ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF PARENTING PRACTICES WITH RESPECT TO SUBSTANCE USE

Yogovani Pillay

Mini dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Health Promotion in the School of Psychology

Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences,

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

December 2008

Supervisor: Professor Anna Meyer-Weitz

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own work. It is being submitted for the partial fulfilment of the degree Masters in Health Promotion, in the School of Psychology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Yogovani Pillay   **Date**

Student no: 205525114   **11/03/2009**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

There are many people who supported me throughout this endeavour. I want to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to the following people.

I thank my supervisor, Professor Anna Meyer-Weitz, for her guidance, motivation and support through the completion of this thesis. She has played a major role in my development within the field of Health Promotion and research. I am grateful to Dr Saadhna Panday, Professor Arvin Bhana and Leane Ramsoomar for their support and advice which has played a major role in my development as a researcher.

I am sincerely grateful to the Human Science Research Council for allowing me the time to collect the data for this study. I extend my gratitude to all the learners who willingly participated in this study.

To my parents, parents-in-law and family, I thank you for your support, invaluable advice and patience throughout my academic career. To my husband Roshan, I would like to express my love and gratitude for his unconditional support, warmth and understanding throughout this study. And finally I thank God for being the guiding force in my life and giving me the strength to complete this thesis.

ABSTRACT

Substance use among adolescents in South Africa is a growing concern. While a growing body of research is outlining the ability of parents to influence and moderate the uptake of risk behaviours, limited literature is available in South Africa on the links between parenting practices and substance use. The present study explored adolescents' perceptions of parenting practices with respect to their substance use behaviours. Eight focus group discussions were conducted with grade 8 and 9 school-going learners from four purposively selected public high schools in the eThekwini region of KwaZulu-Natal. The discussions were informed by constructions of the Integrated Model of Change (I-Change Model) and appropriate literature. Data was analysed thematically. This study provides further evidence that parenting behaviours can influence adolescent behaviour. The findings suggest that specific parenting practices pertaining to parent-child communication, parental support, warmth, and monitoring can have an influence on adolescent alcohol and tobacco use. Negative parenting may lead to disruptive behaviour, vulnerability to peer pressure and subsequent substance use. It is recommended that early intervention and prevention programs for substance use include aspects of parenting practices that influence adolescent substance use.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND APPENDICES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

## 1.1.	Overview of the Problem

Adolescent substance use continues to plague our society. Adolescents drink and use a wide variety of illegal/illicit drugs and other unhealthy substances (e.g. inhalants such as glues, aerosols and solvents). Cigarette and other tobacco products are also used extensively.

According to national statistics, adolescent alcohol and tobacco use in South Africa is a growing concern (Statistics South Africa, 2004). Tobacco use is linked to 21 500 deaths each year in South Africa (Sitas, Bradshaw, Kielkowski, Bah, & Peto, 2004). Data from the 2002 Global Youth Tobacco Survey (GYTS) (Swart, Reddy, Panday, Philip, Naidoo, & Ngobeni, 2004) indicate that 38% of 13-15 year old learners have smoked cigarettes and about 19% reported to be current users of tobacco. According to the South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use (SACENDU), trends in adolescent alcohol use seem to indicate that alcohol is widely misused by adolescents in South Africa, and that alcohol is the second most common primary substance of abuse among adolescents in treatment centres in Durban and Gauteng (Parry, Morojele, Saban & Flisher, 2004). The South African Youth Risk Behaviour Survey 2002 (Reddy, Panday, Swart, Jinabhai, Amosun, James, Monyeki, Stevens, Morojele, Kambaran, Omardien, & Van den Borne, 2003) provided statistics which indicate that 32% of learners used alcohol monthly.

The first substances that young people often experiment with are tobacco and alcohol, probably because they are easily accessible and because it is socially accepted. A number of studies have reported that tobacco and alcohol use leads to the use of other substances

(gateway effect) and if their use can be prevented, then the initiation of harder drugs is less likely (Siquerira & Brook, 2003; Rigotti, Lee & Wechsler, 2000; Flisher, Parry, Muller & Lombard, 2002).

Adolescent alcohol and tobacco use can lead to addiction, health problems, emotional problems, problems with schoolwork and low social competence (Parker & Benson, 2004). It has also been linked to involvement in crime, with studies reporting high prevalence rates for substance use among juvenile offenders (Parry, Myers, Morejele, Flisher, Bhana, Donson & Pludddemann, 2004). Added to the immediate personal and social costs of adolescent drug abuse are the long term implications for adolescents who continue to abuse alcohol and drugs into adult life. Although the World Health Organisation (2002) rated tobacco and alcohol consumption as two of the ten leading causes of death, the consumption of tobacco and alcohol continues to increase over time, with the greatest increase occurring in developing countries. The global burden of disease estimates a doubling in the number of deaths every year from tobacco use, from 5 million in 2005, to 10 million in 2020 (Warren, Jones, Eriksen & Asma, 2006). It is estimated that eight percent of all deaths each year in South Africa are attributable to tobacco use (Sitas *et al.*, 2004). Worldwide, alcohol is responsible for 1.8 million deaths each year (Reddy *et al*., 2003). Besides the direct effects of intoxication and addiction resulting in alcohol use disorders, alcohol has been estimated to cause liver disease, oesophageal cancer, epilepsy, motor vehicle accidents, and homicides (World Health Organisation, 2002).

Reddy *et al*. (2003) reported that 13.5% of adolescents used alcohol and drugs before having sex. Research has shown that the use of alcohol or drugs is related to unprotected sexual behaviour that is a high risk for human immune virus (HIV) infection (Simbayi, Chauveau, &

Shisana 2004; Shisana, Stoker, Simbayi, Orkin, Bezuidenhout, Jooste, Colvin, & van Zyl, 2004; Parry, 2005; Flisher, Ziervogel, Chalton, Leger, & Robertson, 1996). This sheds more light on the reasons for an unacceptable HIV prevalence rate among youth in South Africa. Morejele and colleagues (2006) found in their study that frequent sexual behaviour among adolescents were due to the effects of drugs.

Alcohol and drug abuse are major factors in acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), violent crimes, child abuse and neglect, and unemployment. The problems associated with alcohol and drug abuse carry costs in lost productivity, lost life, destruction of families, and the weakening of bonds that hold the society together.

Given the serious consequences of drug and alcohol abuse, considerable effort needs to be directed towards prevention. The prevention of tobacco and alcohol misuse requires an understanding of what factors keep adolescents from initiating alcohol and tobacco misuse (protective factors) and what factors dampen the spiralling increase in alcohol and tobacco misuse during adolescence. A number of factors, both individual and environmental, have been consistently related to alcohol and tobacco use among adolescents. These include socio-economic factors, peer pressure, grade at school, gender, and age (Parry *et al*, 2004). Research has shown that Black African[1] adolescents consistently report lower rates of tobacco (Swart *et al*., 2004; Epstein, Botvin, & Diaz, 1998; Griesler & Kandel, 1998) and alcohol use (Reddy *et al*., 2003) than other ethnic groups. The Youth Risk Behaviour Survey (YRBS) in South

---

[1] During the Apartheid years, all South Africans were classified into race groups in accordance with the Population Registration Act of 1950 namely, Black African (people of African descent), Coloured (people with mixed descent), Indian (people of Indian descent) and White (people of European descent). The researcher in no way subscribes to this classification.

Africa reported that significantly more White (66.7%), Coloured (56.6%), and Indian (47.4%) adolescents had ever smoked cigarettes when compared to Black adolescents (23.9%) (Reddy *et al*., 2003). The YRBS also reported that significantly higher percentages of White (86%) and Coloured (66%) adolescents had ever used alcohol when compared to Black (44%) and Indian (39.7%) adolescents. While socio-economic factors could play a role, the aetiology of ethnic differences is not clear. The prevalence levels reported above suggest that there may be protective and resiliency factors that prevent the uptake of substance use among adolescents.

While the above mentioned influences in adolescent substance use are substantial, many studies have shown that parenting (monitoring, care, and supportive practices) mediates the influence of these factors (Parker & Benson, 2004; Watkins, Howard-Barr, Moore & Werch, 2006; Harakeh, Scholte, Vermulst, De Vries & Engels, 2004). Research abroad has indicated that there is growing interest in engaging parents to reduce adolescent involvement in substance use (Ennett, Bauman, Pemberton, Foshee, Chuang, King, & Koch, 2001; Jackson, 2002). As there is growing concern regarding substance use among South African adolescents it is important to explore parenting within the South African context in relation to substance use as it might inform strategies for preventive interventions.

### 1.2.	Rationale for the Study

Adolescent substance use has serious consequences which places adolescents at risk for unplanned pregnancy, contracting sexually transmitted infections (STI) including HIV (Simbayi, Chauveau, & Shisana, 2004) and academic failure (Flisher, Parry, Evans, Muller, & Lombard, 2003). Due to the seriousness of the problem, high priority needs to be given to protective factors such as parental influence.

The family, viewed as the earliest socialisation force, can be instrumental in protecting adolescents from engaging in substance use by communicating protective social values and beliefs (Bhattacharya, Cleland, & Holland, 1999). Given the links between parenting practices and adolescent substance use, it is important to investigate this phenomena within a South African context as it may be a key factor in effective interventions. This study will contribute to interventions targeted at strengthening the protective effects of parental influence on adolescents' behaviours.

There is a paucity of literature in South Africa on parental influences on adolescent substance use. According to Ennett and colleagues (2001), a possible explanation for the limited research on parental influence on adolescent substance use is that it is such a fundamental influence on adolescents' decisions about tobacco and alcohol use that it has been largely overlooked. This study will contribute to the research literature in South Africa of parental influence on substance use.

1.3.   Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to explore the perceptions of 13-14 year old adolescents regarding parenting practices and its relation to substance use through focus group discussions conducted in public high schools in the eThekwini region of KwaZulu-Natal.

1.4.   Objectives of the Study

- To describe how 13-14 year old adolescents perceive the parenting practices of their parents
- To identify adolescent perceptions of specific parenting practices that contributes to low smoking rates and alcohol use

- To identify adolescent perceptions of specific parenting practices to prevent engagement in substance use behaviour or their current engagement in substance use.

- To observe any gender differences with regards to perceived parenting practices

- To observe any ethnic differences with regards to perceived parenting practices

1.5.   Research Questions

1) What are the parenting practices that are associated with tobacco and alcohol use amongst adolescents?

2) What are the parenting practices that are associated with the absence of tobacco and alcohol use amongst adolescents?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.   Review of Related Studies

2.1.1   Introduction

A substantial amount of research indicates that parents play an important role in the lives of children and adolescents (Owusu, 2004; Jackson, 2002; Marshal & Chassin, 2000; Engels & Willwmsen, 2004; Hayes, Smart, Toumbourou, & Sanson, 2004). In South Africa the CHAMP SA programme (Collaborative HIV/AIDS and Adolescent Mental Health Programme), which was originally developed in the United States, was initiated to prevent high sexual risk behaviour through promoting resiliency in pre-adolescents youth and their families (Bhana, Petersen, Mason, Mahintsho, Bell & MaKay, 2004). At the family level, the CHAMP SA programme focused on improving family processes, including strengthening communication between youth and their parents and improving parental monitoring and supervision of peer relations as well as youth whereabouts and activities, thereby strengthening the adult protective shield (Bhana *et al*., 2004). This programme further highlights the importance of the role of families to prevent adolescent risk behaviours.

Parenting styles and practices such as parental monitoring and support, parent-child communication and parent-child relationship quality have been identified as influencing adolescent substance use behaviour (Diclemente, Wingood, Crosby, Sionean, Cobb, Harrington, Davies, Hook & Oh, 2001; Jackson, 2002; Ennett *et al*., 2001). Many researchers (Adamczyk-Robinette, Fletcher, & Wright, 2001; Borawski, Ievers-Landis, Lovegreen & Trapl, 2003; Ennett *et al*., 2001) have paid particular attention to the relationship between

adolescent substance use and parenting behaviours. This section presents a review of the research concerning the impact of parenting factors on adolescent substance use.

2.1.2   Parenting Styles

According to Darling and Steinberg (1993) parenting styles has been defined as a global climate in which a family functions and in which childrearing takes place. Parenting behaviours that contribute to a parenting style include parental care, warmth, monitoring, discipline and decision-making (Owusu, 2004). Baumrind (1966) identified four distinct parenting styles, based on interviews with parents and observations of family functioning. According to Baumrind (1966), the common parenting tendencies are: Authoritative, Authoritarian, Permissive, and Neglectful (see Table 1). Although Baumrind developed these categories with parents of young children, these parenting styles have been used in various studies among adolescents.

The four parenting styles outlined in Table 1 were classified along the dimensions of responsiveness and demandingness (Baumrind, 1991). Parental responsiveness (also referred to as parental warmth or supportiveness) refers to "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 (also referred to as behavioural control) 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, p. 61).

Table 1: Baumrind's Parenting Typology (1966)

Parenting Style	Characteristics
Authoritarian	Demanding and controlling, but not responsive or warm.
Authoritative	Warm, supportive, encouraging, but at same time firm level of control.
Permissive	Allowing, willing to give in, applying few rules to contain their children.
Neglecting	Neither warm nor demanding.

Authoritarian parents are demanding and controlling, but not responsive and warm. Baumrind (1966) asserts that such parents have clear rules that their children are not supposed to question. Parents who use this strategy tend to think that it helps in disciplining children and enhancing compliance behaviour. The truth however, is that it discourages verbal interaction between parents and children and has negative psychological consequences for the child (Owusu, 2004).

On the contrary, parents who are authoritative, provide firmness in direction while allowing the child the freedom to choose with some limits (Baumrind, 1966). Authoritative parents are both responsive and demanding. They are warm, supportive, and encouraging, but at the same time they are firm and impart clear standards for their children's behaviour without being intrusive or restrictive. Authoritative parents set standards to direct adolescents to appropriate behaviour, encourage negotiation, and give reasoning behind decisions.

In further contrast, Baumrind (1966) uses the term "permissive" to describe parents who see themselves on the same level as their adolescents. Permissive parents make efforts to provide a non-punitive accepting environment in which the child can regulate his/her own behaviour without much interference from the parents. They avoid control, make very few demands and

see themselves only as a resource for the adolescent. This style leaves the child in control and allows him/her the freedom to initiate most actions based on his/her own perspective. Neglectful parents are neither responsive nor demanding. They do not monitor or guide their children and do not support them or relate to them with warmth.

Baumrind (1971) found differences in outcomes with the varying parenting styles discussed above. Authoritative parenting was associated with higher grades, less substance use, and lower rates of depression. According to several researchers authoritative parenting is purported to be the most favourable approach, and this style has been correlated with positive adolescent outcomes across several studies (Beck, Shattuck, Haynie, Crump, & Simons Morton, 1999; Kremers, Brug, De Vries & Engels, 2003; Jackson, Henriksen, & Foshee, 1998). Jackson (2002) showed that adolescents who were parented in an authoritative style were less likely to reject parental authority than adolescents who were exposed to authoritarian parenting. Rejection of parental authority was in turn associated with higher alcohol use.

Using Baumrind's (1966) parenting typology, Cohen and Rice (1997) found that authoritative parenting was significantly associated with lower levels of adolescent alcohol and tobacco use. Similarly, Adamczyk-Robinette *et al*. (2002) studied 156 adolescents and reported that higher levels of authoritativeness, measured by warmth, involvement, control and autonomy, were associated with lower levels of tobacco use. Adolescents with authoritarian parents are likely to show higher levels of obedience and conformity, but appear to have poorer self-concepts than other adolescents. However, in some cultures authoritarian parenting is associated with positive outcomes. For example, the authoritarian parenting style among African American, Hispanic and Asian parents have been associated with lower levels of

alcohol and tobacco use among adolescents (Borawski *et al*., 2003). Several studies (Radziszewsk, Richardson, Dent, & Flay, 1996; Richards, Miller, O'Donnel, Wasserman & Colder, 2002; Bhattacharya *et al*., 1999) have shown cultural differences in parenting styles and practices, but the extent to which the social and cultural background influence parenting styles and practices is not well documented.

Adolescents who perceive their parents as neglectful in terms of demonstrating a lack of interest in their whereabouts and activities tend to experience lower self-esteem, which will decrease their ability to resist peer pressure (Harakeh et al., 2004). While adolescents from indulgent families were also found to be less likely to indulge in experimentation with substances in early adolescence, evidence suggests that parental leniency in this regard may result in the development of such behaviours at a later stage (Adalbjarnardottir & Hafsteinsson, 2001; Sargent & Dalton, 2001).

