Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence

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ABSTRACT

Parental involvement during late adolescence has been confirmed by scholars as a major determinant in fostering the educational *and* psychosocial outcomes in the life trajectory of an individual. Certain bodies of literature, however, argue that parental involvement declines dramatically during adolescence, while others insist that parents merely employ more developmentally appropriate forms of involvement. Western-based parental involvement frameworks – while useful – have not sufficiently captured the contextualised perceptions, experiences and challenges of late adolescents in rural South Africa. Instead, that research has largely focused on dominant forms of parental involvement in younger children's educational outcomes. Moreover, the reliance of self-reports by parents and stakeholders have often portrayed a deficit view of parental involvement during adolescence. Underpinned by the family life cycle theory, this qualitative study's aim to explore parental involvement during late adolescence assisted in surfacing these fissures in the research. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews and field notes. The findings of this study suggested first, that beyond educational outcomes, parental involvement was also conceptualised as a construct that fosters psychosocial outcomes. Secondly, that dominant and less dominant forms of parental involvement foster psychosocial outcomes just as much as they foster educational outcomes and vice versa. Thirdly, parental involvement was shaped by and associated with the life context variables, family life cycle stressors and stakeholders' beliefs. The findings in this research study have implications for how parental involvement is conceptualised in less developed and resourced contexts. Of significance, also, is how all forms of parental involvement are able to influence academic as well as psychosocial outcomes. Finally, the findings demonstrated the importance of considering the life context variables and life cycle stressors of families when drawing conclusions pertaining to the presence or lack of parental involvement during late adolescence.

KEYWORDS

Parental involvement

Parenting

Parenting style

Adolescence

Late adolescence

Rural

Perceptions

Experiences

Challenges

Family life cycle theory

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FLC: Family life cycle

FLCT: Family life cycle theory

LA: Late adolescence/Late adolescent

NGO: Non-governmental organisation

PI: Parental involvement

RDP: Reconstruction and development programme

SA: South Africa/South African

SES: Socio-economic status

STATS SA: Statistics South Africa

UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

USA: United States of America

DECLARATION STATEMENT

I declare that the study entitled, *"Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence"*, is a result of my own research. All the sources used in this study, have been indicated and fully acknowledged, by means of complete references.

Name: Lynn-Joy Isaacs

Date:

Signed: 

DEDICATIONS

This study is dedicated to my Creator, my parents, **Barry and Rita Isaacs**, and the families residing in the Western Cape rural communities who, with immense resilience, expertise and wisdom, are breaking through the layers of generational challenges faced daily. You have taught and gifted me more than what you will ever realise. Thank you.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction and rationale

Parental involvement (PI) has been the focus of numerous research studies all over the world with an array of identified moderating variables, inconsistent findings and identified gaps (Boonk, Gijselaers, Ritzen & Brand-Gruwela, 2018; Gordon & Cui, 2012; Hill & Tyson, 2009). Asserted as a broadly defined construct, PI has been proposed as all forms of the parents' involvement in their child's education as well as their child's experiences thereof (Bojuwoye & Narain, 2008; Jeynes, 2007). Upon reference to major PI frameworks such as the Epstein (2008) and Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997, 2007) models, it is evident that the intention is to provide tools or strategies to the parent and educator by which positive educational outcomes for the child are fostered within the school and home contexts.

The research on PI in South Africa focuses largely on the correlation between PI and the academic success of the child, and partnerships between the parent and their child's school (Aldridge, Fraser & Laugksch, 2011; de Jager, 2017; Hartell, Dippenaar, Moen & Dlala, 2016; Lemmer, 2007; Lemmer & van Wyk, 2004; Mncube, 2009; Munje & Mncube, 2018; Seabi, Alexander & Maite, 2010; Segoe & Bisschoff, 2019; Singh, Mbokodi & Msila, 2004; Smit & Liebenberg, 2003; White Paper on Families in South Africa, 2013). However, scholars have critiqued the PI construct for being school-centric, arguing that it should not be limited to involvement in the school context only (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; Hamner, Latzman & Chan, 2015). Instead, Hamner et al., (2015) ague that involvement should focus on the emotional, social and home contexts too. Researchers strengthened this critique by arguing that more research should be conducted on the

relationship between PI and the non-academic facets in the life of the child as the traditional forms dominate the literature (Gordon & Cui, 2012; Hayakawa, Giovanelli, Englund & Reynolds, 2016; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Latunde, 2017). The measures utilised by the traditional models of PI within the school context resulted in some parents being erroneously labelled as uninvolved when they are unable to meet the time and financial investments considered a requirement of the traditional definitions of PI (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; Bower & Griffin, 2011; Daniel, 2015; Gordon & Cui, 2012; Hamner et al., 2015).

Furthermore, studies of parental involvement pertaining to children are usually associated with its relationship to academic success, while the research on PI pertaining to adolescents is generally studied against the backdrop of dysfunction or an existing deficit (Barker, Iles & Ramchandani, 2017; Choi, Kim & Kunz, 2018; Guarin & Meyer, 2018; Modecki, Hagan, Sandler & Wolchik, 2015; Ruiz, Holgado-Tello & Carrasco, 2017; Yoon, Pei, Wang, Yoon, Lee, Shockley McCarthy & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2018). Within developing countries, it is not clear which type of PI is associated with adolescent academic performance (Chowa, Masa & Tucker, 2013). Despite the potential assumptions of the researcher, this study does not begin with such an intention; instead, it aimed to explore and describe the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of late adolescents concerning PI in a rural community, without shifting the focus toward any deficit or dysfunction as far as possible. This was especially valuable as there is a scarcity regarding how adolescents perceive aspects pertaining to parenting, with many studies drawing on quantitative self-reports from parents or other involved adults, instead of referring to the reports of the late adolescents themselves (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; Freund, Schaedel, Azaiza, Boehm & Lazarowitz, 2018; Lavenda, 2011; Tinnfält, Jensen & Eriksson, 2015). Moreover, the research within developing countries has employed US-based

frameworks, which have possibly failed to take into full account the context and "culturally embedded meanings" associated with PI (Kim, 2018: 149; Munje & Mncube, 2018). Therefore, this study's exploration of PI during late adolescence (LA) within a rural community located in a developing country will add to the qualitative scholarship and illuminate potential moderating factors such as socio-economic circumstances, racial or cultural context, gender, adolescent behaviour, family structure and family life cycle stressors (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; Boonk et al., 2018; Choi et al., 2018; Chowa et al., 2013; Fosco, Stormshak, Dishion & Winter, 2012; Freund et al., 2018; Guarin & Meyer, 2018; Hamner, et al., 2015; Hayakawa et al., 2016; Hill, Witherspoon & Bartz, 2018; Kim, 2018; Lavenda, 2011; McGoldrick, Garcia-Preto & Carter, 2016; Menheere & Hooge, 2010; Motala & Luxomo, 2014; Reparaz & Sotés-Elizalde, 2018; Walters, 2013; Yoon et al., 2018). This is relevant when we consider that there are factors beyond the parent - late adolescent relationship which influence the ways in which parents are possibly involved (Taliep, Ismail & Titi, 2018).

Fewer research studies document the changes that take place in PI when the child becomes older or proceeds to a higher grade at school, or what impact the child's age or grade at school has on the parent's motivation to actually be involved (Green, Walker, Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 2007; Wang, Hill & Hofkens, 2014; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Kerr, Stattin & Özdemir, 2012; Hill & Tyson, 2009). Scholars have affirmed that parenting is a particularly dynamic process during late adolescence, but studies have not entirely approached the construct of PI developmentally, nor considered PI against the developmental changes of the adolescent, and instead have treated the construct as static across the life course (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Moroni, Dumont, Trautwein, Niggli & Baeriswyl, 2015; Nikolai, Bachman & Votruba-Drzal, 2010; Wang et al., 2014). By underpinning this study with a theory that emphasises the developmental approach in viewing the family and its members, the quest to explore the paired

developmental journey of PI and LA will be best supported and will add knowledge to the theoretical understanding of PI (Fan & Williams, 2010; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Moroni et al., 2015; Wang et al., 2014).

1.2 Theoretical framework

The family life cycle theory (FLCT), which centres on how dynamic changes and interactions occurring within the family structure serve to possibly enhance or disrupt the development of its members (McGoldrick et al., 2016), underpinned this study. This study focused on the family life cycle (FLC) phase, *families with adolescents* (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Duvall and Hill (1948) proposed that families develop sequentially through eight particular developmental phases, with each having a specific family life task to be mastered. The failure to achieve mastery over the family life task in each phase would destabilise the family's developmental track, and thus require support in order to re-establish its developmental momentum (McCarthy & Edwards, 2011; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2003).

At each transition point of the FLC – where the family system is at its most vulnerable – there is a degree of renegotiation between parents and their children, as each member is developing individually within the family system (McGoldrick et al., 2016). The FLC phase, *families with adolescents*, observes a significant difference in how children are defined within the family and how parental roles are understood (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2012). Family boundaries require more flexibility to allow for the adolescent's increasing autonomy and the increasing fragility of the elderly (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Parental involvement – considered a "condition of being a parent" – is therefore of particular importance during this FLC phase (Dannesboe, 2016:72). The LA requires their parent to provide guidance as well as opportunities to scaffold their increasing independence while maintaining a sense of

connectedness with one another (Dannesboe, 2016; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2003). Thus, in order for the LA to launch into early adulthood successfully, PI during this FLC phase would require the parent to adjust their approach and be cognisant of the developmental tasks at hand (Hill & Tyson, 2009; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2014).

Moreover, as PI and adolescence are on a "paired journey" within a family system moving through time, the FLCT was an appropriate theoretical framework to take into account the individual, familial, communal and socio-cultural perspectives of the participants as well as how FLC stressors influenced PI during late adolescence (Bergnehr, 2016; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2014:2151).

1.3 Problem statement

Research pertaining to PI is largely associated with the educational outcomes of the child and has not illuminated the social and emotional aspects of PI sufficiently (Aldridge, Fraser & Laugksch, 2011; Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; de Jager, 2017; Gordon & Cui, 2012; Hamner et al., 2015; Hartell, Dippenaar, Moen & Dlala, 2016; Hayakawa et al., 2016; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Lemmer, 2007; Lemmer & van Wyk, 2004; Mncube, 2009; Seabi et al., 2010; Segoe & Bisschoff, 2019; Singh & Mbokodi, 2004; Smit & Liebenberg, 2003; White Paper on Families in South Africa, 2013). However, studies have concurred that PI is not only positively associated with the educational outcomes of adolescents but with their psychosocial outcomes too (Benner, Boyle & Sadler, 2016; Cheung & Pomerantz 2011; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Jeynes, 2007; Park & Holloway, 2018; Zhan & Sherraden, 2011). Research findings have been inconsistent with some scholars arguing that PI decreases during late adolescence, instead of viewing PI as a developmentally dynamic concept embedded within a family system moving through time (Green et al., 2007; Hill & Tyson, 2009; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Wang et al.,

2014). Many parents are thus being incorrectly perceived as uninvolved while non-traditional forms of PI often go undetected or are undervalued (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; Bower & Griffin, 2011; Gordon & Cui, 2012; Hamner et al, 2015; Latunde, 2017). This is exacerbated by the scarcity of data on how adolescents perceive aspects pertaining to parenting, with many studies drawing on quantitative self-reports from parents or other involved adults (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; Freund et al., 2018; Tinnfält et al., 2015; Lavenda, 2011). Furthermore, quantitative studies – while immensely valuable – have not sufficiently addressed possible biases in how PI has been rated in questionnaires; therefore, this study adds to the qualitative scholarship on PI and illuminates contextually specific perceptions, experiences and challenges of PI during late adolescence from the perspective of multiple informants, namely, the parents, stakeholders, *and* late adolescents (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; Barg, 2019; Kim, 2018). This is of particular importance in South Africa, as there is a dearth of studies in childhood, adolescence and the life of the family within the rural context, because most studies regarding developmental outcomes are located in the urban areas (Davids, Roman & Leach, 2015; de Lange, Olivier, Geldenhuys & Mitchell, 2012).

1.4 Aim and objectives of the study

1.4.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this study was to explore the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of adolescents in a rural community concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.

1.4.2 Objectives

The objectives of this study were to:

- Explore the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of adolescents concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.

- Explore the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of parents concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.
- Explore the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of stakeholders (i.e. youth facilitators or mentors) concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.

1.5 Methodology

A qualitative methodological approach was applied to illuminate the participants' rich, deep and personal interpretations of the research focus (Creswell, 2016; Hill & Torres, 2010; Patton, 2015). By utilising a qualitative inquiry, this research study was able to remain focused on the multiple perspectives of participants and their construction of meaning (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 2015). Employing qualitative inquiry elucidated "how systems function and their consequences" in the lives of the participants in this research study (Creswell, 2016; Patton, 2015: 54). In addition, the qualitative approach aided the understanding of how and why the participants' particular context mattered in the light of the research topic (Creswell, 2016; Patton, 2015: 54). Furthermore, explorative and descriptive research design added depth to the research, allowed this research study to "get inside the phenomenon of interest" in a detailed way, and took into consideration the possible variations of the same phenomenon amongst the participants (Creswell, 2016; Patton, 2015: 44).

1.6 Significance of the study

This qualitative study contributed to generating and advancing a more contextually driven perception of PI during late adolescence within part of the rural Western Cape. As a concept, PI has largely been posited as a tool that stakeholders can employ to garner more PI in the academic realm of the LA's life to foster academic success. However, researchers have highlighted gaps between the rhetoric and reality of this construct (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011;

Patrikakou, 2008). Therefore, this study helped to explore and describe some of these gaps in an often overlooked context and participant group (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; Davids, Roman & Leach, 2015; de Lange, Olivier, Geldenhuys & Mitchell, 2012; Freund, Schaedel, Azaiza, Boehm & Lazarowitz, 2018; Lavenda, 2011; Tinnfält et al., 2015). In addition, this study not only highlighted the educational outcomes and dominant forms of PI but also the psychosocial outcomes and less dominant forms of PI during LA (Hamner et al., 2015; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Latunde, 2017; Moroni et al., 2015; Patrikakou, 2008; Wang et al., 2014). Despite extensive research arguing a decline in PI during LA, this study proved that PI during the *families with adolescents* phase was present and just as relevant for LAs and parents of LAs (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2014). Moreover, this study was able to consider how the presence of FLC stressors influenced PI during LA and how the presence or lack of developmentally appropriate forms of PI gave rise to, or exacerbated certain FLC stressors (McGoldrick et al., 2016). It is the hope that the findings of this study will assist to strengthen the NGO's parenting programmes, will enrich this context's appreciation of the LA's perceptions, experiences, and challenges of PI during LA, and will affirm the ways in which parents *are* involved (Rodrigo, Almeida, Spiel & Koops, 2012).

1.7 Definition of terms and concepts

Child: A person under the age of 18 years (Children's Act, 2005).

Adolescent: A person between the ages of 10-19 years (United Nations Population Fund, 2015).

Late adolescent: Ramsoomar, Morojele and Norris (2013) assert that late adolescence starts at 18 years old; while the United Nations Population Fund (2012) and the National Adolescent

Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights Framework Strategy (2014 – 2019, 2015) positions a late adolescent between the ages of 15-19 years. This study employed the latter definition.

Parental involvement: Parental involvement is considered as all forms of involvement in and participation by parents in the child's education along with the child's experiences thereof (Bojuwoye & Narain, 2008; Jeynes, 2007). PI has also been defined as parental engagement in the lives of their children that affects their actions (Kim, 2009) and includes involvement types/forms at home and at school (Epstein, 2007; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997), which can be traditional and non-traditional forms (Latunde, 2017).

Parenting Style: Parenting styles "reflect the patterns of parental values, practices, and behaviours as well as a distinct balance of responsiveness and demandingness presenting different outcomes for children" (Roman, Makwakwa & Lacante, 2016:3).

Family life cycle theory: A theory originally asserted by Duvall and Hill (1948) which proposes that families develop sequentially through particular developmental phases and that each phase has a family life task to be mastered (McGoldrick, Garcia-Preto & Carter, 2016).

Rural: "Farms and traditional areas characterised by low population densities, low levels of economic activity and low levels of infrastructure" (Statistics South Africa, 2015:55).

Socio-economic status: This includes a person's circumstances as it relates to their level of education and literacy, living conditions and employment status, which vary across different contexts (Menheere & Hooge, 2010).

Construct: A concept "devised or built to meet scientific specifications"; a "theoretical creation that cannot be directly observed" and can only assume meaning as "part of a broader theoretical network that describes relations among many constructs" (Noori, 2018:8; Spector, 1992:2; Viswanathan, 2005:3).

Perception: The subjective and context-dependent manner in which we are able to understand the experience and interpret reality via the senses (Given, 2008). Moreover, experiences are embedded in the notion that perception is a "process involving…complex underlying mechanisms" such as history, social constructs, location, belief systems and language (Given, 2008:2).

Experience: The "direct observation of or participation in events as a basis of knowledge" or "something personally encountered, undergone or lived through" (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2019).

Challenge: A "difficult task or problem: something that is hard to do" (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2019).

1.8 Outline of chapters

Chapter One introduces the rationale and context of this study, which focuses on exploring the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of late adolescents concerning parental involvement. Participants are located in a rural context of the Western Cape. The research questions, aim, objectives, theoretical framework, research approach and design, the significance of the study and definition of terms are introduced.

Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework, the family life cycle theory, which has guided the study. The origin and description of the family life cycle theory are elaborated upon, as well as the vertical and horizontal stressors, which form part of this theory.

Chapter Three presents the most relevant reviewed literature regarding parental involvement during late adolescence. The literature pertaining to the concepts of late adolescence and parental involvement were reviewed separately, followed by a discussion of parental

involvement during late adolescence with particular reference to its relation to educational and non-educational outcomes. Furthermore, limitations in the research pertaining to parental involvement were reviewed and, lastly, the experiences and challenges of parental involvement.

Chapter Four provides clarity on the methodology employed by this research study, which informed the research approach and design, the study population, sampling techniques, data collection method, data analysis, data verification, limitations of the research study, ethical considerations and the significance of the study.

Chapter Five presents the results of the study in which the main findings pertaining to the late adolescents are discussed. This is done in relation to the previously researched work illuminated in Chapter Three, and in keeping with the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Six presents the results of the study in which the main findings pertaining to the parents and stakeholders are discussed. This is done in relation to the previously researched work illuminated in Chapter Three, and in keeping with the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Seven presents a conclusion to the study, provides a summary for the study chapters, and concludes with recommendations and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the theoretical framework, the family life cycle theory, which underpinned this study. The chapter provides a comprehensive description of the family life cycle theory through a discussion of its origin, a description thereof and its relevance within the context of parental involvement as experienced by adolescents during the late adolescent life phase.

2.2 Family life cycle theory

2.2.1 Origin of the family life cycle theory

This theory was originally proposed by the family sociologists, Duvall and Hill (1948), also considered the "architects" of the family life cycle theory (FLCT) (Martin, 2018:49). Later, Barnhill and Longo (1978) provided additions to the theory with Carter and McGoldrick (1980, 1989, 1999, 2005, 2016) expanding on the FLCT, which was a response to the evolving family structure as it moves through time, as well as the understanding that family structures are not necessarily heterogeneous (Golijana-Moghaddam, 2014). Some of the earlier foundations of family developmental theory lay in human developmental theories by classic theorists such as Freud (1933), Erickson (1998) and Piaget (1952).

Reuben Hill, a distinguished professor in Family Sociology, was influenced by his studies and experiences (Martin, 2018). His background in Chemistry, combined with his missionary service experience in Germany pre-World War II, provided him with the ability to understand both micro-level change and "macro institutional forces at work in social change" (Martin,

2018:50). Martin (2018) explains how upon Hill's return to the U.S., his interest in family developmental theory grew because of his observations of how stress and trauma of the war influenced families. His students' requests for information on marriage supported Hill's drive to clarify "'normal' life cycle stages and timing" (Martin, 2018:50). Although Hill collaborated with Duvall in 1948 during President Truman's National Conference of the Family, the work he pioneered focusing on family stress, the development of the ABC-X model along with the educational development of graduate seminars between the 1950s – 1970s, established him as a contributor to the family developmental theories (Martin, 2018).

Hill and Duvall, with Duvall being the organising secretary of the National Conference of the Family in 1948, led seven expert teams to analyse the stages of the FLC, as well as an eighth team to analyse families in crisis. During this conference, Duvall and Hill developed a list of developmental tasks for the members of the family unit, which became a central tenet of the theory in its early days (Martin, 2018). Erickson (1998) criticised the FLCT or paradigm for being unfounded, as it had not been brought under rigorous enough questioning. This critique was asserted despite Carter and McGoldrick (1989) updating the FLCT by recognising how culture and gender differences influenced the way the phases unfolded. The very constricted idea of normative and successive development of the family remained (Erickson, 1998). This very limited view of the development of the family created an assumption that families who did not develop in this manner could be considered deficient (Dallos & Drapher, 2015; Erickson, 1998). In addition, the Westernised lens against which the FLCT was created, was critiqued as bearing implicit gender, class and racial biases, which did not consider minority culture and history (Dallos & Draper, 2015).

2.2.2 Description and application of the family life cycle theory

The FLCT is a developmental framework, which centres on how dynamic changes and interactions, which occur within the family structure, serve to possibly enhance or disrupt the development of its members (Brown & Prinstein, 2011; Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2004; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Thoburn & Sexton, 2016). Duvall and Hill (1948) originally proposed that families develop sequentially through eight developmental phases, each of which has a specific family life task to be mastered. These eight stages are the married couple without children, the married couple with a child between the ages of 0 – 30 months, the family with a pre-schooler and later with a school-aged child, the family with an adolescent child, and then as the place from which to launch the older child into the world, the family in the middle years of life which is commonly referred to as the "empty nest" period and, lastly, aging families (Sigelman & Rider, 2018). Failure to achieve mastery over the family life task in each phase was asserted to destabilise the family's developmental track and therefore would require support to re-establish its developmental momentum (Ribbens McCarthy & Edwards, 2011; Walsh, 2003).

Carter and McGoldrick (1999) expanded on this framework, encapsulating the FLC in six or seven stages. Their framework started with the single young adult leaving their parents' home to the single young adult getting married, the arrival of a newborn, parenting young children and later adolescents, using the home as a launching pad for children who have grown up and, finally, the family in later life (McGoldrick, Garcia-Preto & Carter, 2016). This indicates that the family is a system, which moves through proposed normative stages, transitions and time and takes into consideration individual, familial, socio-cultural and historical perspectives, thus allowing for a much broader understanding of the dynamic family structure (Carter & McGoldrick, 1999; Golijani-Moghaddam, 2014; Walsh, 2003).

However, not all families fit the nuclear family type nor do all families develop according to the normative stages asserted by FLCT (Dallos & Draper, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2016). When families are subject to these assumptions and implicit biases, they can be considered deviant (Dallos & Draper, 2015; Erickson, 1998; Golijana-Moghaddam, 2014; Laszloffy, 2002; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Ribbens et al., 2011).

Sigelman and Rider (2018) argued that families are embedded in a changing society, develop in various ways and are established at varying times during an individual's life course. For example, an individual may marry for the first time at a much older age, a newly married couple may decide not to have children, or a single parent may marry someone who was previously married and has children. Additional biases, such as not considering varying cultures and sub-cultures regarding the family and its process of development, as well as viewing the FLC in isolation and not in the wider context of the family's history, are part of the critique which this theory originally received (Dallos & Draper, 2015; Golijana-Moghaddam, 2014; Melo & Alarcão, 2014).

Moreover, the FLCT includes vertical and horizontal stressors: two constructs within the theory which make it possible to account for an intergenerational perspective on how stresses or traumas, as well as developmental life transitions and unpredictable events, affect or influence the family's life cycle over time (Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Thoburn & Sexton, 2016; Walsh, 2003). Each phase of the family life cycle theory will be described in more detail starting with young adulthood. It is in this phase that the "grounding of the next generation of the family" takes place (McGoldrick et al., 2016:23). In addition, the concept of parental involvement will be positioned and discussed within each phase.

2.2.2.1 Young adulthood

Walsh (2003) explains that during this stage, the young adult separates from their family of origin without completely cutting the family off. The young adult makes critical decisions about what they would like to abandon or take with them from their family of origin. The young adult will also need to become responsible for their finances and emotional well-being, and establish themselves in their work and wider community (McGoldrick et al., 2016). While it may be assumed that there is no place for parental involvement (PI) during young adulthood, the contrary is true and acknowledgement thereof emphasizes the benefits of involvement (Brooks, 2013; Gordon & Cui, 2012; Nichols & Stahl, 2017). Current and past guidance of parents still influences the decisions of children and, in addition, parents may need to be involved in helping their young adult child make informed decisions about their educational future (Frisco, 2005; Gordon & Cui, 2012). Shulman and Connolly (2013:27) argued that in recent times, young adults may delay serious relational commitments as they "strive to integrate their career paths and life plans with those of a romantic partner". As times change, young adults may also find themselves marrying later, studying and staying with their parents for longer periods due to socio-economic circumstances or unplanned pregnancy, and requiring PI beyond adolescence (Fingerman, Cheng, Wesselmann, Zarit, Furstenberg & Birditt, 2012; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Fingerman et al., (2012) claimed that young adults may perceive this involvement of parents as normal, while the parents – who hail from an earlier era – may perceive their involvement as non-normative. When the parent perceives and experiences their involvement in the young adult child's life as non-normative, it may create internal distress as they may feel that their child has not reached the normative developmental milestones associated with this life stage (Fingerman et al., 2012). Moreover, when the involvement of the parent is excessive or imposed during young adulthood, it may create a feeling of incompetence within the young adult and cause them to be overly dependent on their parent

instead of looking to their parents in a consultative way (Fingerman et al., 2012; McGoldrick et al., 2016). However, when the involvement of the parent is perceived as supportive to the young adult, it can increase the overall well-being of both the parent and the young adult (Fingerman et al., 2012).

2.2.2.2 Young married couples without children

McGoldrick et al., (2016) proposed that the young, single adult would then create a third subsystem by merging their family system with their partners, resulting in a realignment of family and friends with the new spouse. McGoldrick et al., (2016) asserted that one of the key emotional transitions is the commitment to a new and expanded system. Second-order developmental tasks include the process of forming a new couple system, the family system boundaries expanding across and within to include new members and the realignment or reweaving of relationships (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016). This can greatly affect how a parent is involved in their adult child's life, as they need to consider their child's partner when interacting with their child (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Marital adjustment and success during this phase of the FLC can be influenced by the support and quality of involvement of parents and parents-in-law (McGoldrick et al., 2016). These are, however, the progressions of the FLC when assuming that the next natural step for young adults is to get married (Walsh, 2016). The traditional FLC has become more varied in recent times with more young adults choosing not to enter into marital unions and instead to co-habit (Allen, 2016; Dallos & Draper, 2015; Walsh, 2016). McGoldrick et al., (2016) claimed that men tend to distance themselves from their family of origin when they marry, while women move closer toward their family of origin after getting married. This would inevitably influence how parental involvement would take place at this stage of the FLC.

2.2.2.3 Families with children

Traditionally, the FLC assumes that the young, married couple would proceed to introduce a child into their family system (McGoldrick et al., 2016). With the introduction of a third member, this family now becomes a system on its own, creating a space for a new member and negotiating relationships with extended family members and the wider community within which the new family system is located (McGoldrick et al., 2016). In recent times, however, an increasing number of married couples consciously choose not to have children and would still define themselves as a family (Walsh, 2016). Research has indicated that the traditional nuclear family structure, parenting, the responsibilities that come along with parenting, and the socio-economic landscape of society across the globe, has changed substantially (Bartel, 2010; Benner, Boyle & Sadler, 2016; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Suizzo, Pahlke, Yarnell, Chen & Romero, 2014). Walsh (2003) painted a picture which depicts the mother as the one who generally tends to take excessively more responsibility when it comes to meeting the needs of the child as compared to the under-involved father. PI during the early phase of childhood includes providing their child's basic needs, providing emotional nurturance, and provision of stimulus for cognitive development (Brooks, 2013). During the pre-school phase, PI forms may include establishing boundaries, enforcing discipline, regulating behavior, reading to the child, engaging in discussions, interactional and object play. All of these encourage developmental competencies (Brooks, 2013). Much of the research focusing on PI during childhood emphasises the role that PI has on the academic success of the child (Bartel, 2010; Brooks, 2013; Hill & Tyson, 2009; van Gelder-Horgan, 2016; Wang et al., 2016).

2.2.2.4 Families with adolescents

As children become adolescents, major transitions take place within this FLC phase (McGoldrick et al., 2016). While PI remains crucial, the forms of involvement, which parents used previously, may not be as effective or welcome (McGoldrick et al., 2016). PI needs to take into consideration the developmental complexity of shifts in the parent-child relationship during this FLC phase (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Menheere & Hooge, 2010; Wang et al., 2014).

During this phase, parental roles change dramatically as the parents negotiate permeable boundaries that scaffold their child's increasing independence, but which still allow the adolescent to access support and guidance within the family (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016). Adolescents still require a home space that is conducive to their emotional and physical safety as they are not able to manage things entirely on their own (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016; Worthen, 2012). Walsh (2016) argued that poor parent-adolescent bonds placed adolescents at greater risk for developing problems such as substance abuse, leaving school prematurely, teenage pregnancy and gang involvement. Parents are required to understand their adolescent's need to individuate, bond with peers, integrate their identity, experiment with new ideas, make autonomous decisions and push boundaries (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Although social conformity is at its highest at early adolescence and declines as the adolescent gets older, the initial, deeper investment in friendships may create instability within the family, as new values introduced through various friendships of the adolescent may be different from that which their parents are accustomed to (Knoll, Magin-Weinberg, Speekenbrink & Blakemore, 2015; Walsh, 2003). Therefore, it is important that parents are open and not threatened by the adolescents' exploration of new values and different ideals (Walsh, 2003). Regardless of the importance which adolescents place on their peer relationships and fitting in,

it is crucial for parents to remain connected to their adolescent child, especially adolescents who live in high-risk communities (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016).

Theorists argue that LAs – considered to be between the ages of 15 and 19 years old – become increasingly more autonomous in terms of goal-setting, and there is both a crystallisation of their identity separate from their parents, and a deepening of friend-bonding constructs in which they may experiment and explore more widely (UNFPA, 2012; Walsh, 2003; Worthen, 2012). Sexual and romantic interests are a core characteristic of adolescence but during LA, romantic relationships become increasingly more serious and intimate (Brooks, 2013; Shulman & Connolly, 2013). During LA, this deeper investment into more serious romantic relationships form the training ground for future healthy intimate relationships (Brooks, 2013; Kenkel, 1977; Shulman & Connolly, 2013). While it may seem that PI has decreased, it may be a sign of parents adopting more developmentally appropriate forms of PI as parents prepare to launch their LA into the adult world (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016; Wang et al., 2014).

As the LA becomes more oriented toward their future during this FLC phase, parents may engage their LA in PI forms such as academic socialisation, creating a conducive study environment at home, or encouraging the LA to apply themselves in order to secure opportunities to study further (Brooks, 2013; Hill & Tyson, 2009; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2014). Therefore, parents may need to play the role of the consultant or coach at times during this FLC phase (Brooks, 2013; McGoldrick et al., 2016). How the LA's developmental shifts during this FLC phase potentially influence PI, speaks to how the parent-adolescent relationship is not solely influenced by the parent or PI types, but also by the individual and familial developmental transitions taking place (Brooks, 2013; Kerr et al., 2012;

McGoldrick et al., 2016). This bi-directional view – as opposed to a uni-directional view – assumes that the child is an active agent within the parent-child relationship and not merely a passive recipient of the parent's methods of parenting (Kerr et al., 2012; McGoldrick et al., 2016).

McGoldrick et al., (2016) argued that there is an increasing challenge in launching the LA into young adulthood as many LAs struggle to become entirely financially independent. In addition, the LA's younger or older siblings also require specific forms of PI, which could reduce the parents' availability of time and energy to be sufficiently involved (Green et al., 2007; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016; White, Martin & Adamsons, 2019). PI during LA would most likely be influenced by the changes taking place in the LA's life and, in turn, transform the way PI takes place (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2014). Furthermore, the family transforms over time, as do its members, and so the roles within familial relationships, and the ways in which the family members interact with each other, transforms too (Dallos & Draper, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2016).

2.2.2.5 Launching children and moving on

Ideally, the FLC posits that the late adolescent – now a young adult – will exit their family system (McGoldrick et al., 2016). The family becomes the launching centre from which the first to the last child leave the home (Walsh, 2003; McGoldrick et al., 2016). During the "empty nest" transition, parents can enjoy the freedom from caregiving responsibilities, and can focus on their interests (Walsh, 2016). At the same time, this transition can be a point of stress for the family as there is a realigning of the parent-child emotional attachment (Dallos & Draper, 2015). Should this transition be negotiated successfully, the parent-child relationship may become more affectionate after the adult child has been launched from their family home of

origin (McGoldrick et al., 2016). The parent-child relationship must now make space for an adult-to-adult relationship between the parent and adult child. In addition, grandchildren and in-laws could be introduced into the family, which also requires some realignment in relationships (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016).

The parents who are left behind would begin to renegotiate their relationship as a couple system. However, not all parents are in a marital union or co-habitating (Dallos & Draper, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2016). For married parents, this renegotiation can be a challenge when parents have been overly involved in their LA's life and cannot find meaning in their couple relationship beyond that of being parents (McGoldrick et al., 2016). McGoldrick et al., (2016) also asserted that relationship renegotiations have changed from previous generations. While certain cultures believe that independence must be established earlier than others and exhibit less PI as the child becomes older, other family cultures place a high value on the "interconnectedness between family members" (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; McGoldrick et al., 2016:326).

