model, should however, be seen in the light of a secondary outcome of this research which could be developed further through future research. Furthermore, cognisance needs to be taken of the fact that due to the phenomenological nature of this research, the findings that have informed this model should be seen as specific to the population of this study and thus not generalisable to other populations of parents and adolescents.

Five main themes were identified from the data obtained from the participants in this study. These themes are a) Connection and communication, b) Parental control and protection, c) Respect for individuality and independence, d) Need for information and services and e) Role of fathers. From these themes a conceptual model has been developed and depicted in figure 18.

7.1.5.1 Connection and communication

Connection and communication emerged from the data as being the most important area that parents of adolescents needed to be aware of in order to build close, connected and effective relationships with their adolescent children. The parents in all three groups indicated that finding effective ways in which to connect and communicate with their adolescent children, would mean that there would be an increase in their understanding of their adolescents needs, feelings and opinions. They would have more knowledge about their children's lives and their relationships would be characterised by a greater degree of warmth. The adolescents indicated that through improved connection and communication they would feel that their voices had been heard, that their parents were willing to listen to their points of view and take their feelings into account. Through being able to negotiate with their parents they would be able to problem-solve more effectively. Both parents and adolescents indicated that this would contribute to less conflict in their relationships.

7.1.5.2 Parental control and protection

Parental control and protection presented as an equally important area of concern for the participants in this study, with all of the parent participants expressing a great sense of helplessness around how to protect their children and keep them safe. The parent participants indicated that through an improvement in their ability to connect and communicate effectively with their adolescent children, there would be greater opportunity to collaborate around strategies for safety and to clarify rules, expectations, limits and consequences. The adolescents indicated that by having a voice in the process of negotiating and clarifying rules, limits and consequences, they would be more invested in the process of complying and co-operating with their parents. This, meant an increase in responsibility for the adolescents, but also the opportunity for more independence within mutually agreed upon limits. Both adolescents and parents agreed that this would give the parents greater peace of mind.

7.1.5.3 Respect for individuality and independence

The adolescent participants in Groups A and B specifically, expressed a strong need for parents to *respect their individuality and independence* and experienced frustration at their sense of this not being realised in their relationships with their parents. The adolescents and the parents acknowledged that an improvement in this area of their relationship would contribute to a greater degree of trust. The adolescents in Group C valued the care and support they got from their parents and did not seek autonomy from their parents.

7.1.5.4 The need for information and services

The adolescents, in Groups A and B accepted that they *need information and guidance* from their parents but, thereafter, they want opportunities to make decisions for themselves without feeling judged or criticised, and without their parents over-reacting. The adolescents in Group C expressed a desire to get *information and guidance* from their parents and valued the input that they did receive from their parents. Realising this, would mean that both parents and adolescents would be more empowered to make effective and informed decisions. They also arrived at a decision to communicate more openly with their parents.

7.1.5.5 The parent-adolescent relationship

While the role of fathers featured strongly in the discussions of participants in all of the groups, and was identified as a specific theme in this study, the role of mothers and specifically the importance of the mother-adolescent relationship was given much attention by both parent and adolescent participants in this study. With reference to the role of fathers, the fathers in Group A identified their role as being a role model for their adolescent children. They expressed a desire to maintain a strong connection with their children and expressed pleasure in the relationship they had with their children. The adolescents in Group A reported a fairly high level of parent-adolescent relationship satisfaction – referring to their relationships with both their mothers and fathers. The mothers in Group B identified the role of fathers in their children's lives as being

important in terms of self-esteem and general emotional well-being and both the mothers and adolescents in this group expressed a wish for fathers to be more involved in their children's lives. The mothers and adolescents in Group C experienced the absence of fathers as leaving a significant gap in their lives. The absence of fathers in this group of parents placed a heavier burden on the mothers in terms of being the sole caregivers of their adolescent children and the adolescents in this group showed a strong awareness and appreciation of the efforts and sacrifices made by their mothers. All the groups identified the fathers as either playing a role in terms of material and emotional support (Groups A and B) or as potentially being able to play a role in terms of both material and emotional support if they were present (Group C).

The successful realisation of these dimensions of the parent-adolescent relationship would, both parents and adolescents believed, mean a heightened sense of overall relationship satisfaction between both mothers and fathers and their adolescent children.

While there is a strong correlation between the factors that parents consider important with regard to parenting adolescents and Simpson's (2001) dimensions of parenting, it is interesting to note that a somewhat different picture emerges when considering the adolescents' responses. Without the contribution from the voices of the adolescents, parents could be left with a sense of over-responsibility for maintaining communication and connection with their adolescent children, a lack of confidence that what they are trying to do is of value to the young person, lack of "buy in" from the adolescent and less motivation from the adolescents to conform to rules and limits as well as confusion about where to go for help and advice. A consideration of the nuances and finer detail, added to the data by including the voices of the adolescent participants adds to those aspects of parenting that are considered to be important for healthy parent-adolescent relationships and thus adds to the information that could be made available to parents. Furthermore, the findings of this research highlight the importance of context, as advocated in the literature, for example, it is suggested that the work of Baumrind (1966, 1971, 1972, 1989) useful as it is for middle class Western studies of the parenting process, may not be as adaptive in other social or cultural settings.

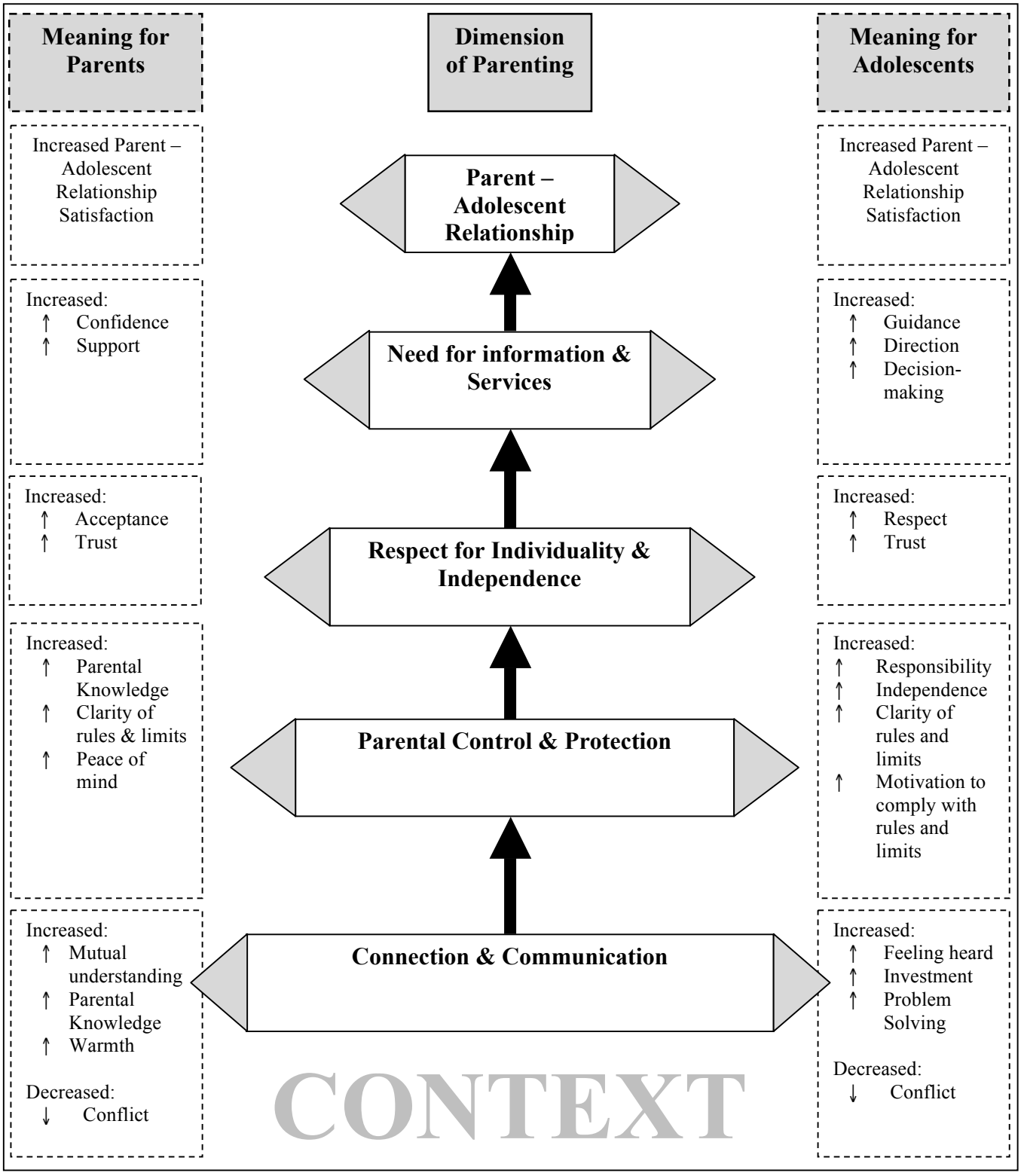

Figure18. A Conceptual Process Model of 3 Groups of Parents' and Adolescents' Experience of Parenting Adolescents.

7.2 Strengths of the study

Pleck (2007) proposed that it should become a methodological standard that data about parenting and child/adolescent "outcomes should come from different informants, to avoid the potential confound of shared variance due to same-informant bias" (p. 197). Given the very strong sentiment expressed by Pleck, the first strength that may be identified in this study is that the voices of adolescents as well as their parents were included in order to gain an in-depth understanding of their experiences of the parenting process.

The choice of a phenomenological approach as a methodology to enable the researcher to meet the purpose of gaining in-depth information in order to arrive at an understanding of the meaning-making process of the participants in this study, may be identified as a strength of the study. This study adopted a social constructionist approach which requires that the researcher attends to cultural and contextual stories as well as to the stories of individual people. Similarly, IPA's interpretive component contextualises the views and descriptions of the participants within their cultural and physical environments, and then "attempts to make sense of the mutually constitutive relationship between 'person' and 'world' from within a psychological framework" (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2012, p. 117). The use of semi-structured interviews within three focus group sessions for all participants enabled a process of more than one contact opportunity thus providing opportunities to clarify data and for more comprehensive or richer descriptions to emerge. Thus the choice of theoretical orientation, methodology and method of analysis utilised in this study have been identified as further strengths.

Furthermore, whilst quantitative research is best evaluated against criteria such as reliability and validity, qualitative research is perhaps more accurately assessed according to principles of trustworthiness (De Vos et al., 2005). A discussed in Chapter 4 the thorough process of documenting both the process that was followed in conducting this research, the provision of a comprehensive and full documentation of the participants' responses in order to provide a rich description of the research process and research findings as well as a discussion on challenges that arose during the research process is

considered to be a further strength that contributes to the trustworthiness of this study.

Another strength of the study was that the participants were selected from three different cultural and social-economic groups, within the South African context, in order to create the possibility of obtaining data from a population that was representative, in some small way, of the diversity of the population in South Africa.

Finally it is suggested that even though the conceptual process model that emerged as an additional aspect of this research and is, at this stage presented as both exploratory and tentative, may be considered a further contribution of this study which could be developed further and formalised through future research.

7.3 Limitations of the study

While the current study entered new territory in psychological research by exploring the phenomenon of the experiences of both parents and adolescents and including the voice of the adolescent with regard to the parenting process, it is not without its limitations. Further research could address the following limitations that have been identified as pertaining to this study.

An important limitation that requires some discussion is the question of *generalisability.* Cognisance needs to be taken of the fact that the present study's generalisation is limited to the particular population of parents and adolescents that participated in this study. Only parents and adolescents in the Western Cape, South Africa, were used for this study. The findings that arose from this research might be unique to this area or these groups of people; and local environmental factors could have influenced the data. Therefore, more research would be needed to find out whether similar results might be obtained from another population of parents and their adolescent children. Furthermore, this study used purposive sampling and snowball sampling as methods for selecting participants which raises uncertainty about whether or not the sample represents the population (Neuman, 2006) as results are not generalisable from a non-random sample.

A second limitation that has been identified is that of sample size. The sample utilised for this study was very large, by IPA standards and thus generated a vast amount of information which, as well as being a challenge to analyse, yielded far more information than could be realistically presented in a study of this scope. In order to ensure that the richness of the data gathered was not compromised and to keep the discussion of the results as focused as possible to the topic of parenting adolescence, only the most prominent and relevant themes were chosen for discussion. Thus, focus group interviews were conducted until the researcher had reached a point in the investigation of the phenomenon where it was felt that the phenomenon had been thoroughly explored and richly described, following this all the data was transcribed and coded before selecting the most relevant themes to be discussed. Additionally, while focus groups are effective in revealing socially constructed beliefs, they are less effective at revealing individual accounts (Tomkins & Eatough, 2010). Thus, having used a focus group approach in this study, which yielded interesting group data, this may have been at the expense of deeper accounts of the parenting experiences that may have been obtained if individual interviews had been utilised. Thus, future research that focuses on individual interviews may well be of value.

It is possible that group dynamics constituted another possible limitation on the amount or quality of information that participants were able to express. In particular, issues of perceived status within the group around markers such as age and gender, or even pre-existing status in cases where participants knew each other, could inhibit the expressions of participants. This was seen most clearly among the adolescents in Group C, where despite females being numerically dominant, two young males dominated the exchanges to a large extent and the female participants appeared to defer to them when invited to contribute to the discussion. The researcher and research assistant took steps to invite contributions from participants who appeared to be marginalised and as the group members became more comfortable with each other over time, all participants appeared to interact more easily.

A premise, which underlies the conduct of IPA is that the research participants should be fluent in the language of the research (Smith, 2006), in order for the participants to be able to give full and deep expression of their feelings, experiences and views. Yet in the present research, obtaining a sample that was relevant and representative of the diversity of the greater population of South Africa posed the challenge of interviewing a group of people whose mother tongue was not English. In order to overcome this challenge and allow the participants (most of whom were able to speak English) the opportunity to express themselves in their mother tongue (Xhosa), the services of an interpreter was made available. The purpose of the research was clearly explained to the interpreter in order to minimise the likelihood of the research being misrepresented to potential participants by the interpreter.

Vara and Patel (2012) caution that in conducting research that involves participants whose mother tongue is different to that of the research, researchers have an ethical obligation to be aware of and resist any imbalance of power. In order to facilitate this process and control for any potential limitations the researcher and research assistant (qualified experienced psychologists) were both present during the focus groups and after each group, engaged in a process of careful reflection and documentation of the process (in the form of a reflective diary and field notes). In addition the transcripts were checked and rechecked thoroughly and independently by both researchers. During the interviews, the responses of the participants were written down on a large white board and read back to the participants (through the assistance of the interpreter) for their verification that that was what they had said and/or meant.

There may also be family-specific factors that the research was not able to take into account, such as previous positive or negative experiences of parenting, birth order of adolescent children, blended families, and loss of a parent or parents. These complexities can further limit the generalisability of the research findings but, on the other hand, many families encountered in clinical and community work will also display these complexities.

7.4 Value of the study

Given that minimal attention has been paid to the contributions of children or adolescents in the domestic arena (Bray & Clacherty, 2011), in collaboration with their parents, it follows that little acknowledgement has been given of their knowledge of the parenting process, and competence in assisting their parents in ways that make a significant positive difference to parenting practices.

The value of this study thus lies in remedying this deficit by means of information generated from the joint and mutual contributions of the parent and adolescent participants. In this study, adolescents have been directly involved in contributing ideas and feedback concerning parenting practices and strategies. As a result, the study has been able to illustrate a *process* by which families can be enabled to arrive at a deeper understanding of the needs specific to each family; and to generate ideas that could contribute to a meaningful parenting plan or set of parenting practices that work for each particular family. Thus, this study has been able to add to the results of previous research, which has focused primarily on parents of younger children and the experiences of parents in the parenting process, with little acknowledgement of the opinions and experiences of adolescents.

It is therefore suggested that this study can claim originality on the basis of including the voice of the adolescent with regards to his or her experience of the parenting process; as such this study is offered as a unique contribution to the study of parenting and child participation. This contribution, however, is not presented as a model or theory, but as a an attitude, a *process* or a way of working that is considered mutual, reciprocal, dynamic and ultimately deeply respectful of the knowledge and expertise of both parents and adolescents.

In a country where our resources are limited and access to family therapy, parent education or even therapy itself is not available to the majority of the population of South Africa, it is further suggested that by working collaboratively with groups of family members, parents

and adolescents offers the potential to make such a process and experience available to more people within a community.

A further value of this study lies in the use of theory. By adopting a post-modern epistemology and exploring parenting through the lens of social construction creates the opportunity to work collaboratively as opposed to hierarchically; invites multiple perspectives with no single theory privileged as "truth"; stresses the development of dialogue and meaning and upholds a strong emphasis on mutuality and sensitivity to context.

The greatest value of the present research may well not lie so much in the extensive information that has been elicited about parenting adolescents, but rather in opening up new avenues of exploration for parents and professionals.

The themes and sub-themes identified in this research serve, therefore, as markers or signposts indicating areas of interest and concern with regards to the process of parenting adolescents. The conceptual process model presented in this study, serves as an example of the meanings of the experiences that emerged from the participants in this study; and through further development may add more comprehensive information that could contribute to a deeper and more thorough understanding of the parenting experiences of parents and adolescents. Such information could have value in informing clinical practice, parent education, and community work.

Thus, the process of the research serves as a template for interventions that bring parents and adolescents together to enhance and perhaps resolve problems that arise within the sphere of parenting. Despite the limitations of this research as described above, it can be seen that the descriptions, whether of parenting practices or of the process of including the adolescents' voices are extensive and varied. In the final analysis, it does seem apparent that a parenting programme that does not support or inspire both parents and adolescents to shift attitudes in the direction of respect, trust and communication may well not be effective in making a long term difference to adolescents or their families.

7.5 Recommendations for future research

Further research in this area would be most beneficial given the limited nature of available research on including the voice of adolescents with regard to the parenting process. Furthermore, it is evident from this study that context does play a significant role, and thus further research specific to parenting adolescents within a South African context would also be advantageous. Future research endeavours may include repeating this research with participants from the other provinces in South Africa with the purpose of obtaining more information about the experiences of this phenomenon and make the findings more generalisable.

This study used focus groups, while the findings yielded interesting group data, further research may focus on obtaining data from individual participants and thus obtain deeper individual accounts of parents and adolescents experiences of the parenting process as it relates to parenting adolescents.

In this study, the role of fathers was given a great deal of attention, and further research may play a valuable role in looking at differences in both South African parents and adolescents perceptions of the mother-adolescent as well as the father-adolescent relationship.

A great deal of valuable data was obtained during the course of this research, which has inevitably also yielded new questions that could be asked. For example, if the data obtained from adolescent boys and girls had been analysed separately would there have been a difference in the findings? Does the age of parents influence the findings? Does the number of siblings an adolescent have or the birth order of the adolescent influence the findings? Would there have been a difference if parents whose oldest child was an adolescent were interviewed as opposed to parents who may have already parented an adolescent. If marital status had been controlled in this study would that have influenced the findings? To achieve a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the

experience of parenting adolescents in the South African context there is indeed a need for more research.

7.6 Conclusion

This research has attempted to offer an in-depth and thorough exploration of the experiences of parenting adolescents from the perspectives of both parents and adolescents By including the voice of the adolescent this study adds to the available research on parenting adolescents and offers a unique approach to working collaboratively with parents and adolescents. This process has been a humbling, moving and deeply enriching experience for the researcher. I have been left with a new-found respect for the parents and adolescents who so bravely and willingly engaged in this process with endless enthusiasm and hope for their relationships. While certain limitations to this study have been identified, the realm of possibility for future research in this area abounds. It is my wish and hope that in so doing a new way of working with young people and their families in South Africa takes life: A way of working that is more than theory, but a therapeutic intervention in itself, capable of modelling an attitude or world-view that plays a role in stimulating constructive engagement between young people and their parents. I leave the reader with the question: *"Is this work better defined as a world-view? Perhaps, but even this is not enough. Perhaps it's an epistemology, a philosophy, a personal commitment, a politics, an ethics, a practice, a life, and so on" (White, 1995, p. 37).*

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APPENDIX A

Semi-structured interview Schedule for Parents

1. Can you tell me about how you experience parenting adolescents?
2. What are some of the challenges involved in parenting adolescents, from your experience?
3. Can you tell me about your relationship with your adolescent?
4. What are some of the joys of parenting adolescents?

Semi-structured interview Schedule for Adolescents

1. What is it like to be an adolescent?
2. How do you feel about the way you are parented?
3. Can you tell me about your relationship with your parents?
4. Are there things that you would like to change/wish were different about the way that you are parented?
5. What are the things you appreciate about the way you are parented?

APPENDIX B

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

PARENTING ADOLESCENTS: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

Thank you for your interest in this research project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you.

What is the aim of the project?

This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for the Ph.D in Child Psychology at the University of The Free State. The aims of the project are (a) to identify what information parents of adolescents need regarding productive parenting practices in South Africa; (b) What information do adolescents think is needed regarding productive parenting practices in South Africa; (c) How do adolescents describe the experience of being consulted and involved in parenting strategies; (d) How do parents describe the experience of including the adolescents' voices.

Thus, the aim will be to look at a collaborative, participatory approach to co-generating creative thinking and effective strategies for parenting adolescents in South Africa.

What type of participants are being sought?

Two or three groups of parents and adolescents between the ages of 12 and 18 years will be included in the research project. It is envisioned that the project will comprise a cross cultural sample of parents and adolescents who are as similar as possible in terms of biographical/demographic variables.

What will participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to give consent for the information obtained during our group sessions to be used in the research project. If you decide to take part in the project you will be asked to participate in the group sessions, read a summary of the group sessions and make comments, corrections and/or provide feedback regarding the summary.

Can participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

You are free to withdraw from the research project. There will be no prejudicial consequences at all for you.

What information will be collected and what use will be made of it?

The information obtained during the group sessions will be discussed with my supervisor and used in the project to describe the process and development. With your consent these sessions may be video- or audiotaped. I will take notes during our sessions if you choose not to have them video- or audiotaped. A summary of our sessions will be made available at the conclusion of the group sessions for your review. Your comments, corrections and/or feedback will be included in the final report.

Results of this project may be published but any data included will in no way be linked to any specific participant.

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish.

The information collected will be securely stored and only my supervisor and myself will have access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed.

What if participants have any queries?

Should you have any questions regarding this project, please do not hesitate to contact:

Jenny Dunkley	or	Dr. L. Nel
P.O. Box 5650		Dept of Psychology
Helderberg		University of The Free State
7135		
Phone (021) 851-2326		(051) 401-2732

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICPANTS

PARENTING ADOLESCENTS: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

I have read the information Sheet concerning the project and understand what it is all about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. I am aware of what will happen to all my personal information (including video or audiotapes) at the conclusion of the project;
4. I will receive no payment or compensation for participating in the project;
5. I am aware that all personal information supplied by me will remain confidential throughout the project.

I am willing to participate in this research project.

_____ _____

(Signature of participant/parent) (Date)

_____ _____

(Signiture of parent of participant/adolescent) (Date)

APPENDIX C

A GUIDE FOR REFLECTION

1. Were we mindful of attempting to develop an understanding of the way in which the specific context and the broader cultural discourses affect the ways that parents and adolescents talk about their experiences and the ways in which we understand what they say?
2. Were we mindful of attempting to create an environment or context that would empower parents and adolescents to tell their stories from their own subjective positions and how do we hear what they say through our own 'adult-centric' cultural constructions of adolescence?
3. Were we mindful of attempting to ensure that our values and the influences of our own lived experiences as an adolescent and adult are visible within the research process?
4. Were we mindful of maintain an awareness of how power relationships both produce, and are produced by discourses, and identify dominant discourses and practices through the explication process, whilst not colluding with these discourses and their outcomes for individuals.
5. Did we strive to accept that there are many 'truths' – there are no universal principles, meta-theories, meta- narratives or an overarching truth;
6. Did we maintain a stance of being interested in the lived experience of the parents and adolescents in this study;
7. Did we place emphasis on allowing the parents and adolescents to construct their own meanings and understandings within the research process;
8. Were we able to recognize and acknowledge tension and conflict and value difference that may have arisen within the group.

APPENDIX D

Appendix D

Group A – Mothers

1.1 Introduction of the Study

1.2 Facilitator 1: I would like to hear about your experiences of parenting teenagers, what are the positives and what are the challenges? Please remember to talk loudly because I will need to transcribe this.

Mother 4: I think there are highs and lows when it comes to parenting adolescents.

Mother 1: I'm tired of talking and not being heard. By that I mean, if I say "Please don't go to bed late tonight, you know how you battle to get up in the morning" I expect at this age, of 14 going on 15, for her to accept this. Or I say "Please don't go on the computer for longer than half an hour". I don't mind if they do it, but don't abuse it. She's always pushing and pushing for more. And unless I am up and patrolling to make sure that the TV is off, or she is not on the computer or is in bed when I want her to be, it does not get done. She has her own agenda and that's my problem. I just see that there are never any boundaries that she is prepared to be confined to. She obviously doesn't think they are relevant or she doesn't want them to apply to her. That's my frustration - that everything is an argument. I need help around how to communicate with my children in an open manner.

Mother 2: Don't you think we are stating the obvious? We (parents) keep on saying the same thing over and over. My daughter said the other day that she knows she has to go and do her work – I don't have to keep saying it.

Mother 1: Yes, but my daughter never does her homework, never, ever … her bags just get left there and she says she has studied for a test but how could she have?

Mother 5: How is she doing at school?

Mother 1: Not as well as she could, because she is a bright child.

Mother 5: I don't police my children, there are 3 of us in the house and their room is quite far from mine. And I think we have just got into a routine or a habit that at a certain time, when they have finished watching a program on TV, say at 10pm, we say good night and they go to their room and I go to mine.

Mother 3: Do they do that on their own?

Mother 5: Yes, they do it on their own because they know there are consequences. So I leave them. If they go to bed at one or two o'clock in the morning and they don't get up the next morning, then there is a consequence.

Mother 1: What is the consequence?

Mother 5: Well then, they are tired and irritable. Then I get irritable so I explain to them "if you are tired and irritable it will irritate me and I will be irritable with you." So it is a lose-lose situation.

Mother 6: Does she learn, will she go to bed earlier the next night – do they learn from the consequences?

Facilitator 1: Do you think that in your home you are giving them responsibility for what they need to take responsibility for?

Mother 5: It's a routine and a pattern. I am quite regimental. At 7 o'clock on a Sunday, they know bags are packed and curtains are closed.

Mother 4: But how do you get them to do it?

Mother 5: We've done it for years.

Mother 1: But I've been fighting for them to do it for years. I've even tried to use humor. A classic example is: My son had a friend here until 10 o'clock last night and I kept on saying, it's a school night and she has got to go home now and he says "Ja I know, she's nearly on her way". I explained: "Tomorrow you are going to be tired". He said no, no, no. And, my daughter was on the computer. I said: Switch off that computer. You know you can't get up in the morning. I asked her "is it off?" She says: "Ja, I'm switching off now". 15 minutes later she is still on it. I had to physically get up and switch off that button. Neither of them could get up. Then my son phoned me at nine o'clock in the morning to say he is feeling sick. I told him that he was just feeling tired. But he said "No, I am not tired". I am feeling weak now and I'm not tired. But I know what it is. Its tiredness, but he will not change his behavior. He will do it again, and she will do it again.

Mother 4: Now my son would be too scared to say he is too tired. Because then I would say, "Good, good, now you suffer".

Mother 1: But that's what I said. I said "You are staying at school, you are not coming home. I'm not fetching you".

Mother 4: Then I say, "How are you feeling and he says fantastic and I know he is lying" [laughter from the other mothers].

1.3 Facilitator 1: What would you do Mother 5? Where would humor be brought in because humor can be useful sometimes?

Mother 5: If he said I am tired, I would start laughing and say "well, you should know that you are going to be tired – look what time you went to bed last night".

Mother 1: But he would never admit it. That's why he said he was sick.

Mother 4: But then you should still laugh.

Mother 1: Then he comes home and he will be angry with me because I have not been sympathetic to him. He will think I am a terrible mother because I have not been sympathetic towards him. But I am not a sympathetic mother. If he gets injured, I tell him to get up and off he goes. So that's just an issue for me.

Mother 3: I think that a lot of what you are experiencing now is that you need to remember that your children are not your possessions. They do not belong to you so if they don't want to go and sleep or whatever, it is like their personality. You cannot change your child's personality. I don't believe it anyway. You can try and help them and guide them but they do not belong to you and at some point, they are going to be their own people and their own worst enemies. And I think that is very frustrating for parents because you try so hard to guide them and then you see them making these stupid decisions like staying up all night or whatever the case may be. In some part of that kid's brain, it can just be their personality. And you might not actually like their personality, because it does not fit in with your idea of what your perfect child might or should be. And it is blooming difficult to then turn around and say: "actually are your own person and I love you but I don't like the person that you are." You don't always have to like your children.

Mother 2: I'm, just wondering … Is it not rules that should be set and not so much about personality but about rules that they should abide by rules?

Mother 3: You know, I have seen it now and what has come up very strongly for me is that I now have my 27 year old niece in my home. She has been brought up in a completely different home and environment to my children. And honestly things that are engrained in her personality I find beyond belief. Even my eight year old has more common sense than that. And it is to do with how she was raised and also who she is. The kind of person that she is.

Facilitator 1: Is it the behavior or personality that is irritating you?

Mother 3: Well, I think, or I know, I have learned that it must not irritate me. Sometimes it's the behavior and the personality. And I do believe that some of her choices would be different if she had been raised differently. I honestly believe that but there are things within a kid. I mean you look at a family and one kid is on the straight and narrow and another one is completely 'los kop' [careless] or whatever. But they were raised in the same environment and not treated that differently. But some part of that must be in your personality.

Mother 4: You get two kids from the same family and one kid is responsible and the other is not. At some point we do need to hand some responsibility over to them.

Mother 5: I have a total anti-social child and a totally sociable child.

Mother 3: Do you treat them differently. Do you have separate set of rules for them?

Mother 5: Well there is a boy and a girl.

Mother 3: You see, there is a difference.

Mother 1: But some children are self-regulating. Some children want to please you, they want to do well at school. They almost grow up or were born like that. I've got two children that want to do what they want to do, when they want to do it. I can stay up till midnight and they are both like that but the difference is that children need their sleep to function at school. And I know that it is affecting their school work. They are not prepared to change. It's a continual fight, I just want them to listen. I just feel that I am exhausted now. I have to take her cell phone away at night because she is on it all night on MXit. I don't feel I must do that because I just want them to listen.

Mother 7: And what would happen and it will be nice to hear what the others have to say. What would happen if you did not tell them to go to bed and you have to endure that? I am not asking that as a question but a statement. If you decide not to say a word about going to sleep at a certain time for a month, whether they go to bed at 9 or 11 or 2 o'clock in the morning and you don't say a word but they have to get up at the same time every morning.

Mother 1: But I've done that!

Facilitator 1: And?

Mother 1: I've done that with my son because he gets up by himself. But my daughter can't.

Facilitator 1: Even if you send her to bed?

Mother 1: No, she can't. I can't ever just send her to bed because it's still 'another 15 or 20 minutes' because she is doing her face or brushing her hair, brushing her teeth, packing her bag or whatever. It's never an immediate. It's always an issue with her.

Mother 2: Why don't you just leave her in the morning? She should set the alarm clock.

Mother 1: She would love that.

Mother 2: But if she does not wake up, don't send her to school. Let her miss school.

Facilitator 1: Perhaps she will just have to miss school for a few days – do you think that may make a difference?

Mother 5: I just open their curtains and tell them to get up. If you want a ride I'm leaving at a quarter past seven.

Mother 7: If you had to say to her tutor this is the problem that we are having and this is what I am going to do, I am prepared to go to my daughter and wake her once and even a second time. Thereafter I am leaving it. If we get to eight o'clock and she is not at school, I am going to phone the school. If you wish to give her detention that's fine. She needs to know that you have tried to wake her, the bus has left and now she will have to stay at home.

Mother 5: I think you would only have to give her three warnings.

Mother 2: I don't even think three warnings. It will only be one or two mornings.

Mother 5: Mother 3, do you have a problem being late for your appointments.

Mother 3: I am never on time for anything, but I do try and be on time for school. My problem is that if we leave at 7 we will be on time but if we leave at five past 7 we will not be on time. So one of my rules is that we leave for school at 7 o'clock. At 7 o'clock I am in the car and I leave. If anyone is left at home it is tough luck. At seven I leave and if anyone is left at home they will have to ask their father to take them to school.

Mother 1: But the problem is when I have left without her then there is a huge fight. Then she phones her dad and then he fights with me because he is sitting in meetings.

Mother 3: Mother 1, I think you take all of this stuff on and if her father doesn't want to give her a lift, you get uptight.

Mother 1: I told my husband "don't do it if you can't." I've told him that if he can't give her a lift then don't. But they are manipulative. When they phone me they say they have phoned their dad and if I tell them that I have a meeting and that I am busy- it means nothing. But that's my children. If they don't get it from me then they will phone their dad. Then their father will phone me and shout at me and ask what's going on, why are the children phoning him? I have tried to explain to him that if they are phoning him, it is because I have said no. So please say no. It's just continual. It never comes right. You would think they will eventually get it right.

Facilitator 1: What would happen if you and your husband discussed this and he only switched his phone on after school has started or if you and your husband and daughter discussed this together and tried to work out a solution?

1.4 Mother 3: We are always talking about consequences, but to them consequences are not getting into trouble with you because they couldn't care less about getting into trouble with us. So what are you going to do? Ground them. What is that going to prove? The consequences need to mean something to them. It must be that they miss out on something or they cause themselves to get a detention at school.

Mother 2: I agree with the tutor thing. If she arrives late or has not got a reason why she was not at school and the tutor says your mother says you are not sick then she is certainly not going to do it again. Then it will be her responsibility to get up and be on time.

Facilitator 1: And you have warned her!

Mother 1: But if she comes to me, then I am just going to tell her that we have discussed it.

Mother 4: Yes, you have warned her. It's not as if you are going to do it tomorrow morning without having warned her.

Facilitator 1: That brings me to my next point. To me this is about communicating and negotiating – perhaps you need to discuss this with her. If you agree on the idea letting her take responsibility to be ready in the morning, for example, then perhaps you need to explain to her: I am backing off with bed times. You go to bed if and when you want. However, in the morning I will wake you at 6:30 and call you again at 6:35. Thereafter I am getting ready for my day. I leave at 7:30 and I'm out of here. You are either in the car or you are not in the car. If you have met with her tutor you have put everything in place and now she needs to take responsibility. This is just an example – but you and your husband and daughter could perhaps talk this through and come to an agreement that works for all of you.

Mother 3: Is the problem your son or daughter?

Mother 1: Well both, but mostly Adolescent 1. But today my son was running around like a chicken with his head cut off because he couldn't find his rugby boots. I said that should be done at night. My daughter was already in the car and we couldn't be late because she had a test. So today she knew she had to be on time. When he got out of the car he

couldn't find anything and of course it was everybody's fault. That's another thing. I tell them every day: Pack your things at night.

Mother 3: Why do you even rise to the bait? He fights with you and you respond. Just say to him, shame you have a bad life. If I had such a bad life I would be devastated. You buy into the fight.

Mother 1: He has almost given up the fight. He is in matric now. He says he actually doesn't really even care.

Mother 3: Tell him you don't care either.

Mother 5: Tell him it's his life and he will have to find a job.

Mother 1: Why is there a lack of drive? In fact they had Kirsty Coventry on the radio this morning and I commented on her commitment. She said you just need a little bit of talent and you can be a success, if you are prepared to put in the effort. And I said to both of them, "that's so true. If you just tried harder with whatever you do, you could be a success."

Mother 4: All I got in the car is a glare and I said 'what'? My son just replied "What about your weight?" I asked him what he meant and he said "Well you try harder, come to gym with me. So I asked him if he wanted to walk to school.

Mother 1: Let's talk about discipline. Look at your daughter. Her bag is packed and put in the car the night before.

Mother 3: But they are different types of children.

Mother 5: But those people might have their own set of problems. They might be obsessive or impulsive.

Mother 1: But I've been trying to teach my children all of this since Grade 1. I am organized, I am a perfectionist.

Mother 3: That's the problem. It's all about you.

Mother 1: But my children are living in my life.

Mother 3: You allow them to turn it up-side-down, Mother 1. Don't let them.

Mother 1: That's why we are always fighting.

Mother 6: Adolescent 6 is terrible. Her room is untidy and her cupboard is a mess.

Mother 3: Why go into her room?

Mother 6: Because I pack her ironing away. I must have control.

Mother 3: Close the door. Don't go in. or just put her clothes on the bed. If you put the ironing on the bed, what then?

Mother 6: She would leave it there and only help herself from the pile.

Mother 5: What is wrong with that?

Mother 2: I have tried that with my eldest daughter. I have two very different children. The one is so organized, her stuff is almost colour coded and everything is perfect and my older daughter couldn't care.

Mother 2: I chucked out all her clothes when she didn't want to sort out her cupboard. Everything on the floor.

Facilitator 1: What happened after that?

Mother 2: Well it's not perfect but it is sorted out. And now that she has a flat of her own everything is perfect and neat. She will phone me at 10 o'clock and say "guess what I am doing, I'm sweeping".

Mother 3: But there is something to be said for you laying the ground work for when they are older because I can't believe that they will live in pig sty if they are not used to living in a pig sty.

Mother 4: I think boys are neater than girls.

1.5 Facilitator 1: Are you talking about guiding them? It sounds as if you are saying I've shown you the way up to here and now you know it and I trust you to carry on.

Mother 5: Is it important that you tell them that you are handing it over to them?

Facilitator 1: What do the others think, is it important? It's very easy to discipline and tell them what they are doing wrong, but if we acknowledge what they are doing right, might they do it more?

Mother 5: Yes, they would.

Mother 3: I think that whole thing about bringing them up. I mean when we have them and they are little and you trying to get through these things like school and whatever, but I think the stage we are at now, is the point where we must realize we cannot be on top on them all the time. A very good thing that I want to share with you girls is that I came from a house with two brothers that were much older than me. I was not given one single boundary. My parents never said be home by twelve, never! The only thing was that if I

said I would be home at 2 am, don't be home at five past 2. But I could say to my mother that I would be home by 2 am. I remember I had a boyfriend that was 7 years older than me when I was in high school. I was in Grade 11. And I was speaking to my dad about this the other day and I asked him how could you do that? How could you have allowed that? I feel awkward about it now because if my daughter came home with a boy even 2 years older than her I would have a fit. And I asked him how he coped with that and he said he remembers coming home one day and I was sitting with my mom and brothers and they were discussing this boy with me and my dad had to take the casting vote. He was a very nice guy, he was older than me but he didn't drink and dad sat down and said "I know that my daughter will make the right decision for her and if she has chosen that man then he must be what she is looking for in a man." And that was it.

Mother 5: But that doesn't always work.

Mother 3: How can you say? I had sex before marriage, got drunk a couple of times and smoked. If those are the most evil things you can do then … I did my most evil things after I was married. The things I am least proud of myself about. You can't say, are you a success? I think I am a happy normal person.

Mother 5: Then it did work for you.

Facilitator 1: What did that mean to you as a teenager? That your father had such confidence in you?

Mother 3: I never smoked in front of my dad. I still don't drink in front of my dad. I have more respect for my dad than anybody in the family. He had a huge expectation of me and respect for me.

Facilitator 1: Was it an expectation of you or a belief in you?

Mother 1: To get to that age, 16 years, you have really done your job as a parent.

Facilitator 1: Isn't your son that age now, Mother 1?

Mother 1: Yes he is 17. I really do believe that there is very little that I can tell him about what and what not to do. If he wants to do it, he does it. If I say he is not going out, he says he is going out. Bye. So my question while Mother 3 was talking was 'do we as parents feel that we have to impose all these rules because it is expected maybe?' When was it? Friday night, I said I want you home by midnight and he said they were watching a band playing at a concert and that he would come home when it was finished. I went on and on, backwards and forwards. I want you home by 12. I think maybe I am being too rigid in what I believe should be, like what he should be doing.

Mother 2: Like is it the end of the world if he is half an hour late?

Mother 3: If my dad had said, "you can't see your boyfriend," I would have probably snuck out the house.

Mother 1: You see this is the fine line.

1.6 Facilitator 1: What were you saying earlier, Mother 3, about parenting?

Mother 3: If parents can make sure that they give the right responsibility and that they understand that they are growing into adults. I explained to my children on Saturday that they are now at a point where they have to decide what type of people they would like to be, and it is our job as parent to try and help them and guide them to make sure that they can be the best them that they can be.