The above review of research on the four parenting styles identified by Baurimnd (1966) indicate that it is important for parents to be aware of the role their parenting practices play in preventing adolescent risk behaviour, as adolescents who identified their parents as being authoritative were less likely to engage in substance than were adolescents from neglectful and authoritarian families (Adalbjarnardottir & Hafsteinsson, 2001; Sargent & Dalton, 2001).

Different parental practices have been used to identify a parenting style. Parenting practices such as rules and decision making, caring, involvement and monitoring have been used to group parents into one of Baumrind's (1966) categories of parenting (Adamczyk-Robinette *et al*., 2002; Aunola, Stattin & Nurmi, 2000; Cohen & Rice, 1997; Fletcher & Jefferies, 1999;

Adalbjarnardottir, & Hafsteinsson, 2001). Some of these parenting practices which are related to this study will be explained further.

2.1.3. Parental Support and Monitoring

Two key constructs namely parental support and parental monitoring emerged from the literature reviewed on parenting practices and adolescent substance use. *Parental support* (including nurturance, attachment, acceptance, cohesion and love) has also been called parental warmth, and parental care. According to recent research, supportive parenting is linked to adolescent self-esteem and positive health and well-being outcomes (Parker & Benson, 2004). Conversely lack of parental support is linked to adolescent substance use problems and delinquent behaviour (Thomas, Farrell & Barnes, 1996). Parental support is thought to decrease the likelihood that adolescents will affiliate with deviant peers which has been linked to the development of problem behaviours (Marshal and Chassin, 2000). Barnes and colleagues (2000) showed in their study that parental support is related to alcohol misuse. Children who are reared in a supportive, nurturing environment are likely to be more receptive to parental monitoring during adolescent years and do not misuse alcohol (Barnes, Reifman, Farrel & Dintcheff, 2000).

Parental monitoring (also referred to as discipline and punishment) has been operationalized as protectiveness, control and strictness. The most widely accepted definition of parental monitoring refers to an awareness of the child's activities and communication to the child that the parent is concerned about the child's activities (Dishion & McMahon, 1998).

The relationship between increased adolescent alcohol use and low parental monitoring has been demonstrated consistently in several studies (Barnes *et al.,* 2000; Richards *et al.,* 2004).

Barnes and colleagues (2000) found an association between high parental monitoring and lower use of alcohol across a six-wave longitudinal study of randomly sampled adolescents, commencing with measures taken at 13 years of age. They also found higher parental monitoring reduced the upward trajectory of alcohol misuse across adolescence. Similarly, Guo and colleagues (2001) followed 755 adolescents from age 10-21 years, and found that high monitoring, as well as clearly defined rules at ten years of age, predicted lower alcohol abuse and dependency at the age of 21. It has also been noted that poorly monitored adolescents are more likely to associate with 'deviant' peers (Steinberg, Darling & Flectcher, 1995). Dishon and McMahon (1998) reported that low parental monitoring has an indirect effect on adolescent substance use by increasing the likelihood that adolescents spend time with deviant peers, which led the authors to conclude that adolescent delinquency and drug use are outcomes of disrupted family processes and exposure to deviant peers.

In a study conducted by Borawski and colleagues (2003) it was found that both males and females show an increase in risk behaviour when they are allowed greater unsupervised time with friends. While in males high levels of parental monitoring was linked with a decrease in alcohol use, females, on the other hand, demonstrated the greatest decrease in risk behaviours when higher levels of parental trust were perceived. Gender differences in parental monitoring have often been reported, with female adolescents reporting higher levels of monitoring than male adolescents (Veal & Ross, 2006). It seems that parents tend to be more protective of their daughters, perhaps due to the prevalent norms in our society which expect girls to be more vulnerable, as well as fear of sexual promiscuity and pregnancy (Veal & Ross, 2006). The fact that in comparison with girls, boys tend to be less strictly monitored by their parents causes males to be at higher risk of exposure to deviant peer behaviour, such as

alcohol use, which then has a strong influence on their own risk behaviour (Veal & Ross, 2006).

As mentioned above, parental monitoring is also referred to as discipline. Many studies have looked at parental discipline and adolescent problem behaviour (Eitle, 2005; Baumrind, 1978). Eitle (2005) found in his study of parenting and adolescent substance use that adolescents who had lower levels of parental discipline were likely to report using substances such as tobacco. Baumrind (1978) also noted that inconsistent discipline with adolescents is a factor associated with their engagement in substance use.

While much of the research into parental monitoring has focused on parents' knowledge of their child's whereabouts and activities, another important aspect of monitoring in relation to adolescent substance use is parental awareness of adolescent's alcohol consumption or smoking behaviour. A study conducted by Williams, McDermitt and Bertrand (2003) compared the responses of a large sample of 845 parents and their adolescents, aged 12-18 years. It was found that of the adolescents who reported alcohol use, only 34% of their parents were aware that their child had consumed alcohol. Research has shown that some parents who are aware of their adolescent's drinking behaviour do not see it as a problem. For example in a series of quantitative and qualitative studies, it was found that parents tend to be more concerned about illicit drug use than they are about alcohol use (Taylor & Carroll, 2001). Reporting on data from 404 telephone interviews with parents and adolescents, this study showed that only half the parents considered underage drinking to be a problem.

The literature review on parental monitoring discussed above suggest that the protective effects of parental monitoring may be an important factor in preventing adolescent engagement in substance use and other health risk behaviours.

2.1.4. Parent-adolescent Communication

Parent-child communication refers to the extent to which parents will reason with their children and consider their opinions when giving instructions (Baumrind, 1967). Parent-child communication is considered to be one of the fundamental ways that parents can influence their children's decisions about tobacco and alcohol use, as it is through verbal communication that parents are able to most directly express their feelings and concerns (Ennett *et al.*, 2001). Research has shown that when adolescents report good communication with their parents they consistently score higher on measures of psychological development, behavioural competency, self-reliance, and report low rates of psychological and social problems (Ennett *et al.,* 2001; Taylor & Carroll, 2001). When parents are able to communicate with adolescents about substance use they are likely to experience less conflict surrounding adolescent behaviours (Taylor & Carroll, 2001). While the findings above show that parent-child communication can deter adolescent risk behaviour, there are findings from other research that indicate that the effect of such parent-child communication is not as strong as expected, with adolescents in some cases being seen to increase their alcohol use after discussions with parents about the rules and reprisals for such behaviour (Ennett *et al.,* 2001).

A possible explanation for parent-child communication not being as strong as expected could be that parents find it difficult to talk to their children. In a study conducted by Taylor and Carroll (2001) it was found that approximately half of the 404 parents interviewed telephonically found it difficult to talk with their adolescents about alcohol use, but most

agreed that it is the parent's responsibility to teach their children about sensible alcohol consumption.

When communicating with adolescents, parents most often talk to their children about the negative consequences of alcohol use, strategies for resisting peer pressure for use, encouragement for non use, and rules about use (Ennett *et al.*, 2001). In examining the content of parent-child communication and impact on adolescent substance use, an additional important consideration may be the timing of conversations between parents and children. Ennett and colleagues (2001) reported from their findings of a national sample of adolescent-parent pairs that the timing of communication may be important when considering the effect on adolescent behaviour. Their study concluded that parents should initiate communication about substance use before the onset of experimentation with tobacco and alcohol because waiting may be counterproductive. Miller and colleagues (1998) reported similar findings in their study of adolescent condom use and parent-adolescent communication about condom use. Communication before first intercourse was associated with subsequent condom use, whereas communication after first intercourse was not. These studies suggest that early parent-child communication, before initiation of substance use, may be more beneficial than parent-child communication once adolescents have tried tobacco and alcohol use.

2.1.5. Parent-adolescent Relationship Quality

Parent-adolescent relationship quality underpins all aspects of parenting discussed above. According to Dishion and McMahon (1998) relationship quality is the result of an ongoing interaction between parents and adolescents, and affects, and is also affected by, other aspects of parenting. For example, without a warm relationship, adolescents are more likely to resist monitoring. Research has shown that authoritative parenting may contribute to and enhance

strong parent-adolescent relationships (Adamczyk-Robinette, Fletcher, & Wright, 2002; Baumrind, 1966; Jackson *et al*., 1998). A number of studies have found than an adolescent's connection to his/her family and the emotional support received from the family may exert a protective effect against risk behaviours that include substance use (Field, Diego & Sanders, 2002; Sale, Sambrano, Springer & Turner, 2003)

The studies discussed below show that parent-child interactions characterized by a lack of closeness appear to be related to the initiation of adolescent substance use. Conversely, positive family relationships (i.e. involvement and attachment) seem to discourage the initiation of substance use and other problem behaviours during adolescence. Research conducted by Springer, Parcel, Baumler and Ross (2006) found that when adolescents reported low parental social support they were significantly more likely to report drug use and other deviant behaviour. Steinberg (1990) found that only 5-10 per cent of families experience dramatic deterioration in the quality of relationships during adolescence, and that marked deterioration in parent-adolescent relationships are highly correlated with prior family problems. These results therefore suggest that if relationships in the family are strong, parents should continue to have an influence on the behaviour of their adolescents. A further indication that parent-adolescent relationships plays a very strong role in influencing adolescent risk behaviour is evidence from research showing that heavy and moderate drinkers report having stronger peer relationships, while abstainers and light drinkers tend to have equally strong relationships with their parents (Hoel, Eriksen, Breideblik & Meland, 2004).

Adolescent perceptions of parental care have been shown to influence their tendency to consume alcohol. In an Australian study, with 493 Australian secondary school students who

misused alcohol, it was reported that they were significantly more likely to report lower parental care (Mak & Kinsella, 1996).

This review has demonstrated that parenting behaviours can have a direct influence on adolescent substance use. However, there is a surprising paucity of literature in South Africa regarding parental influence on adolescent substance use. It is imperative that the South African context be taken into account as it may inform intervention strategies for the prevention of adolescent substance use.

2.2.   **Theoretical Framework**

Parental influence on adolescents' development has been the topic of speculation for centuries and the focus of theory and research for decades. Various theories have been proposed to explain the extent to which the life of adolescents can be influenced by the type of relationship they experience through their upbringing. The most applicable theories related to this study are explained below.

Adolescent risk behaviour is best understood within an *Ecological Perspective* (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998) as it is multi-dimensional with influences at the micro (individual), meso (family) and macro (socio-cultural, policy) levels. Due to its multilevel and interactive approach, ecological theory emphasises the interdependence of factors within and across all levels of a health problem. This aspect of ecological theory allows health promotion program planners to consider multiple levels of influence on health problems thereby creating programs that are more effective (Rimer & Glanz, 2005).

Ecological theory regards the family as the principal context in which human development takes a keen interest in how interfamilial processes are affected by extrafamilial systems (Liddle & Hogue, 2000). Ecological theory has guided many empirical investigations that demonstrate that parents' psychological functioning, social relationships, and demographic characteristics are associated with parenting (Meyers, Varkey & Aguirre, 2002; Liddle & Hogue, 2000; Chuang, Ennett, Bauman & Foshee, 2005). The present study focuses on the meso (family) level of ecological theory by exploring adolescents' perceptions of parenting practices with respect to substance use. The results of this study showed that adolescents' perceptions of parenting practices differed in terms of gender and culture. However it does not fully explore all ecological factors in relation to parenting practices. Perhaps future research can extend on the finding of the current study in this regard.

The ***Integrated Model of Change*** (I-Change Model) of De Vries *et al*. (2003) is the most suitable framework for this study. The I-Change Model (see figure 1) as well as previous versions (Attitude-Social influence-self-Efficacy Model) has been used successfully to assess the determinants of smoking (Brug, Letchner, & De Vries, 1995; Lechner & De Vries, 1995;), determinants of STD's (Meyer-Weitz, Reddy, Van den Borne, Kok, & Pietersen, 2000; Reddy, Meyer-Weitz, Van den Borne & Kok, 2000) as well as several other health behaviours in adults (De Vries & Mudde, 1998). In a South African study exploring adolescent preferences with regard to tobacco control programmes the I-Change Model was used in the analysis phase to identify the motivational determinants that underpin the education objectives of smoking programmes (Swart, Panday, Reddy, Bergstrom & De Vries, 2006).

Figure 1: An Integrated Model for Change by De Vries *et al.* (2003)
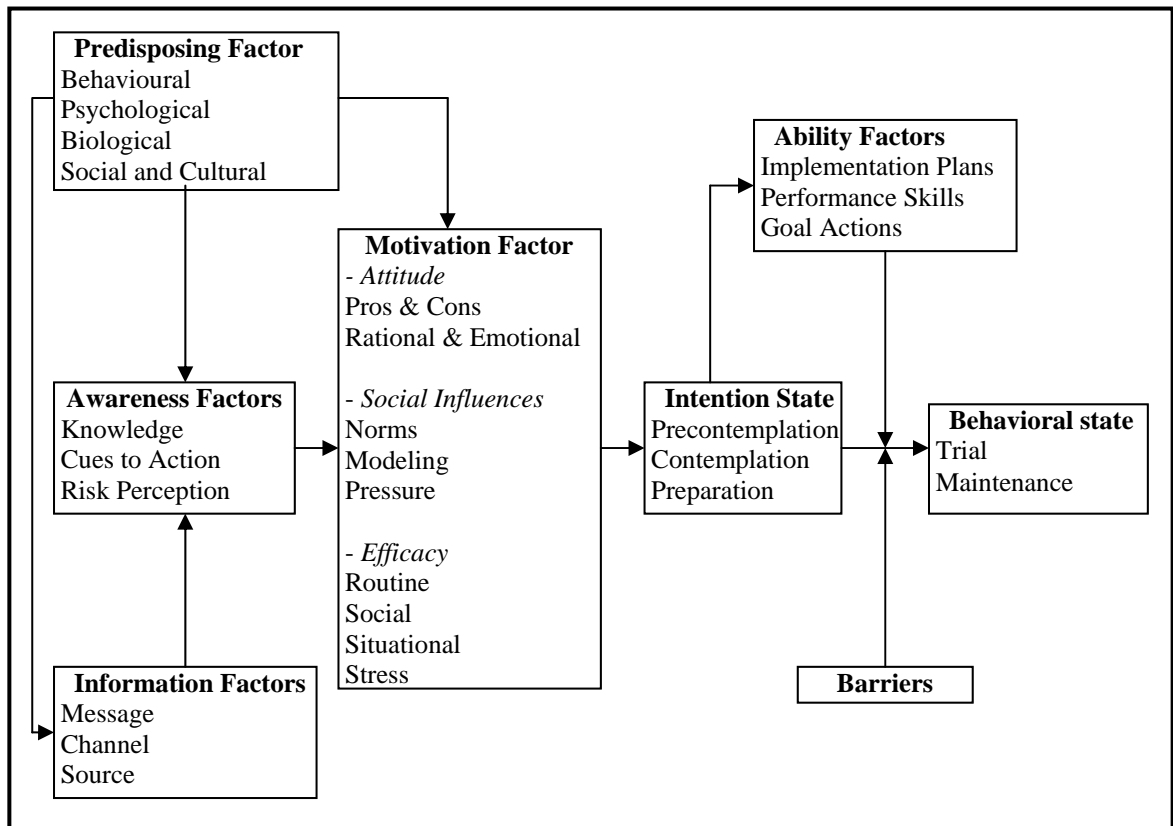
The I-Change Model is an integrative model explaining motivational and behavioural change. This model has incorporated insights of various other theories such as Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1977), the Transtheoretical Model (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983), and the Precaution Adoption Model (Weinstein, 1988).

The I-Change Model states that behaviour is the result of a person's intentions and abilities. According to De Vries *et al.*, (2003), a person's intentions can range from no intention to change (precontemplation) to an intention to change the behaviour (preparation). A person's abilities and environmental barriers determine whether their intentions will be realized. Motivational factors such as attitudes, social influence, and self-efficacy determine a person's

intention. Motivational factors are determined by various predisposing factors, information factors, and awareness factors.

The I-Change Model assumes that substance use intention and behaviour is influenced by a set of motivational factors or cognitions, i.e. attitudes, perceived social influences and self-efficacy expectations (Huver, Engels & de Vries, 2006). Attitudes consist of the advantages and disadvantages a person perceives concerning a certain health behaviour. Social influence is a collection of three types of perceived influence of others. This consists of perceived social norms, behaviour and pressure. Finally, self-efficacy is defined as the estimated ability to engage in certain behaviour. These cognitive factors are influenced by several predisposing factors which include social factors. Behaviour is then predicted by intention as well as by ability factors and barriers (Huver *et al*., 2006).