Furthermore, PI might be influenced by socio-economic conditions, forcing many young adults to stay with their parents to financially support the household or to return to their parents' home when they face economic challenges, which changes the traditional perception of PI (Green et al., 2007; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016). Some cultures welcome the extended family structure and there may not ever be an "empty nest" within certain households, as parents continue to be involved in not only their adult children's lives but also in the caretaking responsibilities of grandchildren who reside in the same household (McGoldrick et al., 2016).

2.2.2.6 Families in later life

This phase is characterised by aging family members and stretches from retirement to the death of both spouses (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2004; McGoldrick et al., 2016). McGoldrick et al., (2016) claimed that there is a shift in the generational roles, and the wisdom and experience of the elderly can enrich the family. The middle generation also assumes more responsibility for the older generations without compromising their independence. However, the involvement of aging parents in adult children's lives can still be intense and yield positive or less favourable results (Fingerman et al., 2012).

The next section provides a brief description of the vertical and horizontal stressors of the family life cycle theory (Figure 2.1).

2.2.2.7 Vertical and horizontal axis and stressors

While the family unit moves through developmental stages, it is subject to "vertical and horizontal flows of stress from within and outside the family system", some of which are unpredicted (Kerr, Hoshino, Sutherland, Parashak & McCarley, 2008; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Challenges arise when the family is unable to cope with these stressors or adjust to transition into the next stage of the developmental cycle (Kerr et al., 2008; McGoldrick et al., 2016). The inclusion of the vertical and horizontal stressors allowed this research study to consider how stressors influenced the patterns according to which family members interacted, as well as how PI was constructed and experienced (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2003).

The inclusion of the FLC vertical stressors allowed this study to explore and describe *how* the participants' perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning PI during LAwas influenced by family attitudes, personal beliefs, familial emotional patterns, history of addictions and violence, practices considered either harmful or helpful, along with their personal stories and

family expectations passed down through the generations (Dallos & Draper, 2015; Kerr et al., 2008; McGoldrick et al., 2016). At a sociocultural level, the potential stressors along the vertical axis permitted this study to consider the participants' prior generation's views on race, family secrets, whether or not there were attitudes of sexism or the existence of poverty and its relation to PI (McGoldrick et al., 2016). The distress that parents may experience due to poverty, for example, can negatively affect PI (Tarantino, Goodrum, Salama, LeCroix, Gaska, Cook, Skinner & Armistead, 2017). Additional stressors at the sociocultural system level included the history and any traumatic experiences of this specific community and its potential association to PI during LA (Bevcar, 2013; Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2003).

The horizontal axis and its stressors at the family level focuses on the family moving through time and having to cope with realignment and developmental shifts taking place during the FLC (Dallos & Draper, 2015; Kerr et al., 2008; Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Thoburn & Sexton, 2016; Walsh, 2003). The horizontal stressors can intersect with the community's "inherited (vertical) norms of racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia, as well as ethnic and religious prejudices, manifested in social, political, and economic structures that limit the options of some and support the power of others" (Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2003:380). The application of horizontal stressors of the FLCT allowed for the largely negative and, at times, unpredicted experiences, which the family may have undergone over time, including social policies, which may have affected the participants' family (Bevcar, 2013; Dallos & Draper, 2016; Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2004; Kerr et al., 2008; Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Thorburn & Sexton, 2016; Walsh, 2016). Socio-cultural horizontal stressors such as the community environment and current events at the time of the study may have also influenced the participants' perceptions, experiences and challenges of PI

during LA (Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2003). This implies that participants were also somewhat affected and shaped by uncontrolled, external forces and systems, or were the products of their wider context (Dallos & Draper, 2015).

As the life stage of LA is characterised by various emotional, cognitive and interpersonal developmental tasks for the adolescent and parent within the family context, it could have significantly influenced how PI was perceived and experienced during LA (Golijani-Moghaddam, 2014; Hamner et al., 2015; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 2007; Walsh, 2003; Worthen, 2012). An example of an unpredicted FLC stressor related to the developmental shifts of the LA could be when a LA falls pregnant. This type of situation may change the way a parent will be involved, but it could also re-direct the course of the FLC as the parent may perhaps draw closer to the LA to offer guidance and support instead of launching them into a fully independent adult life (McGoldrick et al., 2016).

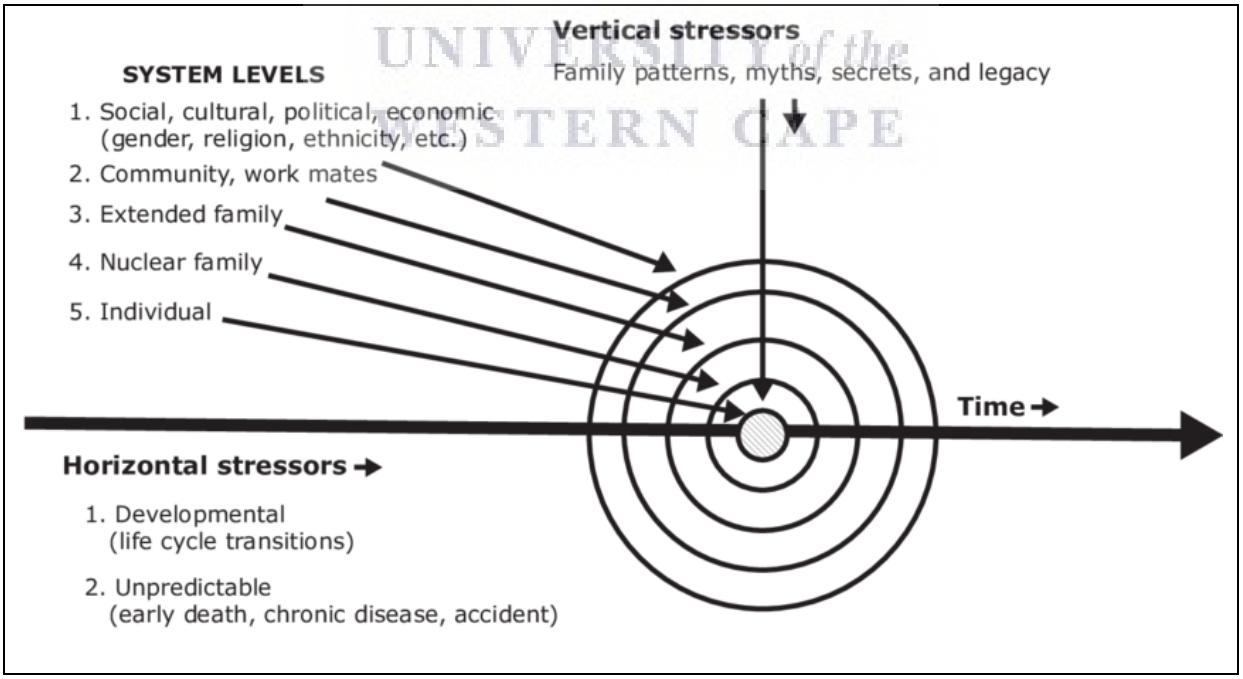

Figure 2.1: Vertical and horizontal stressors of the FLC (Kieling, 2014)

Biases, such as not considering varying cultures and sub-cultures regarding the family and its unique process of development, as well as viewing the FLC in isolation and not in the wider context of the family's history, are part of the critique which this theory originally received (Golijana-Moghaddam, 2014). However, when Carter and McGoldrick (2005) expanded the FLCT, it recognised the tremendous, influential role which system levels – such as friends, community, culture, politics, economics, race, religion and gender – play in the FLC (Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick, et al., 2016). Elements of these system levels can also be found within PI frameworks. Family culture is one of the variables that form part of a parent's motivation to become involved in their child's life (Walker, Shenker, Hoover-Dempsey, 2010). Moreover, the parents' ethnicity is associated with their perceptions and expectations relating to PI (Reynolds, Crea, Medina, Degnan & McRoy, 2014). The system levels allowed for a multi-contextual view, rather than a singular view, which was especially helpful when recognising that the nuclear family structure is no longer the norm, and that the multigenerational context must be considered as a powerful contributor to how individual lives unfold (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016). Family compositions, parenting practices and family backgrounds varied in this study, and it was evident that various FLC phases were unfolding simultaneously. By considering the FLCT's vertical and horizontal axes along with their related stressors in this study, one was able to get a glimpse of the PI construct in a much larger context than just the immediate family or according to the views of one generation within the family unit (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016).

2.3 Conclusion

As the family structure has evolved and continues to change, it can no longer be assumed that there is a "normal" type of family moving through the FLC which, when applied in this study, created room to consider each participant's unique views (Dallos & Draper, 2015; McGoldrick

et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016). Therefore, employing the FLCT allowed this study to explore and describe the selected participants' unique perceptions, experiences, and challenges concerning PI during LA in relation to their unique familial and socio-cultural context (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Moreover, due to the FLC moving through successive phases, this theory illuminated the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of PI during LA during the *families with adolescents* phase, which may differ to other phases during the FLC (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2014). Finally, by utilising this theory, it was possible to explore PI during LA with a bi-directional lens, which considered that the very development of the LA may have influenced how the parent is involved and vice versa (Kerr et al., 2012; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2014).

This chapter provided a background and understanding of the FLCT. In addition, it attempted to illuminate how the FLC theory was applied to this study. It can be declared that through this theory, the individual cannot be separated from the FLC, the wider socio-cultural and socio-historical context; nor can the changes over time and through the generations be disregarded (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016).

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

As the aim of this study was to explore the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of adolescents in a rural community concerning PI during LA, the literature reviewed and discussed in this chapter, focuses on these concepts. Moreover, as the objectives of this study were to obtain multiple viewpoints, the reviewed literature attempts to illuminate the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of PI during LA from the perspective of adolescents, parents of LAs, and stakeholders who form part of the lives of LAs.

3.2 Adolescence

Adolescence, termed by G. Stanley Hall (1904) as the period of *storm and stress*, is characterised by significant physical and psychological growth (Coovadia, Jugnundan & Ramkissoon, 2016). Some of the popular assumptions associated with adolescence include the notion that adolescents are rebellious, are driven by a surge of hormones, and exhibit behaviour often perceived as challenging authority (Chowa, 2016; Painter, 2015; Saul, 2016). However, McGoldrick, Garcia Preto and Carter (2015:27) assert that the adolescent being is in a phase of finding their voice by seeking identity in the context of *"societal, parental and peer pressures to conform"*. With the transition between childhood and adolescence, one can observe how the adolescent starts seeking new intimate relationships with not only peers but also partners of a romantic nature, and spending more time with peers as they start developing their ability to form deeper intimate attachments with others (Qu, Fuligni, Galvan & Telzer, 2015; Walsh, 2012). Despite this transition, family relationships in the life of the adolescent remain influential, as secure attachments between parent and adolescent are still critical in

determining well-functioning interpersonal relationships with others (Worthen, 2012; Allen, Porter, McFarland, McElhaney & Marsh, 2007). Erikson (1968) asserted that the adolescent experiences a psychosocial conflict of identity versus role confusion, in which a key developmental task is the integration of various perceptions of the self-concept into a coherent and autonomous sense of self. Theorists believe that this can be challenging as adolescents are often battling inner struggles such as low self-esteem and emotional distress (Chowa, 2016; Curtis, 2015; Hare, Szwedo, Schad & Allen, 2014; Sigelman & Rider, 2018). Curtis (2015), Hare et al., (2015) and Sigelman and Rider (2018) argued that a combination of cognitive developmental shifts, pubertal hormonal fluctuations, physical body changes, various social stressors and lack of opportunity granted by parents to be more autonomous, can contribute to these inner struggles of the adolescent.

Cognitively, formal operational thought may help on one hand to prepare the adolescent to gain a sense of identity or an increased solidification of individual identity, think more complexly about moral aspects of life with a better ability to make conscious decisions, and have a better understanding of the other (Sigelman & Rider, 2018). However, this development of formal operational thought is also part-driver of the ability to function and think more independently, which can result in a decrease in dependence on parents, and an increase in the adolescent's questioning of authority or rules, which may be to the dismay of the parent (Sigelman & Rider, 2018; Walsh, 2012).

Considering the many recapitulative theories, which encapsulate life development, one may have imagined that in the twenty-first century there would be a clear, universal definition and experience of adolescence. However, adolescence is being increasingly recognised as a social and cultural construct (Saul, 2016; Curtis, 2015; Painter, 2015; Lesko, 2012). Petrone,

Sarigianides and Lewis (2015), drawing from interdisciplinary academic discussions on re-conceptualising adolescence, strengthened this argument, claiming that adolescence is a social construct shaped by social arrangements within which historical happenings and context form a part. Painter (2015) supported the view of Lesko (2012) which argued that developmental frameworks reduced adolescents to being driven by hormones and rebellion and did not take into consideration their environmental context, which plays a huge role in their shaping. The very term *adolescence* is opposed in the study by Petrone et al., (2015) and instead, *young people* are employed in their discussion, claiming that the adolescent experience cannot be narrowly viewed within deterministic biological and psychological processes. However, studies which revisit the concept of adolescence, claim that investigations into the deterministic notion of adolescence are valuable for young people in that it provides the opportunity to gain freedom from imposed social constructions and offers a "coherent, developmentally consistent, yet flexible operational definition of adolescence and the sub-stages within this transitional period" (Curtis, 2015: 9; Saul, 2016). Curtis (2015) recognised the need for conceptual clarity and affirmed that inconsistencies exist in the adolescent phase along with the inclusion criteria of its sub-stages. It is therefore evident that how adolescence is experienced varies according to circumstances, cultural context as well as the positionality of the individual (Sawyer, Azzopardi, Wickremarathne & Patton, 2018; World Health Organization, 2018; Saha & Shukla, 2017; Curtis, 2015; Painter, 2015; Sigelman & Rider, 2018; Choudhury, 2010; Petrone et al., 2015).

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) (2017) recorded the global adolescent constituency at 16 percent, with 90 percent of this constituency found in developing countries. Therefore, to gain an insight into possibly varied perceptions, experiences and challenges of the adolescent, one cannot rely solely on a single story, but

should rather explore adolescence within its various cultural and social contexts (Adichie, 2009; Curtis, 2015). Ilesanmi, Osiki and Falaye's (2010) study highlighted that Nigerian rural and urban adolescents are psychologically affected by pubertal changes, and found that adolescents residing in the rural environment often had to become adults as soon as pubertal changes were visible, which impacted on the developmental stage of adolescence. Furthermore, the authors stated that urban adolescents were able to experience adolescence – however protracted – because of more resources in the urban areas to support and provide lengthier educational and vocational opportunities. Girls were able to become more independent because of these developmental opportunities, and often married later (Curtis, 2015; Ilesanmi, et al., 2010).

In South Africa, adolescents constitute 18.5 percent of the population (Demographic Profile of Adolescents in South Africa, 2018). Within the rural context of South Africa, there remains a dearth of studies in adolescence and the life of the family, as the majority of studies focuses on developmental outcomes located mainly in urban areas (Davids et al., 2015; Davids & Roman, 2013; De Lange et al., 2012). Moreover, Chan and Chan (2011: 298) reported that future studies needed to be longitudinal in nature to interrogate the "developmental trend" of facets relating to the parent-adolescent relationship from early to late adolescence.

3.2.1 Late adolescence

The developmental view of LA claims that there is a deeper investment in autonomy, the establishment of goals and the LA's adult identity, which is separate from their parents' identity (Worthen, 2012). While friendships are increasingly based upon similar psychological attributes such as interests, life views, values and personality traits, theorists focusing on adolescent development identify crucial transitions in the nature of friendships throughout the

different phases of adolescence (Sigelman & Rider, 2018; Worthen, 2012). Due to increased identity clarification, the LA has more confidence in their opinions and is not solely dependent on the opinions of their peers (UNICEF, 2011). In comparison to early and middle adolescence, LA is observed as having increased levels of "friend bonding constructs" and decreased levels of most of the "parent bonding constructs" (Worthen, 2012: 294–295).

One may assume that there would be an acceleration in executive function development as the adolescent moves into LA, but Taylor, Barker, Heavey and McHale (2015) observed a protracted development of executive functions and social cognition. Supportive of developmental theoretical assertions, there may be some value in separating the earlier and later phases of adolescence, as during LA there is claimed to be a definite shift from reasoning capability to reasoning ability after the age of 14 years (Curtis, 2015). While this article did not specifically refer to LA as a sub-stage, the author did mention that theorists Mead (1961) and Erikson (1968) equated this particular aspect of adolescent development as a 'psychosocial moratorium' whereby LAs are given the unspoken permission to delay assuming the full responsibilities and obligations which society expects of adults (Curtis, 2015). This delay allows adolescents to seize opportunities to exercise different roles as well as build up life experiences without having to make any serious commitments (Curtis, 2015). However, in contexts where families face economic hardships, LAs may have to work to contribute financially to their households (Curtis, 2015; Hill & Torres, 2010; Johnson & Mollborn, 2009).

Parent-late adolescent communication changes from earlier periods of the adolescent life stage (Keijsers & Poulin, 2013). In the study by Keijsers and Poulin (2013), open communication declined at the onset of early adolescence and remained relatively low throughout adolescence with fewer disclosures, while communication and personal disclosures increased for female

LAs after the initial decline. This was attributed to the female LAs recognising the need for both autonomy and connectedness with their parents while the relationship between boys and their parents focused on their independence (Keijsers & Poulin, 2013). LA is a life stage characterised by an intricate balance between increasing independence and maintaining connectedness, something which both the parent and LA need to work towards (Allen, 2008; Keijsers & Poulin, 2013; Sigelman & Rider, 2018; UNICEF, 2011; Worthen, 2012).

3.3 Parental involvement

Parental involvement, a broadly defined construct, is considered as all forms of involvement in, and participation by, parents in the child's education along with the child's experiences thereof (Bojuwoye & Narain, 2008; Jeynes, 2007). Latunde (2017: 9) asserted that how PI is defined "communicates philosophical and theoretical ideas and beliefs about families and schools". The degree of the relationship of PI to various facets of the life of a child, adolescent and even early adult, has been the focus of numerous research studies all over the world, with an array of identified moderating variables and gaps, and inconsistent findings (Boonk et al., 2018; Gordon & Cui, 2012). Latunde (2017) stated that there are traditional and non-traditional forms of PI, of which the traditional forms dominate the literature. Basualdo-Delmonico and Spencer (2016), Boonk et al., (2018) and Moroni et al., (2015) insisted that a lack of consensus exists in research findings due to an unclear definition of PI, inconsistent operationalisation of the construct, a paucity of applying an acceptable theoretical framework, and a conceptual weakness when studying PI. Due to an identified gap between the rhetoric and reality of PI, it has been recommended that future research provide a clearer theoretical understanding of PI, and that multi-dimensional measures be utilised when researching PI (Fan and Williams, 2010; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Moroni et al., 2015).

The construct of PI was coined in the United States of America (USA) as early as 1981 by Epstein, and later Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) expanded on this. Epstein's model (2008) asserts that PI can be categorised into school-based PI and home-based PI, and Epstein (2010) further recognised three, major overlapping spheres of influence – the family, school and community – within which the child can learn and grow. Moreover, this model asserts that PI can be exercised through six types of PI, i.e. parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision-making and collaborating with the community (Epstein, 2008), which are mainly related to the academic achievement of the child (Bartel, 2010; Epstein, 2008). The first form of PI, parenting, specifically refers to the parent creating a home environment that is conducive to the child's learning process (Epstein, 2010). The second form of PI, communicating, refers to effective two-way communication between the school and the family regarding the child's academic progress (Epstein, 2010). Volunteering and learning at home are the third and fourth forms of PI (Epstein, 2010). The former is the mobilisation of the parent's help and support in school-related activities, and the latter concentrates on how parents help and support their student child at home with school-related tasks, planning, and decisions (Epstein, 2010). The fifth form of PI, decision-making, focuses on the inclusion and representation of parents on strategic decision-making platforms, such as a school governing body (Epstein, 2010). Lastly, the sixth form, collaborating with the community, refers to the identification of strengths and resources within the community, which can be of support to parents, families, and students in the child's learning process (Epstein, 2010).

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) further expanded the PI construct with a model consisting of five levels. This model included the parents' motivations for being involved, the learning mechanisms employed and enacted by parents while engaging in involvement activities with the child, the child's perceptions of these mechanisms, the child's attributes

conducive to academic success and the child's academic achievement (Hoover-Dempsey, Walker, Sandler, Whetsel, Green, Wilkins & Closson, 2005). Hoover-Dempsey et al., (2005) asserted that the parents' sense of responsibility towards their child's learning outcomes, and their beliefs about how they should be involved, could be captured as the parental role construction. While these PI frameworks have been valuable in operationalising the concept of PI, the experience of PI has been concluded to be different: something, which Hornby and Lafaele (2011) referred to as a rhetoric-reality gap. Hornby and Lafaele (2011) further contended that the type and degree of PI are diverse, and the modal practice of PI is found mainly at the traditional end of the spectrum.

It is clear that parenting is a dynamic process during adolescence. However, Wang et al., (2014: 2151) stated that the majority of studies have not considered the "developmental complexity of changes in PI and have simply treated PI in education as a static baseline predictor of adolescent outcomes". Hoover et al., (2005), Green et al., (2007) and Wang et al., (2014) argued that it is essential to approach and frame the construct of PI developmentally so that developmentally appropriate forms of PI are employed throughout the life course. In addition, quantitative studies based on the traditional models of PI have been the primary method employed to gain an insight into the experiences of PI, especially as it may have mediating effects between certain variables of moderating factors. Presenting the history of PI as a concept is essential when discussing the various moderating factors that may be consequences or drivers of unique experiences and challenges of LAs, parents, and stakeholders (Bakker & Dennessen, 2007, Barg, 2019).

Wang et al., (2014) suggested that parents from differing ethnic or socio-economic status backgrounds employ certain types of PI strategies or parenting practices that bear an influence

on adolescent outcomes. Barg (2019:290) more directly argued that social inequality in educational outcomes is both a consequence and driver of "social inequality in parenting behaviour". One may find that parents employ more authoritarian and directive parenting practices if they live in an unsafe neighbourhood, in their attempt to protect their adolescents from any threats which could compromise future opportunities and success, which may stifle the LA's opportunities for increased autonomy (Hill, 2011; Hill & Torres, 2010; Hill, Witherspoon & Bartz, 2012; Wang et al., 2014). Hornby and Lafaele (2011), as well as De Planty (2007), stated that the educational level of the parent bears an influence on their views of whether they are competent enough to engage in different forms of PI. For example, a parent who has not completed high school may not be confident in assisting their LA with homework as it becomes increasingly complex (De Planty, 2007; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Parents, who have had a negative experience at high school themselves, may not feel confident to access the school environment for PI activities such as parent meetings or extra-mural events (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Furthermore, parents who have not attained a university degree may perceive at a fundamental level that they do not have sufficient knowledge compared to their child's teacher, and therefore are unable to be involved (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). However, when parents from low socio-economic status (SES) felt welcome at their adolescent's school, their involvement became part of the construction of their role (Park & Holloway, 2018). Walker et al., (2010) argued that perceptions of invitations by the child and teacher to be involved are the most powerful predictors of PI at home and school. Hoover-Dempsey et al., (2005) discussed two parental motivational beliefs to be involved. The first was the parental role construction and the second was the parents' sense of self-efficacy, or the belief that they have in their abilities and actions to help the child succeed in their learning (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). The findings indicated that lower parental self-efficacy predicted lower PI while higher parental self-efficacy predicted higher PI (Hoover-

Dempsey et al., 2005). Sadly, they may not see the value that they may contribute to their LA's outcomes by being involved (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011).

3.3.1 Parental involvement and educational outcomes

Globally, PI value has largely been vested in the educational success of the child, which is in accordance with widely accepted PI frameworks (Bartel, 2010; Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; Benner, Boyle & Sadler, 2016; Boonk et al., 2018; Cheung & Pomerantz 2011; Chowa, Masa & Tucker, 2013; Epstein, 2008; Freund, Schaedel, Azaiza, Boehm & Lazarowitz, 2018; Hayakawa et al., 2016; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Jeynes, 2007; Lavenda, 2011; Menheere & Hooge, 2010; Park & Holloway, 2018; Zhan & Sherraden 2011). This is important when it has been recognised that PI – albeit mainly in education – enables positive adolescent development (Patrikakou, 2008; Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014). Chowa, Masa, and Tucker (2013) claimed that the type of PI associated with adolescent academic performance is not clear in developing countries. The study of Chowa et al., (2013) on the impact of PI on academic performance of Ghanaian youth ascertained whether this construct is home-based, school-based or one-dimensional. Research on PI in South Africa focuses largely on the correlation between PI and the academic success of the child as well as partnerships between the parent or family and their child's school (Aldridge, Fraser & Laugksch, 2011; de Jager, 2017; Hartell, Dippenaar, Moen & Dlala, 2016; Lemmer, 2007; Lemmer & van Wyk, 2004; Mncube, 2009; Seabie, Alexander & Maite, 2010; Segoe & Bisschoff, 2019; Singh & Mbokodi, 2004; Smit & Liebenberg, 2003).

Besides PI being perceived as, and correlated to, the academic success in a child's educational journey, it was also asserted as an essential function of parental role construction (Epstein, 2008; Green et al., 2007; Menheere & Hooge, 2010). Menheere and Hooge's (2010) study

affirmed a positive correlation between PI and the child's motivation and well-being at school. The study of Pomerantz, Moorman and Litwack (2007), however, determined that the way parents are involved is what matters most. For PI to have a bearing on the outcomes of the child, conducive PI should be active and characterised by positive effect and beliefs, focusing on the process rather than the outcome, and support the autonomy of the child (Pomerantz et al., 2007; Segoe & Bischoff, 2019). This type of PI has the potential to motivate the child to persevere through challenging academic tasks. However, when involvement is characterised by criticism and irritability, it creates a negative association with schoolwork (Pomerantz et al., 2007). While there have been varied results in the research, Park and Holloway (2018) argued that educational level and income do shape parents' access to certain types of involvement. De Planty (2007) asserted that the more financial resources a parent had, the more involved they would be able to be. Strengthening this view, Pomerantz et al., (2007) posited that the higher the SES and educational attainment of parents, the more likely they would participate in involvement strategies such as attending school and parent-teacher meetings. The study by Chowa et al., (2013) heralded PI as a possible mediator when considering the relationship between SES and adolescent academic performance. Bakker and Denessen (2007:188) criticised this view, arguing that educators and those in charge of creating policies "tend to present parental involvement as a panacea that will be helpful to overcome nearly all educational inequalities traditionally attributed to social class differences".

With all the identified positive associations between PI and overall educational success and well-being, one would imagine that the South African (SA) Schools Act (Act no 84 of 1996) would elaborate more on this correlation. Yet, the SA Schools Act (Act no 84 of 1996) has a limited reflection on PI, such as decision-making or volunteering (Epstein, 2008). Instead, the SA Schools Act (Act no 84 of 1996) places more emphasis on how parents should be

represented on school governing bodies (SGBs) to support the principal in managing the school as well as supporting the governance of the school (Epstein, 2010; Hartell et al., 2016). This possibly alludes to a difference of agenda pertaining to PI between the parent and the educational institution, which the child attends (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Kim, 2009). The actual intention of PI in the US was to foster the relationship between school and parents or family to affect the academic outcomes of the child positively, to gain a deeper understanding of the family values and cultures and to meet the needs of the students more effectively (Watson, Sanders-Lawson & McNeal, 2012). However, Hill and Torres (2010) argued that PI had a skewed agenda directed by the school context, which did not sufficiently recognise alternative facets of PI embedded in other cultures. Furthermore, Walker, Shenker and Hoover-Dempsey (2010), believed that employing the PI framework between the school and the parent could help increase effective parental participation in their child's education. Segoe and Bisschoff (2019) affirmed PI as an asset that influences teaching and learning.

While the findings of a significant number of studies have reflected positive correlations between PI and the child's academic success (Bartel, 2010; Boonk et al., 2018; Chowa et al., 2013; Lavenda, 2011; Menheere & Hooge, 2010), the reverse is also applicable. The literature review of 75 published studies focusing on PI between 2003 – 2017 (Boonk et al., 2018), indicated that while there were positive correlations between PI and children's academic achievement, the correlations were small to medium. These findings perhaps challenge the popular belief that PI is an essential contributor to academic success. The authors' findings are that certain home-based and school-based PI variables may have positive, negative, mixed or insignificant correlations on the child's academic achievement at a given age (Boonk et al., 2018). Wang et al., (2014) and Hill & Tyson (2009) corroborated the findings of Boonk et al.,

(2018) by arguing that academic socialisation was the developmentally appropriate and most effective PI strategy during the adolescent life stage.

In Hill and Tyson's (2009) study, academic socialisation was the home-based PI strategy that had the strongest positive correlation to educational success during adolescence. Referring to the conceptualization of PI, Bakker and Denessen (2007) and Hamner et al., (2015) asserted that PI is not limited to involvement in the school context only, but it should also factor in home-based PI in the psychosocial context of the child as well as parental practices not directly associated with school activities. This critique was strengthened by Basualdo-Delmonico and Spencer (2016), who argued that the PI construct was school-centric. Hayakawa et al., (2016) and Gordon and Cui (2012), on the other hand, asserted that more research should be conducted on the relationship between PI and the non-academic facets in the life of the child. This is particularly important as some parents can be erroneously labelled as uninvolved when they are unable to meet the time and financial investments considered a requirement of the traditional definitions of PI (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; Bower & Griffin, 2011; Hamner et al., 2015; Gordon & Cui, 2012). It is evident that PI in the LA's education is important, but PI in the LA's psychosocial arena is paramount (Roy & Giraldo-Garcia, 2018).

3.3.2 Parental involvement and psychosocial outcomes

While the bulk of research studied the association between PI and the academic achievements of children, it was posited that there is a positive association between PI and the social and emotional – or psychosocial – outcomes for adolescents (Benner, Boyle & Sadler, 2016; Cheung & Pomerantz 2011; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Jeynes, 2007; Park & Holloway, 2018; Zhan & Sherraden 2011). Attempts have been made to broaden the perception of the PI construct through research studies by including adolescents in the research, or by investigating early

childhood PI and its implications for later life trajectories, and mediating effects between PI and non-academic items. Research thus focused on the association between PI and adolescence against a backdrop of dysfunction or some existing deficit, while research focusing on the association between PI and children is usually focused on academic success (Barker, Iles & Ramchandani, 2017; Choi et al, 2018; Guarin & Meyer, 2018; Modecki, Hagan & Wolchik, 2015; Ruiz, Holgado-Tello & Carrasco, 2017; Yoon et al, 2018). Within the context of the parent-adolescent relationship, PI may serve as a powerful container for the adolescent to continue refining their emotional and social functioning (Pomerantz et al., 2007). However, not all LAs have access to this powerful container.

Positive social outcomes – such as improvement in behaviour and peer relationships – are associated with certain developmentally appropriate PI strategies (Pomerantz et al., 2007). Even when the association between the quality of PI and academic outcomes are low, there is evidence to suggest that children benefit emotionally from involvement and that PI strengthens the attachment between child and parent (Borgonovi & Montt, 2012; Pomerantz et al., 2007). Moreover, PI during the earlier years of a child can foster adaptive functioning during adolescence and set their life course trajectory of determining whether he or she will engage in delinquent behaviour at a later developmental phase of life (Hayakawa et al., 2016). A balance between high levels of parental warmth as well as increasing PI strategies such as preventative communication between home and school setting, structure at home and linking education to future success, regardless of the socio-economic background of the family, seemed to protect adolescents from engaging in problem behaviours over time and protected adolescents from depressive symptoms (Wang et al., 2014). Moreover, the delivery and interpretation of how the structure is provided depends on parental warmth within the parent-adolescent relationship and can either support or forestall developmental tasks, such as the independent decision-

making of adolescents (Pomerantz et al., 2007; Wang et al., 2014). In a study by Lavenda (2011), it was posited that the Arab parent participant group have viewed their involvement in their child's education as a means of social upward mobility. PI is recognised for its proven, continuing impact on a child's development beyond academic success. However, the quality of PI serves as an additional component to consider when making these positive associations (Hayakawa et al., 2016; Pomerantz et al., 2007).

Parents are thought to provide access to support and guidance to the adolescent when they are not able to manage things on their own by allowing the adolescent to move out to experiment and experience novel things with increased autonomy (Beyers & Goossen, 2008). As shifts occur in the parent-child relationship, which assists the adolescent to understand the newfound way in which the parent is available to support them, parenting becomes the scaffolding of independence during LA (Ruhl, Dolan & Buhrmester, 2014; Friesen & Woodward, 2013). For the increased level of autonomy to be successful, it requires that the adolescent incrementally becomes more responsible for decision-making along with the support and safety of receiving parental guidance. Yet, while the cognitive abilities of the adolescent progress, one might find that the LA has an increased sense of self-efficacy and confidence to ask the parent for their involvement, which also dynamically shifts one's concept of the association between PI and academic outcomes (Hill & Tyson, 2009). This can influence the relationship between the parent and adolescent because parents may not be as clear about how they ought to support their child striving for increased independence (Brown & Prinstein, 2011). In a quantitative study of Belgian adolescents by Beyers and Goossens (2008:165), parenting perceptions and identity formation during LA emphasised the "dynamic process of person-context" in which the parent forms part of the context. The findings of this study placed importance on the continuing role that the parent plays in their LA's socialisation, by providing a nurturing and

supportive environment as well as intentionally creating opportunities for the LA to become increasingly autonomous (Beyers & Goossen, 2008). This is essential as a part of continuing to scaffold the independence of the LA, which is a major developmental task during this phase (Worthen, 2012). The authors reiterated the important role that parents play at this stage of adolescence, and encouraged parents not to feel intimidated, rejected or disappointed by their LA's increasing autonomy (Beyers & Goossen, 2008). Parents should be involved in their LA's life in a manner that communicates warmth, acceptance, responsiveness and active support towards the adolescent's process of self-discovery (Pomerantz et al., 2007). Beyers and Goossen (2008) claimed that, especially in the LA phase, the process of the formation of identity seen through the person-context lens is most likely to be characterised by bi-directionality.

