

## Behavioural and psychological control during adolescence: An ecological systems perspective

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This study investigated the extent and the nature of the behavioural and psychological control experienced by adolescents within four contexts (parental, peer, school, and community) of their everyday lives. The adolescents ( $n = 463$ ; female = 52.5%, black African = 69.3%; mean age = 15.69 years,  $SD = 2.86$  years) were from six public high schools in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. The participants completed adapted versions of the Parents' Psychological Control Scale and the Peer Control Scale. Multivariate analyses of variance revealed that in the school and community contexts, early adolescents and female participants experienced significantly higher levels of control than older adolescents and male participants. Female early adolescents experienced significantly higher levels of control (school behavioural control, community behavioural control, and community psychological control) specific to the school contexts which was in the form of psychological control. Findings of this study can inform community mentors and school counsellors of the important psychological and behavioural impact that community norms and school values have on how adolescents experience their social worlds and negotiate the boundaries of various social systems.

**Keywords:** behavioural and psychological control, parental context, peer context, school context, community context, South African adolescents

### Introduction

Adolescence is a time of development when individuals must balance their attempts to achieve autonomy and independence with the norms, values, and beliefs of the contexts within which they interact (Adams et al., 2012; Froiland & Davison, 2014; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010; Pellerone et al., 2015). In doing so, adolescents negotiate the boundaries of the social systems of family, peer group, school, and community (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Collins & Frels, 2013; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010; Markova & Nikitskaya, 2017; Neal & Neal, 2013). These systems provide for social control (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2016), part of which is gendered. For example, in patriarchal females' behaviours, attitudes, and emotions are controlled more strictly than males' (Almakadma & Ramisetty-Mikler, 2015; Hasebe et al., 2004; Keijsers & Poulin, 2013). Similarly, younger adolescents are subject to social control more than older adolescents (Almakadma & Ramisetty-Mikler, 2015). Ultimately, adolescents will internalise societal norms and expectations (Hasebe et al., 2004; Ingoglia et al., 2017). The socio-cultural context matters in how schoolage adolescents experience their social worlds. In the current study, we aimed to examine the sense of behavioural and psychological control among adolescents in a South African school setting.

### *Socio-behavioural control: its correlates among adolescents*

Behavioural control includes setting limits, regulating rules, monitoring actions, and restricting behaviour (Barber, 2002; Li et al., 2013; Keijsers & Poulin, 2013; Soenens et al., 2012). It provides structure and is seen in the teaching of social norms, expectations, values, beliefs, and behaviours (Fernández-García et al., 2017; Pérez-Sales, 2010). The behavioural control continuum can range from permissive to strict (Fernández-García et al., 2017). In society, behavioural

control is mainly viewed as a positive measure because it promotes conformation to norms and rules through behavioural regulation (Barber, 2002). Adolescents may react to behavioural control with compliance or resistance, with the latter possibly resulting in forms of delinquency, impulsivity, aggression, drug use, peer problems, and promiscuity (Barber et al., 2005; Li et al., 2013).

Psychological control includes strategic manipulation in the emotional, social, or cognitive domains (Barber, 2002; Nagler et al., 2014; Soenens et al., 2005, 2007; Wijsbroek et al., 2011) and ranges from warmth to rejection (Fernández-García et al., 2017). Psychological control is used to ensure conformation to norms, ideals, and values that are deemed acceptable by others (Barber, 2002; Barber et al., 2012; Fernández-García et al., 2017; Iwamoto & Smiler, 2013; Wijsbroek et al., 2011). This is achieved using strategies such as criticism, negative evaluation, comparison with others, invalidation, and withdrawal of love, together with instilling anxiety and inducing guilt or shame (Barber, 2002; Barber et al., 2012; Fernández-García et al., 2017; Iwamoto & Smiler, 2013; Wijsbroek et al., 2011). Adolescents may respond to psychological control by complying, withdrawing, isolating themselves, displaying avoidance, or acting out (Barber, 2002; Crocetti et al., 2007). How adolescents respond to behavioural and psychological control may vary by the social context: parent, peer, school, or community.