Facilitator 1: Do we do that by discussing things with them? What if you did that, what might happen? If you had to ask them: "What do you think is the best decision under these circumstances? Is that how you would handle this situation?

Mother 3: I am not the right parent to ask, because I'm not the best parent in terms of that.

Facilitator 1: Say my child says that their dream is to achieve an A for Matric, I could ask her "How would you go about achieving that?" "If you go to a party on Friday night and Saturday night would that be working towards an A or is that getting in the way of your studying?" How would you do it?

Mother 6: I would probably ask my daughter how she is going to achieve that. Like "How will you get to achieve that if you do go out every night?"

Facilitator 1: And once you and her have agreed to the way she would do it, how would you support that?

Mother : Once I see commitment, I praise her for what she is achieving. If we say they are problematic, then they will be difficult. So I view my kids as stunning kids and I have enjoyed them the older they have got. I can have conversations with them around the dinner table and I can laugh with them and we can joke about drinking and smoking and sex. We have really nice conversations. But what I will say is that we should not label our children. If we say they are problematic, then they will be difficult until the end of days. It doesn't mean they don't irritate me or drive me up the wall though.

Mother 4: Or you don't irritate them!

Mother 5: I tell them that that is part of my job description - to irritate you or embarrass you. That's what I do as a mom. For me, the most important thing now is to validate them.

Notice what they do right and no longer what they do wrong. Because they are 17 and 15 and at this age, you know what, if you don't pick up your shoes then I'm afraid you are going to trip over it. I've been telling you since you were five to pick up your shoes and I'm not going to anymore.

Mother 3: We need to believe in them and have confidence in them and believe that they have the ability to make good choices.

Mother 4: I think there are so many more things to fights about than just closing your door to you room. Pick your battles wisely and you will win the war. Fighting takes away from our pleasure together

Mother 3: Teenagers take a lot more energy though.

Mother 5: Ja, but I haven't really found that too bad. We find communication with our teenagers is mostly positive and we enjoy it.

Mother 4: All this can best be achieved through good communication

Mother 3: There are just more things to worry about. When they are young, you worry about them falling into the pool, but now that they are older there is just so much more that can go wrong.

Mother 5: My mom used to say small children small problems, big children big problems. But I have not found it that difficult.

Mother 4: I do find that I have more pleasure. You have to fight with them but I joke a lot with them too.

Facilitator 1: Is that bringing in humour?

Mother 1: I think Mother 4 has it there. I am not a joking type of person. I don't joke with my children. I find it very hard to laugh with them.

Mother 6: Do you have the same relationship with your son and your daughter?

Mother 1: Probably.

Mother 3: What is your relationship with them?

Mother 1: I know I irritate them to hell. I just start talking and they say, "Oh please keep quiet, and they turn up their music. My biggest wish would be to be on a Dr. Phil show where there is a big camera in your home 24 hours a day so that somebody could understand because it is so difficult for me to express how I am feeling and what I am trying to say.

Mother 7: Mother 1, I often need to stand back because I am also caught in that same net where I am just too intense.

Mother 1: But Mother 7, I have stood back but my kids are not great academically, my daughter is a clever girl but she is flipping lazy. Everything else is more important. Her social life is number one, her dancing and sport and TV comes next. My problem is that I want them to achieve the best that they can.

Mother 5: But we all do.

Mother 1: A lot of you, maybe all of you. Your girls are academically strong. To me that is such a pressure off your shoulder as a parent.

Mother 3: Don't believe that for one minute Mother 1.

Mother 1: If I could say to my daughter if you want to stay up until midnight and you think you can get up in the morning and you can achieve at school, cool. Reach your potential. I will leave you alone and you can run your own life.

Mother 4: Ok Mother 1, is what you are doing at the moment working for you?

Mother 1: No.

Mother 4: Thank you. Subject closed.

Mother 7: What about an incentive at the end of the term?

Mother 3: I have a good one.

Mother 4: But it doesn't work for everyone.

Mother 2: I have used incentives and it worked.

Mother 7: I used it and I remember they were very upset when they never achieved this incentive. Then they worked very hard the next term.

Mother 3: What I say to my kids. If they don't achieve, then I will take you out of the school you are at.

Mother 1: But my daughter says she wants to leave.

Mother 6: But my child also wants to leave her school because now they want to put her on Ritalin because she is underachieving. But at the end of the term, two weeks ago, she got a glowing report. I asked the tutor to discuss the problem with me and not just sweep it under the carpet.

1.7 Facilitator 1: Mother 7, what kind of incentives work at this age? What incentive did your kids buy into?

Mother 7: It was not from my side. It was actually their dad that started it. He said in Grade 10 they would get a laptop. They really worked very hard for it. And my daughter didn't get it for the first six months because she overstepped her boundaries each time. She eventually worked hard enough and got it. Now my other daughter is looking forward to that, achieving that incentive.

Mother 4: I think some of our kids are very spoilt.

Mother 1: My son got a laptop at 16 so then my daughter wanted a laptop and moaned and groaned. She didn't do well at school and we didn't buy her a laptop. But a month ago her dad comes home with one for her. I was furious, but he said they needed it for their homework. Ok it was a year and a half later even though she moaned she needed one. I told her she knew what she had to do to get it.

Facilitator 1: Do you think that sometimes they think that if they moan long enough, sooner than later parents will give in? Do you think that is how they feel?

Mother 1: No, No. Not with my daughter actually. I don't know if any of you heard about the party on Friday night that they all want to go to? She said to me would you allow me to go to a party on Friday night [in another town]? I said absolutely not. But she said that your daughter, Mother 3, is going. So I said if your daughter is going then she can too.

Mother 3: Oh thanks, no pressure.

Mother 5: Well my daughter has asked me if she goes to a party, could she come home at 2 am. Ha, ha!

Mother 3: I think that what Mother 4 said earlier is true. It is important to be reasonable – I think that we should pick our battles wisely because we can't say 'no' to everything….I did tell my girls that we would look at everything and discuss it"

Facilitator 1: Who is 'we'?

Mother 3: Us moms. We all agreed on like a code of conduct that we try to uphold.

Mother 6: We tried to create a framework. I say to my daughter, Let me check with the other moms and she starts to wobble.

Mother 1: When my daughter heard we were all meeting today, she said don't bring up all sorts of things because the last time you discussed things I told you were private. Then she said "I don't want to tell or ask you things like the other girls do because when one of the other girls ask their moms something, they have already heard it from you."

1.8 Facilitator 1: Are you talking about standing together as parents? Does that make it easier?

Mother 3: It does.

Mother 1: Maybe those girls don't ask their mothers because they know the answer will be no.

Facilitator 1: Don't you think plans can sometimes change with teenagers? You know, sometimes they say things like 'EVERYBODY' is going to the party. Like maybe, they feel obliged to ask if they can go, but they may feel that they don't want to go or they are not ready to go. They want the option but they actually want you to say no? Almost as if they can then say my mom says no and that takes the pressure off them? They can tell their

friends my mom says no. And you know what happens along the way is that Mother 3 says no and as the other parents say no, their friends then don't want to go without the rest of their group so the plans change.

Mother 1: Maybe I get too involved too quickly.

Mother 2: Mother 1, that's what I wanted to say. If I believe it is no, then that's the end of the discussion. Don't argue about it.

Mother 3: I do believe that all of us try very hard to accommodate them.

Mother 7: We do.

Mother 3: And that I think is good for us. We have been accommodating for certain things and we pick our battles and some things are negotiable and others are not.

Mother 5: I brought my kids up from little in a certain way. With their dad they could still manipulate some things. I don't do the battle. When it no, its no. And I never change my mind. You would have to come up with a seriously good argument to change my mind.

Mother 4: I used to make a mistake and just raise my hand (block) and just say no, no, no. But now I am learning to listen to what they say before I give my answer. I have learnt to ask them if we can discuss this later or let me think about it.

Mother 2: Maybe, just say to them "let us see how the plans pan out." My daughter sometimes just says I know you are going to say no but I am still going to ask.

Mother 6: My daughter, used to have a friend in Cape Town who always nagged her mom. It got so bad that it started to irritate my daughter that her friend nagged her mother.

1.9 Facilitator 1: So in other words, there are times we say no, it's not negotiable and then there are times that we are prepared to negotiate and then there are times when we buy ourselves time to think about their requests?

Mother 1: But why are you thinking?

Facilitator 1: If they ask something and it is a new situation that you haven't been confronted with before, you may need time to think about it. There are often new situations that arise with teenagers and you might need some time to consider if their request is reasonable or not.

Mother 1: Ok but, my daughter says that I always phone you, mother 4 and then you say no to your daughter because I said no to mine.

Mother 4: No, that's not true.

Mother 7: Can I ask a question? No it's a statement that you can throw around. The potential of the parent is directly related to what you are trying to get for your child. So are you at your full potential or are you trying to make your child better than you are?

Mother 1: It's not that we expect more.

Mother 2: It's that we want more from our children.

Mother 7: You can see the potential in your child.

Mother 5: But it's still their life

Mother 6: But we parents want to do everything in our power to stop bad things happening.

1.10 Mother 7: I think our expectations for our children are higher than necessary. We have made most of these mistakes as well. I didn't do anything wrong at school because I was brought up very conservatively. I went hey wire much later. Then I did a good job of it though. I was bad and I look at my children's father. He was expelled from boarding school.

Mother 1: Has he ever told them any of those things?

Mother 7: Some of them.

Mother 1: Because my husband has made the mistake of telling the children what he did, got drunk and this and that. So when things happen, my children just say but dad you did it.

Mother 7: I see things in them that are amazing but they don't always see it.

Mother 3: It's for them to find them.

Mother 7: I don't expect too much. I don't force my daughter to do ballet because I wanted to do it. I just want them to be the best that they can be.

Mother 3: If you give them the opportunity and they want to do it, I will do everything in my power for them to get where they want to be but it's not my expectation it's theirs. It is important to help them get something for themselves.

Mother 7: I don't think any of us turned out so badly. I am sure my parents thought when I was a child that I was not reaching my potential. Why doesn't she work harder? She can do better or do so well.

Mother 5: Let me tell you guys, I was a bad student. I just scraped through Matric. I was a D student. I partied hard and I'm OK today.

Mother 7: The most important thing is to get that balance right. Where do we say no or yes? It's about give and take. I have learnt and I am trying not to sweat the small stuff because I am waiting for the big things to come. The sex, drugs, pregnancies.

Mother 3: Remember, those things are still not insurmountable.

Mother 1: But by ignoring the small stuff, won't it bring on the big stuff.

Mother 7: I have never wanted my kids in a boarding house and their dad put them in a boarding house.

Mother 6: But do they have to be there?

Mother 7: You know, at the boarding school they have to be in bed at a certain time, they have to do their work, their cell phones get taken away. At the end of the day, I get the best of both worlds. I don't have to fight about the TV or the computer. If their rooms are not tidy, and they get 5 black dots, then they have to get up at 5 and run around the field. It happened often until they understood the consequences. Those are the rules.

Mother 2: Mother 1, you can bring in the same rules here.

Mother 1: No, if I tell them to get up at 6 they won't do it.

Mother 3: You know what, Mother 1, we are all too accessible. You are particularly accessible to them. And I don't think it is a good thing.

Mother 7: Balance.

Mother 3: They know that she is going to bail them out. That's what we are saying. If you are too accessible, they are too reliant on you.

Mother 6: I think it depends on the child. I have a son who needs absolutely nothing from me. I never ever have to come down on him. But my daughter is a challenge from morning to night. And I am there for both of them.

Mother 7: It's the personalities.

Mother 6: I don't think I have ever had a fight in my life with my son.

Mother 1: But it does make it so much easier if they are pulling their weight.

Mother 1: That is my point, I can't stand it when they are late for classes and things.

Facilitator 1: Who can't stand it? You, or them?

Mother 1: Me.

Facilitator 1: Mother 1, whose class or dancing lesson is it?

Mother 1: It is hers and she would probably love to miss it.

Mother 3: Charge her for the class she is missing. Take that money from her allowance. You have got to play hard ball.

Facilitator 1: I read an article the other day and what you've just said made me think of it. It was a comment about star charts in a book about parenting. It was credit systems and earnings. In life we go to work and we get a salary. One of the suggestions in the book is, for example, time can be a credit that the teenager can earn. So every time they are in the

car on time, they earn an hour time for socializing or to do something they enjoy. So they can earn their time to spend with friends etc.

Mother 1: That's like so much time at their age to work out.

Mother 5: I still think she should just be left at home for a few days.

Mother 3: I think that when you go out to work and earn a living, you are paid or rewarded for the work done. When you are at school, your report is your reward. At the end of the day, all your A's don't matter. You can get 10 A's and still not find a decent job.

Mother 4: I went to see my daughter's teacher at school. I said to him, let's cut out the nonsense, how are we going to get this child through Mathematics so that she can give it up in Grade 10? He put his arms in the air and said "thank you Lord, I am so tired of mothers sitting here and asking why is my daughter not getting 80 % for a subject?" You need to understand your kid's potential and talent. When my daughter got the cup for dancing, I was thrilled and forgot about her Math's mark.

Mother 3: Coming back to the 27 year old that is staying with me, she was a dancer, studied hard, makes supper at night, is dyslexic, and has learning problems. Life was tough for her and she would get upset because my kids don't make their own beds. My kid's jobs are to go to school and do their best. My son got a 71% average and he was devastated. He wants an A. I don't want an A. He is not an A student. But what happens if you have a child that does not want an A, he will never get an A. Encourage your child to reach his potential. He might not get an A but he will be successful because of this tenacity.

1.11 Facilitator 1: So a good work ethic is important?

Mother 1: I took my son for an aptitude test yesterday. I had a 15 minute interview about my son and how much he hated school and how he has battled and he has a bit of ADD. And he said to my son, "What do you think is the reason for going to school? My son said to learn. Then he explained to my son that you go to school to teach your brain to learn in different ways for future life. Not necessarily to achieve but to learn to stimulate certain parts of the brain. To grow that brain. He approached it in such a different and unique way.

Facilitator 1: Did he get your son's attention?

Mother 1: Very much.

Facilitator 1: Good!

Mother 1: I've got a follow up interview next Wednesday to go through what came through strongly.

Mother 1: He said everybody learns differently. I know that my son can't listen to someone droning on and on. I think he is more of a visual, hands on person.

Mother 4: That's why he can't listen to you. Because you drone on and on.

Mother 1: He could be given two laptops that are broken and he could build one out of the two broken ones.

Facilitator 1: Say next week your son is told what he can do and he is excited about the idea, but he has to up his game by 5% he will do it. That's because he has has bought into the idea. Is that not what we are wanting to achieve with our children?

Mother 1: He does want to be a success but his fear is that he has not been achieving at school.

Facilitator 1: He may not be achieving academically, but there are many other areas he can achieve in.

Mother 1: My question about my daughter is her marks. We as parents have decided to send our children to this fantastic school (even though the children don't perceive it in that light)

Mother 3: Most of our kids have never been to a government school and don't know anything else.

Mother 1: They are at this school and they should be working hard, but does it matter? Should I leave her and let her be?

Mother 4: But you can't force her.

Mother 3: Maybe you need to explain that it is all very nice to have an interest in dancing but let's face it that less than1% make it in the professional dancing world. She can't only spend all his time on something she loves. She has to find the balance.

Facilitator 1: Is there a difference between working hard versus getting A's and B's?

Mother 1: There is a big difference because some people will work very hard and just never get anywhere and some don't work hard and they just get it.

Facilitator 1: So if there is somebody who works really hard and they only get 69% versus someone who never opens a book and gets 75%, who is better off?

Mother 1: But If I could only just see a book open. See some effort.

Mother 6: Is that your expectation?

Mother 7: In the boarding school, they have 2 hours in the afternoon and 2 hours in the evening. There is no getting out of it.

Mother 6: Mother 2, if you ask your daughter if she has homework and she says no or maybe yes and you believe her, then you never question her again. Surely it is her problem if she doesn't do the homework.

Mother 2: Every day I ask how much homework does she have. Then she goes to the room and what she does there I have no idea.

Mother 3: The consequences will be that you will fail if you don't do your homework.

Mother 2: By nine o'clock lights out in our house.

Mother 1: I want to know what our role as parents is? Should as parents with children of 14 going on 15, say you decide now do you want to do your homework or not?

Mother 3: Don't even battle it out. Don't even ask her. Assume they are doing their homework.

Mother 1: But the kids float around like me in the evenings?

Mother 7: Are your kids maybe not just like you. Maybe you should be expected to go to bed at ten.

Mother 1: But I only start reading or watching TV at ten.

Mother 4: New rule. Lights out at ten. Everyone in bed.

There was a lot of discussion all at the same time about bed times.

Mother 1: I did take her phone away the other night when she was on MXit.

Mother 5: Take it away every time she is on MXit when she should be sleeping.

Mother 1: Then she goes to sleep with her IPod in her ears.

Mother 3: Now that is a bad thing for your ears.

Facilitator 1: Would your children be happy to chat to me about what it is like to be a teenager?

Mother 2: They would love to. You will need about 3 hours.

Cameraman: Facilitator 1, I just want to tell everyone that I will not be at that session. I only run a camera when there are children involved, I don't stay. I only film when there are adults in the session.

APPENDIX E

Appendix E

Group A – Fathers and Daughters

1.1 Introduction of the Study

Facilitator: Shared what come out of mom and dad groups: I would like to share with you what really touched me from my interview with the dad's group was the overriding theme of how do we keep our girls safe and how hard it is for them to do this. I believe that this put what the girls' saw as your (the fathers') over-protectiveness, your worry and rules into perspective for them. (Girls indicated agreement with this by nodding). A strong response from the girls when they heard what their fathers' had said was how surprised they were at the open-mindedness of some of the comments their dad's made, like for example, their fathers' acknowledgement of how times have changed and as parents we don't have a reference point.

1.2 Facilitator 1: A question that the dads' ask of you girls is should they be influencing you?

Adolescent 3: How do you mean?

Facilitator: Like how you make decisions, keeping yourselves safe, it was really around making decisions, choices and your safety. The dads wanted to know what is important to you guys. Also while the mothers spoke a lot about communication and said that they talk to you but you don't always talk to them and they even asked how they should be communicating with you, the dads had a very interesting point of view. The fathers indicated that they felt anxious about sex and honesty - they said they struggle if they feel the girls are

hiding things from them. For the fathers' a big problem would be you hiding things from them.

Father 2: Yes, deceit is a negative, and has a negative effect on our relationship with them

1.3 Father 2: It is important for mothers and fathers to check with each other and stand together as parents. (Girls agreed). Did the girls bring up the idea that times are different? For example, when I grew up we didn't have cell phones, even TV wasn't around, we had the radio, the music was different, and there was no Facebook, no computers or the internet. But what I find hasn't changed are things like trust, love, values, respect etc. those things have not changed they are the same now as they were for my parents and me and should be for me and my children and even them (referring to the adolescents present) and their children. Because your children, when they grow up, will have different things to Facebook etc. So I think a big reference point here is values, trust, respect. I love you girls and the friendship you have. The amazing openness of teenagers today, how they talk about so much more than was probably true of previous generations.

Adolescent 3: Yes so it is that technology has changed but not morals although they do influence each other in a way, it's kind of dependent in a way, they link together, for example, if I am not answering my phone and my mom keeps calling then she thinks I am being disrespectful because I am not answering her call.

1.4 Father 2: I agree with that, but the other side of the coin is that if we don't get through to you or you don't answer our calls then we wonder about your safety.

Father 5: Here is an example: We were in New York about 2 years ago, our son had to get a cab to the train station, then the train to the airport to catch a flight to North Carolina. We told him to phone us when he got to the airport and phone us when he landed in North Carolina.

We (his mother and I) were flying from New York back to South Africa that night. We hadn't heard from him by the time we boarded our flight and we were very worried. When we landed in Dakar on our way back to South Africa we were frantic. We thought he may have been hijacked or kidnapped. When really all that had happened was that his phone in America didn't work in North Carolina and so he couldn't call. We were so worried and the point is he is a boy and was 21 years old, you are - you are girls, and are 14 or 15 years old – so it is even worse.

Father 1: They all have cell phones, and if they are out and we call, and they do not answer, we worry. I realise that it may be irritating for the girls, but we need them to be contactable … Perhaps there could be boundaries around this

Adolescent 3: There are times when it is nice to hear our parent's voice, but if I am at a party I don't think wow I would love to hear dad's voice right now. It's the same with adults at our parties! Adults can be on the premises at parties but mustn't watch us. They must respect our space and privacy and trust that if things go wrong we will call them.

Father 2: Yes, but if he does phone you, do you not think it is important to take his call?

Adolescent 3: Yes of course.

Adolescent 2: It would be better if we arranged a time when parents could call us or us them, especially if we are at a party, because otherwise we may not hear our phone.

Adolescent 3: Also if you drop us at a place you must trust that we will be safe there.

Father 2: Is it embarrassing if we call you when you are at a party?

Adolescents: No, not at all, it is just that when we are at a party that is our time to socialize with our friends.

1.5 Father 1: Lets go back to the question of should we be influencing them? It is a fact that a daughter has her father as her first male role model and if there is a lack of communication or love in that relationship it is a fact that the first boy that comes along and you get a hint of love that you didn't have from your father more than likely you will have a relationship or take it further. I want to make it clear that I don't think there is any father here who doesn't love their child and if things break down the most important thing is to remember that your dad loves you because if you feel unloved and you go into a relationship with a boy you must think very carefully.

Adolescent 3: What does that mean?

Father 1: It means that if the relationship between you and your father is not good, then the first boy that comes along you will think you are in love with him and you will probably take the relationship further physically.

Facilitator: What your dad is saying that, say for example you don't have a good relationship with your father, you didn't feel that he loved you, or felt that he didn't give you attention or you feel that you are not good enough for him, and then you meet a boy, you may look to him to show you the love that you are looking for from your father. So there is a risk that you will look to the boy to meet all the needs that you feel were not met by your dad and you may try to please him and keep his love, by doing more than you should or feel comfortable doing and all for the wrong reasons.

Father 5: I think in everything we do, we do influence our children by example, and so the question is not should we be influencing them. The truth is we are influencing them, we need to look at the things that are the foundations of relationships: dependability, reliability, and knowing that, not matter what, your parents are there for you … somebody that you know

irrespective of what happens will be there for you. They need to know that our job as parents is to equip them to cope with difficult situations and that we are not trying to be difficult. Has your dad ever ignored your call? I bet he hasn't, so those are things that are examples of how you do influence people by behavior. It is one thing to say you must behave in this way but if your mom or dad behaves differently then there is a problem, so I think we do influence you by our actions.

1.6 Facilitator: When we met, the dads said: our job as parents is to equip our children to cope with difficult situations and we are not trying to be difficult.

Facilitator: The dads also said that they feel better when you stick with people in your age group because older boys make them feel nervous.

Laughter from the girls

Adolescent 2: Girls are about 2 years more mature than boys so is it ok for boys to be 15-17 years old?

Facilitator: Ok dads so if your daughters had a boyfriend what sort of age group would you find acceptable?

Father 2: Somebody who is not out of school.

Adolescent 2: If our friends want to go out with a guy who is even in matric we advise them that the guy is a bit old for them.

Father 2: Are you saying that you would be uncomfortable in that situation? With a guy that much older than you?

Adolescent 2 and Adolescent 3: Yes.

Father 3: The age gap matters less when you are much older because by then you are both emotionally mature.

Father 5: A sixteen year old guy is more mature than a fourteen year old guy just as sixteen year old girls are more mature than fourteen year old girls. I don't know how many girls in your group are sexually active. But, trust me, sixteen and seventeen year old girls are sexually active and they are only a year and a half older than you. I'm not saying these girls are in your peer group but generally this is true. You have got to just accept that you guys at your age think you know who you can trust and who you can't. It's like that old cliché of the girl who made a speech at 21st birthday and she said when I was thirteen my dad was such an idiot who didn't know anything and now that I'm 21 I can't believe how much he's learned. Believe me it's not that the dad has suddenly learned so much it is that in the future, with time, you get the perspective of a father.

Adolescent 7: We know our boundaries; we know that if we go too far it will be a mistake. What we stand for is what guys should respect.

Father 5: I'll give you an example, there was a big issue recently about smoking hubbly bubbly, and every one of you will say it's harmless …

Adolescent 3: Uh Uh, think it's disgusting.

Father 3: Father 1 has got an unbelievable article on that …

Father 5: I have done some research and it's not harmless!

Father 2: It is actually very dangerous!

Father 1: It's the introduction to so many more harmful substances.

Father 2: Yes, it's a gateway drug, it opens the gate to this and that and so many more dangers.

Father 1: We had a long discussion about date rape. At your age people are putting things into ice blocks and into drinks. We are sitting at home, you are at the party and want to stay there another half an hour and then another half an hour. Some of these seventeen-year-old guys have one thing on their mind, I promise you! Now if that situation arises and suddenly you feel drowsy, what do you do?

Adolescent 8: Call my dad.

Father 1: Would you?

Adolescent 1: I would call my mom.

Adolescent 3: I would go to a friend (girls agree).

Adolescent 8: I would go to a friend who was completely sober or normal and tell to her that. If something happens to me, like I pass out or something, please call my dad.

Adolescent 3: Or my mom.

Father 1: You should all know that, you should all know that if something happens to me just call my dad, here is his number.

Adolescent 3: We do know that and we all have each other's phone numbers.

Father 1: You should know that the first person that you phone is your father -before your mother - because your father won't overreact but he will react, your father won't be cross with you, he will come through and he will sort it out. He will come quickly and he will do it without emotion.

Facilitator 1: Yes, and it may not be a bad idea for you girls to have each other's dads numbers. You all made a big thing about being a group and hanging out together and looking out for each other maybe you should all have each other's father's numbers so if you need to call your friend's father you have the number and can act quickly.

Father 2: Yes and we should all get each of the girls' numbers.

Father 1: Yes we should get all the girls numbers too!

Facilitator 1: Yes, you know, you all told me that you liked the fact that your moms are friends and have tea together and can chat together so maybe this is where the dads can play a role too. Perhaps, for you to have each other's fathers numbers could be a good idea, because what Father 1 said is true, your dad will come if you need him and he will act and be there for you and may not necessarily become as emotional as moms would become, generally speaking.

1.7 Father 1: Even if you have had a bad day with your dad or a bad week you must know that there is no doubt, everything else comes second and it's your safety and your security that comes first.

Father 2: And that applies to all of you, not just one of you, all of you! We are all responsible for all of you. But Adolescent 7 you made an interesting point, you said dad please trust me because I know where my boundaries are.

Adolescent 7: Yes, like we've all decided where our limits are and we don't want to go further than that. I know that basically I'm saving myself for marriage and I've told everyone.

Father 2: Okay, good.

Adolescent 7: Like if a guy comes up to me and was like hey will you have dinner with me, if he doesn't respect me then why would I want to be with him?

Father 2: Yes, but the point that I want to make is, and that's why we're sitting here, is once you've had a drink or two drinks or somebody has given you something you don't want or slipped a drug into your drink, where do those boundaries move to? Or do they stay in the same spot. That's what we talking about here, those boundaries might change because somebody is doing something that you don't like, like adding something to your drink or you have had a drink too many.

Father 3: It happens so quickly that most of the time you won't even know, it is so quick if your drink is spiked that the next thing you know you're out and you don't know. That's when the rest you have to keep an eye out for each other.

Father 5: I was just about to make that point; I will never allow Adolescent 7 ever to go out on her own to a club or something ever.

Adolescent 7: I wouldn't want to. One thing you guys don't understand is that we're not just friends we're like a family, it is not like one break one of us will be with them and the next we are with someone else, we stick together all the time, we are best friends. There is not a chance I will ever go anywhere and not invite them all.

Father 1: Let's say you go to a place and you are out of your environment and its 21:30 or 22:00 and you have isolated yourself somewhat with another group or a boy or whatever it is, your friends are all dancing or whatever, you have got to recognize the security or the insecurity that you are in at that place. You need to know where your friends are, because there are bad guys out there, there is abduction and horrible things that happen and I don't want to paint the picture that guys are horrible. There are lovely guys out there. Once they've

gone through the pimply stage and that, they are really nice guys but there is a phase that they go through. Their hormones are going and they thinking about one thing.

Adolescent 1: Which Stage?

Father 1: They go through a sexually active stage.

Facilitator 1: What sort of age group?

Fathers: Fifteen, sixteen, seventeen onwards.

Father 2: Those are the guys you can maybe deal with, there are also the guys that you can't deal with and that's what we're worried about.

Father 1: What I'm trying to say is if are not in a safe environment, whether you are in Town or wherever, like you girls were that one night that I tried to phone you, there were three guys around you, you remember? I eventually picked you up and you told me that you were scared that was a panic stage for me and I arrived there, another 5 or 10 minutes and that thing would have been ugly. I had one of those guys checking me out and he's a kid (18 / 19 years old) and he challenged me almost. I would have taken him out one time. I'm telling you there were more guys than a couple of you and if there is a bush around the corner or a building, you don't want to know what could happen. If you are out of your secure environment, when you realize you are out of that environment you've got to pull your resources in closer to you.

Facilitator 1: Girls, I don't want to frighten you but, security guards are not always okay people.

Father 5: And the police.

Father 2: Most of the thefts that happen in the States are organized primarily through the security system.

Adolescent 8: Dad you can't generalize that, maybe a lot, but not all.

Father 2: What we trying to say is if there is one problem person and you are involved in that one, there is a problem.

Facilitator: I don't want to go down horror story roads but here is a story to illustrate what your fathers' are trying to say: My daughter has just turned 24 and she was away with us for the weekend. Her friends had all gone to a club in Cape Town and she would have been there if she had been in Cape Town, she just happened to be away with us. The next day one of her friends phoned her to say that they had gone to the bathroom together and while they were in there a stranger (another girl) ran in, hysterical, saying "I've just been raped, I've just been raped." One of my daughter's friends who was in the bathroom is actually doing her practical year as a doctor, so she stepped in and started talking to the girl and eventually took her to a doctor. What had happened though was that this girl had been at the club with a group of friends and somehow she got separated from her friends. She went to a security guard and explained to him that she had mislaid her friends and asked him to help her find them. He, apparently, started walking her around and afterwards she realized that he was disorientating her because he was walking her into an isolated area and then there was some room that he pushed her into and raped her. That was in the club where her friends were.

Father 1: You know you've got no chance against a strong male or a male with a knife or something, you have really got no chance.

Father 2: We don't want to paint a horror story all we are saying is just try and stick together, when you start drifting into a sort of zero zone pull yourself back in with the crowd.

Facilitator 1: Yes, it's about looking out for each other so if somebody is drifting away you can call that person back.

Adolescent 3: That's really scary.

Facilitator 1: No, Adolescent 3 you know what, we not trying to scare you!

Father 5: There is one point I want to make to all of you. You guys come from very privileged backgrounds. You live in different environment to the rest of the world. Now the one thing I would love to be able to do for us as a group is to go into one of these really seedy places to see what happens. I can tell you this for nothing, so many of the 18, 19, 20 year olds and I'm talk about males are out of it. They are on tic or something like that and have no concept of reality in terms of boundaries etc. and you are fair game.

Father 2: In fact you are the game that they want.

Father 1: It's the biggest pandemic now of smoking and drugs ever in this country. In our day, in the old surfer day you would have an odd guy sitting on a rock having a joint and going surfing whatever. Now it's the norm, I've spoken to the kids, my son for instance, I said what happens with drugs he says dad it's just normal, all the guys do it. I say what do you mean normal and he says it's like drinking, the guys smoke grass some hubbly and a bit of this or grass on its own or mix it with something else. That to me is scary, because first of all the guys are messing with their brain cells big time and the excuse is they say grass is much better than alcohol. Yes alcohol is also is really bad, it's probably attributed to more deaths in the world than anything else and fights and divorces but it's no excuse, dagga is a drug. It is an illegal drug and guys are doing it and you have got to be aware of it. It's not only the grass it's what they are mixing in with it as well. Our children need to be aware of this. Also, their drinks get spiked and then they're raped – it is happening all the time. That is scary

Father 5: They are out of control.

Father 3: They are totally out of control and they don't care about you. There you are, they decide that's who I want and that's it.

Father 1: Adolescent 1, when I see a young girl hanging around the streets, when I go to pick up your brother, from a club or wherever he is. I see these single young girls not much older than you, probably your age, and you can see they are out of their minds sort of drifting around smoking a cigarette. That is like fair game for anybody, Nigerians, anybody.

Father 5: It's the same with girls hitchhiking.

Father 1: Sex-slave trade. They will kidnap you and will send you somewhere else.

Father 3: The other day I saw two young girls that were probably seventeen or eighteen hitchhiking in the night. I mean that is ridiculous.

Father 4: I just want to make my point and it's totally different. It's not really like this thing. Adolescent 2's older sister is in London at the moment and I had only one chance to really give her one piece of information. I had thought about this for a long time and I think the strongest weapon these girls have is their intuition and I said to her if you enter or approach any situation that you at all don't feel comfortable with turn around and walk away. Now if you apply that to everything you go into and if whether it be that drink you don't feel comfortable with or whether it be a boy that you don't feel comfortable with, turn around and walk out because there are a lot of evil people out there.

Facilitator 1: Absolutely and don't have drinks in glasses if you go out. Order your bottle of water and keep it with you. If you put your drink down don't pick it up again.

Father 2: You know what's going to happen these kids are all going to turn into nuns one day.

Laughter from the group.

Father 5: I want to say another thing if I may. I was in America as well about two months ago and Andrew had his 21st birthday and the big thing in America is drinking and driving. Here people still drink and drive, there they don't. They draw their line and people don't cross it. Anyway, one of Andrew's friends had been drinking and got into his car and they took his car away. This guy got abusive with his own friends and said I AM driving my car! But his friends wouldn't allow him to because he was drunk. The next day he was so thankful. Because what happens when you are drunk is that you become irrational and unreasonable. I was saying to my wife, why I won't allow Adolescent 7, or my wife, to go out on her own to an unsafe environment, a club or anything is because you guys are responsible for each other. You have to look out for each other because if something happens to my daughter I'm going to come to you, her friends, and say: You saw what was going on so why didn't you do something? You are all responsible for each other.

Father 1: Father 5 I don't feel that if an incident happened, I don't think that any of the other kids could get blamed for it.

Adolescent 2: Yes.

Father 5: Maybe not blamed but if you see somebody is unsafe, if somebody is drinking and driving, you stop him. Don't let them drink and drive.

Adolescent 3: Yes, we understand that.

Father 2: Never ever get into a car with a guy that is out of his bracket. It's like signing your death warrant.

Father 5: And if someone else is drinking and driving, it's the same.

Facilitator 1: Yes, you don't do it. You know what I said to my children. If they go out to a club or a party and anything happened – if they were uncomfortable, or they felt things were not okay or they didn't feel okay - they could phone me or my husband and we would fetch them. This was the deal, we would fetch them, no questions asked, but if they didn't phone us and we found out there had been drinking and they hadn't phoned us or if they got into a car with someone who had been drinking, forget it, there would be many questions to answer and consequences. That was our deal, obviously I was dying to know why they had phoned us and in the end they usually did tell us what had happened. But my deal with them was if they phoned and said please fetch me I will come, I will ask if they are okay and drive them home, even if I suspected that they had been drinking I would not say anything because they had been responsible enough to call me, and we had a deal.

Father 2: Adolescent 7, if you phone your dad and you don't get through to him, you phone me. Even if its 3 am I will fetch you and vice versa with any one of you.

Father 5: I want to say one more thing, the one thing I want to promise all of you. Every one of these fathers have been there, we were the naughtiest bunch you have ever known, believe me. We drank and drove, we smoked weed. We didn't have a bong in our times but I'm saying we tried it (dagga). We got into fights; we got into all sorts of things I promise you. And I couldn't phone my father.

Father 4: We didn't have cell phones then!

Father 5: Even if there were cell phones, I couldn't phone my dad. You guys have one big advantage and that is that you can pick up the phone and call or you can send a message and we will come and we are not going to judge you, we just want to love you and make sure you are safe. You are far off better than we were, we were idiots. Up until 24 years ago I smoked

30 to 40 cigarettes a day. Believe me when we smoked they didn't have warnings on the packets, they used to say it was cool to smoke.

Adolescent 3: It's not cool to smoke anymore.

Father 1: There is a cycle of where you girls are and where your parents are at the moment. There is a whole rebellious thing you go through at this stage where you think your parents know nothing, you will find out later maybe in your late teens or early twenties the reasons why these things are happening. We had this rebellious thing with our parents too. We wore the pointy black shoes when they said we should wear the round toed shoes or whatever. There was a whole era. The cycle you are going through now, you will understand that it's not because we are trying to block anything that you do. It is purely because we want to protect you and maybe it sounds over protective but it's purely because we love you kids – that's all.

Adolescent 3: Can we make that deal. I like that deal that, Facilitator 1 told us about, if I am in trouble and I phone you, dad, can you just not be cross with me.

Father 3: Absolutely.

Adolescent 3: If I'm not drunk or not on weed or anything.

Father 2: Even if you are on weed and you phone us, we are not going to be cross with you.

Adolescent 3: Even if I'm perfectly fine and I am with people that are drunk etc. and I phone you, you are not allowed to shout at me. You not allowed to say why are you with these people and judge the people that are around me and no questions unless I say something.

Father 3: Okay.

1.8 Facilitator 1: There was a strong point the girls made about judging, about needing their parents' not to judge their friends. Are the fathers happy with the deal that Adolescent 3 is proposing?

Father 5: I'm happy to say from my point of view that you can phone me. I will never shout at any of you, I will never judge you I will just love you because I care for you. I'm sure your fathers feel exactly the same. You girls must also understand that sometimes when something happens we get such a shock that we do overreact but it is because we are worried not because we are cross. We respect the tremendous way the youth of today socialize and care for each other. But as fathers, we worry!

Father 2: I think that if we carry out this agreement the love bond will actually grow and you will get that mutual respect. Can we say that it is an agreement that if you are in trouble and you don't phone that we will get pretty upset?

Adolescent 3: Yes, then you can be cross.

Father 3: I think there is a wonderful bond between you girls and us. It is a fantastic bond. You are friends with us and we are friends with you even though we are your dads and that's really great but it's when that situation arises that,

Adolescent 3: And if it doesn't rise?

Father 3: Well that would be great!

Facilitator 1: You know what Adolescent 3, try it out. If you are out and you are feeling uncomfortable phone your dad and say, "dad I don't feel comfortable don't you want to come fetch me?" Let them show you, let them fetch you no questions asked because then you will start to know more and more that actually they really are okay with this.

Father 1: I was overseas in my early twenties. I was living in London and I went through a bad time experimenting with the wrong things and I had come from a poor family. One day I phoned my dad and told him that I needed to come home and you know what, there was not questioning from him, he just sent me a ticket and I came back. The only reason I came back home was because of that bond with my family. If I never had a relationship with my family I would have stayed there and done something else. I seriously needed something or some foundation and it was my family.

Facilitator 1: Okay, girls I am the witness to this deal. Are you happy with this deal?

Girls: Yes!

Adolescent 3: The whole thing with the older guys? I don't know what you mean about the older. How much older?

Adolescent 7: You can't say that all older guys what to have sex. There are some guys that care about what you want. There are some guys that will stay with you just because they like you and not because they want to have sex.

Facilitator 1: Those are the kind of guys that you girls should be going for. Those who would respect you. So what is your definition of an older guy Adolescent 3?

Adolescent 3: Up till seventeen then you can go higher.

Facilitator 1: You fifteen so you talking two years

Father 5: Two years is like to the Matric dance, is that acceptable?

Girls: Yes, your parent can pick you up before the after party or it is up to your parents allow you to go to the after party or not because you are not in matric yet. It's like one opportunity obviously you would want to go and it is at school.

Girls: Normally the grade goes with the grade to the matric ball but if you (the girls) were in grade 10 and your boyfriend is in matric, he can take you to the matric ball and if you in matric and your boyfriend is in varsity you can take him to the matric ball, it is aloud. You can go with some older but not with someone younger then grade 10.

Father 4: I don't agree with the rules. If you like that person then you should be able to go with that person.

Father 5: If you had to come home and tell me that some guy wants to take you to a Bad area high school's matric dance?

Adolescent 1: Where is that?

Father 5: In gangster land – a really bad area. Then it has nothing to do with age actually. It has to do with the individual. If he is respectful, etc. You (pointing to his daughter) will never be allowed to go to a matric dance with a boy I have not met.