It is recommended that parents make efforts to re-evaluate the less mentioned, yet vitally important, aspects of PI (Beyers & Goossen, 2008; Jeynes, 2007), such as the parental style that should suit the needs and changes through which the adolescent is going (Beyers & Goossen, 2008; Jeynes, 2007). In terms of fostering autonomy in the adolescent, the authoritative parenting style seems to be the winning approach in that it presents the adolescent with increased opportunities to make more independent decisions and allows for the exploration into new spheres of life with parental guidance (Beyers & Goossen, 2008; Liem, Cavell & Lustig, 2010; McKinney & Renk, 2008; Roman, Makwakwa & Lacante, 2016). With this particular parenting style, the parents respond to the needs of the LA with efficient communication, stating clearly expectations and boundaries (Roman et al., 2016; Sigelman & Rider, 2018). Furthermore, the authoritative parenting style can be reflected in parents maintaining consistent boundaries and by providing appropriate, non-punitive consequences when boundaries are broken (Roman et al., 2016; Sigelman & Rider, 2018). The parent listens

to, encourages and values the views of the LA, which, in a sense, increasingly equalises the power dynamic between the parent and the adolescent, maintaining an environment of nurturance and supportiveness by the parent (Sigelman & Rider, 2018). Kerr, Stattin and Özdemir (2012) postulated that parenting is a bi-directional and transactional process whereby both parent and adolescent are affected by one another; it is not simply a uni-directional process. Moreover, parents' perceptions of PI were found to be linked to their parenting style (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016).

Literature presented thus far has attempted to discuss the mosaic of perceptions, frameworks, and outcomes of PI, in both the educational and psychosocial arenas of the child. To satisfy the objectives of this research study, it is critical to include the research that illuminates the experiences and challenges concerning PI during LA. This is important when the experiences of others are argued to be embedded in perceptions driven by underlying mechanisms such as history, social constructs, belief systems, language and location (Given, 2008). South Africa's wider context serves as an influence that has shaped and continues to shape the process of parenting and the experiences thereof (Chambers, 2012; Davids & Roman, 2015; Roman, Isaacs, Davids & Sui, 2016). The following section will attempt to present the research findings on the experiences and challenges concerning PI.

3.4 Perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence

Some experiences and challenges concerning PI are similar across the globe, while others are unique to certain contexts. During LA, stakeholders such as teachers or youth mentors, may experience or assume that parents are not involved, or less involved than they may have been in their LA's earlier years of development (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015; Park & Holloway,

2018; Wang et al., 2014). However, it was asserted that one should consider the nuanced construct of PI, and that the decrease in PI is perhaps indicative of a shift in how parents operationalise PI so that it does not compromise the LA's need for greater autonomy (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015; Park & Holloway, 2018; Wang et al., 2014). This shift is evidenced in the study of Wang et al., (2014) which showed a decline in the quality of communication between the home and school setting between Grade 7 and 11. In the same study, results showed that parents of African American descent were stricter, provided more structure on education but fewer opportunities for scaffolding the LA's independence, and placed more emphasis on the importance of educational success and future success. This was linked to African American parents trying to protect their LA children from external influences, which may have compromised their LA's chances of upward social mobility (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015; Lavenda, 2011; Wang et al., 2014). This proved that parents did not necessarily stop being involved, but shifted their way of being involved, which was also influenced by their context (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015; Wang et al., 2014).

In contrast, parents of European descent provided lower levels of structure and placed more emphasis on scaffolding their LA's independence (Wang et al., 2014). The fostering of the child's academic goals and aspirations, communicating the value and utility of education for future success – otherwise considered academic socialisation – most likely scored highly due to its developmental appropriateness of the adolescents' increasing levels of autonomy and independence (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Sy, Gottfried & Gottfried, 2013; Wang et al., 2014). In contrast, helping adolescents with homework had a negative association to academic outcomes, possibly due to the parent being perceived as an interference and disruption to the adolescents' autonomy or as a source of pressure, and perhaps presenting

ideas conflicting with those of their school or teacher (Dearing & Tang, 2010; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Wang et al., 2014).

In the hope of broadening the concept of PI in education during middle school and deepening the understanding of PI forms which mattered to adolescents, Hill, Witherspoon and Bartz (2018) conducted a mixed-methods study with African Americans, Latinos and European Americans which included the voice of the adolescent beyond the traditional activities equated with PI. The experiences and challenges of the parents and teachers were also documented (Hill et al., 2018). In the study of Hills et al., (2018), common PI experiences of adolescents, parents and stakeholders included communication, scaffolding independence, academic socialisation and school-based involvement. Experiences exceptional to the adolescents and parents were invoking familial experiences and providing structure at home (Hill et al., 2018). There was a variation in how these forms of Pi were experienced. Adolescents experienced communication through their parents' written responses to the teacher on how they could improve grades, whereas the experiences of communication by teachers and parents were largely problematic and usually related to a problem with the adolescent (Hill et al., 2018). Lavenda's (2011) study focusing on PI amongst Arab and Jewish parents yielded similar results, whereby PI amongst Arab parents increased mainly when their adolescent child was in trouble at school.

Additional challenges concerning two-way communication, a PI strategy, may become evident during late adolescence (LA) (Epstein, 2008; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Wang et al., 2014). The institutional context of the school itself may pose a challenge to parents becoming involved (Barg, 2019). Some scholars have attributed this to a more complex school setting at secondary schools because the LA usually has more than one teacher (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Park &

Holloway, 2018; Wang et al., 2014). The teacher, on the other side of this interaction, may experience challenges in keeping connected and in communication with each student's parent (Hill & Tyson, 2009). A decrease in the two-way communication during LA might be that the parent does not feel welcomed by the school or the parent thrusts the responsibility of communicating any essential information between the school and home on their LA in an attempt to strengthen their LA's sense of increased independence, competence and self-efficacy (Epstein, 2008; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Wang et al., 2014). Returning the focus to the study by Hill et al., (2018), practical examples of scaffolding independence included monitoring schoolwork, holding the adolescent responsible or accountable, and reprimanding them when they received low grades (Hill et al., 2018). Moreover, adolescents and parents experienced school-based PI and the invoking of familial experiences by getting siblings or relatives to assist with school-related tasks or stepping in as role models. Lastly, adolescents and parents experienced PI in the form of providing structure at home which, for adolescents, included parents helping to organise their time, providing a conducive space and materials as well as organising educational outings and extra work if required (Hill et al., 2018).

Similar to the study design of Hill et al., (2018), Reparaz and Sotés-Elizalde (2018) sought to analyse PI by employing the responses of principals, parents, and their adolescent children. However, very little of the discussion focused on the adolescent voice and instead placed more emphasis on the responses of the parent and principal (Reparaz & Sotés-Elizalde, 2018). It was evident, however, that students in both the German and the Spanish sample groups experienced considerably less parental support compared with their parents' perception of what they were providing (Reparax & Sotés-Elizalde, 2018). While the reason was uncertain, there was a similar finding in the study of De Planty (2007). The teacher and student participants indicated that they experienced lower PI than the estimation of the parent participants. The

study of Basualdo-Delmonico and Spencer (2016), focusing on the expectations and experiences of PI of mentors, staff members and parents in the context of a US-based youth mentoring programme, reflected how crucial the PI approach of the parent is during LA. More individual and nuanced experiences from the parents and staff members were reported, while mentors' experiences were not as varied (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016). Staff members of the youth mentoring programme experienced parents on two separate poles of the spectrum: either under-involved or over-involved (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016).

Stakeholders managing the youth mentorship programme reported that, while the under-involved parent was a challenge, the over-involved parent was experienced as more of a challenge. Staff members expressed that over-involved parents stifled the development of the mentoring relationship between the mentor and LA, which illuminates how, at times, the stakeholders' agenda and policies for the way PI should take place, is more for the advantage of a given programme and not necessarily in the interest of the parent at all (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; Guo, 2011; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Basualdo-Delmonico and Spencer (2016) indicated that stakeholders experienced concern that the "over-involved" parent may be a saboteur to the mentoring model programme which they were attempting to implement. The over-involved parent, experienced as controlling and overbearing, may also potentially suffocate the LA's need for more autonomy (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016). The experiences of the stakeholders can become a challenge concerning PI when their implicit belief is that parents are not optimally involved, but when parents do become involved in a way that does not meet the stakeholders' expectations, they are considered to be problematic. Parents thus experience a lot of confusion about what the stakeholder's expectation is pertaining to PI (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; Hill et al., 2018; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011).

These experiences of parents from minority and usually lower SES groups are similar to a study by Hill and Torres (2010) which focused on qualitative studies that capture the experiences of Latino adolescents and parents at the LA's schools in the USA. They argued that Latino parents often experienced confusion and misunderstanding, walking away feeling unwelcome and inferior, and often treated as incompetent by teaching staff when attempting to be involved (Hill & Torres, 2010; Kim, 2009). Parents felt disappointment due to experiencing the clear inequity in the quality of education, which their LAs received as compared to their USA-counterparts (Hill & Torres, 2010). Similarly, parents in a study conducted by Guo (2011) were humiliated by teaching staff when they attempted to be involved at their child's school meeting. Unfortunately, USA-based teachers revealed that they were not aware that Latino parents felt excluded from the school context (Hill & Torres, 2010). The deficit view of PI which stakeholders often hold can be entrenched in the historical, economic, educational, ethnic, class and gender experiences and influenced by one's historical experience, at both a systemic and familial level (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; De Planty, 2007; Guo, 2011; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Park & Holloway, 2018).

Stakeholders do not always fully comprehend the cultural background and beliefs of parents pertaining to PI, which possibly creates a disconnection between what the stakeholder believes is optimum PI and what the parent believes their role is concerning PI (Daniel, 2015; Hill & Torres, 2010). Parents within the lower SES group or different cultural background may have a parental role construction, which directs them to believe that it is the responsibility of the teacher to ensure that their child succeeds at school (Guo, 2011; Green et al., 2007; Park & Holloway, 2018). Chinese and Korean cultures may deem it disrespectful to initiate certain forms of PI, such as communication with their child's teachers at school (Guo, 2011).

A qualitative study conducted by Motala and Luxomo (2014), explored the relationship between the SES of parents and PI as well as access to learning in two, largely impoverished districts in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces in South Africa. The findings revealed low levels of participation or involvement by parents; nonetheless, these parents expressed the value of their children being in school (Motala & Luxumo, 2014). Perceived limitations, which prevented the South African parents from being involved in their child's education, seemed to be linked to socio-economic circumstances (Motala & Luxumo, 2014). Barg (2019) argues, however, that research has not been able to ascertain conclusively why PI differs between varying SES groups, while in a meta-analysis conducted by Jeynes (2007), the findings indicated that a variance in SES does not dramatically alter the effects of the construct of PI. Challenges concerning PI during LA, which stems from the lower SES parent, may include experiences such as a parent not being able to attend their LA child's school meeting due to possibly lacking the financial resources or a parenting partner to care for younger siblings, less autonomy to rearrange work schedules at their place of employment or even holding a low level of confidence to access the school context due to limited levels of education, or past negative experiences of school (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; Daniel, 2015; Green et al., 2007; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Park & Holloway, 2018; Reparax & Sotés-Elizalde, 2018; Walker et al., 2010).

Parents' knowledge and skills – when limited or believed to be limited – may pose as a challenge concerning dominant forms of school-based PI (Daniel, 2015; Green et al., 2007; Park & Holloway, 2018). Therefore, when a parent has a low sense of self-efficacy or a lack of knowledge and skills, they may not be able to assist with complex scholastic work, effectively communicate about learning strategies or discuss future study and career plans with their LA, for example (Daniel, 2015; Green et al., 2007; Park & Holloway, 2018). Freund et

al., (2018) posited that the parents' lower levels of self-efficacy concerning PI were attributed to their lower SES. This position could be strengthened by the argument of Bakker and Denessen (2007) that the historical establishment of the concept of PI excluded parents from lower SES backgrounds and possibly set those with lesser social and cultural capital to meet the expectations of the educators' vision of the optimally involved parent. Stakeholder's beliefs or prejudices about parents from lower SES groups may call into question these parents' "motivations, commitment, and skills" (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; Guo, 2011; Kim, 2009; Park & Holloway, 2018:15). However, if stakeholders were to integrate parents' knowledge created by their lived experiences, it could dramatically shift the relations between the school and the parent (Guo, 2011). One may assume that a lower SES equates with lower PI in the life of an LA. However, the study on PI of Arab and Jewish parents in Israel done by Freund et al., (2018) and Lavenda (2011), found that, despite Arab parents' lower SES in their context and lower levels of self-efficacy concerning PI, their level of school-based PI was higher than that of the higher SES parent group. This was attributed to parents being motivated by possibly viewing their involvement and their child's educational success as a means for social upward mobility, or the adolescent experiencing trouble at school (Barg, 2019; Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015; Lavenda, 2011). Bhargava and Witherspoon (2015) argued that the historically disparate experiences of African American parents resulted in an increase in their involvement, especially in the form of monitoring that the delivery of education does not perpetuate similar experiences for their children.

A disadvantaged community may present as a challenge for parents to be optimally involved and may compromise positive parenting practices on the one hand, but on the other hand, it may increase the parents' commitment to being involved at home or to employ academic socialisation as a PI mechanism during LA (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015). A study by Barg

(2019) found that parents from the higher SES became more involved at the school when their child was experiencing challenges with school grades, as this may reflect poorly on their social status and compromise their child's entry into higher league schools. The challenges concerning PI which LAs may experience relating to stressors such as lower SES, family culture or family structure, may be when their LAs are expected to have significant child-care responsibilities while parents assume work responsibilities, or to have to start working at an early age to contribute economically to the household (Hill & Torres, 2010). It is evident that not all adolescents have the luxury of experiencing a psychosocial moratorium, but instead may experience accelerated adolescence into adulthood, which serves to counter the negative effects of poverty and other economic hardships (Curtis, 2015; Johnson & Mollborn, 2009).

De Marco and De Marco (2010) argued that rural South African communities exhibit a lesser supply of resources supportive of overall well-being, and that unemployment is prevalent. In one such rural community, 46.8 percent of enrolled Grade 10 learners dropped out of school by Matric in 2016, due to various factors such as teenage pregnancy, unemployment and poverty (Socio-Economic Profile, Langeberg Region, 2017). Issues expressed by LAs at a youth summit in the Langeberg Region about challenges concerning PI, included the lack of parental guidance, healthy role models as well as dysfunctional families (Langeberg Substance Abuse Action Group, 2018). Rural SA communities have a prevalence of households led by single mothers, which affirms the LA's challenges concerning PI, which were aired at the youth summit (De Marco & De Marco, 2010; Langeberg Substance Abuse Action Group, 2018; McKinney & Renk, 2008).

Often, the solo or single parent, the parent without a strong support structure from extended family members, or the parent of many children involves increased caretaking responsibilities,

which may equate to less time for PI (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). A parent's availability of time and energy does shape their access to certain types of involvement (Park & Holloway, 2018). In addition, their work schedule may demand most of their time, with little flexibility and autonomy to create a work schedule that would allow them more time for their children (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Park & Holloway, 2018). Single parents may be exhausted because of these demanding work schedules, placing additional strain on their psychological resources, which has the potential to compromise their mental well-being and ability to be involved with their LA children (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). On the one hand, time to be involved can be a challenge for the employed solo parent and on the other hand, unemployment can add a layer of stress to the parent, which influences their overall well-being and ultimately, their involvement (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). An increase in PI was found in both groups when parents perceived their adolescent child to be inviting them to be involved and they had increased availability of time, energy, knowledge, and skills (Freund et al., 2018; Lavenda, 2011). An increase in PI was also found in both groups when parents' perceptions increased regarding their responsibility towards their adolescent's educational success (Freund et al., 2018; Lavenda, 2011). The parents' beliefs and life context variables, including their SES, available time, energy, knowledge and skills, play a secondary role in shaping the forms of PI (Bartel, 2010; Green et al., 2007; Walker et al., 2010).

3.5 Conclusion

Various bodies of literature have emphasised the long-reaching positive implications that PI has on the lives of young people. Also evident is the mosaic of research about PI and educational outcomes of children in different developmental life stages. However, when scrutinizing the literature, noticeably fewer research studies exist which focus on PI during LA. While the review of the literature illuminated the fundamental conceptions of PI, it was

apparent that there is great variation in the way PI is defined, perceived and experienced. The literature indicated that the research has considered various moderators and mediating factors of PI with varying and inconsistent outcomes. This literature review first discussed the life stage of adolescence and, within this life stage, proceeded to discuss LA. It was clear that LA merited its discussion as there are specific developmental transitions taking place, which are slightly different from the earlier segments of adolescence. Secondly, the literature on PI was discussed which aimed to define the concept of PI, elaborate on PI frameworks and these frameworks' impact on LA educational and psychosocial outcomes. Thirdly, the literature review elucidated the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of PI from the perspective of LAs, parents, and stakeholders. Included in the literature review on perceptions, experiences, and challenges of PI were references to research conducted in SA.

The next chapter will focus on the methodology employed to explore and describe the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of PI during LA.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive discussion of the research methodology employed for this study. The research approach and design, a description of the population and method of sampling are presented here. Included in the discussion are the data collection tools utilized, the procedure in which data was analysed, trustworthiness and verification of data, research procedures and ethic considerations.

4.2 Research question

The research question for this study was: *What are the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of adolescents in a rural community concerning parental involvement during late adolescence?*

4.3 Aim and objectives

4.3.1 Aim of the study

This study aimed to explore the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of adolescents in a rural community concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.

4.3.2 Objectives

The objectives were to:

- Explore the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of adolescents concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.

- Explore the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of parents concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.
- Explore the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of stakeholders (i.e. youth facilitators or mentors) concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.

4.4 Research approach and design

A qualitative methodological approach was applied as this "emic perspective" helped to deeply understand and deconstruct the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of the participants regarding PI (Babbie & Mouton, 2011: 270; Creswell, 2014; Patton, 2002). De Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delport (2011:310) argued that in qualitative research the researchers "are committed to the naturalistic perspective and the interpretive understanding of human experiences" and are concerned with describing and understanding rather than explaining or predicting human behaviour. The qualitative research approach allowed the researcher to investigate the participants in their natural setting where their views took priority (Babbie & Mouton, 2011). This approach employed questions of inquiry that successfully obtained an individualised and "contextually sensitive understanding" of the participants' perceptions, experiences, and challenges concerning PI during LA (Patton, 2015: 45).

This research employed an explorative and descriptive research design, where further exploration of participants' responses provided deeper insight into their context and accentuated that which is important to them (Doody & Noonan, 2013; Hsuing, 2008). Exploratory research design allowed for increased flexibility in the research process (de Vos et al., 2011). Paired with the exploratory design, descriptive research design attempted to describe the particular happenings or phenomena more accurately and precisely as observed by the researcher, which resulted in thick description being generated which was rich and detailed

and which became the foundation for analysis and reporting (Babbie & Mouton, 2011; Patton, 2002). This design assisted in the analysis of concepts as presented by the participants of the research and captured "the sense of actions as they occurred" (Babbie & Mouton, 2011: 272; Babbie, 2013; Jupp, 2006; Salkind, 2010).

4.4.1 Research setting

The setting of this research was a registered non-profit organisation (NGO), located in a rural town of the Western Cape, approximately 180 kilometres from the nearest major city. Agricultural operations and dairy manufacturing are the main economic activities in this rural town (Statistics South Africa [STATS SA], 2016). Furthermore, the region is one of South Africa's largest wine-producing regions (STATS SA, 2016). The NGO served two of the communities within the town, both of which were low in SES (STATS SA, 2016). Although this town is characterised by many beautiful environmental features and a variety of farms, it is part of a region which has a poverty rate of 39.8 percent (STATS SA, 2016). This town's major challenge is the high school drop-out rates. Secondary challenges include high rates of unemployment, lack of income, low literacy levels and substance abuse (Langeberg Amended Integrated Development Plan 2019/2020, 2019; Langeberg Municipality NDP Grant Township Renewal Strategy, 2011). The NGO accommodated previously disadvantaged children, youth and parents in various programmes which focused on education, life, and vocational skills development as well as psychosocial support.

4.4.2 Population and sampling

The population of this study comprised all the individuals who directly and indirectly took part in the programmes at the NGO, as they best served the purpose of the research study (Somekh & Lewin, 2011). The NGO ran programmes for previously disadvantaged LAs, which

involved their parents. Parents, LAs and stakeholders formed the population for this study to provide comprehensive and more nuanced perspectives on the focus of the study. By recruiting multiple participants to provide their perceptions and experiences of PI, this study was able to increase the study's validity and reliability (Bakker & Denessen, 2007).

The sample, the subset of the population selected and included for data collection (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005; Somekh & Lewin, 2011), consisted of LAs, parents, and stakeholders of the NGO. Purposive sampling was utilised which resulted in a careful sample selection by the Director of the NGO, whereby valuable information was provided for the study (Burns & Grove, 2005; Patton, 2002). This sampling technique allowed for in-depth insight into the study focus and assisted in illuminating the research question (Patton, 2002). Individuals between the ages of 15 and 19 years old were eligible for the LA sample group (Makiwane & Chimere-Dan, 2009; Statistics South Africa, 2018; United Nations Children's Fund, 2011; United Nations Population Fund, 2012). Further inclusion criteria were LAs who participated in the NGO's youth life-skills and arts programmes, who resided in this rural community, particularly in the lower SES area of this community, and who provided informed consent after being invited to participate in this study. Adolescents were excluded from the LA sample group if they were below 15 and above 19 years old, if they did not participate in the NGO's youth programmes, and if they resided in the higher SES region of the community in which the study was conducted. Parents or caregivers were individuals who were currently raising, or had raised, an LA child, whose LAs had participated in the NGO's youth life-skills and arts programmes, who resided in the lower SES area of the community and who accepted the invitation to participate in this study. Inclusion criteria of the stakeholder sample group consisted of those individuals who had worked with, or were currently involved in working with, or mentoring LAs through a youth or academic programme, who had work

experience and exposure to the parents of LAs, and who had at least two years of experience in working with LAs within the research setting. The stakeholders included a retired teacher of the local school who was also a past board member of the NGO, a seasoned youth facilitator, a youth mentor who, at the time of the interview, held the position of the chair of a local technical school's disciplinary committee, and the NGO director who mentored the LAs in a visual arts and leadership programme.

In total, 18 participants took part in the study of which seven were LAs between the ages of 15 and 19 years of age, seven parents of LAs and four stakeholders. Data saturation was reached when no new information emerged (Given, 2008).

4.4.3 Pilot study

As part of encouraging methodological rigour, a pilot study was conducted before this research study commenced with two participants who did not form part of the main study (Given, 2008; Ismail, Kinchin & Edwards, 2018). It pre-tested the interview guide and assisted the researcher in becoming familiar with the process of establishing contact with and interviewing the participants (Given, 2008). This led to the refinement of the interview process to ensure that no errors were duplicated (Ismail et al., 2018). During the pilot study, it became apparent that the initial questions of the interview guide did not sufficiently lend itself to the open-ended nature of the envisaged data collection tool and produced limited responses, while certain interview items created some confusion.

The pilot study helped to refine the data collection tool and iron out any uncertainty presented by the questions. The interview guides were amended for each participant group by creating five broad themes and possible follow-up questions under each theme, which were more open-

ended in nature (Given, 2008). The improved data collection tool was able to garner data that was required to explore the research problem more effectively. The pilot study also assisted the researcher in reflecting on the positionality taken during the main study as well as how to become reflective to minimise personal bias (Given, 2008; Ismail et al., 2018). By doing so, the validity of the interviewing process was improved along with the overall research process (De Vos et al., 2011; Given, 2008; Ismail et al., 2018; Kallio, Pietilä, Johnson & Kangasniemi, 2010; Patton, 2002; Salkind, 2010; Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003). Data generated from the pilot study was not included in the analysis of the findings, to eliminate any possibility of inaccurate data filtering into the study's final data set (Ismail et al., 2018).

4.4.4 Data collection

Semi-structured, face to face interviews (SSI's), utilising the three separate and amended interview guides, one for the parents (Appendix I), one for the adolescents (Appendix II), and one for the stakeholders (Appendix III), were employed to collect data (Given, 2008). Field notes were also utilised to assist in the collection of data (Patton, 2002). The semi-structured interview (SSI) was chosen as a data collection tool as participant observation was not possible for this study (Creswell, 2014). Moreover, SSIs allowed each participant to express their personal views, which set more of a conversational tone and increased flexibility throughout the SSI process for both the interviewer and the participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2011). Field notes contained descriptions of what had been observed, including sensory experiences along with shifting understanding and insights of the study as it unfolded (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000; Mills & Morton, 2013; Patton, 2002).

Despite the SSI having many benefits, such as providing the space for participants to speak openly, the researcher did enter the space with some level of power and possible bias which,

in this case, was addressed in this setting before the interviews and at times during interactions with the participants (Carl & Ravtich, 2018). This insider/outsider role and the existing relationship that the researcher had with the participants, was acknowledged at the beginning of each participant's interview and during this study (Given, 2008). In addition, the researcher had to be aware that the information provided by the participants was filtered through their perceptions (Creswell, 2014). The interviews lasted approximately 60 minutes and were audio-recorded with the participant's consent (Carl & Ravitch, 2018). One participant did not consent to the interview being audio-recorded. The interviewer took written notes during this interview and spent time writing up notes directly after the interview while the interview experience was fresh in her mind. Audio-recording the interviews – instead of taking hand-written notes – allowed the interviewer to be present in listening and responding, and it provided a verbatim account of the interview, which meant that less bias could trickle into the data (Sahlstein Parcell & Rafferty, 2018).

Field notes were relied upon as a data collection tool where observations and fragments of remembered speech were recorded (Bloor & Wood, 2006). After each interview, the data recorded in field notes which helped to make sense of the context, was captured promptly to avoid inaccuracies as best as possible (Bloor & Wood, 2006; de Vos et al., 2011). Analytical comments, ideas, and insights, as well as the researcher's emotional responses and reflections, were captured in the field notes the instant they occurred (Patton, 2002; Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999).

4.4.4.1 Preparation of participants and conducting the interviews

The researcher initially met with the Executive Director (ED) of the NGO to discuss the purpose of the research study and the eligibility criteria of the participants. After the NGO ED

and Executive Board officially agreed for the research to take place in this setting, a written letter from the NGO was provided to the researcher to confirm their agreement. The NGO ED assisted in identifying participants for the study according to the eligibility criteria on behalf of the NGO. After the participants were identified, the researcher timeously contacted them individually via cell phone or a physical home visit, communicating in the preferred language of each participant. For participants under the age of 18 years old, their legal caregiver was contacted first and thereafter, their child. Even at this stage, some challenges were experienced in reaching the identified participants. The participants who did not have a cell phone required a physical home visit. Upon physical visits, the researcher provided the prospective participant with a printed information letter and the consent and/or assent forms in their preferred language. Certain participants were difficult to find even at their homes, as some had suddenly received an opportunity to work, while other participants had work and family obligations.

The participants were informed about the research in their preferred language, arrangements were made for a convenient time for participants to meet, and the duration of the interview was stipulated as well as the identification of a relaxed setting with minimal distractions where the interviews could take place (Wengraf, 2001). Participants who were under the age of 18 years old were required to have their assent forms signed by their legal caregiver before arrangements were made for their interview. Once each identified participant was furnished with details regarding the interviews, some of the participants agreed to participate. Three of the initially identified participants from the parent group who had agreed to participate in the research study withdrew. Two of these three participants did not provide any reason and did not show up to the scheduled and rescheduled interviews, while one participant communicated that she preferred not to participate. One of the initially identified stakeholder participants, who had agreed to form part of the research process, did not respond to correspondence about the

scheduling of an interview, so it was assumed they had withdrawn their participation. The ED was required to identify alternative participants to make up the total amount of participants in each group.

Those who were not in agreement with participating in the research were assured from the outset that they would not be penalised. After each participant had been contacted, a date, time and location of the participant's choice were established. This was done intentionally to create an atmosphere conducive to openness and a balanced power dynamic between the researcher and the participant (Silverman, 2011; Carl & Ravitch, 2018). The participants who agreed to participate were contacted telephonically again a few days before the interview, as a reminder and confirmation about the time and place of the interview. When a participant requested a rescheduling, the interviewer remained flexible and agreed to the preferred date and time of each participant.

Most of the interviews were conducted in a private room at the NGO, while five interviews were conducted elsewhere, i.e. home, office or coffee shop. The researcher verbally informed participants and again, provided each with a detailed information letter (Appendix A) stipulating the focus and purpose of the study. Participants were informed about the ethics of the study by the researcher and consent and assent (Appendices B, C) were obtained prior to the interviews (Creswell, 2014). It was declared that participation in the study was voluntary and that participants could withdraw at any stage of the research process without fear of being penalised. Participants were assured that their identity would remain anonymous and were allocated a code to which only the researcher would have access. The approximate duration of the interview was communicated and participants were encouraged to respond in their own words and preferred language. After the participants responded, the SSIs gave an opportunity

to the interviewer to explore these responses further, providing deeper insight into their context and elucidating that which was important to them (Doody & Noonan, 2013; Hsuing, 2008). The researcher informed participants that access to confidential debriefing would be available should they experience any emotional distress in the process of the study, through the volunteered services of a local counselling group. Lastly, participants were asked for their permission to audio record the interview, to which only the researcher would have access for the purposes of the study. Once permission was granted by the participant, the researcher requested that the respective participant sign their consent form – including participants who were under the age of 18 years old who had already provided the signed assent forms. The researcher kept the original copies of the signed consent forms and offered each participant a copy of their signed consent form. Consent forms were signed during the period of January 2018 and September 2018 and stored in a locked cabinet. The audio recordings were kept in a locked cabinet and password protected folder after they had been transcribed to ensure that no one else could gain access to the audio recordings. These audio recordings will continue to be accessible only to the researcher.

4.4.5 Data analysis

Thematic Analysis helped the researcher to identify, organise and describe data in a detailed manner. This flexible method reflected the reality of the participant and investigated the deeper perceptions of that reality (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data was analysed according to the steps of Braun and Clarke (2006, pp.16-23):

- **The first step** allowed the researcher to become familiar with the data set by initially listening actively to each audio recording of the interviews so that ideas pertaining to the overall research question came into the conscious awareness of the researcher. Next, the researcher transcribed each audio-recorded interview and, while becoming

familiar with the data, took note of surfacing themes within the data set. The researcher checked that the final transcriptions correctly corresponded with the audio recordings of the interviews to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the data. After uploading the transcriptions onto a software programme, *Atlas.ti*, the data set was read and re-read to extract meanings and patterns. Ideas for themes and codes began to surface after which notes of emerging ideas for coding were written down and reviewed as the study progressed. In addition, the field notes were read which further enriched the data set.

- **The second step** provided the opportunity to generate initial codes and some preliminary ideas regarding the themes within the compiled data. Coding all transcribed data which appeared relevant to potential themes was independently conducted by the researcher so that the risk of losing context was minimized. Regardless of the researcher's assumptions regarding the research focus, interesting facets of the data set were tagged and named, some of which intersected with more than one aspect of this study's research focus and, therefore, coded more than once. Towards the end of this step, numerous codes were generated – some unexpected – which illuminated interesting facets of the data. Still, the researcher remained in a process of reflexivity regarding her insider/outsider position and was open to "realities" which were not her own (Given, 2008; Jootun, McGhee & Marland, 2009).
- **The third step** included the sorting, analysis, and collation of codes so that they could fit into possible and identified themes. Certain codes were combined to form overarching themes and, within the major themes, sub-themes were identified. There were some ideas of themes that were identified during the process of coding the transcribed data which seemed interesting. However, the researcher had to return to the research aim to decide on whether these were to be included as a theme in this study. Debriefing sessions with the Supervisor of this study assisted with this process. The

main themes and sub-themes were proposed, and the transcribed data were coded accordingly.

- **The fourth step** attempted to review and refine the themes, ascertaining whether the theme was, in fact, a theme by checking how much data supported it. Through re-reading transcribed data assigned to the proposed themes, the researcher was able to discover possible inconsistencies or when the data did not support the theme. This required that certain data move to a different theme. In some instances, themes required reworking, producing entirely new themes. Transcribed data that did not appear to fit into any of the proposed themes were not included in the analysis.

Next, the trustworthiness of the themes concerning the entire data set was assessed by re-reading the data set to check if the themes were congruent with the data set, and to code any data within themes that perhaps had been missed in previous coding stages. Some themes were considered to be collapsible while others needed to be deconstructed into separate themes. Towards the end of this phase, the researcher had a much more coherent presentation of the thematic map. The final themes were able to fit together like a puzzle, telling a story about the data.

- **The fifth step** focused on defining and refining the themes, which were presented for analysis with an additional written analysis of each theme. During this step, the researcher added a detailed narrative and supporting literature to the main themes and sub-themes. Refining the themes included the process of selecting appropriate data extracts to support the theme which, in turn, corresponded with the research aim of this study. Considerations of sub-themes gave structure for larger, more complex themes, and ascribed the level of importance within the meaning of the data. As each theme told a story about the overall data, it also related to the research question and objectives

with as few overlaps as possible. Some coded transcribed data were discarded as they did not support the overall research aim of this study.