### *Parental context*

Parents model the values, beliefs, and behaviours deemed acceptable in their societies (Markova & Nikitskaya, 2017). During adolescence, a parent's role may transition to one of support and security (Markova & Nikitskaya, 2017; Smetana et al., 2006). Parental control and authority decrease as adolescents age and their independence and autonomy increase (Keijsers & Poulin, 2013; Pérez-Sales, 2010; Smetana et al., 2006). Parental behavioural

control through, for example, limit setting and monitoring, is a protective factor deterring delinquency, substance abuse, deviance, and peer influence (Ballash et al., 2006; Hoskins, 2014; Li et al., 2013). However, it may also result in dependence, insecurity, and entitlement (Givertz & Segrin, 2014). Parental psychological control may include interference, over-involvement, invasion, and manipulation (Li et al., 2013; Van der Kaap-Deeder et al., 2017).

### **Peer context**

Peer groups become prominent and influential during adolescence; specifically, peer interaction is prioritised, and peer opinions are valued (Albert et al., 2013; Bahr et al., 2005; Kågesten et al., 2016; Markova & Nikitskaya, 2017). Adolescents shape their behaviours, feelings, and thoughts to be accepted by the peer group, thus conforming to achieve stability (Albert et al., 2013; Jia et al., 2015; Maxwell et al., 2018). While peer behavioural control can be positive in situations where individuals motivate one another to do better (Helfert & Warschburger, 2013), risk behaviour may also increase (Albert et al., 2013; Markova & Nikitskaya, 2017; Smetana et al., 2006). Peer psychological control may include bullying, teasing, namecalling, exclusion, and rejection (Helfert & Warschburger, 2013; Rutland & Killen, 2015).

### **School context**

The control exhibited and experienced in the school context is expressed in the values of a school and is associated to the absence or presence of feelings of connectedness (McPherson et al., 2013; Mitchell & Bradshaw, 2013). School size, class size, teacher–student ratio, socioeconomic status, opportunities, and resources affect school connectedness and the control enforced by the school (Mitchell & Bradshaw, 2013; Thapa et al., 2013). School behavioural control relates to discipline through the rules, policies, guidelines, and systems that must be followed (Vega et al., 2015). Without behavioural control, schools face disciplinary problems and anti-social behaviour that may affect teaching and learning. However, strict and harsh methods of behavioural control can disconnect learners from the school (Almakadma & Ramisetty-Mikler, 2015). School psychological control, which also attempts to discipline and teach pro-social behaviour, can be experienced through exclusion, rejection, devaluation, disdain, avoidance, and invalidation (Almakadma & Ramisetty-Mikler, 2015; Thapa et al., 2013).

### **Community context**

Communities form norms, goals, values, attitudes, feelings, thought patterns, and behaviours (Halfond et al., 2013; Smetana et al., 2006). The absorbed cultural roots of a community either reinforce or discourage pro-social behaviour (Halfond et al., 2013; Stoddard et al., 2013). In the community context, it is imperative to consider the challenges and resources that contribute to development (Kagee et al., 2014; McBride-Murry et al., 2011). Community behavioural control reinforces community norms and values to form competent adults (Hardy et al., 2015). Most behavioural control is seen to promote obedience, competence, positive functioning, tradition, law and order, compliance, and respect for authority (Hoskins, 2014). However, behavioural

control can also lead to defiance, risk behaviours, rule breaking, and disrespect towards authority (Halfond et al., 2013). Community psychological control promotes pro-social individuals through enforcing normative behaviour (Ezemenaka, 2013) and may include measures such as shunning, rejecting, and stereotyping.

### **The South African setting**

In South Africa, adolescents are navigating their development within the context of a rapidly changing society. Trends such as globalisation and social media exposure require South African adolescents to consider more traditional African values while adjusting to modernisation (Adams et al., 2018; Adams & Van de Vijver, 2017; Brittan et al., 2013; Ferguson & Adams, 2016). In addition to the transformations related to a post-apartheid society, adolescents must find community belonging and peer group membership within the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-linguistic nature of this country (Adams et al., 2012, 2018; Nel et al., 2017). Some of the contexts for developing adolescents in South Africa are characterised by instability, including political imbalances, high unemployment and crime rates, neighbourhoods fraught with risks, socio-economic challenges, and varied access to services (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2013, 2016; Bray et al., 2010; Brittan et al., 2013; James et al., 2018; Kagee et al., 2014). Furthermore, South African family structures typically include the nuclear family and extended family parent roles for prominent figures in adolescents' lives (Marteleto et al., 2016; Meyer, 2017; Milazzo & Van de Walle, 2015).