Adolescent 7: Would you rather I bring home a sixteen year old gangster who swears and has earrings and does drugs and drinks or an eighteen year who respects me and likes me.

Father 5: I would rather have somebody who respects you.

Adolescent 2: You know, talking about age, we are not looking at the guys in matric but especially at a school like our school, there are a lot of respectable guys in matric. If you find someone that is not like the others, you can't not go for him because he is too old for you.

Father 1: Yes, that it is true and you know that you are more mature at your age, probably about 2 years more mature than guys your age.

Girls all agreed in unison.

Father 5: Can I ask you girl's one question? If you had a choice between protective fathers (and I think we would qualify as protective fathers, checking with the other fathers who agreed and added "concerned and protective") or fathers who say, do whatever you want?

Girls: We would want protective fathers.

Adolescent 7: Half-half, you mustn't always be protective, we must have some freedom in our life.

Father 1: Ok, tell me something, you are at a party and we give you deadline - say 23:30 that's the latest, and it's a really cool party, everything is going well and it's a Friday night and there is no school the next day etc. What happens when you say another hour, please won't you fetch me at 24:30.

Adolescent 3: You get so annoyed!

Father 1: Yes, we do get annoyed because we want to go to bed, we want to sleep. On your side what is going on? Why do you want to stay the next hour? Is it just to be cool?

Girls: So that we can have a good time. So that you can be sociable and in the vibe and because then the next day everyone will be talking about it and we want to be able to join in and say remember this or that and you want to be there to remember it.

Father 2: So you not worried about the fact you have an assignment to do for the Monday?

Girls: Its Friday! You have Saturday and Sunday to complete it.

Father 1: I'm not saying we should do it all the time but there are occasions where we can't be hard and fast on rules as parents and sometimes you've got to let go a little bit. The older you get the more we will let it go but it all boils down to what the result of that is. If it's a bad result and then that extra hour is not good enough and there is a whole fight and you say we

are terrible parents because you want another hour or whatever. You must realize there is a cutoff point to our tolerance so if we say okay another half an hour then you push the boundaries for another half an hour and then you're still not happy after that then that's it. Then we get really irritated after that and we say listen that's it. You have to realize that when we give you have got to accept what that is.

Adolescent 7: In our family, if I want to go somewhere, like a party or get together and it's in Stellenbosch and my mom has friends coming over for supper. She says I can go but she will come fetch me really early. So I say I can get a lift home later. I want to stay late so I can get a lift home from one of my friends' parents. Then she will say no I will come fetch you, she won't be open to it.

Father 5: If we know who you coming home with it will be fine. It must be someone we know and trust. If I have to give a lift to four of you I will never have a glass of wine.

Father 1: If I have been to a party and I have to pick you girls up in Stellenbosch or wherever, my wife will then come and pick you up. She won't even allow me to pick you up. You can imagine the repercussions of somebody who has had too much to drink, and we all unfortunately drink and drive and it is against the law. If there was an accident and 5 of you or 4 of you were in the car and the car roll. It's not your fault; we are totally responsible for you guys. I think every father here understands it.

Father 5: This all comes down to the safety aspect.

1. 9 Facilitator 1: And responsibility.

Father 5: And the consequences! I just want to say, it takes a split second to destroy your life. One split second.

Father 1: Another thing, you guys crowd into cars, but is a car is designed to take 4 or 5 people then that's it!

Father 3: There was a taxi that squashed 105 kids in it. A 30-seater bus with 105 kids. The worst thing is when they actually stopped the driver, he didn't have his license. He hasn't got a driving license.

Father 1: Before we get off the subject, this whole thing about drinking and driving. They have this Plett rage every year. We all know about it. My wife and I unfortunately picked the time of the Plett rage last to go to Plett. And the guys were having fun, yes they were noisy and had loud music (A lot of base and rap music). So we just moved out. We just pulled out of the place, after the first night we just went. We weren't designed to be around this whole noisy kids having fun scene. What is scary, though, is we moved into the Beacon Island hotel, and our room faced the long road coming down to the beach. A group of guys came down with a loaded beach buggy at 6 in the morning with or 7 to 8 guys hanging onto this thing (the buggy) flat out on the road. They took the life-guard's chair and put it in the middle of the sea and the sea started washing it away and then they started tearing stuff down. Another two guys they had met there joined them and they all piled onto the beach buggy again and they drove up the road flat out. Those beach buggies have no roof so if that thing rolls that's 10 guys are dead. Now that is irresponsible, it is drinking and driving. What I am saying to you is: guys get drunk, they get into a car and say come on its fine or get onto the back of my motorbike come on its fine I'm alright I didn't have that much to drink. Forget about it.

Father 5: The most influential words you girls are ever going to hear is "Don't you trust me?" The bloke is going to say don't you trust me - but if he has had too much to drink - forget about it.

Father 3: You guys say that to us all the time - don't you trust us.

Adolescent 3: But don't you?

Father 3: We trust you girls. We do trust you. You are very special girls. You are a great group of girls and very different.

Facilitator 1: Imagine if one of you wasn't around, how that would feel and just don't please don't ever have drinking and driving. Don't go there. If you do nothing else, that is good enough girls.

Father 5: The one thing I want to promise you, if any of you have your license and you have too much to drink you pick the phone up and we will come and fetch you no questions asked.

Adolescent 3: That's our new pact guys: no questions asked.

Father 1: If I bought Adolescent 1 a car when she turns eighteen and I find out even once that's she was driving and drinking, I would pull that car.

Father 1: I would do exactly the same for my daughter or son.

Father 5: The problem is that we do it and you need to realize that your parents aren't perfect either.

Father 2: The only reason we do it is because there is no one to pick us up.

Father 5: We don't drink to the point where we can't drive.

1.10 Facilitator 1: Okay when I spoke to the girls I asked them a lot of questions and especially I started off by asking them about their relationship and we started talking about support and there are two kinds of supports that came out. This is my word not theirs, now

there is the instrumental support that seems to be very specific to their relationship to their dads - providing for them, schooling that sort of thing.

Adolescent 3: We appreciate it.

Facilitator 1: Yes, the girls' appreciation came up very quickly. And then, obviously, there is also emotional support. Times with dads are special and it was quite interesting that the way they saw the dads' support is different in a way, I think it may be a bit like 'dads are there for us' kind of thing. So it was nice that they acknowledged both because sometimes as parents we feel that we are always just handing out another R100 and another R100.

Adolescent 3: We feel bad about it. We feel bad to ask for money.

Father 1: Do you get an allowance though?

Adolescent 2: Yes.

Adolescent 8: Well we should!

Father 1: Can't you live on R5 a month? Laughter from everyone.

Girls: Are you crazy?

Facilitator 1: I asked the girls about pocket money because I was interested in this. So we spoke about pocket money and we spoke about amounts and what they would be expected to do with the money. They spoke about R500 a month.

Father 1: R500.00? Are you serious? Does that include clothes?

Adolescent 7: If you are going to give us an allowance you have to give enough, like R700 so we can provide for ourselves.

Father 5: I offered Adolescent 7 pocket money, like a fixed allowance and she rejected it.

Adolescent 7: Yes, I would prefer not to get an allowance.

Father 5: I offered Adolescent 7 a fixed amount a month and she rejected the offer.

Adolescent 7: Yes, I did, because you offered me R200 per month.

Father 1: Adolescent 1 gets a R500 allowance and pays for everything except food.

Facilitator 1: They said that if they got that kind of money they would buy some of their own toiletries, pay for movies, supper (entertainment), presents for their friends and some of the clothes that they want. For example: If you had agreed that they could spend R400 on a pair of shoes but they wanted the R600 pair of shoes, they would put in the extra R200.

Father 1: Is that a good lesson in budgeting or finance?

Adolescent 2: Yes it is, it works very well. You learn to save.

Father 5: It depends on the kid. For example: With my older two children, if I give my daughter any amount of money, she spends it. My son, on the other hand, was overseas for four years and I gave him all of his money for four years up front and he got it right.

Facilitator 1: If you are going to play this game, you need to sit down and plan or better still do your research, go to the shops and look at various prices. You may think deodorant or nail polish, for example, costs R3-00 where in actual fact it costs R20-00. I ran a group last year with people from your school and it was very interesting because the parents were saying they thought R350 – R500 a month pocket money was adequate. When I asked the teenagers what they thought was a reasonable amount of pocket money, they said they figured they would need about R150 to R300. R300 if they needed to buy their own clothes. Those children have never had pocket money because when they go to the shop (e.g. Billabong)

they get their billabong t-shirt, their mom hands over the credit card and signs the slip. They think it probably costs R100. They have no idea. I asked them how many times a month they would go to the movies? If you go to movies and spur you have spent R100 in one night. They really did not realize what things cost.

Father 1: The scary thing is that they get an allowance, for example, my son has just turned 18 and I got him a little 1.4 Polo. Then he runs out of petrol and comes to me to tell me that he has not got petrol, he has to fill his car and that will cost R400. So I say yes, you are going to have to get a job and work for extra money, I don't mind putting in R50 or R100 but he is going to have to learn to pay for his petrol. So I explained to him that when his friends say lets' go fishing or wherever they want to go, they should chip in R10 or R20 to help pay for the petrol.

Father 1: It is a learning process and if these girls can start learning the value of money. If the parents just give money you will never learn.

Father 5: I want to give Adolescent 7 an allowance but she says no and Adolescent 2 says it does work.

Adolescent 3: I think it is much better to get an allowance.

Father 1: You should write down what you need every month and what you spend and where you can save. It will be the most valuable important thing you do in life.

Father 5: Why don't you girls work an amount out and come to an agreement.

Adolescent 2: R700, I buy a lot of things and it comes to that amount.

Facilitator 1: Between R500-00 and R750-00 was the amount the girls said.

Adolescent 2: I include my toiletries (face wash or new body cream), movies etc. I don't just go to the body shop or any shop every day and just buy stuff, I do compare prices and think about what I spend my money on.

Facilitator 1: You should walk through the mall and say to yourself I buy deodorant twice a month so that will be that much, if a buy one nail polish a month would cost that or if you like to go to movies every second week and if you go to movies do you go for coffee afterward or the spur and if so what will that cost? This way you will be able to work out how much you spend in a month and what are necessary or unnecessary purchases.

Father 5: Can we give you girls a task? You girls decide how much and we give you that amount, say R750 a month for 6 months and tell you what that amount should include or exclude. Ok lets' say what it excludes …

Father 2: In other words you girls work out what you want to spend your budget on and what it doesn't include so that we know as parents what you think we should pay for.

Adolescent 3: But it can vary for each person?

Father 5: No, do it the same for all of you! You get together and work it out as a group, and then we give it a trial.

Father 1: What you have to bear in mind as well is that if you have to generate more money and I'm not saying you have to be child slaves but if at your age (14: which is illegal to work) you say e.g. dad I want to wash the car for R30 or R40, I'll say go for it.

Facilitator 1: Okay so there is a challenge for you girls. I remember a mother once telling me how her husband sat down with their son and asked him what he wanted to be when he grew up and the son gave one or two ideas and then the dad asked him what does that kind of

career earn, where does he want to live, what kind of car does he want to drive, how many children does he want and what are the school fees going to cost etc. This mother said that her son was dumb struck when he realized how much many parents actually have to spend.

Father 1: When I was 15 I worked at a sports shop, I was mad about motorbikes and made R25 a week and paid off my motor bike off and paid to race it. I spent my money on cars and stuff until I got sponsorship but I actually went through it without any help from my parents. They initially brought the thing but that's where I learned to budget. I didn't go to Varsity and that's how I learnt to become a businessman. When I buy an expensive car, I wash that car, if somebody bumps my car I feel it. That sounds materialistic but I have worked so hard in my life to be able to afford the lifestyle we have. You girls come from a different background, a privileged background. You can have anything really that you want. It is the controls that we as parents put in place for you that is important, otherwise you really won't appreciate things and then we are really doing you an injustice

Father 2: Can I analyze what Father 1 is saying? If we were alcoholics or drug addicts, you girls wouldn't be in your privileged position.

1.11 Facilitator 1: The girls said what they really liked was their dads showing an interest and being caring, those are things they appreciate about their dads.

Father 5: (laughing) Oh so I say "Hi Adolescent 7, how was your day?" She says "fine" then I say "What did you do?" She says "stuff". I really don't know what to do together. Whenever I suggest something my daughter already has plans. It really does seem that friends take precedence over family at this stage"

Adolescent 2: In the morning if my dad asks me what I have planned for school. I feel like I sound so boring but literally we have school and then sport. Must I tell him okay I have

math's first and then science etc. then I feel bad because I feel like I'm boring because I said two words.

Father 5: I actually miss taking them to school because you don't have to speak you just listen to what's going on in their lives. That's the only time you actually find out.

Father 2: If they don't talk then you know they are on their phone, or they are talking and on their phones at the same time.

Father 4: Touching on AP12's point about the value of having a couple of moments in the car while taking your child to school. Sitting around the table and just discussing the day, as much as it may be a difficult thing for everybody to discipline themselves to be there, is also an opportunity to spend time together. For us that is fundamental in our family - so every night for the last 20 odd years, it is literally sitting down for half an hour or an hour and just hearing what everybody else has got to say and has done and then getting up and carrying on with our own individual lives. I think that's very important.

Facilitator 1: The girls brought that up too. Perhaps we need to look at the questions we ask. This didn't come from them, this is from me. When you go "How was your day?" they go fine, "What did you do?" they say nothing. Now when you say things like "What was the best thing that happened today?" They can't say 'fine' and they can't say 'nothing'. So now they tell you something, for example "oh my word you should have seen what happened at school today. (E.g. this guy was really rude to Adolescent 3 and Adolescent 3 was so angry etc.). Then tomorrow when you are spending time with them you can ask them about that - did they sort it out, what happened etc. because now there is something different to talk about. They also said when you dads sms them, it lets them know that you thinking about them.

Father 5 and Father 3: We have tried smsing them and they don't reply or they say we won't understand.

Adolescent 7: Dad, just because I don't sms you, doesn't mean that I don't love you.

Father 2: Why is it that you never phone or respond to a sms from us?

Adolescent 7: Because I only get R100 airtime a month.

Adolescent 2: I always sms my father.

Father 5: I have very different kids, my eldest daughter will send me wonderful sms's now and then but Adolescent 7 would just send me a sms, "where are you?" We actually are interested in your lives.

Adolescent 7: You don't show your interest in a good way.

Father 5: We do, (E.g. I will ask how Adolescent 3 and her boyfriend are etc.)

Adolescent 3: You need to broaden your questions. If you ask how is my boyfriend, I will say good because he is, what else can I say?

Father 3: Okay, so give us an example of the kind of questions we should ask.

Adolescent 3: Well you could ask what school does he go to? Or when does he matriculate? Or when is his birthday? Or does he play sport? Or how was his golf going?

Father 5: We want to be in your world.

Father 2: We don't want to lose you girls.

1.12 Facilitator 1: Do you know that your dads want to be a part of your world?

Girls: Yes, yes we do.

Father 5: Can we sms you every day?

Girls all say no.

Father 5: What about Facebook?

Adolescent 7: Yes, he wanted to add me to his face book, he invited me once and I rejected him. He can have his own Facebook with his friends but I don't want him to see what Adolescent 3 said to her boyfriend for example.

Facilitator 1: The girls are at a stage now where they are trying to separate which is developmentally appropriate so they do want or need to have their space, their privacy, their world. But what Father 2 is saying is also valid, Father 2 was saying that as fathers we don't to lose our girls, we want to keep touch with you and this is what you are up against. Parents wanting to be connected to their teenagers and teenagers wanting space. The challenge is to find a balance. Giving them enough space but not losing them and for them to have enough space but feeling that they still connected.

Adolescent 3: Okay, that's the next point we need to discuss!

Facilitator 1: Okay, here is the next point and the girls said this about 10 times to me:

Father 1: Before we move on, I want to say that perhaps it is about finding the right time and way to connect with them. The other day Adolescent 1 and I went for a ride together on my motor bike and you know how special that was. If I died tomorrow she would always remember that day forever, because we did something special together.

Facilitator 1: You know, Father 1, Adolescent 1 told us about it and how much it meant to her. It was so special to her.

Adolescent 3: Ok dads, this point is so important, please don't try too hard.

1.13 Facilitator 1: That is the next point the girls want you dads to know, and they really did emphasise it is: Please don't try too hard. In other words they like contact with you and enjoy it, but please don't try too hard.

Father 5: What is too hard?

Adolescent 7: There is a time and place for everything. We will spend time with you, but not on a Friday night or a Saturday night at the mall. We don't want to go to a movie with you on a Saturday night.

Father 1: Going to a restaurant? As a family?

Adolescent 7: Yes, going to a restaurant, that's fine.

Father 2: Then when is the time?

Adolescent 7: Sunday afternoon.

Adolescent 1: Or during the week.

Father 5: I mean, can we sms you twice a week or three times a week?

Adolescent 1: Yes, that's fine.

Father 2: But we never go to movies with you, we watch movies at home with you.

Adolescent 3: Yes, but that is nice, just chilling at home and watching a movie together.

1.14 Facilitator 1: Another point that came up was: Just as much as you worry about them drinking, they get nervous about you drinking as well.

Father 2: We can't fault that point.

Adolescent 3: How about we say that when we go to the restaurant tonight there will be no drinking.

Father 5: Why?

All Adolescent Girls: Because you are our role models.

Adolescent 2: You know, this is a serious point.

Adolescent 7: Dad, I'm not saying you do this but, say you go out tonight and you drink 10 bottles of wine, the next time I go out, I going to be like my dad did it maybe I can do it. You said earlier that you are our biggest role models, not only you but the other dads are also our role models. You guys set the example for how we want to be.

Adolescent 2: It's just sometimes you must also respect us if we come across and say "You know dad maybe just slow down a bit with the drinking, you should respect that."

Father 1: We can't fault that logic, if you think about it so many fights, divorces and other bad things happen because of alcohol, there is no doubt about it, so that is a good point, so if your father is making a total idiot of himself…

Adolescent 2: But then we feel weird because then we feel like we are being disrespectful and it's always like "we are older then you, don't tell us what to do, I am the man of the house."

Father 1: Let me tell you the cycle of this. You are fourteen/fifteen years old and we are a lot older. There is no excuse for drinking but it is a life style. We are all successful businessmen. We live an incredibly stressful type of existence trying to work hard and to make a good life for you and our wives and for our families to do well. The stress relief is sometimes in alcohol, so if we are sitting after a golf game drinking a bottle of wine or whatever and get a bit silly, it's no excuse to drink and drive, but if the guys are not driving and they are being

silly there is a reason for that and you will understand that later in life if you do relax and you find a release in a drink, not excessively though!

Father 4: Father 1 is making a valid point.

Father 5: If you go to your dad the next morning and said dad I was quite embarrassed last night, you behaved in a way that wasn't great. I promise you it will make an impact because when your dad has had a couple of drinks you can't reason with him then.

Father 4: Why do you see it in a negative connotation because generally when we have a drink like we have tonight we are more open that's what alcohol does to you, we are not trashing your mothers etc. Why do you see it in a negative sense because I sense that maybe your experience with maybe others are part of it?

Adolescent 2: No, it's like we get worried.

Father 4: What is a reference point for that? It can't be your parents; it could maybe be that your peers that cannot handle that situation where as I think, we as adults can handle it.

Adolescent 8: We just don't want it to get out of hand. We not saying that when you drink you are going to go overboard but when you are drinking with your friend's maybe you have a bit too much.

Adolescent 2: Like after a golf day we know you guys want to have your fun and you can and we are not saying don't drink or whatever but then it comes to 22:30 and eventually 23:00. We also get worried.

Father 4: But what is your reference point – why is this such an issue?

Father 1: I'll try to explain: An example of a negative drinking problem is if I go sit at the golf course or whether I have a meeting till 21:00 at work and we have been drinking lots of

red wine, when I come home I am not in my normal mental state that I should be. So I come home and my wife or daughter might say something that triggers me and that trigger in that environment when you have been drinking can make you regret what you do or say and that is the problem with alcohol. In the wrong environment alcohol is very bad. So what I'm saying is you have to be very careful if you are drinking too much that you are not driving and that you are not taking that condition back into your house and using it negatively.

Adolescent 3: It's freaky if you around someone that is drunk.

Father 1: You know you will come back from a meeting and your wife will hit you with a R5000 bill that hasn't been paid by so and so, then a fight arises.

Adolescent 3: You guys also get a bit aggressive and it's scary to see if your father like that, I'm not saying this about you dad, I'm just saying in general it is scary.

Facilitator 1: It is something that the parents need to hear.

Father 4: It is interesting that that the girls are sensitive to this matter.

Father 3: Yes, it is.

Adolescent 3: We know once you have been drinking.

Father 2: (joking) Yes, we play our music very loud! [Laughter, the girls become very animated and all start to talk at once]

Father 5: You all have rights, as do we, every individual has rights and if you feel unsafe, say if I came to fetch you and I have had a bottle of wine and one of you feels uncomfortable, you have the right to speak up and say I'm sorry I'm not getting into that car with you I'm phoning my dad.

Dads: All indicate agreement with this.

Father 4: What would be good Father 5, is if that father did not take offence to that. But respected their view.

Facilitator 1: I think that the scary thing for them is it takes a great deal of courage to say something.

Father 4: But they shouldn't be scared to speak up. It's just like if my daughter was walking down a street in London and looks down an avenue and says "I don't feel good walking down there" and walks another way. If you girls can learn to do that you will be safe in life. The world is changing so fast and we don't have a reference point, especially about how to keep our children safe.

Adolescent 3: We are just as scared of alcohol as you are.

Father 4: It is not necessarily just alcohol, there are a whole lot of other things out there. If you can learn to trust your instinct and in any situation if it doesn't feel right, to listen to your gut and say: this doesn't feel right, I don't know what it is but it doesn't feel right, and walk away – you will be fine.

Facilitator 1: That is an interesting point – about listening to our gut and perhaps we should be more aware of this because how often is your gut right? How often have you in business or anywhere else not listened to your gut feeling and been sorry?

Father 1: Three times, recently on property deal, I totally went against my gut feeling and they were disasters.

Facilitator 1: Hear Father 4's point, it is a good life lesson. What does my gut say?

Father 5: None of these girls are weak they are all strong in personality and in general.

Facilitator 1: Another point was, don't keep bringing things up. So in other words if something has happened and you have discussed it and it's dealt with let it be.

Father 1: But you kids do it as well though! It works both ways.

Adolescent 3: We don't anymore.

Father 1: Anymore! Since today?

Adolescent 2: Well then we will promise not to do it and the fathers must do the same.

Father 4: We won't do that but then you must not repeat the thing that we discussed, you must not repeat the mistake or whatever it is.

Father 5: One has also got to accept that if we bring up past issues as a weapon e.g. you were so bad you did this! That's not the way. It is about did you learn from that experience and have you moved on from that. As long as it's constructive and not destructive.

Adolescent 8: Like the way you bring it up. Like if you say well in this situation this happened and maybe you can learn from that and not do that, that's ok, but if you say oh yes, you did this last time now maybe you're going to do it again, that's not ok.

Father 1: Can I ask a question? Do you find your parents criticize your friends?

Girls: Yes.

Father 1: That's a no no. I do it with my son. I say I don't want that idiot to come here he smokes and puts cigarette burns in my carpet. And I realize that all I'm doing is breaking down his friendships structure. There is a reason for it and I am a very strict person in business and I guess at home too, unfortunately I don't switch off that easily. I really want your opinion on this. Everybody said to me you think you have a problem with your son wait

till you bring up your daughter. She is a pleasure compared to my son. She is more mature and an absolute pleasure. That is criticism when I say negative things about her friends and it is actually taking something away from her, me saying that. I really do want your opinion on this.

Adolescent 3: I don't think it is fair. If I am not allowed to go to someone's house because you don't like them it's not fair.

Father 4: Yes but you need to think about that. Your parents would not say that without thinking about the situation. They wouldn't say that for no reason. With respect to your parents, you need to think about why they are saying no sometimes.

Father 1: I know who you are talking about and my daughter has been away with them and the way her parents operate is 'you guys go off and do your own thing' and I am not happy with that. I want to know if my daughter is away with a friend there is parental control and that they have boundaries. I am not happy if you are with somebody that says just go have fun and phone me at three in the morning if you want to come home.

Facilitator 1: Who is the problem with though, with the friend or the parents?

Dads: The parents.

Adolescent 2: Yes, but then if she comes to our house that should be different because we have boundaries so just because I can't go to her house shouldn't mean that she can't come to our house, and that is what happens.

Father 3: That is true, she can rather come to our house.

Father 5: I have no problem with any of Adolescent 7 friends. All of her friends that I meet in our home are fantastic. But, and I am being very honest here, I would not be comfortable for

you to go and sleep at Adolescent 1's house because Adolescent 1 has an older brother who has friends that smoke and burn the carpet. I don't even know these guys, it is not the individual necessarily it is the environment/circumstance. You have got 18/19 year old boys interested in you fifteen year old beautiful girls.

Father 2: But Father 5, you must also give your daughter credit!

Father 5: I do!

Father 2: For her judgment, she will be able to walk into a party and spot those guys and stay away from them.

Father 5: When she is 21 that's fine, but up until then she is my responsibility and I am going to use my judgment in these circumstances. It is caring about you.

Father 1: You would never be invited to our house at the same time that my son is having a party. It is totally different. The girls are 18 or 19 or 20 years old so it is a different thing and they go a bit wild. I banned parties after the last one because the guys trashed the house. I haven't at any time that Adolescent 1's had a party had any of you girls trashing the place. She is actually too scared to have friends around in case that happens and it is because of my attitude towards it. But, I would rather have her at the house in a safe environment then in Stellenbosch or somewhere like that. It is a perception of this whole thing.

1.15 Facilitator 1: Another thing the girls brought up is please don't say "Because I am your mom or dad" it is not a reason when you are saying no.

Girls: Neither is "Because I am the man of the house" or "because I said so."

Father 2: You know where that also comes from is because we give you a couple of reasons. We give about ten reasons why and have explained it. Then you fight us and eventually we don't know what else to say, we say those things because we actually do have the final say.

Facilitator 1: I understand that but sometimes it is just, "Can I go to a party?", "No", "Why?" "Because I said so". Maybe it would be better to say "No, it is not age appropriate" or "no, and give a reason, whatever your reason may be". For example, I explained to my children when they were teenagers, that I wanted them to have happy teenage years and that it is great to have fun and that was important but it was my job to keep them safe. So everything would be negotiable except when I said that it was not negotiable. I really tried to make sure that the not negotiable were few and far between. So when they came to me at the age of thirteen, for example, and asked me if they could go to a mixed party, say it's the first time they have asked that, and it feels like a bit of a curved ball, I would need to stop and think about it, so I would tell them that I needed time to think about their request or let them know that I was a bit uncomfortable with the idea and then we would sit and talk about it and then you go I'm not too sure, I'm a bit uncomfortable and we can talk about it, we can negotiate and set ground rules, I'm taking you, I'm fetching you etc. that's fine but when they come to the age thirteen and say please can I go to a club in Cape Town that's when the reason is no you thirteen, you underage, it is against the law and it's not negotiable. My say counts.

Father 5: I am happy to sit across Facilitator 1 and agree now what the non-negotiable are because its only when it matters that is becomes negotiable. Right now to go to the party in Stellenbosch might be fine until its somebody you don't knows party. You will not go to a club in Stellenbosch until you old enough to go. It is reasonable. What I am happy to do Facilitator 1 and I think it is a good idea, why don't we sit down and we draw up a list of negotiables that we all agree on.

Father 3: You girls have a perception of us is trying to spoil your fun all the time and that we are a bunch of old farts saying that did things in our day so why can't you. The problem is that you are our responsibility until you are 21 and fully fledged adults and can go into the world and do your own thing. Until then we have got to have those boundaries in place all the time.

1.16 Father 5: From my side and from the other fathers' side which I think we should do is draw up a list of negotiables that you agree to and that we agree to.

Adolescent 3: We did that with our moms as well. (Drew up a list)

Facilitator 1: At the end of the day the buck does stop with you as parents and they don't have to agree with your reason and they don't have to accept your reason. If your answer is still no it is no and we understand that but at least let them have a reason.

1.17 Father 1: I would like to arrive at a better understanding of my teenage children…of what they think of the way they are parented and what they want from us [parents] and for their own lives. I want to ask the girls a question. How do you feel on a day to day basis, or how do you perceive the relationship of your mother and father? Does that play any part in your lives?

Adolescent 2: Yes it does. If we fight with our mother or our father it destroys their day and their mind is on that all the time. It does play a role in our lives. It is sad and we get very emotional.

Adolescent 1: It is really bad when our parents fight, it is heartbreaking. It really does upset us.

Facilitator 1: Like your world isn't safe and predictable anymore?

Father 1: How does it make you feel?

Father 4: It upset your moms' for sure.

Adolescent 3: My parents fight so much. See even your friends would laugh if they knew how much you and mom fought and, it is very hard for me.

Father 3: We fight because of you guys.

Adolescent 3: You see and then you blame us. Now that is the biggest excuse and you shouldn't say that. We should not be brought into your fights and should not be blamed for your fighting. You also can't say that about drinking, you can't say I drink because of you like it brings down the stress. It's like us rebelling, I rebel because of you. That is just unfair. It's also like when you say to your mom you don't like it when her and dad fight and then she says well the parents how do you think your dad and I feel when you and your sister fight. It's so different.

Father 5: I mean we really shouldn't ever fight in front of you or say we fight because of you but what you mustn't do is try and manipulate. Meaning you go to your dad and say mom said I can go meanwhile mom doesn't know about it. It is important for moms and dads to check with each other. We need to know if we are doing it [parenting] right.

Father 1: But this relationship thing with the parents is a very big issue with the kids. That's the role models for their relationships in the future.

Facilitator 1: It's a huge issue. That is their base and their safety point so how ever scary and bad the world is out there and however they might venture forth, like you knew you would come back from England, that's exactly what it means. The questions the dads presented was would they like it any different in terms of their relations, would they like more one on one

time, we set up dates to do certain things and then it doesn't happen, sometimes as dads we have more limited time how best would they like to spend it with us and when do we do the communication thing and we don't want to lose touch came out again. The girls said there were lots that they liked about their relationships so they didn't want it all to be different. Things that they would like would be to talk about other things not just about school and sport. They want to talk about other things but they don't kind of know how to go about it and then if they do talk about their personal lives are you going to judge them?

Adolescent 7: It's like I would never come home from a party and say "Oh my word, you should have seen Adolescent 1 she was vomiting everywhere etc." Then my dad would say "that's it, you are never going to her house again."

Father 5: Believe it or not, I would rather know that.

Adolescent: But if we told you something like that you wouldn't allow us to go to Adolescent 1's house then.

Adolescent 7: Dad, I'm open I would tell you anything you want to know if I didn't have a fear of you judging what I say.

Father 5: I would never judge you.

Adolescent 7: You always judge the people you talk about.

Father 5: If Adolescent 7 told me that you (one of the girls) vomited in the flowers I would say that we love you, you are important to us; we just want to make sure that you are safe.

Father 4: We are 25 to 35 years older than you and your friends and have more experience than you guys and so we will have a different opinion to yours at times. You need to hear what we have to say and respect our views, you can even say my view is totally different and

then make a decision in between that, but don't write off what we say, otherwise you might be making a major mistake.

Father 3: Are you guys saying that there were a whole bunch of people at that party that you went to that were out of hand I am going to the next round say, honey I don't want you to go to that party or to that person place because of that element that is going there.

Father 1: What about if you had the trust in her in that environment to handle it herself?

1.18 Facilitator 1: If you just take that one step further. The trust to either handle it or the trust that if they don't feel safe they will contact you. I understand that as parents we are going to jump up and down and think if that's who/what you are visiting then you not going out to them. It is not helpful and is closing the doors of communication between us and we better to go "Gee whiz Adolescent 7, if you were at a party where that happened what would you do?"

Father 4: Yes, ask her if she would come home or would she handle it in your own way and why does she want to go there again?

Adolescent 8: You know what happens, you go there and this person is the most innocent person you have ever met and this one time they let loose because it's their birthday etc.

Father 5: Here's an example, my son had a friend, a lovely child. He used to smoke dope, drink etc. he was a wreck but what a lovely child. Every morning he would get into my car to get a lift to school and he got the gears from me about values etc., the whole lecture, all the way to school, but I never judged him. If Adolescent 8 was vomiting in the flowers I would be telling her that she shouldn't be drinking at fifteen years old, lecturing her on what she is doing to her brain cells etc. It's because we care not because we judging.

Father 4: What the girls need to realize is, is whatever we choose, you (Father 5) will choose something different to what I will and to what Father 3, Father 2 and Father 1 will. We all use different way to communicate to you that we love you and that we only want the best for you and that we will not always get it right but bear with us, you will be in that position one day as parents yourselves.

Father 1: I'm sure everyone knows that you (Adolescent 2) had a bad experience. You all need to remember that the bad experience Adolescent 2 was faced with could happen to anybody.

Father 4: That was probably the worst moment of my life! Driving around Stellenbosch and my child is dying that is something you don't want to walk around. It was a mistake that happened but we all make mistakes.

Father 5: I am so drawn to you because of that because you went through something like that, it could have been any one of you girls.

Father 1: It is only a close knit unit that knows about it and we are here to support you in it and it was the best thing that happened because it was an example of what can happen. It is important that we as parents knew about it and that all you girls recognize what can happen.

Facilitator 1: That was an example of not judging.

Father 2: We take it a step further. One day you girls will maybe have the privilege or the honor to discuss this same thing that we are discussing today with your kids and the values we talk about tonight I promise you, you girls will talk to your children about the same values.

Adolescent 3: Can I say something? We have spoken about this now and after tonight it shouldn't be brought up again. So if we say we want to go to XXX's house (the girl whose house they were at when they were caught drinking alcohol and where one of the girls had been taken to hospital with alcohol poisoning). Then you can't keep saying "no, look what happened last time".

Father 1: You can't look back on history, you have to look forward.

Father 5: A lot of parents now are really annoyed because of what happened but believe me it is probably a lot less stressful environment now to go to XXX's house than to go somewhere else because everyone is aware of what happened when you were there last.

Father 3: Your mom and I had a chat about you (Adolescent 3) going there, going to that person's place and moms said to me you know what that exact thing that happened to Adolescent 2 could have happened in our home. Think about it, everyone goes to bed, mom and I go to sleep, who's going to know whether you guys decide to sneak downstairs and grab a bottle of wine etc. how can we stop that? Then mom and I get judged because you guys want to go sneak around and do whatever you want to go do. So we can't judge and we won't judge, we all make mistakes. What happened to Adolescent 2 is a life lesson for us as parents. For example, your mom and I had a massive fight because you girls wanted to sleep over at our house (Adolescent 3) all the mattresses were in the room where the bar is and you know that we don't lock our stuff away. So after that incident mom said no ways, we have to move all the alcohol out, move it away from the bar. We felt more comfortable from the other parents' perspective doing this, from our perspective and from yours, but there is nothing that would have stopped you from opening one door from where you were all sleeping and still get to the alcohol.

Adolescent 3: That's where the trusting comes in.

Father 1: Whether you are 11, 12, 15, 18, or 20 whatever sooner or later you are going to take alcohol and experiment with it.

Adolescent 3: That is scary.

Father 1: Yes it is scary. The horrible incident that happened to Adolescent 2 is purely an example of what can go wrong, of how alcohol hits your system and how wrong it can go. If Adolescent 2 was in an unsafe environment and there were dodgy guys around who knows what could have happened.

Father 5: Remember that Adolescent 8 and Adolescent 7 got grounded for a long time for sneaking out. Nothing happened but lots could have happened that night. Like this think that happened at XXX's house with Adolescent 2 could have happened to anyone of you and bad consequences can happen in a split second.

Father 1: This is the first time we have discussed this specific incident. We will never, I promise you, bring it up again. You guys have understood, we understand it now. We will now put it to bed and we will put our little safety nets in place. You guys now must put your safety nets in place.

Father 2: Just remember this kind of thing can happen right through university.

Adolescent 8: You know, dad, even though we (Adolescent 7 and Adolescent 8) did sneak out, other parents like (Father 5 and Father 2) might have heard a different story from someone else and don't know the full story and they might assume something that did not happen.

Father 2: Why did you sneak out when mom told you not to?

Adolescent 8: Nobody specifically said “Adolescent 8 you may not go out tonight.”

Father 4: Adolescent 3, what you need to understand with no misunderstanding about this is that whatever the circumstances are your fathers love you unquestionably/unconditionally so however they react it’s just their way of trying to protect you because they love you so much.

Father 1: Should Adolescent 1 get drunk and fall down or whatever and she phones me and says dad I’m in trouble wherever it may be, my initial feeling will be that I’m upset and disappointed but my reaction would be that the first priority is her safety and security and to get her back safely and check if she is okay, put her in bed or take her to hospital etc. to make sure that that child is 100%.

Father 7: When you pick her up though you can’t shout at her, you should pick your times to talk to us.

Father 4: You also need to understand that if that is your dad’s reaction that it is not an evil thing, it is just his concern and love for you and that’s the way he reflects it.

Father 5: For example when I drove Adolescent 7 to the hospital the other morning, I was phoning the doctor at 04:30 in the morning. In the normal light of day you don’t phone somebody at 04:30 at night but when there is a problem you panic and freak out. Sometimes you don’t always react the way you would chose to in the normal cold light of the day.

Father 2: If you girls had a child, what would you do in that situation?

Father 1: You wouldn’t let that child go do its own thing.

1.19 Adolescent 7: You must also choose your time to talk. If you are mad at me you must have thought about what to say before you say something

Adolescent 7: Yes, but when I had run out of my insulin you couldn't stop shouting at me, saying that I was the biggest idiot that was hurtful and wrong.

Father 5: Yes and I'm sorry I over reacted but at the end of the day sometimes you react badly like what happened she ran out of her insulin and everything is closed in town, now she has a life threatening condition you can't get insulin in the middle of the night. Why wait till you run out when you can do it a day before or even a month before. I had to take her to ICU, she was in a bad state.

Father 4: You girls are great because you do all try to look out for Adolescent 7. I think we as parents are privileged to have kids in their situation. A great peer group and looking after each other, it is a unique situation.

1.20 Facilitator 1: Doing things together is good but there was a lot of debate about time and their busy schedule. Children today actually have longer hours than some us as adults. We drop them at school before we go to work, we finish work then we fetch them from sport, then they still have homework to do at home. They like doing things together but things like maybe more in the holidays than once a week because it's hard. They don't have time. I asked what the things were. They said not to go to dads sport events.

Adolescent 3: You guys must do what we want to do.

Facilitator 1: What they like is lunch together, golf in the holidays, bike rides, coffee, and movies on a day when no one will see you (Everyone laughs).

Father 2: Can I make an observation on that and I'm glad you brought this thing up about time. Their time is very precious and so is ours. So when we do have those quality times together and we go to lunch so now what I want to do is sit down and talk to Adolescent 8

and what have you. What is the first thing that happens? They go on their cell phones. We must both have the respect to say we turn off phones and then we can talk to each other.

Adolescent 2: It must also not be awkward talk like okay. So what do you want to talk about? It must be natural.

1.21 Father 5: I think this has been the most amazing forum. I would love to have this monthly feedback. It has been amazing.

Adolescent 3: Yes, we would love that, we have had such a good time tonight.

Facilitator 1: They (the girls) said don't try hard, be natural and don't shut us out by being on your cell phone or newspaper. So your needs are similar. One idea did come up and I like this idea, it's a very similar format to tonight. Where instead of sitting together just one on one adolescent and parent trying to talk together and sometimes feeling awkward. The girls suggested that perhaps once a month getting together – the girls and their dads and doing something together like playing pool or cards. I have never heard of this being done before and I think it is a lovely idea and maybe what you could do at the beginning of the evening, for a short while, for a half an hour or so, is to chat, check in with each other, find out how everyone is doing, what happened at that party etc. just chat and then start the activity that was planned for the evening.

Father 2: But what mustn't happen is the dads sitting chatting together in their group and the girls going off in their group. We have to agree that this is our night, a joint night.

Facilitator 1: If you are doing that then it should be Father 2 and Adolescent 8, Father 1 and Adolescent 1 versus Father 5 and Adolescent 7 and Father 3 and Adolescent 3 etc.

Adolescent 3: It would nice because then we all get to know each other.

Facilitator 1: Some dad here has to manage that it doesn't turn into the girls in the DVD room and the dads in the bar room. That's not the point. I think this will be something you will talk about forever.