Once the themes were decided upon, the final analysis and write up of the report were done in a manner that was succinct and creative, which helped the reader to make sense of the data supporting the study.

4.4.6 Data verification and trustworthiness

As this was a qualitative study, the issue of trustworthiness needed attention. This study employed the model of Guba (1981), which recognises four areas of trustworthiness, namely truth value, transferability, consistency, and neutrality. **Truth value** allowed this study to investigate the level of confidence in the truth of the findings concerning the research design, participants and the research setting. Member checking was conducted face-to-face or telephonically to validate the truth of the findings, as well as to allow for mutual construction of meaning within the data (Given, 2008; Morrow, 2005). While this was time-consuming, it also strengthened the rigour of the study and increased the credibility as well as the reliability of the study's findings (Given, 2008). Moreover, it may have supported the balancing of power between the researcher and participant, as participants were able to confirm if the researcher's understanding of data was correct and rectify or clarify where necessary (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

Peer debriefing was done with a research colleague who was able to listen and respond to the transcriptions being read as well as the identified themes (Morrow, 2005). In addition, the researcher's Supervisor was able to listen to and respond to the identified themes (Morrow, 2005). Written and audio field notes provided the research study with a thick, detailed description of both the accounts of the participants as well as the context within which these

accounts were embedded (Morrow, 2005). The researcher openly acknowledged her familiarity with the research setting, the power dynamic as well as her relationship with participants, and upon completion of each interview checked with respondents whether they believed their responses may have differed if they had not known her (Morrow, 2005). The audio recordings of the interviews indicated that respondents felt that their existing relationship with the researcher helped them to feel more comfortable and to speak more openly about the research topic (Given, 2008; Morrow, 2005).

Applicability, or in the case of this qualitative study, ***transferability,*** assessed the extent to which the findings of the study could be applied in alternative contexts or with other participants. Purposive sampling ensured that all participants were selected because of their relevance to the research context as well as the research purpose (Given, 2008). As this research study focused on LAs in a rural community, it was essential to include participants relevant to the research topic (Given, 2008). Due to the research process being explained in a detailed manner, including the selection of research methodology, it has high transferability value in that the methodology can be applied in an alternative context. However, the findings of the study are unique and, in that sense, may not have high transferability value (Silverman, 2011).

Consistency of data was considered, meaning that data was evaluated as to whether the findings were consistent and if the study could be repeated with the same participants or in a similar setting. Sufficient detail was provided for the reader to consider whether this study could be conducted in a setting like the research setting in this study (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Despite the existing relationship which the researcher has with the participants, **neutrality** was ensured to the best of the researcher's ability, by stating this at the outset, as well as reflecting

on this at the end of each interview and during the analysis process with a research colleague and the researcher's Supervisor (Morrow, 2005). Field notes, once again providing rich, thick descriptions, ensured that the researcher's implicit assumptions about the research focus were challenged and, in some instances, disqualified entirely. One such disqualified assumption emerged pervasively in most of the stakeholder interviews and by being reflexive, the researcher was able to acknowledge her role as a stakeholder in this research setting as well (Morrow, 2005). Therefore, the findings were based as a function of the participants and the conditions of the research and not the biases or perceptions of the researcher, to the best of the researchers' ability (Krefting, 1991; Babbie & Mouton, 2011; Guest et al., 2012).

4.5 Ethic considerations

Ethics is defined as the guidelines for an acceptable level of professionalism and good practice when conducting one's work throughout the research study (Bloor & Wood, 2006; Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). Permission was obtained from the University of the Western Cape Senate Research and Ethics Committee as well as written permission from the NGO's Executive Board and Director where the study will be conducted.

4.5.1 Informed consent

Voluntary participation and attempting to ensure that no harm was done to participants helped to formalise informed consent by the participants, which is of the utmost importance. In terms of informed consent, participants were given adequate information regarding the purpose of the study, the advantageous and disadvantageous aspects of participation in the study, possible risks to which participants could be exposed, as well as the researcher's credibility (de Vos et al., 2005; Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). Recognition was given to the existing relationship that the researcher has with this community through the co-founding of the NGO and her help

in identifying participants for this study. The researcher communicated the purpose of the data generated through the research, who would have access to the information and how the data would be used, what would be asked during the interview, how the participants' responses would be handled, and the risks and benefits of being interviewed (Patton, 2002).

Informed consent also permitted participants to be able to withdraw their participation at any stage of the research process study without the fear of being penalised (Babbie & Mouton, 2011; Creswell, 2014; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Patton, 2002 and Searle, Gobo, Gubrium & Silverman, 2007). The voluntary participation in this study meant that participants were informed that there would be no remuneration for their participation in the study or that the researcher would not expect any form of remuneration from the participants. Participants were assured that they could ask questions before interviews commenced and during the process of the study (de Vos et al., 2005).

4.5.2 No harm to participants

As far as is aware, no perceived harm was done to the participants during this study. All possible dangers – even those that were subtle – were considered and, as far as possible, mitigated through disclosing possible advantages, disadvantages, and risks which the study would carry (Babbie & Mouton, 2011; Burns & Grove, 2005; Creswell, 2014; de Vos et al., 2005; Hammersley & Traianou, 2012; Patton, 2002; Searle, Gobo, Gubrium & Silverman, 2007). As this research focused on very personal aspects of the participants' lives, at times they were faced with questions which perhaps brought to the fore uncomfortable issues, or issues not considered before the research commenced. The researcher remained sensitive to the issues throughout the research process (Babbie & Mouton, 2011; Hammersley & Traianou, 2012).

4.5.3 Confidentiality and privacy of data

Confidentiality and privacy of the data produced during interviews and in field notes were ensured, and anonymity was applied to the participants of this study in a manner that protected the participant's identity, and the location of the research (Babbie and Mouton, 2011; Burns & Grove, 2005; Creswell, 2014; Hammersley & Traianou, 2012; Patton, 2002 and Searle et al., 2007). The information gathered was utilized only for research purposes and was available solely in this context for the relevant Supervisor and student for the purposes of data saturation and analysis (de Vos et al., 2011). Denzin and Lincoln (2003:218) stated that all possible measures should be taken to securely store the data of participants, and that any public disclosure of this data must be done behind the "shield of anonymity". This was ensured through assigning each participant an identification number/code as soon as possible, which was used to refer to them in any public disclosure of the study.

4.5.4 Debriefing of participants

Directly after each interview, participants were provided with the opportunity to express how they experienced the interview process and how they felt it affected them. Participants shared that the interview itself provided a form of debriefing. In addition, each participant was offered debriefing services through the voluntary, registered services of a local counselling group should they require more emotional debriefing after discussing sensitive aspects of their family life which may have caused any discomfort (Babbie, 2013; de Vos et al., 2005).

4.6 Reflexivity

Reflexivity, the "self-aware analysis of the dynamics between researcher and participants" and making clear how the position of the researcher has an impact on the process of the research, was critically and consistently considered and adhered to throughout (Silverman, 2011:22). By

verbally disclosing at the start of each interview the researcher's position to, and relationship with, the participants, an adequate level of self-awareness was established and allowed the researcher to keep in mind constantly how this may have influenced the responses from the participants (Darawsheh, 2014; Given, 2008; Probst, 2015).

The preceding steps of establishing contact with the identified participants yielded interesting data upon which the researcher had to reflect. The fact that some participants, who had initially agreed to participate in this research study but later withdrew, sometimes without explanation, allowed the researcher to consider the possibility of a power imbalance between researcher and participants (Creswell, 2014; Given, 2008). Perhaps the participants did not feel confident declining the invitation to participate in this study and responded in the affirmative merely to please the researcher. This can be the case when the individual conducting the research has more perceived rank or power than the participant (Given, 2008). This response by participants may have revealed yet another indication of their perception of the researcher as a known stakeholder who was previously involved in assisting families with relational challenges, and who yielded perceived statutory power to intervene in familial difficulties which they preferred to keep private. The researcher had to consider that approaching the identified participants to extend an invitation to be a part of the research study may have caused some measure of stress (Creswell, 2014).

Furthermore, a reflexive diary was utilised to debrief after each interview, taking into consideration new or interesting insights about the focus of the research study (Darawsheh, 2014; Probst, 2015). Some parents who came to the interview seemed to be under the influence of alcohol which, on one hand allowed them to talk more freely, but, on the other hand may have exaggerated the information they presented. Except for one LA participant, each

participant in this research study expressed that the interview process served as some sort of debriefing instrument.

Additional reflexivity practices employed in the research process included describing the context, transcribing and typing out the interviews, and reinterpreting and re-gathering data which may not have met the researchers' initial assumptions (Jootun, McGhee & Marland, 2009). The researcher was able to become aware of her assumptions pertaining PI during LA in this community, and through the data was shown that her perception of low levels of PI was inaccurate and that many variables were associated with the perceptions, experiences, and challenges of PI (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Given, 2008). Therefore, the researcher could challenge personal biases and allow for new interpretations to emerge from the data (Given, 2008). Practising reflexivity throughout allowed for increased transparency of the subjectivity of the researcher, the rigour of the research process as well as the ownership and authenticity of voice and the viewpoints of the researcher, and created the environment for self-awareness and consciousness (Given, 2008; Morrow, 2005). It was, accepted, however, that there could not be a complete detachment between the researcher and the participants as the researcher facilitated programmes with some of the adolescents and parents, and worked closely with the stakeholders (Darawsheh, 2014; Hsiung, 2008; Jootun et al., 2009; Patton, 2015). This often came into the researcher's awareness and this may have limited the participants sharing freely during the interviews.

4.7 Limitations of study

By the very nature of this qualitative study, the researcher brought personal views, experiences and implicit assumptions to the research (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Taylor, Bogdan & De Vault, 2016). However, these biases were acknowledged and there was an attempt to counter them

through various reflexive exercises mentioned in this chapter (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Given, 2008). It is worth noting that even though the researcher declared herself as known to the participants at the outset of the research study, the researcher's position may have influenced the responses of the participants (Braun & Clarke, 2013, Given, 2008).

The language in which most of the interviews were conducted, was the second language of the researcher and included the local slang and terms of the participants. Moreover, while the intention was to audio-record each interview, one participant did not grant permission for this, which diminished the amount of data available for analysis. This lent itself to increased risk of misinterpretation during the research process. However, the researcher had previously spent approximately seven years in this study's research setting, which helped her to understand the first language of the participants. Where participants expressed local slang or terms, the researcher asked participants to provide clarity in their own words (Taylor et al., 2016). Furthermore, the LA and parent participants were not all related, meaning that direct comparisons could not be drawn between the accounts of the participants. Socio-economic conditions were a contextual factor, which surfaced in all three participant groups, but the current research was not specifically designed to explore factors related to this. The PI frameworks, to which this study referred, were constructed in a Westernised developed country, which compromised its applicability to this context.

Although these findings enhance our understanding of the nuanced perceptions, experiences, and challenges concerning PI during LA within this research site from the perspective of late adolescents, parents, and stakeholders, it should be noted that the generalisability of the study's results couldn't be extended to the wider population (Morrow, 2005).

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter allowed the reader to have a detailed outline of the qualitative research approach and the exploratory and descriptive research design which this study employed. Furthermore, the research methodology was presented to clarify the way in which the research was carried out, and which methods and techniques were utilised to collect, analyse and verify the data for trustworthiness. The ethics and the limitations of the study were discussed.

The presentation and discussion of the results will be presented in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS PERTAINING TO LATE ADOLESCENTS

5.1 Introduction

At the beginning of this research, the aim to explore perceptions, experiences, and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence in a rural community was formulated. The qualitative approach that this study utilised to satisfy the intended aim, allowed exploration of participants' subjective and context-dependent perceptions. The collected data, through semi-structured interviews and field notes, were analysed through thematic analysis which allowed for theme identification as well as a process of meaning-making in which a comprehensive, interpreted reflection of the participants' perceptions, experiences, and challenges pertaining to PI during LA are presented.

In this chapter, the researcher aims to achieve the first objective: to explore the perceptions, experiences and challenges of adolescents concerning parental involvement during late adolescence. The relevant demographic data of the interviewed late adolescents is presented and discussed. Themes and sub-themes are used to present and discuss the findings with sufficient evidence from participants' remarks, which support the findings and tell a compelling story about the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

As stated in the sampling criteria, participants were recruited by means of purposive sampling and the demographic data of the seven late adolescent participants are presented in Table 5.1 below, followed by the narrative between the researcher and the LA.

5.2 Demographic data of late adolescents

The LAs were between 16 and 19 years old, with three participants being 19 years old. Four of the participants were born in the community in which the research was conducted. Two of the LAs, aged 17 and 18 years old, were in Grade 12, and one of the 19-year-old participants had completed Grade 12 successfully. The reasons for non-completion of schooling included teenage pregnancy (a female participant), severe household instability (one male participant), LAs with cognitive and behavioural challenges, socio-economic challenges and parents who abused alcohol. Two of the participants were unemployed, one had temporary work and the youngest participant had full-time farm employment.

Three of the participants were part of a single-headed family structure, two lived in an extended family structure, one was part of a co-habiting family structure and one was part of a nuclear family. Four of the participants lived in a make-shift housing structure, which was considered overcrowded, on the property of a parent or other family member. Three of the participants lived in a permanent built housing structure, of which two were viewed to be overcrowded, with other family members living either in the structure or on the same property in other makeshift housing structures.

Table 5.1: Demographic data of late adolescents

Participant	Age	Original community	Grade in School	Last grade attended by LA	Reason for non – completion of school	Employment Status	Family structure	Socio-economic circumstances of the participant and the family/household
LA1	19	Yes	-	Gr.11	Teenage pregnancy	Temporary work	Headed by single parent • Biological mother • Older sister with 2 sons • 2 daughters > 5 years	• Immediate family members live on one property • Mother, mother's partner, older sister with 2 sons live in the main house • Participant lives in a wooden structure behind the main house with her 2 daughters • Mother does not have stable employment • Mother attended school until Grade 6 (fell pregnant)
LA2	18	No	-	Gr.12		Unemployed	Co-habiting • Biological parents • 1 older half-sister • 2 younger brothers	• Immediate family live in an extended, wooden structure with family members • Extended, wooden structure is on the property of participant's aunt, who lives in a RDP structure with her children • Father has full-time shiftwork employment as an operator at an alcohol production business • Father attended school until Grade 10 (parents passed away and had to work to provide for younger siblings) • Mother has full-time shiftwork employment as a cleaner • Mother matriculated/Grade 12
LA3	19	No		Gr.6	Separation from parent, instability in child-rearing, behavioural difficulties	Part-time seasonal work on farm	Headed by single parent • Biological mother • 1 older half-brother • 2 younger half-brothers • Maternal grandmother and her partner • Maternal uncle and his partner	• Mother and youngest brother live in an extended, wooden, structure behind the main RDP house • Older sibling, maternal grandmother, maternal uncle live in a built RDP structure in front of the property • Mother has seasonal shiftwork work in a factory • Mother attended school until Grade 4 (went to work)
LA4	18	Yes	Gr.12				Extended	• Lives with paternal grandparents in a built structure

							• Divorced biological parents • 1 older brother • Paternal grandparents • Paternal uncle • Paternal aunty	• Paternal uncle and aunt live on the property with their partners and children in makeshift wooden structures • Mother does not work due to disability • Mother attended school until Grade 11 (fell pregnant) • Father works in a different town • Father attended school until Grade 11 (had to work)
LA5	17	No	Gr.12				Nuclear • Biological parents • 1 older sister • 2 younger twin siblings	• Lives in a built structure with parents and siblings • Mother does not work • Mother matriculated/Grade 12 • Father does contract jobs and currently unemployed • Father attended school until Grade 10 (had to work)
LA6	19	Yes		Gr.6	Cognitive and behavioural challenges Parents abusing alcohol	Unemployed	Extended • Biological parents • 3 older siblings (a brother, 2 sisters) • 1 younger sister	• Lives with biological parents and younger sister in an extended built structure • Older siblings live in separate make-shift structures with their partners and children on the same property • Mother is employed as a farm labourer • Mother attended school until Grade 8 (had to care for ill parents) • Father is not employed • Father attended school until Grade 7 (had to work)
LA7	16	Yes		Gr.8	Socio-economic circumstances Parent abusing alcohol	Full-time seasonal work on farm	Headed by single parent • Biological mother and father are not in a relationship • 1 older sister • 1 younger sister	• Lives with biological mother in a makeshift structure behind a RDP house • Maternal uncle lives in the main RDP house • Mother has casual employment as a cleaner for different clients • Mother attended school until Grade x • Father has casual employment as a gardener for different clients • Father attended school until Grade x

5.3 PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The study's results are presented in the form of identified themes accompanied by a discussion built from the direct transcribed quotes of participants and relevant literature to build a substantive discussion in which a spectrum of views is considered.

The themes and sub-themes that emerged from analysed, transcribed and collected data are tabulated in Table 5.4, followed by the discussion of the themes.

Table 5.2 Themes and Sub-themes

Themes	Sub-Themes
Theme 1: Late adolescents' perceptions of parental involvement	
Theme 2: The experiences and challenges of late adolescents concerning parental involvement	**Sub-theme 2.1:** Educational and psychosocial parental involvement forms and late adolescent outcomes **Sub-theme 2.2:** Family life cycle stressors

5.3.1 Theme 1: Late adolescents' perceptions of parental involvement

The data yielded from interviews affirmed that the LAs' perceptions of PI were partly aligned firstly to the framework identified by Epstein (2008), namely school-based or home-based PI, which included parenting, communicating, volunteering in school activities, learning at home, decision-making and collaborating with the community. This framework is further supported by overlapping spheres of influence – the home, school, and community – posited to promote academic achievement when these spheres of influence and the types of PI intersect (Griffin & Steen, 2010). Secondly, the perceptions are aligned to the five-level framework which was established by Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997), which refers to the influences that

determine the combination of types and level of PI, mechanisms employed by parents during PI activities, the child's perceptions of these mechanisms employed by parents, and the child's attributes which are conducive to academic achievement. Green et al., (2007) asserted that these influences include personal motivators, such as the parent's level of self-efficacy to be able to help their child, as well as how the parent constructs their parental role. Lastly, life context variables such as the parents' availability of time and energy, their knowledge and skills as well as family culture are recognised as influences on PI (Walker, Shenker & Hoover-Dempsey, 2010).

Latunde (2017:8) asserted that the literature suggests that there are "traditional and non-traditional forms" of PI. A multi-faceted view of PI includes all forms of involvement and participation by parents in their child's educational process, as well as their child's experiences thereof (Benner, Boyle & Sadler, 2016; Bojuwoye & Narain, 2008; Boonk, Gijselaers, Ritzen & Brand-Gruwela, 2018; Jeynes, 2007; Lemmer, 2007). This composite view of PI includes involvement in the home, which involve the emotional and social dimensions of the LA (Hamner, Latzman & Chan, 2015). This multi-faceted concept of PI was supported by the FLCT, which accommodated the dynamic environment in which the families were located (McGoldrick, Carter & Garcia-Preto, 2016).

LA participants perceived PI through certain parental practices, strategies and attitudes such as the parent helping the LA with academic tasks and academic socialisation, which focuses on the usefulness of education and linking education to future career options (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Wang, Hill & Hofkens, 2014). Furthermore, it guides the adolescent in making plans for the future (Hill & Tyson, 2009; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Wang, et al., 2014). It is also in line with the FLCT, which proclaims that during the *families with adolescents'* phase, parent-child

interactions are important in order to meet developmental tasks which will prepare the family for the next stage, namely the phase in which the child is launched into the adult world (McGoldrick et al., 2016):

> *"Easily to help me achieve that which I wished to achieve – perhaps to help me research the things I was interested in doing or that which I still am interested in doing, maybe give me a little clarity about the do's and don'ts and the advantages and disadvantages of the job or yes – just show that extra, uhmm, extra interest in what I am interested in, so yes…"* (LA 1).

> *"To be there in everything I want to accomplish – they are already there for me and I am grateful for that…and to be there for me more with help with my studies if I maybe don't understand something – that I can go to them to help me with my summaries and my orals – those kinds of things Miss."* (LA 5).

These perceptions aligned with Ice and Hoover-Dempsey (2011: 345) who described PI as "…a parents' investment of various resources in their children's education". LAs who formed part of a nuclear family structure mentioned their parents' attendance at school meetings and support at school sporting or extra-mural events more frequently than LAs in single-parent family structures. Literature has confirmed that nuclear families can juggle parental responsibilities between two parents more easily than single-parent families (Han & Waldfogel, 2007; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Therefore, these LAs may have considered it "normal" for one of their two parents to be at a school meeting or supporting them at a sports event, while a late adolescent who had been reared by a single parent may not have had this as their everyday frame of reference, considering it unusual for their parent to attend such events. Exacerbating parents' inability to attend school meetings were non-standard work schedules, where most parents had less autonomy to excuse themselves from work (Rönkä, Malinen, Metsäpelto, Laakso, Sevón & Verhoef-van Dorp, 2017). The majority of the parents of LAs in this study who were employed, were employed seasonally, in shiftwork or in menial job positions.

Furthermore, LAs underscored that PI was not exclusive to educational activities but included activities that also supported their psychosocial outcomes (Hamner et al., 2015; Latunde, 2017). This lent itself to the possibility that PI, as a construct, can extend beyond educational mechanisms and outcomes, and that educational mechanisms can foster outcomes beyond the educational dimension of the LA's life. Additionally, non-traditional mechanisms utilised by parents with positive effect have proven to support and strengthen not only the LA's psychosocial outcomes but their educational outcomes too (Latunde, 2017; Pomerantz, Moorman & Litwack, 2018).

> *"Maybe…parental involvement at your school's parent meeting, and maybe your first netball match, your first oral in front of the school or first performance or something big in your life – your parents always need to be there – I believe that a parent must be there to support their child through things – maybe a competition – even if the child – even if the child doesn't make it in the competition, the parent must still be proud of the child because of making that far"* (LA 5).

The citation below illustrated how a parent can be involved in the home context, which simultaneously fosters the LA's educational and psychosocial outcomes:

> *"A parent must, a parent and the child must be involved in each other's lives. There won't be a bond if you don't talk to one another and what is wrong maybe – you come out of school and then you are asked – 'how was your day?' And 'how do you feel?' 'Are there any problems?' That is how a bond must be formed Miss"* (LA 5).

In the study conducted by de Planty (2007), adolescents included parents talking to them about school life as part of their perception of PI. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (2007) asserted that to ask a child how their day was at school is an important mechanism of PI, and models to the child that the parent believes that their education is important. Patrikakou (2008) emphasised that PI includes active two-way meaningful communication about academic learning, while

Walsh (2015:82) asserted that effective communication is central to "family functioning and resilience" and enables a sense of security as the LA communicates about emotions, thoughts, interests, experiences, concerns, and challenges (Connolly, Nguyen, Pepler, Craig & Jiang, 2013; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016). LAs highlighted communication as part of their perceptions of PI:

> *"If they – to, to – how can I say it now? Share everything with each other and so forth, do you understand Miss? If they uh, honest uhm, have open talks with one another and like, say the child says what is like going on her life…"* (LA 4).

> *"I think it's just to – it isn't always the big things – like to buy or to receive, but more the talking and the – if you may now – maybe you're in a friend group where they maybe had a little argument, then you can nicely come and relax and talk and open up and say 'look here, I don't feel good about this', uhm, 'what must I do now – how must I handle the situation?'"* (LA 1).

LAs perceived that topics pertaining to sex and romantic relationships were part of the communication they wanted to engage in with their parents. This was confirmed by these assertions:

> *"About sex* (giggles)*…hey Miss…"*
> *"…what are the dangers and what I must do – say now, say now for example it is my proper boyfriend then I want to know, uhm, uhm, uhm – must we both wait or like, do you understand Miss?"* (LA 4).

> *"I would really like to be able to share with my mom about how I am and what I do… and that she like sees me as her daughter – I move in and out of the house, but she knows nothing about me. She should at least know that her daughter holds a cigarette* (smiling, chuckles), *or she – like young women, like I also want to share about what I do and how I feel about boys – like those kinds of things I want to be able to talk to my mom about."* (LA 2).

Further forms of PI included physical affection according to the view of this LA:

> *"…and a kiss and a hug – and say 'I love you…I care about you' … 'I am your mom' or 'I am your dad' … 'I am here for you through whatever you go*

> *through…' or '…may go through', 'I am…' – 'I will always hold your hand tightly…' – that is what is the most important for me…"* (LA 1).

Female LAs indicated that the presence of the parent, along with quality time spent together, was a facet of PI. George and Fletcher (2012) recognised that quality time is an important aspect of the parent-child relationship, while the perceived availability of time and energy of the parent is a life context variable in the PI framework which can yield positive implications on the quality of PI (Green et al., 2007; Lavenda, 2011; Walker, Shenker & Hoover-Dempsey, 2010). Two participants, reared within a single-parent family structure, expressed the following:

> *"That they must make time to be with me, do you see Miss? When I need them…and that they must spend more time with me as parents…it's important…"* (LA 4).

> *"…maybe go take a walk…you go swimming together, you go to church together, you, you, you spend time, you make time for one another or he makes time for you, yes, you spend quality time together…"* (LA 1).

A male LA perceived it similarly to the female adolescents above:

> *"…at that time Miss…they must care for one another and they must understand one another also Miss and the parent is older than the teenager so he* (i.e. the teenager) *must understand more than what the mom understands him Miss – so the parent is there to help and he is also there to help the parent about what is right and wrong…so at that stage Miss, they must be trustworthy towards one another and they must give everything to help one another Miss and when it comes to tough times Miss, they must help each other and talk to one another…"* (LA 3).

Another male participant perceived PI as the provision of basic needs and did not explicitly express PI as tending to his emotional well-being:

> *"…a mom will make food and see that your clothes are clean every day…a dad will see that he buys you clothes…"* (LA 7).

Some participants viewed their parents teaching them about moral values as an important dimension of parenting. Roman (2014) asserted that supportive parenting can be witnessed when a parent teaches their child about values and at the same time is able to provide boundaries and structure. A participant confirmed the value of receiving supportive parenting:

> *"…it must be there – for me, it must just be there and respect is everything because if you don't have respect for your parents then you won't have respect for other people out there…"* (LA 5).

Literature has indicated that PI has optimum impact when embedded within an authoritative parenting style and is most preferable during LA as it combines both high levels of warmth and control (Beyers & Goossens, 2008; Liem, Cavell & Lustig, 2010; Pomerantz et al., 2007; Roman, 2014; Roman, Makwakwa & Lacante, 2016). Furthermore, authoritative parenting allows the LA to provide their input into decision-making, which is a critical developmental milestone to master for later interpersonal and relational health as an adult (McGoldrick, Garcia-Preto & Carter, 2016; Roman, 2014). The comments from the participants supported this assertion:

> *"My dad is a very strict man – for me, it's right because if your parents don't maybe talk when things are wrong, how are you going to know what is right and wrong in the future?* (LA 5).

> *"My life* (starts laughing)*…sometimes is not nice because she-she* (i.e. *grandmother/primary caregiver*) *scolds me – she's hard on me, but I have it like that – it's just that she wants the best for me…like if I want to go to a friends' party or something like that, or I want to come in later then she doesn't want that…"* (LA 4).

LAs included religious or spiritual practices within their perception of PI. One's religious affiliation is able to influence the LA's and parent's perception of how PI should be constructed along with the culture of the family (Petro, Rich, Erasmus & Roman, 2018; Walsh, 2009; Walker et al., 2010). Walsh (2009:3) asserted that religious and "spiritual beliefs and practices

anchor and nourish families and their communities". Walsh (2009) further contended that religion and its teachings provide the family with a standard for how relational interaction should occur. One of the participants expressed the following pertaining their desired religious practices with their parent, while another participant alluded to the support and involvement of her parents in her academic success as well as God's role in her success:

> *"…and so I have already thought that my mom and I are going to walk the road together and we are trusting the Lord that we can also walk well with him and that he will be near to us every day and ya, that we would also serve him and be in the house of the Lord and then we would also live happily together and the road will be wider and we will have to walk with the Lord on the road…"* (LA 3).

> *"…but I believe that with God's help I will make it and with my parents' support I will be successful at the end of the year…"* (LA 5).

This theme illuminated the perceptions of PI concerning LA. It was evident that LAs perceived the involvement of their parents as a vital part of their educational and psychosocial well-being. The next theme presents and discusses the participants' experiences and challenges of their parents' involvement and will provide a litmus test of the LAs' perceptions of PI.

5.3.2 Theme 2: The experiences and challenges of late adolescents concerning parental involvement

The intersecting experiences and challenges of the LAs contrasted their idyllic perceptions of PI presented in the previous theme. Hornby and Lafaele (2011) suggested that there is often a gap between rhetoric and reality in PI due to certain challenges that are influenced by factors at parental, familial and societal levels. Many of the LAs experienced disruptions at these levels, giving impetus to their specific challenges concerning PI during LA. Some of the experiences were more aligned to the traditional forms of PI, while others were aligned to those less dominant or traditional forms (Latunde, 2017; Lavenda, 2011).

5.3.2.1 Sub-theme 2.1: Educational and psychosocial parental involvement forms and late adolescent outcomes

Latunde (2017) is of the opinion that the parent plays a significant role in the education of their LA, stating that PI in the LA's education can take place inside *and* outside the classroom setting. LAs provided rich descriptions of experiencing their parents' dominant and "non-dominant forms of involvement", which either supported their educational outcomes or countered them (Epstein, 2008; Green et al., 2007; Latunde, 2017:10). Experiences and challenges reflecting the dominant or more traditional forms of PI included communication about, and support of, schoolwork and school life, attendance of parent meetings, and academic socialisation (Epstein, 2008; Green et al., 2007; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Wang et al., 2014). PI mechanisms practised by parents included encouraging the LA, reinforcing the value of education, modelling the importance of education, and instructing the LA in aspects relating to school work and school life (Walker et al., 2005; Walker, Shenker & Hoover-Dempsey, 2010).

LAs' experiences and challenges concerning the less traditional forms of PI included open communication, parental support, quality time, and provision of guidance, discipline and basic needs. Park and Holloway (2018) stated that one should be aware of the external factors that shape and influence how parents are involved. In this study, some of the influencing factors were external, such as the parents' SES, while other factors included the parents' available time and energy along with their level of skills and knowledge.

Attendance of parent meetings was one of the traditional school-based forms of PI experienced by some of the LAs (Hill & Tyson, 2009). The parent employing this PI mechanism would essentially be *modelling* the value of education to their child, thus fostering their child's

educational outcomes (Walker, Shenker & Hoover-Dempsey, 2010). The following participants recalled their experiences:

> *"If Miss and [Name of Stakeholder] – when they came to ask my mom – for like – to go to a parent meeting, if she is going to come drink some tea – my mom was always interested…"* (LA 3).

> *- but if it was meetings then she goes and diploma – then she goes – like that – so …she was here, yes…"* (LA 7).

Yet, in both the instances above, these participants left mainstream schooling prematurely, despite relaying that their parent always attended school meetings. The two following participants, however, successfully completed their schooling despite a less favourable experience of school-based PI. They recalled that:

> *"They were rarely involved in my school career – and if there was maybe now a school meeting and I say to my mom-them the previous evening 'Mommy, uhm, we – there is going to be a school meeting' then my mom will say to me "Go tell your dad" and if I tell my dad, then my dad tells me "Go tell your mom" – and I take it like this…okay, neither one of them have to go and I make my own decision that I will just go on my own and then I ask someone – sometimes another parent to sign as my parent and sometimes I asked my brother to go with me – he always went with me…"* (LA 2).

> *"If I must go to – parent meeting, then my parents can't – also not one of my family – they can't be there – now my dad was always at the parent meeting and so on if he must – when I perform there at the NGO then he is always there – he comes to watch me, but now there is no one there to help me and so on – even though I have friends, cousins and so on – but they are not the same actually – do you see Miss?"* (LA 4).

One would have expected that the LAs with a more favourable experience of school-based PI would have had better educational outcomes than those who did not, but this was not the case in this study, despite research indicating that PI has the power to yield positive educational outcomes for children and adolescents (Epstein, 2008; Patrikakou, 2008; Wang et al., 2014).

Lemmer (2012) mentioned that regular teacher-parent meetings as part of school practice does not guarantee the expected educational benefits. This indicated that there were additional circumstances overshadowing this form of PI which hampered educational outcomes (Hamner et al., 2015; Latunde, 2017).

Despite the literature arguing that parents' perceptions of being invited by their LA child is a powerful motivator for PI, in this study LAs who experienced their parents attending their school meetings alluded to how their parents were invited by their *teachers*. The LAs who had a less favourable experience regarding their parents attending their school meetings or functions alluded to how *they* invited their parents (Green et al., 2007; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Walker, Ice, Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 2011). A participant emphasised this:

> *"…and if, for example now, uh – if there was a school function and I had told my mom about it – there was also like 'what must they do?' Like that!"* (LA 2).

It seemed that in some instances teachers had more of an influence on parents to be involved:

> *"…I am a bit scared to go because of the things that happened – my mom already told me now, then I don't want to go back – and then Miss comes and comes to say "How is it going with LA 3? Is he still okay? Tell him he must come…" and so forth… "…and come back to the youth programme…" and then my mom said "Okay, she is going to say it…" and then, and then I come back again…"* (LA 3).