Societal discourses indicate that gender and gender roles also have an impact on adolescent development in Africa and South Africa (Meyer, 2017; Milazzo & Van de Walle, 2015). South African males and females have different experiences relating to violence, access, and responsibilities in families (Fakunmoju & Rasool, 2018; Hallman et al., 2015; Meyer, 2017; Milazzo & Van de Walle, 2015). Furthermore, instability in families results in shifting responsibilities and adolescents assuming responsibilities at an early age. Research on the development of South African adolescents needs to consider aspects of chronological age, gender norms, societal structures, family and neighbourhood life, and peer interaction for a more complete picture of the ecologies in which these children develop.

### **Goal of the study**

This study aimed to examine the extent and the nature of control (including psychological and behavioural forms of control) experienced within the four main contexts (parental, peer, school, and community) that are relevant to adolescents' everyday lives. The research question for the study was: How are the adolescent socio-demographics of gender (female and male) and age group (early, middle, and late adolescence) associated with social control (both psychological and behavioural) in parental, peer, school, and community contexts?

### **Method**

#### **Participants and setting**

The adolescents ( $n = 463$ ; female = 52.5%, black African = 69.3%; mean age = 15.69 years,  $SD = 2.86$  years) were

from six public high schools in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. Table 1 presents a summary of the biographic characteristics.

### Measures

All participants self-reported their demographic characteristics. In addition, they completed the Parents' Psychological Control Scale (PPCS: Conger et al., 1997) and the Peer Control Scale (PCS: Hussong, 2000), as adapted by Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti (2016).

#### Parental control

The PPCS (Conger et al., 1997) is a nine-item scale measuring the perceived extent of parental psychological control (five items) and parental behavioural control (four items) experienced during a specific period (Scale range: 9–63). Seven-point Likert-scaled items (ranging from 1 = never, to 7 = always) are used. A sample item includes: "How often do your parents insist that you agree to his or her solution to a problem?" Previous Cronbach's alpha coefficients were determined as 0.78 in a sample of American adolescents (Cui et al., 2014) and 0.71 in a sample of South African adolescents (De Jager & Naudé, 2018).

#### Peer control

The PCS (Hussong, 2000) measures how often adolescents perceive their friends to show various forms of control. It is a 17-item scale measuring peer psychological control (12 items) and peer behavioural control (five items) with five-point Likert-scaled items (ranging from 1 = never, to 5 = all the time). A sample item includes: "How often do your friends/peers try to convince you to do something you are reluctant to do?" (Scale range: 17–85). In previous South African studies with adolescent samples, Cronbach's alpha

coefficients were reported as 0.91 (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2016) and 0.67 (De Jager & Naudé, 2018).

#### School control

To determine the extent of psychological and behavioural control experienced in the school context, adapted versions of the PPCS and the PCS (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2016) were used. The scale consisted of seven items (four for psychological control and three for behavioural control) measured on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 = never, to 5 = all the time). A sample item includes: "Do you think that there is a need for more rules and regulations in your school regarding violence and fighting?" (Scale range: 7–35). A previous study with a sample of South African adolescents reported Cronbach's alpha coefficients between 0.82 and 0.91 (De Jager & Naudé, 2018).

#### Community control

Adapted versions of the PPCS and the PCS (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2016) were used to measure psychological and behavioural control in community contexts, with nine items (three for psychological control and six for behavioural control) measured on a fivepoint Likert scale. An example item includes: "How often are your neighbours watching what you are doing?" (Scale range: 9–45). A previous study with a sample of South African adolescents reported a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of 0.73 (De Jager & Naudé, 2018).

### Procedures

The University of the Free State provided ethical clearance for the study (Ethical Clearance Number UFS-HSD2017/0234). The Eastern Cape Department of Education granted permission for the study. The parents of the adolescent learners granted consent for their participation in the study. In addition, the adolescents assented to the study with assurances regarding the voluntary nature of participation, the right to withdraw from the study at any time, and confidentiality of the data. The adolescents completed paper copies of the surveys. Debriefing sessions were available if needed.

### Data analysis

Descriptive and inferential statistics were performed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) programme. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to determine the extent to which adolescents' socio-demographics of gender (female and male) and age group (early, middle, and late adolescence) could explain differences regarding social control (psychological and behavioural) in parental, peer, school, and community contexts. Underlying assumptions for conducting MANOVAs such as linearity, the absence of multivariate outliers, the absence of multi-collinearity, and equality of covariance matrices were considered. Significant results ( $p < 0.05$ ) on the MANOVA (conducted on the combined dependent variables to control for the Type I error) were followed-up with ANOVAs and post hoc Scheffé tests (in the case of age) to determine between which of the three age groups significant differences existed.