In applying this model to the current study, not every component of the model will be explored. Parenting practices can be viewed as a predisposing motivational factor through its social influence on adolescent behaviour. According to Darling and Steinberg (1993) parenting practices can be described as content specific acts of parenting. Research has shown that these include, monitoring (Barnes *et al*., 2000; Richards *et al*., 2002), parental support (Parker & Benson, 2004), communication (Ennett *et al*., 2001) and rules (Henriksen & Jackson, 1998). Parenting practices are considered distal predisposing social factors of adolescent substance use behaviours. This study will explore several forms of parenting practices in relation to tobacco and alcohol use to understand the influence of parenting practices on adolescent substance use behaviours.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1.   Research Design

The majority of the research in South Africa on adolescent substance use has focused on prevalence studies (Amoateng, 2006) and thus on quantitative (surveys) rather than qualitative methodologies. Past research on adolescent substance use neglected the value of qualitative research in detailing and corroborating quantitative research findings. It is with this in mind that the current study uses a qualitative research design.

A "generic" understanding of qualitative research implies a multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Mertens, 1998). Qualitative research allows the researcher to gain an emphatic understanding of the social phenomena. Thus attempts are made to understand thoughts, feelings and emotions by getting to know people's values, beliefs and emotions. In this study, focus group discussions were used to explore grade 8 and 9 adolescents' perceptions of parenting practices with respect to substance use. The study was conducted in four public high schools in the eThekwini region of KwaZulu-Natal. The qualitative approach allows for a deeper understanding, may produce a wealth of detailed information and is capable of capturing the richness of the adolescents' experiences in their own words.

The qualitative research approach was selected for this study, as this approach is primarily exploratory and descriptive in nature (Mouton & Marais, 1991). According to York (1998), it

is useful to conduct an exploratory study when the researcher has limited knowledge about a given subject or wants to develop new perspectives on it. The present study was exploratory since relatively little research has been done on identifying parenting practices that might explain or predict substance use among youth in the South African context.

3.2.   Sampling Procedure

Purposive sampling was used to select participants. Purposive sampling allows the researcher to select respondents in order to ensure that a full range of characteristics is covered (Millward, 1995). Merriam (1998) stated that, purposive sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which one can learn the most. Focus group discussions are best conducted with participants who are similar in nature (Millward, 1995). When the aim is to study particular characteristics of a sub-group and to make comparisons with sub-groups, sampling can be done in a stratified manner. This is known as stratified purposive sampling.

Substance use rates show gender and ethnic variations (Reddy et al., 2003). The substance use rates for adolescent boys are higher than that for adolescent girls (Reddy et al., 2003). Considering the large variation in substance use rates among the different ethnic groups in South Africa, focus group discussions would be best conducted acknowledging these variations. Focus group discussions were therefore stratified by gender and ethnicity.

3.2.1.   Selection of Participants

A list of all schools in the eThekwini region with their telephone numbers and postal addresses was provided by the KwaZulu-Natal Education Department. Four schools were purposively selected based on their ownership (i.e. state or private) and the ex-department of

education they followed during the apartheid years (i.e. House of Delegates or House of Representatives). Due to the legacy of segregation of schools along ethnic lines during the apartheid era and to get a sample of Indian and Coloured learners the researcher used a purposive sample of 60 learners from the two groups. One class of grade 8 learners and one class of grade 9 learners (13-14 years old) were randomly selected from each school.

Learners were selected using criterion purposive sampling based on gender and ethnicity. Each focus group comprised a combined mix of grade 8 and 9 learners homogenous by sampling school going adolescents aged 13-14 years of the same gender and ethnicity ("Indian" or "Coloured"). A total of 64 learners (32 male and 32 female) were invited to participate in the study. Sixty learners (29 male and 31 female) agreed to participate in the discussions. Eight focus group discussions were conducted with these 60 learners. They were informed that participation was voluntary and were briefed on the nature of the study. More detail regarding the ethical procedures can be seen in the paragraph on ethical considerations.

### 3.3.	Procedure and Data Collection

Data was collected using focus group discussions guided by a discussion schedule. A focus group discussion is a qualitative data collection technique that uses the properties of group dynamics to explore different issues (Krueger, 1988). Using focus group discussions as a method of inquiry allows the researcher appropriate insight into how individuals form a perspective of a problem (Mertens, 1998). The assumption of focus group discussions, as suggested by Millward (1995), is that people will become more aware of their own perspective when confronted with active disagreement and will be prompted to analyse their views more intensely than during the individual interview. Furthermore, focus group discussions were implemented because it allowed the researcher to use the dynamics of the

group interaction to gain information and insights that are less likely to emerge through individual interviews or participant observations (Krueger, 1988).

The discussion guide was developed using the theoretical constructs of the Integrated Model of Change (or I-Change Model) and insights gained from the literature review. The themes that were explored included parental support, concern, care, control and monitoring, parent-child communication, and parent-child relationships.

The focus group discussions were facilitated by the researcher and the duration of the group discussion was about 90 minutes. The discussions took place on the school premises in a classroom provided by the school management in the presence of a non-participant observer who recorded the non-verbal cues and group dynamics. The discussions were conducted in English and were tape recorded with the consent of the participants. Tape recording increases the accuracy of data collection and it permits the moderator to be more attentive to the discussion (Patton, 1989).

Data was collected to a point of redundancy. The discussions were transcribed verbatim from the audiotapes. In the absence of standardised rules, transcription can be problematic. According to Kvale (1996) there are inherent differences between oral and written mode of discourse. Therefore, much effort was put into making sure that transcription was conducted in a systematic and accurate manner to minimise these inherent discrepancies.

3.4.   Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out to ascertain the appropriateness of the discussion guide. There were several factors taken into account during the pilot test. These included the nature of the

questions, the characteristics of the audience, interaction between the participants and the moderator's procedures. The first focus group discussion was used for the refinement of the discussion guide and procedures used during the discussion. The guide was adapted accordingly.

3.5. Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data in the current study. According to Ritchie and Spencer (1992) qualitative data analysis is essentially about detection, and the tasks of defining, categorizing, theorizing, explaining, exploring and mapping are fundamental to the analyst's role. Ritchie and Spencer (1992) mention that in most methods of qualitative data analysis the following steps are taken:

- Defining concepts: Understanding internal structures;

- Mapping the range, nature and dynamics of the phenomena;

- Creating typologies: Categorizing different types of attitude, behaviours, motivations;

- Finding associations between experiences and attitudes, between attitudes and behaviour, between circumstances and motivations;

- Seeking explanation: Explicit or implicit;

- Developing new ideas, theories and strategies.

According to Neuman (1997), organising qualitative data involves being faced first with completely uncategorized data. The primary mission is to look for patterns in the data. The researcher therefore engaged in careful observations, which lead to the uncovering of connections and patterns in the data. The method of analysis in this study was thematic analysis.

According to Henning (2004), thematic analysis is a "way of seeing". In other words, it is the ability to recognise patterns in seemingly random information. The researcher used thematic analysis to see something that is not evident to others. Thematic analysis is a process for encoding qualitative information. It is a procedure for analysing the social distribution of perspectives on a phenomenon. The underlying assumptions of thematic analysis are that in different social worlds or groups, there are differing views (Henning 2004).

The following steps in thematic analysis as outlined by Boyatzis (1998) were followed by the researcher:

- Identifying themes

- Identifying common themes

- Developing a code to process and analyse the themes

- Interpreting the information and themes

In this study the focus group discussion guide was used to categorise the data into various themes. New themes were created for data that did not fit into the existing category of codes. Raw data was ordered into categories and descriptive statements developed to illustrate these categories. Quotations were also used to highlight salient issues. The purpose of this description is to highlight issues from the participants' point of view and provide a holistic picture of activities and events.

Since the focus groups in this study were divided by gender and ethnicity, attempts were made to highlight patterns and differences in terms of these criteria. The researcher's interpretation of the data provides meaning and attaches significance to descriptive statements. It aims to explain patterns and linkages, relationships and comparisons between the different themes.

There are three limitations to using thematic analysis effectively in research (Boyatzis, 1998). The first limitation is projection. Projection means the stronger the researcher's ideology or theory, the more the researcher will be tempted to project his/her values or conceptualisation of the events onto the interviewees. The second limitation is with regards to sampling. Boyatzis (1998) states that the researcher's judgement is used to choose participants. Being knowledgeable of this fact, the researcher remained aware of the influence of her judgement while selecting participants. The last limitation is mood and style. Qualitative research is subjective. Therefore, many factors may threaten the quality of information, collection, processing and analysis.

3.6. Data Verification

Criteria for judging quality of quantitative research that parallel the criteria for judging positivist, quantitative research have been outlined by a number of writers (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; De Vos, 1998). Lincoln and Guba (1985) identified four criteria to ensure the trustworthiness of qualitative research. These are credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability.

A number of research strategies can be used to enhance *credibility* or true value for example, prolonged engagement, persistent observation, peer debriefing and member checks. The credibility of this study was firstly ensured by summarizing what had been said and asking if the notes accurately reflect the person's position at the end of each focus group discussion (member checks). Secondly, by holding discussions with an independent person regarding methodological issues and to decrease the influence of personal bias (peer debriefing). Thirdly, the researcher made observations long enough to identify salient issues. The

researcher was careful to avoid premature closure and coming to conclusions about a situation without sufficient observation (persistent observation).

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) in qualitative research, *transferability* or external validity is determined by the reader. The reader has to determine the degree of similarity between the study site and the receiving context. The researcher's responsibility is to provide sufficient information to the reader to make this judgement. The researcher was able to establish transferability by providing thick descriptions of the setting in which the research was conducted and methodological considerations that dictated the study.

The *dependability* or consistency and *conformability* or neutrality of the study can be ensured by means of an audit trail. An audit trail can be conducted to attest the quality and appropriateness of the inquiry process. This involves retaining all interview transcripts, field notes and analytical processes in an organised and readily accessible manner for an external audit.

3.7.   Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval for the study was obtained from the Ethics Review Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal. Permission to conduct the study was obtained from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education as well as from principals of the schools selected for the study. Support for the study was also obtained from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health. Relevant gatekeepers (school principals) were first approached for consent to conduct the study.

Written parental consent was obtained. A consent form was sent to all parents, informing them of the nature of the study and that focus group discussions will be held with learners regarding parenting practices and adolescent substance use, requesting their general consent for participation. Parents were instructed to sign and return the form if they wanted their child to participate in the study.

The informed consent of participants was obtained prior to the study. An initial session was used to discuss ethical concerns of the study, i.e. informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality and voluntary participation. Participants were informed that the focus group discussions would be recorded to facilitate analysis. Participants were also briefed on the sensitivity of the issue and the need for mutual understanding and respect.

Participants were informed that participation is voluntary and that they can withdraw from participation of the research. All participants were implored to maintain group confidentiality within the group. Once participation was complete, all questions pertaining to the study were answered and misconceptions were cleared.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1.   Introduction

The findings described in this chapter emanate from eight focus group discussions conducted among grade eight and nine learners from four purposively selected schools in the eThekwini region in KwaZulu-Natal. Each focus group comprised of English speaking adolescents aged 13-14 years of the same gender and ethnicity ("Indian" or "Coloured").

This chapter highlights the themes that were identified by the researcher from an extensive analysis of the transcripts and observations made during the course of the study. The following themes were identified:

- Parent-child communication

- Monitoring and supervision

- Discipline and punishment

- Parent-adolescent relationship quality

- Parental socialisation regarding alcohol use

4.2.   Parent-adolescent Communication

From the data it was learned that most of the adolescents experience positive relationships with their parents and that they seem generally able to talk to their parents. However, some did mention that they do not have an open relationship where communication occurs readily.

> *Okay, my mum and I also don't have a sort of relationship where we can just talk; okay we talk about stuff in general. I can't talk to her about things happening in my life …… (Female, Indian)*

In situations where communication does occur, the adolescents also explained that not all topics are openly discussed.

I feel comfortable talking to my parents about school, some of my friends, not all, not about boys. Oh! Not boys, smoking and drinking. (Female, Coloured)

While communication about substance use between adolescents and parents is reported to occur, the content seemed to be about health risks and addictive qualities of smoking and drinking. Some indicated that they rebel against the continuous warnings of parents about safer behaviours and it seems that they close themselves to parents' attempt at directing them.

It was also noted that most adolescents felt more comfortable talking to their friends than their parents about more sensitive issues such as substance use as it seems that parents seem to dominate communication opportunities by "lecturing" to their children without really addressing their concerns. While the adolescents seemed to need advice and correct factual information they do not want to be lectured to and told what to do but would rather engage in a critical conversation about these issues. Friends seem to offer them this opportunity and not their parents.

I don't really like talking to my parents about alcohol and all, because then they'll give me a long lecture but if I did do that, it's with my friends. They'll say try this, try that, I thought I'd do it, but I don't really like to do it. (Male, Coloured)

In general the participants felt that their parents were judgemental. Even if they had to tell their parents about what was happening in their lives they felt that their parents did not really listen to what they had to say and instead judged them.

I think our parents are extremely judgemental, they hear you talking, but they don't listen to what you are saying, unless we rebel, then it involves them because they have to draw the limit and tell us exactly what not to do, but they don't exactly help us to tell us what to do. (Female, Indian)

Some participants felt that the only way they could get their parents to listen to them was if they rebelled. They expressed the need for parents to listen and communicate a willingness to help. It was further noted that the majority of participants felt that their parents were only concerned about their academic performance and that most conversations occurred around on this topic.

> *I can't talk to her about things happening in my life because it's like I think the only thing she's interested in, is hearing about my grades and my marks, and she's always been like that. Like she'd get worried if my marks dropped and she'd want me to learn and that's the only thing I get upset about the fact that she sometimes over does it. (Female, Indian)*

4.3.   Monitoring and Supervision

Adolescents' perceptions of their parents' protectiveness and control was explored. Adolescents were asked if parents knew where they were outside school, about setting of curfews, and house rules. There were gender differences revealed in the monitoring and supervision of adolescents. There seemed to be higher levels of monitoring for girls than with boys. Some boys revealed that their parents were not always aware of their whereabouts after school.   The boys indicated that their parents monitored their sisters more and felt that their parents were justified in doing so because girls are more vulnerable in today's society. This is illustrated in the extract below which is between the facilitator and two male participants.

Facilitator:	*Do your parents know where you are at all times?*
Participant 1:	*During the day I don't tell them where I go, they don't really worry during the daytime.*
Facilitator:	*How is it with your sisters? Do your parents have to know where they are at all times?*
Participant 2:	*No, they have to tell our parents.*
Facilitator:	*So it's a bit different for your sisters?*

> Participant 1: *I think we have a bit of an advantage than girls.*
>
> Participant 2: *It is just that our parents get more worried about the girls because girls can get kidnapped like Kyle said and then there is rape. Our parents worry about that - I guess.*

The majority of the girls reported that their parents monitored them very closely. Most of the Indian girls perceived the monitoring and close supervision positively as a demonstration of parental caring and concern.

> *My parents do that because they are concerned about me and they want to know if it's a safe party. So most parents are the same and I don't mind them doing that. (Female, Indian)*

On the other hand other girls perceived parental monitoring negatively and rebelled against what they considered to be "*undue pressure*" placed upon them by their parents. They explained that they were always questioned about their whereabouts and were not allowed to go out without parental consent. This close monitoring was perceived to "push" them into engaging in risk behaviours in defiance against parental monitoring.

> *I think that all the pressure parents put on us, it pushes you to do things that you don't want to do, you end up smoking, drinking, doing all the wrong things, not because you want to, it's because you getting pushed by your parents. (Female, Coloured)*

Despite the fact that the majority of the girls in the current study were monitored closely, some girls engaged in substance use in "*secret*". Girls who did not engage in substance use revealed a sense of understanding about their parents' concerns and viewed their parental concern as caring. It seems that this insight stems from their ability to argue from their parents' position as demonstrated by the following comment:

> *Yeah cause I'm sure when we are parents one day we would want to do that, like check on our children, be overprotective, care about them. (Female, Indian)*

Furthermore, it was also mentioned by the adolescents that they experience a "bombardment" of warnings about health risk behaviours not only from their parents, but also from messages received about safe drinking and the negative effects of tobacco from the school and media.

> *It's irritating to hear the same thing over and over about drinking and smoking. They (parents) nag. It's like a song over and over; eventually you get tired of it. You see a poster, you hear about it at school, on TV.... (Male, Coloured)*

4.4.   Discipline and Punishment

In discussing the disciplinary actions that parents took, it was noted there were differences in the way participants perceived their parents disciplinary stance. While some learners indicated that their parents do not follow through with punishment, others expressed that they were afraid of doing anything wrong as their parents would take away their privileges and 'ground' them. This refers to strategies used by parents to restrain their children from engaging in activities they value. For example adolescents' whereabouts might be severely restricted by allowing them only to go to school and to stay at home for a specific period of time as "*punishment*". Another strategy often used is to deny them certain valued privileges like watching television or going out with friends.