Besides the results in the study of Green et al., (2007) indicating that, amongst other drivers, home-based forms of PI were motivated by the parents' perception of being invited by their child, while school-based forms of PI were motivated by the parents' perception of being invited by the child as well as the teacher, there could be various reasons why this discrepancy exists in the parents' level of motivation to be involved when invited by the teacher as compared to their child. Although Lemmer (2012:86) asserted that parents and teachers should "occupy equitable positions of power in the communication process", the socio-political

history of this study's community was deeply characterised by power imbalances across racial lines, resulting in further inequality amongst racial and socio-economic groups. In comparison to the stakeholders, the parents in this study were in a lower SES group and perhaps responded from this social standing (Lavenda, 2011). Therefore, parents in this study would not usually initiate communication with the teacher but would wait for the teacher to initiate communication with them. Similar to the study conducted by Lavenda (2011), parents' reasons for communication was often connected to the child displaying troubling behaviour at school. Motala and Luxomo (2014) found that, despite low levels of PI in their study, parents from lower SES groups still expressed the value of their children being in school. This seemed to be a sentiment of not only the parents but also of adolescents in a study by De Planty (2007). The LA continued:

> *"Yes, yes … a few weeks after that and then my mom said, "you must go back to school…"* (LA 3).

In this study's research site, challenges for PI relating to low SES were the high and unstable unemployment rates of parents. Many of the LAs experienced parents who had to work long or non-standard hours, which diminished traditional and non-traditional forms of PI (Green et al., 2007; Hendrix & Parcel, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Polk, 2015). With parents having to work long or non-standard hours, it was difficult for them to get to meetings or to have the energy after shifts to be optimally involved. Some of the participants described how their parents' work schedules compromised their time availability:

> *"Yes, like as in today – I can present her with some tea when she gets up, make a sandwich also, in the evenings when she goes to work – she is working night shift now – like tonight – so she is going in – then I am alone again, then I must look after my little brother – like that…"* (LA 3).

> *"uhm…my mom-them work shifts – mornings they go at six – they work by the factory - …my dad is an operator, my mom is a cleaner – they leave the house early and come home late and so on – now them – there was never as in – they*

> *are never by the house – during the week they are never at home, but me, like there was also not – we don't give each other attention – it's like they do their thing and we do our thing – like that – that is how it goes here…"* (LA 2).

Communication about the school day or schoolwork was another way in which LAs either experienced or failed to experience their parents' involvement. Communication is a form of PI which supports the educational and psychosocial outcomes of LAs, especially as they prepare for the early adulthood phase of the FLC when they will be required to communicate in everyday life situations (Epstein, 2008; Green et al., 2007; Keijsers & Poulin, 2013; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Polk, 2015). However, similar to the findings in the study by Polk (2013), LAs experienced that their parents' work schedules impeded their time to communicate with them. The following participants described two different experiences:

> *"They day goes by good Miss, we get up, greet each other, nobody goes out of the house before prayer has happened…and then we go – me, to school…I stand here along the road – wait for the bus…my dad stands with me some mornings and when I come back my mom-them asks me how my day was..."* (LA 5).

> *"…like when I came home in the afternoons after school, nobody asked me "how was your day?" Or "do you have homework?" Or like that…I had to do it all alone…"* (LA 2).

Despite the nature of the LA life phase influencing the frequency of their personal disclosure, parents must remain credible by initiating effective communication with their LA (Elliot, Shuey & Leventhal, 2016; Green et al., 2007; Keijsers & Poulin, 2013; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Some participants shared positive experiences of communication with their parent:

> *"I wouldn't say it is one hundred percent fine, but look, we can talk about anything and I can ask her* (i.e. her mother) *anything – she wouldn't say yes to everything but she can, she is there…"* (LA 1).

> *"…and if I am unhappy, then he* (i.e. her father) *asks me and we talk about it and we – then it is worked out… - no one actually goes to sleep while they are angry with each other – we must work everything out before we go to sleep…"* (LA 5).

Elliot et al., (2016) warned that a communication disconnect between parents and adolescents could be detrimental to the adolescent's overall developmental outcomes. This was clear in these participants' experiences:

> *"From the chat…most of the time I probably try to have a conversation with my parents about how I feel, but sometimes then they don't want to listen at all – then – then I change the subject and talk about work or something else – but most of the time when I talk to my parents I try to have a conversation where I open up about how I feel and what I want to do and so on, but they don't listen…they don't listen about what I want – or how I feel…that is why…we…* (becoming emotional and starts crying)*…I would rather…another day…* (gestures with her hand to move onto another question or on with the discussion, seems uncomfortable that she is crying and quickly wipes her tears away)*…"* (LA 2).

> *"…say, for example, my friends and I talk with each other, they will always like say that their mom and them talk about everything – then I can't also say that – then I just keep quiet because I can't say that I can talk to my mom about everything…"* (LA 4).

LA 4 perceived that her peers' parents were more involved than her own parents. An additional challenge exacerbating this LA's experience of PI was a lack of parental warmth, which prevented her feeling that she could openly communicate with her parents (Chan & Chan, 2011; Elliot et al., 2016). Effective communication helps to generate discussion and elicit more information about the LA's peers and social activities (Elliot et al., 2016; Green et al., 2007; Keijsers & Poulin, 2013). In the instances below, participants experienced their parents expressing concern:

> *"Yes, my mom-them want to first know if I become friends now with that person maybe – my parents want to know more about his background and parents and so on, but my friends and my parents and parents' friends get along well – talk about how it's going, like that* (giggles) –
> *- probably to make sure maybe that he isn't a serial killer or something* (smiles) *– but you know what I mean now…maybe now just to make sure your child is safe…"* (LA 5).

> *"There's also a lot of friends that my mom doesn't like…those of whom she knows … like, I will give an example of Markus – he was also using buttons* (mandrax) *see Miss, but he's not on it anymore and then if I must use that stuff* (i.e. dagga/marijuana) *then I am going to hear "There he is smoking it with him" – see Miss? … but my mom doesn't want me to be near him because she knows how he beats the older people and so on…"* (LA 7).

LAs' perception of their parents' involvement in controlling their interaction with peers was related to their safety. Tarantino, Goodrum, Salama, LeCroix, Gaska, Cook, Skinner and Armistead (2018) claimed that overbearing parental monitoring and control can cause parent-LA conflict as it directly imposes on the LA's autonomy. However, Roman (2014) argued that *controlling parenting* pertaining to the LA's behaviour might be a justified response considering the prevalent high-risk environment in the Western Cape. Assertions of scholars in the US support this reasoning for more controlling parenting, especially when influences in a dangerous neighbourhood represent a risk which can compromise their LA's future success (Hill, 2011; Hill & Torres, 2010; Hill, Witherspoon & Bartz, 2012; Wang, Hofkens & Hill, 2014).

This study revealed that parental support was an experience of PI. Roman (2014) described supportive parenting as recognising the child's emotions and views, strengthening their autonomy, spending time with their child, and showing an interest in their lives. Similarly, Janssens, Goossens, Van Den Noortgate, Colpin, Verschueren and Van Leeuwen (2015) asserted that parental support is the degree to which parents are involved, emotionally available, as well as accepting of and responsive to the needs of their child, by expressing support of their child's individuality. In a study by Dannesboe (2016), which explored experiences of Danish children concerning PI, support from the parent emerged as one of the major themes. The following LAs had experiences of PI, which illuminated the power of a parents' support in fostering their scholastic and psychosocial outcomes:

> *"…because they support me completely in my drama – they are present each time I perform and they are there to support me…"* (LA 5).

> *"…so my mom and my dad went together to our athletics day … and while I'm sprinting, my mom is sprinting next to the field and I feel shy because I am at high school* (her face lights up, seems to be enjoying telling this story) *and everyone sees the movements of my mom next to the field: "Go LA 2! Go!" And I come first and my mom comes onto the field to give me a hug …* (laughing) *… And the last time I felt proud Miss was with my Matric farewell – my mom and dad were both there … I felt that at least I do have people that care about me and make an effort – I know they love me…"* (LA 2).

Parental support was not exclusively experienced by participants who were in school though. These LAs shared:

> *"Say now like yesterday when I got home* (starts giggling)*, say I am very tired, and tell her* (i.e. mother) *that I must wash dishes, I must do this a lot, I must do that, I must hang up, I must sweep there – so she says "Oh well, a person shouldn't complain about your work, just keep on, just keep on, you will come right…don't worry…", or, "do this", "do it like that", "hang that thing there", or "put that thing there"… "then you see if that doesn't work for you…try this way or that way to do it"… to make it easier and still there is a little tip that I catch that works…so yes…"* (LA 1).

> *"No, I accept her* (i.e. mother)*… I accept her as she is Miss… she's also like my mom and my dad at the moment – even though I work – see Miss? When I didn't work – she looked after me Miss"* (LA 7).

Despite the finding of Hill and Tyson (2009) that parents helping adolescents with homework had a negative association to academic outcomes, some LAs in this study desired their parents' involvement in areas related to their school life. Their desire resulted from experiencing a lack of PI, is reflected in the comments below:

> *"Look here hey…there's many times – okay, like as in – like with essays or like with orals hey – I must do my own thing – I must write on my own – say now, I maybe then want to also say "daddy, help me quickly with this" "make this right quickly" – like that, you see Miss? …because he was always there for me, now there is no one and I must do my own thing alone…"* (LA 4).

> *"Now, at the moment, uhm, like from my time I got to high school … my brother began to work and my sister completed school, I was still at school – but it's just like…everyone began to do their own thing – like I had little … but I didn't complain about it – I received very little support when it came to my school work.…..but I didn't let it get me down, but, because I thought 'shouldn't I be given attention?' … this possibly happened in Grade 11…so I decided later to give myself attention and to do things by myself – even though my mom gave me little attention…"* (LA 2).

The study of Walker et al., (2010) granted the possibility that parents were less involved in school-related tasks as a response to their LA's striving for greater independence. It was clear, however, that even amid developmental shifts, these LAs still desired their parents' involvement; perhaps not only for their educational outcomes but also as a way to remain emotionally connected (Crosnoe & Johnson, 2011; Elliot et al., 2016; Keijsers & Poulin, 2013). At times, the presence of additional siblings presented a challenge to the LAs concerning their parent's ability to be fully involved (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Unintentionally, older or younger siblings often compromised the parents' available time and energy to be involved. Moreover, when combined with socio-economic challenges, an additional burden was placed on LAs, who at times were required to take care of younger siblings while parents were at work (McGoldrick et al., 2016). One participant has captured this in her experiences:

> *"I mean, when I get home in the afternoons, okay, there are times when I get home, then I must clean the house, then I must look after my little brothers and I must do my homework also – like that – and sometimes I am so tired and feel lazy when I am at school and so on then in the evenings no one bothers to ask uhm, how it – like, how did the dishes get clean or who looked after them or like that or "did you do your homework?" …like that…so I also started not to worry…"* (LA 2).

> *"The conversation was okay because they asked then what I really wanted, I answered and, but, it was disrupted by my older brother and I like just sat there as in we are going to talk further, but nothing further came out of it – the conversation stopped just there – we were busy and I waited, but nothing further happened…"* (LA 2).

The participant experienced her parents' involvement differently when her siblings were present as evidenced below:

> *"…let me put it like this: it's only when we're alone – my mom and I or my dad and my mom – then they're both okay for me…but if the other children are there – it's not the same anymore…"* (LA 2).

She elaborated further:

> *"It's just like – then they're not on my side anymore – see? It feels like when I am alone then it feels like they are on my side…"* (LA 2).

Further non-traditional or less dominant forms of PI that emerged in this study was quality time (Latunde, 2017; Roman, 2014). Quality time is understood as the intersection between time and family, and in this study, it supported the LA's emotional and social well-being by maintaining a level of connectedness between the parent and LA (Crosnoe & Johnson, 2011; St George & Fletcher, 2012). St George and Fletcher (2012) recognised that quality time is an important aspect of the parent-child relationship and was reflected in activities that express love, care, and nurturance. Participants recalled the following PI experiences:

> *"Sometimes we go watch rugby together, or we maybe – uh – family movie day, we maybe just go out or just ride – a road trip or something like that…as a family* (smiles)*…"* (LA 5).

> *"Like on a Saturday morning then we will always maybe sit outside and then talk and my mom will suddenly ask me the questions she should've asked in the week like 'how was your day?' like that…and my dad – we make jokes and so on – we will – go to the field…watch rugby … together…in the week we don't get a chance…"* (LA 2).

> *"And so my mom said 'let's take a walk to town man or to [Name of house shop] for a little – so we took a walk to [Name of house shop]and I carried the food for my mom in the street and every time I had a smile on my face and in the evenings when we go sleep then we talk to one another – my mom and I…if my mom tells a story then my little brother and I listen and if I tell a story then my mom listens – a bit of joking, a bit of playing – my mom is actually going to teach me a little on how to make food on Sunday so I will am going to learn a bit to*

cook…yes, and she supports me with everything and I do the same for her…" (LA 3).

Quality time can be compromised by a parents' working schedule and additional caregiver responsibilities, driven partly by the SES of the parent (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Rönka, Malinen, Metsäpelto, Laakso, Sevón & Verhoef-van Dorf, 2017). Linked to the SES of the parent, PI was reflected by their ability to provide basic and school-related needs. A parent investing their resources into providing sustenance for their children for optimal functioning, is an essential component of PI, as LAs are usually still dependent on their parent (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Sparrman, Westerling, Lind & Dannesboe, 2016). The LAs alluded to how financial constraints specifically challenged their parents' ability to be involved, which negatively influenced their educational and psychosocial outcomes:

"…to be honest, for me it felt like uhm, things just began to change. They (i.e. parents) *just began to like in* (silent pause) *– how do I put it now…?* (silent pause). *They just…things just began to go fast – by the time I was at high school – in Matric, they couldn't make it to the things that I must do…all of a sudden, there wasn't money for me for a calculator and so on…it started getting like that…"* (LA 2).

"But Miss also knows…when you become a young person, you don't wanna walk barefoot anymore Miss…like my mom and I went to say – my mom must buy me shoes – I stayed at home for a week already – my mom said she was going to buy it…the second week – she was going to buy it…third week – then, then she bought it in the third week – then when I went to school they told me that I am off the list." (LA 7).

Some participants experienced PI more positively with regards to the provision of needs:

"My parents ensure that I have a plate of food on the table every evening – and food is placed on the table…" (LA 2).

"…but he (i.e. his father) *is always there for us – he will never let us go to bed hungry – he will always…go the extra mile for us…as children."* (LA 5).

At times, parents made up for their lack of financial resources for their LA's continued educational development by connecting with community resources. Griffin and Steen (2010) emphasised that when there was an intersection of the external spheres of influence, namely the family, school, and community, the LA's academic outcomes would be better supported. Below, the merging of these external spheres of influence were elucidated as a participant recounted her experience of PI:

> *"…my dad and a teacher here in Hills-Valley – she's for me – we filled in all the forms and everything – the forms must be filled in and then if I am accepted for something then I can apply for the bursary…"* (LA 5).

The experience relayed by this participant directs this discussion to the participant's experiences of another strategy of PI: academic socialisation. This strategy consisted of parents who communicated the educational expectations they held for their child and stressing the value of education as they helped to foster their LA's goals for future success (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Wang et al., 2014). This developmentally appropriate form of PI allowed the LAs to experience their parents scaffolding their independence, encouraging autonomous decision-making, and guiding them practically towards future goals and aspirations, illuminating the approaching FLC phase of early adulthood (Burhmester, 2014; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Knoll, Magis-Weinberg, Speekenbrink & Blakemore, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2014). Academic socialisation experiences of LAs were shared:

> *"My mom and my dad because firstly my dad told me that you're not assured of a job if you do drama, because I want – I just wanted to do drama after school and-and then he – then my dad let me think back and then I thought that I will do education because there's a shortage of teachers in the country."* (LA 5).

> *"Like in, my dad hey, I have like his dream – he discovered – for scriptwriting – now he writes and so he asked me what I would like to do with my life and so on…then I said that I enjoy doing drama and so on – I would really like to – uhm – do further studies in drama and so on, but I also want to do drama with my*

> *second option, see Miss? But I don't yet have my first option – or if I must go for education or something…"* (LA 4).

Polk (2015) reported similar findings whereby adolescents received guidance from their parents to choose a future career based on their interests. Participants shared how their parents strengthened their experiences of academic socialisation with encouragement and instruction (Lui et al., 2010; Walker et al., 2010):

> *"I told him about the drama but not about becoming a teacher … he just said to me like this: "LA 4, you're good in drama and so on, so you can do it – a person always chooses or looks out, or if it's right – you see Miss?"* (LA 4).

> *"There was at least, there was always conversations … let me make an example … say I want to be a social worker and then I always wondered – then I asked "so what does a person need?" and then my mom says you must learn nicely, you must have good grades and then maybe you will get a bursary or go to university and you must, uh, you must behave yourself nicely uhm, how can I say…? Uhm, ya…you must be conscientious with your schoolwork, you must persevere, you must – you must give your everything…"* (LA 1).

When LAs experience that their parent believes in their ability to attain their goals, it is a significant motivator that supports their educational success (Green et al., 2007; Pomerantz et al., 2007). However, financial lack does shape the way parents can be involved (Park & Holloway, 2018). Corroborating the experiences of LA 1, the study of Polk (2015) revealed that, irrespective of parents' employment, parents advised their LAs to complete their schooling career and pursue further studies. While LA 1 received motivational inputs from her parent, she recognised the challenge of financial constraints in terms of provision for further studies:

> *"…and still, uhm, I always wondered – but my mom does not have a good job, there isn't enough money – so the finances are not good, so how am I going to get here…?"* (LA 1).

The powerful influence which the SES of parents had on the LA's experiences of their involvement, could not be avoided. Green et al., (2007) proposed SES of parents as a factor important enough to be evaluated concerning the PI model. However, Green et al., (2007) suggested that the social context, specifically the relationship between the parents and child or teacher, is a greater driver of PI than the SES of the parent. In this study, SES emerged as one of the challenges concerning PI during LA. These challenges and experiences were collated into the next sub-theme, *Family life cycle stressors*.

5.3.2.2 Sub-theme 2.2: Family life cycle stressors

Kieling (2014) and McGoldrick et al., (2016) asserted that horizontal and vertical stressors have the potential to add pressure to the FLC and cause destabilisation if not recognised and mitigated, especially at the point of FLC transitions where the system is at its weakest. During this study, certain FLC horizontal and vertical stressors emerged, which influenced the LAs' experiences and challenges concerning PI during LA. Horizontal stressors characterising LAs' experiences and challenges included developmental life cycle transitions and unpredicted life events, which disrupted the flow of the FLC process (Dallos & Draper, 2015; Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Vertical stressors pertaining to the intergenerational patterns of interpersonal relating and functioning within the family played a significant role in LAs' experiences and challenges concerning PI (Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Experiences and challenges were interrelated, making it almost impossible to isolate one from the other. Similar to the previous theme which focused on the educational and psychosocial types of PI and their outcomes, the SES of the parents was a factor in many of the experiences and challenges (Dallos & Draper, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2016).

During this study, it was evident that the developmental life stage of LA placed pressure on the FLC and influenced how LAs experienced their parents' involvement (Hill & Tyson, 2009;

McGoldrick et al., 2016). The developmental changes taking place during LA created relational shifts in the way parents were involved in their LA's educational and psychosocial contexts (Beyers & Goossens, 2008; Hamner et al., 2015; Kerr et al., 2012; Ruhl, Dolan & Burhmester, 2014; Walsh, 2016; Wang et al., 2014; Yoo, 2017). Research indicates that as LAs are being prepared to be launched into the adult world, parents may offer guidance and support to affirm their growing autonomy (Beyers & Goossens, 2008; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Ruhl et al., 2014). Participants expressed how their desire to be more autonomous and the assertion of their will influenced their parents' involvement:

> *"Yes, you want to be free now because you're a teenager…you want to – you don't want to be held tight all the time…"* (LA 4).

> *"…I was always the wild one and she was the quiet one, and she always listened to what they said and was obedient and so on…and I was the type of child that when my mother said to do that thing, then I will first go sit and then my mom says it again and then I will do it – but probably because I was a little disobedient – do my own thing and so on – that they were like that with me…"* (LA 2).

LAs were challenged by their parents' lack of trust and autonomy-granting behaviours. These are an essential aspect of parenting during this life stage as LAs are in the process of mastering various emotional, social and cognitive developmental milestones (Sigelman & Rider, 2018; Worthen, 2003):

> *"…okay, so at this stage, you're not big or anything* (laughs) *– you also want to do your thing, then your parents keep you away – especially like my grandma – say now I say to her that I'm going to my friend, then she doesn't believe me that I'm going to her – you see Miss? Then sometimes the children lie and they say that they're going there – now they want to go but then they don't go there – that's why the self-confidence of parents is not there – you see Miss?"* (LA 4).

She elaborated that:

> *"…parents must trust their children more…but the children must also not break the trust – understand Miss?"* (LA 4).

This illuminated the importance of creating a reciprocal level of trust between the parent and LA as greater experimentation across unchartered ground is taking place (Chan & Chan, 2011; Curtis, 2015). Some LAs recognised how their behaviours during this developmental period influenced their parent or caregivers' involvement:

> *"But I was drunk one evening* (giggling*) … two weeks back – my grandma said, 'I will beat you up'* (laughing out loud)*…"* (LA 4).

As LAs become more invested in their peer and romantic relationships, their peers' approval has a tremendous influence on the behaviour during the life stage of adolescence as evidenced below (Crosnoe & Johnson, 2011; Curtis, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2016):

> *"…then I am like a different person – understand Miss? Then I want to be someone else – almost like – sometimes a person wants to do the same things that they do – to fit in…"* (LA 4).

> *"…but sometimes it's peer pressure where you come into contact with the wrong friends – so it can be – uhm, ya – it can sometimes be a situation where you meet a wrong boyfriend also – that boyfriend – uh-uh – I know a friend or I know a girl who – uhm – was in the same situation – uhm – where she didn't smoke or drink – didn't tik or so on…and he let her do all these things – so he was really – he's in jail today – so look there now…trapped and alone and no one to really help either – uuuugh…it's a sad story…"* (LA 1).

During this study, it emerged that LAs often associated their friendships with high-risk behaviour or disapproval from their parents. Engaging in substance abuse created a challenge in the way they experienced PI:

> *"…the friends from in and out of jail – so then I began to sniff glue and began to smoke dagga* (marijuana) *and it's from that time on that my and my mom's attitude with one another wasn't nicely combined…"* (LA 3).

> *"There are many friends whom my mom doesn't like –*
> *- Like, I will give an example – like J, he-he was also using buttons* (mandrax)*, see Miss? But he isn't on it anymore but if I must use that stuff then I am going to hear 'There…he smokes by him' – see Miss?* (LA 7).

While it is argued that adolescents engage in high-risk behaviours and are prone to making reckless life decisions, LAs in this study clearly indicated their ability to reason and reflect, as well as make informed decisions, independent from their peers as evidenced in their comments (Curtis, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2016):

> *"…the person uhm-uhm, isn't there to just maintain the friend circle – understand Miss? You don't become like the friend circle because they want to do it or so on…no…my friends – we help each other right – my friends always have boyfriends* (laughs out loud)*, but that is not to say that I also want a boyfriend – see Miss? I-I am going slowly – I'm not in a hurry to do it…"* (LA 4).

Socio-economic hardship was often coupled with the wrestling between an acceleration into early adulthood and keeping the LA at home (Dallos & Draper, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2016). This school graduate described:

> *"Like you wouldn't believe me – now, one evening I told my mom that I don't have spray and roll-on…so I approached her and then she said to me that I must go work, I must get up and go work for money…they can't, they can't for me sorry…"* (LA 2).

While this was expressed as an unpleasant experience for LA 2, it could be argued that her parent was preparing her for a self-sustained adulthood by scaffolding her independence (McGoldrick et al., 2016). However, in this particular community, employment and opportunities for tertiary studies – both of which LA 2 had unsuccessfully attempted to secure – are extremely challenging to guarantee. In this context, instead of LAs physically leaving the family home to pursue their careers and further their studies independently, they simultaneously remained dependent on their parent *and* were regarded often as an additional income source for the household (Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016). The concept of children leaving home at a certain age to enter into early adulthood and earn an income independently of their parents, are developmental measures derived largely from Western-

based societies and are not necessarily applicable to a rural, South African society (Roman, 2014). Themes of "accelerated young lives" have been associated with economic hardships at times but this is not always the case (Johnson & Mollborn, 2009). Below, experiences of participants illuminated the dynamic interaction of moving between dependence and independence:

> *"She can give me the direction I need sometimes – even though I don't always see it in that way but yes, it was difficult – she had to leave on the second day after I gave birth to Ansa and that felt like she was neeeeeever coming back – theeeeeere she goes … it really wasn't a nice feeling … the evening when I sat alone in the hospital and it got dark – it got dead quiet – you don't hear anyone talk or speak or shout…then it started sinking in – how can I know say it…? Uhmmm, okay, 'you are welcome in the grown-up life'… those were the longest day in my life when I was without my mom - it was bad … Don't get to eat your mom's food … but yes, it really was my mom who stood by me."* (LA 1).

> *"…because I said to my mom 'Mommy, I really want a nice job man – don't get a good work yet – the farm work is also not for me … and so I thought I had the work at the [Name of Factory] – and that was also just delayed for another six weeks and that doesn't let me feel good because if I work, then I like to work at a place for like five years, four years…permanently appointed and so on…and so the Lord also let me mom get a job through another [Name of Factory] and my mom also worked there for a few years – she works there now and that also lets me feel a bit better because I don't want my mom to work but she works because my dad isn't there and so she and I help each other in that also…"* (LA 3).

Economic fragility combined with a single-parent family structure did not only overtask the single parent, it also overtasked some of the LAs in this study, requiring some of them to step into adult roles prematurely and remain in their parent's home instead of leaving the nest (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; McGoldrick et al., 2016).

In certain experiences, horizontal and vertical stressors intersected, producing unique challenges concerning PI for some of the LAs. Unpredicted events and intergenerational patterns of addiction, for example, was one of these intersecting challenges which caused

disruption to the FLC process and influenced how participants experienced their parents' involvement (Dallos & Draper, 2015; Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Some of the participants shared their accounts:

> *"Yesss – it is easily about a joint Miss…then he will – in her hip* (shows how his mother's boyfriend would hit her with the fist in her hip) *– see Miss? …yes, like in her little ribs, but she's so thin and petite Miss – she would easily get internal bruises. Then I get hold of the guy and just put him out again…"* (LA 7).

> *"…after she and my dad separated hey, my dad … she didn't want to listen what he said to stop drinking … If you loved someone and so on and you didn't want to listen…you will only realise after joh! This person did really love me and I didn't love that person and so she also just took someone – also of just being drunk and so on, she took someone like that through the drunkenness – the afternoon my grandma asked my mom, "do you love the man by the station?" My grandma asked, "do you love this man?" And she said "Yes, [Name of grandma]" … and so one evening they were drunk and he hit her – quick-quick – with an … iron implement…"* (LA 4).

It was clear that after this LA's mother survived a traumatic event, her experience of PI changed:

> *"I don't find that it's nice for my mom – how can I say now…? I find that – I don't find it good after the – after the – uhm-uhm – assault hey – we didn't – we didn't have a mother – a mom bond – see Miss –*
> *- After and before the assault – I – I didn't actually know my mom and after the assault and so on – we now have more of a bond with each other – see Miss –*
> *- because this life is too short and a person must – you can't – just because your mom drank that time – now I think she maybe gave me away or so – throw hearts away or push away – it's still your mom…"* (LA 4).

At times, patterns of addiction and domestic violence intersected. McGoldrick et al., (2016) asserted that there is a strong association between substance abuse and relationship violence. The parent-adolescent relationship was strained as the presence of substance abuse and a violent parental relationship created interference in how parents were involved and how the family unit functioned (Londt, Kock & John-Langba, 2017; McGoldrick et al., 2016). LAs experienced a

lack of PI in these conditions and, at times, took on adult responsibilities when the parent became incapable of optimal functioning (Marinus, van der Westhuizen & Alpaslan, 2017). This was indicated in this participant's experience:

> *"And her boyfriend that she has – he is also boring* (slang for unnecessary). *Like weekends then she is sober – then he is drunk but then he screams at her and wants to speak his drunk things – then she also doesn't feel like it, then she stands up and she walks – when she comes back then she's also drunk again. Almost – like-like – what do I want to say now? He drives her to the alcohol Miss…and we've put him out already – then she drinks less…when they – both of them drink every evening – like in this week – so my mom drank yesterday – last night…"* (LA 7).

The study by Trueger (2008) confirmed that parents are not capable of being involved in their child's life when they are addicted to substances, which often results in LAs having to take care of themselves. Role reversal, exacerbated by substance abuse, which some LAs experienced, seemed to be in direct competition with, and placed stress on, their educational and psychosocial developmental needs at times and in turn affected how PI was experienced (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Parents creating debt, not taking responsibility for household maintenance, inconsistent parental monitoring, and lack of provision of basic needs were some of the outcomes of parents who abused substances (De Witte & Mitchell, 2012). This participant relayed his views and experience of his parent abusing alcohol:

> *"She must leave the wine Miss – that we like – we mustn't – there are many things that we don't have, see Miss? We must also come and sit and talk about buying things and go see things Miss – like that – so there's many things which I told her that I must buy – but then I have my money, then she tells me – she doesn't have money because she bought cokes over the weekend…then she wants - like Saturday she wanted R100 – like today then I get – told her not to – it's not necessary to make debt – I must now give her R400 from my side…like in – then I say "Don't make debt" but then she goes to make again…"* (LA 7).

> *"…yes, the big thing is that first – she must leave the wine Miss, then my mom will come right Miss – like how she used to be – she isn't like that anymore – that time she made cake – like that, see Miss…real things – like in – on Sundays*

> *I used to see but now she will easily just make cabbage and a small potato with rice and a bean – that's all – on a Sunday."* (LA 7).

McGoldrick et al., (2016) argued that when a family system is organised around substances or alcohol, it struggles or resists making the necessary changes to regain homeostasis when undergoing the FLC developmental pressures, and instead re-organises itself around the addiction. This LA's experience was that his parent was unable to be involved responsibly when under the influence of substances, which verified how parents are unable to parent effectively when there is a pattern of addiction (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Research has suggested that biology and genetics can play a role in the passing down of certain addictions, and that if there is a family history of alcohol abuse, it is twice as likely to be passed down to the next generation (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Valliant, 2012). One of the participants indicated how his educational outcomes were affected negatively by his parents' abuse of substances:

> *"I did try to go back up there – see Miss – there in front? In that white – in front – the school* (referring to the newly built technical school in the community) – *then my mom gave the school – gave my age which was too old at the school. So, she went and said that I was 18 Miss* (laughs sheepishly)…
> *…because she drinks Miss and she doesn't remember my age…"* (LA 7).

Structural changes in the family due to parents separating and re-coupling influenced how LAs experienced PI and presented challenges concerning PI (Hadfield, Amos, Ungar, Gosselin & Ganong, 2018; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Structural disruptions or an "unscheduled life transition" often alters the development of the family life course (McGoldrick et al., 2016:376). The separation between parents has been argued to result in weak parent-child attachment relationships and further compounds under-involvement (Barker, Iles & Ramchandani, 2017; Mashegoane & Ramoloto, 2016). Some of the LAs commented:

> *"…and the wife – she makes me cross – I actually don't want to talk about it – I actually didn't want that he takes another wife…that's why…we don't have a good dad and – that dad-and-daughter relationship isn't there anymore – do you*

see Miss? I was very much about him – and he was just like that about me – if he took a wife then and he sees something is wrong, but then he talks with us both, but he sees that this wife is wrong now Miss then he will just leave her, but this wife – no –huh-uh (shaking her head)… – *she's not nice – not that a stepmom must be nice, but she makes more of her own child than me – do you see Miss? And she's not like "[Name of Father]…" say now my grandma-them call and say I am looking for my dad – she won't say "[Name of Father], make an effort for your child…" or like that – she's not a proper stepmom…"* (LA 4).

"I don't have a relationship with him (i.e. father) *Miss – I don't expect it of him…I don't have feelings for him Miss…I don't even have feelings for him Miss* (laughs sheepishly) –
- because when he sees me, then he looks down to the ground Miss –
- No Miss – it's since he had that wife Miss…huh-uh…and I don't worry about him…" (LA 7).

Guarin and Meyer (2018) and McGoldrick et al., (2016) asserted that often in the case of a father re-marrying, the contact between father and his biological children decreases. It was apparent that the compromised father-adolescent attachment relationship strained the emotional well-being of some of the LAs in this study (Kocayörük, 2010; Londt et al., 2017). In the experience of some LAs, structural family changes resulted in extended family members taking over the childcare responsibility from parents:

"I like grew up by my grandma-them…so I had…my dad had a different wife from [Neighbouring Town] and so I came to live in Hills-Valley – from when I was small I grew up with my grandma – my grandma looked after me…" (LA 4).

"Or if my mom didn't take me away from there – because I just wanted to see my dad man…when I look around me today then I see, everyone is happy with their dad and everyone says to their dad "dad". And I can't say "dad" to my dad because when I say "dad" to my foster dad then I get a different feeling – I like want my own dad in front of me – I want to feel his hand taking my hand and him taking a belt and feel that it is my own dad that gives me a hiding…" (LA 3).

LA 3 perceived how a single-parent family structure provided him with a deficient experience of PI, especially with regard to an absent father. Similarly, another participant shared an experience of an absent parent and how it impacted her psychosocial well-being:

> *"…it's an empty space which…was there when I was younger … I also don't want to blame my dad but it feels for me – uhmmm – he did me an injustice because there were maybe times where I looked for him or wanted to ask him or missed him and then he wasn't maybe there – it was difficult … sometimes I didn't maybe know how – uh – to keep my emotions together or to express it … there was always me alone … you grow up, you meet friends, you uhmmm, come into peer pressure and begin to look for love and in this case it was the wrong time or too young an age … I had to chew hard stones…"* (LA 1).