**Table 1.** Biographic characteristics of the sample

Participant information		<i>n</i>	%
Age	13	23	5.0
	14	56	12.1
	15	88	19.0
	16	100	21.6
	17	74	16.0
	18	63	13.6
	19	31	6.7
	Older	10	2.2
	Unknown	18	3.8
	Age Group	Early (13–15)	167
Middle (16–17)		174	37.6
Late (18–19)		104	22.5
Unknown		18	3.9
Gender	Female	243	52.5
	Male	212	45.8
	Unknown	8	1.7
Home Language	Afrikaans	78	16.8
	English	44	9.5
	Sesotho	10	2.2
	isiXhosa	261	56.4
	Setswana	1	0.2
	Tsonga	1	0.2
	isiZulu	4	0.9
	Venda/Swati	2	0.4
	Multiple	56	12.1
Unknown	6	1.3	

## Results

### Descriptive statistics

As indicated in Table 2, parental control, participants' scores reflected lower levels of control ( $M = 24.38$ ;  $SD = 9.67$ ), with both parental psychological control ( $M = 13.32$ ;  $SD = 5.7$ ) and parental behavioural control ( $M = 11.06$ ;  $SD = 4.93$ ) being approximately one standard deviation below the scale midpoint. The same tendency was observed for peer control on the total scale ( $M = 39.81$ ;  $SD = 10.64$ ), with psychological ( $M = 29.24$ ;  $SD = 7.82$ ) and behavioural ( $M = 10.57$ ;  $SD = 3.75$ ) control subscales being approximately one standard deviation lower than the scale midpoint.

In contrast, participants' scores on the school control scale were higher than the expected scale midpoints for the total scale ( $M = 25.11$ ;  $SD = 5.14$ ) and for the psychological ( $M = 14.13$ ;  $SD = 3.82$ ) and behavioural ( $M = 10.99$ ;  $SD = 3.53$ ) control subscales. Participants obtained average results (close to the scale midpoints) on the community control scale ( $M = 28.14$ ;  $SD = 7.46$ ), on the psychological control subscale ( $M = 8.76$ ;  $SD = 3.73$ ), and the behavioural control subscale ( $M = 19.39$ ;  $SD = 5.76$ ).

### Gender group differences

As indicated in Table 3, the MANOVA yielded a statistically significant difference between gender groups on the combined dependent variables ( $F = 2.604$ ; Wilks'  $\lambda = 0.939$ ;  $p = 0.003$ ;  $\eta^2 = 0.061$ ). Significant differences in the areas of school behavioural control, community behavioural control, and community psychological control indicated a higher score for female participants than male participants.

### Age group differences

The MANOVA yielded a statistically significant difference between the three age groups on the combined dependent variables ( $F = 2.896$ ; Wilks'  $\lambda = 0.867$ ;  $p < 0.01$ ;  $\eta^2 = 0.069$ ). After administration of the post hoc Scheffé test, it was found that all significant age differences were between the early and middle adolescence age groups. Participants in early adolescence experienced significantly higher school control scores, specifically school psychological control scores, than the middle adolescence age group (see Table 4).

## Discussion

In the present study, the high level of school control relative to participants' experiences of low levels of parental and peer control is noticeable. Specifically, high levels of school behavioural control were reported. This could be indicative of the high priority that schools place on discipline through the rules, policies, guidelines, and systems that must be followed (Mitchell & Bradshaw, 2013; Thapa et al., 2013; Vega et al., 2015) to prevent anti-social behaviour, to instil values of connectedness and discipline, and to promote the development of pro-social citizens. This might be due to a lack of sufficient discipline and structure in other spheres and contexts such as instability in families, or under-resourced and disorganised community settings (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2013, 2016; Bray et al., 2010; Brittian et al., 2013; James et al., 2018; Kagee et al., 2014; Marteleto et al., 2016; Meyer, 2017; Milazzo & Van de Walle, 2015). While the importance of parental and peer interaction during adolescence cannot be denied, the adolescents in this study did not experience high levels of control in these contexts.