Father 5: Right so lets' agree that we are going to make a date once a month; each one can take responsibility for organizing the get together and we will rotate every month. I think it would have to be Friday or Saturday night. Week nights won't work because we have work and the girls have school. It doesn't have to be the whole night.

Adolescent 3: I think we should do it from 5pm to 7pm because then if we want to see our friends or go out afterwards we can.

Father 2: We must work it so that everyone can be there and not have one person missing. The girls can bring friends but those friends must come with their dads.

Adolescent 2: No, I think it should just be this group, we should keep it a small group and not a crowd.

Father 4: Perhaps you girls should all discuss it together and then email us dads with dates for the rest of the year so that we can plan our schedules around this. I really think this will help us to feel closer and take the pressure off one-on-one meetings.

Facilitator 1: (On the next point) Please don't be embarrassing around our boyfriends.

Adolescent 3: Dad, I don't know why I have this big thing about bringing my boyfriend home, but I'm scared that if he had to come to our house, you will want us to sit around the dinner table and we are going to have to sit there with you and watch rugby or whatever. He is coming to visit me not you.

Father 3: That is where the respect comes in. I think your boyfriend is a wonderful guy. He is an awesome drummer and he's a wonderful musician, I would just like to chat to him.

Adolescent 3: You can chat for a few minutes, like 10 minutes.

Facilitator 1: They (the girls) also agree with your point Father 4, about chatting over dinner or lunch on a Sunday.

Father 5: Adolescent 3 I want to tell you one thing. We as fathers want the same thing. We all want to have a relationship with the boys that you want to date.

Adolescent 3: Another thing, trust us, we have made mistakes but we have learnt from them.

Father 5: The problem is, it's the bad mistakes that maybe you haven't made that could be life changing that scare us.

1.22 Facilitator 1: Yes that is fair. To wrap up, I asked the girls what they appreciate about their parents and the way they are parented and their response was: "everything they do for us". "That you do try", "That you do care" and that "You do want to do things with us, even if they sometimes do not take you up on your offers to do things with them."

Adolescent 3: Yes, you mustn't be sad if we say sorry we busy this weekend.

Father 2: I want to ask the girls something. Have you got ambitions? In terms of wanting to get somewhere to want to be somewhere or someone in life?

Adolescent Girls: Yes, we really do want to get somewhere in life.

Father 4: It's not always obvious unfortunately and there are a lot of people out there that don't want to do that. If you have ambition then our job is done.

Father 1: I think it boils to an attitude and a change of attitude that we may be talking about. That attitude is respect and trust and communication.

APPENDIX F

Appendix F

Group A – Adolescents about mothers

1.1 Introduction of the Study

1.2 Facilitator: Can we talk a bit about your experiences of being parented?

Adolescent 2: I have a good relationship with my parents but if they say like ten o'clock, I get so scared to say like: "No whatever", but then they like shout. They don't want to like sit down and say like maybe. They just think they are right from the beginning. Ten o'clock and that's it.

Adolescent 6: They say, why you always have to argue. It's like they say is it never good enough. You just can't accept no.

Adolescent 7: It was like at the PV carnival. He said he was going to pick me up at 10 o'clock.

Adolescent 5: When everyone else was going home at 12.

Adolescent 7: He shouted at me that he was picking me up at 10. And then I sat at the side of the road until 11:30.

Adolescent 5: Come on, I wouldn't complain.

Adolescent 7: No, I phoned him and he was really angry. He said he was on his way. So I was just sitting there and couldn't like have fun and stuff.

Adolescent 5: It's so hard. Our parents are like so strict. It's hard because when it comes to boys, they get picked up at 12 and we get picked up at 10.

Adolescent 3: But then how old are they?

1.3 Facilitator: So what are you saying? That boys are treated different to girls? Or older people are treated different to younger?

Adolescent 2: Boys.

Adolescent 3: Boys and older.

Adolescent 2: But when we are older, then we are going to be let out later. Like when we were in Grade 7, the time limit was 9 o'clock and now it is half past ten-ish.

Adolescent 5: But like if we were boys, we would be able to stay out till eleven. We would be able to walk around.

Adolescent 6: Ja, but there aren't like old ladies who are walking around wanting to rape the boys.

Adolescent 7: But boys get raped by boys.

Adolescent 5: But it is ridiculous. I'm not allowed to walk around unless there are about six of us.

Adolescent 3: Your parents just want you to be safe. You know how easy it is for a car to stop and just pick you up.

1.4 Facilitator: So are you saying it's a safety thing. Your parents are trying to keep you safe.

Adolescent 5: But there is a limit to safety.

Adolescent 6: But it's also like according to when they feel like fetching you.

Adolescent 3: But I always inform her. I like, phone my mom and ask her if I can go to John's house until 8:30. Then she says I am fetching you at 7:30 and I have already spoken to your dad and I'm not changing it.

Adolescent 6: But why not?

Adolescent 3: I know. It is so unfair. Ok I know it was a school night, but I have done all my homework, my bags are packed, I'm going to get home and go to sleep. I mean she could actually fetch me at 9:30 because I like only go to bed at 10. I mean why must she fetch me at 7:30. Because she doesn't want to drive. If I could drive, of course, I would drive myself.

Adolescent 5: My mom would not take me to my boyfriends' house, but I had no homework. And I told my mom that the only reason you don't want to take me is because you don't want to drive. I said that was an unfair decision because yesterday she told me that she would take me to my boyfriend's house if he couldn't come to me, if she could just talk to me, I would understand because then we would be included. So he couldn't come to me, so I wanted to go to him. No, I'm not driving you! Like I said, if she could just give me a proper reason, then I would understand. We could meet each other half way and then everybody wins.

Adolescent 2: It is also like with school work. So it's a Sunday and I want to meet up with a friend for lunch or something she says no, because I've got homework. I mean we go to

school and stay at school until 4 o'clock and do so much work. I mean can't I just take a 2 hour break. Obviously I am not going to be busy with homework the whole day. No, that's what she thinks.

Facilitator: I actually worked out that teenagers, high school children, have longer day than their parents. Because you are dropped at school before they go to work. They fetch you from school at 4 o'clock or whatever. And then when they get home, even if it is 6 o'clock at night, you still have homework until sometimes 9 o'clock at night.

Adolescent 5: My mom doesn't even work.

Adolescent 6: My mom does not work either.

Adolescent 7: It is different for me because I'm in a boarding house.

Facilitator: But you still have a long day!

Adolescent 5: She actually has a longer day than we do because they have prep until 9 pm.

Adolescent 2: Then it is like I can't do anything. I mean it's a weekend and I am SO busy in the week.

Adolescent 5: And we are only allowed to go out one night a weekend. That is so ridiculous!

Adolescent 3: It's stupid. I mean at our school we can't do anything with each other. We can't just chill.

Adolescent 6: I like my space!

Adolescent 4: Oh my word! My mom always knocks now. My mom is so caring. I love it.

1.5 Facilitator: Okay guys, what would you define as respect? What is respect? Is it giving freedom or giving you privacy?

Adolescent 5: Yes.

Adolescent 2: Its like if I have a busy day and I come home and it is an hour before supper and I go to my room and just chill. I shower, go on the computer, lie down whatever and then my mom will come in and like say, don't you want to come and talk to mom and dad, tell us about your day. But I just to be in my own space. I've been at school for eight hours. I mean okay, but they always want me to be around them and talk to them.

Adolescent 7: Sometimes they say things to us that we would never say to them.

Adolescent 3: I don't like the way my mom talks to me. But it does go both ways. I really am rude to my mom sometimes.

Facilitator: Is it the way they speak to you?

Adolescent 5: I don't really have that problem with my mom. I can also talk to my mom about things that I can't talk to my friends about. I get on with her very well.

Adolescent 6: Me neither! But that's because I am nice to her.

Adolescent 5: My main problem with my mom is me and my boyfriend alone. I don't understand why we can't be alone.

Adolescent 7: Mine is trust.

Adolescent 5: I sit down with my Mom. She will ask what my plans are for the weekend. I tell her I'm doing this or that and I'll ask her if it's okay. She will say maybe not this or that. We

will have a discussion. It is like last night my mom asked if I was going to the movies, and when we got into the car I was going to tell her I was going to watch "Turning 17", so I told her. I don't want her to think I go to the mall and don't watch movies.

Adolescent 7: I tell my mom some stuff.

Adolescent 2: I tell my mom, especially because of the hub. My parents are so anti-hub. I don't want them to think funny things when I come from the party. She asks about it and I say, Ja it was good. There was hub, but I didn't do it. She at least knows from me and doesn't hear from others and then she will like, "Why didn't you tell me? Why did you lie to me?" So she knows and that's like fine.

Adolescent 5: I don't think my mom trust me at parties. I was in Grade 6 and someone phoned my mom (I don't know who it was) and they said "Your daughter behaved inappropriately". And I literally did nothing. They [parents] need to believe that I will make good decisions and respect that and give me my freedom – it is my responsibility not to break their trust.

Facilitator: But that's sad.

Adolescent 5: We don't know who it was. It was someone's mom.

Facilitator: Are you sure?

Adolescent 5: Promise you! My mom walked into my room and said, "What did you do?"

1.6 Facilitator: Are you saying you should be more honest with your parents?

Adolescent 7: There are some people who are very honest with their parents.

Facilitator: What you are saying is that it is better to be more honest with your parents?

Adolescent 2: Ja.

Adolescent 6: My parents, they know who lies to them because of the incidence at my house. Their parents have come to my parents and said “No this and that actually happened”.

Adolescent 7: There is a perception that teens are difficult and people are suspicious of teens – but we are exposed to so much more and have to cope with a lot. All our parents know that we are exposed to drinking, to hub, but they are parents who don’t want to accept it. I know that a lot of our parents are so anti it and some of the other parents know that we have done it before. They are not going to say something in front of another parent.

Adolescent 6: But they shouldn’t lie. I mean we have to deal with so much already! There are stereotypes about our friends, peer pressure and our appearance which are not justified. They should just tell the truth about everything.

Adolescent 5: It’s like the other day we were at a guy’s house and Adolescent 7’s mom walked in and saw the hub and she just said, “Come, let’s go.” They don’t always need to take control, they need to be more reasonable sometimes.

Adolescent 2: Ja. They walked in, we were all sitting at the table. Adolescent 7 walked from the door and her mom said. “Don’t argue, just come.”

Adolescent 4: But my mom is very anti-alcohol.

Adolescent 3: You know guys, Adolescent 7’s mom has a perception of her as Miss Perfect. She lies to her mom all the time. She is very sweet to her mom. So everyone thinks that she is this perfect child, but in reality!

Adolescent 6: We shouldn’t be talking about Adolescent 7.

Adolescent 3: But if it affects us? Because our mom, well her mom doesn't approve of us.

1.7 Adolescent 1: My mom says that the boys are a bad influence on us. They bring the alcohol and all of that to the parties. They bring that into our lives.

Adolescent 6: That's rubbish!

Adolescent 1: Surely it's our decision if we want to do it.

Adolescent 7: There is no peer pressure.

Adolescent 5: That's what I absolutely love about the boys. They never force us.

1.8 Facilitator: What you are saying is that you experience no pressure?

Adolescent 2: My friendship group that I'm with, you guys and boys, I have never felt that I'm under pressure when I'm around you.

Adolescent 5: Like the boys ask if we want a drink and we say no and they just leave it. They sometimes say that's pretty impressive. Last night we were outside McDonalds and these boys asked if I drink and I said no, and they said that is good.

Adolescent 6: Were you embarrassed?

Adolescent 5: No I was not embarrassed at all.

Facilitator: This is from one of the parents. Do you think you show us enough respect?

Adolescent 3: No.

Adolescent 4: Not all of us.

Adolescent 7: Okay we are just children. We are not perfect. We are only teenagers and we aren't going to show respect all the time.

1.9 Facilitator: Do we need to be as worried and concerned about you and your safety?

Adolescent 6: No, they go overboard too much!

Adolescent 3: We have to learn how to do things on our own. When we were little, our parents did everything with us, but now we are older, we would like to do more things on our own…We would like to be given more personal space and parents struggle with this.

Adolescent 7: They always want to know where we are.

Adolescent 5: They always take things overboard and freak out.

Adolescent 3: Some of our friends went to another friend's house, their parents never phone and fetched them at eleven. And that was just for a chill session.

1.10 Facilitator: If you were a parent and you were their children, would you be as concerned.

Adolescent 5: You must be able to trust your children.

Facilitator: It's not you that they don't trust, its other people.

Adolescent 7: But then they must give us chance to prove them wrong.

Adolescent 5: They always say we will see when we have our own children!

Facilitator: But right now, you feel that they go overboard?

Adolescent 5: Yes!

1.11 Facilitator: Next question. Do you think you are going to make the right choices?

Adolescent 4: Obviously we might make mistakes but we have to learn from it.

Adolescent 5: Come on guys, we can't say we will always make the right decisions after everything that has happened.

Adolescent 4: We made a mistake!

Facilitator: What did you guys do?

Adolescent 4: We drank.

Adolescent 6: It happened at my house, twice.

Adolescent 4: Started at the carnival and we landed up at the club. It was my birthday.

Adolescent 5: Let's get real guys, not all of us went. Only like 3 people went.

Adolescent 3: I did not go.

Adolescent 6: Me, Adolescent 4 and Adolescent 7. We were in there for like 2 minutes.

Adolescent 1: I don't like the vibe so I left.

Adolescent 6: How could you not like the vibe? It was amazing. It was such fun.

Adolescent 1: When we were at the bathrooms, I mean, I was not drunk at all.

Adolescent 6: Whatever, there was so much puke on that floor.

Girls all giggling and laughing and talking at the same time.

Adolescent 3: After the carnival, the trust was done. Trust is an issue. But we have brought trust down.

Adolescent 6: My mom found out.

Facilitator: How did they find out?

Adolescent 6: My brother.

Adolescent 7: Let me tell you how my mom found out. I had a give someone a lift home that night.

Adolescent 6: Adolescent 7's mom phoned that girl and I answered because I was looking after Adolescent 7. She asked if everything was ok and I didn't want to lie. She asked if she had something to drink and I said, yes, she has been drinking. So she said she would meet us outside this one place.

Adolescent 7: She could see the difference between me and my friend. I told her that someone had poured a drink on me, so it smells as if I was drinking.

Adolescent 4: The thing is I didn't want to tell my mom. She still doesn't know.

Facilitator: I'm not going to tell her if you are worried.

Adolescent 4: Thank you!

Facilitator: You look so serious. I told you what you say is confidential.

Adolescent 4: I was meant to meet this guy and I was phoning and phoning!

Adolescent 6: That was the night they got mugged.

Major giggles and everyone talking at the same time.

Adolescent 7: Adolescent 4 starts dancing with this guy, then one of our other friends, then me, then the guy and then us again. Adolescent 4 was jamming and asking us if this guy was hot. Ten minutes later she is still dancing with the same guy and asks if he was hot.

Adolescent 6: We were all in the beer tent wand weren't planning to go to a club.

Adolescent 7: My sister was waiting outside.

Adolescent 6: We went in and everyone was coming back to my house and then we went to Spur.

Adolescent 3: Ja, and they had my phone.

Adolescent 2: Adolescent 3 and I are sitting at the Spur and it didn't matter phoning them because they would not hear the phone.

Adolescent 6: Can you remember Adolescent 3, you shouting at me. "You are drunk".

Adolescent 3: No.

Adolescent 6: I said "Adolescent 3, I am not drunk."

Adolescent 3: You were crying and I was shouting at you.

Facilitator: What happened at your house?

Adolescent 6: A few friends in the holidays.

Adolescent 2: Everyone drunk too much.

Facilitator: What did you guys drink?

Adolescent 6: We had a bottle of gin.

Everyone hysterically laughing.

Adolescent 6: It was absolutely disgusting. It was the worst thing! Bleh.

Adolescent 2: I thought it was water. Sweet, so I drank a lot.

Adolescent 4: My mom doesn't know about that.

Adolescent 3: I thought you could tell your mom everything.

Adolescent 4: I can't tell my mom this!! I really respect my mom's rules. I don't have a problem with it because she kind of understands. That's why I don't want to tell her and disappoint her!

1.12 Facilitator: I have another question. Do you think you could talk in a nice tone when we ask you a question?

Adolescent 4: Ja, we do!

Facilitator: Actually, we have dealt with that!

APPENDIX G

Appendix G

Group A – Adolescents about Fathers

1.1 Introduction of the Study

1.2 Facilitator 1: OK, you know what. Initially when Mother 1 suggested we meet (you girls and your dads) I wondered about the things that were going to come out and if meeting with the dads would add anything that the mom's hadn't already said. But it was seriously different, what the Dads had to say.

Adolescent 3: Really?

Facilitator 1: Oh, absolutely. And you know what? They kind of "get" you guys, in a way. You know what I thought was really interesting, they spoke quite a lot about how times have changed and as adults we just are not in the same place as you guys are, you're just way ahead of us with technology and everything [Laughter]. They wanted to know what is important to young people? They said that parents don't have the same reference point anymore as to what's important to you guys because you're in such a different place, because times have changed.

Adolescent 8: I've like tried to tell my Dad, he doesn't listen. We do talk to our friends more because they can understand more easily. Some of the parents are different. This does depend on our relationships with our parents.

Facilitator 1: And they wanted to know if they should they be trying to influence you?

Adolescent Girls: No!!

Facilitator 1: You know what your Dads' biggest issue was, and it was so different to the Moms. You know, the Moms spoke such a lot about communication and their relationship with you girls – about staying connected to you. But your fathers were so concerned about your…

Adolescent 5: Safety?

1.3 Facilitator 1: Yes, for the Dads the big question was 'how do we protect these girls'?

Adolescent 1: Ah...cute.

Adolescent 3: They are so cute. Why...what did they say?

Facilitator 1: They were just like you and could see that they felt helpless in a way about how to keep you girls safe.

Adolescent 3: What?! [General laughter, sceptical in tone]

Facilitator 1: They said, when they [meaning you girls] were this big [demonstrates small] it was so easy, they took you to the shops, they held your hand, they put you in a pram, but now you guys are out there in the big world, you're in Stellenbosch and out at parties and they cannot control that situation and that makes them feel helpless about it. They are worried, you can see they almost panic!

Girls: Wow.

Facilitator 1: I was so touched, if there had to be one issue, that's the issue for your Dads. Keeping you guys safe.

Adolescent 7: That's so sweet.

Adolescent 2: No! No. I knew it!

Facilitator 1: Your dad's had a lot to say. They were here for a long time.

Adolescent 2: We know, Our Moms were on the phone to each other, like "where are they?"

1.4 Facilitator 1: They also spoke a lot about how they respect the – this is exactly their words: "the tremendous way the youth of today socialize and care for each other" and they had such an issue with the fact – which I didn't know – that apparently you are

not allowed to hug at school anymore.

Many girls together: Really? Did they?

Facilitator 1: Yes they said: “That's so ridiculous” and they spoke about the caring you guys show each other and the contact you have through things like Facebook, they thought that was amazing.

Adolescent 3: What! Through Facebook?

Adolescent 2: My Dad says it's fascinating.

Adolescent 5: My Dad's like: “You're always on your phone, and yada yada” [rolls eyes].

Facilitator 1: No, serious, they see it as you kind of networking and that your connections are always there. They really respected that.

Adolescent 5: Really? That's so weird.

Facilitator 1: Really!

Adolescent 1: You're joking, my Dad doesn't know anything about technology [Other voices, agreement and dissent].

Adolescent 7: My Dad has Facebook. He just sits on his lap-top the whole day.

Facilitator 1: He told me but they said, it's so amazing the way you care for each other and socialize on things like Facebook and MXit and then he asked about safety, basically he wanted to know if you guys look out for each other?

Adolescent 3 : Yes, of course we do. Like that's the biggest thing.

Facilitator 1: Do you?

Adolescent 5: Ja, that's our main priority.

Adolescent 8: They don't understand how close we actually are.

Adolescent 3: Like 'I love you guys'. Our friendship means more than anything in the world. It's so cool!

Adolescent 7: But it's like, they'll say, pick one friend to go on holiday [Shaking heads].

All Adolescent Girls: We Can't!

Facilitator 1: That was something your fathers brought up – I could tell that was a problem.

Adolescent 7: We can't separate ourselves.

Facilitator 1: The Dads are talking about socializing and caring and looking out for each other, how do you do that?

Adolescent 2: We always stay together. We always make sure we know where others are.

Adolescent 3: If one of us is upset, I'll ask her if she wants me to phone her, if she wants to talk.

Adolescent 2: Even at school we stick together.

Adolescent 5: No, at school I go to the toilet by myself!

Adolescent 2: Adolescent 1 never goes by herself.

Adolescent 1: Yes, I do!

Adolescent 2: I'm just trying to make you sound like you're very safety aware.

Adolescent 5: I'm never alone, even in the bathroom.

Facilitator 1: Your fathers also said that they think that you guys communicate so much more with each other which is wonderful, and you're constantly saying I love you.

Adolescent 2: Really? How do they know?

Facilitator 1: Well, they obviously do.

Adolescent 2: No, but how do they know?

[All talk at once, demonstrating holding phones].

Adolescent 5: We're like couples: "No, you put down the phone first" [Laughter]. We actually do that.

Adolescent 3: I'm more like, “I love you” with you guys than I am like with my boyfriend. I'm like, “No but I love you!” “No, I love you more!” It's like, so nice.

Adolescent 5: I'm more playful with you guys. Like “I love you guys” [joking tone], not “I really love you” [serious tone].

Adolescent 3: OK, no! [Holding hand out, 'stop']. You're getting me wrong now.

Adolescent 5: [Serious] I love you guys. [More general laughter].

Adolescent 5: Not playful as in a joke, playful as in a fun, bubbly way.

Adolescent 2: OK, doesn't matter.

Facilitator 1: I thought you said you could be yourself more with them.

Adolescent 5: Ja.

Adolescent 3: What?

Adolescent 5: I can be myself more with you guys than I can with my boyfriend or my parents.

Adolescent 3: Oh ja, of course.

1.5 Facilitator 1: Your fathers also said that you girls talk freely even in front of them.

Adolescent 5: Ja, I can speak openly with my parents. We can say things like, “Oh my gosh, did you kiss him last night?”, and like “Ja”.

Voices: [horrified exclamations] No! No!

Adolescent 3: With my Dad, I'd talk more to my Dad about that.

Adolescent 2: But I remember...

Adolescent 3: My Dad goes, he is so tall, so you have to go like this and you have to go like [demonstrates kissing]. Dad, aargh! I don't kiss him!

Adolescent 2: When I talk to my Dad I don't talk to my Dad like “I kissed him”, it's more

general. Oh my gosh, Dad is so funny. Like “guys get this, and girls...”

Adolescent 5: My Dad can easily be like, did any of your friends kiss anyone? My Dad talks to me about all this stuff.

Adolescent 3: I can tell Dad but I don't like telling my Mom because she tells her friends.

Facilitator 1: But what's the difference? Why do you tell Dad certain things but not your mom?

Adolescent 3: Because Dad's more fun, like my Mom's more serious. My Dad is so fun.

Adolescent 8: My Dad's scary [demonstrates trembling hand].

Adolescent 3: Not to you, to other people. I like, I love your Dad.

Adolescent 8: No, but he says “Not too many kisses” and stuff like that.

Adolescent 5: I don't find your Dad scary. Not since Mauritius.

Adolescent 2: Adolescent 8, I nearly peed in my pants when he started to laugh. That laugh of his [general laughter]. Really weird.

Adolescent 8: It's only when he's drunk. [General laughing and attempts to imitate the weird laugh].

1.6 Facilitator 1: OK. So now let's talk about relationships with Dads. What role do you think your Dads like playing?

Adolescent 7: He gives money. Well that's what he thinks he does.

Adolescent 2: Well dads do supply, I mean they mostly are the suppliers.

Adolescent 8: My Dad won't give my Mom money!

Adolescent 5: My Dad doesn't give my mom money. Or maybe that's not fair [looks embarrassed].

Facilitator 1: The different roles between Dads and Moms, what do you think they are?

Adolescent 2: I just think that Dads are more, I've got a special relationship with my dad

because you're not always with him, you with your mom all the time, and because my Dad works more often and everything, but when I'm with him…

Adolescent 5: It's more special!

Adolescent 2: My dad and I actually get along well and everything, because it's just sort of like at the dinner table and everything he'll ask me about school and stuff and he's really supportive. Like when my Mom is more, say I do badly in a test my Mom is like, "Well why did you do badly?" and my Dad is like [soothing tone] "You know what, don't worry, try again".

Adolescent 3: My Dad is also like that. So chilled.

Adolescent 7: Then begins to speak, commenting on her Dad who come back from Gauteng and is "always on his phone".

1.7 Facilitator 1: [Going back to check the Dad's comments in the notes, reminds Adolescent 7 that her Dad is one of the people who spoke about dealing with change and one of the Dads that's on Facebook].

Adolescent 7: He'll say that to be cool or whatever but when he comes home he's completely opposite.

Adolescent 7: They moan at us about being on our phones or the computer all the time, but that is also what they do.

Facilitator 1: Isn't your Dad the one who said you could go on Facebook if he could be your friend? Should your parents be your friend on face book?

Facilitator 1: Do you think it's a good thing for one of your parents to be on Facebook?

Voices: No...What's the point?

Adolescent 3: I don't want my Mom to see what other people are writing on my wall. If they write the F word on my wall.

Adolescent 8: That is our fault!

Adolescent 3: It's all my fault, and she's going to think badly of him.

Adolescent 5: If my boyfriend writes something on my wall I don't want my parents to see because they're going to tease me.

Adolescent 3: I agree with you guys, right, I don't want my Mom on Facebook.

Adolescent 5: She can be on Facebook with her own friends.

Adolescent 3: Yes, and play Scrabble every day.

Adolescent 7: Every single day, she is sitting on her laptop playing scrabble.

Adolescent 3: It's so annoying!

Adolescent 5: [to Adolescent 3] and you should see their home pages, my Mom swears at your Mom so much!

Adolescent 3: Really?

Adolescent 5: Ja.

Facilitator 1: Oh, because they play Scrabble online!

Adolescent 3: They're cute. It's like so good that our Moms are, it's like they are such good friends.

Adolescent 5: It's like we're friends and our Mom's are friends.

Adolescent 3: They would choose to be with each other, like my Mom chooses to have tea with Mother 2 or whatever. They're not just being friendly, out of the blue they are friends.

Facilitator 1: What difference to you think it makes in your lives, that your Moms are friends?

Adolescent 5: Huge!

Adolescent 3: So much easier.

Adolescent 2: Because our Moms trust us going to their houses and feel confident.

Adolescent 3: Like on Saturday our Moms found me, because our Dads were playing golf together.

Adolescent 2: Our three Dads are so tight, they have known each other for ages

Adolescent 3: They go on golf tour all the time together. Then my Dad's quite good friends with Adolescent 8's Dad, because they're very similar.

Adolescent 8: With everything. They're like brothers.

Facilitator 1: And your Dad is quite good friends with Adolescent 7's Dad?

Adolescent 7: No, my Dad doesn't have friends [Some laughter].

Facilitator 2: They also spoke about how nice that is for them, that you two look out for each other [indicating Adolescent 8 and Adolescent 7].

Adolescent 7: Ja, but now my Dad wants to move out of the Estate we stay on.

Adolescent 3 and Adolescent 8: What! No!

Adolescent 8: You can't leave me in that place.

Adolescent 7: We're selling our house.

Adolescent 1: We might also be selling our house and moving somewhere else.

Adolescent 5: No!

Facilitator 1: Is there a difference in the way you communicate with your Dad and your Mom?

Adolescent 1: What?

1.8 Facilitator 1: Is there a difference in the way you communicate with your Dad and your Mom?

Adolescent 1: Ja. I relate to my Mom more than to my Dad.

Adolescent 5: Being a teenager is not easy. You know the nicest thing about my dad you know most “men” or boys, they don't do the whole period thing. My Dad is so good about

it.

Adolescent 3: If I'm grumpy my Dad's like, “ Adolescent 3, um...is it your time?” So I'm like, what, what you talking about? “Your menstrual time” so I'm like “No! Of course not!”, and it's like “so you've been a bit moody”. [Laughter]. OK but no, my Dad's so very understanding, like, if I'm talking long in the morning like because I needed to do that, he's taking me to school, it's like “Dad...just wait!” and he's like “No, no”.

Adolescent 2: And say we're going somewhere and I forget something and I'm with my Mom, she'll be like “No, I'm not turning back, this is your problem!” and my Dad he'll be like, “OK, just don't let it happen again”, but he'll turn around and he'll go back to the house and he'll help me get something.

Adolescent 5: I can talk with my Mom like about anything!

Adolescent 3: I can't talk to my Mom about anything!

Adolescent 5: I don't know, there are certain things that I don't like to talk to him about. Like schoolwork I don't talk to my Dad about schoolwork or sport.

Facilitator 1: Why? Is there a reason?

Adolescent 5: It's too, like, if I do badly, then he's like, he honestly expects me to get like 90% in math’s. At the moment I'm getting 60!

Adolescent 3: We're both getting 50, so what?

Adolescent 3: My Dad's chilled about it, my Mom is not. We do have good days and bad days.

Facilitator 1: I think what you're really saying is, it's not a “dad and a mom thing', it's about the expectations that particular parents have.

Adolescent 3: Like my Mom was like “Oops! But better luck next time”, but my Dad was like “If you want extra lessons, go get”.

Adolescent 8: Because, I don't know, he's like judging me.

Facilitator 1: Wait, let's listen to what Adolescent 8 is saying!

Adolescent 8: They might judge in a way, and they'll keep bringing it up the whole time!

Adolescent 5: Like maybe you're on your phone and they'll go like “Oh maybe that's the reason you're not doing well!”

Adolescent 3: That's my Mom! That's my Mom.

Adolescent 1: The same, that's my Mom.

Adolescent 2 and Adolescent 8: That's my Dad.

Facilitator 1: So that actually is not a Mom or a Dad thing, that's a person thing.

[The Adolescent Girls Nod agreement]

Adolescent 3: My Dad took away my phone. Not last night, the night before.

Adolescent 1: My Mom does that.

Adolescent 3: Because I'm like, I'm going to bed!

Adolescent 2: I'm scared! My Dad's in Nigeria and I haven't heard from him that often. It's like, he says it's like living in a huge shack.

Adolescent 1: Sherbet.

Adolescent 7: I don't really tell my parents anything because, if they did ask me, like, I'd tell them, but they don't really show any interest, and they don't ask me. So I won't tell them.

Facilitator 1: What would they need to do, Adolescent 7, to make it easier for you to talk to them?

Adolescent 7: I don't know! Maybe if they actually cared.

Adolescent 2: I'm sure they care, Adolescent 7.

Adolescent 7: Well, they might care, but they don't really show it.

1.9 Facilitator 1: But actually, you know, that's actually such a nice point that

Adolescent 7 brought up. How do parents, and I have absolutely no doubt – none – that your mom and your dad both care and love you, right? But you are not seeing or experiencing it? You know they love you, fine, they've said that. But they are not showing the caring in a way that's meaningful for you. How, what kind of, how do you want your parents to show caring in a way that means something to you? How would you want to experience that caring?

Adolescent 7: I don't know.

Adolescent 2: Like we said, with Moms like treating us nicely.

Adolescent 3: My Mom's gotten really good, like taking me out.

Facilitator 1: So are you telling us there have been some changes since the meeting with your mothers?

Adolescent 2: My Mom has definitely! Like yesterday we went for tea together and just chatted.

Adolescent 2: My Dad sms'd me last might and he was like, “Listen Adolescent 2, I'm getting back on Tuesday. Um...Your Mom and I were going to go to the Waterfront after I get to the airport”. He'll make me get excited for things like that, and so like you know.

Facilitator 1: That's nice!

Adolescent 2: And so then I know he's like thinking of me, and like, you know.

Adolescent 5: Because he sms's me [Adolescent 8 All the time!] and like if I'm busy then he'll sms me like 10 minutes, he'll sms me again, and I don't reply, “Are you ignoring me now?” And like, we went for supper, and then he sms'd me, “Oh so now as soon as you've taken everything you want from me now you're not replying to me?”

Adolescent 3: Oh, swak!! [Disgusted]

Adolescent 5: And it's irritating. It's fine, he can sms me once every [Adolescent 3: Week!] month![laughter]. You know, we're like, I know because we don't live with each

other anymore and I don't see you that often, but it's still irritating!

Facilitator 1: How often do you see him?

Adolescent 5: Everything second weekend, and then sometimes during the week.

Adolescent 8: Ja...I think they can communicate and stuff but there's a limit…

Adolescent 5: The line's here, my Dad's about here! [Reaching up to demonstrate excess]

Adolescent 3: My Dad's like a little bit lower. He's just all the time, he's like, after hearing you give this talk, then he comes, we must communicate more!

Adolescent 5: My Dad's always…

Adolescent 3: I don't play golf with my dad because he tries way too hard.

Adolescent 2: Also, I hate it when I can't do something with my Dad. I feel so bad, because he shows me that, like you know, bad, because "you said no to me". But like, I'm busy!

Adolescent 8: He makes me feel guilty!

Adolescent 2: But I can't, and that he'll just be like grumpy. And my Mom's like "OK, don't worry.

Adolescent 5: Ja, my Mom as well.

Facilitator 1: So you are wanting them to understand that sometimes you're busy?

Adolescent 3: We have lives, we don't just revolve around doing something with them.

Adolescent 3: Please write down, we said that!

Facilitator 1: I am.

Adolescent 8: They try too hard.

Adolescent 5: They must say it because they want to, not because they think that they have to.

[All Adolescent Girls nod in agreement]

Adolescent 5 My Mom's like the whole “OK well I did this for you why can't you do that for me,” my Mom's kind of like that.

Adolescent 7: Ja, same, like my Dad holds everything, OK, he drives me somewhere, he'd be like “I drive you everywhere and this is how you treat me”. He always uses stuff against me.

Adolescent 1: If I'm watching TV in the lounge or something my Dad comes in and he'll say, “Whose house is this”?

Adolescent 8: Mm! Oh my gosh. I'm there and he'll go like “the sports game is on right now” and I say fine, I'll go and watch in the room then. And he says “No, its ok” but “No! Dad, I know you want to watch!!”

Adolescent 2: Ja, he makes it so, my Dad comes into the TV room, “How long are you still going to watch for?”

Adolescent 3: Oh my gosh, I hate that!

Adolescent 2: And then , I feel so bad!

Adolescent 5: I don't feel bad at all. I've gotten so past that stage.

Adolescent 2: But now, because I know my Dad isn't always at home and I do like watch a lot of TV, so then when he wants to watch I feel, you know, he can, but then he's like “How long?” and I'm just like “Oh no, half an hour”, “Oh, OK, no, it's fine, it's fine” [placating tone] and then I go “Never mind, just watch! I'll go and do something else”.

Adolescent 5: No, my Dad, he'll be like, “Ja, so, do you want to do this, this weekend?” and I'm like “Sorry Dad, I can't, I'm busy studying”. “OK, fine”. And he gets all sad, and I'm like, “Yup. OK”. And it's [throws up her hands] I'm so over the feeling bad.

Facilitator 1: So the making you feel bad thing?

Adolescent 5: I'm so over it.

1.10 Facilitator 1: And what did you mean, about holding things against you?

Adolescent 8: It's like bringing things out that you've done, using it against you.

Adolescent 2: He'll be like, “I drive you round everywhere, why can't you just go here with me.”

Adolescent 8: Or, if we got like drunk, then he'll be like “Well, is there going to be alcohol there?” “No Dad, we'll just chill!”

Adolescent 1: And my Dad's like, “What's a “chill” to you?” And I'm like “we watch TV and stuff [laughs] and we talk”. And he's like “Oh, really?” [More laughter].

Adolescent 5: That's my Dad exactly.

Adolescent 8: Then he's like “You're not allowed to go walking off”.

[Discussion ensues about what fathers didn't know regarding an incident when some of the girls had gotten drunk].

Adolescent 3: I didn't want to tell them [parents] because I didn't want them to think badly of my friends. So I don't want them to hate my friends.

Adolescent 5: In a way it's kind of been like the whole, everyone thinks badly of us. Like, some of the friends aren't allowed to go to people's houses now.

Adolescent 7: Yes, I'm not allowed to go to [name’s her friend] house, and I'm not allowed at Adolescent 6's house.

Adolescent 3: I'm not allowed, well, my Mom doesn't like one of my friends. She doesn't like her and she's like “I've told you so many times” so I'm not allowed to go to her house. My mom says “I can't choose your friends I know but I'm really not happy with you going to her house”.

Adolescent 2: My parents always tell me, like, “Adolescent 2...We can choose your wealth, we can choose your health, we can choose your education, but we can't choose your friends”. And that's it, you have to choose, and then they try to influence me about my friends, and I'm like “I chose my friends, and they're all right, and you're not going to

change that!”

Adolescent 7: My parents don't understand that I can't change my friends. They say: “Adolescent 7, you're not going to Adolescent 1's tonight” and I say “No but you're being so unreasonable”, and she's like, “No I don't care”. Like they don't listen.

Adolescent 1: But, my parents don't have a reason.

Adolescent 7: Ja, same.

Adolescent 1: They'll say no, and if I ask them, like “Please tell me why, I just want to know why”, and they just say “No it's not negotiable...I said no, it's no!”

Adolescent 5: No, this is why. I said, “Mom, tell me why..” and she's, “because I'm your Mom!” “But that's not like a reason” - “No, I'm your Mom, I'm older than you”.

Adolescent 1: I hate that, when they do that.

Adolescent 5: That IS her main reason.

Adolescent 5: I try really hard to get my Mom to give me a better reason than “because I'm your Mom! “Mom, it's because you don't want to drive me there!”. “Well, so what if I don't, I'm your Mom”. “So just tell me, I can easily call my Dad and ask him to drive me”. If she doesn't want to take me, doesn't want to drive then she must tell me.

Adolescent 2: Ja. There's always driving, they always say ”I've driven enough today!”

Facilitator 1: And Dads, are they like that as well, about driving or are they better?

Adolescent 5: No, my Dad.

Adolescent 7: Ja, my Dad, he always shouts at me, like “you always think of me like an ATM and a driver” or something.

Adolescent 2: My Dad would rather come. He'll be like, “No, I'll come and pick you up in the night”. But my Mom's like “No, that's too late!”

Adolescent 3: No, my Dad doesn't want me to go out late. So what, like happened, I made

an arrangement with my Mom last weekend, like, “Mom, please can you fetch me from PA8's house at half past ten?” She was like “Ja, it's chilled, all good”. Then my Dad comes, and he's like “No – you're fetching her at half past nine”. “So I was like “Dad, what the hell?! I'm going there at half past six, now you're going to fetch me at half past nine, I mean!”

Adolescent 5: So my Dad says, “No, two hours is long enough”.

Adolescent 3: So then, I hardly see him. Anyway [general laughter].

Adolescent 3: Whatever. So now he forces my Mom to come and fetch me at half past nine. So my mom drove, and she went to, like, the 7/11 and she went to, she was like so cute [general agreement], and then my Mom and my Dad were like, my Dad was so cross! But then, like you make an agreement with someone else, like I've made an agreement with PA8 for his like, thing, and I've said “Listen, I'm going to leave at half past ten” and then it's all going to like, mess someone else's plans up as well. My Dad doesn't understand.

Adolescent 5: Like you start watching a movie at half past eight and it lasts like two hours and then your Mom's coming at half past nine, and you don't know she arrives at half past nine because your Dad says so.

Adolescent 3: She's like “I'm on my way” and I'm like “what the hell...?!”

Adolescent 2: I hate it when they say, like “we'll pick you up at ten”, [then] at half past nine an SMS, “I'm waiting outside”. I was like, “Mom, it is half past nine not ten! I will stay at this party and you can wait outside”. They can't say that, they must stick to their arrangements.

Adolescent 8: They can't say that. We are allowed to make plans

Facilitator 1: They do that all the time, that's part of being a teenager.

Adolescent 5: That's what my Mom said because she kept changing my plans for today.

What I don't understand, is like, you always change your plans, why can't I change mine?

Adolescent 8: In Grade Seven we were allowed to do so much. And now we aren't!

Adolescent 5: Ja, Ja, we went to a party every single weekend.

1.11 Facilitator 1: Why? Do you know why?

Adolescent 5: Because it's more, in Grade Seven it was never about drugs, like drugs wasn't even, like alcohol wasn't even in our minds.

Facilitator 1: So are you saying that you had so much freedom when you were younger, but now that you are older there are more risks and so your parents have put tighter boundaries in place?