> *Well if you don't do your homework, you get detention and you get a lecture. That's what my father says is being very disobedient. (Male, Indian)*

> *They take away my privileges, no watching TV, no playing play station. (Male, Indian)*

It was noted that some learners did not take their parents' disciplinary stance seriously because parents were not consistent in following it through.

> *My mother says she'll ground me, but she never does… I don't know…I think she is forgetful. (Female, Coloured)*

This inconsistency and ambivalence in parents seemed to be used by adolescents to manipulate them in getting what they want as illustrated by the following comment:

> *My mother says she'll ground me but, on the weekend, if I wanna go somewhere, she'll say no, but, if I beg and beg and irritate her she'll say go. (Female, Coloured)*

4.5.   Parent-adolescent Relationship Quality

Parent-adolescent relationship quality was explored. Participants were asked if their parents provided care, support, encouragement and showed physical affection towards them. The majority of participants said that their parents are supportive and caring.

> *Yes, because they care about us and they want the best for us. (Male, Indian)*

While some acknowledge parental efforts in their interactions, they find it "*irritating*". Some girls indicated that their parents are not accepting of them and do not respect their feelings.

> *I think it is good but it's irritating because they overdo it…They disregard what you saying, if you tell them one thing they don't listen, if you ask them something politely they'll do exactly the opposite of what you asked. (Female, coloured)*

They further felt that their parents do not "*give them space*" and experience parental caring as overprotective without allowing them opportunities to enjoy life.

They can say they are concerned but not a lot because sometimes it's too much for us…they should give us our space, let us enjoy our teenage life. (Female, Indian)

4.6.   Parental Socialisation Regarding Alcohol Use

In exploring adolescent alcohol use it was clear that a group are against adolescents alcohol use.

We are not the right age to drink; we are not the appropriate age to start drinking. (Male, Indian)

On the other hand some indicated that they have "*tried it out"* or seem to be using alcohol. Friends played a role into the initiation of alcohol use as some said that they have "*tried it out*" while with friends.

I tried drinking with my friends. It wasn't so bad, I just tried it, I didn't get drunk or anything… (Female, Indian)

From the discussions it was evident that some parents were intolerant of alcohol use while others were more tolerant and accepting of alcohol use by their adolescent children. Parental intolerance regarding alcohol use seemed to be a deterrent for adolescents to initiate alcohol use.

My parents don't drink or smoke and if I had to smoke or drink there will be serious trouble…They'll probably give me hiding or something, but not anymore. They will like watch after you. And then I won't be allowed to go out with my friends again and stuff. (Female, Indian)

Some adolescents indicated that their parents were tolerant of alcohol use under specific conditions. In the one instance using alcohol while with friends seemed not to be tolerated while alcohol use within the home under parental supervision seemed to be acceptable.

Adolescents perceived this strategy as a way of their parents wanting to teach them about the appropriate ways to use alcohol.

> *My father, he lets me…he won't let me drink like whiskey or brandy, he made me taste Smirnoff spin once, he said he'll allow me to drink and he was drinking with me, and he'll tell me when to stop, and he was teaching me how not to over drink, I must know where to draw the line. (Male, Coloured)*

In the other instance a more lenient approach is followed where adolescents both boys and girls are allowed to use alcohol while with their friends but they are warned to "*limit*" their alcohol use or not to "*over indulge*" in the use of alcohol. The vague message that parents gave regarding "limiting" is interpreted by the adolescents as drinking but not getting drunk.

> *There's a limit. I think when they say it's your limit you mustn't over indulge in drinking like you must be falling on the floor or throwing yourself at boys or fighting and things like that. (Female, Coloured)*

Academic performance was mentioned to be used by parents as a criterion for monitoring adolescent alcohol use as explained by the following participant:

> *She said I can drink but…my schoolwork must come first before my drinking, that's what she told me, even boys, my schoolwork must come first. When I failed the first term she just said to me it's through my boyfriend and that I was drinking. I got over it. (Female, Coloured)*

While some mothers seems tolerant of alcohol use as seen in the above quotation, in some instances the knowledge of adolescent alcohol use is often shared with their fathers but kept from their mothers.

> *My father knows I drink, but it's mainly ciders like he knows, my mother, she does not know. My father, he knows but says he mustn't see me drinking and I mustn't come home drunk and stuff like that. (Male, Coloured)*

This study has shown that parenting practices such as effective communication, consistent discipline, higher levels of monitoring, and support were associated with the absence (or once off experimentation) of tobacco and alcohol use amongst adolescents. Conversely, lack of communication, inconsistent discipline, lower levels of monitoring, and lack of support were associated with tobacco and alcohol use amongst adolescents. These findings are consistent with previous research which shows that parenting styles and practices are associated to adolescent problem behaviour such as substance use (Chassin *et al*., 2005, DiClemente *et al*., 2001, Huver *et al*., 2006 & Barnes *et al*., 2000). The next chapter discusses some of these studies which support the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1.   Introduction

In response to the growing interest in engaging parents in substance use prevention, this qualitative study explored the adolescents' perceptions of parenting practices with regard to substance use. Because of the qualitative approach and theoretical sampling used in this study, it was never the researcher's intention to generalize these findings to other Coloured or Indian families. This study showed that parenting practices are related to adolescent problem behaviours such as engagement in substance use. These findings add support to the importance of targeting parents in future substance use prevention programs.

The parenting practices explored in this study included communication, monitoring, parental support, discipline and punishment. In applying the I-Change Model to this study parenting practices can be viewed as predisposing motivational factors through its social influence on adolescent behaviour. This chapter discusses each of the above mentioned parenting practices in relation to adolescent substance use behaviour.

5.2   Parent-adolescent Communication

In exploring parent-child communication it was found that although parents communicated the harmful effects of alcohol and tobacco use, it was not always effective in preventing adolescent substance use behaviour. These findings were consistent with prior research (Ennett *et al.*, 2001) where relatively little support was found for the influence of parent-child communication on adolescent tobacco and alcohol use. Ennet *et al.* (2001) found that whether parents talked more or less

frequently with adolescents about consequences and circumstances of substance use, adolescents were no less likely to begin smoking or drinking than when parent-child communication was less.

The findings in this study also suggest that consideration needs to be given to the content of parent-child communication and timing of conversations between parents and children when considering the effect on adolescent behaviour. Ennett and colleagues (2001) have shown in their research that early parent-child communication before initiation of substance use may be more beneficial than parent-child communication after adolescents have initiated tobacco and alcohol use.

In this study adolescents indicated that they felt more comfortable talking to their peers than their parents. Where parent-child communication is problematic, adolescents are likely to withdraw from the family and rely on their peers and are thus more likely to be influenced by their peers. Research has shown that adolescents who value peer opinions, as opposed to their parents are at a high risk for substance use and other problem behaviours (Velleman, Templeton, & Copello, 2005)

5.3   Monitoring and Supervision

There were gender differences with regard to parental monitoring (also referred to as discipline and punishment) in that girls reported more parental monitoring than boys. These results are consistent with previous results regarding parental monitoring and gender differences (Svensson, 2003; Webb, Bray, Getz, & Adams, 2002; Richards et al., 2004; Raboteg-Saric, Rijavec, & Brajsa-Zganec, 2001, Borawski *et al*., 2003). It seems that parents are more protective of their daughters than their sons, perhaps

because of the norms and gender roles our society holds for men and women (Veal & Ross, 2006). According to Veal and Ross (2006) these norms and gender roles held by our society are that girls and women are gentle, fragile, and need taking care of, whereas boys and men are strong and brave and must learn to take care of themselves and others. Fear of pregnancy may also cause parents to monitor girls more closely than boys. Richards and colleagues (2004) suggest that boys may be monitored less than girls because they are perceived to be at lower risk. However, the fact that in comparison with girls, boys tend to be monitored less by their parents' causes males to be at higher risk of exposure to deviant peer influences, such as alcohol use (Veal & Ross, 2006). These gender differences may partly contribute to the greater rates of substance use and other problem behaviours amongst adolescent boys (Reddy *et al.*, 2003).

Marshal and Chassin (2000) explain that girls are often socialized to value dependence and connectedness to parents while boys are socialized to value independence and autonomy (Marshal & Chassin, 2000). Girls may perceive high levels of parental monitoring as being consonant with traditional female gender values. Boys on the other hand, may perceive high levels of parental monitoring as threats to independence and autonomy, and as dissonant with traditional male gender roles (Marshal & Chassin, 2000). This may prompt boys to rebel and engage in deviant behaviours such as substance use.

Ethnic differences were evident in the current study with regard to the monitoring of girls. Although both Coloured and Indian girls were highly monitored, the majority of Coloured girls rebelled by engaging in substance use, while the majority of Indian

girls did not engage in substance us. As with the differences in gender this may partly contribute to the higher rates of substance use amongst Coloured adolescents than Black and Indian adolescents (Reddy *et al.*, 2003).

5.4   Discipline and Punishment

Majority of the girls in this study perceived their parents has being "too strict". They revealed that they rebelled because their parents are very strict. Stice, Barrera and Chassin (1993) warn against excessive parental discipline and monitoring as it may cause rebelliousness in the adolescent that takes the form of externalising behaviours and substance use. Furthermore, adolescents who experience highly restrictive parenting may seek social support from delinquent peers and this has been linked to substance use initiation (Stice *et al.*, 1993). These findings are also in line with Baumrind's (1966) authoritarian (characterised by high levels of discipline and monitoring) parenting style which is associated with problem behaviour.

The majority of the girls did not understand their parents strict discipline stance. Some girls on other hand perceived their parents actions as concern and care for them and did not perceive their parents as being too strict. This is consistent with Baumrind's (1966) authoritative parenting style which is characterised as both demanding and responsive with supportive disciplinary methods.

In this study some adolescents reported that their parents did not follow through with punishment. It is because of this that adolescents did not take their parents disciplinary stance seriously. Inconsistent parental discipline may result in a disruption in children's identification with parents (Stice *et al.*, 1993). Furthermore,

Baumrind (1978) specifically noted that inconsistent discipline with adolescents is a factor associated with their engagement in substance use. Vicary and Lerner (1996) also found in their longitudinal study of adolescents that early parental conflict in childrearing and inconsistency in discipline was associated with the use of marijuana and alcohol when adolescents were 16 years and older.

5.5 Parent-adolescent Relationship Quality

While the majority of the participants in this study considered their parents to be supportive and caring, and indicated that they had a good relationship with their parents, some girls indicated that their parent did not care about them and felt that their parents did not respect their feelings. The closeness of the parent-child bond has been found to discourage substance use and other health risk behaviours (Springer *et al*., 2006; Harakeh *et* al., 2004). This study is no different in that adolescents who reported being close to their parents did not engage in substance, whereas adolescents who reported not having a close bond with their parents had engaged in substance use.

5.6 Parental Socialisation Regarding Alcohol Use

An interesting finding in this study was that some parents were aware of their adolescents' engagement in alcohol use. While some adolescents engaged in alcohol in secret, others indicated that their parents allowed them to drink with their friends provided they did not over indulge and return home drunk. These adolescents also mentioned that they were allowed to drink in the company of their parents but they were not allowed to drink excessively. According to Baumrind (1966) when parents see themselves on the same level as their adolescents, this is characteristic of the

permissive parenting style. Permissive parents provide a non-punitive and accepting environment for their children without much interference from the parents (Baumrind, 1966). This way of parenting can be very problematic as research has indicated that parents, who are aware and accepting of their children's alcohol use, do not always know the level of alcohol consumed by their adolescent children (Hayes *et al*., 2004). Furthermore research has shown that parents, who are aware of their adolescents' engagement in alcohol use, tend to be more concerned about illicit drug use rather than their alcohol use (Taylor & Carroll, 2001).

5.7   Parenting Styles

Several researchers (Adamczyk-Robinette *et al*., 2002; Aunola, Stattin & Nurmi, 2000; Cohen & Rice, 1997; Fletcher & Jefferies, 1999; Jackson, 2002; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989) have used different parenting practices to group parents into one of Baumrind's (1966) categories of parenting. A thorough analysis of the data considering each of the themes (parenting practices) discussed above revealed that there are three parenting styles evident in the sample of the current study. Participants perceived their parents to be one of the following with regard to their parenting style: Authoritarian, Authoritative and Permissive. The way in which participants perceived their parent's parenting style differed by ethnicity. Figure 2 shows the differences in parenting styles suggested by the data of the current study. While some studies have shown cultural and ethnic differences in parenting styles and practices, the extent to which the social and cultural background influence parenting styles and practices is not well documented (Radziszewska *et al.,* 1996; Richards *et al.,* 2002; Bhattacharya *et al.,* 1999). The findings in this study suggest that ethnic differences might be important to investigate as parenting styles and

practices might be related to different cultural backgrounds. This understanding may be crucial for the development of effective substance use prevention interventions in South Africa.

Figure 2: Ethnic Differences in Parenting Styles Suggested by the Data
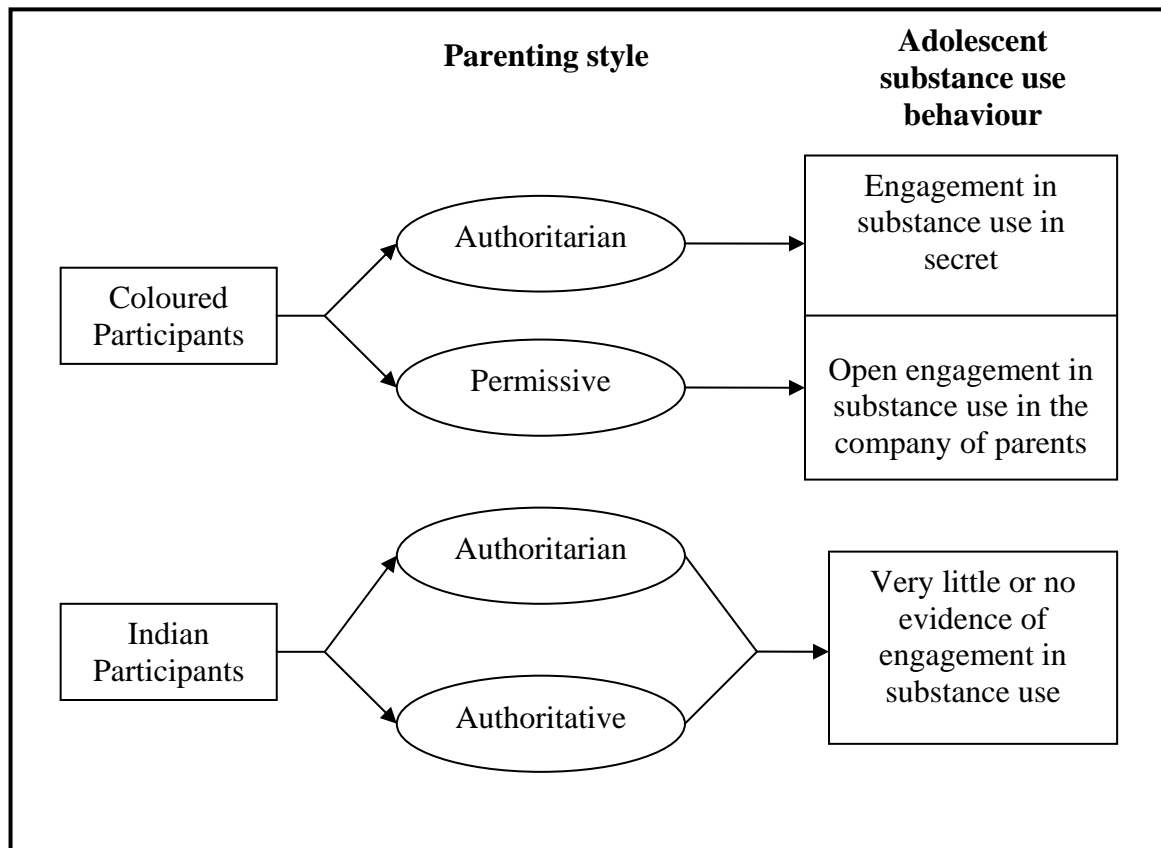
5.8   Limitations

This study, like any other, has its limitations. There are several methodological limitations. First, the study only considered adolescents in the eThekwini region; therefore the results are not generalizable to adolescents in other geographical areas. Second, the sample compromised of Indian and Coloured participants only; therefore some conclusion drawn may not apply to other ethnic groups. Third, the sample size was small; therefore some of the conclusions that were drawn may be biased and can not be generalised to other Coloured and Indian adolescents. The generalizations of

the findings of this study require future studies to be done with other ethnic groups. Fourth, because the study used a qualitative approach, it cannot be applied to the larger population. The inclusion of quantitative methodology would strengthen the findings. Fifth, the study has involved adolescent respondents only, and the findings regarding parenting practices and parent-adolescent relationships need to be confirmed by parental data.