This study confirmed the findings of previous research in this field, with females being subjected to higher levels of control than males, and younger adolescents experiencing more control than their older counterparts. Of particular interest in this study was the variety of contexts in which females experienced significantly higher levels of control: school behavioural control, community behavioural control, and community psychological control. This indicates that expectations of competence, positive functioning, and normative behaviour for females are deeply embedded in the cultural roots of various contexts of society (Halfond et al., 2013; Stoddard et al., 2013). This aligns with the patriarchal systems of thought that dictate stricter gender roles, behavioural expectations, and attitude restrictions for females (Fakunmoju & Rasool, 2018; Hallman et al., 2015; Hasebe et al., 2004; Hoskins, 2014; Maxwell et al., 2018; Meyer, 2017; Milazzo & Van de Walle, 2015). Therefore, the pervasive nature of power relations in gendered societies and how this is experienced by female adolescents is clear.

The findings of this study are also in accordance with the expected inverse relationship between age and control—control decreases as age and independence increase (Hasebe

**Table 2.** Descriptive statistics with regard to the various forms of control

Scale (with subscales)	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Scale $\alpha$
Parental Psychological Control (Range 5–35, Midpoint 20)	5	35	13.32	5.70	0.69
Parental Behavioural Control (Range 4–28, Midpoint 16)	4	28	11.06	4.93	0.62
<b>Parental Control Total (Range 9–63, Midpoint 36)</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>24.38</b>	<b>9.67</b>	<b>0.79</b>
Peer Psychological Control (Range 12–60, Midpoint 36)	12	55	29.24	7.82	0.75
Peer Behavioural Control (Range 5–25, Midpoint 15)	5	25	10.57	3.75	0.64
<b>Peer Control Total (Range 17–85, Midpoint 51)</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>39.81</b>	<b>10.64</b>	<b>.82</b>
School Psychological Control (Range 4–20, Midpoint 12)	5	20	14.13	3.82	0.79
School Behavioural Control (Range 3–15, Midpoint 9)	3	15	10.99	3.53	0.75
<b>School Control Total (Range 7–35, Midpoint 21)</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>25.11</b>	<b>5.14</b>	<b>0.63</b>
Community Psychological Control (Range 3–15, Midpoint 9)	3	15	8.76	3.73	0.78
Community Behavioural Control (Range 6–30, Midpoint 18)	6	30	19.39	5.76	0.74
<b>Community Control Total (Range 9–45, Midpoint 27)</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>28.14</b>	<b>7.46</b>	<b>0.74</b>

**Table 3.** Mean scores, standard deviations, and *F*-values relating to the ANOVA for gender differences

Dependent Variable	Gender groups				<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	Female ( <i>n</i> = 243)		Male ( <i>n</i> = 212)				
	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>			
Parental Psychological Control	13.57	6.025	13.01	5.339	1.063	0.303	0.002
Parental Behavioural Control	10.98	5.270	11.08	4.525	0.039	0.843	0.000
<b>Parental Control Total</b>	<b>24.55</b>	<b>10.389</b>	<b>24.09</b>	<b>8.817</b>	<b>0.257</b>	<b>0.612</b>	<b>0.001</b>
Peer Psychological Control	29.12	7.937	29.22	7.644	0.018	0.894	0.000
Peer Behavioural Control	10.66	4.000	10.41	3.472	0.528	0.468	0.001
<b>Peer Control Total</b>	<b>39.78</b>	<b>10.99</b>	<b>39.62</b>	<b>10.175</b>	<b>0.025</b>	<b>0.873</b>	<b>0.000</b>
School Psychological Control	14.41	3.657	13.86	3.986	2.381	0.124	0.005
School Behavioural Control	11.42	3.407	10.49	3.636	7.910**	0.005	0.017
<b>School Control Total Score</b>	<b>25.83</b>	<b>5.195</b>	<b>24.35</b>	<b>5.005</b>	<b>9.535**</b>	<b>0.002</b>	<b>0.021</b>
Community Psychological Control	9.30	3.806	8.19	3.580	10.284**	0.001	0.022
Community Behavioural Control	20.05	5.722	18.75	5.747	5.820*	0.016	0.013
<b>Community Control Total</b>	<b>29.35</b>	<b>7.596</b>	<b>26.93</b>	<b>7.130</b>	<b>12.124**</b>	<b>0.001</b>	<b>0.026</b>