Adolescent 5: And more things have happened.

Adolescent 7: But I'm no allowed to go to a guy's house or anything!

Adolescent 5: Well, that's the nice thing since my Mom was going to let me stay at home, alone. I appreciate that my mom trusts me. She does trust me. She does trust me a lot. So, she's fine with that, it's just like the whole parties and that [all talk at once]. It's when we get to his house it's like "are his parents here?"

Adolescent 3: The one time, all the lights were off in PA8's house, every single light was off, and he was in the band room, I could hear him playing the drums. So I was like "Oh, flip!" My mom freaked out I mean, "Are your parents there"? I would be so embarrassed to ask that, it's so lame.

Adolescent 5: I don't mind asking.

Adolescent 3: I mean I don't like to ask "are your parents going to be there" because it's like usually, they are usually there, and then – aargh – my Mom! She was like, "You're not getting out of this car if his parents aren't here".

Adolescent 8: So how are you supposed to tell if...?

Adolescent 2: How embarrassing would it have been if you had to go home!

Adolescent 3: Imagine! So I was like, “Oh flip, I'm really now...” What am I going to do? Like we got in here and everything. But his parents were there. They were watching TV upstairs.

1.12 Facilitator 1: The Dads had some questions. So I'm going to give you the questions, and then each one of you can answer because then I can hear what the answer was. Is that OK?

[General agreement].

Facilitator 1: The first question was: Would they like it any different – the way it is with you and your Dads, specifically? And obviously, no names will ever be mentioned, I mean we'll never go and say “Adolescent 8 says...”

Adolescent 5: No but like my Dad goes, “You said that, didn't you?” and then I can't lie.

Facilitator 1: OK, would you like to name some things that you think would make things a little bit better? Adolescent 8, can I start with you?

Adolescent 8: I don't know, like, the relationship?

Adolescent 2: Their bond, or whatever.

Adolescent 8: It's like we can talk, but we can't talk. We can talk but we can't have a conversation. It's kind of awkward, I don't want to talk with him because he'll only talk about things like School! “How's school going? How are your marks? How's golf? Have you tried your new club?” - Na na na na. I'm like, “Dad...”

Facilitator 1: What kind of thing would you rather talk about?

Adolescent 2: Like how you are, maybe, or?

Adolescent 8: Like he really does, he really does want, but it's a bit too much.

Adolescent 5: He tries too hard.

Adolescent 8: Ja. It feels like I can't talk to him about my personal life or something because he might judge me or whatever.

Facilitator 1: OK. Thank you. Adolescent 2?

Adolescent 2: My Dad, We have a special relationship. It's like, we hardly ever, like, fight or anything, but it's just that like sometimes, it's also just a bit weird, like, I don't know. I want it to be a bit more comfortable sometimes. I can go and do so many things, I can go, for a weekend away with my Mom, and like it'd be fine, but like, one night alone with my Dad, it's like, now it's a bit much, like now I want to go home and I want to be with, like, my Mom also. Not because we're not like getting along or anything, it's just not like [shrugs].

Adolescent 3: Not like a mother.

Adolescent 5: Its always like that!

Adolescent 2: Like I go camping with my Dad on the motorbike, but then like that one night, it's like so special, but if we stay another night, where, like I can go for a weekend away with my Mom and I'll be like, so chilled.

Adolescent 3: Ja, it's exact same thing.

Adolescent 2: I don't really want to change, it's just I feel sometimes I want to be a bit more comfortable, so that I can go away for, because what if something happens and I need to be with my Dad, you know so you can't…

1.13 Facilitator 1: Is there anything that could make it more comfortable?

Adolescent 3: But you don't know what?

Adolescent 1: I don't know either. Maybe if you had more time together but short bits of time, not too long!

Adolescent 2: Ja, ja.

Facilitator 1: Or you had something that was your special interest that you did together.

Adolescent 1: I play golf with my Dad.

Facilitator 1: That's the kind of thing.

Adolescent 8: He tries to get me to play Squash with him.

[Group gets into discussion led by B of how the Dads' question the girls' enthusiasms such as dancing].

Adolescent 3: [Quoting Dad] “You don't have time for golf anymore, you said to me we're going to play every Tuesday and every Thursday we're going to go for nine holes, and now you just go to dancing the whole time!” It's always just this anti-dancing!

Adolescent 5: It's kind of like they want you to do their hobby, but they don't want to do yours.

Adolescent 2: Like I am also, I don't like – I know I can always go to my Dad and say “Dad, can I please have some money”. But I also feel…I feel so bad! I feel bad because I know he'll give it to me, but I almost rely on my Dad too much!

Adolescent 5: I kind of go to my Mom sometimes like “Can I have money?” and she's like “No, ask your Dad”.

Adolescent 2: Ask your Dad! My dad works so hard and everything and then I'm just taking his money.

Adolescent 3: I also feel bad about taking money.

Facilitator 1: So then what's the answer to that?

Adolescent 2: Don’t buy so much.

Facilitator 1: Wouldn't it help if you had a set amount of pocket money?

Adolescent 2: Yes, that's what I do [all talk together about pocket money]. But every month at the end of the month when I need extra?

Adolescent 5: No, but my Dad's so nice, like every time I get in the car it's “Have R50,

R100."

Adolescent 2: I have a strict pocket money. [All talk at once about what they prefer, fixed income or asking when they need money].

Facilitator 1: Guys, what do you think is reasonable pocket money?

Girls: R600 or R500 a month. [Adolescent 2 I get R750].

Facilitator 1: So R500 to R750 is the range.

Adolescent 7: I know I don't want pocket money because if I do get, I'll get like a hundred rand or something.

Adolescent 2 I buy a lot of my things. R750 seems like a lot, but if you're buying all your things it just goes down.

Facilitator 1: You buy your clothes?

Facilitator 1: So you'll buy things you want but your parents will buy things you need?

Adolescent 2: Especially now my sister's out, there's not another one to spend money on.

Facilitator 1: OK, so now Adolescent 2's answered, so now we're on Adolescent 7. What would you like and name something you'd like to be different.

Adolescent 7: I don't really have like, a proper like relationship with my Dad. He works in Gauteng so he goes on Monday and comes back like on Friday. And then like, when he does come home it's like, he just [beginning to cry] I don't want him to be in my life any more. [Adolescent 5 comforting her, Adolescent 3 crying too].

Facilitator 1: Do you think he's neglecting you, Adolescent 7, is that what you're saying?

Adolescent 2: Like he doesn't care.

Adolescent 7: You guys all say "No" and different stuff and you guys haven't seen the side of him that I see every day. He actually wants to leave us, move out of the house. He thinks it won't affect me, he says that.

Adolescent 2: Our parents say when they fight that it doesn't affect us!

1.14 Facilitator 1: And it does?

Adolescent 2: But then my Mom always says “But you and your sister fight”, but it's not like that fighting, it's like the whole, you know?

Adolescent 8: They'll bring us into it, so they go: “How do you feel about it?”

Adolescent 5: No! My parents bring me into the actual fight. They're like, ja, but then they'll like mention names, like when they mention names, I just [shakes head].

Adolescent 7: Ja, my Mom always goes “Tell her this!”

Adolescent 8: They never think that that affects us.

Adolescent 3: The other day my parents were fighting, my brother was so upset. And my Mom, then my Mom realized, my brother went to bed and he was crying. I said to her, “Mom, my brother is really suffering!” and since then my parents have been talking about stuff.

Adolescent 2: Ja! Like, last year, my parents argued like literally once in a blue moon, but this one time they had a big fight and it was the worst experience, because I saw my sister cry, and she's about four years older than me.

Adolescent 3: Your sister's so strong, as well.

Adolescent 2: And like, she was sitting there and she was crying. And I was devastated! I couldn't handle myself. [Expressions of sympathy from group]. Because like, sherbet, this is bad!

Adolescent 3: If my brother cried, my brother's so like, chilled, when he cried I was like so upset, it really upset me! It was so hard to see but since then my parents have tried really hard.

Facilitator 1: Is your brother younger or older than you?

Adolescent 3: Younger. But he's cute, like he doesn't cry about stuff.

Adolescent 2: [Smiling] He's very, like he's the jock, you know.

Adolescent 5: Ja, I don't know! Seeing my brother cry is, pretty bad as well.

Adolescent 2: If your brother cries, your brother's like soft, and that.

Adolescent 3: That's cute.

Adolescent 2: That's good, guys should be, because sometimes guys can be so cute when they are all soft.

Adolescent 5: My entire family just cries! [Laughs]

1.15 Facilitator 1: So Adolescent 5, what's your answer? Would you like it to be different and can you tell us what you would like different?

Adolescent 5: I would definitely like it different. I'm pretty much the same as Adolescent 8. Like he tries too hard now that he's, not out of my life, but just not as involved. But he thinks, when he did live with us that he used to be with me more than he did. Like he was also always working and was always out, and stuff. So, it's still the same. But he thinks now that he's just not in the same house he must try, like ten times harder...and the amount that he's trying is just pushing me away.

Facilitator 1: And Adolescent 3?

Adolescent 3: No, me and my Dad are pretty close, like he's cool and everything, but like yesterday he just comes like, “I'm studying”. I'm just studying because I want to watch 90210 in the night, OK? It's my only thing that I want to do, OK? Then he comes into my room and he's like, “Ja, you must spend more time with me, what are you doing?” So I'm like, “No, Dad, I'm studying”. He's like, “Oh, OK, what are you studying?” Like “Geography”. And he was like “Oh, OK, cool!” Ummm...”but when you're not busy, then you must come and spend time with me”. Like, what does he <u>mean</u> by that? Like, spend time, are we just going to sit there, and?

Adolescent 5: [Agitated] ...and you talk for like five minutes and then you sit...

Adolescent 2: Yes. And on the way to school!

[Several interjections, girls talking at once about feeling exasperated with their fathers' expectations of talking to them on the way to school].

Adolescent 5: And he puts the radio off!!! [covers her eyes].

[More lively discussion of how they try to turn the radio or music back on]

Adolescent 5: Like they're always, “So, what's new?”

Adolescent 2: No, the other night I was busy on Facebook [demonstrates typing at keyboard] and I just want to be in my own space, I had a stressful day at school and I just want to be by myself. So my Dad comes and he lies on my bed... “Ag Adolescent 2, come and lie...” and I – I didn't want to shoo him out, but I like, “Dad, I'm like...[Voices: Busy!]busy.” “Can't you just come...” But no [wheedling tone] “Come lie with me...” and I was like “Noo!” [Laughter, agreement].

Adolescent 5: And they'll put their arms out [demonstrates father flinging arms wide in invitation], “Come! Sit down with me!”

Adolescent 2: [Mocking now] “Let's play boyfriend and girlfriend”. [Takes F's hand and gazes at her; Laughter]. “Pretend I'm your boyfriend OK, OK” [Putting arm round F's shoulder].

Adolescent 5: It's scary how my Dad will say something like that, like “don't you want to be my 'chickie'” ? [Adolescent 2 Ja!]. “NO, I don't wanna be your chick, Dad!”

Adolescent 3: No, I just think sometimes my Dad tries <u>too</u> hard, like, it'll be nice if we do like, more stuff, like, do something together, not have to sit and talk.

Adolescent 8: No, but not like, because then, if you say that, he'll take…

Adolescent 3: Like go shopping or other outings.

Adolescent 8: He'll take you to a cycle race. [General laughter] and I'll be like, “Dad, I don't want to do this”.

Adolescent 5: Yeah, my Dad, I like said, “Dad, let's go to the movies”. So like, I offer to do something with my Dad. OK...now I don't normally do that, but I just felt like doing something with my Dad, and like, he makes it into the biggest deal![others laugh; A5 mimes Dad pretending to look over his own shoulder, and imitates Dad] “and I'm invited?” “Yes, Dad, let's go to movies”. “Oh my gosh, oh my gosh”. And I say, “Dad...” [mimes embarrassment; others interject].

Facilitator 1: So movies, coffee dates?

Adolescent 5: Movies, not coffee dates! Like, I don't mind going to movies but on a Sunday. Like, does he [Voices: No, no!] expect me to actually let my Friday night go, like honestly? And go to the movies, with him...at Somerset Mall, where there is everyone there! [Interjections, laughter].

Adolescent 5: I don't mind going to movies but on a day when no one can see us.[laughter]. But the worst: “Dad, let's go to movies”. “Let's go on Friday night!” “No let's go on Sunday I've got stuff to do”. “Oh, so why don't you want to go on Friday, then?” “Because I have stuff”. “Like what?” and then, I end up going, “No, I'm not doing anything on Friday” and he's like, “Ja, you just don't want to be seen with me”, and I'm like, “Dad...shut up”.

Adolescent 3: It's just like, like my Mom's more, I'll go shopping with my Dad, because, I mean, I'm going shopping! [Agreement].

Adolescent 8: Oh my gosh. When I go shopping with my dad, we'll walk in, and I'll be looking [mimes going through clothes in shop] and he'll walk out, and he'll stand outside the door!

Adolescent 3: And wait for you!

Adolescent 8: [Mimes Dad standing outside shop, stamping foot, looking at watch]

Adolescent 5: I bet you your Dad walks in, looks around, Adolescent 8 looks, and your Dad, like an hour later he's going, “Adolescent 8!”

Adolescent 8: He won't stand in the shop for more than five minutes.

Adolescent 1: Exactly like my Dad!

Adolescent 5: And I'm like, “I wanna look!”

Adolescent 8: And then he's like, and I'm like, “Dad, I kind of saw something I like in there”. So he's like “OK, let's go to the next shop”.

Adolescent 2: And like you know my Dad [sympathetic interjection, inaudible].Whatever. He bought [these necklaces] for all three of us! And now my Mom likes it because it's kind of old fashioned, and how my Dad expects me to wear it [cries of agony and shame].

Facilitator 1: So you're ready to go to movies with him?

Adolescent 2: So we went out that night, so I wore it, and I felt like, such a geek, there I see two of the people from our school [mentions a couple of names, cries of “No!”] So I'm like sitting there [mimes hiding her neck], “Hi!”

Adolescent 5: No, they give it to you and you can't be like.

Adolescent 2: So first of all I'm so excited and I'm like [mimes opening present].

Adolescent 1: My Dad gave me socks. [Laughter]Those socks, you know, with the toes on? [Laughter]. But they're nice, and stuff, like, but the ugliest patterns, there was like red and green, and all these things on them!

Adolescent 5: And all like flower patterns [miming appearance of flowers].

Adolescent 1: So I'm like, that night I wear them, and they come up to here [indicates thigh] so they're really uncomfortable, and I go trotting around and stuff. So I took them off and I left them there and it was like lost, it's been lost for about a month now. So he

came over to me the other day and he'd like found them and I was really embarrassed and everything.

Adolescent 8: He says like, “But why don't you ever wear them?”

Adolescent 2: I threw mine away, like I mean I gave them to like our, domestic worker [horrified gasps]. My Dad goes, where's that necklace I gave you?[More gasps]. No, no, something else, like don't worry, I've still got the necklace!

[General conversation ensures, D telling C about a shirt her Mom gave her that she didn't like].

Facilitator 1: Adolescent 1, yes, would you like it to be different and in what way?

Adolescent 1: Well, sometimes, I know it's going to sound like rude, but sometimes I think my Dad's a bit like, selfish! Because like, he'll ask to do something and he'll be like, why don't we go like on the bike somewhere, have like coffee, go to Hermanus, and stuff, you know. And maybe I'll be busy. Then I'll be like, “maybe another time, you know”. And then when I want to ask them, when I ask him to do something he'll be like, “No, I'm busy”, and he'll be like, carry on like that and then it'll be really like weird like bad timing and stuff, and we won't end up doing anything, and then, I don't know, it's just like horrible.

Adolescent 5: It's like they get angry with if you can't do anything. And we're not allowed to get angry with them.

Adolescent 8: Yes! Yes!

Adolescent 2: Sometimes I have trouble with how my Dad acts and everything. Like “Dad, I don't!” With my Mom I'll be like, 'Mom, I don't like it when you do that, stop it!”

Adolescent 5: So easily, like I say to my mother, “You're irritating me!”

Adolescent 2: But with my Dad I think he's going to be like all sad and stuff. So I don't want to bring it up or anything. But with my Mom I just like tune here, straight in her face,

it's like “You stop it” but with my Dad I'm more like, drawn back.

Adolescent 5: My Mom was the worst last night, I was so angry with her, so I was like, “Mom, I want to go to Dad's house! [Interjection, inaudible]. And she was like, “Shall I drive you there or do you want to walk there?” And I was like [mimes disbelief].

Adolescent 8: You want it to be like.

Adolescent 5: I mean I wanted her to be like “I'm sorry”, and I'm like “Mom, you're not supposed to say that!” and she goes like, “Well, what do you want me to say?” And I was like, I was so irritated then.

1.16 Facilitator 1: Ok, another question, would you like more one on one time with them? Like going on a bike ride, or something?

Adolescent 1: I would want to but sometimes again, I'm nervous if I go there and we talk for like the first half an hour, and afterwards I'm scared that, if we run out of things to say!

Adolescent 2: Ja...when my Dad and I went on a bike trip we like went to bed and 8 o'clock [Laughter]. We sat, we braaied our meat and everything, we sat there, talked and talked, but we arrived there at like 3 so by the time that 7 came, we're like, “let's go to sleep now!”

Adolescent 5: They're like, the first day, they're like nervous, like “oh my gosh, I should write things down, let's talks about this now”!

Adolescent 3: It shouldn't be that way, though.

Adolescent 2: That's why those little things can change so we can be more comfortable.

Adolescent 5: So I could just sit and look at my Dad, and I don't feel like, uncomfortable!

Adolescent 2: Like what does happen? what is going to happen if something happens to our Moms, or, whatever. Then you're not going to be able to be that awkwardness for the rest of your life.

Adolescent 3: But why is it awkward though?

Facilitator 1: Yes, but isn't that also because you have spent more time with your Moms, you're more comfortable with them?

Adolescent 5: We came out of our Mom's belly!

Facilitator 1: And as girls you kind of have a bit more in common with your Mom.

Adolescent 1: My Dad works from 8 in the morning till like 9 at night.

Adolescent 7: But Jan, at least your Dad isn't working through the night [quietly, behind hand].

Facilitator 1: Also, your Dad's working away?

Adolescent 7: No, but when he comes home.

Facilitator 1: So he's not there all the time anyway.

Adolescent 7: At home it's like he works on his laptop.

Adolescent 5: Like he'll be away from Monday to Wednesday, but ja, he's still working.

Adolescent 8: I think it would be cool if we had like a Poker night. [Voices: Ja!]

Facilitator 1: What fun! [Approving interjections].

Adolescent 5: Like your Dad and you against my Dad. [All talk at once about the Poker idea].

Facilitator 1: The dad's said that when we get together with them to chat about this meeting we could maybe do it early one evening and then they can take you out afterwards for dinner.

Adolescent 3: Oh, cute, they're trying to be cool now. [All talk at once].

Adolescent 2: When I swim with my Dad and whatever he always used to put me on his shoulders, and he [threw] me too high and he broke my arm! [goes on to describe the injury].

Adolescent 5: My Dad would probably just throw me in.

Adolescent 1: Remember we had a party and my Dad came out in a Speedo and a wig? [Laughter]. And he jumped in, and he was like, “Hey guys!” [Mimes]

Adolescent 5: Oh, that is so funny.

Adolescent 2: At my Grade Two party he came down and he went to Simon, and he's like, that's her boyfriend, “Now listen here, I swear, you were rude to my child!”

Adolescent 7: You know what happened to me...we went out for supper for my birthday with my boyfriend and my Dad like said, “Boyfriend, I hear you're very good at school, good at math’s, good at kissing! [Loud groans, Ah no! Etc].

Adolescent 5: If my Dad ever said that to my boyfriend I would actually let him get up and hit my Dad.

Adolescent 3: The other day my Dad came back from the gym and my Mom went there to take my sister and so she was watching my sister and my Dad was like gymming upstairs. So my Mom was like, “Ja, I saw the 'son-in-law'” to me, so I was like [rolls eyes]. The other day we're driving away from school and my brother shouts out the window, “Bye brother-in-law” and he was standing there and then he send me a message, “Brother-in-law?? Ha ha ha!”

Adolescent 5: Adolescent 3, that's really mean.

Adolescent 3: [And then] at the gym, my Mom saw my Dad go up to the guy I like and he started having a conversation with him! At the gym!

Adolescent 5: I would be, I don't know, I'd actually be happy if my parents did that. [Some argument, all together; Adolescent 3 adds that her parents want her boyfriend to come to the house instead of the two of them going for a romantic walk on the beach.]

Adolescent 5: If Adolescent 3 and her boyfriend want a romantic walk on the beach, they don't want to have a conversation with their Dad!

Adolescent 8: But I feel awkward with them, you know.

Facilitator 1: I don't know. You know what, you actually have to stop and say to yourself, if you go to your boyfriend's house and his Mom chats to you and really likes you, doesn't that make you feel special?

Adolescent 5: Yes, it is kind of nice. [Nods, agreement from others; further discussion about how their boyfriends' Moms respond to them, voices speaking at once].

1.17 Facilitator 1: Adolescent 3, does it make your boyfriend feel special or important that your Dad gets on with him?

Adolescent 3: [Surprised] My boyfriend! No, he doesn't know my Dad. I love his parents though, oh my word, I'm so close to his Mom.

Facilitator 1: But don't you think, if he did develop a nice relationship with your Dad it might be nice for him?

Adolescent 3: No. Uh-uh. I don't think so! [sour face]

Adolescent 5: Adolescent 3 I honestly do think so. Like it would be nice if your boyfriend could easily come to your house, if you weren't there. Like, if you were away for the week and he comes to your house and you're not there. Like at least he can speak with your Dad, visit with your Dad, talk, and stuff.

Adolescent 3: But I don't know how to make it like that [Anxious look].

Facilitator 1: So if you're there in the evening, he could just be with your Dad, or, if there's a pool evening sometime maybe he could just be there as part of the group?

Adolescent 3: [Happier] Oh yes! Let's do that, bring all our boyfriends.

Adolescent 5: Ah, that would be so cool [Other reactions, generally positive].

Adolescent 3: Let's do that. [To Facilitator 1] Write, “plus boyfriends!”

Adolescent 1: And what if you don't have a boyfriend?

Facilitator 1: I will put “group of people”.

Adolescent 3: But my boyfriend is not going to want to come with me and my Dad.

Adolescent 5: No, they're not going to want to come on a weekend. [General talking].

Adolescent 7: Guys, guys! They might not want to, but they have to make some kind of sacrifices.

Facilitator 1: So, what? If it's a Wednesday night and you're all playing pool, and your boyfriends are there, they're just part of the group. I mean, your Dads are fun – I think the guys might have a good time.

Adolescent 5: But I don't know...I don't think my Dad's going to be like he is with the other Dads around.

Adolescent 8: [Making 'stay back' gesture] Like, “OK, like, here's my daughter's boyfriend!”

Adolescent 3: I'm not going to be able to go up to him and kiss him if my Dad's there!

Adolescent 5: No, no. There's got to be no physical contact, we're going to be like [mimes ultra-prim look; other girls demonstrate the proper behaviour they think will be needed].

Adolescent 5: Because they'll be like so, “What are your intentions with my daughter?”

Facilitator 1: So, should I ask them to please not be embarrassing like that?

Voices: Yes! [All talk for a while about what they think their Dads would be like at a joint meeting]

Adolescent 3: My Dad will be nice if the other Dads can back each other up.

Adolescent 5: I'll really like that.

Facilitator 1: So you guys all agree that yes, it's fine to have one on one time for you to do something with your parents?

[Voices: Yes].

Adolescent 7: No.

Adolescent 5: I don’t want to.

Adolescent 7: Or, I think if we go out for lunch or something, that should mean “no phones!” Like, I don't mind turning my phone down. With me, it isn't on all the time.

Adolescent 5: If we go out for lunch he'll get the newspaper and read the newspaper [Mimes Dad holding up newspaper and reading].

Adolescent 7: My Dad does that all the time, talking on his phone.

Adolescent 2: I don't know if my Dad will, but if I'm the one phoning then my Dad will...

Adolescent 5: My Dad shouts at me for being on my phone but then he'll take the newspaper and sit there and read for like half an hour. And then what am I to do? [Mimes boredom].

Adolescent 1: Because me and my Dad are very competitive, sometimes!

Adolescent 3: With each other?

Adolescent 1: Yeah, with each other. Like, oh, it's mostly like in Grade 8 and stuff, when after the athletics, he'll be like saying, “Ja, so you won the athletics thing”. And he'll be like “Ja, I'll beat you”, and I'm like, “No, you won't”. And we're having this fight and like, then, the next day, he'll drive me, and he'll be like, “I'm going to surprise you” [Voices: Ah, no..] and he'll be like, we'll go down to Somerset House, and he'll get out, and I'll be like, “Why are we here?” and he'll be like “Race! Now!” [Laughter; all talk].

Facilitator 1: Guys, I just want to say to you, it's twenty past two now and some of your Moms are coming at about half past two, or twenty-five to three[all talk].

Adolescent 5: My Mom, definitely not. Because she changed my plans, three times today, I'm not going to till six o'clock tonight!

Adolescent 3: But like, I don't know what you guys mean about getting your boyfriend to spend time with your Dad.

Adolescent 5: My Dad, my brother, my Mom and my boyfriend are chilled, like. He can

talk, and my Mom can talk.

Adolescent 3: My boyfriend isn't like that.

Adolescent 2: Instead of going to the TV room to eat, why don't you sit around the table?

Adolescent 5: Like, give them a chance, I took a shower one time when my boyfriend was there so I sent him out the one of my room. He and my Mom sat for half an hour and chatted about sport.

Adolescent 3: So if I'm like, I go into my house and I pretend I'm getting ready[thoughtfully]?

Adolescent 8: People are scared of my Dad.

Adolescent 5: We can be, scared of your Dad!

Adolescent 2: Everyone says that Adolescent 8's Dad, like, Adolescent 8, your Dad will never be angry, like you know, he loves all your boyfriends and everything.

Adolescent 8: Ja, but then he has to sit and talk to them.

Adolescent 5: It's better than him being like, “I don't have to like them”.

Adolescent 8: But, he's like, everybody's scared of him. They won't talk to him.

Facilitator 1: What is it about him that's making them scared?

Adolescent 5: I think it's the whole, your Dad's eyes! [Makes face to show what his eyes look like]

Adolescent 2: All I want to do, is just laugh. I promise you, I just laugh!

[All talk together]

Adolescent 8: No, but that was the worst night of my life.

Facilitator 1: Why?

Adolescent 8: Because he always gets drunk, and it's flipping irritating. [Looks downcast] And then my Mom and him start fighting. And then it's like y fault, then they bring me

into it and then my Mom comes to me and she's like – “No no no it's this and this is what your Dad..”, and I'm like, “Mom, that's your perspective, it's not mine. Stop making...”

Adolescent 5: If my Mom says “Party!” [covers face with hands]...I'm getting out the house. It's like 20 people, like, only women...

1.18 Facilitator 1: Why?

Adolescent 2: Our parents drink so much. My Mom![General laughter].

Adolescent 3: Oh...your Mom!

[All talk at once]

Adolescent 8: It's getting out of hand.I had to get out of the car like three times this year!

Adolescent 8: It's like, we had to get our car repaired and now we can't go on holiday. It's like that type of thing, and it's really not fair. [Brief silence].

Adolescent 3: But like, you can't tell him that. You just don't!

Adolescent 8: Ja, it's not my right to tell him that, because, I mean, responsibility!

Adolescent 1: The thing I don't like about my Dad is that he chooses to listen to people about stuff.

Facilitator 1: What do you mean?

Adolescent 1: Like, if he's telling me something and I don't want to hear it, I'll be like, “OK, I don't want to hear this”, and I'd walk away, but I'll feel that's disrespectful, so I'll go back and he'll tell me and stuff. Then, when I'm telling him something he'll just walk away.

Adolescent 5: No, what my dad does is he blocks me. You can see when they like block, they block you out [waves hand dismissively].

Adolescent 1: Ja! If we block something out, and like it actually like hurts me sometimes when I want to tell him something or tell him how I feel.

Adolescent 8: They won't listen to you but they expect you to listen to them.

Adolescent 5: Guys, it was the worst thing, one time, you know when your Dad's lecturing you and you don't feel like listening, and you blank out. So I'm staring at my Dad. So now, pretend you're looking at me. [Gets Adolescent 3 to look at her]. So now, OK, here's me, I'm my Dad, and he goes like this [leans suddenly away to the side], and I'm still staring here [mimes talking over Adolescent 3's shoulder. General laughter].

Adolescent 2: My Dad, when I'm not listening to him, he's just like, "So, Adolescent 2," "Ja", "I'm your Dad", "Ja, OK Dad, ja", and then he's like so, "You're not going tonight", "Ja". "OK, so you can stay at home then". And I'm like, "No! Dad, I meant no!" and he's like so: "Ja, not talking, not listening to me!"

Adolescent 3: My Mom's like, Adolescent 3, don't ever marry a man like your father. She said that to me the other day. [Adolescent 8: Ja]. I was just like, whoa! Don't tell me that. Because they were fighting and she was like, "don't marry someone like your father!"

Adolescent 5: But it's always like, they're supposed to be like, "Guys, always marry someone like your father", because you know the whole fairy tale like, "but he's not as good as my Dad".

Adolescent 3: No [Looking unimpressed]. My Dad and my boyfriend are incredibly alike.

Adolescent 5: I would never marry someone like my Dad.

Facilitator 1: [to Adolescent 3] I actually have to wonder, because I think your Dad and your boyfriend might get on just fine.

Adolescent 5: Adolescent 3, I think it's more like you don't <u>want</u> them to get along!

Adolescent 3: But, why not?

Adolescent 5: Because you want to be with your boyfriend, you don't want your Dad to be there when you're with him.

Adolescent 3: No, I'm just scared that, I'm scared that he doesn't want to be with my Dad.

Adolescent 5: So ask him, “would you mind if maybe we just chat with my Dad for like ten minutes”.

Adolescent 3: It's like, too embarrassing.

Adolescent 5: It's like, you are so worried about being embarrassed in front of your boyfriend.

Adolescent 2: It's like being, Adolescent 3, when you're around your boyfriend you're like a different person.

Adolescent 1: You are!

Adolescent 5: She changes.

Adolescent 3: [Defensive] What do you mean?

Adolescent 5: You won't be yourself. You won't, Adolescent 3, tell me now honestly. Would you jump around, and burp? Would you burp in front of him?

Adolescent 3: [Horrified] No!!

Adolescent 5: I've burped in front of my boyfriend - Twice.

Adolescent 3: But that's wierd!

Adolescent 5: It's the funniest thing.

Adolescent 2: You know like that thing, like, with the exams. You came to me like before and it's like, “Adolescent 2 we must study for Afrikaans” and everything, and then around your boyfriend you are so chilled! [Adolescent 3: No, no]. Chilled, and I, then I'm like the idiot here, like with me stressing about the exam. That's really why you don't want to be friends with your Dad and boyfriend.

Adolescent 5: Okay, so you're worried about being embarrassed with your Dad, like in front of him?

Adolescent 3: Why would I care, why would I be embarrassed in front of him?

[Defensive; all talk at once].

Facilitator 1: OK, this is the question:

Adolescent 1: Remember when we were going up to KFC and we all decided to pull a funny face?

Adolescent 5: Yes, Adolescent 3, you were the first person to do it[mimics crazy face].

Adolescent 1: And they kind of turned around, and you did it, and you walked away.

Adolescent 3: That's because of you guys, that's the kind of thing we normally do in front of each other.

Facilitator 1: So, Adolescent 3, here's a question. Say your boyfriend is at your house, and your Dad's there. And something happens, your Mom calls you to the bedroom to talk to you, or Adolescent 1 phones you, and your Dad's left standing with him. What's the worst thing that could happen?

Adolescent 3: Nothing! Nothing at all. But that's the thing, I'm not going to sit in the room with my Mom and Dad, us four together it's not going to be like that.

Adolescent 5: But you're not going to plan it! I mean, a short thing is fine, but say you have an hour before supper, you're not going to go [claps hands as if relishing the situation] “Yeah, chill with Mom and Dad!”

[Voices speaking together].

Adolescent 3: Like the only time that I speak to his parents is when I go there, usually I go there, Ok, I say I'm going about half past six and he finishes band practice at half past six, so he's maybe still in the band room, and then I'm just there and I'm chilling with his parents like that.

Adolescent 5: Can you do that? You're lucky, I can't do that.

1.19 Facilitator 1: OK, quick, let's look at the last question because some people have to go. And then we can talk about that because you guys are so busy, your Dads were

saying that their time with you is more limited. How best would you like to spend it? But I think you've answered that question, “by doing things”, OK?

Adolescent 5: I know we want more alone time but also I think it would be easier at the beginning if we did something together. [General agreement].

1.20 Facilitator 1: Ok, can we think of something that's nice to do together?

Adolescent 8: Card games. [Other voices: Card games].

Adolescent 5: Card games, but then, no drinking for them!

Other voices: Ja. Yes.

Adolescent 3: No drinking.

Adolescent 2: It's not fair on us. [Getting ready to leave the table, her Mom has arrived outside].

Facilitator 1: OK. And your dads want to know, when is the best time to do something with you guys.

Adolescent 3: Not on the weekend!

Adolescent 5: On a Sunday, or on a day like during the week!

Adolescent 8: Not when we're studying.

Adolescent 7: Oh ja, like in the morning, I walk into their room and my Dad's like, “So, what are you doing?” and it's [irritable look] “I'm trying to get ready”.

Facilitator 1: [Gathering group back onto task] when is an OK time with you?

Adolescent 5: When we're not[Adolescent 8 Not busy]. Like, when we're not busy.

Adolescent 3: No, but, I'm always busy, like watching TV, I don't want him to come and chat when I'm watching my show.

Adolescent 5: They think that because we're watching TV, we're not busy.

Adolescent 3: but like, when I watch TV, I'm busy. [Adolescent 8 Ja, me too].

Facilitator 1: When is the easiest time?

Adolescent 5: On a Sunday.

Adolescent 3: At supper, over dinner.

Adolescent 8: I'd like, at supper.

Adolescent 5: But it's hard for me to get him to talk.

Adolescent 1: But he must make an effort to communicate.

[Discussion follows about family holidays, what they like to do, when to go, taking friends with, things their Dads like to do on holiday e.g. playing golf. Adolescent 7 remarks that at the airport queue, her Dad gets “each family member” to stand in a separate line, doesn't sound as though she enjoys that at all. Discussion shifts to the incident previously mentioned where girls “snuck out”, and their worries that their parents

Adolescent 7: Our parents don't trust us enough to let us do things by ourselves. We have made mistakes but we should be given another chance. But instead we have been gated.

Facilitator 1: OK, lastly, is there anything else you want me to bring up with your Dads?

Adolescent 8: They need to understand that we've made mistakes and we do realize this but we also do good. If we sat down and make a list of rules together, I would stick to them because we had a say.

Adolescent 5: Ja, they think that, because we made those mistakes, we're going to make it again. I would like it if we could sit down and make the rules together. And you know that your parents have taken the time to listen. You don’t want to break that.

Adolescent 8: They don’t trust us enough.

Adolescent 3: And I want my Dad to stop trying so hard.

Adolescent 1: Like my Dad doesn't trust me. If we are trusted, it is harder to break the rules. Like if my brother does something, say he goes to Stellenbosch, and he does

something, then they'll think I'm exactly same as my brother. Like they won't give me a chance. If they don't trust us, it is almost as if we have nothing to lose.

Adolescent 7: Just say, we are going to make mistakes sometimes but it's not always our fault.

Adolescent 5: If it's something I've told Mom I'm not going to do it, then I'm not going to do it.

Adolescent 1: If I'm going somewhere and my Mom says "please can you not do this", then I won't do it.

Adolescent 3: Ja. I just don't want my Dad to try so hard. And in the car, on our way to school, he'll be like, "let's talk".

[All speak together].

Adolescent 5: And he'll say, "You look sad", and it's so early - you've just woken up!

Adolescent 3: Dad's like "you always use that as an excuse", and it's true, but it's "stop making excuses".

Adolescent 1: I don't worry about that because if it gets awkward in the car I'll just put the music on and I start singing to him, and I'm like "Waah!" [laughter], and he'll, like, laugh.

Adolescent 5: No, my Dad goes, and he starts acting like an idiot and he's like [makes disco-dancing move, hand across face].

Adolescent 1: My Dad sings. He sits in the car going like this [hand gesture; more laughter].

Adolescent 7: My Mom tries to be cool!

Facilitator 1: Tell me one thing that you value about your father, or you appreciate about them. I mean, one quality, so we can give them that feedback too?

Adolescent 7: You guys, you say they try too hard, but at least they try.

Adolescent 5: Ah, you see, but I'm not going to say, “I appreciate that he tries”, because then he'll try even more.

Adolescent 3: No, I don't know what I appreciate. I appreciate a lot, like, he's cute, like he's really funny! Our parents caring for us, their driving us around and their friendship.

Adolescent 6: Our dad’s showing an interest and caring.

APPENDIX H

Appendix H

Group B -

1.1 Introduction of the Study

Facilitator 1: Can we start of by talking a little about how you experience parenting teenagers? Mother 8, You were keen for us to run this group after the first group that we ran.

Mother 8: That's what I explained about the little group that we had. It was interesting to see the teenagers' point of view, and to hear their point of view just between themselves because they give us a different side to the story. I couldn't believe the things they said - my child actually appreciates me more than I thought she did. Then I got an insight into how she felt.

Facilitator 1: They notice things we do that we don't think they do. They were able to give a list of all the things parents do.

Mother 8: But why don't they show you. Sometimes I think my children don't think I am human. They think we must just get on with life. You must have no emotions, you must just never cry, never be scared, you must almost be like to robot.

Mother 1: You must just cope.

Facilitator 1: But then we realize that they are more aware than we thought.

Passed consent forms around that everyone was happy.

1.2 Facilitator 1: Let us share the name of your children. Then I can establish what age group of teenagers we are talking about. Maybe just say your name, how many children you have and their ages. If you want to add if there are two parents parenting or if you are single, you are welcome to.

Mother 4: I have a son of 10, daughter of 14 (big challenge). Married. Daughter is in Grade 8, first year in high school. This is all new for me. It's very tricky at this stage – you must just cope.

Facilitator 1: Maybe we can in the feedback session give ideas on bringing up a child that has just started high school?

Mother 5: I'm married with two daughters, 14 and 19.

Mother 6: I have two boys, 10 (Grade 4) and 16 (Grade11).

Mother 1: I'm married, two daughters, 23 and 15. So I have a lot of experience.

Mother 7: I'm married, I have 3 daughters, 26, 23 and 13. My first two daughters didn't have any teenage difficulties, but with the third coming to a stage where it is very different and becomes more hands on. I need to discuss other stuff with her that I didn't need to discuss with my older two.

1.3 Facilitator 2: With a 13 year difference between the oldest and youngest, you must be experiencing different aspects to parenting than years gone by?

Mother 1: The way I handled the older two at 13 is totally different to the way I handle my teenager now. Just yesterday … my daughter of 23 is working as a teacher at my youngest daughter's school and her class teacher told my older daughter that my youngest daughter is been easily influenced by the wrong crowd of girls and now I approached my younger daughter about it and she said there is nothing wrong with that crowd of girls. It seems that she did pull away few years ago from these friends but she seems pulled back in again. For the last two weeks high school boys have been phoning her. It's a whole new world that is opening up.

Mother 7: My daughter is very strong and I don't think she will get too influenced that quickly, but because she wants to be in with that crowd, she might just follow what they

want her to do. I try to know everything about those girls. I know about two or three years ago they started smoking and drinking. I am not saying that they are mixed up with boys but they are allowed, with permission from their parents, to walk on the streets and go to the malls on their own, where my daughter is not allowed to. If she goes to the mall, I take her. I control who she is with, and I watch her from a distance so I know what is going on, so there is a big difference now. For the teacher to notice that she is mixing with the wrong crowd, we now need to speak to her. Luckily for me, this teacher knows that my oldest daughter is her sister and that this must be brought to my attention. I must get it under control. This teacher doesn't want my youngest daughter to know that she has been discussed out of the class but she has been picking it up. That's why I spoke to her last night, but now it's a huff and a puff, and she feels that I am picking on her and her friends unnecessarily. It's very tricky at this stage.