While the Integrated Model of Change (De Vries *et al*, 2003) fits the data well and provides an interpretable model, it should be noted that other models might also provide plausible interpretations of this study.

Furthermore, not all aspects of parenting were taken into account, due to limited response time. Besides parental reactions to substance using behaviours (discipline and punishment), monitoring, parental support and parent-adolescent communication, other parenting practices may play a role in influencing adolescent substance use. Other examples of parenting practices include house rules and availability of tobacco and alcohol. Future research should consider additional aspects of parenting.

Despite these limitations, the findings of this study provides critical information on how parenting practices such as communication, monitoring, support, discipline and punishment can have an influence on adolescent substance use. These findings support and extend the findings of previous researchers that parenting styles and practices are important factors to take into account when considering adolescent problem behaviours such as substance use.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study provides further evidence that parenting behaviours can influence adolescent behaviour. The findings suggest that specific parenting practices pertaining to parent-child communication, parental support, warmth, and monitoring can have an influence on adolescent alcohol and tobacco use. Negative parenting may lead to disruptive behaviour, vulnerability to peer pressure and subsequent substance use.

Future Implications

Interesting patterns emerged from this qualitative study that are worthy of future research. Future research is needed to better understand parenting practices and parenting styles and adolescent risk behaviours within the South African context with consideration of the different ethnicities and cultures in South Africa. There is a critical lack of South African data on this issue and international research was relied upon to a large extent in this study. While research into parenting conducted in other countries reveals findings similar to South African research when considering parenting behaviours, there are key social and cultural differences that may influence parenting in the different contexts.

This study revealed that parenting behaviours can have differing impacts on girls and boys. Future research should further examine parenting behaviours and adolescent outcomes by gender and why there might be differences. These gender differences are important because it could explain why there are higher levels of substance use

amongst boys than girls in South Africa (Reddy et al., 2003). Similarly, the ethnic difference revealed in this study with regard to parenting may also partly contribute to the higher rates of substance use amongst some ethnic groups than others in South Africa (Reddy et al., 2003). These two aspects may be very critical to understanding parenting practices and adolescent substance use within the South African context.

Furthermore, if future research with more diverse samples confirms the findings of the current study, parenting practices may be integrated into prevention or cessation programs. The outcomes of this study can also be used to inform the development of a questionnaire for a large quantitative survey to investigate the association between different parental styles and practices and adolescents' substance use which could be generalised to larger groups.

REFERENCES

Adalbjarnardottir, S., & Hafsteinsson, L. G. (2001). Adolescents' perceived parenting styles and their substance use: Concurrent and longitudinal analyses. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 11(4)*, 401-423.

Adamczyk-Robinette, S. L., Fletcher, A. C., & Wright, K. (2002). Understanding the authoritative parenting – early adolescent tobacco use link: The mediating role of peer tobacco use. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 31(4)*, 311-318.

Amoateng, A. Y., Barber, B. K. & Erickson, L. D. (2006). Family predicators of adolescent substance use: The case of high school students in the Cape Metropolitan Area, Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Mental Health, 18(1)*, 7-15.

Aunola, K., Stattin, H., & Nurmi, J. E. (2000). Parenting styles and adolescents' achievement strategies. *Journal of Adolescence, 23,* 205-222.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social Learning Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Barnes, G. M., Reifman, A. S., Farrell, M. P. & Dintcheff, B. A. (2000). The effects of parenting on the development of adolescent alcohol misuse: A six-wave latent growth model. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62(1)*, 175-186.

Baumrind, D. (1991). The influence of parenting style on adolescent competence and substance use. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 11(1),* 56-95.

Baurind, D. (1978). Parental disciplinary patterns and social competence in children. *Youth Socialization ,9*, 239-275.

Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. *Developmental Psychology, 4,* 1-102.

Baumrind, D. (1967). Child care practices anteceding three patterns of preschool behavior. *Genetic Psychology Monographs, 75,* 43-88.

Baumrind, D. (1966). Effects of authoritative parental control on child behaviour. *Child Development*, *37*, 887-907.

Beck, K. H., Shattuck, T., Haynie, D., Crump, A. D., & Simons Morton, B. (1999). Associations between parent awareness, monitoring, enforcement and adolescent involvement with alcohol. *Health Education Research, 14,* 765-775.

Bhana, A., Petersen, I., Mason, A., Mahintsho, Z., Bell, C., & McKay, M. (2004). Children and youth at risk: Adaptation and pilot study of the CHAMP (Amaqhawe) programme in South Africa. *African Journal of AIDS Research, 3(1)*, 33-41.

Bhattacharya, G., Cleland, C. & Holland, S. (1999). Peer networks, parental attributes, and drug use among Asian-Indian adolescents born in the United States. *Journal of Immigrant Health, 1(3)*, 145-154.

Borawski, E. A., Ievers-Landis, C. E., Lovegreen, L. D. & Trapl, E. S. (2003). Parental monitoring negotiated unsupervised time and parental trust: The role of perceived parenting practices in adolescent health risk behaviours. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 33*, 60-70.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Bronfenbrenner, U and Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental processes. In: R. M. Lerner (Ed.) *Handbook of child psychology: Vol.1 Theoretical Models of Human Development* (5th ed.). New York: Wiley.

Brug, J., Lechner, L., & De Vries, H. (1995). Psychosocial determinants of fruit and vegetable consumption, *Appetite, 25*, 285-296.

Chassin, L., Presson, C.C., Rose, J., Sherman, S. J., Davis, M. J., & Gonzalez, J. L. (2005). Parenting style and smoking-specific parenting practices as predictors of adolescent smoking onset. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology, 30(4),* 333-344.

Chuang, Y., Ennett, S. T., Bauman, K. E. & Foshee, V. A. (2005). Neighbourhood influences on adolescent cigarette and alcohol use: Mediating effects through parent and peer behaviours. *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour, 46(2)*, 187-204.

Cohen, D.A. & Rice, J. (1997). Parenting styles, adolescent substance use, and academic achievement. *Journal of Drug Education,* 27(2), 199-211.

Darling, N. & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as context: An integrative model. *Psychology Bulletin, 113,* 487-496.

De Vos, A. S. (1998). *Research at Grassroots: A Primer for the Caring Profession.* Pretoria: Van Schaick.

De Vries, H., Mudde, A., Leijs, I., Charlton, A., Vartiainen, E., Buijs, G., Clement, M. P., Storm, H., Gonzalez Navarro, A., Nebot, M., Prins, T. & Kremers, S. (2003). The European Smoking Prevention Framework Approach (EFSA): An example of integral prevention. *Health Education Research, 18(5),* 611-626.

De Vries, H., & Mudde, A. N. (1998). Predicting stage transitions for smoking cessation applying the Attitude-Social Influence-Efficacy model. *Psychology and Health, 13*, 369-385.

DiClemente, R. J., Wingood, G. M., Crosby, R., Sionean, C., Cobb, B. K., Harrington, K., Davies, S., Hook, E. W., & Oh, M. K. (2001). Parental Monitoring: Associations with adolescents' risk behaviours. *Pediatrics, 107,* 1363-1368.

Dishion, T. J., & McMahon, R. J. (1998). Parental monitoring and the prevention of child and adolescent problem behaviour: A conceptual and empirical formulation. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review, 1(1)*, 61-75.

Eitle, D. (2005). The moderating effects of peer substance use on the family structure-adolescent substance use association: Quantity versus quality of parenting. *Addictive Behaviours, 30(5),* 963-980.

Engels, R. C. M. E., & Willemsen, M. (2004). Communication about smoking in Dutch families: Associations between anti-smoking socialization and adolescent smoking-related cognitions. *Health Education Research, 19*(3), 227-238.

Ennett, S. T., Bauman, K. E., Pemberton, M., Foshee, V. A., Chuang, Y., King, T. S., & Koch, G. G. (2001). Mediation in a family-directed program for prevention of adolescent tobacco and alcohol use. *Preventive Medicine, 33*, 333-346.

Ennett, S. T., Bauman, K. E., Foshee, V. A., Pemberton, M. & Hicks, K. A. (2001). Parent-child communication about adolescent tobacco and alcohol use: What do parents say and does it affect youth behaviour? *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63(1)*, 48-72.

Epstein, J. A., Botvin, G. J. & Diaz, T. (1998). Ethnic and gender differences in smoking prevalence among a longitudinal sample of inner-city adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 23(3)*, 160-166.

Field, T., Diego, M., & Sanders, C. (2002). Adolescents' parent and peer relationships. *Adolescence, 37(145).*, 121-130.

Fletcher, A. C. & Jefferies, B. C. (1999). Parental monitoring of associations between perceived authoritative parenting and early adolescent substance use. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 19(4),* 465-487.

Flisher, A. J., Parry, C. D. H., Evans, J., Muller, M. & Lombard, C. (2003). Substance use by adolescents in Cape Town: Prevalence and correlates. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 32,* 58-65.

Flisher, A. J., Parry, C. D. H., Muller, M., & Lombard, C. (2002). Stages of substance use among adolescents in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Substance Use, 7,* 162-167.

Flisher, A.J., Ziervogel, C.F., Chalton, D.O., Leger, P.H. and Robertson, B.A. (1996). Risk-taking behaviour of Cape Peninsula high-school students. Part X. Multivariate relationships among behaviours. *Social African Medical Journal,* 86, 1094-1098.

Griesler, P. C. & Kandel, D. B. (1998). Ethnic differences in correlates of adolescent cigarette smoking. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 23(3)*, 167-180.

Guo, J., Hawkins, J. D., Hill, K. G., & Abbot, R. D. (2001). Childhood and adolescent predictors of alcohol abuse and dependence in young adulthood. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 62(2),* 754-762.

Harakeh, Z., Scholte, R. H. J., Vermulst, A. A., de Vries, H., & Engels, R. (2004). Parental factors and adolescents' smoking behavior: An extension of the theory of planned behavior. *Preventive Medicine, 39,* 951-961.

Hayes, L., Smart, D., Toumbourou, J. W., & Sanson, A. (2004). *Parenting Influences on Adolescent Alcohol Use*. Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies, Common Wealth of Australia.

Henning, E. (2004). *Finding your way in Qualitative Research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Henriksen, L. & Jackson, C. (1998). Anti-smoking socialization: Relationship to parent and child smoking status. *Health Communication, 10,* 87-101.

Hoel, S., Eriksen, B. M., Breideblik, H. & Meland, E. (2004). Adolescent alcohol use, psychological health, and social integration. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health, 32,* 361-367.

Huver, R. M. E., Engels, R. C. M. E., & De Vries, H. (2006). Are anti-smoking parenting practices related to adolescent smoking cognitions and behaviour? *Health Education Research: Theory and Practice, 21(1)*, 66-77.

Jackson, C. (2002). Perceived legitimacy of parental authority and tobacco and alcohol use during early adolescence. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 31,* 425-432.

Jackson, C., Henriksen, L., & Foshee, V. A. (1998). The authoritative parenting index: Predicting health risk behaviors among children and adolescents. *Health Education and Behavior, 25,* 319-337.

Kremers, S., Brug, J., de Vries, H., & Engels, R. (2003). Parenting style and adolescent fruit consumption. *Appetite, 41,* 43-50.

Krueger, R. A. (1988). *Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research.* London: Sage Publications.

Kvale, S. (1996). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. USA: Sage Publications.

Lechner, L. & De Vries, H. (1995). Starting participation in an employee fitness program: Attitudes, social influence, and self-efficacy. *Preventive Medicine, 24*, 627-633.

Liddle, H. A. & Hogue, A. (2000). A family-based, developmental-ecological preventive intervention for high-risk adolescents. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 26(3),* 265-279.

Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. USA: Sage Publications.

Mak, A. S. & Kinsella, C. (1996). Adolescent drinking, conduct problems, and parental bonding. *Journal of Psychology, 48(1),* 15-20.

Marshal, M. P. & Chassin, L. (2000). Peer influence on adolescent alcohol use: The moderating role of parental support and discipline. *Applied Developmental Science,* 4(2), 80-88.

Mertens, D. M. (1998). *Research Methods in Education and Psychology*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Merriam, S. B., (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Meyers, S. A., Varkey, S. & Aguirre, A. M. (2002). Ecological correlates of family functioning. *The American Journal of Family Therapy, 30*, 257-273.

Meyer-Weitz, A., Reddy, P., Van den Borne, H.W., Kok, G., & Pietersen, J. (2000). The determinants of health care seeking behaviour of adolescents attending STD clinics in South Africa. *Journal of Adolescence, 23(6),* 741-752.

Miller, K. S., Levin, M. L., Whitaker, D. J., & Xu, X. (1998). Patterns of condom use among adolescents: The impact of mother-adolescent communication. *American Journal of Public Health, 88,* 1542-1544.

Millward, L. J. (1995). Focus groups. In: G. L. Breakwell, S. Hammond & C.F. Schaw (Eds.). *Research Methods in Psychology*, Sage Publications: London.

Morejele, N., Brook, J. S., & Kachienga, M. A. (2006). Perceptions of sexual risk and substance abuse among adolescents in South Africa: A qualitative investigation. *AIDS Care, 18*, 215-219.

Mouton, J. & Marais, H. C. (1991). *Basic Concepts in the Methodology of the Social Sciences*. South Africa: Human Science Research Council.

Neuman, W. C. (1997). *Social Research Methods*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Owusu, S. (2004). *Parent-child interaction: Ghanaian children's perception of their parents' socialisation values and its effects on their quality of life and health.* Unpublished: University of Bergen.

Parker, J. S. & Benson, M. J., (2004). Parent-adolescent relations and adolescent functioning: Self-esteem, substance abuse, and delinquency. *Adolescence, 39(155)*, 519-531.

Parry, C. D. H., Morojele, N. K., Saban, A. & Flisher, A. J. (2004) Brief report: Social and neighbourhood correlates of adolescent drunkenness: A pilot study in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Adolescence, 27,* 369-374.

Parry, C. D. H., Myers, B., Morojele, N. K., Flisher, A. J., Bhana, A., Donson, H., & Pluddemann, A. (2004). Trends in adolescent alcohol and other drug use: Findings from three sentinel sites in South Africa (1997-2001). *Journal of Adolescence, 27,* 429-440.

Parry, C. D. H. (2005). A review of policy-relevant strategies and interventions to address the burden of alcohol on individuals and society in South Africa. *South African Psychiatry Review, 8,* 20-24.

Patton, M. Q. (1989). *How to Use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation* (3rd ed.). USA: Sage Publication.

Prochaska, J. O. & Di Clemente, C. C. (1983). Stages and processes of self change of smoking: Toward an integrative model of change. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 51*, 390-404

Raboteg-Saric, Z., Rijavec, M., & Brajsa-Zganec, A. (2001). The relation of parental practices and self-conceptions to young adolescent problem behaviours and substance use. *Nord Journal of Psychiatry, 55,* 203-209.

Radziszewska, B., Richardson, J. L., Dent, C. W., & Flay, B. R. (1996). Parenting style and adolescent depressive symptoms, smoking and academic achievement: Ethnic, gender and SES differences. *Journal of Behavioural Medicine, 19(3)*, 389-305.

Reddy, P., Meyer-Weitz, A., Van den Borne, B. & Kok, G. (2000). Determinants of condom-use behaviour among STD clinic attenders in South Africa. *International Journal of STD and AIDS, 11(8),* 521-530.

Reddy, S. P., Panday, S., Swart, D., Jinabhai, C. C., Amosun, S. L., James, S., Monyeki, K. D., Stevens, G., Morojele, N., Kambaran, N. S., Omardien, R. G., & Van den Borne, H. W. (2003). *Umthenthe Uhlaba Usamila – The South African Youth Risk Behaviour Survey 2002*. Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.

Richards, M. H., Miller, B.V., O'Donnel, P. C., Wasserman, M. S., & Colder, C. (2004). Parental monitoring mediates the effects of age and sex on problem behaviours among African American urban young adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 33(3)*, 221-233.

Rigotti, N. A., Lee, J. E., & Wechsler, H. (2000). US college students use of tobacco products: Results of a national survey. *The Journal of the American Medical Association, 284*, 699-705.