One of the participants believed that the lack of her father's involvement led to her engaging in high-risk behaviours during adolescence. Moreover, family structural changes at times sometimes meant that LAs gained stepsiblings, which further influenced their experiences of PI. In these instances, it exacerbated their fathers' decreasing contact with the LA (Guarin & Meyer, 2018; McGoldrick et al., 2016):

> *"But when I get him, and I get him sober and alone, then he talks to me. And if I get him now with his stepchildren or so on, then he doesn't even look in my direction…"* (LA 7).

> *"And so it felt like he* (i.e. mother's partner) *got all her attention… -*
> *it's maybe a step child, then it feels like all that attention is on that child – the hair is washed, the skin is cared for, the child goes to school, everything is bought new – it's actually that – is actually that jealous feeling that I had – but still she didn't forget to call or visit or send money…uhmmm…when a person is young then you don't always understand…"* (LA 1).

Polk (2015) argued that as LAs become older, they seem to have greater empathy and understanding for their parents as evidenced by the comment above.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Late adolescents' perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning PI were described in this chapter. While the participants' perceptions of PI were well-formulated, their experiences exposed a myriad of challenges. LAs' perceptions were comprised of traditional as well as less traditional forms of PI. LAs clearly perceived that PI was essential for their educational success and psychosocial well-being. Their experiences, at times, elucidated PI as loving and supportive. However, the greater experience of PI was characterised by under-involvement, especially relating to their father. The LA's challenges included their parents' life context variables as well as family life cycle (FLC) stressors. While the nuclear family is no longer the norm in current society, and alternative family configurations offer unique benefits to its members, it was evident that LAs in this study perceived the traditional nuclear family as the ideal environment in which PI was to be embedded for it to have the maximum, positive impact in their lives. However, even in the nuclear families LAs experienced challenges concerning PI. LAs revealed that their experiences and challenges concerning PI intersected, making it difficult to isolate experiences and challenges from one another. By employing the FLCT, the individual and familial developmental track of the participants could be considered when exploring the perceptions, experiences and challenges of the LAs.

The next chapter will provide more insight into these dynamics from the perspectives of parents and stakeholders, introducing perceptions, experiences and challenges which were at times similar, and at other times, vastly different.

CHAPTER SIX

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS PERTAINING TO PARENTS AND STAKEHOLDERS

6.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter presented the findings of the late adolescents' perceptions, experiences and challenges regarding parental involvement, this chapter presents the findings of the parents and the stakeholders who took part in this study. It attempts to achieve the second and third objectives: to explore the perceptions, experiences and challenges of parents concerning parental involvement during late adolescence, and to explore the perceptions, experiences and challenges of stakeholders concerning PI during LA.

A sample of seven parents of LAs and four stakeholders (a teacher, a youth mentor and youth workers), was purposively selected. Data was generated by means of semi-structured interviews with the aid of an interview guide. Audio recordings were made of verbal data, and the non-verbal data was obtained through field notes.

6.2 Demographic data of participants

6.2.1 Demographic data of parents

Nine parents were interviewed. Four parents were married, of which two of the married couples were interviewed together, while only one of the parents of the other two couples was interviewed. Three participants were single parents. The participants' ages ranged between 38 and 45 years. Seven participants were female and two were male. Six of the participants were originally from the community where the research was conducted, while three were not. Two of the married female participants matriculated, while another married female participant

completed school up to Grade 8 and furthered her studies through an accredited college focusing on early childhood development. Two participants left school in Grade 11, the female participant due to teenage pregnancy and the male participant due to socio-economic circumstances. Five parents had to leave school between Grade 6 and Grade 8 due to socio-economic circumstances.

At the time of the interviews, three parents had full-time employment, three had seasonal work on farms, one had uncertain part-time jobs and two were unemployed. In terms of the family structure, three formed part of a nuclear family. Five of the seven families lived either in or on reconstruction and development programme (RDP) housing or property. Two of the families lived in a makeshift housing structure on the property of parents and other family members. Another family built a housing structure with a few makeshift housing structures on their property in which their children and grandchildren lived. Two of the single mothers had insecure accommodation where rent had to be paid. Both these mothers did not have full-time employment.

Table 6.1: Demographic data of parents

Participant	Age	Gender	Original community	Marital Status	Education level	Reason for not completing school	Employment Status	Family structure	Household environment
P1a P1b	P1a: 38 P1b: 39	Female Male	Yes	Married	P1a: Gr. 8; NQF Level 4 ECD P1b: Gr. 8	P1a: Socio-economic circumstances P1b: Socio-economic circumstances	Both employed	Nuclear • Married • 3 children (19, 15)	• Lives in a makeshift, wooden structure on the property of the paternal mother who lives in an RDP home
P2	41	Female	Yes	Single	Gr. 6	Socio-economic circumstances	Seasonal work on farm	Headed by single parent (mother) • 4 children (23, 19, 17, 8)	• Lives in a wooden, make-shift structure behind main built RDP structure with her children, aged 19 and 8 years old • 23-year-old son lives with her uncle in the main RDP structure • 17-year-old lives in a facility for children with disability
P3	39	Female	Yes	Single	Grade 11	Teenage Pregnancy	Seasonal work on farm	Headed by single parent • 4 children (20, 17, 11, 7)	• Shares accommodation with a woman • The three younger children live with her
P4a P4b	P4a: 44 P4b: 47	Female Male	P4a: Yes P4b: No	Married	P4a: Gr. 12/ Matriculated P4b: Gr. 10	P4b: Socio-economic circumstances	P4a: Unemployed P4b: Employed	Nuclear • Married • 4 children (21, 17, 12)	• Three youngest children live with them in a built house
P5	41	Female	No	Single	Gr. 8	Socio-economic circumstances	Part-time Jobs	Headed by single parent • 2 children	• Lives on her own in a hired, built RDP structure
P6		Female	Yes	Married	Gr. 7	Socio-economic circumstances	Seasonal farm work	Extended • Married • 5 children; 8 grandchildren	• Lives with husband and youngest children • 3 oldest children live in separate makeshift structures on the same property

P7	41	Female	No	Married	Gr. 10	Moving caused disruption to schooling career	Unemployed	Nuclear • Married • 4 children (21, 18, 14, 9)	• Lives with husband and 3 youngest children in a built RDP structure

6.2.2 Demographic data of stakeholders

Four participants, of which there were three males and one female, were interviewed. The two retired participants were between the ages of 65 and 80 years old; both of their spouses were deceased. One male participant was married and between 40 and 50 years old. The other male stakeholder was between 25 and 30 years old and was married. Three of the stakeholders were college/university graduates, while one stakeholder had matriculated and completed courses in his field of interest. The retired participants were both employed, one full-time and the other part-time. The two younger participants were employed full-time. Three of the community-based stakeholders were involved in the lives of the LAs through informal life and career guidance. Two of the stakeholders facilitated life-skills programmes, presented vocational skills development programmes, psychosocial support programmes, and spiritual guidance. One stakeholder was involved with LAs through a visual arts programme, while another was involved with LAs through formal education. Three of the stakeholders had been involved with the parents of LAs through informal parental guidance and interaction, while two stakeholders offered structured parental programmes. One of the retired stakeholders was involved with parents of LAs through home visits, another through a visual arts skills development programme and another through a school disciplinary committee.

Table 6.2: Demographic data of stakeholders

Participant	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Education level	Employment Status	Type of involvement with late adolescents	Type of involvement with parents of late adolescents
S1	67	Male	Widower	College Graduate	Retired/Employed (Part-time)	Teacher in formal primary/middle education institution • Facilitate spiritual guidance • Engage in informal life and career guidance	• Home visit, • Informal parental guidance & interaction
S2	49	Male	Married	Matriculated	Employed (Full-time)	Youth worker • Facilitate life-skills programmes • Facilitate wilderness therapy for male adolescents	• Structured parental programme • Informal parental guidance & interaction
S3	77	Female	Widow	College Graduate	Retired/Employed (Full-time Volunteer)	Teacher in visual & performing arts • Facilitate life-skills programmes • Facilitate vocational skills development • Psychosocial Counselling • Engage in informal life and career guidance	• Structured parental programme • Creative arts therapy & skill development • Informal parental guidance & interaction
S4	30	Male	Married	University Graduate	Employed (Full-time)	Youth mentor • Facilitate spiritual guidance • Engage in informal life and career guidance	• School Disciplinary Committee Member

6.3 PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The coded themes and sub-themes emerged through engaging in the verbatim-transcribed semi-structured interviews and field notes. The themes are presented, discussed and supported by direct quotes from the transcribed data of the participants. Moreover, relevant literature is employed to build a substantive discussion in which both supportive and oppositional views can be considered.

The themes and sub-themes that emerged from analysed, transcribed and collected data are tabulated in Table 6.3, followed by the discussion of the themes.

Themes	Sub-Themes
Theme 1: Perceptions of parental involvement during late adolescence	**Sub-theme 1.1:** Parents' perceptions of parental involvement during late adolescence **Sub-theme 1.2:** Stakeholders' perceptions of parental involvement during late adolescence
Theme 2: Parents' experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence	**Sub-theme 2.1:** Presence and provision of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents **Sub-theme 2.1:** Communication and connection of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents
Theme 3: Stakeholders' experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence	**Sub-theme 3.1:** Presence and provision of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents **Sub-theme 3.2:** Communication and connection of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents

6.3.1 Theme 1: Perceptions of parental involvement during late adolescence

Parents of LAs and stakeholders working with LAs shared their perceptions as well as vivid descriptions of their experiences and challenges concerning PI during LA. Their experiences and challenges offered rich, contextualised data that offered personalised meaning to the concept of PI during LA.

6.3.1.1 Sub-theme 1.1: Parents' perceptions of parental involvement during late adolescence

Parents of LAs perceived PI in ways that did not always fit neatly into the traditional views of PI (Latunde, 2017). Often, PI is asserted as the activities which support school success (Epstein, 2008; Green et al., 2007; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Patrikakou, 2014). However, literature by Suizzo, Pahlke, Yarnell, Chen and Romero (2014) has proposed that less is known about the home-based PI activities in which parents engage to support their LA child to attain educational success, as well as how culture possibly influences PI. In this study, parents perceived PI mainly according to the less traditional forms, which fostered psychosocial outcomes.

PI was viewed differently by one parent with regard to her 17-year-old school-going daughter and her 19-year-old son who had dropped out of school:

> *"I would say that to be involved with your children – especially like the one of nineteen…to be involved is to let him understand that you're there for him and to make him – uh-uh-uhm – aware that if he needs something or he-he doesn't need to go look for it on the street – or he doesn't uh – if we don't have, we will make an effort or we will – or we will let him feel he – that there is someone that cares for him or that we care for him – as his parents…and now if I talk about the one of-of-of – of 17 years old, then I talk about the girl – then involvement is to talk to her about her school work and to tell her how a woman must be and also to be a friend to her as well as a mother and to tell her about the road ahead*

> *– how – how I lived and how she can improve it and what I would want to tell her her is – uh-uh-uhm – how good it is to learn – to have opportunities which I didn't have…that is how I would be involved with her and I would also want to be involved with uh-uh what – how she feels and what she thinks about how it must be done…then we can sit together and share this with one another."* (Parent 1a).

Her perception of PI was possibly influenced by her LAs' differing ages, gender, life circumstances, and/or their behaviour. Yoo (2019) qualified that individual characteristics of the adolescent can significantly shape PI. In the study by Green et al., (2007), the findings indicated that the age and grade of the child influenced PI, with parents being more involved at primary school level and less involved during middle and high school levels. In addition, Green et al., (2007) argued that parents' main motivators for being involved at primary and middle school levels differed, confirming that age, grade and educational factors play a role in how parents are involved. This shift in PI also reflected the individual and familial transitioning of the FLC stages (McGoldrick et al., 2016).

Parents mainly expressed that PI included activities which supported the LA's psychosocial outcomes:

> *"Encourage all the children, tell them where they are going wrong and what they must do to do it right…"* (Parent 1b).

> *"I'm not going to give up because if I give up on him then he will go further into these things and I don't want that, this is why I always let him understand that I love him and he must know that I love him. He must know that he is not alone…"* (Parent 3).

Beyers and Goossens (2008) claimed that needs such as parental support and guidance are especially important as the LA experiments and experiences new things with increased autonomy but may not be able to manage everything on their own. Moreover, the FLCT identifies the parents' understanding of these particular needs of the LA as a developmental

task of the family (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Failure to do so may destabilize the FLC and cause maladaptive individual and familial development to occur (Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Parental support through effective communication and emotional support to the LA during this stage was illustrated through this parent's comments:

> *"…I would say uh-uhm, a person must – you must handle your child – must handle – you must always have an ear to listen. And you must always – you must not just want to be the mother, you must sometimes – sometimes you must be your child's girlfriend so that she can open up and feel comfortable when she wants to talk to you about heartache – for example…"* (Parent 7).

> *"You must – for your children you must – you must actually be there for them – you must – with them you must – with everything you must be there for them – not just for putting food on the table or for the bed – the warm bed – you must be there for your children, you must give your children love…"* (Parent 7).

The parents placed greater emphasis on their LA's psychosocial outcomes as compared to their educational outcomes. Furthermore, the PI forms or strategies were perceived largely within the psychosocial dimension. The brevity of the parents' perceptions of PI was interesting in relation to their experiences and challenges. Similarly, the stakeholders' perceptions were communicated briefly in comparison to their experiences and challenges.

6.3.1.2 Sub-theme 1.2: Stakeholders' perceptions of parental involvement during late adolescence

The stakeholders perceived PI with some variance. Stakeholders who worked mainly with school-going LAs had a view of PI which leaned more toward, but was not limited to, mechanisms that fostered educational outcomes. Stakeholders who interacted mainly with LAs who left school prematurely, focused more on PI forms that fostered the psychosocial outcomes of the LA. However, their more traditional and less dominant perceptions of PI intersected

with one another. Educational forms of PI were illustrated through these stakeholders' perceptions:

> *"…and just being on you know, the sideline - cheering – uhm, being there – it's ja, it's overall just being involved in activities – ja…school activities and uh, it's giving support…actually asking 'what, what have you done today?' 'How, how was school?' Uh…'what have you learnt?' Simple things…"* (Stakeholder 4).

> *"…maybe parents can ask you 'where do you want to end up?', 'what do you wanna be one day?' Talk about future stuff…Just listen to that child or whatever…"* (Stakeholder 2).

Recognising the unique developmental transitions taking place within the adolescent life stage influenced how stakeholders perceived PI during LA:

> *"…and being 16 years…that's actually where things get more tough and you know…you need guidance in terms of…women and…how do you react…to things that you're feeling…and, or you know that stage as a young man, there's a lot of things going wild* (chuckles)*…so you* (chuckles) *need actually, ja – that's, that's also when I'd say you need actual guidance to continue, uh, cause I think from 16 on that's when you start forming you as an adult and what you actually experience then uh, I think so…uh, is what you become roundabout in your early twenties – and ja, and then that – what you become in your early twenties is actually what you develop – or uh, grow into when you say, later – late twenties, early thirties…"* (Stakeholder 4).

> *"Most of the times – specifically teenagers needs to just have a – 'just hear me out', just to have a listen to me man, okay, uhm, if you just – if parents just have a ear for that child, and just to listen and mom and dad…"* (Stakeholder 2).

Stakeholders were aware that LAs were entering into more serious romantic relationships, an important facet of their psychosocial development (Connolly, Nguyen, Pepler, Craig & Jiang, 2013; Petegem, Brenning, Baudat, Beyers & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2018). Beyers and Goossens (2008), as well as Ruhl, Dolan and Burhmester (2014), recommended that parental guidance, support, discipline and boundary-setting with their LA be more permeable to allow for the

scaffolding of independence in response to their LA's developmental needs. A stakeholder shared an analogy elucidating how he perceived PI should be during LA:

> *"…parents are like water…the flame of the youth have to burn so when you have a braai….and there's a flame, you just…sparkle it with…some water but not to let the fire burn out – you don't put a whole bucket of water over it…you just give it some sparkles to that fire so that at least the fire knows okay, the water is in control…if that fire burns out of control, if that youth is out of control, you will know what damage it does…"* (Stakeholder 2).

At the same time, stakeholders were aware that while parents were scaffolding the LA's independence, they needed to remain connected with their LA too:

> *"If they do fall you're just right there. Uhm, if that child are rejected – you just right there because why – you know, 'cause you – every - and this is the one thing that I discovered – parents need to study their child as well. Study their child for when he come in, how he speaks, what music he listens…"* (Stakeholder 2).

> *"…but mommy and daddy will come reject him and 'What?! Why you so?! You're taking long! Why you taking so long in the toilet?!', so all these things is like people needs to be a – a parent need to be aware around that their children is growing up and they have to – they need support…to have that development…"* (Stakeholder 2).

These stakeholders had a clear understanding of the LA developmental stage within the structure of the family unit, which aided them in their perceptions of PI. They recognised that PI needed to respond to the LAs' developmental needs in order to successfully support the LAs' educational and psychosocial outcomes. The following themes elucidated the participants' experiences and challenges concerning PI during LA.

6.3.2 Theme 2: Parents' experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence

Compared to the LAs, parents expressed far more experiences of their involvement activities, emphasising their efforts to be present in the educational and psychosocial domains of their

LA's life. The experiences and challenges of PI during LA corroborated with some of the experiences and challenges of the LAs in this study, while others did not. Parents experienced traditional and less traditional types of PI (Latunde, 2017). Both types influenced the educational and psychosocial outcomes of the LAs. This finding strengthened the growing recognition that PI is also positively associated with LA psychosocial outcomes (Benner, Boyle & Sadler, 2016; Cheung & Pomerantz 2011; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Jeynes, 2007; Park & Holloway, 2018; Zhan & Sherraden 2011).

The school-based types of PI that emerged included attendance of parent meetings or school activities and school-parent communication, while the home-based forms of PI included homework assistance, establishing an environment conducive to school outcomes, communication about the school day and academic socialisation (Epstein, 2008; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Wang et al., 2014). The less dominant or non-traditional types of PI included parents ensuring their emotional presence, provision of basic needs, love, affection, quality time and boundaries. Challenges concerning PI were associated with the LA's behaviour, SES of parents, and FLC stressors. Parents' experiences and challenges concerning the more mainstream and less dominant forms of PI are discussed in sub-themes *Presence and provision of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents*, and *Communication and connection of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents*.

6.3.2.1 Sub-theme 2.1: Presence and provision of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents

Vogel (2008) posited that parents underestimate the positive influence their involvement has on their child's academic outcomes and their behaviour. Parents' presence and provision in the

LA's educational and psychosocial dimensions characterised ways in which they experienced being involved. Some parents shared examples of their school-based forms of PI (Epstein, 2008):

> *"…if there is perhaps a meeting, then I would always attend…then I go listen…"* (Parent 2).

> *"…if her dad isn't with us then, but most of the times he tries as her dad to be involved – where-where – at her school uh-uh – maybe has functions or meetings and stuff, there's times where I don't perhaps feel good, then uh, he goes…"* (Parent 4a).

Participant 4a was fortunately able to rely on her husband to attend the LA's school meetings during times when it was not possible for her to be present. Rönkä, Malinen, Metsäpelto, Laakso, Sevón and Verhoef-van Dorp (2017) and Täht and Mills (2016) referred to this as *tag-team* parenting methods which appeared to support the parents in counteracting challenges of time and energy availability in households, especially parents who worked non-standard hours or had seasonal working schedules. Yoo (2019) has confirmed the role which family structure plays in influencing PI. A participant confirmed this influencing role:

> *"…when we get home, if he* (i.e. spouse) *is at home Miss then – then he washes and makes like – what we don't get through in the morning – he will do it. He cleans, he will put on the machine to also do the washing – and he hangs it up – the washing. And he will like cook – he's – he kneads bread for us and then he bakes us bread…*(starts laughing)*…and he cooks for us…then I can just sit…and when I get home then I can come sit and everything has been done"* (Parent 7).

Family structures comprising more than one child benefited from parents engaged in this tag-team parenting method as it mitigated the possibility of parental role overload (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Rönkä et al., 2017; Täht & Mills, 2016). A parent illustrated this in the following citation:

> *"Mornings, uhm, six-thirty, six-thirty it's wake up time, then the twins – LA gets up first and then the twins get up, then I must also get up – okay, from the time that I had the operation – he – he – okay, he gets up every morning but then I had the operation – I am so grateful for him Miss – from day one he stood by me – from day one…"* (Parent 4a).

Täht and Mills (2016) and Polk (2013) mentioned that exhausted parents become less emotionally available and increasingly insensitive towards their children as a result of working non-standard hours. In the following household, even with the presence of a supportive partner, stressful working conditions compromised the parent's energy and emotional availability:

> *"I think the stress of work – many times then we take the stress out on each other because you feel tired or the day at work wasn't nice – things didn't flow nicely for you that day – now you go home with that stress – now the children come – now something again and you just go off on that child – 'Why did you? Can't you see you threw too much milk? You can see there's nothing here – you don't see that…' You just go off but it's honestly not really what you want to go off about – you actually just want to debrief – you're tired, you're – look, there you are – things were just too much for you…"* (Parent 1a).

In a study by St George and Fletcher (2011), mothers and fathers expressed similar experiences of feeling supported when their partner helped with the caregiving responsibilities of the children. This parent elaborated further:

> *"Miss, I-I, it's like – like he said to Miss: we come out of different backgrounds and uh, when we had our family – I don't know if it came from nature or what but we just felt that if you wash the dishes then he is going to dry off – together, everyone is going to something…like some uh-uh families – the man and the children believe that the mom must do everything – the mom must make food, she must do everything – but not in this household…"* (Parent 4a).

In comparison, a single parent described:

> *"…I try my best – I do what I can but he must also understand – he's not the only child – there are other children and nobody stands by me – or any of the children – it's just me. That's why I also say to LA – I can't just focus on the things that you're busy with – there's also – and they are small – they don't have*

> *– I won't say, need more attention but it* ***is*** *like that. I must focus on them more because they're small and they go to school and [Name of daughter] – [Name of daughter] is the only girl – I have to especially keep my eyes on her…"* (Parent 3).

A married couple's opinion was that:

> *"It is also – I-I-I-I also just thought about that and it's that uh, in many cases the reason why there is so little parental involvement is-is because uh, the most is single parents…"* (Parent 4a).

> *"But often the-the-the-the work circumstances is of such a nature that the parent is not maybe really interested or the – that the parent may – the-the woman maybe doesn't have a husband that can support her…with all these things – to meet their responsibilities for the child or if the mom isn't there, the dad should be there or if the dad isn't there, the mom should be there. But both – they must, they must – they must throw their weight in behind the child."* (Parent 4b).

The FLCT was originally crafted viewing the family within a nuclear structure. However, in current times society is not only built upon diverse family structures, but is also embedded within diverse socio-economic, socio-historical and socio-cultural landscapes (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Prout, 2011; Roman, 2014). Therefore, the nuclear family structure is no longer the norm nor it the main ingredient for a healthy, happy family (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Prout, 2011). However, it was evident that in this context single parents experienced challenges concerning PI during LA (Yoo, 2019). In some instances, parents tried to mitigate the challenges of single parenthood by entering into intimate relationships:

> *"…and – look, I don't have a boyfriend at the moment because that doesn't help either. That – I had hoped it would help – it's just more stress. And I don't want it like that – so at the moment it's just my children and I – I live just for them now and – so if there is, there is and if there isn't, we understand each other…"* (Parent 3).

> *"…I don't know if Miss knows – at one time I had a – uh, boyfriend* (chuckles) *here – now that was the whole reason and…okay, in the beginning it went fine and – I mean – and then, at a later time, I heard that he* (i.e. LA son) *saw things – saw things that I didn't see. And he always told me about it but I never wanted*

> *to believe him – and these things affected him … he* (i.e. boyfriend) *always – the children were pushed down…"* (Parent 2).

Parent 2 elaborated further on how her involvement with her son was affected by the relationship with her intimate partner:

> *"…I was always shouting at him* (i.e. LA)*, screaming at him – or I don't give him what I always used to give him … the attention and love … he didn't get that anymore…"* (Parent 2).

Rönkä (2017) and Tarantino et al., (2018) argued that surviving harsh socio-economic conditions adds a layer of stress to the parent-child relationship and hampers PI. The area in which this study was conducted is characterised by high levels of unemployment and seasonal work, mainly in the agricultural sector (Socio-economic Profile: Langeberg Municipality, 2017). Further challenges concerning PI, which stemmed from single-parent family structures and economic hardships, included the lack of involvement of parents, role reversal and increased risk of poverty (Green et al., 2007; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Parents explained:

> *"He just doesn't think about what he does – his dad had never played a fatherly role in his life – his dad did nothing – nothing from his dad – he sees that I try my absolute best – sometimes – I don't care if I go sleep hungry but as long as I can see how my children eat – that alone fills me up…"* (Parent 3).

> *"No, he* (i.e. LA son) *is quiet. He's quiet or he would always say 'What's going on with mommy?' Then I say: 'No, he must…there isn't still a dad that gives back…"* (Parent 2).

Moreover, vertical stressors such as intergenerational family conflict and patterns of addiction (McGoldrick et al., 2016), added to challenging socio-economic and family structural circumstances, exacerbated the amount of stress which parents had to endure:

> *"…I don't have my own accommodation … my mom and I – my mom-them have enough accommodation but they don't want to give me accommodation because we have a family drama business that's coming on for yearrrrrrs and I am tired*

of being involved in that – I am really tired and I don't still want my children to go through that because I am 39 years old now and it still hasn't changed…" (Parent 3).

"we had to first live by my cousin and things were chaotic for her and uh…we didn't have a choice because there wasn't food ... and we didn't know where we were going with our children – went to my mom one day and asked her if I couldn't put up a bungalow behind her house and she agreed but now, at the end of the day I find out it also doesn't always work – to want to live or live by your parents because one day we get along – or one day she gets along with Spouse but when she has a drinking then she doesn't get along with [Spouse] – or she shouts at my children..." (Parent 1b).

At times, parents' working hours and transport were challenges concerning their involvement at their LA's school meetings. However, this parent argued:

"…uhm, I – if I can just name something – many times, the parent uses the work as an excuse and I don't believe that – with ***me*** *– with* ***me*** *–* ***nothing*** *can be an excuse for me to not be involved with my child…If my child must at 6 'o clock or – say there is a meeting at the school next week Friday, 6 'o clock then today I will – from today I will start to organise with the work: "Listen here, I want to be there earlier" or, I will go work earlier so that I can be involved with my children – so I don't think – our – the parents really have an excuse – the excuses that they have are weak – it's weak excuses to not be involved with their child and the day that they feel they want to become involved, then that child has already progressed so far in the wrong things, that there is nothing left – that the parent can really do…"* (Parent 4b).

Mncube (2009) posited that parents from lower SES groups often struggled to attend school meetings as it was a challenge to obtain permission from their employers to leave work. The lack of autonomy which some parents had at work, was substantiated through these accounts:

"…the white man (whispering) *– the foreman – I say "You must* ***listen****! Why don't you see that mommy's patient? Mommy just works because I came for work. I didn't come for chatting and this and that … I must listen. I am desperate for work. And I* ***am*** *desperate for work…"* (Parent 6).

"… [Name of employer] and I had a fall out – about a public holiday which we – we argued about a public holiday – and now ***that*** *public holiday, I didn't go to work. Myself and a buddy…we decided we're not going to work because it's a*

> *public holiday and also, he didn't **ask** us to go work and the evening he sends us a message to say that that man and I must make sure we're at his office and so we did so. When we came there, we didn't even give us a warning first – he just reported us* (claps his hands) *– he says to us: 'Oraait* (claps his hands)*! There's the road!"* (Parent 1b).

Parents' autonomy at work definitely presented a challenge concerning PI during LA in this study. One parent reported that when her work was more conveniently located to the school grounds, she was able to counter challenges related to her autonomy at her workplace, and thus be involved in ways that supported her LA's school-related activities. This indicated that it was not necessarily the parent's unwillingness to be involved, but that perhaps she may not have had the autonomy at work to prescribe her working hours, as a parent from a higher SES bracket possibly would have (Mncube, 2009). She explained:

> *"I am going to the school again on Tuesday to go collect her number…*
> *…she said to me, 'Mommy, I am going to stay at home so long then mommy can get my number because mommy is just there by the school* (starts laughing)*…"* (Parent 7).

Ensuring that LAs went to school was an additional way in which parents employed home-based forms of PI (Motala & Luxomo, 2014). The presence of a supportive partner assisted lower SES parents with multiple children and non-standard working hours to optimise this type of PI (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Rönkä et al., 2017; Täht & Mills, 2016, Yoo, 2019):

> *"And then I get up and I pray first and then I will boil the water and then I will wake him up and then he gets up – he will get up and wash his face and then he will go pray and then he will make us coffee – he loves to make us coffee – he likes that – he must make the coffee first* (giggles)*…then he makes us coffee and then I will wake up the children one at a time so that they can get done for school…"* (Parent 7).

> *"The dad will get up first…I will tell the dad: 'Wake up your child'…then we call him – now we're lying down and it's half past five then it's [Name of second oldest daughter]: '[Name of second oldest daughter], are you awake?',*

> *'…yes…'…then I will get up … then the dad will get up … I don't make the coffee, don't put the bread in – the dad will do it … [Name of youngest daughter] will climb in by me, now I will eat, then the dad will put down my coffee, put down my bread, put down [Name of youngest daughter] … [Name of youngest daughter]is cleaned up and then I will get up – get up to get [Name of youngest daughter]ready, to get myself ready for school– that's our routine for the day … an hour after I get home then I rest a bit, then I will get up – five o' clock I will get up and begin to make food for us – by seven's side then we will eat…"* (Parent 1a).

Home-based types of PI featured as a dominating facet of parents' experiences concerning PI. Parents creating a conducive learning environment and routine at home was a way of supporting the LAs' educational outcomes (Epstein, 2008). This parent shared some examples from their home:

> *"…in the week, LA doesn't actually do anything because it's – she must concentrate on her school work and the twins will wash dishes in the evenings and on weekends LA does the laundry, take off, fold up and pack away…and like Sundays – she must help her dad or I to make food and so on. That is where the team effort comes in."* (Parent 4a).

> *"…but uh, at the end of the day he always tries to be involved…in their education and uh, helps with school work and Miss knows that the school work is so difficult…I will help with writing essays – and that's my area, but the mathematics and so on, that is his area…so every day when [Names of two youngest children]comes home and they have homework, then they are seated at the table…and…the one* (i.e. parent) *helps there and the other one* (i.e. other parent) *helps there…LA does her homework at the table…"* (Parent 4a).

Parent 4a alluded to challenges concerning PI, which related to parents' level of education. Another parent lightheartedly admitted:

> *"Miss, sometimes I don't understand a* ***thing****, but I must help her* (laughing)*…"* (Parent 7).

In a study of PI in rural Eastern Cape (Motala and Luxomo, 2014), parents expressed that because of their limited levels of education they did not feel equipped to help their children

with their homework. One of the motivators for parents to become involved is their available knowledge and skills and parental self-efficacy (Walker et al., 2010). However, in this study, even when parents admitted they did not understand their LA's work, they realised the benefit of being present and reinforcing the value of education (Motala & Luxomo, 2014). Parents' level of education, knowledge and skills thus presented a challenge concerning their ability to be involved in helping their LA with their school work, especially at higher grades where the schoolwork becomes increasingly complex and, at times, was presented in the parents' second language (De Planty, 2007; Green et al., 2007; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). The majority of the parents shared that they did not complete formal schooling:

> *"I am out of school in Standard 5…Grade 6 – actually, I passed Standard 6 but didn't complete it…"* (Parent 6).

> *"…but I went just up until Grade 10 – I didn't complete it, which I regret today. The reason I didn't complete: my mom-them moved to Hills-Valley because my brother lived here – the oldest one, my-my – actually my grandmother moved here to Hills-Valley – her oldest son – she moved up to her oldest son after her mom's death and then she felt that she wouldn't be able to make it down there but after a period of time she went back. By then I had already left the school."* (Parent 7).

Reasons for parents leaving formal school prematurely differed, including FLC stressors like family illness and the need to support the household financially (McGoldrick et al., 2016):

> *"…very different and had it very heavy on the farm – and so the time that my dad got sick, we also had to just leave the school – to help my mom, yes, and so I had to leave the school for my dad – because that time we lived on the farm and we had to go to school in Hills-Valley…other school…my brother had another opportunity – my brother which I – which is older than me – just one brother also – he actually lives in the informal settlement. He has that education, that at least he passed until Standard 7 – so he also had to come help me work – that was how it was for us that time. Otherwise we would've had an education – we wouldn't have sat here – where? I would have had – a big house…"* (Parent 6).

Compounding this intergenerational family pattern of leaving school prematurely were their socio-economic conditions. However, despite the parents' experience of leaving school to work, they communicated their disappointment that their children had to leave school as well:

> *"…felt so sorry for me that I didn't have food in my house – so for old time's sake – my two oldest children also left school – they went to work for mommy…*(becomes very emotional, finding it difficult to talk)*…but had it very hard, but I accepted it."* (Parent 6).

> *"I wanted – my desire was actually that he must complete school. And, I desire that he must one day for his mom and I – that was my actual desire because I also wanted that when he is done with school, and then he can maybe work for us – maybe when I am old or she* (i.e. his wife) *passes away or I am not alive anymore then he would look over her or he must make provision for a place for her – we now can't live by my mom for the rest of our lives – but I guess it was also just like – how it should have not been probably…when he made a child and did now just what wanted to do. And now also it, it, it – he is also just there with us in the house – he also now feels – he gives his mom money or he doesn't give his mom. So he – can say – he doesn't actually work for us anymore – he now works just for himself…"* (Parent 1b).