1.4 Facilitator 1: Do friendships play a role at this age?

Mother 5: I had a situation with my daughter last week. There was a girl threatening her and saying on MXit and Facebook (which is a whole new world) that she will slap her and kill her. I told her that I was going to go to the headmaster and she begged me not to because she said: 'The children will single me out as somebody who runs to her Mommy and then they are going to push me out. Then the person that bullies me is actually then the hero.' This is in the children's eyes. So I went to the school and saw the teacher and asked for advice and what must be done. The teacher called my daughter in and asked my daughter if she wanted the school to do something about the situation. She said 'no'. Us as parents would like to protect our children. Later my daughter did tell me that the girl bullying her did actually slap her through the face in the bathroom and actually carried out the threat. And yet she doesn't want me to do anything about it. To try to do something

and your child says no is frustrating. The most difficult thing for me was to stand back. That was a new challenge for us. As I say, technology is a challenge.

1.5 Facilitator 1: Bullying through technology is very difficult and a huge problem because you can't often identify the perpetrator, (sometimes you can and sometimes you can't) and because you are not face to face, you can be more aggressive or worse.

Mother 5: I understand that that girl is going through a tough time with her parents and my daughter doesn't want her to get into any more trouble.

Mother 2: I am married, with two children, 13 (girl) and 7 (boy). My daughter doesn't speak that much and doesn't want me to interfere either.

Mother 3: Married with two children, 18 (boy) and 16 (girl). I have a problem with my son because he has started taking drugs. He was brought up by my mother, and now that he is living back with us and is a committed Christian, the pressure from his peers has been too strong and he has started taking drugs. I don't have a problem with my daughter. She and I have very good communication. We talk a lot about different things. She doesn't have a boyfriend at the moment. She had one but soon got rid of him. She does have friends that she speaks to telephonically and meet. What I picked up is actually, in general, they [the adolescents] are actually really good kids.

Facilitator 1: So for you, you are happy because she is around you and there is good communication.

1.6 Mother 3: But Facilitator 1, I can try and communicate with my child as much as I want to, but she just cuts me out and says what would I be able to do in any case even if I was able to help? What is the use of telling mom anything? She says she will sort the problem out on her own. So I can't talk to her. The most difficult thing for me is to stand

back. For me, they are still young and for them, they are old and wise. For us, they are still children and us as parents know the dangers and we naturally want to protect them.

Mother 5: When my daughter had her birthday party, I realized that some of the girls were up to strange things and I told my daughter that I would prefer these girls only to be her friends at school and not after school. She retracted from them and now she is back with them. Last Saturday, in the early hours of the evening, near Spar these "friends" were walking around alone which is dangerous. These girls are obviously used to and allowed to do this, but my daughter is controlled by us not to do things like this. But where is the balance? If you control them one way, they might freak in another way.

Mother 2: You will have different control of a 10 year old to an older child. I recently witnessed a young girl who is 16 who had tried to commit suicide say that she wished everyone would just back off. Her grandmother that she lives with is over- protective and she feels that she is treated like a 10 year old. Her grandmother controls her and doesn't listen to what she has to say and she feels that the house is too small for her. But that is where control is monitored by the age of your child.

Mother 1: I would like to put my ten cents worth in. I am referring to my 23 year old daughter. When she was 17 I had to work. I transported her to and from school every day. Then we found out that she was having an affair with our neighbor who was 20 years older than she was. I would drop her at school and then he would pick her up before the bell went. He would drop her back at school at 12 o'clock. I was under the impression that she was at school and was the perfect scholar that attended school every day. She was the most obedient child ever. Therefore I never looked for any fault or reason to worry. When the whole story was exposed, we were extremely shocked and hysterical. It got to a point where she wanted to run away. We came across a letter that he [the neighbor] had written

to her confessing that his wife was close to the end of her pregnancy but that he wanted to continue with the affair. The court confirmed that there was not much that we as parents could do because she was 17. She left out home and lived with this man for four years. Then she realized that she was only a child and wanted to move back home. We are now living with a broken child. Now we are over protective with our youngest daughter and she feels that this is not fair. We live in fear that the same thing will happen again. Therefore there is double pressure on our youngest. It's difficult for our youngest because she can bring her friend's home but is not allowed out with them. Now the friends are shunning her because her freedom is limited. My fear is that there will be a repetition of what happened with my oldest child. Now my daughter feels under pressure and feels smothered and becomes aggressive towards me and her Dad due to the fact that she is not allowed a free reign. I'm assuming she has also taken on an attitude at school and if she is put under pressure, she will also either become aggressive or withdraw. There was an incident where another child was put into an intimidating situation and my daughter witnessed this. She intervened to help the victim. After class her daughter was pushed into a corner by the "in" crowd and she screamed for help. The teachers didn't come to help and by the time she got to the car at two o'clock she was in tears and told her story. Because we were still parked at the school, she didn't want me to over react and get involved. I drove into the school yard towards the headmaster's office and confronted him with the situation. I was angry that no one had come to help while my child was screaming for help. It was no normal cry but a scream for help. My daughter was waiting outside, very unhappy, but the teacher assured me that they would handle the situation. When I got home my older daughter showed me my youngest daughter's suicide letter that she had written preceding the day's events. She asked me to leave her alone and wanted to sort out her own

problems. I waited until she become calm so that we could speak rationally. Now we chat regularly. I stand back sometimes for her to look at the problem and try and sort it out on her own.

Facilitator 1: If you were able to sit with your daughter and work out a plan that works for both of you – where you can say I am really scared to let you out of my sight because of what happened and for her to say that I can't live like I am in prison. So if you each took a few steps, and she was able to keep your trust and you were feeling secure about it. If you did that, what might happen? Could it work? How would she respond?

Mother 1: I am allowing her to do more. I am letting her go to my friend's and then the kids go to the mall to see a movie and then she comes home.

Facilitator 1: Is her attitude changing towards you?

Mother 1: There is a slight change. She is not that aggressive towards me anymore. Because of a little freedom or "back off" she treats me better. There is a change.

Facilitator 1: Because you give her a little bit of freedom, she gives you less aggression?

Mother 2: I have a question. Is it wrong if I want my child to finish her schooling? I would not like it if she had a boyfriend in her school years. Is it wrong for me to tell that to a child? I know the minute a boy comes into your life, there is trouble. And although they say, mommy I can handle this, I know they can't. Emotionally, they can't. Like I asked her: "Are you ready for a boyfriend and maybe a baby". Therefore you are not ready for the consequences of your action and having a boyfriend.

Mother 4: I think it is important to distinguish between boy friends and boyfriends. There is a difference. Boyfriends' is when there is a sexual relationship.

Mother 2: Some of my daughter's friends have boyfriends. They are smoking and saying ugly things. I said to her that possibly I am over reacting but sometimes I don't even want

to listen to the things that you tell me. She is luckily very open with me and comes to me and talks to me. When we tell them something, we also want them to believe us, but it is so difficult for them to believe that we only want the best for them. Often she comes back to me and says, 'it's a good thing I listened to you'. Listen and learn, so that next time we don't have to fight unnecessarily.

1.7 Facilitator 1: What is your fear of her having a boyfriend? Is it because of the amount of teenage pregnancies?

Mother 2: Ja, because of that and that she doesn't have enough confidence in herself so I am scared that she would do things to please the boyfriend and not because she is ready or wants to do it.

Mother 6: Based on what happened in my life. I grew up without a father and know what it is like not to have confidence, not to believe in yourself, to do things to fill those gaps and at the end of the day you get hurt. The main thing is they want to be accepted.

Mother 7: I have a situation with my eldest daughter. She had a boyfriend since Grade 9. She is confident, knows what she wants and has decided a very strong mind that is not easily persuaded. She had stayed friends with this boy all this time and then decided at the beginning of this year to break up. I have spoken to her about birth control and she told me that it was not needed. Even though she has a different boyfriend she has confirmed that she knows what she wants and doesn't need birth control measures. That is the first thing she tells a boy when they get involved – don't even think about having sex, it's not going to happen. This is how we are going to work our relationship. With her confidence she controlled the situation.

Mother 2: But don't you think children from earlier days thought differently?

Mother 7: No not at all. I have an older daughter that is 26. At the end of Grade 11, we found out that she was sleeping with a boy. I had to step in and put her on the pill and this and that. It's definitely the personality of the girl that counts. The oldest one is very insecure - still today. Her first relationship was a case of you either sleep with me or you go and that sort of pressure she still feels today. Even though she is a beautiful girl, she feels she is not worth anything if she is not sleeping with him. Her current boyfriend is only interested in the sex and not at all in her. We have told her that. Even at 26, she still has that insecurity by holding onto a relationship with sex. My younger daughter looks up to her older sisters, but there is still a lot of bickering. There is often negative advice given to their younger sister and then I am put in the middle. I am confronted by them not being allowed to speak or act the way their younger sister is allowed to. It's not like I have to take sides and I have told them that before. I cannot treat and reason with all three the same obviously, because of their age. The older sisters would physically fight whereas the younger daughter is fighting verbally. Therefore it is totally different.

Facilitator 2: Lots of the young people that we spoke to in another group wanted their parents to be honest with them about their own teenage years.

Facilitator 1: Does your youngest daughter know about the story that you had offered birth control to your middle daughter and yet your middle daughter has already decided what she already made up her mind about this decision?

Mother 7: No I don't think so. She knows her oldest sister takes birth control because it's always on her dressing table. Perhaps in the back of her mind she knows she is sexually active. At one stage the boys were allowed to sleep over but we feel that she should set an example for her younger sister and not have boys sleeping over. If we allow this, we are not setting a proper example. My eldest daughter is very stubborn about it but we know the

boyfriend is just using her. We have chased him out of the house because of stories coming back. We have sat around the table and I have asked him to express to her how he really feels about her. He told her he is not interested in her as a person. I told him to take his stuff and leave. She found another guy that was cute. She had a totally different personality with him, very open, always laughing, really how she should be. But according to her, he was too possessive over her and she went back to her previous lover. Now she is back to being miserable and insecure, and is dictated to by him. In the afternoon, he would send her home and he would go out and party. He would come and go. We don't speak to her about it anymore. She knows how we feel. He is not allowed here. He can't just come to visit to get what he wants and then leave. The older sisters have the same crowd of friends, so what happens when he is out partying comes back to us and when we confront her with what is being said, she says it's all untrue. He tells her what he wants her to hear so that he can get what he wants and therefore she is in this trap.

Mother 2: The other things about birth control. I believe that I am a child of God and want to live as much as I can according to the Bible, so when it comes to this birth control, where do we draw the line. For me, if I offer birth control pills to my daughter, I am saying I am okay with her having a sexual relationship. Biblically I do not agree with a person giving their child birth control pills and I have explained to my daughter that her body is a living temple of God and you cannot do with your body what you want. I also told her that a boyfriend is not as interested in you as much as he is interested in your body so you need to decide for yourself because your body is sacred and must keep your body for your husband one day and if you give it to a boy now he is not ready to marry you. If your fall pregnant he will just leave you. Is it wrong for me to say that to her and tell her that this is what I expect from her. I want her to know that I love her and God loves her and only you

can hurt yourself at the end of the day. Some of her friends have boyfriends and are on birth control, but I am over protective.

1.8 Facilitator 1: What you are doing is that you are giving information and you also explaining what your values are, your standards and expectations?

Facilitator 2: It is important to express how you feel and we find that children want more information from their parents. If a child gets their information from an unreliable source, can you imagine what would happen?

Mother 2: But is it biblical to give or not to give your child birth control pills. I ask God to protect my child, but if I offer my child pills I am agreeing that she can be sexually active.

Facilitator 1: Sometimes we are faced with having to make difficult decisions when it comes to protecting our children.

Mother 3: When my daughter got to that age, we also went through all the decisions and we also told her that Biblically you should not take birth control tablets. She went and told all her cousins and the four of them made a decision that they would not become sexually active until the age when they get married. She was very upset when she found out the one cousin fell pregnant last December even though they had made a final decision. I explained to her that things sometimes happen. Boyfriends force themselves onto you, they emotionally force themselves or you have had too much to drink. We are afraid to give our children too much information.

Facilitator 1: What information? About sex?

Mother 3: My mom didn't tell me a lot about sex either. I was just given a little pink book that told you all about sex. It had funny little things that were gross. But now my own mother tells my children all about sex. It's as if she is making up for all the things she did not tell me. In the Coloured community, we are afraid to give our children too much

information about sex, but we all need to get past that point because our kids are so vulnerable. We try and speak openly about sex. At the end of the day, it stays the choice of the child. They must make that choice. I tell my daughter that if she is not ready to bring up a child, then she should rather stay away from boys.

Mother 2: Children must understand that they are not even able to look after themselves so then how can they expect to look after their own baby. They must understand the consequences of having sex. If a girl falls pregnant, I can guarantee you that the boy will not stick with you.

Mother 5: High school is totally different. It is as if there is a competition. The boys make a list of the number of times they have slept with a girl. From Grade 8 it's a competition to see how many girls they can sleep with. They sit in a group with the list and names of the girls for discussion.

Mother 4: They even display the faces and names on Facebook.

Facilitator 1: What is the girl's reaction to this because at the end of the day it is their reputation?

Mother 1: The girls love it because they feel famous.

Mother 5: The Grade 8 girls are targeted by the Grade 9 boys. The Grade 8 girls are soft targets. My daughter is very open. She has a very different personality. She is very popular at school but when a boy asks she just says that she is not interested. It's the older Grade boys that show interest.

Facilitator 1: So it sounds as if there is a status thing involved. If you are in Grade 8 and going out with a boy in matric, there is status. What is your daughter's opinion of girls whose names are on the list?

Mother 5: My daughter who finished matric last year fell pregnant and we went through hell. Later we found out that there were lots of girls of that matric year that fell pregnant. It was almost a competition to see who could fall pregnant. None of them were getting married. It was so sad.

1.9 Mother 4: What is the role of the dad in a teenager's life? I had a very strict dad and then you get a boy that tells you that he loves you and that you are special. That's why it is so important that a father also tell his daughters that they are beautiful, that she is special, and he spends time with her and takes her out and show her how a man must really treat her. Then she will look for qualities like that. We need to tell the dads to become more involved.

Mother 2: My husband is not very involved. I tell my husband to spend time with her, make time for her. I grew up without a dad and I know impact it had. They need to find out how to talk to them, how to react to them. On the first day she got her period I told him to go and buy her flowers because it was such a special day. It turned out to be a fight because he thought I was telling him what to do.

Facilitator 2: You are talking about the emotional thing between father and daughter, not about telling her about birth control. This takes me back to the confidence that you were talking about earlier. They actually need more than just information. They need to build on their confidence. How does a child build on confidence? What would help girls? What about boys? Are we teaching boys to respect girls?

Mother 2: Speaking from my experience in life. The reason why I didn't have that self-confidence is because my father was not emotionally involved in my life. So I went out and looked for it in a boy and then a man. Most of the time, you get involved in older men. Because I didn't have a relationship with my father, I went out at an early age. I have

explained to my husband that he needs to become emotionally involved and give their daughters attention. Girls need to hear from their dad how beautiful and special they are from their dads. That why girls go out there and look for attention.

Mother 7: We laugh about it now but my first two daughters say that when we were chatting they said they would get married to their dad and then I would say, but he is already married to me. Now that they are involved in boys I ask them what has happened and they laugh. My youngest already knows that you have to marry someone else other than your dad. I remember when my daughter was 7 or 8 she would run naked across the hallway and my husband would remind her that that was wrong. That daddy was not supposed to see her that way. She would do that so that she would get a reaction. It's very difficult for me to transfer the feelings of when your child is young and innocent to this teenage stage. It's difficult to think that just any other boy will touch and feel my daughter and that that will influence my child and can make my child pregnant. She is my child.

1.10 Mother 7: You know what your child wants in life but you don't know what his intentions are in life. I give my most precious possession permission to go in a car with a young 18 year old who is going to drink and who has probably just got his license. He assures me that everything will be OK, and then he wants to show off. My nerves can't handle it.

Mother 4: Teenagers always bring alcohol to parties. They bring it in their ruck sacks on their backs.

Mother 2: I don't know if it is wrong what I am doing. When my teenager wanted a party, I asked her if the children knew about our rules – that there is no alcohol [allowed] here. She should tell her friends beforehand and they can decide whether they were going to come. You see, we are converted. The rule here is no alcohol.

Facilitator 2: The children I work with tell me that they like that. If they know the rules in advance it helps. They know that parties with alcohol go badly wrong.

Mother 4: Sometimes they want you to say 'no' because they can't say 'no' to their friends. It's hard for them to say 'no' to their friends and it's easier to say that their parents said 'no'. They are invited to parties and sometimes they know that there will be alcohol but they often don't want to attend these parties. They may be nervous to go and so they might be relieved in way when their parents says no. Rules can be very important for young people.

Facilitator 2: But you can't expect your teenager to admit that.

Facilitator 2: How will you know when you saying 'no' comes as a relief to them?

Mother 4: When they don't fight back and just drop it.

Mother 2: From what age is it appropriate for a child to know about sex?

Facilitator 2: Talking about information. We need to see where they are getting the information?

1.11 Mother 7: When my girls started to menstruate, I would start telling them about the changes in their body. And a bit later I would tell them about sex. Now in schools it is different, but my daughter came home one day quite upset because they had showed her everything about sex – like how to use a condom, and she was totally disgusted. She felt she was not ready. I discussed this with my daughter's teacher but she explained that they have to give sex education at school. So you actually have to give them the information before the school does. Some kids are at a ripe age and some kids might not be and I said that there are so many single parents out there and my daughter can come home and discuss it with me but what about that little boy who is left on his own because his mommy is working and daddy is staying somewhere else and his hormones run away

with him. How does he control that? Does he force himself on a young innocent girl? So according to me, how can they just give this information to these little ones and there is no control. My girl has got me at home where she can speak to me. Other boys and girls that don't have that.

Facilitator 1: Is this in the curriculum for all children in the whole class?

Mother 1: Yes, they are combined together, boys and girls.

Facilitator 1: Don't you have to sign permission?

Mother 7: No, or I would say no. I would tell them I don't want this.

Mother 3: My daughter was in Grade 8 and we had a neighbor that lived behind us and fell pregnant every year. We were on our way to the shop the one day and my daughter asked her why she had a child every year. Her answer was that her husband didn't want her to use contraceptives. My daughter asked her why she didn't go to the health clinic secretively without her husband knowing. It was not good for a women's body to have a baby every year. She knew about this because it had been taught to her. The women enquired from me where my daughter had learnt this information. I told her: at school. At the end of the day, I think that woman took my daughter's advice because she never had a baby every year again.

Facilitator 1: The importance is that you know what information your child will be getting so that you can follow up and have that conversation as well. So maybe it's about involvement from your side – you asking the teachers what is going to be discussed with your children? If you can't control what they are going to hear, you can try to control the understanding of what they have heard.

Mother 7: I think most of the parents are not aware of these discussions. I am now aware of it and if I had another child I would know this is going to happen. But for some parents

it's the first one going into a talk like this and when they get home its like wow this is what we heard. If they tell their parents.

Facilitator 1: At least if they are telling their parents, they can have the conversation, but if the parents don't know?

Facilitator 2: Perhaps they can be told in a newsletter in the beginning of the term?

Mother 6: My son is calm but has many admirers. I am very over protective. It's different for me because he is the one bringing the girls home and he can see by my reaction that I don't want them there. It's wrong for me to react that way. I need to give him to little more freedom. I trust him but I'm not saying he won't go wrong. Even though he is an exceptional boy, you have no guarantees. That's always in the back of my mind.

Facilitator 1: What would work for him? If you gave him more space how would you monitor that everything is ok? What are the steps that you could take to do this? How would you know he is ok?

Mother 6: You would have to watch what he does. He doesn't know about open parties or going to the mall on his own. He mustn't even bother asking to go to Cape Gate in a group of friends to watch movies.

Mother 8: You can also watch their school work and emotions and moods and friends.

Mother 6: He actually only has friends at school and then he goes to youth. He doesn't walk the streets.

1.12 Facilitator 1: And what about keeping in touch with his friends parents?

Mother 6: I was concerned that my son had a friend who was never allowed to visit our house and so my son always had to go there. His mom and I never saw eye to eye, because I didn't know what was happening at the friend's home. So I stopped that friendship.

Mother 2: I saw a program on Oprah Winfrey who had a psychologist talking to a group of teenagers. This psychologist professed that children should be told that sex is enjoyable, but why would you do that if you don't want them sexually active? I don't agree with that because how can you tell your child that?

Mother 8: I think everyone's morals have gone down the drain.

Facilitator 2: But you can't tell your children that sex is not enjoyable because then you would be lying.

Facilitator 1: If you don't feel comfortable, then rather don't say anything. That's why I am doing this research. I don't believe there is only one right answer. I really don't. What is right in your home might not be right in someone else's home. We all have different children. There is no one size fits all.

Facilitator 2: When a child is exposed to a program like that it makes you as a parent less empowered because then you can't decide what you want to tell your child. Even the Grade 7 curriculum makes some parents feel disempowered.

1.13 Facilitator 1: Do you sometimes wonder when you hear someone like an expert or Oprah saying this is what we should be doing and if it is different to what you think, then it leaves us feeling that we are wrong as parents and we should be doing what they say. That is a worry because what message do we want teenagers to hear when an "expert" is telling them what to do?

Mother 7: Each situation is different. In my household and her household and your household is completely different. Sex is supposed to be enjoyable for everybody but it was made by God for man and women that are in a married relationship to enjoy. Something beautiful. It's being made something terrible, disgusting, misused and abused

so when you don't use it the world way but in God's way, you will receive wonderful benefits.

Facilitator 1: When the time is right and your relationship is ready.

Mother 8: You all need to decide when your children can get together with Facilitator 1. Maybe they can come here or meet somewhere?

Mother 9: Maybe school holidays.

Mother 8: If you need anything further, just give me a ring.

1.14 Facilitator 1: What are some of the greatest challenges for teenagers other than sex, teenage pregnancies, parties, and alcohol? Are drugs a problem that your children are exposed to?

Mother 4: Yes.

Facilitator 1: What is it like in this community and in school?

Mother 4: My daughter told me the other day that they know there are certain children who have drugs at school. There is a certain way they look at each other. The children know who is selling drugs. I asked her if she knew who is selling drugs and she said yes. But I asked her why doesn't she go to the school and tell them. She answered that they are very tight and if they find out that you have said something, you will be in trouble. It's not just cigarettes, its drugs.

Facilitator 1: It must be worrying, your daughter is only 13 years old.

Mother 4: It was quite scary for me. The school she is in has 10 Grade 8 classes. It's a big school.

Mother 7: I know a while ago at primary school that there was a phase that they were selling sweets that contained drugs but they were warned by their teacher. Don't go and

buy from their and that person. What the sweet looked like. It is not a sweet, it is a drug. They also did it on a tattoo at one stage.

Facilitator 2: Are there any of the schools here that are contracted into the program where they do the random searches? When they bring the dogs in?

Mother 4: I don't know how the dealers know about it but they get rid of the drugs before they get there. The kids won't split on each other because it's like a secret society thing.

Mother 1: At our school, they get no warning. They just open the doors and get search. I know at some schools they give a warning before hand and I even know of some kids names that are selling dagga during school time. During break times they go and do their dagga thing.

1.15 Facilitator 1: I can think of two questions now. One is when we spoke to one of the other groups of parents we heard that the dads felt desperate about protecting their children and how hard they found it to protect their children. I was wondering if you had any thoughts about what is like to be a father as a parent? And what can us as women and moms give as advice to our sons about girls?

Mother 2: My experience of men is that they are not really involved. I don't know about you guys but especially in our culture they feel it's a woman's job to look after the child and everything that the child needs must come from the mother. And that is very stressful and a lot of pressure on a woman.

Facilitator 1: In terms of everything? Does that include financial support or do dads do that?

Mother 2: If the dad is working and the mother is not, the dad will just give the money to the mother and she must provide. I think that is wrong because that is too much pressure on the mom and because on the emotional side it is too much.

Mother 9: I remember when I was pregnant I had to go back to work when the baby was only 2 months. It was hard for me.

Mother 2: Then at the end of the day there is no one to comfort you. There is no one to speak to or to tell this is how I feel or perhaps this to too much on me and sometimes you feel that you are not good enough, not a good enough mother or wife.

Facilitator 2: I remember my husband had to go up to Natal and told all the guys there that they had to be there for their wives. Be there for your children. This is something that more men need to be hearing more often. There must be an awareness growing in our community about this. Fathers need to be more aware and women can't just be there to pick up the slack.

Mother 1: That is interesting. My husband is not my daughter's biological dad but he adopted her when she was four years old and they are very close. But he never gives any of us a hug or anything. He is trying now to connect with my daughter. An example, he had an accident at work on Monday and almost cut off his whole finger. He needed attention and wanted a hug but he doesn't know how to reach out.

Facilitator 1: Why do you think they don't know?

Mother 1: Because they were not brought up to do it. It was never done to them so there was never an example.

Mother 2: At the end of the day, I understand if you were not brought up that way but at the end of the day all of us must learn what to do. I feel as a woman we put more into that learning process. I feel there is not enough effort from men because I also said to my husband, look here, how do you know how she feels if you do not speak to her? If you do not reach out to her and ask her how are you doing? For instance, if she knocks her head she would come to me and I would tell her to go to her daddy, then he says to go your

mommy. But I tell him to support her and comfort her. She came to you as a superior in the house. So if you want me to teach her to respect you at that level, to be recognized as the dad in the house, I think you must reach out to her. That is what God does. He reaches out to us. You, as the dad, should express that love to me and your child.

Facilitator 2: Some wives have to teach that to their husbands as well as the children.

Facilitator 1: That puts more pressure on the woman.

Mother 4: I must say that my husband is not like that.

Mother 1: It depends on how the boys are brought up. That's where the problem comes from. Not bringing up your child in a loving upbringing.

Mother 5: I have seen that homes with only girls in the house that the dad stands back a bit. When we have something at the house my husband will say "U are all the same gender, sort it out" Whereas if there was a boy in the house, I think he would react differently.

Mother 2: But I think it is also depends on YOU. You as a person. It doesn't matter is it's a girl or a boy, if you say you really love someone irrespective, you would show. You can't just say I love you. You must show that you really love someone. If the person is hurt, you must have the ability to go to that person and hug and express feeling. Is there something that I can do to ease the pain. If you don't know how to you must learn it. I grew up without my mother and my father, but that did not keep me from loving. I ask the Lord, "I don't know what it feels like to be loved by a father, so teach me how to love." It's not that I don't have it because I didn't experience it. If woman can learn, so can men.

Mother 4: There is a right way to talk to a man and then there is a wrong way. If you do it the wrong way, he will pull back. Your timing must be right.

Mother 7: My husband is very loving in that way. He still at 13 tucks my daughter in bed at night. He prays with her. That is their little thing every night. U have got to do it with the right attitude. They must be willing and open.

Facilitator 2: I worked with a man who brought his wife a cup of coffee every morning on a tray with a flower on it. But was she happy? No, because he did not say "I love you" as often as she would want him to say. He never gave enough hugs. So she ignored that cup of coffee and flower. She decided what her statement of love had to be.

Mother 1: Because dad's don't show affection, the daughters often think they don't love them. It is misunderstood.

Mother 2: So when is it obligation and when is it real affection because I feel you can really feel the difference. When I was 13 I went to live with my mom for the first time, I felt when she hugged me it didn't feel real. And that was out of obligation. When I was married I freaked out at her and told her that I am not a child anymore. I can feel that that hug is not from your heart. It is out of obligation. What is the reason you cannot love me or hug me out of love coz. Nobody taught me that it feels obligated. Nobody, coz I can feel it is not real. And then she opened up to me and said that when I was small she had sent me to my grandmother and managed to cut herself from me. I cried because I know my mom could not reach out to me. I'm now doing the things because I have to do it. Children can feel obligated love and real love.

1.16 Facilitator 2: So we empower ourselves as parents when we get in touch with our feeling. We can remember the frustration we had as children.

Mother 2: Maybe that is why we sometimes don't understand our own children. Sometimes out children know us better than we know ourselves. They live with you every day and see.

Facilitator 1: They learn to read us. So to close, what are the joys and pleasures that teenagers bring to our lives?

Mother 4: The way they see the world is totally different to us. They have so much hope and dreams. They are more positive. My daughter wears shocking pink tekkies [shoes] and in her head, she looks beautiful and she believes that.

Facilitator 1: Anything else?

Mother 3: Sometimes it is not that wrong when the dad is over protective in the home. We have rules that if our daughter feels uncomfortable, even if she has not arrived at a party, she can go to her dad. She can phone anytime and we will collect her immediately. My husband encourages her to talk to her friends and listen to their hearts. My daughter had a friend that wanted to go for an abortion and didn't know what advice to give her, so once she had discussed it with her dad, she knew what to say. He gives her a lot of positive information. He appreciates the way they dream. They have a close relationship.

Facilitator 1: When is a good time to meet with your children. I can listen to what they say and then with your children give feedback. Is there a time when all the children come here?

Mother 4: Maybe school holidays.

Mother 9: That will be the best.

Facilitator 1: So the holidays might the best and easiest.

Mother 1: Can't we make a special youth evening where we specifically get this group of kids together and then out of that make your conclusion.

Facilitator 1: Or a Saturday morning, how busy are they or do they do sport? How free are they? Maybe u need to tell them that they are coming to help us understand them better and vice versa. Then they will come.

Mother 1: Once the way opens up, then they will all voice how they feel.

Facilitator 1: It will only be this group of children who will gather. We can do it any Friday night youth evening, all Saturday or any late afternoon after school.

APPENDIX I

Appendix I

Group B - Adolescents

1.1 Introduction of the study

1.2 Facilitator 1: So what we would like to know is what is it like to be a teenager?

Adolescent 1: Fun

Facilitator 1: What are the fun things about being a teenager?

Adolescent 1: It is fun to be a teenager. We like spending time with friends. We have more privileges, like staying up later. It is nicer than when we were in Primary School - High School is fun.

Facilitator 1: Do you have more fun now then you did in primary school.

All Adolescent Girls: Yes!

Facilitator 1: What do you enjoy about being a teenager?

Adolescent 2: Going to places like movies, ice skating etc. - Its more freedom in a way.

Facilitator 1: What are the difficulties that you face?

Adolescent 3: Choices, you have to take more responsibility because you older. There is peer pressure.

Adolescent 3: Peer pressure

Adolescent 4: Sometimes there are the wrong friends.

Facilitator 2: Do you get attracted to the wrong friends or do the wrong friends come looking for you?

Adolescent 4: Both ways.

1.3 Facilitator 2: Has that got to do with peer pressure or is that something slightly different?

They all agree that it's a bit different

Adolescent 8: "Sometimes we have to choose our friends better and sometimes we are just trying to fit in".

Facilitator 1: Do you guys experience a lot of peer pressure?

Adolescent 4: not really

Adolescent 3 says yes and Adolescent 6 agrees with him. .

Facilitator 1: If you think of your friends and people you know, what are the kinds of pressure are people put under? Is it pressure to smoke…?

Adolescent 3: Yes and pressure to drink alcohol. Like on weekends my friends want to go out and drink and I don't drink, so it's hard for me to go with them.

Facilitator 2: They the same age as

Adolescent 3: Sixteen. Where do they go out to drink? Each other's houses or where?

Adolescent 3: They go to places like the mall.

Facilitator 1: What are other pressures; I'm not saying it happens to you. I'm just saying generally what is the pressures teenagers face?

Facilitator 2: Gives an example. One of my grade 7 groups told me a very interesting peer pressure which was a peer pressure to act older than you are. These were the kind of kids who are cool with who they are and they have sort of taken the position they get from their parents that they are still children and can still play (e.g. to play with Barbie's) but some of their friends really disapprove of any activity that is childlike or playful.. She said they get together in a little group and that they really hate these girls that are always looking down their noses at them, so that if you go past them in the corridor they knock them with their elbow.

Adolescent 5: Yes, I get that as well

Facilitator 1: Why? What is it about when people shove people out of the way?

Adolescent 5: They just waiting to get a response from you so that they can like shut you down. They always do that if someone has a low self-esteem etc.

1.4 Facilitator 1: Is it like a power thing?

Facilitator 2: Hitting or pushing people and making them feel worse. Would you call that bullying or would you call that something else?

Adolescent 5: Yes, it's bullying.

Facilitator 2: It is sort of girl bullying we are talking about. They are not going to hurt you in the toilet and beat you up, they make you feel ugly on the inside.

Facilitator 1: I also sometimes hear that people are under pressure to have a girlfriend or a boyfriend. That it's a big deal to have a girlfriend or boyfriend. Is there that kind of pressure as well?

Adolescent 4: Yes. There is pressure to have a girlfriend or boyfriend – it is part of looking cool.

Facilitator 1: Why is that? Is it part of being/looking cool?

Adolescent Girls: Yes

Facilitator 1: I remember once a girl in grade 8 was feeling very sad and she told me she was convinced she was the only girl in her grade that didn't have a boyfriend. The problem was about 5 other girls that were in the same grade were also telling me that they were the only ones in their grade who didn't have a boyfriend. It really, really upset them.

Facilitator 2: The thing is it's part of an image – say you really fell for someone and started telling your friends about how wonderful this guy is and on and on – they will probably lose interest in that. It is more whether you have a boyfriend than what the relationship might be like. Is that what it actually is?

Adolescent 4: Yes that's basically it.

Facilitator 2: That must be very tiresome.

Facilitator 1: I have heard that some relationships last from the beginning of the school day to end of the same school day. So a guy can ask a girl at the beginning of the day to go out with him and by the end of the day they have broken up. What about the pressure to have cool things …?

Adolescent 6: Cool things, like cell phones and MXit.

1.5 Facilitator 1: How many of you have cell phones?

Everyone puts their hands up indicating that they have cell phones and they all have MXit.

Facilitator 1: Is MXit good or bad?

Adolescent 8: It is good. It saves air-time. It's actually much better than going on the internet and on Facebook, it's much safer.

Facilitator 1: It is safer when you are careful about whom you are friends with?

Adolescent 2: The thing is, on MXit you can go on chat rooms or you can have your private MXit then you only invite people that you want to.

Facilitator 1: So the safe part is not being in chat rooms?

Adolescent 3: If your parents download MXit they can see when you online, they can also see what you doing and who you talking to

Adolescent 6 and Adolescent 2's parents have downloaded MXit too and check up on them.

Adolescent 2: My Dad can actually check but he doesn't.

1.6 Facilitator 2: Do you think they check because they don't trust you or because they don't trust MXit?

Adolescent 6: Because they don't trust us.

Facilitator 1: Or because they trying to protect you?

Adolescent 1: They worry a bit too much. Our parents are very over protective.

Facilitator 1: What I wanted to say to you guys is we want to chat for a bit and after we have chatted we will decide on the things you want to say to your parents then we are going to ask the parents to sit with us and then we will give them feedback - this is how they are going to hear you. So I'm not going to go Adolescent 4 says… but maybe we could say things like they worry too much, if you all agree.

All Adolescent Girls: Yes

Facilitator 1: Okay so it that is something you want to tell them.

Adolescent 1: And they are over protective. Sometimes the parents worry about things that they shouldn't worry about, and when it comes to things they should worry about, then they don't worry. They mustn't talk baby language to you when you in front of your friends. (e.g. if you talking to your friends and you mom come and be like "sweetie, bookie…").

Facilitator 1: I was interested when Adolescent 1 said that parents worry about the things they shouldn't worry about and don't worry about the things they should worry about. What are the kind of things they should not worry about?

Adolescent 6: They worry about us and our friends. Like when I go to the movies with my friends, they will send my big sister with us to see that we don't kiss a guy or something.

Facilitator 1: So if you are at the movies with a group of friends is it okay.

Adolescent 4: If I am on my own it is ok [to worry] but not if I'm in a group of friends.

Facilitator 1: When you guys are in the mall do you stick together? Do you understand that is important?

All Adolescent Girls: Yes.

Facilitator 1: What things do they worry about that they shouldn't?

Adolescent 4: Things like MXit.

Adolescent 7: There was something else that I wanted to add, they must not call you when you watching your favorite program.

Facilitator 1: I actually agree with you. When children and teenagers are watching their program parents will say come eat now or go and do this, but if your dad is watching the rugby he is not going to get up and do something. I often hear that.

Adolescent 6: I have another one; they have to make coffee for themselves.

Adolescent 4: They must not talk about when you were a baby in front of your friends or show them baby photos etc.

1.7 Facilitator 1: So don't you think this is a little bit about respect, respecting what you enjoy doing like your TV program?

Facilitator 2: Would you say you would like to never make a cup of coffee for them or just that they taking advantage?

Adolescent 1: Usually when they want something they will ask us, they won't get up and do it themselves.

Adolescent 4: They will sit next to the kettle and they will call you from your room to come make coffee.

Adolescent 7: Also to make coffee when you mom has guests and then they call you, go fetch the cool drink or go fetch the cake.

Facilitator 2: What is the problem with that? Is it because you have something else to do or is it because you feel like a servant?

Adolescent 6: Ja, we feel like servants.

Facilitator 1: So, you are prepared to be helpful sometimes, but you don't want to feel like a servant. We need to give them some good news as well!

1.8 Facilitator 1: What are the things that they don't worry about that they should worry about?

Adolescent 4: Our feelings.

Facilitator 1: Adolescent 4, that was a very interesting point about your feelings. It is something parents should be worried about? What are you saying about the boyfriends?

Adolescent 1: Our parents are over- protective when guys come to the house, because they always think they going to do something wrong.

Adolescent 4: They made their mistakes now they don't want to give us our space. They hold us back from having fun, because they are worried we will make the same mistakes.

Facilitator 1: Is it about trust?

Adolescent 4: Yes, they know what they did when they were young so they are worried you will do or make the same mistakes. They preach too much. They go on and on about the same thing.

Facilitator 2: We often ask the parent groups what they were like when they were teenagers and they do sometimes admit to being quite wild. These are often the ones that are quite strict.

1.9 Facilitator 1: Okay so you are wanting more trust. What are the others things they should worry about?

Adolescent 4: They must help you make the right choices.

Facilitator 1: I totally agree but now this is going to be my point about parenthood. The only way your parents can help you to make the right choices is if you talk to them.

Adolescent 4: I can't talk to my mother about stuff because I know she is going to like scream at me. I want to really talk to my mother, but she doesn't really give that feeling that I can go to her.

Facilitator 2: So they should worry about your feeling that they don't give you enough space and that you can't go and talk to them easily. Do you think there is a different between helping you make the right choices and making the choices for you?

Adolescent Girls: Yes

Facilitator 2: That's what I think I'm hearing you saying. You would be happy if you thought they would help you to make the right choice but it's your choice in the end of the day.

Adolescent 4: Just give me guidelines and they must ask you, you know 'is there stuff in the school happening like peer pressure?' They can tell us how they handled these problems when they were teenagers, and then we can learn from their mistakes.

Facilitator 2: So they must not yell at you and they must not go straight to the bible.

1.10 Facilitator 1: You know what they must also not do, is judge you and your friends. I hear about that that parents' judge, so you go to your mom and tell your mom something about your friend, I think you will be worried your mom is going to judge your friend and then she is not going to let your friend come over to your house anymore.

Adolescent Girls: Yes, that happens a lot.

Facilitator 1: Okay so don't judge us or our friends.

Facilitator 2: I don't know if people always understand the difference between judgment and opinion. I think parents can have opinions; they can say "I'm not sure I like that girl". If she had to say "She is a bad influence" then that's a judgment.

Facilitator 1: You know what? If all we changed today was that you guys felt you could talk to your parents about anything without being judged or without making your lives difficult, we would have changed a lot in your lives. You may find it easier to make wiser decisions. How do we teach/show/ask/invite your parents to give you the space to say whatever you want. If you were to give them advice what would you ask them to do? Say I came to you and I say I have a teenage daughter, she finds it hard to talk to me because she says I judge her or I get angry or whatever. Tell me what to do?

Adolescent 6: I want to give my example because for the last 2 months I have had an urge to smoke but I don't smoke. My dad smokes, my sister smokes and some of my friends smoke and I told my mom that I want to smoke but I will not. When I said the words smoke she started screaming. My mother is always angry and she reacts too fast before she hears the story completely.

Facilitator 2: I have heard that reaction called a knee jerk. You don't have to think about making your foot jump it just does it. So don't over react.

Adolescent 4: They say to you, you may not drink or smoke but then they do it in front of you.

Adolescent 1: If they tell you not to do it and they do it then what is the point. If you tell them I want to do it but I'm not and then they make a scene but they still do it.

Facilitator 2: (to Adolescent 6) I wonder what your dad would say if you told him that you sometimes feel like smoking?