Rimer, B.K. & Glanz, K. (2005). *Theory at a Glance: A Guide for Health Promotion Practice* (2nd ed.). Washington DC: US Department of Health and Human Services.

Ritchie, J. & Spencer, L. (1992). Qualitative data analysis for applied policy research. In: A. Bulmer (Ed.). *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. London: Routledge.

Sale, E., Sambrano, S., Springer, J. F., & Turner, C. W. (2003). Risk, protection and substance use in adolescents: A multi-site model. *Journal of Drug Education, 33(1),* 91-105.

Sargent, J. D. & Dalton, M. (2001). Does parental disapproval of smoking prevent adolescents from becoming established smokers? *Pediatrics, 108*(6), 1256-1262.

Shisana, O., Stoker, D., Simbayi, L.C., Orkin, M., Bezuidenhout, F., Jooste, S.E., Colvin, M. and van Zyl, J. (2004). South African national household survey of HIV/AIDS prevalence, behavioural risks and mass media impact: Detailed methodology and response rate results. *South African Medical Journal, 94,* 283-288.

Simbayi, L.C., Chauveau, J. and Shisana, O. (2004). Behavioural responses of South African youth to the HIV/AIDS epidemic: A nationwide survey. *AIDS Care, 16,* 605-618.

Sitas, F., Brashaw, D., Kielkowski, D., Bah, S., & Peto, R. (2004). Tobacco attributable deaths in South Africa. *Tobacco Control, 13,* 396-399.

Siquerira, L. M., & Brook, J. S (2003). Tobacco use as a predictor of illicit drug use and drug-related problems in Colombian youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 32*, 50-57.

Springer, A., Parcel, G., Baumler, E., & Ross, M. (2006). Supportive social relationships and adolescent health risk behaviour among secondary students in El Salvador. *Social Science & Medicine, 62,* 1628-1640.

Statistics South Africa. (2004) *Health Statistics, South Africa 2004*. Pretoria, Retrieved 12th April 2007, from www.statssa.gov.za

Steinburg, L., Darling, N., & Flectcher, A. (1995). Authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment: An ecological journey. In: P. Moen, G Elder, Jr., & K. Luscher (Eds.). *Examining Lives in Context: Perspectives on the Ecology of Human Development*. Washington, DC.: APA.

Steinberg, L. (1990). Autonomy, conflict, and harmony in the family relationship. In S. S. Feldman & G. R. Elliott (Eds.). *At the Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*. (pp.255-276). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Steinberg, L., Elmen, J. D., & Mounts, N. S. (1989). Authoritative parenting, psychological maturity, and academic success among adolescents. *Child Development, 60,* 1424-1436.

Stice, E., Barrera, M., & Chassin, L. (1993). Relation of parental support and control to adolescents' externalizing symptomatology and substance use: A longitudinal examination of curvilinear effects. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 21(6)*, 609-629.

Svensson, R. (2003). Gender differences in adolescent drug use: The impact of parental monitoring and peer deviance. *Youth and Society, 34,* 300-329.

Swart D., Panday, S., Reddy, P., Bergstrom, E., & De Vries, H. (2006). Access point analysis: What do adolescents in South Africa say about tobacco control programmes? *Health Education Research: Theory and Practice, 21(3)*, 393-406.

Swart, D., Reddy, P., Panday, S., Philip, J., Naidoo, N. & Ngobeni, N. (2004). *The 2002 Global Youth Tobacco Survey (GYTS) – A comparison between GYTS (SA) 1999 and GYTS (SA) 2000.* Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.

Taylor, J & Carrol, T. (2001). Youth alcohol consumption: Experiences and expectations. In: P. S. Willliams (Ed.), Alcohol, *Young Persons and Violence*, Research and Public Policy Series No. 35, Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Thomas, G., Farrell, M. P. & Barnes, G. M. (2002). The effects of single-mother families and nonresident fathers on delinquency and substance abuse in Black and White adolescents. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 58,* 884-894.

Veal, M. L. & Ross, L. T. (2006). Gender, alcohol consumption and parental monitoring. *The Journal of Psychology, 140*(1), 41-52.

Velleman, R. D. B., Templeton, L. J., & Copello, A. G. (2005). The role of the family in preventing and intervening with substance use and misuse: A comprehensive review of family interventions, with a focus on young people. *Drug and Alcohol Review, 24,* 93-109.

Vicary, J. R. & Lerner, J. V. (1996). Parental attributes and adolescent drug use. *Journal of Adolescence, 9*, 115-122.

Warren, C. W., Jones, N. R., Eriksen, M. P., & Asma, S. (2006). Patterns of global tobacco use in young people and implications for future chronic disease burden in adults. *The Lancet, 367,* 749-753.

Watkins, J. A., Howard-Barr, E. M., Moore, M. J., & Werch, C. C. (2006). The mediating role of adolescent self-efficacy in the relationship between parental practices and adolescent alcohol use. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 38,* 448-450.

Webb, J. A., Bray, J. H., Getz, J. G., & Adams, G. (2002). Gender, perceived parental monitoring and behaviour adjustment: Influences on adolescent alcohol use. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 72*, 392-400.

Weinstein, N.D. (1988). The precaution adoption process. *Health Psychology*, *7*, 355-386.

Williams, R. J., McDermitt, D. R. & Bertrand, L. D. (2003). Parental awareness of

adolescent substance use. *Addictive Behaviours, 28*, 19-30.

World Health Organisation (2002). *World Health Report 2002: Reducing Risks,

Promoting Healthy Life*. Geneva: World Health Organisation.

York, R. O. (1998). *Conducting Social Work Research: An Experimental Approach*.

USA: Allyn & Bacon.

APPENDIX 1

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENTATION

INFORMATION SHEET

Hello, I am Yogovani Pillay. I am a student in the Masters of Health Promotion course at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Department of Psychology.

I am required to complete a research study in part fulfillment of my degree. My study is to be conducted at schools purposively selected in the eThekwini and greater regions in KwaZulu-Natal. Permission has been obtained from the KZN Department of Education. Support for the study was also obtained from KZN Department of Health. I will be asking learners from your/your child's school to answer a few questions, which I hope will benefit your community and possibly other communities in the future.

I will be conducting research regarding adolescents' perceptions of parenting practices with respect to adolescent substance use. I am interested in finding out more about adolescents' perceptions of specific parenting practices that contributes to low smoking rates and alcohol use. I am interested in carrying out this research to help prevent adolescent engagement in substance use behaviour or their current engagement in substance use.

A requirement for ethical clearance of the study includes obtaining informed consent from the participants and parents/guardians of participants of my study. Details of the proposed study follow on page two of this document. Kindly read the following information followed by the consent form, which requires your signature.

Please understand that **your participation is voluntary** and you are not being forced to take part in this study. The choice of whether to participate or not, is yours alone. Please be informed that all information contained in the study will be treated with absolute confidentiality, and all participants' privacy is ensured. Also note that you may withdraw your participation at any point during the research with no penalty to yourself.

Please be ensured that no financial outlay/payment is required from yourself or your school should you participate in the study. Also note that there will be no payments made to yourself or your school as a result of participating in the study.

Kindly feel free to contact my supervisor or myself should you have any queries regarding the study.

Your participation and assistance in the completion of this study will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you

Yogovani Pillay

Postgraduate Student – Masters in Health Promotion

University of KwaZulu-Natal

TITLE OF STUDY

Adolescents' perceptions of parenting practices with respect to adolescent substance use.

DETAILS OF RESEARCH STUDY:

- The research study involves focus group discussions with the participants. The names and details of the participants will be kept strictly confidential.

- The aim of the study is to explore adolescents' perceptions regarding the influence of parenting styles and practices on their substance use or absence of substance use.

- Results of this study may be utilised in journal publications.

- Possible benefits of the study include informing the development, implementation and evaluation of substance use prevention programmes.

- There are no physical risks or harm to participants due to the study. Any possible psychological risk to participants will be addressed by a de-briefing session following the interview, as well as liaison with appropriate counseling personnel if required. However the researcher will not be liable for payment for such counseling sessions if utilised.

- Please note for the next phase of the study that we may request more information from parents/guardians about their parenting styles and practices.

- Please complete the following consent form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARENT/GUARDIAN

I, the undersigned, _____ herby give my consent voluntarily for my child _____ to participate in the research project conducted by Ms Y. Pillay, a Masters student of the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. I understand that the information disclosed during these sessions may be used for research purposes.

I have fully read and understood the information sheet. I acknowledge that I gave my consent willingly and without being unduly influenced to do so by any person. Ethical issues were discussed with me, with regard to confidentiality and anonymity. I was informed of the nature of the study and it's purpose. I am also aware that my child is free to decline from participation and from the research study at any stage.

----------------------------------   ----------------------   ------------------

PARENT/GUARDIAN NAME   SIGNATURE   DATE

---------------------------   ---------------------   -------------------

WITNESS NAME   SIGNATURE   DATE

--------------------------   -----------------------   -----------------

RESEACHER NAME   SIGNATURE   DATE

CONSENT FORM FOR ADOLESCENT

I, the undersigned, _____ herby give my consent voluntarily to participate in the research project conducted by Ms Y. Pillay, a Masters student of the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. I understand that the information disclosed during these sessions may be used for research purposes.

I have fully read and understood the information sheet. I acknowledge that I gave my consent willingly and without being unduly influenced to do so by any person. Ethical issues were discussed with me, with regard to confidentiality and anonymity. I was informed of the nature of the study and its purpose. I am also aware that I am free to decline from participation and from the research study at any stage.

---------------------------   ----------------------   ------------------
ADOLESCENT NAME   SIGNATURE   DATE

---------------------------   ---------------------   -------------------
WITNESS NAME   SIGNATURE   DATE

--------------------------   ------------------------   --------------------
RESEACHER NAME   SIGNATURE   DATE

APPENDIX 2

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Opening by Moderator/Facilitator

♦ Welcome

  • moderator introduce his/herself and the assistant moderator

  • thank participants for their participation

  • highlight the roles of the moderator and assistant moderator

  • discuss briefly why participants were selected for the discussion

♦ Overview of the topic

  • focus is on parenting styles/practices and adolescent alcohol/tobacco use

♦ Remind participants of some ground rules

  • strictly a research project

  • session tape recorded because we don't want to miss any of your comments

  • anonymity

  • confidentiality (individual and group)

  • no right or wrong answers

  • please feel free to share your point of view even if different from others

  • refreshments

Demographics of participants

Sex: Grade:

Age: Location:

<u>Ice breaker – opening up the discussion</u>

♦ Let's find out more about each other by going around the room, and each person

 introducing his/herself and telling us briefly about his/her hobby.

<u>Discussion questions</u>

♦ Who do you live with?

  Probe

  • Family structure

♦ Tell me how do you feel about talking to your parents about yourself?

  Probes

  • How you feel, think, and do

  • Your friends

  • Smoking/drinking/drugs

♦ Say for instance you are invited to a party, what do you do?

   Probes

  • Ask parental permission to go

  • Talk about whose party it is and what you are going to do

  • Transport arrangements - Parents drop and pick you up

  • Adult supervision

  • Alcohol served

  • Restrict you from going

♦ Tell me about your house rules

  Probes

  • Chores

  • Friends

- Restrictions

- Curfews

- Allow your friends to visit when they are not around

- Stay-overs

♦ How do you feel about house rules?

♦ Describe for me a typical day after school.

  Probes

  - Go straight home/hang around street or mall

  - Home alone/adult for you to go home to

  - Friends

  - Homework

  - Activities/hobbies

  - Parents know where you are at all times

♦ How do your parents feel about you going out at night?

  Probes

  - Week nights? Weekends?

  - Adult supervision

  - Have to be home by a certain time

♦ How do you spend your weekends?

  Probes

  - Parents

  - Friends

  - Pocket money

  - Mall – are your parents at the mall while you are there?

♦ Is there one meal in the day where everyone in your family is together?

Probes

- What do you talk about?

♦ Tell me about the times that you spend with your parents?

Probes

- Special times to speak to mum/dad

- Activities

- How do you feel about time spend with parents?

♦ How would you describe your relationship with your parents?

Probes

- Physical affection

- Share secrets/concerns

- Able to talk about sex

- Caring

- Involvement in activities e.g. schoolwork, sport etc

♦ Do you feel that you can share your problems with your parents?

Probes

- Good listeners

- Encourages you

- Respect your thoughts feelings

- Decision making - Always make decisions for you

- Topics you feel at ease with to discuss

♦ Tell me what do you think about smoking?

Probes

- advantages/disadvantages

- harmful/good for you

- good/cool image

- not a good habit….why?

♦ Tell me what do you think about using alcohol?

Probes

- advantages/disadvantages

- harmful/good for you

- good/cool image

- not a good habit….why?

♦ What do your parents think about smoking?

Probes

- Parents own smoking/drinking behaviour

- Issues such as health effects/cost/addiction etc.

♦ What do your parents think about drinking?

Probes

- Parents own drinking behaviour

- Issues such as health effects/cost/addiction etc.

♦ Share with us some of the things your parents talked to you about the use of alcohol?

Probes

- Age to start using alcohol

- Safe alcohol use

- Different drinks and alcohol content

♦ Do you and your friends ever talk about why you should/should not drink?

♦ What would your parents do if your friends visit and they use alcohol?

Probes

- House rules

- Parents care about what company you keep

♦ What do you think your parents would do if you use alcohol?

Probes

- Content of discussions

- Punishment

♦ Do you use alcohol with your parents?

Probes

- When and how much?

♦ Do you and your friends ever talk about why you should/should not smoke?

♦ What would your parents do if your friends visit and they smoke?

Probes

- House rules

- Restrictions and punishment

- Parents care about what company you keep

♦ What do you think your parents would do if you smoke?

Probes

- Content of discussions

- House rules

- Punishment

♦ **Closing the discussion**

Moderator summarises briefly the main points of the discussion and asks if this perception is accurate.

Moderator thanks the group for participating.

APPENDIX 3

EXCERPTS OF INTERVIEWS

This appendix consists of transcripts of one of the eight focus group discussions conducted with adolescents from four public high schools in the eThekwini region of KwaZulu-Natal.

School 1 - Girls

I: Let's start with everyone giving a brief background about themselves. Tell us about the people you live with.

P1:   Emm…I live with my mother, my father and my brother and my sister. My parents are hard on me for certain things but other than that there…

I: What do you mean by, "Your parents can be hard on you"? Would you like to tell us more about that?

P1:   Emm…like if I go to a certain place, they wanna find out who I'm going with, what time I'll be home and stuff like that. And if they know about the place and if it is a bad place then it's a definite no, straight away, so…

I: What's, "a bad place"?

P1:   Eh…like em…for instance the variety show on Fridays. Em…the community centre. My father doesn't like the community centre, coz of what happens there.

I: What happens there?

P1:   Em… like some drug addicts and alcoholics and stuff like that. If there's a show or something and bad friends will be there and fighting happens, so, they don't want me to be in that atmosphere over there.

I: Anything else?

P1:   No! Not really.

P2:   Em…Mam, I live with my grandparents, because my mother is working overseas. I live with my uncle, my one uncle and my grandparents can be irritating sometimes coz, they very overprotective of me and they like to know where I am. They like to know what I'm doing and what time I come home, and…but otherwise they

very…I'm respectful towards them but, they can be annoying sometimes.

I: So, you don't appreciate them fussing over you?

P2:   No! I like to have my own space.

I: And by, "Space", what do you mean?

P2:   Like…they always want me to be at home. They don't give me an opportunity to go to my friend's house. I have to beg them and all that, to let me go.

I: Why do you think that they restrict you from going to your friend's house and doing whatever you want to do?

P2:   Em…I don't know, coz, they think that I get involved in certain things, which I don't.

I: Like what?

P2:   Em…maybe smoking and drinking or something like that. Because, the area I live in, there's a lot of things that go on.

I: Give me an example of the things that go on.

P2:   Like a lot of fights, she sees a lot of fights that happen. Ya, basically that.

P3:   My mother…eh…Miss, I like living with my mother, and I like her coz, she's not like other mothers, she's…like my friend. She doesn't shout at me, she doesn't like, wanna find out where I am, she just like…oh…you know…I like her.

I: So, you are able to talk to her?

P3:   Ya, I can tell her anything, she won't shout or whatever.

I: What do you mean by, "Anything"?

P3:   Anything…

I: Give us an example.

P3:   Like if, I want to go to a concert or something, like the Snoop Dogg concert, she'll just say, as long as you can get the money, you can go.

I: Anybody else wants to tell us about their family?

P4:	I live with my mother alone, coz, my father passed away. My mother is also like a friend to me. I can talk to her about anything. But, sometimes she can be overprotective to. And sometimes I can't go out when I like to.