Despite parents' level of education being affected by FLC stressors such as unpredicted illness in the family or economic hardships, parents described how their family persevered through severe conditions of poverty (McGoldrick et al., 2016). It was clear that despite experiencing difficult socio-economic conditions during their FLC, parents' PI was strengthened by their own experiences at times:

> *"…I-I come out of a background where years ago – where we were put out in the Apartheid years … where my one brother and I … slept outside in the bushes and my mom protected us. And uh…the following morning we used the water – the rain water to wash our faces…and then we went to school again...this is how my mother stood up and this is how she worked* (crying)*…but I am thankful for this and how I am today … that is why I tell my children everyday: 'A person – today we have but tomorrow we may not have – so if someone comes and knocks on the door asking for a piece of bread – give that person because we are in a position where we have something to give…"* (Parent 4b).

> *"…I had a good mother – well-educated and we were eleven children that my mother raised … it was very hard times but it was also good times because we were spoiled – we had respect for our mother and she had respect for us so it was good times…but it was also heavy times and so many little ones in a house where everyone had to get something and…uh-uh-uhm – you're used to sharing – now my children are not used to that they must share – they're not used to it – they must just get that thing … so I grew up with respect and I still appreciate how my mom raised me…"* (Parent 1a).

Additional forms of PI included parents providing love and affection to their LA children, which parents believed supported their LA's psychosocial well-being:

> *"No…I am still here for them all the way…frommmmm the time – from when they were here inside* (points to her womb area) *till this age – there, I believe the love can make a difference – love is just love…"* (Parent 5).
> *"So she comes through all these things – what we give to her is a stable home – and also not just a home, but no, we give her a life – we love her."* (Parent 1a).

Parents verified that providing for the LAs' basic needs at home was a way of being involved:

> *"Then I will say to LA: 'there's your food' – I can scold and say: 'I'm not going to give you food! I'm not going to wash your clothes…', but that's just words that you say – when I dish up food, then I know I'm going to dish up a plate of food – and if I do washing, then I* ***throw*** *his one side, but when I'm almost done, then I think* (clicks her tongue), *let me just wash it because I don't want to let him walk dirty – because how is it going to look – then I just do it…"* (Parent 3).

A critical developmental task to be mastered during the LA life stage is a parent providing autonomy-strengthening opportunities or moments where parents scaffold their LA's independence (Brooks, 2013; Friesen & Woodward, 2013; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Ruhl et al., 2014; Walsh, 2016; Worthen, 2012). This is especially pertinent in the FLCT, which posits that the adolescent is being prepared to be launched into early adulthood (Dollas & Draper, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Some parents had the knowledge and skills to recognise their LA's increasing need for independence, and thus aligned their PI to suit the life stage (Green et al., 2007; Wang et al., 2014):

"It's-it's (i.e. Matric dance) *– I told Miss – but it's an expensive business – then you think, the photographer alone is R1000 – dress was R1000 – everything is expensive – I think the shoes were R400 – but uh-uh – a person does it – I am – a person does it out of pride of your child. I think that – when I look at her and see her like that – how excited she is, then I also feel excited. It's like a – almost like and little wedding* (starts laughing). *Usually, there is also an after-party* (laughing) *– he or she steps into the adult world…"* (Parent 7).

"…he knows now that he's a young man – he must go shoot pool and my oldest daughter said: 'No mommy, little brother does that', little brother does that (laughing)*! Ag, he brags…he says about his ID – he is the only man who has his ID* (laughing)*! He's the only one amongst the young crowd – who hang out by the shop above – he's the only man who has an ID…"* (Parent 6).

Some parents struggled to relinquish control over their LA children:

"We want to still have her under us – it suits me – in my view, I can't complain – even if she goes – she is going to be in Matric – she's a young woman now – I still see, ag, she's – she puts that dress on – LA – then she will say 'no', she's putting on the dress that she wants to wear. So for me it's – it's still hard for me to see her growing up…" (Parent 1a).

"…I must say to Miss that their dad is very strict – there's times that I must say to him that he must loosen the rope a little, little … for example, he used to believe in physical punishment – if they – if they walk out of line – they must get a hiding. And uh, so I said to him, LA and [Name of LA's older sister] are getting big now – they're young girls, uh, you need to think of a different way to punish them. Uh-uhm, then he uh, took their phones away…" (Parent 4a).

Despite the LA's growing need for independence, parents felt that their support and provision of material desires were still needed:

"She (i.e. LA) *loves her father very much and he loves her...those two – he's – she's – he will never say no to her for anything. I say to him many times then-then he has … say now he doesn't have money – and he just has his airtime money and she asks him then he will give that airtime money to her…now I say to him, 'but when are **you** going to get airtime?' Then he says, 'No, but she asked now…' …he will never say no to anything for her…"* (Parent 7).

"How to be involved – to go where he (i.e. LA) *is – where he does the right things…to support – he doesn't work, but if he asks me, 'Give me a little money,*

> *I want to go play rugby…', then I feel I will give him the little money, then I make sure it is for that. And afterwards, I know I will go because I want to be there to support him – I want to show him that there is something good in him…something that he can do…"* (Parent 1a).

At times, gift-giving was a PI strategy to prevent LAs from getting involved in negative activities outside of the family home, especially when the environment outside the home warranted the parents' concern (Byrnes and Miller, 2012; Roman, 2014):

> *"…loves to watch TV, we bought him a phone – that was now – when he had a phone, then my child was very, very calm. Played games – late – till the whole of tomorrow morning – all night* (chuckling) *– and then his phone got taken off and then he became again like he is now. So the dad and I had to buy him a phone again…and then always at home – not sleeping out, not coming home late or disobedient. But it's just when the phone is gone, then he's – he's not the same…"* (Parent 6).

Not all parents could afford these ways of being involved however:

> *"…LA is now uhm, uhm, she really wants name brand clothing – which we can't afford at the moment en uh, but what her dad also said to her was that – she wanted a phone, uh, a Huawei … which they also know that they must* ***work*** *for what they want to have in life…so her dad said to her: 'Bring me a good report then we can look at that…', and now at the moment is it a bit difficult for us to meet LAs' requirements…but what I also want to say to Miss is that LA is satisfied with everything. Like at the moment, she is walking with broken shoes – you can't see it – it's broken underneath, but she doesn't force us – she knows what our circumstances are uh, there's no money now…"* (Parent 4a).

Moreover, not all parents agreed that gift-giving was the optimum way to be involved with their LA and placed more value on being present in ways that supported their LAs' educational and psychosocial well-being. Parents further questioned whether their strategy to be involved in this way was effective:

> *"…you know Miss, there are, uhm, some days then my son comes home and he says to me that the friend just told her that she-she wishes that she had a mom and dad like that – that was so, uh, involved. Now she says … she lacks nothing pertaining to name brand things and so on – like LA lacks a lot of name brand*

things – if we could afford it, we would've bought it but I mean, the most important is naturally your involvement in your child's life. I mean – now the child is going to brag with a pair of sneakers but then the mom isn't there…" (Parent 1a).

"…and I don't know if I spoilt him too much or if we made too much of him that he turned out like this – and I still ask the Lord every day: 'Lord, Lord, where did I go wrong with that child?'…" (Parent 1a).

Another experience of PI was spending quality time together as a family as evidenced below:

"If there are things we do together, then it's eat together, talk with one another, he won't sit in the alone in the house and eat. He sits with us in the house till late evenings. Now we have that DVS – or how do you say it now? On the TV…that channel…?" (Parent 6).

"Then we will sit together and listen to music – many times then we take the phone and we plug the aux in and listen to music – like that…or we will watch a movie…" (Parent 7).

Some parents established family rituals to reinforce the importance of spending quality time together as a family:

"Yes, look, when we went to hospital on the 14th February, we were all together, and we all came home together and that's – that's actually – that is what we do – we try to be involved and the family, keep the children together…" (Parent 4b).

"Wednesday evenings – then we had our family evening – then we believe we must all be in the house that time – then we were in my room around the bed – then we played stokes or then it's playing games…" (Parent 1a).

St George and Fletcher (2011) argued that it was not the quantity of time, but the quality of time spent together which was important. Parents incorporated fun into quality time with their LA:

"We will pray, and when we're done praying, then each one will go to their bed but then we're still going to talk back and forth till we hear…then it becomes quiet (chuckles) *– they love to call on my to hear about something or, if LA goes to the bathroom – she goes to the toilet then I will always hear: 'Mommy!*

Mommy!' Then I say – I ask her: 'What is it?' Then she says: 'We just wanted to know if mommy is sleeping' (laughing)*…"* (Parent 7).

"No, uh-uh – look, like LA – she's very – she's lots of fun in the house – she will just rope me in like from the door there then she says to me: 'Daddy, come piggy-back me a bit…', or, 'Daddy, come pick me up a bit…'; she will do that or she calls me to the bathroom and she's not yet done – then she says, 'Daddy, come carry me to the bedroom' (all laughing)*…"* (Parent 4b).

Parents revealed that sometimes LAs invited them to be involved (Green et al., 2007), which was considered a powerful motivator of PI:

"We will always, uh-uhm, watch films together – or – if he maybe has a movie on his phone, then he will always say to me: 'Mommy, mommy, I want to show mommy something…', then it's like I must now for him – we watch a movie tonight or so on – or, he will tell about what happened at work and so on…" (Parent 2).

"It's a whole, big joke – they can tease each other Miss…LA and her younger brother tease each other – especially her – she doesn't leave anyone alone – she's the one who bothers everyone – I will maybe be lying down and then she will come and lie down on top of me…but now, to play…or she will – if her younger brother goes past her and she will tug at him – like that…" (Parent 7).

However, challenges concerning parents' ability to spend quality time were partly related to the developmental transitions taking place in their LA's life:

" – attitudes and behaviours: … it's part of teenagers and we've had teenagers already – we've – we've already raised a teenager – we know what their attitudes and behaviours are like – when they feel like they want to lie all day in their room and you mustn't bother them and then rather leave…you must come out of the room yourself…" (Parent 4a).

"…at the moment, LA is at that young girl stage where she doesn't want to be told. She's at that stage where she also listens to love songs – uh, uh, the time when my boy was at that stage where he began to listen to love songs through the night, then I knew that my boy was interested in girls. Now I observe her and see how her reactions are the same like when he started – she's like, 'you don't tell me what I must wear', 'you don't tell me what I must do', or if I don't want to do that thing then I don't do that thing…" (Parent 1a).

McGoldrick et al., (2016) posited that an important developmental task for parents during this stage of the FLC is to know how to parent appropriately during adolescence. A parent shared:

> *"Now at the moment, LA – now that one – she stays at home during the day and she comes out at night. You can see now, she's on the rugby field – on the field because she has a sports day today, but tomorrow – then that child will sit – and she has this way – my kids love to go to church – she doesn't love to go to church – she goes to the church here by the [Name of people close by]"* (Parent 1a).

Challenging the parents' desire to spend time with their LAs was the LA's lack of reciprocity. Crosnoe and Johnson (2011) argued that LAs may not want to spend time publicly with their parents because of their increasing awareness of themselves in relation to their peers and context. Authenticating this argument, parents stated:

> *"I think it's because her friends are in that church and her friends are not at our church and we're Apostolic and there it's worship and stuff – now by us we dance around in circles – all in a group and there, it's not like that…"* (Parent 1a).

> *"If it's that team playing then we will take all the children there – except the big one – the big one doesn't want to be seen with us and she* (i.e. LA) *doesn't want to be seen with us … We are not cool enough and our car doesn't look good enough for her…that's what it is – she will actually just say: 'No! Who wants to drive in that car?!"* (Parent 1a).

Increased time spent with peers, combined with the shifting behaviours of LA, are normal developmental milestones, but were experienced at times as a challenge for parents concerning PI. When LA friendships introduced differing values to the home context, it caused parent-LA conflict (Walsh, 2012; Worthen, 2012). This confirmed the "bi-directional and transactional nature of parental involvement" (Kerr et al., 2012; Roman, 2014; Sy, Gottfried & Gottfried, 2013:133):

> *"…because if a child humiliates you amongst people and remember, a person gets hurt – a person has a heart…later on, you become harder and harder towards you child…and at the end of it all you no longer love that child because*

> *just those words that a child gives you – it's very hurtful – after you have carried him for nine months in your womb, you have raised him from baby at that time – and now you must be humiliated – oh no…"* (Parent 5).

> *"…I hit LA in front of his friends – afterward, I felt a bit bad because I was…I thought he probably felt humiliated because I hit him in front of his buddies – I … So he and I fought like big people because he's now on that level – but he wants to sleep with a woman and he wants to have cigarettes and he sells his own marijuana and buys his own packets of cigarettes – so I handle him like a grownup – yes, I handle him like that…"* (Parent 3).

A study by Yoo (2019) confirmed that emotional challenges and delinquent behaviours of LAs shaped parenting behaviours and had the potential to cause parents to withdraw from their LAs. The LA's increasing time spent with peers is part of their social development to establish healthy intimate relationships and to explore their ideals, but this can often cause parent-LA conflict (Walsh, 2012; Worthen, 2012). Some parents shared their concerns when LAs formed friendships that negatively influenced their behaviours and attitudes. Parents expressed that:

> *"…yes, at about fifteen, sixteen, so with the walking around, the wrong buddies – there I found out about him…because of his wrong buddies I realised, but you're on the wrong road…now whenever I spoke to him then he had that manner of talking, like in an agitated way and so on – also gave backchat – that's how I figured him out but you're on the wrong road…"* (Parent 2).

> *"And I really don't like them because they don't have respect, they walk around and smoke openly in the street and with half beers in the street and that's what makes me so angry – they're all older than him* (i.e. LA) *– he doesn't fit in there…"* (Parent 3).

Both of these single mothers struggled to obtain secure work at the times of the interviews, which made it challenging for them to continuously monitor their LA's movements with peers. However, recognising that it is the quality and not the quantity of time spent with the LA, which is important, was critical when considering that not all parents had time and energy reserves (Green et al., 200; Pomerantz et al., 2007; St George & Fletcher, 2012). A response from a

participant when asked about the family routine during the week alluded to this challenge concerning PI:

> *"Is this now a week evening or a weekend?"* (Parent 1a).

Gordon and Cui (2012) asserted that PI had an important role in bond- or attachment-strengthening between the parent and child, which was compromised by parents' life context variables. The low SES of the parents in this study, their high job scarcity, intergenerational patterns of poverty, lack of secure employment, and working non-standard hours or away from home, directly affected their available time and energy to be involved with their LAs (Green et al., 2007; Rönkä et al., 2017; Täht & Mills, 2016). Available time and energy is a life context variable in the study of the PI framework by Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) that can yield positive implications on the quality of PI during LA (Green et al., 2007; Lavenda, 2011; Walker et al., 2010). This was verified through parents' experiences:

> *"…you can say that there was a time that I truly didn't see them. There was a time here in Hills-Valley – a time where I worked in [Distant rural town] – then uh, I just come to the security gate, just come kiss her, then I give her the money through the gate and then I must drive again – then I didn't even see the children – there was a time when I uh-uh-uh, worked in the [City] – maybe it's mornings then they're sleeping and then evenings when I come back then they're sleeping – like that – basically, they saw me Fridays – from Monday to Thursday they didn't see me…"* (Parent 4b).

> *"He* (i.e. Spouse) *works in Hills-Valley but he is off now for six weeks – the season has stopped…and I work in town here and there in the houses…"* (Parent 7).

Parents explained that at times, to mitigate these hardships, they left their children in the care of extended family members when securing work away from home:

"…they didn't grow up by me. I raised [Name of oldest son] up until one year and three months, went to the city – I went to work. Mommy took him – so he grew up by her. Until she was no longer alive…" (Parent 5).

"…same like the oldest one and also … look, I didn't raise him – like I already, already have mentioned – with the heavy times…I was then pregnant and…also no place to live … I also thought 'no man, this life isn't – it-it, I am carrying too much of a heavy load' and so I got to my uncle's wife, placed child down and so I just went to hitchhike … hitchhiked to [Name of City]. And they raised him and…you know how people raise your children – they – say very ugly things about you – 'you weren't a mom for them' – and so on – but they don't really know what it is about." (Parent 2).

Parents remembered how they had similar experiences of their parents leaving home for employment purposes:

"We were a bit – that time was it – we were raised strictly – we – look, we lived by my – my oldest sister and I grew up by my grandmother and it was – uh-uh, under big people rules…" (Parent 7).

"…my mom also didn't have proper accommodation … so she also went to work for other people in the [City] – and so I actually went to look for her but I didn't find her…so…we just also went on our own paths and so on…and now we're back with one another again…" (Parent 2).

Patterns of parenting, family belief systems, myths, legacies and family stories can be passed down through generations as vertical stressors, which have a significant influence on the development of the FLC over time (Dallos & Draper, 2015; Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016). One such FLC stressor and final challenge concerning PI to be discussed in this sub-theme, was the pattern of addiction. FLC stressors can destabilise the family's development – especially at transitional points of development (Dallos & Draper, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2016). These parents elaborated how their addiction to alcohol influenced how their LAs responded to their PI attempts:

"They come – actually [Name of oldest son] works a lot now, so I see him very little, but if he is off then he comes, but when I drank – huh-uh – that child doesn't want to come to me. Then he rides past on his scooter – then if he comes down

> *the street there by us, seems he gives petrol – looks as though he doesn't see me* (laughing) … *now I send a message to him, and then I ask LA to ask [Name of oldest son] if I am a snake or a witch that he doesn't come to me…then LA says, 'No, my mom doesn't want to stop drinking – so…', now LA also doesn't come to me when I am drunk…"* (Parent 5).

> *In my home…? I mean there aren't any more problems – from the time that I left the alcohol and from when my children started walking upright – there aren't any problems…why a parent also has problems actually – my uncle never wanted me to touch a bottle of alcohol…it's because of the circumstances of my child who is there in the Centre – see?"* (Parent 2).

Above, Parent 2 inferred that her substance abuse was a result of an unpredicted life event which is considered a horizontal stressor in the FLCT (Dallos & Draper, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2916). Parents shared their experiences of trauma and disruptions to the FLC, which in turn influenced their manner of PI:

> *"The two of them* (i.e. LA sons) *were very close to each other…always walking to new towns, then the two of them take each other by the hand and go to the new town and look for food amongst the people … also didn't worry about them – left them at the aunty where I lived…then I go out over weekends…and the Saturday evening I wasn't there … they came to tell me on the Sunday, but uhm, it was another brother that spoke to me – and he also didn't want to tell me that – because he knew it was my child they threw off the bridge – so he came to say to me, 'there's a little boy that has been thrown off the bridge', and I still said to the Lord: 'Oh Lord, isn't that my child?'…"* (Parent 2).

> *"I drank and drank – Jesus, did I drink – Jeez! Because of those things that stayed from the past – tonight he* (i.e. son) *comes to tell me 'My mom, those two* (i.e. referring to son's biological father and step-mother)*…! They-they keep on with "your mother" and keep saying "your mom was this and that"… A person gets angry sometimes when a person – I keep getting humiliated – from their time – it's ugly – they – the child is getting hurt – it's not like they scream inside the house – outside. How must he feel? He called his dad once about that his dad…I think it's two years ago – here! The dad cut him with the knife – he was taken to hospital…"* (Parent 5).

Thus far, it is clear that parents had a range of PI experiences and challenges concerning their presence and provision in both the educational and psychosocial dimensions of their LAs' lives.

The next sub-theme concentrates on *Communication and connection of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents,* which describes additional experiences and challenges that parents had concerning PI.

6.3.2.2 Sub-theme 2.2: Communication and connection of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents

Parent-child communication is essential for healthy adolescent development and outcomes and remains so over the adolescent's life stage (Byrnes & Miller, 2012; Keijsers & Poulin, 2013; Padilla-Walker, 2018; Polk, 2015). Despite the SES of the family, PI strategies such as preventative communication within the home as well as between the home and school context serve as a protective function, preventing adolescents from engaging in deviant behaviours, supporting their psychosocial well-being and strengthening family resilience and functioning (Connolly, Nguyen, Pepler, Craig & Jiang, 2013; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2015; Wang et al., 2014). However, the parent and LA must find new ways of communicating to recognise the LA's need for increased autonomy and the importance of maintaining parent-LA connectedness (Keijsers & Poulin, 2013). Additionally, the framework described by Epstein (2008) includes communication as one of the six types of PI, which enables educational development and success. In this study, communication and connection emerged as an integral form of PI, which parents felt supported the LA's educational and psychosocial well-being. These will be presented in this sub-theme.

Some parents employed the PI strategy of academic socialisation (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Wang et al., 2014). Scholars have hailed this mechanism as developmentally appropriate for the life stage of LA as it provides LAs with more opportunities for autonomy (Hill & Tyson, 2009;

Wang et al., 2014). Academic socialisation is evident when a parent emphasises the value of education and helps the LA to make links between the usefulness of their education and future goals and opportunities (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Wang et al., 2014). When probed about conversations regarding the LA's future, all the parents with LAs in school could relay their experiences of academic socialisation:

> *"…but she firstly said that she wants to be a teacher, so I said to her 'but you can be a teacher because you sit and write all day – sometimes I see the school work – then she's sitting and writing songs or she's busy to write and she loves little children – so I said to her 'but you must teach smaller kids with school work and so on…I will always if-if – she has a lot of patience for small children…schoolwork…"* (Parent 7).

> *"…I ask her: 'LA, in which direction are you going to study?' – 'No, why does [Parent 1a] want to know (re-enacting how LA responds abruptly)? And that was probably just before she went to Standard 9…she says, '[Parent 1a], you know, I said at the [Name of Youth Club] that I also want to help children who grew up like me – whose parents don't care for them…' – so I said 'so what is it that you must do?' She said: 'I am going to do social work [Parent 1a] – I am going to help children … so I said to her that it's a good that thing that she wants to do. So I asked her why she doesn't think of doing something else also – like a nurse or a doctor … so she said '[Parent 1a] doesn't have money for that – I will work – I **will** become a social worker – I am going to help others', she said to me…so that is how the two of us communicate about the future…"* (Parent 1a).

None of the parents were financially capable of carrying the cost of their LA's goals and dreams for future studies and careers, yet they continued to encourage and reinforce the value of education in alternative ways (Green et al., 2007, Latunde, 2017). Similar to the parents above, some of the adolescent participants in the study by Polk (2015) reported that their parents encouraged them to pursue a career which they would enjoy. Parents recalled how they instructed their LAs:

> *"…she decided herself – one day she just came out of school and said but she is going to the library and so I asked her what she is going to do there – and she said to me – but she is going to get the forms because she wants to fill it in*

because she wants to uh-uh, study to become a teacher. So I said to 'but it's right – go learn – go'…" (Parent 7).

"…she doesn't want to – work at any other places – she has that potential and she feels – now I say – now her dad says to her: 'LA, uh, if you learn nicely and so on, and we see what you do, then we can – and we can go the extra mile…like that…" (Parent 4a).

In these moments, parents still practised involvement by way of encouraging their LA to access the opportunities available to them in the wider community to reach their dreams and goals. Griffin and Steen (2010) confirmed that the optimum interaction between the spheres of school, family and community could support the educational outcomes of the LA. Parents from the lower SES were involved in encouraging their children to learn, which is expressed in the parents' comments above (Motala & Luxomo, 2014). Below, it was clear that the parent was unsure of what was required of her. Despite her limited knowledge and skills, she was prepared to participate actively in her LA's future career goals:

"Yes Miss – she wants to be a teacher actually. She has the forms – she has already filled it in – she has – I must now – don't know what she still needs – what she wants me to give her…then she will take it – don't know where she must take it…the library or something like that…?" (Parent 7).

Parents also tried to prepare their LAs for the working environment:

"…if you want to give yourself as a big man, because without work you can't take a wife and without work, you can't go make babies with a woman because a woman can't give you children if you ***don't have work*** *- then that girl is going to say: 'No, I don't want a lazy – I don't…' – how does a person say now? 'I don't want a bare man' 'I don't want a man with nothing…I want a man who has money' …today's girls are like that now – they look for a man who has* ***money****…"* (Parent 6).

"…there are times that I sit and we always come uhm-uhm…just like that uhm – 'if the day comes that mommy isn't there and then he must look after that person and have a better future…that things would be in such a way that one day you can look after those who are smaller…like that…talk like that... 'make sure that you get a good work', and so on…" (Parent 2).

One of the parents revealed her anxiety about her lack of knowledge to be able to have a discussion with her LA about his future aspirations (Green et al., 2007). She steered clear of starting the conversation with him:

> *"No…there, there, there is something, but, uhm, I was not really so open with him about that – but I am going to – a time will come…"* (Parent 2).

When probing further she revealed:

> *"No, I am still a little scared…but I am going to…* (a little later) *…look, uh, some things take me by surprise too – then the children have a whole lot of questions: 'now why?' and 'where do you go then?', and so on…"* (Parent 2).

Parents described how they communicated with the staff at the LA's school (Epstein, 2008; Green et al., 2007):

> *"…Yes Miss, for the time that LA has been at the school; LA is like one who is not interested in anything at the school. She did swimming and I supported it, I went to the hostel father and spoke a bit to him…"* (Parent 1a).

> *"They* (i.e. school staff of LA) *actually know him* (i.e. spouse/father) *better than me because … everything in which LA is involved, he will go to school. I will go if I am okay and if time and circumstances permit, then I will also go, but they know LA's dad already – if they bump into him then it's 'Hello Mr. [Name of LA's father]…' … and if we are there for school meetings … the teacher will always talk about LA with pride…"* (Parent 4a).

When asked to describe their relationship with their LA's teachers, some parents revealed that communication with their LA's teachers occurred mainly when the LA was not performing well or when they displayed troublesome behaviour at school. These parents provided examples of their interaction with their LA's teachers:

> *"…I can say that it's good…because uh-uh-uhm, if there is a problem at the school then I will go, but I have not have not yet had problems at the school so to say…"* (Parent 7).

> *"…they* (i.e. Teachers) *will always tell me LA likes to chat but when it comes to her work then she does it … but they say, they don't have any complaints that LA is a rude child – or anything like that…"* (Parent 4a).

In a comparative study by Lavenda (2011), it was suggested that the difference in the rate of communication between two culturally diverse groups of parents was due to the lower SES group's children getting into more trouble at school. Lavenda (2011) inferred that the parents from the lower SES group became involved as the LA's behavioural problems posed a threat to their adolescent's ability to complete their schooling, and in turn affected their social upward mobility. Parents alluded to the schools having a similar motivation for initiating communication with the parents:

> *"…if there are problems at the school – or, the child uh, stays out of school then we get called or say now, but she didn't come to school on time then we also get called – then to talk about the taxi…"* (Parent 7).

> *"Very good because right from his teacher to the principal – not one had any complaints about his schoolwork – that's why everyone was so disappointed in him. Why did he have to leave the school and not go back? I have already said to him, 'My child, even though you didn't complete last year, but if you now say to mommy you want to go to school – I will even neglect myself to buy you school clothes and I will do anything you want'…but that is what I want for him – but he doesn't come to that point…"* (Parent 3).

This married couple described experiences of home-based PI in the form of communication. Their practice of communicating with their LA was utilised as a tool to maintain family relationships and connectedness as well as to prevent any form of disruptions within the FLC (McGoldrick et al., 2016):

> *"…and what is also very important for us to teach our children: if you're unhappy, talk. If you're too shy to talk, send us – we have nice phones these days – send a message and say: 'Daddy, but what daddy said…' or '…what mommy said – I am not happy about it…' and then we will have a house meeting whereby all our four of our children are involved…and uh, then their dad will say to them that he – he isn't always easy to get along with, but he is also not unreasonable…uh, now you are unhappy and things deteriorate and you don't want to talk. So we always try to build that communication up with our children. If you're unhappy about a thing:* ***talk****. If you're too shy to talk, write it in a letter or send a little message…"* (Parent 4a).

> *"Like when we have a meeting then I will listen to what my children say to me. And I will say to them 'Okay, I am listening to what you want to say…' and when we're done, everyone is satisfied, and then we pray about the matter and we ask the Lord – then I say to them – I also say to them: 'Remember, we are in a partnership in this house, we must help each other…and if we're a team, we must help each other, and we will only get good results if we help one another…'. And uh, even LA – when I get home this afternoon, then my wife told me immediately where she is – that is the kind of communication we have with one another…"* (Parent 4b).

Parents' quality of relationship with their LA seemed to influence how they were able to be involved:

> *"…she and I actually have a tight bond because she's-she's – if she feels bad then I can immediately see that she doesn't feel good…or if I don't – if there is something I want to talk about then she will see immediately that I want to talk about something now…"* (Parent 7).

> *"…we laugh a lot at home – we like to make jokes and uh, to laugh and stuff, and-and tease and no one gets angry – you laugh till the tears run down and so on, and if you get angry you must just go away – but that's how we-we-we like…fun and things…we set up – like last night – we laughed again that tears were streaming down* (laughing)*…"* (Parent 4a).

Parents communicated with their LAs about their peer relationships and served as consultants as they provided LAs with guidance on how to navigate peer relationships as well (Brooks, 2013):

"…and uh, then she will always come to me and say, 'Mommy, thingy said that again…', then I will always say to her: 'LA, a person doesn't listen to everything – if thingy said that, leave thingy – leave thingy – there is always someone who will get thingy – so just leave thingy…', that is what I will always tell her – a person doesn't talk about others…" (Parent 7).

"…one day she came home in tears from the games shop – so her friend slapped her in the face just like that, and while the two of them – while she and her cousin were standing and she just slapped her in the face and her cousin – because he didn't want her to start fighting because it's going to be ugly – so he brought her home and so I said to LA, a person must choose your friends…you need to choose your friends because if your friends do strange things, then they're going to want you to also do it, and if you don't want to do it, then they're going to fight with you…" (Parent 7).

Parental knowledge and skills are crucial life context variables, which assist parents in being involved in their LA's life (Green et al., 2007). The following parent seemed to have the parental knowledge and skills to renegotiate the relationship with her LA daughter:

"…a person must – you must handle your child – you must always have an ear to listen. And you must always – you mustn't just want to be the mom – sometimes, you must – you must be your child's friend sometimes so that she can open up, feel comfortable when she wants to talk about something like – talk about pain…" (Parent 7).

Moreover, as parents recognised the importance of preparing LAs for early adulthood (Dallos & Draper, 2015; McGoldrick et al., 2016), they communicated about the importance of taking responsibility for oneself:

"No, if he is off over weekends, then he will pick up papers and so on – where he sees it lying around – he will pick up, but I still help him at the stage he is in now – the older stage…then I say: 'LA, is there still sugar?', 'LA, clean up that sugar – stop that – you're already a-a – young man…I'm not going to clean up after you…' – then he will always say: 'Sorry mommy' and so on – then he will clean up…" (Parent 2).

> *"Now I say to him: 'No, you must **work** for money…mommy and daddy can't always be there for you…', because now that he doesn't work its: 'Mommy, R10, daddy, R10, mommy…' and we give – we give. It's not to say that we give and give…"* (Parent 6).

Motala and Luxomo (2014) further posited that parents ensuring school attendance was a form of PI. Moreover, Walker et al., (2010) asserted that the parents' aspirations for their LAs are a greater predictor of educational outcomes than home-based forms of communication about homework or schoolwork. However, Parent 3 reverted to an authoritarian style of home-based communication in response to her LA's behaviour:

> *"…so I sat LA down and I said to him, 'I am the only parent here – you're all my children and no one stays at home – it's only me that stays at home and I must work, during the day the house is locked – here, there aren't children that lie at home because everyone goes to school…'…so that child let me understand but he's not going to school anymore…"* (Parent 3).

This parental style is not suited to the LA phase as it limits the autonomy of the LA (Beyers & Goossen, 2008; McGoldrick et al., 2016; Roman, Makwakwa & Lacante, 2016; Sigelman & Rider, 2018; Yoo, 2019). However, this was a challenge for this participant who described her LA's shifting behaviour:

> *"LA was – he-he never walked around – he was a child that was on my phone – he was a child. And he would take my phone and play games or he would put in the earphones and listen to music or mess here with the music … or he would – would just watch things on TV … Or he would just take a piece of paper – and like, trace something … he was just at home – if I maybe say now – he like to wash dishes and so on – then I didn't have to do the dishes – uh, watched Dragon-Ball-Z, when he was washing dishes then I could watch something because he knew there was something that I wanted to do – he was like that … Now! I saw that child last week Wednesday…he works at a canteen now – but he's seventeen – he carries crates of alcohol around, but he can't go to school…and I am not satisfied with that…"* (Parent 3).

This parent's disappointment and frustration with her LA was palpable, especially as she outlined her expectations for him and recognised his intellectual abilities:

> *"Because I-I-I-I, as the mom, I see something in him – I know he can. And when he sat with his books – I saw what he did and what he still can do. I don't know if he can see it, but I can see it. My child – he-he – didn't learn like this – if he just goes to school and make something of himself or want to achieve something in life – that is what I want for him … But I just want him to get rid of the thing that keeps him so busy and that keeps him down from the things he is supposed to do…that is my problem…"* (Parent 3).

It was probable that the LA's behaviour influenced the parents' involvement (Kerr et al., 2012; Roman, 2014; Sy et al., 2013; Yoo, 2019). Participants elaborated further, highlighting LA behavioural problems:

> *"And when I talk to him, then it's maybe I say to him: 'LA, the things that you do isn't right', because sometimes it's just something small that I want to discuss then he will remark: 'why is the aunty going on like this?! I am going to be [Older Brother's] neighbor one day* (LA's older brother was in jail at the time of this interview)*!' – that's the answer he gives me…"* (Parent 3).