Adolescent 6: He would do nothing or say ‘well just go sit there’. My Dad works late, so some nights I sit with him at the computer and watch him play games. I can’t really talk to my dad because I feel I don’t really have a close relationship with my father because he is like my Mom - you can’t talk to him because he will get mad about something and he will just say ‘no don’t do that’, ‘do this and go there’ etc. My dad does tell my mom sometimes … when I tell her I want to go out and then he will tell her let her go out because she is always at home.

1.11 Facilitator 1: I am going to start another page on the things you appreciate.

Adolescent 2: When one of our parents stands up for us.

Facilitator 2: Sound as is you would appreciate if they gave you time and time when they not busy at also work.

Adolescent 4: They put a lot of stuff higher then you. If I tried to talk to my mother, she would rather say, ‘No I can’t talk to you now. I need to go to church or I’m busy.’ There is always something better than me to do. My mother always chooses something over me.

Facilitator 1: So other things are more important than talking to us?

Adolescent 7: They must also spend time with us.

Facilitator 2: I like the way Adolescent 4 put that. There is always something better than me to do. You know it's not saying this is more important. This is how it makes you feel, like you are not important and not worth it.

Adolescent 4: They also break you down when you fight.

Facilitator 2: When you said to worry about your feelings, is that the part. To think about your feelings and to not break you down. Do other people agree with that also? That people shouldn't break you down?

Adolescent Girls: Yes

Facilitator 1: I would like to know from you guys. The other groups I have run the parents complain they want to spend time with their teenagers but when they want to go play golf with their teenagers, the teenagers don't want to do that or they want to have their teenagers stay at home and have lunch with them but their teenagers don't want to do that and I think that parents do want to spend time with you but they don't know what it is that you want them to do with you. Does that make sense?

Adolescent Girls: Yes

1.12 Facilitator 1: Please tell me one thing that you would like to do with your mom and something you would like to do with your dad?

Adolescent 6: I would like my Dad to spend more time with me. When his boss calls him at nine at night when you want to watch TV with your dad or talk to him and his boss calls and says come to work and then he works till 4 in the morning. That makes

you angry because his boss actually took up your time that you actually wanted to spend with your Dad.

Adolescent 4: Or you planned a week to take a ride to Robertson or something and his boss calls or my mom just decides she doesn't want to go. Your time to bond with them and to go and do fun stuff together is spoilt cause they don't want to or when you ask them can we like go for a drive or can we sit and watch TV, no then they still chose stuff over you.

Facilitator 1: How can you be reasonable about something like that because it may not always be possible for your dad to stand up to his boss. Does he need the job? Does he need the money? What would happen if he said no? I do agree with you that sometimes bosses take chances with their workers but does your dad have a lot of choice or are there ways where you can be a bit understanding about some of these things?

Adolescent 6: I think he can say no because his boss has his own family in Worcester and when my dad is supposed to get off at 18:00 his boss goes at 16:00 and he goes to his house. When he calls my dad Saturday night and says 'can you go' then my dad should say 'No, I want to spend more time with my family so I will do it in the morning' or that his boss can wait because the people that are there are supposed to do the job - not my dad.

Facilitator 1: So is that the thing about prioritizing other things above us? What are the fun kinds of things to do with the moms?

Adolescent 2: Shopping, making food together.

Adolescent 7: I think I back chatted my mom when we were shopping, so she said walk that side and I will walk this side.

Facilitator 1: Maybe shopping without fighting? Could that be an agreement you could make with your moms'?

Adolescent 2: When we go shopping and my Mom doesn't like my style, then she will say 'don't buy that', and then you can't buy it.

1.13 Facilitator 2: Have you got your own money to buy things or do they buy for you?

Adolescent 7: They buy for you. They take you out to buy clothes so we must actually choose what to buy.

Adolescent 4: They [parents] take you to the shop and say you may choose two things of your choice, doesn't matter I will pay for it. Then when you go to the shop and see sneakers, (my mom hates sneakers). Now, I'm like 'yes I want these', then she will scream, 'No you may not get these.' And she embarrasses me in front of all the people.

Facilitator 2: Would you prefer to have an allowance so that you have your money that you can spend?

All of the Adolescents: Ja!

Facilitator 1: How many of you get pocket money?

Five of the Adolescent Girls indicate that they get pocket money

Facilitator 1: What are you meant to do with your pocket money?

Adolescent 4: Put it in a savings account, save it and then use it when you really need it or if want new cloths you can use it.

Facilitator 1: For entertainment? When you go to movies and things like, do they give you money for that?

Adolescent 4: No you have to use you own money for that.

Facilitator 1: What are other nice things to do with mom? Don't you ever just go for a nice cup of coffee or milkshake together?

Adolescent 2: Yes. We like to go for coffee or a milkshake or a walk with our parents.

Facilitator 2: I have recently seen some mothers and daughters at the gym together. Do you go to the gym with your mom?

Adolescent 6: No.

Facilitator 1: Would you go for a walk with your mom?

Adolescent 6: Yes, but they mustn't preach while you are going for a walk. We should all talk about what they did that day and things like that.

Facilitator 2: Just enjoy Mother Nature. Would you want to walk on the beach, nature reserve or just around?

Adolescent 6: Just around, between the houses, anywhere will be fun.

Facilitator 1: What are other nice things to do together? What about watching a TV program together?

All Adolescent Girls: Ja.

Facilitator 2: Would you go to the movies with them?

All Adolescent Girls: Ja.

The girls say that their moms always fall asleep, or choose weird soppy movies and it's so embarrassing. If they say something about the movie they don't want to see then a fight arises.

Adolescent 6: They (mom) even choose the dog above you. They treat the dog as if it is their child and us differently.

Adolescent 7: It's the same with small ones. If you have a baby brother or baby sister, they always get things better then you.

1.14 Facilitator 1: So be fair – is that what you are saying?

Adolescent 4: Or if you and your older sister/ brother are in a fight and your sister swears at you and you don't do anything, you just keep quite or you just sit there or say 'please just stop now'. They (parents) will shout at you and blame you for everything.

Facilitator 2: Somebody mentioned mood swings just now. I didn't have that in my list of difficulties but is that part of it? Do you guys have mood swings or is it that you just get accused of having mood swings?

Adolescent 4: Being accused. But sometimes you do feel that you were rude to your parents. It's also the way they talk to you and you also feel that why must you always talk to them like that?

Facilitator 1: What are nice things to do with dads?

Adolescent 7: Play soccer, watching the rugby.

Adolescent 6: Going to the beach.

Adolescent 4: Play touch rugby.

Adolescent 6: One time I went to the beach with my dad I swam, that was the most fun I had with my dad since we moved from Palaborwa, because in Palaborwa we always did go for a swim and stuff and since we moved here we haven't done it.

Adolescent 4: Just sit at home and have a cup of coffee ask about his day without having a fight or without sarcasm.

Adolescent 7: While you have your free time they mustn't sing you a baby song.

Facilitator 1: Other things to do with dads? Also watch a TV program…Adolescent 3 what do you like doing with your dad?

Adolescent 3: I like going out to watch car races with my dad.

Facilitator 1: I actually don't think dads know what to do with teenage daughters. So when we chatted to your moms' there was a lot said about keeping you guys safe. Things like alcohol, drinking, smoking, sex came up a lot and I think that they are scared because they don't know if you will be safe but maybe you need to give us some ideas or reassure them about things that you could do to make sure, that show them that you can keep yourself safe. Does that make sense?

Everyone nods.

1.15 Adolescent 4: My mom doesn't trust me that much, that's why I really want to tell my mom stuff, but she doesn't trust me with anything because my one friends, a boy, came to visit me and we were standing outside, in front of my house, just talking and then she made a scene just because he talked to me. There is nothing wrong with that, she doesn't trust me and I don't know how I can build up trust with her because she doesn't want that.

Facilitator 1: We are going to ask them how we can build trust, and they can give us some ideas. You do understand that if you are open with them and they know all about your lives, it is easier to trust you then? We did all the things that you would like to do with your parents. Do you want to comment on things like alcohol, smoking and sex and birth control and information about you're your parents ask about these things. Do they talk to you about birth control? If they do talk about it or if they put you on a contraceptive, is that giving you permission to sleep around? It seems that there is a whole struggle that the parents have and maybe you guys can give us some answers.

Adolescent 6: I told my mom about my friend - she and her boyfriend went to the movies and they slept together at his friends' house. My mom over-reacted and she said that she will think twice before letting me go out with my friends because I have friends that did that. She said that my friends are going to say that if I want to be in their group, I will also have to do it. They (our parents) have to just let go and trust us more with this because we know all know we can control ourselves.

Adolescent 7: Say you have a boyfriend. My Mom says that all boys want sex.

Adolescent 3: No, don't believe that.

Adolescent 7: I heard this from my parents especially from my dad. But if you go out with a boy and you know that you are not ready for sex and the boy's parents are strict – where does your mom come from with sex?

Facilitator 1: So what are you saying? All boys are not bad?

Adolescent 7: Yes, because his parents are strict and my parents are strict. We are just seeing each other.

1.16 Facilitator 1: When we spoke about peer pressure, one of the things we spoke about of was the friends we choose. So are you saying that if we choose nice friends from nice families it doesn't mean we are going to end up sleeping with our boyfriend? Are you saying that it is not true that all boys just want sex?

Adolescent 4: No, I don't believe that. I know boys can be like that, but I have heard it the other way from boys that it's the girls that are really pushy.

Adolescent 7: Can I ask you something? Say you get pregnant, mothers say they won't allow you back in the house, is this true? But when you have the baby they allow you back in the house. For example, my cousin is 17 and she got a baby by sleeping around but she had problems in the house. Her parents allowed her to come back in the house but her parents are divorced. I think she got that way because her mother is going out with another man and it's all messy. Is it because they don't love you or what?

Facilitator 1: It's not that they don't love you. I think that they are almost trying to make you scared that you won't sleep around too soon.

Adolescent 3: Ja, but they try to warn you about sex but they made a mistake before marriage to have sex themselves.

Facilitator 1: Then they are also harder on you guys in a way?

Facilitator 2: Sometimes I think when parents are converted they also relegate that part of their life to their unconverted life. I don't know if you guys find that because you are part of a church group? It is like they are saying before I knew the Lord I did x,y,z…but you're a Christian you don't do that and if I had been a Christian I would not have done that but we didn't know better. We don't know what they would have done if they were a young Christian as you are and that makes it harder.

Adolescent 7: Why is there stuff out in the world and then stuff inside the church you can't do? It's all complicated and confusing. You're young and you get all these rules and regulations and out in the world everyone just does what they do.

Facilitator 1: What could you do about that? If you are feeling confused about it?

Adolescent 4: You should talk to them [parents] about stuff, but sometimes I can't talk to my mother about things because she will judge me and say that people would have done this. She would say the 'Lord would have done this; you must talk to the Lord'. I try to do stuff differently, but my mom always sees something wrong with me and my friends.

Facilitator 1: You know what, that is another point. Don't you think that we should also be saying here maybe that they need to notice the good you do and not only the bad?

Adolescent 4: Why do they always have a problem if you have a boyfriend? But your sister is 10 times worse but to them they are angels?

Adolescent 4: Our teacher says that if we have problems at home and we don't have people to talk, we should come talk to them. So when I went to go talk to her about stuff, then she says I should talk to my parents. Everything leads back to talking to my parents, but my mom is very overprotective! If I try talk to my her and I say, 'Mommy a guy asked me out' she freaks out. She never lets me finish.

1.17 Facilitator 1: Those are the kind of things that shut down our conversations. What would happen if there was a time once a week or every second week where you have an agreement with your parents that they would just listen to what you are saying and not say anything back until you have finished speaking. If you had to sit down - say on a Tuesday night from 5 until 6 with your parents and have a chat, or go for a milkshake and talk?

Adolescent 4: We can't because my mom is always at Church. If I want to talk to her and tell her that Adolescent 6 and I had this big fight and I want to ask her what should I do because I don't want to make the wrong choice - say I want to be friends with her but maybe she is smoking and doing all the bad stuff, I want to ask her how do I handle it? But then I go to her sometimes and I say mommy how do I handle it then she says I have to go to church I can't talk to you now. She just slams the door in my face. So when we can have the opportunity to talk she cuts me down.

Adolescent 7: They (parents) talk to you in a loud tone of voice. For example, when I came home, as I entered she says I must sweep this room, then make your baby brother

toast and I still wanted to make my bed and still wash my hair and blow it. Then I had to clean the lounge then my room, then I had to wash my hair and it was 5 o clock. I still had to play with my baby brother. At 6 o clock I asked my mom: 'Mommy can I just blow my hair tomorrow night?' then she says no then I'm going to be tired. They must always have free time but not you.

Facilitator 2: Adolescent 7, was there a bit of a stay calm between the cleaning of the room and making you bed? You know keeping calm you hear from teenagers sometimes.

Facilitator 1: We needed to talk about loud voices.

Facilitator 2: Keeping calm covers a few things, it covers our loud voices, it covers our over reacting and the jumping in to it.

Adolescent 4: When I'm alone the she will talk to me nicely but in front of others e.g. Adolescent 6, Adolescent 1 she will shout and make a big thing out of nothing.

Adolescent 4: I want to know, is it wrong if you tell them you love them and they don't respond? Sometimes I just really want to know if my mom loves me or not but not in a rude way like she doesn't show it, but she never ever tells me.

1.18 Facilitator 2: One of the many things Facilitator 1 has found in her research and she has been working with teenagers for many years, is that all of these stories about teenagers that people hear you know how difficult it is to be a teenager and how difficult it is to parent teenagers. People lose sight of the basic stuff about love. What are the things we could say we appreciate about our parents?

Adolescent 7: Why do they throw the letters away that we give them? We write such pretty letters that say I love you.

Adolescent 4: Example; Last year I wrote my mother this big letter to say I'm sorry that I'm naughty sometimes and then a couple of days ago I asked her to see the letter then she says "Oh no, I threw it away".

Facilitator 2: It might just be a personality thing; some people just need to have clutter out of their lives. Maybe you can say when you give the letter to her, that the letter is very important to you and will she keep it for a while or give her a box for letters.

Adolescent 3: When parents fight they like to drag you into it. They like to make you feel like it is your fault, that you caused the fight.

Facilitator 2: Do you feel like that, do they accuse you of causing it or do you just feel like that?

Adolescent 7: They fight and then they shout at you and take their anger out on you.

Adolescent 3: Then you feel like the one responsible for it.

Facilitator 2: You know what I think? All children feel that way not just teenagers. Younger children also feel that.

Adolescent 4: If I ask my mom if I can go to the movies then she will say yes but then when my dad comes home for an early surprise she is a whole different person. She changes when she is around my dad then when I say okay my friends are here can I go talk to them then she says no because my dad is there.

Facilitator 2: It does sound to me like there is quite a lot of pressure on moms too. Not every home has a dad and if there is a dad, the dad is very busy (working long hours) and they leave the parenting to the moms quite a bit. Most of us would like more time and often teenagers are not so critical of their dads but this isn't because the dads are way better people than the moms just because the dads are barely there and the moms are there so they kind of get it a bit more. Moms are the ones who are there, who interfere, who tells you what to wear and whether you can speak to your boyfriend or not and the father normally stays out of it. We do need to give your parents feedback – and perhaps we can tell them what we would like to do with them and also what we appreciate about them because it makes them feel good but it also encourages them to do more of what we appreciate. What can we ask them that we want more of?

Adolescent 4: More time

Facilitator 2: When they give you their time you really appreciate that, just hanging out not doing something particularly?

Adolescent Girls: Yes

Adolescent 4: Talking about what they did wrong and then saying they are sorry for making that mistake, the reason why they are so protective over you is because they don't want you to get hurt from [committing] their mistakes.

Facilitator 2: We have been doing this research in different communities as well. We have been to rich places and to poor places. Everywhere we go they tell us the same thing. They want their parents to be honest with them about their mistakes.

Adolescent 7: I'm not judging them but dads are sometimes dumbstruck. They don't know anything. When my mother speaks then it's like what are you talking about? I catch what my mom is talking about but my dad doesn't.

Adolescent 3: We appreciate who they are, their caring and love, their willingness to feed us.

1.19 Facilitator 2: When you say their moral values Adolescent 3, do you have any in mind? What are the moral values that you think are important to you?

Adolescent 3: And their moral values. Values like don't have sex before marriage. And their willingness to stand up for us.

Facilitator 2: Do they help us with other moral values; morality is not all about sex. Most of our moral choices are actually not about sex, they are about other things. Like do I give back something I borrow or how do I respond to someone that has just been incredibly rude to me. Those are also choices we have to make. Do your parents help you to make those kinds of choices?

Most of the Adolescent Girls indicate yes

Adolescent 4: They shout at you because if say, at school there are kids behind me talking and I say ssshh then my teacher sends me out the class, then I get a detention. If I tell my mom she won't believe me she will believe the teacher. She won't ever believe me in a situation like that.

Facilitator 2: Is that the same as trusting us or is it believing us? Are they kind of the same?

1.20 Facilitator 1: Listening. What you seem to be saying is: Take our side sometimes. Stand with us.

Adolescent 3: Another thing parents like is comparing you with other children.

Facilitator 2: You know, if they stood up for you and it turned out that you were in the wrong, would that be the end of the world?

Adolescent 4: Then they must ask you to admit you were wrong.

Facilitator 2: Then you might admit that earlier because they had been standing with you and then you find that you were actually wrong and then go to them and say: Listen you know thank you for supporting me, but I was wrong.

Adolescent 7: Sometimes it happens if we don't do something then they say we are lazy and judge us.

Facilitator 2: When you said comparing, was that comparing you with your friends or brother or sister or with anybody?

Adolescent 3: Anybody. They like look at that guy with good manners and say 'why aren't you like him?'

Adolescent 4: Or when they say I wish I had a daughter like her or a son like him. I'm like you have one – (Lots of laughter).

Facilitator 1: We laugh, but you are actually right. You have also kind of answered this, what do you want your parents to do differently? Is it things like trust us, believe us, listen to us?

Adolescent Girls and Adolescent Guy: Don't compare, Stop criticizing, have fun once in a while.

Adolescent 4: My parents are strict but if my mom and I want to go to the movies then she will always say no because she thinks there are boys going with and she always gets the wrong impression even though the boys and I are best friends she will always get the wrong impression. She thinks I'm going to kiss and do this and that. Sometimes I just want to have fun. I don't want to be like I was little and play in front of the yard etc. I want to go out, walk around with a friend in the mall or my friend and I want to go for a milkshake and talk about stuff. She will never allow it because she doesn't want me to live. The only place I ever go is school, home and church.

Adolescent 4: I talk to my grandmother sometimes and she tries to help but she never gets it right.

Facilitator 2: Grandmothers can sometimes be very kind and help you sort things out.

Adolescent 6: Grannies aren't always right. You said that they can help the situation but they can't because sometimes they are the cause of the situation. Example: Your gran says to you, you are nothing, you are a disgrace in this family but your grandfather thinks you are ok but your gran is like no you are worth nothing. Then you tell your mom and she doesn't believe you because she doesn't believe our gran would do that but she is actually the cause of the situation and sometime it's not even worth the breath to ask your grandmother to please help.

1.21 Facilitator 1: Adolescent 5, we haven't heard a lot from you and you are eldest in this group – so you have had a lot more experience being a teenager.

Adolescent 5: I don't have much experience because most of the time I was just at school and at home.

Facilitator 2: Did you have quiet teenage years?

Adolescent 5: Ja, I was mostly at home so I don't have a lot of experience.

Facilitator 1: If you had to give them a message listening to what you heard them say today, what would it be?

Adolescent 5: Sometimes our parents are often right when it comes to choices about school, friends and your future. You must try and listen to them. It might not seem like it but actually it is like that, but if they tell us in a nicer way, we would probably listen better.

Facilitator 2: What happened to the people in another group that we met with is that they all wish that they had listened to their parents. So maybe it's not what they are telling us. It's how they are telling us.

Facilitator 1: Isn't that a nice message to put here. If we said we know you are often right but if you tell us in a nicer way we would probably listen better.

Adolescent 5: They are the ones who sometimes force the decisions.

Adolescent 4: If they are wrong about something, they must admit that they were wrong.

Facilitator 1: I think there is nothing here that would upset the parents.

Adolescent 4: Can you tell them afterwards that they must not be cross with us? I'm scared I said stuff and if my mom knows it's me then she shouts at me in the car.

Facilitator 1: So at the end we are going to ask them to please not be cross and to listen with loving hearts and loving ears, and actually take it as an opportunity to understand what they could be doing to help have a better relationship with you.

Adolescent 4: And if you are crying about something you have lost that meant a lot to you. They must not tell you while you are crying that you are wrong. Afterwards you can say it but cuddle and support that person first.

Facilitator 2: Do you still appreciate hugs? Is there anyone here that does not appreciate a hug, from mom or dad?

Adolescent Girls and Adolescent Guy: No

1.22 Facilitator 1: Do you guys think you are being prepared for the future?

All of the Adolescents were very hesitant but said yes…

Facilitator 2: When we have worked in communities that are much more deprived we have heard a lot more about education. We haven't really heard that much from you guys at all. You have mentioned briefly the social aspects of school. You haven't spoken about your teachers, the school or the stress of being a teenager in school. Do you think that is because you are quite blessed in this school, is it that you are in good schools or is it that your teachers are good teachers?

Adolescent 4: You mom mustn't tell your teacher what happens at home because then your teacher treats you differently. When its parent evening I can tell when my mom has said something to the teacher because I get a whole different vibe from the teacher.

Facilitator 1: So that is also about standing with you and taking your side?

Facilitator 2: I have heard this from some of the adolescents I have in one of my groups as well, that the worst thing for them is if they see their mom and teacher talking. It is very uncomfortable for them.

Facilitator 1: Do you think it is good to ask teenagers what they want? What difference do you think it can make if you have a say in what happens in your lives?

Adolescent 4: Yes, I think you will be different with your parents because then your parents would know what you think and if you put your heads together then maybe you will come up with a better answer together.

Facilitator 2: We don't want to tell parents how to run their home and raise their kids. We don't think that is a good way to be talking to people but even if they just ask you 'what do you think?' You can say yes I agree with that, or this is my idea and then you can have a conversation about it.

1.23 Facilitator 1: What are the responsibilities of teenagers?

All Adolescents: To get a good education, having respect for your friends and family and older family, making the right choices, to take care of yourself, household responsibilities like helping with the washing etc., to take a bit more care for your own stuff,

Facilitator 1: You did sort of make mention of this earlier when you spoke about taking care of yourself or something. Perhaps it is something you could tell you parents, about steps you can take so that you could keep yourself safe so they can worry less. What are the things that you could do?

Adolescent 3: One thing we could do is inform them about where we are going and what we will be doing.

Facilitator 2: I'm just thinking that if people were to stay at home all the time and do everything their parents told them all the time 100% of the time, I'm not sure if that will actually build trust? Because if you still had to do that you would have a problem when you do go out, now they don't know what you are going to do. So we can't build trust by staying at home and always do everything exactly as we told.

Facilitator 1: So then what we will do. We could hear what your parents say and then tell them some of the ideas that you had, like keeping them informed (telling them where we are, what we doing and who we are with). Other ideas could be you understanding that your parents could be in contact with the other parents. You know what happened in Somerset West there was a huge issue for the teenagers because the moms said that if you go to a party the moms contact the other moms etc. and the teenagers were furious. They did not want their moms to phone the other parents, but then when we spoke to their dads, the dads said that they were worried about the girls and wanted to know if the girls were safe. The dads' biggest issue was keeping the girls safe. So eventually what the dads did was they gave the girls their number. Every girl got every dads number and vice versa.

Adolescent 4: It's okay if my mom phones, but then not every five minutes, asking am I still there? What am I doing? Am I drinking? They must give us some space to relax.

Facilitator 2: So you saying we must get back up for them, so they don't feel alone in their responsibility for you. Dad or friends must step in.

Adolescent 4: Your dad can also speak to you about wrong friends, but I have never heard someone tell me that their dad tells them those are the wrong friends. It is always your mother that does that.

Facilitator 1: But then guys shouldn't you be spending a bit more time with you fathers?

Adolescent Girls agree that they should.

Facilitator 2: (to Adolescent 3) Do you spend quite a bit of time with your dad?

Adolescent 3: Bits of it.

Facilitator 2: But you would like to spend some more time?

Adolescent 3: Yes.

Adolescent 6: I think this makes us feel closer to our parents.

APPENDIX J

Appendix J

Group C - Parents

1.1 Introduction of the Study

1.2 Facilitator 1: We are interested in finding out what it is like to parent teenagers. What do parents think is important to know about parenting teenagers? What do parents need to know about parenting teenagers? What is it like for you to parent teenagers? What are the difficulties and what are the good things? When we do this, Sally and I are going to take note of what everybody says so that we can learn about how you experience parenting teenagers. Nobody's names will be mentioned but they do need to say it's okay to use their words.

Translator: They said yes. Each person can sign the consent form saying that they are happy to take part in this discussion.

Facilitator 1: So as we start each one can say their name and how old their children are.

Translator: Okay, Mother 1 has got four children. If we talk about teenagers the one is 23 and the other one is 18. Mother 3 has got two children, one is 21 and the other one is 13. The 4th lady has got two children as well which are 21 and 18. I'm standing for my niece, she is 18 years old.

Mother 2: Hi my name is Mother 2 and I have a 13 year old boy and an 8 year old girl.

Father 1: Hi, my boy is 23 years old, my other boy is 16 years, and my other child is 12 years old and my other one is 3 years old.

Translator: She (6th lady) has got 8 children. The first born is 25, second born is 23, third born is 19, the forth born is 15, the fifth child is 14, the sixth child is 10 and the eighth child is 8.

Facilitator 2: So we have got parents who have lots of experience of raising teenagers even if their teenagers are now older. Some of these children are not teenagers yet and some of them are very young teenagers like 11, 12, and 13.

1.3 Facilitator 1: How is it for parents to be raising and parenting teenagers?

Translator: It is very, very difficult. It is a problem.

Facilitator 1: What are some of the difficulties that they experience?

Translator: (Mother 1) The big difficulties are that the children are getting pregnant before time and they are having children (early pregnancy) The other problem is that the single parents, I'm a single parent. It is very, very difficult. It is a problem. The difficulties are that the children are getting pregnant. Another problem is that when my child was in school, she left in grade 10, and her father was in an accident, and didn't get any benefits [financial benefits] from the accident so she just quit schooling.

Facilitator 1: And that makes it difficult in the future. Are there any other difficulties?

Facilitator 1: It's hard for parents to always have control. Is that what you saying?

Mother 2: Yes, and some of the children say they will leave.

Facilitator 2: Would they actually run away or do they threaten to run away?

Mother 2: Some kids do it, they would do it yes.

Mother 7: Some children, if they old enough and their parents say ‘Come we are going to make a family plan’ [contraception]. They don’t want to make a family plan. That is why they get pregnant before time.

1.4 Facilitator 1: Why? Why don’t young people want to make a family plan?

Mother 2: Like girls, they feel bad and embarrassed because they are young and their parents don’t usually speak about sex. Parents nowaday’s don’t talk to their children about sex and that. That’s why the girls feel it is embarrassing to walk into a clinic and there is an elderly person sitting there looking, because here, all the people are looking because the girl is 14/15 years old getting an injection. So they will think this girl is having sex that’s why she is on a pill or injection.

Facilitator 1: Maybe also in the smaller communities that we live in everybody knows everybody so the people in the clinic are going to recognize the children that are there. Does that happen?

All Women: Mmm ja, it happens.

Translator: (Father 1) Firstly our culture is different so parents and children can’t just talk openly. Sometimes you are talking with your child in the house, telling them about the rules, and then your child goes outside and she meets friends and then the friends turn her (influence), then you just find out your child is pregnant. We don’t have any control when the children go out and their friends are a bad influence sometimes. When I take my child to the doctor she mustn’t be stressed. Sometimes I ask her to get something but she keeps forgetting. You mustn’t shout at her; you must talk softly (calmly).

Facilitator 2: Is it that young people are stressed like that? Is just your daughter that is stressed or are lots of the teenagers stressed like this?

Mother 5: Yes some are - like I'm a parent to my niece because her mom and dad are not working so I'm the parent to her. She forgets as well. If I say do this she will say yes I will do it and then after 2 seconds she forgets. It is the same problem as that one. Sometimes I shout at her so I think I make things worse.

Translator: (Mother 3) says: The school sent her a letter saying what is disturbing her [my daughter]? Sometimes I notice that she looks disturbed outside but inside at home there is nothing, nothing wrong with her but she is not an open child who can talk but she worries about the outside like peer pressure.

1.5 Facilitator 1: Is peer pressure a big thing in your community?

Translator: Yes it is. Everyone says it is a big problem.

Facilitator 1: Would the teenagers agree?

Translator: I'm sure the teenagers will agree yes.

Facilitator 2: We will ask them.

Translator: Yes the teenagers will speak for themselves.

1.6 Facilitator 1: As parents where do we learn about parenting? How do we get our information about how to parent teenagers?

Translator: They said that it is the thing that they want as well. What is the plan and what they can do? Father 1: He said that sometimes you will find out that the parents are getting along but the children are not getting along. Sometimes that the parents don't get along, and then the parents get separated because of the children and the stress.

Translator: Mother 1: She says: I have children and I took my children to school, but some of them dropped out because of the problems inside the house. Sometimes they are going to school without food in their stomachs, and at the end of the day, people call them gangsters because of the problems we are experiencing. The children's father is working but he doesn't support us at all – he chases the children away, and even me. When I speak with him, he beats me. It is very bad for the children. Although we are staying together but she I have lots of problems. I is now very disturbed.

Mother 2: Yes, single parenting is very difficult because you can't always be a mother and a father to the children. Sometimes the child wants the mother's love and then the child wants the father's love. Now we as mothers stay with our children because the fathers are not available. So that child gets frustrated because he/she wants their father also in their life and when the father is not supporting in any way, like in sport or even in the house with his homework, then the child feels out and then doesn't feel like talking to the mother about what the problem really is about. Then there is a disconnection between the mother and the child. Some fathers are abusive, they chase the children away or beat the woman.

1.7 Facilitator 1: Absolutely. Are the roles of mother and fathers very different? How do you see the father's role in the teenager's life? And then I will ask about the mothers.

Translator: (Mother 1) So she said that the problem to her is that in the house she doesn't get support from her husband and he is chasing the children because the dad is the head of the house but the problem is her husband doesn't support her at all but he is just chasing the children away and also her. So she wants to know what help you can give her because she has got a lot of problems. When she speaks with him he beats her.

Mother 2: We all stay very near to this mother and we used to know the problem there. We are all familiar with the problem that she is going through.

Translator: (Father 1) We are next door neighbors and at his house he is the only one that is working. His wife does not work, he is the one supporting the family. He says Mother 1's husband must understand what role he must play in his family.

Facilitator 2: So that's the father's role. To support the family?

Translator: Yes.

Mother 7: Sometimes her child (Mother 1's child) goes to the police station. When he (the child) goes to the police station then he will support the child that time but other times he will chase the child away.

Translator: They are asking if you can give any help to her because she is suffering and she feels so lonely. It is difficult because you can't even go to a next door neighbor because you can go for one day but then when the next day comes where do you go because the person will say I gave a place to you what do you want me to do now?

Facilitator 1: The two men here, if they could give a message to all fathers what would they say?

Father 1: I can only give advice for my family but not for anyone else.

Facilitator 1: Yes, but if you speak for men. If you were to speak for men say encouraging men. What would you want to say?

Father 1: The problem is I am here to listen for my family, this lady (Mother 1) is supposed to be here with her husband as well. Everybody here if you are married you can't talk about that. If you are married you must be here with your husband end of

story. I talk for one house not for all the houses because that can cause a lot of problems. I am only in charge of one house.

Facilitator 1: So in your house, what role do you like to play in your house?

Father 1: I have a problem with my wife so I'm staying with my older child. I know how to handle my child. My child is disabled; her mother lives somewhere else, and she is getting paid the grant for the disabled, but the child lives with me. Now my child didn't go to school from last week because her mother didn't pay the money for the transport. I don't want to discuss things like that but I'm the only person so I discuss things myself and for my children. I don't know what I must do because I am not working but I always try to get something to support my children.

Facilitator 2: That sounds like a message that says take care of your own house.

Father 2: The main problem is I don't know who the social worker is round here. Any tsotsi can be a social worker around here, for her own problem not for the community's problem. I don't want to involve myself with a tsotsi. It is hard to parent when we don't have information. We need a plan and we need to know what we can do.

Facilitator 2: Take care of your own house? Is that what fathers should do?

Father 1: Yes.

Translator: Okay what we are discussing now is, he (Father 1) is staying with his child and it is the second or third year now that the child is living with him. But the money [child care/disability grant] is paid to the child's mother, so I said now he must go to the social worker because if he is staying with the child he is the right person to get the money. We need information about the child care grant and social support networks and about education when our children have problems.

Facilitator 1: Yes so they need to change the grant to come to you.

Translator: Yes definitely, so I said I would find out about the social worker and also if you can think of someone that can help him.

Facilitator 1: I think we need a social worker for the two of them (Father 1 and Mother 1).

Facilitator 2: Where do you to see a social worker?

Mother 3: No, we go anywhere I don't know whether you go. The social worker is going to transfer them to strand.

Facilitator 1: He can start at one place and then they can always transfer him.

Translator: So he, (Father 1), said that there are two men here in this room. If the other person has a problem you can't say that person has a problem because he has a problem as well. You can't say the women have a problem. All of us women and men have a problem. So as he said he is the only one working and his wife doesn't work so the only thing they can do is to talk about the things and show respect to each other and help each other where they can help.

Facilitator 2: You and your wife? (Father 1 and wife)

Translator: Yes.

Facilitator 1: Yes and doesn't that make them stronger for the children?

Translator: Yes, he (Father 1) says the children are strong but they have got to tolerate each other because there is no other alternative, no other way to stay strong.

1.7 Facilitator 1: So I'm hearing single parenting is a difficulty and resources and support are short.

Translator: Yes and some women don't get support if their husbands work. Mother 1's husband works for the municipality.

Facilitator 2: Where does support come from for singe families? I noticed that you said all of you know the situations in different people's houses. Is that part of someone's support that they, like you mentioned can get mealie-meal, not every day, but sometimes you can go to somebody else. Is that part of supporting each other?

Translator: Yes, the women can do that. If I don't have something here like mealie-meal or whatever I go to my neighbors and I say please lend me this and if my neighbor also doesn't have something she will come to me, but the men… If a man is staying alone and doesn't have a wife it is difficult to do that. They would rather stay hungry.

Facilitator 2: Yes, That's what I heard this man saying … like I can't speak for other men, I can only speak for myself.

Translator: Yes, because he is not working. That is why he is so frustrated because he is not working now. He used to work in the hotels. Now he is staying with a disabled child who doesn't go to school and doesn't have the money for her to go to school. That is why he is so frustrated.

Facilitator 2: So for him coming here to speak to us was reaching out and that is not something he would normally do.

Translator: Yes, but now I am so happy because he is going to give me his phone number. At least he is going to get some help.

Facilitator 1: Doesn't the law say that children have to go to school and if you don't have money to pay the school fees the school can't chase the children away? Is that because of transport not because of school fees?

Translator: (Father 1) said yes, the transport. The man's child goes to school by bus so he must pay for transport and the child must also get lunch. Some schools help children who come from poor, disadvantaged homes and also need uniforms, but here we fill in the form that I can't fully support my child, but your children will never get the school uniform. So the teachers give to those who are friends, not to those who are in need of the clothing.

Translator: (Father 1) said our culture is different so if I was his brother I will sit with him and talk with him. Yes, so if we stay together in the same street you can't just go to his house telling him things.

Facilitator 2: So a family member (brother, uncle) could?

Translator: Also, if you are a close friend you can do that but if you are just a person you can't because it is his house.

Facilitator 1: So he would see that as rude and maybe interfering?

Facilitator 2: When people move away from rural areas … that is something we are also interested in. In the rural areas where the family all live together and the relatives are around is it easier? We're wondering whether living here in a city area if you have a brother living in another Town and another brother in another town it is not so easy?

Translator: In rural areas yes, but even if you don't have a family in this location - everyone has a child here. So we are using that Ubuntu spirit. Here we are coming from different towns and countries like Eastern Cape or the Transkei, so it is difficult to go to

our neighbor “can you give me some mealie-meal” but sometimes matters can force you to do that.

Facilitator 2: Sure and the children also suffer if the Ubuntu spirit is not there. It is harder on them.

Mother 7: But sometimes with the support from the husbands…

Translator: (Mother 1)She said that we have a problem in the house so her brother’s child has epileptic fits so she can’t help her to find a school.

Mother 7: Sometimes she is lonely at school sometimes when she is not eating and is outside she is going to have a fit.

Mother 1: I will speak Afrikaans now. My brother’s child, he goes to school but he has an illness. He can’t listen properly, he is slow at school. He has failed three years now. If he falls down, he might be far away from the house and you won’t see him. So we want to ask if you can’t help us to get him a school because the school he is at is too far for him. He walks to school because his mother and father work.

Facilitator 1: Is the child on medication?

Mother 1: Yes, he gets pills from the hospital but the pills don’t help. Every month he has a fit three or four times.

Facilitator 1: It doesn’t sound like the medication is doing much…

Facilitator 2: This is health care education.

Facilitator 1: Mmm.

Father 1: There is another school that looks after children that aren't "reg in die kop" (disabled).

Facilitator 1: Where is this school?

Father 1: There in Atlantis.

Facilitator 1: There is also a special needs school …

Facilitator 2: Yes, it is a government school and they do look after children with epilepsy. The school here must refer the child to the school clinic to be assessed to see if the child can go to one of the special schools.

Facilitator 1: Yes, that is what you must do. They must go and talk to the Head Mistress or Head Master at their of school, and that Head Master must get the school clinic to come to the school, and talk to the children and parents because then the school can say the child will be better at a special needs school or a more suitable school. The school clinic will know about the right school for these children.

Every one listens to what the facilitator has said and nod and say yes.

Translator: Okay.

Father 1: There is a man who can find out all this information. He knows a little bit of what is going on there. He will get me the right name and number. I will talk to him on Monday.

Facilitator 1: Thank you that is very nice of you.

Mother 2: I have a question to ask you. I have a child who is 13 and a cat bit him in the street. That was when he was two years old. Now he goes to the hospital. He has a skew foot. Now the school tells me the child needs a special school because he falls all the

time. [Mother 2 sends someone to fetch the child]. Here he is! I will ask him to show you his foot. Now they don't give me a proper shoe. They just gave me an inner soul. That thing in his shoe doesn't work. Now his toes are moving inward.

Facilitator 1: Yes, I can see he has had an operation.

Mother 2: Yes, the hospital says everything is fine, but I am the mother of this child and I know it is wrong. He can't walk properly. His muscles are not developing properly.

Facilitator 1: Shouldn't the pediatrician at the hospital look at him.

Facilitator 2: Yes, he may even need more surgery – they need to take a look at this. There is probably a foot clinic. A Podiatrist could help or a physiotherapist but it must be assessed. You know, I'm just thinking and listening to these stories about your children's needs and I can hear that you, as parents, do know what your children need. But you don't always know where to find it.

Everyone nods and the translator says yes

Facilitator 2: It is hard not knowing how to get help for them and then there is also information that you need, as a community, to know. Such as: how do we find social workers, how do we sort out education and health problems? As parents you have kind of got your hands tied behind your back because you haven't got information about what to do.

Translator: Yes we don't know. So if you go to the doctor the doctor sends you somewhere else. So he, (Father 2), said that is true. As you are here is it going to be the first or last time and they said are you going to be the one who is going to help them. So the question is, are you going to come again or is it the last time you going to come?

Facilitator 1: I'm sure we would love to help you to find the right people to talk to. Okay, this is for the university to find out about parenting and parenting teenagers and we still need to talk to the teenagers. We would like to come back again to then look at ways that we can help. Earlier, you said you want a plan about how to parent. So once we have heard what you struggle with in terms of parenting the teenagers then we are going to hear what the teenagers say and feel and what they would like. Then we would like to come back one more time with the teenagers and the parents where we can say this is what the children would like, this is what you would like. These are things you can think about doing. We will also will have a look at what information we can give you as a community as to where you can get the help you need as well. Is that okay?

Translator: So he, (Father 1), said as you can see we are here but not everyone in this street is here, so what he is asking, he would love you to come again and please tolerate them in this difficult situation. They want you to help them because they are in the darkness and they need your help.