P5:	I live with my mother, my father and brother. We normal just like what everybody else said the same thing.

I:	Yes, but, you cannot be exactly the same, tell us about your family.

P5:	They allow me to go out, as long as they know what time I'll be back and with whom I'm going with. Em…they sometimes em…gives my brother more privileges and…

I:	And, how do you feel about that?

P5:	It's fine. I understand that he's older than me.

I:	How much older than you, is he?

P5:	Two years.

P6:	I live with my mother and her husband, my father is overseas. I live with my sisters. I'm like a small child in the house, coz my middle sister, she's away from all of us. My mother is actually a very strict woman. If I ask her…if I wanna go somewhere, she got to know in advance, where is the place I'm going to and why I wanna go there and all of that. And if we like, going away to my grandparents or something…

I:	How does it make you feel that, your mum wants to know, where you go, why you are going and with whom you are going with?

P6:	I think it's wrong, because, I look after my sister and I do the things that she wants me to do, although I get up to a little bit of mischief, but…

I:	But, why do you feel it's wrong?

P6:	Eh…it's wrong! And I get treated…I think I get treated differently to them…compared to my sisters.

I:	Are they younger than you?

P6:	Yes.

I:	So, you are the oldest?

P6:	Yes.

P7:   I live with my mother, my father passed away when I was small. Em…my mother is very strict with me, she doesn't allow me to do anything, like, em…I must be inside the house by a certain time. I'm not allowed to sit with boys outside by myself; I must have like, other girls sitting with me. Em…she don't allow me to go to the shop when she knows boys are there already, coz they interfere with the smaller girls. Em…she can be irritating as well, she…

I: What do you mean by that?

P7:   If I wanna watch TV, I can't watch TV, coz, I have to go make the coffee or tea, or I must help with something.

I: But, how does it feel that your mum puts all these restrictions on you?

P7:   Hey…I feel irritated…

I: So, what would you rather do?

P7:   Sit and watch TV peacefully and go to the shop when I feel like.

I: How do you feel about talking to your parents about things going on in your life, like your friends, homework, school, smoking, drinking or problems that you might have?

P3:   I hate it…my mother is like…if I tell her about that, she'll ask me questions, then she'll ask more questions and more questions and she won't stop asking questions and I hate that.

I: Don't you think that she is concerned?

P3:   Ya…but, that's the thing that I don't like about it.

P1:   I don't talk to my mother or my father about anything that's going on in my life. Em…I feel uncomfortable talking to them. I confide in my aunty and grandmother. I can't talk to my mother and father about school…

I: But, why?

P1:   Coz, if I tell my father something about school, he makes such a big deal about finding out about this and about that, and that's not right when you going through it twenty-four-seven at school. And my mother, I don't know what; I just can't talk to her, feel uncomfortable.

I: But why do you feel uncomfortable?

P1:   It's like…hey, I can't tell her my problems coz, then…I've never done it so I don't know how it feels, coz I can't confide in my mother about stuff like that. I'd rather confide in my aunty or my granny.

I: Does anybody else feel like her?

P2:   I'd rather tell a friend, coz they will understand what you going through, coz they might be going through something similar. I feel like they not sought of judging me so much.

P6:   I can't talk to my mother at all. When I talk to her about school and why people fight and like why people fight with me for things I didn't do, then she says I don't wanna hear about it, I don't wanna hear about what happened in your school and all that. I feel like I can talk to my father, coz I talk to him over the phone, coz he is not here, or I talk to my cousins or my mother's cousins.

I: So, what do you talk about?

P6:   Everything.

I: Give us an example.

P6:   Like with my younger cousins, who I'm with everyday, its like, I talk about my friends. We talk about the boys, we talk about everything.

P8:   Ooh, I can't talk to my parents, they very strict.

I: What do you mean by, "They are strict"?

P8:   Like, you must be inside the house by like, half past six and eh…I can't talk to them just…eh…ever.

I: Homework?

P8:   Now and then I talk to my mother only, but my father, he is very strict.

I: And, you?

P2:   Okay, I'm living with my grandfather, and hard to talk to him, coz when I talk to him I have to go into detail with everything, must keep saying that same topic and even to my mother because she's close to me, but I don't get to do it everyday coz she's working overseas and all, its better to talk to her, coz she understands me, she doesn't judge what I say.

I: And you?

P7:   Miss, me, I can talk to my mother about certain things, but, I can't talk to her about my problems, coz I feel uncomfortable.

I:	So, most of you are saying that you feel uncomfortable talking to your parents about boys, going out, work at school.
	Say for instance, you were invited to a friend's party, how would you approach your parents about going to this party? Give me a description of what happens when you are invited to your friend's party.
P3:	I just say, mummy can I go to a friend's house? And then I don't know what she'll say.
I:	What do you think she'll say?
P3:	Yes. But she'll want their parent's number.
I:	Why?
P3:	Because, she'll think that I'm lying.
I:	Why is that? What will she ask the parents?
P3:	She'll ask, is there really a party and all of that…
P4:	I'll just ask if I can go to a party. Ill ask about two days before, and she'll give me the answer, just yes or no, and then on that day she'll ask questions, what time, how you getting there and coming back.
P5:	I'll tell my mother, she won't have a problem with it coz, she knows all my friends.
P6:	When I wanna go, I got to let her know in advance. She'll say she will let me know on the day of the party. She says it depends on your behavior. If I don't do what I'm told to or if I don't clean my room, then it is a no.
P8:	My mother, like, my friend's party was 1st of June, so, I talked to my mother and asked her if I could go to a sleepover. So, she asked like, what's gonna happen? Em… when we gonna go and what time are we going to be back. Then she said that I must first ask and find out if they were going to be serving alcohol and all that stuff.
I:	Does anyone else go for sleepovers?
	[Collective- yes]
I:	Describe a sleepover for me.
P3:	We talk about everyday issues and we confide in each other, like girl's stuff.

P2:   Ok, one of my friends, if I go and I sleep over at her house, we'll be with her mother. We'll stay up till late but her mother will be with us. We'll be sitting with her cousins, but, some of my other friends won't be there coz their parents are very strict, if I'm there, or if they are there we are not allowed to go out. We not allowed to go to parties and all of that. We not allowed to go out unless we going with them, coz they wanna be responsible if something happens to me.

I: And your parents do they allow to have sleepovers?

P1:   Sometimes, to a certain extent.

I: What do you mean by that?

P1:   Like, em…my best friend, like I don't even have to ask my father, if I'm there from the afternoon, and I don't come home, they wont worry coz, they know were I am and that I'm ok and with who I with but, other than that, with other people, I have to go ask in advance. If they wanna phone the parents to find out if its ok if I come, and things like that.

I: What do your parents think about smoking?

P3:   My mother, she said that if she ever finds out that I ever smoked, she will make me smoke a whole packet of cigarettes, and she won't buy me anything, be locked up in the house, until she decides its ok.

I: Others, what do your parents think?

P4:   The same thing as her.

I: Would you like to tell us more?

P4:   I think she said if I do smoke, I must smoke in front of her, but I must not like, smoke a lot. But I don't smoke.

I: So, your mother will allow you to smoke?

P4:   In front of her, of her only.

P1:   My mother and father, they both smoke, but my father says that if he ever finds out that I'm smoking, that he'll warn me about it, coz like, lots of his friends, they always mocking me and they tell my father wrong stories about me and all that. So, my father says if he ever catches me that I have to eat the packet of cigarettes.

I: Do you smoke?

P1:   I don't smoke.

I: And the rest of you?

P5:   I don't know what my mother will do. She hasn't told me anything. But my brothers said they will give me a hit if they catch me smoking.

I: And you?

P6:   My mother tells me not to smoke, but she is a smoker herself, but she is trying not to smoke.

I: Would your mum allow you to smoke?

P6:   No.

I: And what about you?

P7:   My mother, she said she don't want me to smoke and its very wrong and you must try not to smoke at a very young age and she said that if I do smoke, she'll do something very bad to me.

I: Ok, and you?

P8:   My mother smokes but, she knows I don't smoke but she said that if she ever catches me smoking, I have to smoke the entire packet.

I: What kind of punishment do your parents give you?

P1:   Like, you mean, if I do something wrong. My father will shout and shout at me, and he'll tell me that I'm grounded and I'll go and sit in my room for 2 hours. Then I'll come down and say, like, daddy can I go out and he'll say where you are going and with who you going.

P3:   But didn't he just ground you?

I: So, you are saying that the punishment doesn't last very long?

P1:   No. If I do something very bad then he'll take my phone away and he knows that my phone, I will do anything to keep my phone.

I: Ok, what about you?

P6:   Ooh! My mother…like once I went out and I said I was gonna be home at a certain time, but I came home like, a little bit late after that, she was about to hit me but then she said, us, me and both my sisters, that she wasn't gonna hit us anymore, she's just gonna take all our phones away and me. Oh, I can't do anything without my phone.

P5:   My mother says she'll ground me, but she never does.

I: Tell us why?

P5:   I don't know…, she's forgetful.

I: Ok and you?

P4:   My mother says she'll ground me but, on the weekend of, I wanna go somewhere, shell say no, but, if I beg and beg and irritate her then she'll say go.

I: So, the thing that I'm getting here is that your parents will tell you that this is your punishment, but as time goes within the punishment itself, they forget about it and then there's no more punishment, so, you get your way?

P1:   Only when I was younger my father used to hit me, but now he doesn't.

I: You all said that your parents said that smoking is bad for you, what exactly did they say about smoking?

P3:   They said smoking causes lung disease.

P1:   Every time my father comments about me ever smoking, he says that its not easy to quit once you start. Then I asked him why he started in the first place and he doesn't, he just changes the subject. He never gets to the point when he can tell me exactly what's bad about smoking. So I wouldn't know.

I: Ok and you?

P5:   My brothers always tell me about it. My mother's friend recently went into hospital because she was smoking and they said that she has heart failure and my mother said that, that's what happens when you start smoking and don't stop.

P8:   My mother, she said to me, she asked me the one day if I smoke, then I said no, then she says, do you know about the cautions of smoking, then I said yes, then she says oh…she asks me all these questions, then I tell her, but mummy you smoke, you started when you were like, in your early twenties. She says yes, but don't pick up the same bad habits that I have, don't follow in my steps, my footsteps, because most of our footsteps are mistakes, she said it herself.

P6:   She just says that smoking is smoking is bad and that it will affect your life, you might die.

I: And you?

P7:   We don't talk about it.

I: How does that make you feel, that you don't talk about it.

P7:   I get bored.

I: You don't like talking about it yourself?

P7:   No.

I: And you?

P2:   No, we don't talk about it.

I: And what about you?

P4:   My mother smokes herself, so when we come up with the discussion, I turn the questions back to her and then she says, she answers but, its answers that I don't want to hear, then she just changes the subject.

I: Give me a description of what do you do after school?

P4:   I go home, wash the dishes in front of the T.V.

I: Do you go straight home?

P4:   Yes, sit in front of the T.V., don't do homework.

I: Is there anybody at home after school?

P4:   No.

I: Is there a baby brother or sister that you have to take care of?

P4:   No.

P7:   Straight after school, I gotta go straight home coz of the things that I was supposed to do. I don't go straight home to my granny after school, we…, first my friends and I walk through the grounds and we sit at a certain point. Sometimes we sit at the shop, probably go home about 15:30 or 15:45.

I: And are your parents aware of this?

P7:   No. I'm not sure, and soon as I get to my granny's house, she questions me and she scolds me and then I keep on telling her, hey you know this is what happened at school or I went to a friend's house, I got an excuse everyday.

I: Do you think that your granny's concerns are valid?

P7:   Yes.

I: Why?

P7:   Hey, they keep telling me that nowadays its not like back then, and they keep telling us stories from back then, the things that they…They tell me how my cousins used to sit with their friend's at the shop or go by and sit at someone's house, they tell us they used to study and go in the room and put the music on.

P6:   After school I walk straight home, change, eat, watch T.V., my mother comes home and we talk and I do my homework.

I: Do your parents know exactly were you are at all times?

P6:   Yes, if I go somewhere after school. I'll phone and tell them where I am.

I: And you?

P2:   I go straight home and start with my homework so, I'll have extra time to do what I wanna do.

I: What do you do?

P2:   We just sit around and talk about things.

I: Where do you spend time?

P2:   em…at my friend's house.

I: Do your grandparents allow you to go?

P2:   It's right across the road, so its close.

P5:   I go home and sometimes if I'm in the mood I'll do my homework and if I'm not, I won't, and I'll put, I'll play music, or watch a movie or sometimes I'll just sit with the children and ask them what they doing.

P8:   We'll come out of school, we'll stand around for 15 minutes, then we'll stroll home, get home, I have to wash dishes, put music on. I'll wait for my mother to come home and then I'm on the road till about 19:00, 19:30…

I: What do you do on the road?

P8:   Hey, we act mad on the road, we just have fun. I talk to the boys.

I: Do your parents know about this?

P8:	Yes, coz my father, they know all the boys in the district, so they don't have a problem with the boys. Eh… then I come inside, eat, watch tv, then do my homework at about 20:30, then I bath then go to bed.
I:	Tell me about going out at night, do your parents allow you to go out at night?
P2:	No, not till late.
I:	What do you mean by, "Not till late"?
P2:	Like 21:00 or 22:00.
I:	That's on weekdays?
P2:	Yes.
I:	And weekends?
P2:	On Fridays I go to youths and then I come home about 22:00. On Saturday, I'm at home the whole day, just sitting bored and at night, I go to my cousin's, then I come back. Then on Sundays I only go to church and come back home.
I:	Would they allow you to go out for a party on a weekday or weekend?
P2:	No. Not a weekday.
I:	What is it like for everybody else?
P6:	On a Friday everyone has to tidy up our rooms, coz my mother says if you don't keep it tidy then she won't let us go out and we must act like girls.
I:	What does your mother mean that you must act like girls?
P6:	Sometimes she'll tell us that we act like boys, coz boys don't care about tidying up. My uncle who used to stay with us, he was very untidy. But I said to my mother, mummy, I'm rushing, I don't have time right now. Then she says that when I come home I must do it. Then I say, but when I come home I have to help you, then she'll tell me to stop back chatting, she is very strict.
I:	When you go out do you have adult supervision?
P6:	Sometimes, my mother, my granny, if we wanna go to the movies in the Pavillion, she'll take us.
I:	Does she stay in the mall while you are watching the movie?

P6:   Yes, but then she'll go her separate way and let us enjoy ourselves. But then certain times she'll phone and ask us where we are, then we'll meet.

I: Is it like that with everybody?

P1:   No, if I go out on a weekday then I let my father know 2 days in advance and eh…then eh…he knows…if he knows where I'm going, then he's fine. He doesn't mind weekdays, and then weekends, he also doesn't mind. Emm…only with like, if I wanna go to the ice ring, then I have to make proper arrangements to go to the ice ring, and em…there's no curfew for me.

I: Is there adult supervision?

P1:   Now and then there's adult supervision, but my father knows that if we go out shopping or anything, my father lets me do my own thing, he gives me my own money.

I: Is there any time that you get adult supervision?

P4:   I go out with my aunty, normally on a Saturday, if I go out with my friends, around the neighborhood, then there's adult supervision.

P7:   Only when we walking late at night to my friend's house.

I: What do you mean by 'late at night'?

P7:   Like eh…8..she'll never let me walk alone at that time.

I: Do you get pocket money?

P5:   I get everyday.

I: What do you do with your pocket money?

P5:   I spend it at school.

P8:   Sometimes I get but not all the time. Mostly my brothers and sisters give me.

P1:   My father gives me everyday, and then my mother will ask whether my father gave me and I say no, so the both can give me. Em…I spend it at school sometimes and maybe waste my money on airtime.

P4:   I get, ya, I get everyday and I come and spend it at school, buy chips and all that…

P6:   I don't get everyday of the week.

I: So, there are some restrictions that your parents do have?

P6:   Yes.

I: Do you get pocket money as a reward for doing chores?

P1:   I get pocket money for baby sitting my brother depends how many hours, and then I'll charge a lot.

            [Laughter]

I: Is there one meal in the day when everyone in your family sits together and eats?

            [Collective-supper]

I: What do you talk about at that time?

P2:   We talk about what happened in school and things like that.

P1:   Same, there, but my father talks stories, he doesn't like us to talk at the table, and he must do all the talking about his day.

P3:   I don't talk, I just sit and eat.

P6:   If I'm in the mood of talking then I'll talk to them.

I: Ok, is there any special time that you speak to your mum and dad or your grandparents? And what do you talk about? Do you go to them when you have problems?