Note. \* $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\* $p \leq 0.01$

**Table 4.** Mean scores, standard deviations, and *F*-values relating to the ANOVA for age differences

Dependent Variable	Age groups						<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	Early ( <i>n</i> = 167)		Middle ( <i>n</i> = 174)		Late ( <i>n</i> = 104)				
	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>			
Parental Psychological Control	12.66	5.552	13.79	5.951	13.85	5.619	2.088	0.125	0.009
Parental Behavioural Control	11.04	4.678	10.98	5.209	11.18	4.804	0.054	0.947	0.000
<b>Parental Control Total</b>	<b>23.71</b>	<b>9.427</b>	<b>24.77</b>	<b>10.174</b>	<b>25.03</b>	<b>9.339</b>	<b>0.769</b>	<b>0.464</b>	<b>0.003</b>
Peer Psychological Control	28.98	8.291	29.02	7.426	30.59	7.163	1.685	0.187	0.008
Peer Behavioural Control	10.78	4.021	10.33	3.720	10.76	3.255	0.741	0.477	0.003
<b>Peer Control Total</b>	<b>39.77</b>	<b>11.484</b>	<b>39.36</b>	<b>10.077</b>	<b>41.35</b>	<b>9.626</b>	<b>1.215</b>	<b>0.298</b>	<b>0.005</b>
School Psychological Control	14.72	3.595	13.83	3.924	13.73	3.882	3.115*	0.045	0.014
School Behavioural Control	11.23	3.296	10.69	3.715	11.35	3.404	1.517	0.220	0.007
<b>School Control Total</b>	<b>25.95</b>	<b>4.905</b>	<b>24.52</b>	<b>5.147</b>	<b>25.08</b>	<b>5.269</b>	<b>3.366*</b>	<b>0.035</b>	<b>0.015</b>
Community Psychological Control	8.69	3.725	8.68	3.790	9.05	3.643	0.369	0.692	0.002
Community Behavioural Control	19.20	5.359	19.72	5.963	19.18	5.938	0.440	0.644	0.002
<b>Community Control Total</b>	<b>27.90</b>	<b>7.225</b>	<b>28.40</b>	<b>7.588</b>	<b>28.23</b>	<b>7.709</b>	<b>0.197</b>	<b>0.821</b>	<b>0.001</b>

Note. \* $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\* $p \leq 0.01$

et al., 2004; Keijsers & Poulin, 2013; Pérez-Sales, 2010; Smetana et al., 2006). In this study, the significantly higher control experienced during early adolescence was specific to the school contexts and was in the form of psychological control. This is indicative of the focus of schools in instilling a sense of discipline and pro-social behaviour (Almakadma & Ramisetty-Mikler, 2015; Thapa et al., 2013), especially in young adolescents.

#### Limitations and future recommendations

Sampling for this study was limited to adolescents in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. A replication of this study in diverse settings and contexts would ensure that findings could be generalised to all South African adolescents. While the focus of this study was only on the socio-demographic aspects of age and gender, future

studies could include variables such as race, ethnolinguistics, socio-economic status, and family structure to gain meaningful information regarding the nuanced experiences of control in specific groupings of adolescents. In addition to this, the current study was conducted from the perspectives of the adolescent participants. Future research could include the views of parents, guardians, teachers, or significant community members.

The binary categorisation of gender groups failed to account for more fluid conceptualisations of gender. It would be of value if future studies could capture how perceptions and experiences of control materialise in relation to diverse gendered identifications, especially considering changing societal norms regarding gender roles. In addition, the arbitrary division of the participants of this study into early, middle, and late adolescence by

chronological age categories did not account for more subtle differentiations in maturity. Future researchers might consider more refined demarcations that include cognitive maturity, social rites of passage, and cultural perceptions of transitions into adulthood.

### Implications

This study's findings indicate the importance of an ecological system's perspective when investigating the intricacies of control in adolescents' lives. While the focus of research studies on control is often on parental control (Fernández-García et al., 2017), the findings of this study suggest that it is maybe not only the parental and peer systems but also the school and community contexts that are of importance and in need of further research scrutiny and understanding.

### Conclusion

The findings of this study contribute to the scarce body of knowledge on adolescent development in South Africa, especially regarding the school and community microsystemic contexts. The study findings can inform community mentors and school counsellors of the important psychological and behavioural impact that community norms and school values have on how adolescents experience their social worlds and negotiate the boundaries of their various social systems.

**Conflict of interest:** The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

**Ethical approval:** All procedures performed in this study (involving human participants) were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional research committee.

**Informed consent:** Informed consent (parental consent and participant assent) was obtained from all individual study participants.

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