Facilitator 2: I know, I know. We see that. You see we are only two people and we are psychologists not social workers. So we work on counseling one-on-one, we know these things through the work that we do but I can try and talk to people at my church that I know. We can also maybe talk to the social worker so that people will know where they must go. And you say you are not getting feedback from teachers at school to know from the teacher's point of view what your child is doing at school and how they are coping. How you do as parents actually know what goes on with your children?

Translator: (Mother 1) she said: Her one child is not working or going to school - he is looking for a job but he can't get a job. I am trying my best to find a job, but I am not working, and then my child sees the opportunity to make a life outside, and sometimes

they sell their body like a prostitute. It doesn't mean she doesn't get any attention in the house, because she does, but the problem is that they are competing for clothes. She is always saying, 'I need shoes' and 'I need this' and 'I don't have this' and is going outside for a person who is going to give the money, you know. Teenagers get demanding. Like if a parent can't provide them with a certain thing, they get frustrated and start talking back. Then you start arguing and fighting. Then the child just packs up her bag and moves out of the house. That's what kids usually do.

1.8 Facilitator 2: So you would know what was going on with them by the things they ask you for and the things they come home with? If they came home with a pair of shoes that you didn't buy for them, that kind of thing?

Translator: (Mother 1) She said she asks her child if she is coming home with a new thing that she doesn't buy for her and the child will say my boyfriend bought it for me. In our culture the children don't talk openly so it is hard for the parents to know their lives, like what they are doing when they are outside of home, who they are with, what they are feeling.

Mother 1: It's not good. It's not good. I can't help. I have no money.

1.9 Facilitator 1: Do you think it is very hard for the teenagers to today? It's hard for us as parents. Is it also hard for the teenagers?

Translator: I think so, she, (Mother 2), said she can't do anything because she is earning 1.6 and with that 1.6 (R1 600.00) she has to pay school fees for her child that she doesn't stay with (her child is in the Eastern Cape) so she must also buy food for herself here and she must also buy clothes for them so she can't deal with the R1.6 and to also pay transport to go to work because she works in Cape Town.

Mother 3: What children usually do- they go for house theft. They go to the shops and steal just to get money to buy certain things. Maybe my friend gets a pair of Adidas- now I feel out because I don't have Adidas. I ask my mother, but she has no money, and I ask my father and he has no money, so what do I do? I go steal. That is why most of the teenagers go to jail, for theft and for housebreaking.

1.10 Facilitator 1: Is crime a big problem for teenagers?

Translator: (Mother 1) She said the crime rate is high because like her, her children can't do anything else because they only eat meat once a month. So things like that make children do something wrong.

Facilitator 1: In this community, are drugs a problem for teenagers?

Everyone says yes in agreement

Father 1: There are also gangs in our community. I work far and I need to wake up at 3h00, I leave at 4h15, I take the train at 5h00 and 5h45 I am at work. With live under difficult conditions. We have a lot of problems with the teenagers next door. We have to get up very early to go to work, and we have to walk from here to the station because there are no taxis, and there are teenagers waiting on the side of the road. They will steal from you and go and sell what they have stolen. Then they want your cell phone. It doesn't matter what they steal, they will sell it for any money. They will stab you for what they want. They want it for drug money. They know what time I wake up.

Facilitator 1: And they are also awake?

Father 2: Yes, they are.

Facilitator 2: Do your teenagers have to get up early too?

Translator: No the parents are getting up to go to work but then they have to walk from here to the station because there are no taxis and there are teenagers waiting on the side then they want your cell phone or something and they sell it, they want it for drug money.

Facilitator 2: So are these teenagers in gangs, are they gangsters or are they just kids hanging around?

Father 2: These kids are gangsters, yes.

Facilitator 2: So there are gangs in this area?

Father 2: Yes.

Facilitator 1: Are the gangsters teenagers?

Translator: Yes, lots of them. A lot!

Facilitator 2: So are some of them girls and boys or boys only?

Translator and Father 2 both say boys, only boys.

Facilitator 1: So these are all worries that parents have?

Translator: Yes these are and also so she said (Mother 1) she is a grown woman and is not working. Her mom supports her and is also working at a crèche in the location so she earns little money. So she is not working and she has children and her mom is supporting three people.

1.11 Facilitator 1: So what I am really hearing is that the problems are really around money and resources to make life easier for people.

Translator: Yes, we also need to make people busy - those who are not working we can do something like a project, something that the community will benefit from. Something we can keep the people busy with.

Mother 7: Especially this girl, she wants to work at a crèche but she doesn't know anything about the business, about the crèche and about children. She wants to open a crèche.

Facilitator 1: But that is a good idea, it's a good idea. So if she went with her mother to her mother's crèche and had a chat to them about how they do it. Would she then learn to do it and come back here and do it here? Could that work?

Translator: Yes that can also work. That can also work because she can apply for the subsidy.

Facilitator 1: Yes, I hear what you are saying. If people can get information then they can make a plan to make their lives better.

Mother 5: Yes, and also we live in the street that gets along, that are friends to each other. So if we can get a plan and get something going … we can think about it.

Facilitator 1: Like a community project?

Mother 5 says: Yes, a community project. What we can do to help each other you know. And also if we can get some sponsors and then we can do something you know. All of us woman and men have problems, so the only thing we [parents] can do is talk about the things, and show respect to each other, and help each other where we can help. That will make our children stronger. I think we need a community call, where we can call the parents to let them know that time now is not the old times. Times are changing. It is for the parent to allow the child to talk about the things she feels or doesn't feel. So we need

awareness for them to know time has changed. They must know what is happening in their child's life.

Facilitator 1: That would be wonderful.

Translator: Mother 4 says: Yes, that would make us very happy

Facilitator 1: What skills do people have in this street? I am sure there are skills in this street.

Translator: There are skills.

Facilitator 1: Yes, I'm sure there are skills. Perhaps you need to sit together and look at what skills you all have and what you can offer and also what are the needs. It would be nice to stand together as a street and make a difference.

Translator: They say yes.

Translator: So we can think of something like for instance this is Mother 1. She is an old woman, we can benefit from her. She can teach us maybe how to do beading, you know things we can sell.

Facilitator 1: Yes and then she is ending up with some money for herself.

Translator: Mother 1: Yes she can get money for herself and teach us different things.

Facilitator 1: Or you all learn to do something that you can share.

Translator: Mother 1: We still need to finance that, but we can start and can be a good example.

Facilitator 1: You would be a good example because then other streets can also do what you are doing

Translator: Mother 1: Yes they can also copy.

Facilitator 1: That's how communities can change.

Translator: Yes, yes.

Facilitator 2: It would be good for tourism too because when the tourists come they will see that this is the street with beads and this is the street with the gardens, this is the sewing street etc.

Translator: They all say: Yes, yes, we can do it (very enthusiastic).

Facilitator 1: Okay then maybe you must all think, make a list of all the things you can do and then you can decide what's best.

Translator: Okay.

Facilitator 1: Okay any other questions?

Facilitator 2: I am not even sure that teenager is a term that applies to this community - There are children who are struggling at school or are not at school. And there are young adults who are not accommodated in homes and don't have jobs. There is nobody who fits into that teenager category. In other words they are still being educated but they have got money, they have got freedom and are allowed to do their own thing. Some seem to have started taking on adult roles like sex worker or resorting to crime to get money for the things they want.

Facilitator 1: In what way, in this community, are teenagers different to children or is there a difference? Are teenagers just a different group of children?

Translator: Yes they say yes they are.

Facilitator 2: What do you feel are the joys of parenting adolescents?

Facilitator 1: What are your hopes for your children?

Mother 5: To see them alive!

General agreement from all of the Parents.

APPENDIX K

Appendix K

Group C - Adolescents

1.1 Introduction to the study

1.2 Facilitator 1: Tell us about being a teenager – what is it like for you?

Adolescent Male 1: White guys [boys] can ask their fathers for advice about ladies, like you know, dad I'm having a relationship with this lady or girl. But with us Black people, you can't do that - we know we will be crossing the line.

Translator: Ah but you need to learn from your family to be able to do that. You know your child can easily go to you and say what they need to say.

Adolescent Male 1: If the teenager starts talking about their love life to their parents, The parents think the child is being disrespectful. We can talk to our friends, or our big brother, even our older sister, not your parents. You have to respect them.

Translator: But the times are changing now.

Facilitator 1: But if there are things that you can't talk to your parents about, then who do you go talk to?

Adolescent Female 1: You talk to your friends

Adolescent Male 1: You talk to your friends or your big brother. Like your oldest brother, those are the people we can talk with. Even your older sister, not your parents. You can't go asking about ladies to your father. You don't do that.

Facilitator 1: Adolescent Male 2 what did you want to say?

Adolescent Male 2: If we can't talk to our parents, then your friends will tell you the wrong things, and you do it wrong, then maybe you will get a beating or HIV. He says (friend) do not use a condom and just rape someone. You are going to do it?

Adolescent Male 1: No

Adolescent Male 2: Why? Because you asked him and now he gave you advise that was wrong.

Translator: You must know what is right for you and what is wrong.

Adolescent Male 1: That gives the people something to think about. This is your life you have to live your life. There is no one who will live your life. You must know what kind of advice you can take from your friend. You have your own mind. You know, this advice is good but this one is wrong. You must know, you mustn't take everything that your friend told you to do and do it. The wrong things that you do in the community come back to your parents. Like people will ask how did his parents raise him? You will see that the good things you do, they [parents] will get credited for that. When you go out, you represent your parents.

1.3 Facilitator 2: You know that phrase peer pressure? Is that what you get, peer pressure to do things from people your age?

Facilitator 1: Is there peer pressure?

Everyone says yes.

Adolescent Male 1: Yes let's talk about peer pressure. If they are planning on peer pressure or say you say my friends told me to do this or say they told you no you must

go there to the men group, you will do it. (Points to Adolescent Male 2) you will do everything they tell you to do! Why are you doing it? You know it is wrong.

Translator: But with the drug. Adolescent Male 2 was talking about the drugs. If your friend was smoking a drug and they say it is okay just taste it, it is Ganga. Are you going to taste it?

Adolescent Male 1: Okay, everyone knows what Ganga will do, we know from the media. We are more exposed [to information] with the media. It is the media that is helping us. You learn from it. For example, if you use a drug then you know what it is.

Facilitator 2: What about the girls? What sort of peer pressure do you get?

The two girls point to Adolescent Male 2.

Adolescent Male 2: I'm coming from all of this. When my father doesn't support my mother, what I did in this world and what I did in the street, some of the things I did wrong and some people, like now that I go to school every day, say this guy is changed or not, because they know how many things I stole in their house. That I can say your friend, if your friend is a bigger friend then he can listen to you. No matter what he says maybe does the wrong things. I want to tell you when I was doing wrong things. Now I have changed, I know what I want now in my life.

Adolescent Male 1: Okay, but you were younger then, you were younger then!

Adolescent Male 2: Yes, I was 13 but if I was talking to my mother she will tell me what to do and I will have to choose my friends.

Facilitator 2: Adolescent Male 2, did your friends tell you the wrong things to do?

Adolescent Male 2: Yes, I did so many things wrong in this area.

1.4 Facilitator 1: So now why did it change Adolescent Male 2?

Adolescent Male 2: Often we have too much time and not enough to do, especially if we are not in school. A big challenge is the friends we choose, places we go, styles we try to be cool, maintaining self-respect. We need to choose our friends. I had the wrong friends and I did many things wrong. I didn't go to school for four years. I was on the streets; I stole many things from peoples' houses. One day I saw someone who taught soccer and you could play for him, Andy, and I went there and trained and I was having fun but then Andy came to me and said "Hey Adolescent Male 2, I see you every day and you are here early." I told him I didn't go to school and he said to me if you I not going to school why are you living on the street, he was going to talk to one the mother of one of the girls in the group. Then he went to talk to my mother and father and he said he would pick me up and take me to school and buy me clothes. And he did that. Now I went back to school and I was realizing that there was a lot of time that I was wasting and now I want to get into grade 12.

Facilitator 2: Are you talking about Andy? Is he a community worker?

Adolescent Male 2: Yes. Now I go to school and I changed but when I would go to school something would say I don't want to go to school, now when I see young children and I'm older than them I see and say "Yoh, why did I waste my time?" Just to come to my school now and to see young children and they are in my grade. I say to myself I must give up but I try to get to ignore that and I am writing and writing. And after that I go home and there is no food I say "Why now?". I do what my father wants me to do and I go to school why does he not support me to go to school every day. He doesn't buy me a school bag or clothes or plastic cover to cover the books.

Facilitator 2: So it's hard to do the right thing sometimes because the support isn't always there for you. It's easy to do the wrong thing.

Adolescent Male 2: Ja, when I see that I say now I do what my father wants me to do. There is so much he expects me to do. I say okay I must go to school because now if I say I must not go to school I will keep blaming myself when my father is dead. I say now okay, I must go to school because I am going to get my dream now. If I get my dream whether my father is alive or dead because I don't know when he is going to die. I will do right things now because if I land up doing some wrong things in my life I get beaten and my father says he doesn't want me to stay in the house. My brother got kicked out by my father and I say now if my mother is going to be stay with someone who doesn't care about me, it's ok but I must stay here and go to school. Andy says I must go to school and supports me every day, he picks me up from my house and drops me at school. After that we go and learn some soccer. Now before he moved to England he bought me some kit and said we must respect one another. He gave me soccer balls and said I must train kids to play soccer and books to teach children about soccer and about what God made. One book says God sent his only son to die for the wrong things that we've done.

Facilitator 2: What's his name? Does he go to Every Nations church?

Adolescent Male 2: His name is Andy, yes he goes to Every Nations Church.

Facilitator 2: He is a community worker, maybe we should get hold and tell him where you are at and what you are doing and see what he thinks about the soccer club and all of that stuff. Isn't that interesting that one person comes here as a community worker and can make such a big difference in a boy's life. Just think if there were two or three people who could do that how much it would help the families here. It will

help such a lot and if Andy knows what a difference he made here. Did he move to England for good?

Adolescent Male 2: Yes but he still comes again. He is always here in the holidays, in November.

Facilitator 1: So maybe in November you will have good news for him

Adolescent Male 2: Yes I think so because my players are doing really well now. They go to training every day. One thing I don't like is when the boys come to training we don't have any field and now we have to come after school, we have to come early to train in someone's field – another team's field. We finish school at 2:30 then they go home and eat, wash their cloths do everything, by half past 3 they are all there. We don't get enough time to train and now we are under pressure because if we have our own field we will go maybe at 3, 4 or 5 o'clock to train. We don't have our own field. But if a councilor (the local counselor) could help us he/she would make a big difference and a lot of children could do training for soccer.

1.5 Facilitator 2: I have a question about discipline. I have noticed a couple of people mention hidings and beatings. What kind of discipline do parents use? Are there a lot of beating and hidings or do parents do other things if they are not happy with what you doing? Does everybody's parent give them hidings or does nobody ever have that?

Adolescent Male 1: Shakes his head.

Facilitator 2: Not girls? And boys?

Adolescent Male 1: No, now it is not like old school that they [parents] would spank you, if you do something wrong; they will sit you down and talk to you- but then say, 'it's enough, I don't want to talk to you, it's out of my hands' and then they give up.

Facilitator 2: They try to reason with you and might yell at you?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes

Facilitator 2: And sometimes I think maybe they just give up.

Adolescent Male 1: Yes they have the time to draw the line and say now it's enough I don't want to talk to you and it's out of my hands now.

Facilitator 2: So your parents will give up if you don't listen?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, they say this is enough now and they give up.

1.6 Facilitator 2: The other thing I wanted to ask is about technology. I know this might sound like a strange question because I know there is a shortage of resources here. What about things like the internet and MXit? Are you guys using those kinds of technologies?

Adolescent Female 1: No we don't use MXit.

Adolescent Male 1: We don't have access to computers. For the Internet Café you need money to use it and there is a lot of information on the internet that can help us. If you can get some place that will be for free that we can use for the internet we will be more than happy to use it.

Adolescent Male 2 come in with pamphlets of soccer and hands one to each person.

Facilitator 2: So this soccer ball is a message of God's love and the colors all mean something?

Adolescent Male 2: Yes.

Facilitator 1: So what were you saying to Facilitator 2 about technology?

Adolescent Male 1: If we can get access to technology like the internet without having to pay for it will be much easier from the schools like for homework. There is so much information to get from the internet. I think it will be much easier. Like at the primary schools they don't have much time to go on the computers. So many children that are there are using the computers. If we can get place that will give us enough time to do those kinds of things.

Facilitator 1: But schools like your school, how much exposure do you have to technology Adolescent Female 2?

Adolescent Female 2: Everything is fine at my school. Like after school you go to internet classes only if you want to and you don't have to pay.

Facilitator 2: That's on the school network then.

Facilitator 1: Do you use it?

Adolescent Female 2: Yes.

Facilitator 1: A lot?

Adolescent Female 2: Yes.

Facilitator 1: And cell phones?

Adolescent Female 2: Cell phones are not allowed during classes. We only use them at break and after school.

Facilitator 1: How many of you have a cell phone? Do you all have cell phones?

Facilitator 2: Does everyone have a cell phone?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, we have those old cell phones without the internet.

Facilitator 2: What about MXit? Can go on MXit on those phones?

Everyone says no in agreement.

Facilitator 1: Okay girls what do you use your cell phones for?

Adolescent Male 1: To make calls.

Adolescent Female 1: To connect with our family.

Adolescent Female 3: Yes, to connect with your family. Not all of us are in love.

Adolescent Male 2: They [points to the girls] use their phones to talk with their boyfriends. [points to Adolescent Female 1] She is hiding something [laughs].

1.7 Facilitator 1: Do you think teenagers are being prepared for the future properly?

Adolescent Male 1 and Adolescent Female 1 both say no.

Facilitator 1: What should we be doing to prepare you guys for the future?

Adolescent Male 1: First me, I want to talk about the ladies. The girls are closer to their moms who can teach them how to be a good wife one day.

All the girls laugh.

Adolescent Male 1: To be a good wife their mothers will guide them on how to respect themselves as a lady. Then they will have more of a relationship with their mothers. Like for the guys, how to respect your wife one day. This is the kind of stuff that we look into.

Facilitator 2: Yes, are you talking about your personal future, if you want to get married which is probably for most of us. In other words, to prepare to be a good wife or a good husband?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, this is for the future. We are always dreaming about having a wife or husband, having everything.

Facilitator 2: What about other parts of your future apart from marriage and family. What else are teenagers not having, or are having, to prepare them for the future? Education? What do you think?

Adolescent Female 2: Education it is a big thing – we need to stay in school. It is the most important.

Facilitator 2: Education is the most important.

Adolescent Male 1: It is not easy being a teenager, but if you want to reach your dreams, you must go to school. Some parents, like my friends when I was at school would say I am not going to school to learn for him [parent], I am learning for my children. That's the thing we need from school is more support. To guide is in the right direction and tell us the things we need to know and about the kind of opportunities there are.

1.8 Facilitator 1: You were also talking about information. You want more information about the future and opportunities and possibilities. Is that right?

Adolescent Male 1: Ja, Ja!

Facilitator 2: Do you get that from your teachers? Do teachers take an interest in you and know your names?

Adolescent Female 2 and Adolescent Female 3 nod yes.

Adolescent Male 2: At our school we have a subject called 'Love Life'. They teach us how to protect ourselves and how to say 'This is right and I have to choose what I want now.' If there was a 'Love Life' counselor available all the time to teach us, maybe our mothers and sisters wouldn't get pregnant. When I went back to school I was in grade 5, I saw how Love Life taught young children. Maybe at 10 years old you will know how to protect yourself. Now I can say 'okay this is right and I have to choose what I want now'. What I would like on a Saturday is to be in School and have a room where teachers teach us every day.

Facilitator 2: There should be a love life councilor at the school to be available all the time.

Adolescent Male 2: Ja.

Adolescent Male 1: Not just for learners but for the community as well. To give advice to them.

1.9 Facilitator 1: Guys if you were parenting teenagers today what would you be doing differently to the way you are being parented? I'm not saying your parents parenting is wrong but I'm saying that you know what it is like to be a teenager today, so if you were parenting a teenager how would you do it? What would you do differently?

> Adolescent Male 2: If you have a child, you must support him. You need to go to work so you can buy him clothes to wear and then he will see that his father cares about him. If they see I'm trying hard they will try for themselves. If he learns from me that will be a big thing. Then we can support each other every day and he will see that their father suffers now, now they must help him. Like now I passed my father because I did grade 10, now I must help him.

Facilitator 2: In other words a sense of family.

Adolescent Male 2: If our fathers now don't support us and he goes in a wheelchair, we will leave him dead and move into another house because he made us suffer from everything. If your father or your mother doesn't buy you clothes he doesn't support you.

Adolescent Male 1: Some mothers get drunk. They don't care about their children.

Everyone agrees.

Facilitator 2: So the parents must stay sober?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes.

Facilitator 1: They must take responsibility seriously. Is that what you are saying?

Adolescent Male 1: You must look after your children so that when you get old, they will look after you.

Facilitator 1: Okay.

Facilitator 2: That makes sense. What about the girls? What would you do if you are parents to teenagers one day? (Looks to Adolescent Female 1) When your baby is grown up what kind of parent do you want to be when she is a teenager?

Girls 1: Okay, I'm going to be a friend to my daughter and tell her about life.

1.10 Facilitator 1: So you know what you are saying that even though you tell us that it's not in tradition to talk openly to your parents. You are also saying though and Translator, I remember you saying now that the new generation will talk openly to their parents.

Everyone agrees.

Facilitator 1: So you would want your little one to talk openly to you?

Girl 3: Yes.

Facilitator 1: Okay carry on. Tell us more about what you would do.

Girl 3: Okay to teach her about God. She needs to know about God because she will see she can't get drunk because she goes to church and will think "I am a Christian".

Facilitator 2: So to teach her to love God and then that will help her stay strong.

Adolescent Female 1: I can/will tell them that he/she must dream high about life. He/she can and must be strong and learn how to face circumstances and challenges.

Facilitator 1: That is a lovely message!!

Adolescent Male 1: One thing I would do different is teach my children those kinds of challenges you face in life, like drugs or alcohol or pregnancy, so that he doesn't face the same consequences as I did. Alcohol is a problem because it is something to do, but it can lead to violence and rape.

Facilitator 1: So you would want them to be well prepared?

Adolescent Male 1 : Yes for the future.

Facilitator 1: That means you have to talk to them.

Adolescent Male 1: Ya, I don't want my children 2 have the same mistake as I had.

Facilitator 2: What about even arguing a little bit? Not meaning rudely bit like we arguing or debating with them?

Adolescent Male 2: Aaaah the thing I must say. We forget about abuse now. Abuse happens every day now. Our parents don't give us emotional support. I will do right. I will never abuse my child. No matter what kind of wrong things they do I will support them and tell them what they did wrong.

Adolescent Male 1: Another thing I will do differently if I was a parent, is to be more concerned about what's happening in my child's life. For example, what kind of friends they have, are they good or bad? Our parents really don't know what is happening in our lives.

Facilitator 1: How many of you here feel that your parents know a lot about what's happening in your lives?

3 Adolescents put their hands up out of plus minus 10 Adolescents.

Facilitator 1: And the rest of you? Do you feel that your parents don't really know what's happening in your lives?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, they really don't know.

Facilitator 2: Is that because they don't ask or because they don't ask tell them?

Adolescent Male 1: I will also tell my child that whatever he/she they thinks they can make it. They must not listen to anyone and say no they can't do it. You can dream big if you want to. Example: Jacob Zuma. He probably said he wanted to become president. If I

had to say that everyone would laugh at me. I would get discouraged then because they laughed at me. I want to tell my children "Don't let anyone tell you what you can't do!"

1.11 Facilitator 1: But if I listen to the parents this morning I got the impression that they felt it is hard for them to know what's going on in your lives.

Adolescent Female 1: It's because we don't tell them [what is going on in our lives]. Some of us hide it from our parents. Like our parents ask us things then we say "No man!" We always try to change the subject.

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, we are afraid to talk to them with this stuff.

Facilitator 1: But the only way they will know what's happening in your lives is if you share stuff with them.

Adolescent Male 1: As black people it is hard to talk with our mothers and fathers, to approach them and say you know I have had this girlfriend. Example: My girlfriend and I have this problem. What are we supposed to do to fix this problem? It is hard for black guys to do that.

Facilitator 2: You can ask to talk to your fathers about crossing the line because they do worry.

Facilitator 1: Yes they do! Do you agree Translator?

Translator: Yes, yes I agree with what they are saying now.

1.12 Facilitator 1: Is there a way that you can still show their respect for parents but in an open way, can they do that?

Translator: Times are changing. Parent awareness for them to know time has changed. They must know what is happening in their child's life.

Facilitator 1: Because the risks are very big in this community.

Translator: Yes it is very, very big. That is why the children now get to adolescent stage and get into drugs.

Adolescent Male 1: Sometimes if you can get those people who do drugs there is something they are not happy about. If you can get a relationship with your parent you would not do drugs. Our parents need to give us information; they need to be more open.

Facilitator 2: I wonder what the parents would say if we were to tell them that some of you would like talk more with them and if they would say they would like to talk more with you?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, what we need is for them to open up to us. Our parents must talk to us more openly – what we need is for them to open up to us.

Facilitator 2: But then you must not change the subject.

Translator: If the teenagers start talking about their love life with the parents, the parents think that the child is being disrespectful.

1.13 Facilitator 1: Which is what makes it difficult for you guys. What are some of the things that parents do that you guys appreciate?

Adolescent Female 1: If we go to school, they support us financially.

Facilitator 1: Okay so financial support and Educational support.

Adolescent Male 1: Yes like my mother. The hard work and sacrifices our parents make, and the strength of character parents show, especially single mothers.

Facilitator 2: So sometimes you value the way your mother has managed to supply for you and your father didn't do it. That she has been a strong mother?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes for me.

Facilitator 1: Have you ever told her this?

Adolescent Male 1: Everyday! I tell her. You get some mothers that would never have done what she did. My mother is uneducated. It doesn't mean that if 'I am educated then my children will be educated'. My children will be educated to have a brighter future. I want to do something to make her [mother] proud. She inspires me. She has raised a man, and I am someone who loves to learn things everyday.

Facilitator 1: It is amazing. You have to respect a woman like that!

Adolescent Male 1: Whatever I do in life I do it for her. If you do the good and right things it will make you happy. If you see your child doing good things it makes you happy as a parent. That is what I am trying to do.

Facilitator 1: Do others feel the same way?

Facilitator 2: Being inspired by your parents sometimes?

The Adolescent Females nod in agreement.

Adolescent Male 2: I can't say my father does good things but I can say my mother does good things, but when you say mother you must say your family does good things.

Adolescent Male 1: What I learned from my mother is it doesn't mean anything to have so much money. It is the small things that you do that they appreciate. I can work maybe in the garage and feel like a parent. The small things that I do, anything that I can afford to do I will try to make it so that if there is something I can afford we will understand that

my mother can afford this. If your mother is like your father but doesn't do anything for you when you ask for something you want you know if he can afford it or not but if she or he assist with anything to try to show you anything that you ask that you know you are old and understand "oh my father/mother can or can't afford these things."

Facilitator 1: Other things you value about your parents? What about the younger ones sitting here, what do they think? What do the younger ones appreciate?

The younger ones were very shy to answer.

Adolescent Male 1: What I can appreciate about my parents is that they build a roof over my head. They give a roof over your heads and that's important because you see there are a lot of people on the street, right here in this community who don't have a home. Some of the guys live in a shelter. Every day I woke in the shelter to be warm. Some of the guys in the street don't have anything. They want more for us than they had for themselves. They are our inspiration and they teach us to appreciate what we have. We have learned from them that small things are important. This is what I appreciate from me, every day.

Facilitator 2: Do you appreciate that little ones? That your parents care for you, that they do things for you?

They just smile, Adolescent Male 1 says yes.

Adolescent Male 1: When I get sick they will pay for me to go to the doctor. That's the kind of stuff I love about parents. Sometimes I come and I'm angry about things outside that if I come home they will talk about this kind of stuff and say forget about what happened.

Adolescent Male 2: What I appreciate about my mother is she does everything for me. I can say that even when I wasn't born. She carried me for 9 months and didn't do an

abortion. She said “I will love these children as my own” even though we her children she loved us anyway. She didn’t drink or anything. I know why I love her, because she protects me. Whether or not I’m scared. She shows me the way now. She leads me now and I must follow. No matter where she takes me. She sacrificed so many things for me to go to school and have a roof over my head.

Facilitator 2: I have quite a long list here on what teen’s value. Should I read it out? Financial and educational support, their hard work (they sacrifice to provide); their strength (especially the single mothers); wanting more for you than they themselves have, like they didn’t have education but want that for you; they don’t want you to live the hard life they did; that they are your inspiration; you have learned from them that small things are important; they care for you and they will take you to a doctor if you sick; they provide a safe place for when you come home from outside (when things get stressed out then you can come home); that they gave you life and birth. Is there anything else I should add to the list?

Adolescent Male 1:Ya, what I learned from my parents is appreciating any small thing that you get from someone.

Facilitator 2: Appreciating what you have?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes. You get people who get small things like food and they say no they don’t want it. There are people who would jump at the opportunity to get that food.

Facilitator 1: Yes that true!

Facilitator 2: But what if some day in the future if God should bless you with wealth and you would become a rich person, would you remember these lessons? To appreciate the small things you have and take care of your things?

They all say yes.

Adolescent Male 2: One thing I can appreciate or I can't decide. If you go to white schools you will see so many fields there for the sport they do, but if you go to a black school you will see one sport being played there and there is one field for them. I don't want to decide because you will see the white schools have so many desks and extra chairs. If you come here you will see children standing or sitting on the floor.

Facilitator 1: Adolescent Male 2, how children are in your class?

Adolescent Male 2: 48 children.

Translator: 48 children in one class. Do you think that if there is a problem with one child. How can you teach every child? You would have to go back.

Facilitator 2: Exactly yes. Like children with special needs?

Translator: Yes you just teach those you can and leave the others out.

Adolescent Male 1: To add something to what he said about the schools we have in the community. We get one field which is the soccer field. When you do the sport it is you calling that you have to do. You don't have the same calling where you can do the sport like soccer with everyone in the school.

Facilitator 1: It's true and the thing is there is different sport for different children.

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, if we had more courts inside the school. Like if we want to play soccer or rugby etc. Everything that we want to do is there.

Facilitator 1: It's true.

1.14 Translator: I think the school teachers are failing and as well as the government. You know we come from a disadvantaged area. We don't have things like hockey or play things like chess, tennis, bowls etc. Also in black schools no one has the knowledge to coach the learners to play things so we need people like Andy to coach to play cricket etc.

Adolescent Male 1: On what she said about the hockey stuff they use like the soccer stuff. They pick someone who has never played soccer before. How can you be the coach for soccer if you have never played it yourself? They don't know about it. We need those people with knowledge of soccer – who can play and coach it – inside the school.

Facilitator 1: Even in this community, the Translator said just now that black teachers are failing but I think white schools are failing the black schools because if there was more partnership there would be more for everyone.

Translator: No it's not them. You know I asked my sister please will you phone and make an appointment at one of the private schools. You can phone them and make an opportunity to go and play netball against them. They are willing to do it, I'm sure! My sister never did anything about it. I don't know what's wrong with them, because there is also a primary school from another township. The private school provides them with a kit because that school usually goes there and plays hockey with them. It's the only black school I heard about that play hockey in that township.

The Adolescent Females were also shocked to hear a black school plays hockey

Adolescent Male 1: It's the kind of sport white people play, we can't play it. You see like rugby. It's not so much the black guys that do rugby. Also like dancing, hip hop is more for us and ballroom is for the whites not us. How can a black man do ballroom dancing? You can't get those things in a community. There are so many guys that love those things.

Translator: Exactly.

Facilitator 2: So what you saying is you have the talent. There are a lot of people with hidden talent. Who are interested in or who might like tennis or who might like playing netball or chess or would certainly would dance but there must be opportunities and if

people are not doing it here, it's just because there is a lack of opportunity not a lack of talent and energy?

Facilitator 1: Yes, exactly.

Adolescent Male 1: There are some things they say black people can't do like I say no black can do it, whites only. If you can take that out completely, say no I can do whatever sport I feel I can do it.

Facilitator 2: Yes. There is a lack of confidence. That's why I was saying firstly about people to encourage them. To get people to love life. Like in my talent show I would try to get the guys to love life to try encourage them.

Facilitator 1: You know what you making me wonder now, you know if I look at you guys, you are all at school, you all out there, you all doing stuff, you talking you know a lot okay. You also all have TV's in your homes or most of you probably do. Do you think there is a very big gap between maybe to what you guys are exposed to and what you know about compared to your parents? As you were talking now I thought you know it must be quite hard for your parents. You look to them because it's right, you teenagers and still children. You looking to them to guide you but your exposure is more than theirs. That must be very disempowering to your parents at times?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, there is a big difference; sometimes we can tell our mothers about things they don't know about.

Facilitator 1: Exactly.

Adolescent Male 1: What I would do different is, I would to listen to my child. I don't always want to cause friction and say do this so this. If I say do this and my child says no I can't do this because of this and that then I must listen to my child.

1.15 Facilitator 1: Okay so what are you saying? Are you saying that maybe they will listen more once they know how much you now?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes! Not say "I'm older than you I am supposed to guide you."

Adolescent Male 2: I want to say that you must stand up for yourself and show the world what you have and maybe someone will support you and say "I saw you, you were playing there" and that person will support you and will get far. Do not sit around and say I'm a black person or because I am blank I don't have to do this.

Facilitator 1: I agree with you.

Adolescent Male 1: Let me add to what Adolescent Male 2 just said. I have built so many places. A business place, this is the place that deals with business. Adolescent Male 2 doesn't understand because he hasn't been there to do the kind of stuff that I do. If you are a black person it is hard to get something like here in the Western Cape there is still apartheid. If you bring something to the white person and say this and that he will look at you first and think "who is coming with this?".

Facilitator 2: Have any of you been anywhere else? Anyone been to Gauteng or Durban?

(No one gives a straight answer)

Adolescent Female 1: It is only here in Western Cape.

Facilitator 2: It is different there (Gauteng) black people have confidence. They feel like they own the place.

Adolescent Male 1: Ya, because they have the confidence. The people are in charge in Gauteng and Durban. It is the black people that are in there right places. Here in Cape Town it's the whites. It's hard for us black like when I go to the Arts and Culture

department I have to spend R10 to R20 per day to go through to talk about getting funding for me. They say no wait I will call you back and then we wait by the hour and they say there is some caller that is coming in. It doesn't help to leave you number because they will never get to you. These are the type of things we deal with because we are black and then we say we not and then sit back.

Facilitator 2: If it's any comfort the Arts and Culture Department do that to everybody. That is what they are like.

Adolescent Male 2: Okay, one thing I don't want to argue with (Adolescent Male 1) but if you say you try so hard, my mother always tells me the steps you take from today will lead to tomorrow and if you take your foot and step forward you will lead to the bright future. If you fall, keep on trying. You will get the thing you want. Why are you falling down now? I can ask you now; I'm talking to you now, why? Can you tell me why?

Adolescent Male 1 laughs.

Adolescent Male 2: Listen to me. I'm playing soccer and last year when I was coming back from school I played cricket and I got the opportunity to play cricket for a school.

Adolescent Male 1: I did say I give up but I didn't say 'I' did. I'm saying from my experience what I did. I didn't say right now I give up. I was sharing with then what kind of experience I had.

Facilitator 2: Yes absolutely. We want to hear that and it's not about giving up. In fact listening to you talking how good it is that some of you young people have learnt to speak to the parents about escalating when you get no for an answer and don't except no for an answer and go to the next level and the next level and it sounds like some of you already know how to do that. That might be one of things that you know that you can encourage

hot only your own parents but other parents in your community. If you see there is a child with a problem and the parents getting nowhere talking to the school. Then encourage them. Go and talk to the school, talk to the school principle if you don't get an answer then go to the education department. So you actually know how to escalate things. How to not give up. Parents also know not to give up but they have a different view of not giving up. When they do give up it is when they talking to authority because they don't actually know how to keep going and some of you do know that. Is there anything else that you know that you could help your parents if they were to only listen to you if they were to talk to you more? What else could you teach your parents?

Adolescent Male 1: What my parents told me about things that come easy go easy. This is what keeps me going. They say the easier you go up the easier you will fall down.

Facilitator 2: Is that what your parents taught you as a child?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes. If you work hard to get to the top you know you won't go down. It's like me, I established my business and I'm living in Town. The kind of thing I will do when I'm living there, I will try to know I have experience from living in a community. I know what it's like living in a township. I will try by all means to not go back to the life that I lived before but if things come easy, it will be easier for you to go back.

Facilitator 1: Would you or wouldn't you go back?

Adolescent Male 1: I would choose to live in Town.

Facilitator 1: Would you?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, it's safer than here in the community.

Facilitator 1: Do you think I mean obviously there is but I want to see through your eyes and Adolescent Female 2 you can answer I'm a lot here as well. What do you think the differences are between black teenagers and white teenager?

Adolescent Female 1: Oh okay.

1.16 Facilitator 1: Because I think your lives are very different. The challenges you face are different.

Adolescent Female 1 and the Translator nod in agreement.

Facilitator 1: Tell us what you think?

Adolescent Female 1: Okay I'm just going to be honest. I think most of the white children are spoilt and they don't think about others. They only think about themselves and all they like to do is party and most of them are emo's.

Adolescent Male 1: Can I add something about the white children and the black ones. They get things easier than us. Their parents have money. They get things easier than us!

Facilitator 1: Facilitator 2 and I were talking while driving here and Facilitator 2 said what she was thinking we would hear, is there is a strong sense of us here in the community and hear it when you talk. About white children being spoilt and with white children it is all about me, me, me, me, me! What can I do? What can I have? When here there is much more talk about us and the group.

1.17 Facilitator 2: Well when we spoke to our teenagers – well Facilitator 1 did – we asked them and we can ask you as well, what they thought their responsibilities were and what was their number one responsibility Facilitator 1?

Facilitator 1: To chill out!

Facilitator 2: And number two responsibility?

Facilitator 1: To chill out and have fun.

Facilitator 2: Doing their homework was on the list you will be glad to hear but it was only about number 4 or 5 on the list after all the chilling out and having fun.

Adolescent Male 1: The black guys from the community, to get something that was/is your dream you have to struggle so many years to get it.

Facilitator 1: So do you think…and I don't want it to sound like a stupid saying that you here but I must be honest it is really what I have been thinking today. Is do you think sometimes it makes you stronger…like I don't know how to say it but if I listen to you guys I see much more strength here than I did in the group of white children that I did.

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, there is this one guy that they won't kill.

Facilitator 1: What doesn't kill you makes you stronger?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, there are some things that break your heart but don't kill you. The things that make you stronger, keep you going. Like the experience that I had, to establish my own business. This is the thing that makes me wake up every day.

Facilitator 1: But it will still come. Do you understand that it will come? Do you know that it will come?

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, I know that one day it will come. That's the things that is makes me strong and say I will not give up.

Facilitator 2: Cause I think if some of the white parents could hear/listen to what you say I think they would feel sad for the things you don't have and especially if you listen to your parents talk about the things they would love to give you which you can't, but I

think the white parents would walk away with a feeling of envy in their hearts because they would envy your parents, you strength, they would envy having children that can be so positive and so strong.

Facilitator 1: Yes and they value education. Adolescent Female1 in your school do white children value education as much as you do?

Adolescent Female 1 nods.

Facilitator 1: I don't think they do!

Adolescent Female 1: Not really.

Facilitator 2: Maybe they don't need to. There was a time when they didn't but they will fall in the deep if they don't get the cell phone they want.

Adolescent Male 1: Yes, like we stay in the community. I think the problem with them is they have everything at home. They have a cell phone at home…like us we have a vision or a goal like to take your parents out. This is what encourages you to go and say no it was me who was born in this shelter; it will be me who will take my parents out of this shelter. The white people have a nice home and everything; they go to nice schools and have fancy and nice cars and money. What dreams are those?

Facilitator 1: Do you feel that the interaction with your parents in the group session can make a difference to the way you communicate with your parents? Now and in the future?

Adolescent Male 2: There will be a big difference. You will not see so many street kids and drugs. See, firstly when you go outside, you are unhappy with things at home. If you

can communicate more with the parents, you won't go to live on the streets. You will see less kids using drugs and alcohol.

Adolescent Male 1: Even teenage pregnancies. If you and your parents can sit down and talk, it will be easier. The ladies can talk with their mothers, and the guys can speak with their fathers; then you will get good advice.