            [Collective-no]

I: Why is that?

P3:   em…I would rather talk to my aunt or my cousin.

I: But why?

P3:   I do at times, like, I'll say mummy I got something I wanna talk to you about, but the first thing that comes out of her mouth is a question.

I: Like what would she ask you? Give us an example.

P3:   She'll say what happened now, then she'll say, they I'll say mummy I need you to just listen, then after that you can ask me questions. Then while I'm talking she will interrupt me. I don't…

I:	So, how would you like your parents to talk to you?
P3:	Like a friend.
P7:	I would just like my mother to keep quiet and listen to me.
P6:	Just like, listen and then after that they can ask questions. They must not bring us down.
I:	Do you mean that they must respect your opinion and listen to you?
P6:	Yes.
I:	How do you feel?
P4:	It's ok to talk to my mother because she listens to me and she helps me.
I:	Like what kind of things do you share with her?
P4:	Anything Miss.
P5:	Me, I don't talk to them, I cant, I just can't.
I:	Why not? Use some words to describe it.
P5:	I can't describe it because they like asking me too much questions.
I:	How would you like them to talk to you?
P5:	They must hey, I don't know, they must just listen.
I:	Do your parents talk to you about sex?
P3:	I'm tired of hearing about that. If I don't hear it at home, I hear about it at school.
I:	What do they say? What do they talk about?
P3:	She says I must not, I must live my life the way I want to. I must not fall pregnant at an early age like she did and all of that. I keep telling her that I won't do that there and I'm not gonna do that there coz straight after school I'm gonna go overseas. I'm not interested in all of that.
P4:	No, they don't talk to me about sex.
I:	Why not?
P4:	I don't know.

I: And you?

P7:   Just, she's not at home all the time, she only comes home at about 6 o'clock and then there's no time.

I: What about you?

P2:   No, they don't.

I: And you?

P8:   No.

I: Do you think that you would like to hear about sex?

          [Everyone-no]

I: Why not?

P7:   Everybody talks about it. Everyday we talk about it at school and when you go home they screaming and eh…

P3:   My mother is always bringing books for me to read and if there was something I didn't understand, then I'll ask her, but I understand everything.

I: If you were a parent, how would you interact with your child? Would you give them a book to tell them about sex?

P3:   No.

I: Why not?

P3:   I wouldn't do the same thing that my mother is doing now. They learn about it at school everyday.

I: Do your parents take it for granted that you learn about it at school?

P3:   Yes.

P3:   I would go into more detail, coz maybe they wouldn't understand what's happening at all. But, I wouldn't make my child talk about something that is uncomfortable to them.

P1:   maybe when that child at a certain age, I will be able to sit down and talk to her properly about it.

I: What is the right age?

P1:   14 or 15, probably.

I: How would you describe your relationship with your parents?

P7:   She's like my best friend, I can tell her everything. There's just like, certain things that I can just not tell her.

I: What are those certain things?

P7:   I think like, when I had a boyfriend it was sought of a big story and then like, ya, she used to play around with me a lot and he used to love my mother and that was strange.

P5:   My mother is like my best friend. I can talk to her about certain things, but I can't…

I: What can you not talk to her about?

P5:   em…like boys and if I started smoking or started drinking. But I can't talk to my mother about other problems because she will talk to me and after that she will give me advice.

P4:   My mother, I can't talk to her. I've already had an instance were I've had a boyfriend and she ended up finding out from the teachers at school, because he was much older than me, but after that em…and because I didn't talk to her about it and she already knew about it.

P6:   I think I feel comfortable talking to my mother about the divorce from my father, because when I talk to him he blames my mother, but when I talk to her, she blames my father. So, one day when we al say down together, I asked them both why they keep blaming each other and whenever…like at the beginning of this year sat us down and she told my sisters and me that my father was going to Joburg and we went up to Joburg to see him, and after that my sisters asked why he was going to London, but then I sat with my mother, but my mother is always letting my father down and I don't like that, and my father he'll ask about…like em…my mother's new husband, he'll ask about him and how he treats her and all of them. My mother's new husband is a very nice person, but sometimes he goes overboard, then I can't…then I don't like…

I: Can you talk to her about yourself?

P6:   No.

I: Are you afraid to speak to them?

P1:   Yes.

I: Why are you afraid?

P1:   Coz they strict and they don't understand and they ask so many questions.

I: So there's no communication about your life with your parents.

P1:   No.

I: Tell me, what do you think about using alcohol?

P7:   Its not a good ting.

I: Why?

P7:   em…its bad for you, it does bad things to you.

P7:   What if you drinking alcohol and there's someone there and you don't realize what you doing.

P5:   eh…I don't know if its good or bad, but from my point of view its bad, because like, like, my sister drinks and my cousin was drinking and he was drunk and he went up to my aunt's house and when he came back down then someone nearly hit him and now ever since that day, now he drinks and gets paralytic drunk and falls down all over the place.

I: Do you think it is cool to drink and smoke?

P8:   I don't think its cool, but for some, for certain people if they in a group and like you wanna stand with them, then they peer-pressure you into, I think of you wanna do it, you should do it out of your own free will.

P2:   I agree with what she says.

P3:   I don't think its good to smoke and drink because they start fighting, they start fighting over stupid things. Like my next door neighbours, sometimes she'll go upstairs and hit the small girl, then she'll go back upstairs and she'll start to fight.

P3:   I don't think its good, because, hey, they just start fighting.

I: What do you think parents think about drinking?

P3:   Its fine when you are at the right age and you just like having a good time, but then after work you want to have one or two drinks its fine, but when you go abusing it and you just getting drunk, then ya, its not right.

I: Would your parents allow you to drink at this age?

[Everyone-no]

I: What about special occasions?

[Everyone-yes]

P3: With every child in the family that's born, we start at a certain age but my mother does make us drink a lot, just a few sips.

I: When you are having a party at home with your parents, is there any alcohol around and do you have access to it?

P1: No ways!

P1: em…if there's like a party by our house, my father and them are all drinking, then eh…my aunt will ask me if I want anything, like a sip, then I'll say ya. So, it is accessible to me but other than that it isn't.

I: Is it like that for everyone?

P4: Yes. Like when it was my niece's 1st birthday party my sister, my mother, never drink that night and she was very cross coz my brother didn't come so…then my sister took a 6 pack out of the fridge and said that my brother came and left it, so my sister-in-law put her in a better mood.

I: So your mother knew about it?

P4: Only the next day my sister-in-law told her.

I: And what did she do about it?

P4: My mother just looked at me and smiled.

I: Is it like that for everybody else, when do you have a party at home?

P6: I don't know, sometime we have a party on the road, we have a drink, my mother sometimes comes.

I: And you?

P7: When we have parties we normally have it at my granny's house. We have a drink but we don't go overboard, just to have a nice time.

P8: My mother and father both don't drink so there's never any alcohol anywhere near us.

P2: When we having a party my parents, grandparents offer all of us.

I: Do you and your friends ever talk about why you should and should not drink?

[Everyone-no miss]

I: So, what do you talk about? Do you ever speak about smoking and drinking?

[Everyone-no]

P3:   Sometimes we speak about drug abuse.

I: What about drug abuse?

P3:   Like if you going to a party you get high and you don't know how you getting home, the next day you make up and you don't even remember how you got in the bed or what happened to you. So they say its not nice because anything can happen to you and you won't even know about it and some people are intelligent and after using drugs they just go mad and its like they don't even realize that.

I: Anybody else has anything to say about that?

[Everyone-no]

I: Do you have any house rules with regard to smoking and drinking? What would your parents do if one of your friends smoked in front of them?

P3:   My mother will chase that person away, she'll tell me that she don't want to see them again, because she's a bad influence.

P5:   My mother, she will get cross and then she'll talk to me about it, and she'll also say that, that person is a bad influence and you must not hang around with that person.

I: Is it different for anyone else?

P6:   She'll just look at my friend and say how can you smoke in front of me and she'll just tell me that she is a bad influence.

I: Would your mother allow you to join this person?

P6:   Yes, she would, but if she hears that I'm smoking behind her back, she'll get cross. She says that if I do smoke, I must smoke in front of her only.

I: Is it different for anybody else?

P1:   em…most of my friends…because…eh…my father has always been strict on us, my friends know that they could never pull a more like that around him, I don't think that none of my friends will try.

I: What do you think your parents would say if you smoke?

P1:   Hey, they'll give me the hiding of my life.

P7:   They'll hit me.

           [Laughter]

P7:   I'll get a hiding; she'll hurt me very badly.

I: And you?

P4:   My mother will hit me because she has got a short fuse, short temper.

P2:   I wouldn't smoke, they won't accept it.

I: And you?

P8:   My mother, she'll murder me.

I: If you do smoke and your parents say no ways, or if you want to do something, anything and your parents restrict you, how does that make you feel?

P3:   I'll blame her, I'll just say, you always say I can't do this, and then I'll cry.

I: And you?

P4:   I don't know.

I: ok, let me just go through this discussion to see if we have covered everything. You all gave me a background about your parents, who you live with. You all told me about talking to your parents. You all described what you do when you go to a party. Did we speak about house rules?

           [Everyone-no]

I: Do you all have house rules?

P7:   Yes I do have house rules. No friends are allowed to come over when my mother is not around. Only if it is friends my mother knows, and if she knows their parents. She'll make me do chores; sometimes she'll make me wash the curtains. Like on Saturday's she'll tell me that I

must wash the floors and maybe sometimes wash the dishes, and she'll tell me to make sure that my room is clean and all that.

P1: I'm…, I'm allowed to bring my friends over, it's just that the boys have to stand outside, unless my father and they are there. If they are not there, then any friends I bring must be a girl. Chores, I don't have anything in particular

P1: I must keep my room tidy, wash the dishes now and then only after school, but on the weekends I don't have to.

I: Do you have a curfew?

P1: em…sometimes, when my father is in a mood, he'll tell me that I must come home at 19:30. But I don't come like, when it gets dark or something, but on a weekend it's different.

I: What time do you come home on a weekend?

P1: It depends, sometimes I'm on the road and not going anywhere, but when I do go out then the latest I'll come home is like, if I'm on the road then the latest I'll come home is like 23:30, if I'm out then the latest is about 12:30pm.

I: What about you?

P5: Any friends that I have over, and then we only allowed to do certain things, like watch TV and listen to music.

P6: The only thing that I do in the house is wash dishes after school and on the weekends, I don't…, my friends do come over, but they can't do what they feel like, I don't have a curfew on the weekend.

I: You don't have a curfew on the weekend? What time do you have to be home?

P6: Like, maybe anytime before 12, midnight.

I: And what about you?

P3: eh… as soon as school is over I go home, only wash the dishes and clean up the house. Sometimes my mother and father do it. I don't have a curfew because I'm not allowed to go out on the weekend with my friends and my friends go out every weekend. I don't really do chores, I don't like washing the dishes and I clean my own room.

P7: I only have a curfew on weekends at eight. I must be home; my mother doesn't let me go out on a weekday. During the week I do the dishes, that's all.

I: Do your parents know your friends?

[Everyone-yes]

I: Ok, tell us more about that.

P3:   Like, there are certain friends that my mother really doesn't like and there are certain friends that she really, really likes.

I: Why doesn't she like those certain friends?

P3:   I've never really asked her about it. Maybe its because of their parent's, because most of my friends now, my mother grew up with their parents and she knows their parent's background.

I: What do you mean by their parent's background?

P3:   I don't know, probably what they did in their youth, how they acted, I never really asked her.

P1:   My father is very straight forward, if he has a problem with anyone of my friends he'll go straight to their parents and talk to them,. Other than that he does not have a problem with my friends.

I: Do your parents talk to your friends?

P1:   Yes.

I: What do they talk about?

P1:   My mother and father love talking to my friends about my behavior.

I: What about your behavior?

P1:   Like if I'm taking my school work seriously and stuff like that.

I: Has anyone ever tried smoking?

[Most of them – yes]

I: And did your parents come to know about it?

[Everyone-no]

P7:   It doesn't affect me now, its like apart of me now. Some of my friends smoke the whole day, it doesn't affect them. Some of them, during the day they say they feeling dizzy or tired and as soon as they have the cigarette, they alive again, but for me it's just a bad thing.

P7:	it's a waste of time and money. Coz they sat that when you go but cigarettes from the shop, you can do other things instead, you can go buy other things.
P8:	When I was younger I used to smoke and I don't know why, but then I grew out of it, it was just a phase.
I:	Did you ever tell your parents about it?
P8:	No!
I:	Did they ever find out about it?
P8:	No!
I:	Ok, then we talked about what you do after school. Some of you go straight home, some of you said that you hang around the grounds and go home later, and some of you said that you spend time after school with your friends. You all do your homework later. What about tv games and internet?
P3:	We not allowed to, during the week. Only on Friday afternoons till Saturday at a certain time.
I:	And then you told me how your parents feel about you going out at night, some of you hang around at night in your neighborhood late at night at about 19:00 – 19:30. And weekends a little later. And you all also told me how you spend your weekends, some of you spend it with your parents and some of you are not allowed to go out of the house on a weekday or weekend. You told me about the time that you spend with your parents, you don't communicate with your parents. You don't talk to them about anything.
I:	Is there anybody that feels otherwise?
P1:	It depends on how or what happens. Sometimes I talk to my mother and she just stands there and looks and I say , you know what, never mind.
I:	So you just want your mum to listen to you?
P1:	Yes, just listen, not to go tell all her friends. She lets the whole world know.
I:	So how does that make you feel?
P1:	I feel its wrong, everyone shouldn't know what I get up to.
I:	Do your parents encourage you in anyway?

P2:   Yes.

I: How does she encourage you?

P2:   She tells me how she studied after school, and that it is good to further your education.

I: And you?

P7:   She speaks about things that I don't want to do. Like, I'll say I'm doing something, then she'll say, ok that's nice, then she'll tell me how to do it, then it will be a whole big story, then she won't want me to do it, then when I don't wanna do it, then she'll want me to do it.

I: Give me an example.

P7:   Once I saw hockey on TV and I liked it, then she said how you going to do that, what if get hurt, what if you get hit by the stick, then the next day she'll say, did you find out about hockey, then I'll say I don't wanna do it, then she'll say what's wrong and she'll start shouting at me.

I: Do your parents encourage you to aim for anything, set goals?

P3:   Schoolwork, think of my future, education, its more important than my cell phone.

I: Do you think your parents respect your feelings?

P3:   In a way.

P5:   She just, I'll just say mummy this is how I feel, like I wanna do my matric somewhere else and she wants to know why and why cant school here. And when I start to explain to her she'll tell me it's a lame excuse, I must go, I must finish it here.

P3:   In a way like, if I've done something then I'll tell them why I've done it, then they'll question me about it, and then I'll just stand for a few seconds and they'll carry on questioning me, and I won't move until I get my point through and till I'm right, and once they know that I'm right then they'll keep quiet.

I: So are you always right?

          [Laughter]

P3:   Majority, I'm always right, so, then once they find out how I feel and all that there, they start changing what I don't like.

I: Are you able to make decisions for yourself or do your parents always make decisions for you?

P1:   Yes. They do it, depends on the situation. Like, after school, my mother says you can't do so much all at once, so I ask her why, because I like school, I tell her mummy you must understand that I can't spend everyday of my life sitting with my books after school, I got to have something else.

I: Ok, and you, I'm talking about decision-making?

P4:   There are times when they make decisions for me, but most of the time I make my own decisions. If it's a big decision, then they help.

I: What is a big decision?

P4:   Like, if they want to take me out of school, they want me to change schools, they ask me if I want to change schools first, they don't just take me out and put me in some other school.

I: And you?

P6:   Most of the times I need my mother to make decisions for me, coz I can't make decisions for myself.

I: Does she give you the opportunity to make decisions yourself? Would she ask your opinion?

P6:   Yes, she will.

I: And you?

P7:   Sometimes my mother will make decisions for me, like it depends on what kind, if she decides to move and eh…she'll ask me how I feel about that, then I'll ask her whether she wants to move, if we move to like, a boring place, then I'll tell her no, then she'll think about it.

I: What about you?

P8:   I don't know, it never happened before.

I: And you?

P2:   Like, it depends like, if I'm moving to Joburg next year.

I: We are talking about decisions in your life, like courses at school. Do they help you with that kind of thing?

P3:   My mother if she wants to move, she'll move, she won't even ask me.

[Laughter]

I: What about when you want to choose your own subjects.

P3:   She says, I must do whatever makes me feel happy.

P3:   I can only to talk to them about my school and my schoolwork.

I: We have come to the end of our discussion. Thank you for your participation.