> *"Now we ask LA – he* (i.e. Spouse/Parent 1b) *asks something like 'don't you also love us? Are we not enough for you?' – no, we're 'f*ck-all' in his eyes…"* (Parent 1a).

The combination of LA developmental shifts and increased interest in romantic relationships presented a challenge to some parents: firstly, in being able to openly communicate and connect with their LAs and secondly, parents increasing the monitoring of behaviour. Parents elaborated:

> *"…I told you right at the start that I am not satisfied with your girlfriend because the child is also under-age - even you are under-age so there's no time now for girlfriend and boyfriend – your schooling is the most important now…'…and he didn't actually take it seriously…at night when I come home from work then I hear: 'There he is again – sitting on the hill...', at the end of the day the girlfriend fell pregnant and uh – so Parent 1a and I went to talk to her mom and dad…"* (Parent 1b).

"…at the moment she's at the stage where they, uh, look around and-and boyfriends and those things…lots of times then I ask: 'Who are you laughing with over the phone?', 'Who is on the other side of the line that's tickling you like that?'…then I will always tell her: 'LA, mommy can't make decisions for you – you're eighteen – you can have a boyfriend, but be careful! Very careful because these days, the boyfriends just make the children pregnant and once you're pregnant, then that little man is going to run away!' Or he will stand by you but he can't – you can't – at such a young age – you have your whole career ahead of you…and I will always tell her 'think about your career before you think about boyfriends…" (Parent 7).

Peer relationships and premature romantic activities had a profound impact on LAs' educational and psychosocial outcomes, and in turn increased parents' involvement (Connolly, Nguyen, Pepler, Craig & Jiang, 2013; Qu, Fuligni, Galvan & Telzer, 2015; van Petegem, Brenning, Baudat, Beyers & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2018; Walsh, 2012). Deeper investment in peer and intimate relationships also caused conflict between parents and LAs. Comments from parents substantiated this:

Fifteen, that's when LA son began…started giving problems at the school, go to school, talk – the teacher says 'that child does nothing' – they put him up and then that book is just like that – he writes the date – at school – he sits all day and looks out the window – 'are there problems?' – We don't have problems with each other – no problems at home – in the mornings that child is dressed neatly and off to school and we realize that the boy has a girlfriend – I go to the parents – the child can recognize me – the boy is also this and that and my boy does this – nothing helped…it just got worse – from that time on…LA son is coming before the courts again – he must be in court again on the 14th – for assault – attempted murder (clapped her hands together as she says this, seems defeated)*…my child…*(silent pause)*…and I won't say that he-he-he-he uses, he doesn't use dagga* (marijuana)*, he doesn't use tik* (crystal meth) *– he drinks and then – then he will – now and then I will hear – he's busy selling tik…"* (Parent 1a).

"…like the children get older and they become friendly with…their girlfriends outside and they go to the friends' homes and they see that there's other things that their friends do…that they can't do at their home for example. And now, it happens that sometimes they come with that – with that same thoughts of the friend…now they want to try that at home sometimes and often, luckily, I am a man who's alert – I see it a lot (Parent 4a giggling)*…I see it quickly and then I just nip it in the bud right there – and then I say to them immediately: 'Listen*

> *here, it's not going to work here – if you feel – if that happens at that house where you go, if you do it there, leave it just there – so if you come home, when you walk in by that door, then you leave that session for that person…"* (Parent 4b).

While deeper investment in peer and intimate relationships caused conflict between parents and LAs (Walsh, 2012; Worthen, 2012), it also added strain to the couple's marriage:

> *"…like you heard now from her* (i.e. Spouse/Parent 1a) *that there were many times – uh – I come from work then she goes off at me: 'Your child doesn't want to listen!', or, 'Your child does this!' and uh, now the two of us stress on one another…or she says to me: 'Your boy sits therrrrrre on the hill with the girlfriend' – and now I call him, then he makes as if he doesn't hear me. Then he comes home laaaaate tonight – then I come from the room and ask: 'LA, what do you think you're doing? What are you up to? Most of the time you're busy messing up your mom and my marriage because it's the umpteenth time that I must talk to you about this?!"* (Parent 1b).

These couples shared how they mitigated this kind of strain which is often present during the adolescent life stage (McGoldrick et al., 2016):

> *"…we also decided – if we say 'no', then the dad and I stand together…"* (Parent 1a).

> *"…but uh, LA is not uhm, a difficult teenager where I can say, 'Ooooh, this child gives me grey hair…', 'Lord, where's this child tonight – where?', understand Miss? We have not – we don't struggle there – that's why I always say to Parent 4b … if he says 'no' to LA, then I must also say no…that is what is very important – that you agree with each other…"* (Parent 4a).

Parents highlighted how different value systems between their household and the household of their LA's peers caused conflict between the parent and LA as well (Qu et al., 2015; Walsh, 2012):

> *"I would actually say that the challenges which we have a lot here as parents – as I've mentioned before is that they see different attitudes and ways by their friends – where they come from and then often, they want to try it here at home – just to see if they're maybe going to get the same reaction which the friends*

> *got – because some of the friends' parents would say – I've heard before then the mom says to the dad: 'Ag what, just leave the child – you were also young once' – now unfortunately, it doesn't work like that here – understand?"* (Parent 4b).

Irrespective of the LA presenting behaviours which may challenge the parents' involvement, Allen et al., (2012) and Worthen (2012) asserted that secure family relationships still have immense influence in determining the LA's future interpersonal relationships with others. Besides the behaviour of the LA, research has confirmed that the community context can influence PI and the parenting style within which it occurs, especially when the community environment is one which poses a threat to the LA's future success (Byrnes & Miller, 2012; Hill, 2011; Hill & Torres, 2010; Hill, Witherspoon & Bartz, 2012; Roman, 2014; Tarantino et al., 2018; Wang et al., 2014; Yoo, 2019).

Yoo (2019) found that the SES had a great influence on shaping how parents were involved. This was supported by this parent's observation:

> *"I-I won't actually – look – won't actually say poverty … it is a reality but isn't – if you look at our people who have been paid – on weekends…then you wouldn't think that there's poverty* (chuckling) *– I think … because if you look from Friday to Sunday … they stand just here by the shop…one day I thought the people were standing here by the ATM to draw money…so they were standing right till in the road on a Sunday … which is supposed to be the holy – to be the holiest day – they were standing at the liquor store to buy alcohol…"* (Parent 4b).

Parents verified further that communal conditions influencing the experiences of PI included sexual violence:

> *"…look here, you can't just let your children walk around just like that because you don't know if your children are safe – and especially with a girl – you, you* ***can't*** *– you can't just give her permission to go because you hear a lot about cases of rape – or something happened to this one…"* (Parent 1b).

The study by Keijsers and Poulin (2013) indicated that parental monitoring decreased over time during the adolescent life stage, which was linked to the adolescents' need for more independence. However, Byrnes and Miller (2012), Tarantino et al., (2018), and Roman (2014) argued that neighbourhood disorganization – characterised by high levels of substance abuse, crime and low SES of the community amongst other factors – had a role to play in parent-child communication and parental control or monitoring. When reflecting on how parents described the community, it justified these responses:

> *"If I say to her, 'Girl, I want to see you at home by nine o' clock tonight or when I am at home…when my wife and I are in the house, then you must also be inside the house…' – that's how I am – and uh, uh, many times then she doesn't do that…"* (Parent 1b).

> *"I get very angry towards him about his little attitude – … he's very disobedient towards me… and – … he doesn't want to do the things that I really want him to do – … like example, coming home late at night…"* (Parent 6).

Moreover, Tarantino et al., (2018) asserted that traditionally parents have higher safety concerns for girls and, in a community context which is described as sexually violent, parental monitoring may increase causing possibly greater conflict in the parent-LA relationship (Byrnes & Miller, 2012). Other reasons for increased parental monitoring could be related to FLC stressors that occurred much earlier in the LA's life (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Familial trauma can lead to maladaptation and affects how PI takes place in the family (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2013). This couple explained:

> *She won't ever open up with me…"* (Parent 1b).

> *"That's why I say that I usually have to suck something out of her…"* (Parent 1a).

> *"She will always go to [Parent 1a]…I can talk if I want to – but she will say* ***nothing*** *to me…I will just hear by her* (i.e. referring to Parent 1a) *but LA says this, LA feels like that…"* (Parent 1b).

When probed about why the LA did not openly communicate, the parent shared her views of what shaped her LA's difficulty in opening up with her parents:

> *"…I think it's her childhood years that results in her not having that self-confidence – she's starting slowly, slowly it's coming, but I think her childhood years made that she doesn't have that self-confidence…"* (Parent 1a).

Parent 1a explained further of the multiple traumas which their LA experienced:

> *"LA's parents was my sister – my youngest sister is LA's mom……her mom died because her dad threw her mom with a stone – threw it that the skull was open and I took LA at three years old…"* (Parent 1a).

> *"…so she said: 'my dad took his fingers' and showed on the doll where it was hurt – and her vagina always stood open – stood open like that – so I suspected that her dad probably did something to her…"* (Parent 1a).

These tragic incidences were but a few of the traumas which parents disclosed during this research study. While this study does not want to make a link between the SES of parents and trauma, it must be emphasised that the socio-economic conditions of the parents intersected with virtually all their experiences and challenges. Additionally, experiences and challenges concerning PI were profoundly influenced by the dynamic developmental shifts taking place during LA, of which parents portrayed considerable understanding (Kerr et al., 2012; Sy et al., 2013; Yoo, 2019). However, they did not always have sufficient resources to manage these shifts. Despite the lack of resources, all the parents reported their attempts to be involved in their LA's life as part of their quest to optimise positive parenting (Cooke et al., 2019; McGoldrick et al., 2016). The parents' experiences and challenges concerning PI during LA highlighted how nuanced, developmentally dynamic, and context-driven the concept of PI is. Whether or not the stakeholders' perceptions, experiences, and challenges validated those of the parents will be revealed next.

6.3.3 Theme 3: Stakeholders' experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence

Stakeholders shared their experiences and challenges concerning PI during LA based on their work experience and observations of, and interaction with, LAs and their parents. Their experiences and challenges are presented and discussed in two sub-themes: *Presence and provision of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents* and *Communication and connection with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents*. However, stakeholders' experiences were far less optimistic, with an extensive array of challenges concerning PI in this community. Experiences were overshadowed by a lack of involvement and the stakeholders' attempts to get parents involved. The challenges were largely associated with the SES of the parents and FLC stressors – such as the LA developmental stage, family structure, and community disorganisation – at individual, familial and communal levels.

6.3.3.1 Sub-theme 3.1: Presence and provision of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents

Studies have documented that stakeholders hold deficit views of PI (Bakker & Denessen, 2007; De Planty, 2007; Guo, 2011; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Park & Holloway, 2018). Stakeholders' judgments of parents' involvement sometimes do not factor in the life context variables of parents, which play a colossal role in influencing the types, frequency, and quality of PI (Green et al., 2007; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Pomerantz et al., 2007).

It has been argued that PI strategies have been vested in the stakeholder's agenda, thus failing to recognise alternative ways in which parents from low SES groups or varied cultural

backgrounds are involved (Basualdo-Delmonico & Spencer, 2016; Guo, 2011; Hill & Torres, 2010; Kim, 2009). Stakeholders reported:

> *"What I have observed…is that there's very little interaction between parents and young people…"* (Stakeholder 3).

> *"…but as far as I'm concerned there's – the involvement between the parent and, and child is – is at a very low level – a very low level which, which of course, is not good for the community…"* (Stakeholder 1).

Despite stakeholders inviting parents to be involved in their LA's school life – considered as a motivational factor for PI (Hoover-Demspey & Sandler, 2005) – stakeholders were unsuccessful in obtaining the parents' presence at these events.

> *"…mom and dad not there…with regards to high school so there's never that involvement of the parents themselves…many cases…like we had our…meeting, and uh, the parent doesn't come – it's either the aunt or the granny…they miss out entire life of the kid…"* (Stakeholder 4).

Stakeholders made efforts to get parents involved by way of introducing school-related activities that they believed the parents would enjoy:

> *"…what we do realise is, you know the sports that started recently at the school uhm, that's definitely going to assist with that 'cause uh, uhm parents they – the community – they love sports and uh … started usually with rugby games and uh…"* (Stakeholder 4).

They also attempted to get parents to be involved in the LA's psychosocial dimension of their life. By not being present at the LA's school events or meetings, parents were not able to model the value of education to their children (Walker et al., 2010). The following experiences alluded to possible challenges for parents:

> *"…and as we spoke – also parents also need support as well – we have to have situations where parents' programmes and uhm, because some of the parents is*

not equipped to do certain jobs – uh – work uhm, many a times they're tired as well – parents feel very happy when their children is in a situation where – to – just to relieve some weight from them because many a times they work…" (Stakeholder 3).

"…and that's the type of thing which I, which I try to put into their minds and make them realise listen here, you go to work ***very*** *early in the morning, you do not even say good-bye to your child or whatever – you do not even know whether that child has had a cup of coffee or slice of bread or something for breakfast…the child just comes to school – in other words –* ***I'm*** *the second one whom that child, accept as the person whom he can confide…you see…and that was the way in which I worked all the years of my life – trying to, to convince uh parents how, how* ***valuable*** *their children are to them…"* (Stakeholder 1).

Parents ensuring their LA is at school has been considered part of PI (De Planty, 2007), but stakeholders did not regard this as sufficient. The stakeholder's comment above illuminated the intersecting challenges of the SES of the parent, their working schedules, and the stakeholder's attempt to motivate the parents to be involved. These factors negatively affected the parents' availability of time and energy to be optimally involved. Stakeholders confirmed how these intersecting challenges hampered their ability to be involved, or to provide support for their LAs' future aspirations:

"…definitely working shifts is a terrible thing…and to me it's companies … working shifts is about production and keeping the system running and uhm, you know, ja – raising production and… … …that's my opinion and obviously it creates more jobs…but there's a price to be paid … …it's you know the families that's paying the price…" (Stakeholder 4).

"…but there was a very strong base of kids who, who wanted to teach – to be taught to go further and to – because uh, uh in ***our*** *time it was, it was mainly the kids of, of the parents who were influential* ***enough*** *– sorry, and who earned enough money who could go study…"* (Stakeholder 1).

Parents with low SES may be the most likely to secure lower paying jobs. However, in this community, a low-wage job may not even be possible as unemployment was reported to be exceptionally high:

> *"…some of the parents is at home … there's a lot of unemployment as well in Hills-Valley so they have to create a sort of – if, if government doesn't provide jobs or what have – you have to come up with plans – how to be creative … uhm, job creation and start – you get yourself a squeezy and it have to be a group of people with a bucket or whatever, uhm, even with newspaper, they clean the – the windows and if you can just give one shop maybe R10 and afterwards it move to a different shop or whatever … there's certain ways that how to be creative, how to – to be uhm-uhm, to have your income…"* (Stakeholder 2).

Moreover, the economic conditions of the parent and their work schedule not only presented a challenge for parents but placed immense pressure on LAs to assume adult roles and responsibilities in their households. In turn, the LAs' educational outcomes were compromised. Stakeholders described their observations of LA girls and boys in the community:

> *"Actually…I don't think that they're involved at all – and that's, that's what I've seen as I said – they, the boys' 19 – the parents treat him as he's a big man – you have to look after yourself and ja and it is, it is, they basically have to look out for themselves…"* (Stakeholder 4).

> *"That girl is basically treated like an adult by her parents … she's 14, she's Grade eight…when she comes home in the afternoon, and her mom has got a few babies – her dad hasn't got a permanent job – he's working at the taxi rank … now [That girl] is the eldest girl – [That girl], when she comes home in the afternoon – now note hey, they come home from Monday till – till Thursday at – sorry – five o' clock in the evening – they come home. When she gets home, she gotta start washing – she gotta make sure that the children are washed, they are neat – she gotta do the house and she gotta do the cooking – you see. When does she get time to do any schoolwork?"* (Stakeholder 1).

The community context in which families were embedded played a significant role in shaping PI in this study. Stakeholders all agreed that the structure of families – specifically the single-parent household – was affected by challenging socio-economic conditions:

> *"In Hills-Valley is that most mothers are-are running the households…"* (Stakeholder 1).

> *"…to give an idea…our…early childhood development centre has 166 children enrolled of which 135 are single mothers…I think it's 78% of single mothers of*

children growing up without a father…of a non-existent family structure…" (Stakeholder 3).

Stakeholders further indicated that the single-parent household was an intergenerational trend:

*"…it's a **frightening** situation…and this is not just here – that is if you go through this sort of cross-cut of the community, that is about the prevalent tendency that single parenthood and mothers who just do not have any skills to be a parent … this generation who have now all of single mothers – the majority of these mothers are daughters of mothers who had a similar lifestyle – they all grew up in a single mother – single parent situation and you know even the grandmother has been also a single parent so it's an absolute repetitive pattern…in this community"* (Stakeholder 3).

*"…I think the government spoke a lot of this. They spoke a lot of this because they **know** and then we've got the kids who are at school but they got babies at home … and when they come home in the afternoon, then they also got to do, to take the role and the responsibility of a parent. Right, so-so-so it's a – I'm-I'm saying it again, it's a **vicious** circle, it's a **vicious** circle…"* (Stakeholder 1).

Stakeholders confirmed that single-parent households were largely run by mothers or extended family members. Stakeholders highlighted the lack of the fathers' involvement in many of the LAs' lives. Stakeholders reflected:

"Absent fathers – definitely. Kids are raised by either their grandmother or an aunt … …so they don't have that discipline of their mother and father: 'listen boy, uh, this is how we do it' – a grandmother or aunt would, uhm… -
- …the mother or the father's absent – the mother is still too young and is maybe still a teenager, uh, so and she has to work and yes, the children are raised by their family members or their grandmother…" (Stakeholder 4).

"…something which is also upsetting, which-which we pick up is that now this guy who has a child with this specific mother…she's a single mother and this child grows up now without this father but you…find out…that invariably, this man also has children with two or three other women…so it's not a matter of this father just does not live with the mother and child but that he isn't accessible for the child because there are other single mothers with children that also have claim to him…" (Stakeholder 3).

The descriptions of how families in this community are structured illuminated a complex intergenerational pattern which many consider as dysfunction within the FLC (McGoldrick et al., 2016). Guarin and Meyer (2018) argued that it becomes challenging for a father to be consistently involved in his child's life when he has children with other women. Economic difficulties may exacerbate a father's lack of involvement (Guarin & Meyer, 2018). The educational and psychosocial repercussions of the single-parent household and non-involvement of the father were clearly emphasised by stakeholders:

> *"I think once those children go into adolescence … if they're small perhaps they can still cope with it but I think – especially the boys, if they grow up, then thinking that this man whose supposed to be my father is – I actually have to share with three or four other young people, almost my – same age, who also call him father – so-so, I think all these elements which are actually coming from the adult behaviour brings in a lot of hurt, and frustration and anger with these young people and I think also a sort of feeling of you know, life is actually futile – 'what is in life for me?' 'What's in life for me?' Except for just losing it, drinking, using drugs, having sex, being absolutely wild … …there's actually no hope that I could perhaps have a reconciliation with this father…this man who calls himself my father, who does not even always want to call himself my father…"* (Stakeholder 3).

> *"…we're losing our youth…because of the distance…there was lots of distant fathers or absent fathers…"* (Stakeholer 2).

The lack of PI also meant that LAs were not provided with structure and discipline in their lives. Roman (2014) highlighted the importance of parents providing structure and boundaries in the lives of adolescents and considered these practices as supportive of the adolescents' development. Stakeholders confirmed this in their comments:

> *"…because they've not – there was not – never that discipline that a child knew that this – this is it. You have to comply…you see, the-the-the the disciplinary structures in the home – the-the, the-the, the uhm, culture of discipline that you know, you make a commitment and you carry on and you work it through…"* (Stakeholder 3).

Family structural stressors coupled with the life stage of LA were regarded by stakeholders to play an influential role in the outcomes of the LAs (Kieling, 2014; McGoldrick et al., 2016). Moreover, Kerr et al., (2012), Sy et al., (2013) and Yoo (2019) confirmed that the behaviours of adolescents played a significantly transactional role in influencing PI. Stakeholders reflected on their experiences:

> *"…and it's, it's very difficult to stop that cycle because it's just, it's snowballing – you see – it's just going on – and kids are – like in the case of drugs – they are experimenting…"* (Stakeholder 1).

> *"What I have observed…is that there's very little interaction between parents and young people – that it's like the young people think: 'Well, we have arrived – I'm now an adult, I'm now an entity in my own right, I can do as I like and I can do what I like', and, uhm, you-you hardly ever see – it's also very rare that you see for instance, these young adults with their parents – you know, they-they – they're all in big groups, hanging around on the streets and you know, it's – they've almost sort of like subculture – where they do their thing together…"* (Stakeholder 3).

> *"…but you have to understand that when a child is like the age of, uhm, from – mostly from 14 to 16 to 17 – they are more, uh, focused on other things…"* (Stakeholder 2).

A stakeholder's experience of how community disorganisation influenced PI behaviours, such as increasing parental monitoring and control, reinforced the assertion that the parent-LA relationship is bi-directional (Byrnes & Miller, 2012; Kerr et al., 2012; Sy et al., 2013; Yoo, 2019). A stakeholder relayed the challenges which parents experience with their LA children:

> *"I think uhm, what I pick up from my interaction with parents, is that they absolutely desperate in terms of the…**power** – the **absolute, this** dark, force, uhm, actually enslaving and – and having, keeping their children captive…and all the things that come out of that because many of these parents' children had been – had become involved with-with crime because of their drug abuse. So they get involved with you know, robbing people, elderly people to get money … just overwhelming and grabbing their money and-and house-breaking and stealing and…the parents are absolutely desperate and then also there is a other side of it that these drug lords use some of these young kids and young people to*

be their runners and their dealers – ag, their agents…I mean, they even come to the school on the church – on the school grounds – to come and deal with the- with the drugs – so, uhm, the parents are absolutely desperate…" (Stakeholder 3).

Stakeholders inferred that parents did not create an emotionally nurturing home environment that supported LA outcomes; neither did they sufficiently provide the LA with love, attention, and affection. Parental warmth and affection is the ideal environment in which PI can flourish during LA (Pomerantz et al., 2007). Moreover, De Witte and Mitchell (2012) and Griffin et al., (2011) confirmed that a lack of spending quality time increased LAs' risks to substance abuse within their peer groups. These challenges were captured by the stakeholders' experiences:

"…two high school students last week because uh-uh, next to me there's a plot there, a vacant plot and uh, it's got a concrete…built round it…I saw the two of them standing there in the corner there…the next day I spoke to the guy and I said to him, 'I saw you there yesterday – what were you doing there?', no, they were just chatting about this, chatting about that… 'do you know the time that you were sitting – that you were standing there? Weren't that girl supposed to be at home already in that time?'- said: 'Huh-uh, her mother, her mother doesn't worry about if she's alright'…" (Stakeholder 1).

"Well, what I notice is like there was like a thing around they wasn't accepted much from their parents' side … we begins to realise that most of these kids didn't want to come home because they said they love the stay here in the presence and just enjoy uhm, the nature and, and the good talking that was present with us…it's actually a sad thing because why uhm, they are stuck around being rejected by parents … …so what I'm saying is…we have broken children that really needs uhm, love…" (Stakeholder 2).

The experiences of the stakeholders above indicated that parents in this community displayed a permissive parental style (Roman et al., 2016). Yet, scholars argue that during LA, PI is best embedded within the authoritative parental style which balances high levels of control with warmth and love (Beyers & Goossen, 2008; Liem, Cavell & Lustig, 2010; McKinney & Renk,

2008; Roman, 2014; Roman, Makwakwa & Lacante, 2016). A stakeholder provided details on the importance of parents administering structure and discipline from an early stage in the LA's life:

> *"…because they've not – there was not – never that discipline that a child knew that this – this is it. You have to comply…you see…the disciplinary structures in the home…the uhm, culture of discipline that you know, you make a commitment and you carry on and you work it through…"* (Stakeholder 3).

Stakeholders revealed further socio-economic conditions, which contributed toward the challenges concerning PI. Living conditions, described as being overcrowded, exposed children to inappropriate experiences:

> *"…at that time was the fact that you're taking in a family of six, seven children … adults, perhaps a ouma* (grandma)*, grandpa and the children – sometimes even grandchildren…you take them in, in that one single roomed house…There's no partitions between the wall – in that whole building. They got to partition it themselves…by putting, uhm, wardrobes, by hanging a curtain…all that kind of things and everything happens in that house. Understand? You know what I'm – what I'm getting to? … With the result that on a Monday morning, if you wanna listen to the news of the kids – just ask them 'what happened this weekend at your house?' And you'll get the truth…"* (Stakeholder 1).

Some stakeholders reported that due to a lack of financial resources, parents often expected LAs to remain in the home or on the family premises well into early adulthood years:

> *"…and then there's also this thing of parents harbouring their kids … the child can become 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 – starts working at the factory – okay, you're still fine – you in the house. As long as the money comes in, it's alright…You see? So…as I'm concerned – these adolescents – if they can become uhm, not independent – not dependent on that parents – independent – it might be perhaps better. Understand? Some of them – well, they go into these wendy-houses…which is built at the back yard – and whatever goes on in that backyard is mum and dad's got* ***nothing*** *to do with that…"* (Stakeholder 1).

While this stakeholder viewed the living conditions as overcrowded and hampering the LA's ability to master certain tasks during this life stage, comments made by some parents and LAs in this study indicated that they perceived it otherwise. Overcrowding often equated to additional support structures and resources in conditions characterised by challenging socio-economic conditions.

6.3.3.2 Sub-theme 3.2: Communication and connection of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents

Communication between the LA's parent and teacher or school is considered an essential form of PI (Epstein, 2008; Walker et al., 2010). This form of PI is a mechanism through which educational outcomes can be fostered. Communication has also been recognised as a crucial mechanism that can keep the parent and LA emotionally connected (Keijsers & Poulin, 2013). However, the adolescent life stage introduces unique dynamics to the parent-child relationship (McGoldrick et al., 2016; Walsh, 2016; Wang et al., 2014). Research has argued that although it appears that PI decreases during this life stage, parents may be realigning their way of being involved (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Keijsers & Poulin, 2013; Wang et al., 2014). Stakeholders' experiences and challenges concerning PI in this sub-theme maintained a sense of dysfunction at individual, familial and communal levels, with their encounters taking on a birds' eye view of the community as part of a wider system. By and large, stakeholders experienced that:

> *"...there is very little interaction between parents and young people…"* (Stakeholder 3).

Stakeholders, however, made efforts to get parents involved through academic socialisation (Wang et al., 2014). Academic socialisation is considered a developmentally appropriate form of PI during LA (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Wang et al., 2014). Parents are able to communicate

with their LAs about the usefulness of education and their future success. This stakeholder reported:

> *"What we've done recently is uhm, we call it prospectus, the school has you know, we have, uh, different streams or learning uh, mainstream, technical and I think…vocational, occupational – so we trying, uhm, so now at the end of last term, beginning of this term, uh, the parents and the kids… showing them listen, if this is your subject you choose, that is a possible, uhm…this is your route…ja – careers you can get into –…so we try to get their parents involved in that manner…"* (Stakeholder 4).

In a study by Gordon and Cui (2012), general parental support and parental expectations were positively correlated with the adolescent's grades in the educational setting. In a previous study by Green et al., (2007), perceptions of being invited by stakeholders were poor predictors of parents becoming involved. However, the LAs in this study experienced better outcomes when their parents were invited by stakeholders than if *they* invited their parents to be involved. Moreover, parents shared their particular challenges concerning involvement when being invited by stakeholders, which was mostly related to their socio-economic circumstances and family structure. Stakeholders communicated that for many parents being involved academically was a challenge due to parents' low literacy levels:

> *"Yes…I think one thing is the parents – the level of literacy in this community is very low – the average of literacy which makes – which is the cause that the parents do not really realise the value of education – of having a – an ambition in terms of completing your studies – your school studies and going beyond that to qualify yourself…"* (Stakeholder 3).

> *"…I know the parents…they don't understand maths…"* (Stakeholder 4).

Limited skills and knowledge are often perceived as barriers to parents being involved in this way (Green et al., 2007; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). In addition, stakeholders did not believe that parents had adequate parental knowledge and skills to be effectively involved:

"So, and if you think that these mothers that – of these children, the majority of them are school drop-outs. So they-they don't have the capacity to actually uhm, stimulate their child…" (Stakeholder 3).

"…and I think that the kids, they know if they – what level of education their parents have…if I knew that I couldn't, I couldn't go to my parents that uhm, my father uhm…that they could read it, they could do the questions for me, and I know, so I know they're interested so – ja…" (Stakeholder 4).

Hornby and Lafaele (2011) argued that some parents' belief in their ability to help their child to succeed in their school career could also be affected by the parents' level of education or their experiences of school difficulties – especially at higher grades – which may create a feeling of inadequacy to be of any value in terms of their child's education. Low levels of parental education impacting their ability to communicate the importance of education to their LAs from an early age, were of great concern to stakeholders, as it negatively affected the LAs' educational outcomes:

*"…and this is not from the word start – from the beginning of the child's school career emphasised enough and where the parent…controls attendance of school and…**doing** your school – work and everything uh…so…the foundation is not laid well enough…and then by the time that this child becomes the adolescent then he wants to drop out of school then the parent has not built this foundation that he can say but this is where we started – you have to continue – you know, because there's not enough…structure underneath then this child just – drop out of school…"* (Stakeholder 3).

Many parents indicated that the LA's behaviours influenced their ability to be optimally involved. However, the stakeholders inferred that the parents' lack of knowledge about and understanding of the LA life stage were perceived as major reasons why parents withdrew from their LAs and communication decreased:

"You know when you're young – when they are young – parents normally accept you – 'Oh, you're so beautiful! Oh, you're my child' … …we have to watch the child when they grow older uhm-uhm, especially when they become a teenager

– they have become more, uhm, distant, become more aware of themselves … And, the moment that child withdraw himself away from the parents or be like: 'Oooh so, what are you trying?' So they doesn't know it's like an instant thing – it's like in a development stage where that child just withdraw because why, 'you don't wash me anymore! I'm not a child anymore!' …….parents look at it – it's like: 'you can't tell me! I'm still you mom and your dad' …and uhm, that begins to have a conflict reaction and so…then parents…probably…begins to reject the child…uhm, 'you want to – you're too big for your boots!" (Stakeholder 2).

Parents' role construction (Walker et al., 2010) is a major influence which shapes how parents are involved in their LA's education. When literacy levels are low and knowledge and skills are limited, parents may not have the confidence to believe that they can be involved in a way that fosters their LA's educational outcomes (Green et al., 2007). When a parent has a low sense of self-efficacy, they may not be able to assist with complex scholastic work, especially during the higher school grades, or to communicate effectively about learning strategies or future study and career plans (Daniel, 2015; Green et al., 2007; Park & Holloway, 2018). Freund et al., (2018) posited that the parents' lower levels of self-efficacy concerning PI was attributed to their lower SES. Therefore, they may consider their parental role to be sending their LA to school where the teacher will do the teaching. Parental self-efficacy was confirmed to be a strong predictor of home-based PI (Green et al., 2007). A stakeholder recounted his experience of stepping in to assist LAs with future career and study aspirations:

"I can tell you – like I'll go back again to the older days or to pre-days and I-I can tell you there were people who were heavily involved – nowadays, these youngsters, when they come to high school, they do matric, they've chosen their careers and then they must see to themselves – they must apply themselves, they decide on their careers, you see – and they must do the applications – how many of them come to me and tell me, 'help me with this', 'help me with that', 'I don't know how to write a letter of application'…you see? 'I do not know how to write a cover letter' – you see? 'Come help me', and I ask them 'What do you want to become?', 'Where are you applying to?' – 'Ugh, I think I want to be a teacher…' you see? Now what kind of teacher do you get? You gonna ask me – I worked with them here…you can ask – I've worked with them for the last seven years…" (Stakeholder 1).

Stakeholders often assumed multiple roles when parents were unable to assist their LAs with their educational activities. Stakeholder 1 elaborated on his experiences:

> *"…and some of them I spoke to, I'm-I'm at the moment I'm helping a girl also – who is, who is studying through [Name of online university] – and uh, uh, uh – her mum comes to me from time to time to come and say thank you – she's done well in her assignment – that assignment or that assignment – there's two of them in fact – that one got – they got a very good uh, mark for uh, an assignment which we worked on…"* (Stakeholder 1).

Stakeholders often related their experiences and challenges concerning PI during LA to the community environment. Their frustration with the lack of PI and the repercussions thereof on the wider community context, was very evident. Stakeholders believed that parents implementing PI through open, warm communication and sincere levels of connectedness could shift generational FLC dysfunction or low levels of interpersonal interaction:

> *"The school there, they really need support – they have to look at a mechanism how to also to – as I said, that child – children comes from different houses and places – now all this stuff I've told you now – there – if we not, if he's not or that school is not careful enough, he gonna have a big problem with children that's gonna have attitudes and all that stuff – that's why the emotional side needs to be looked at as well…otherwise, you got a situation where you have attitude with the teacher or uhm, discipline problems…"* (Stakeholder 2).

It was clear that stakeholders made great efforts to engage with the parents and to inspire them to be involved by utilising a variety of PI techniques:

> *"…because if you, if you know think of the [Name of technical school], you know, where **everything** has been done and to-to really give the best to these young people…still there – where these kids absolutely cause so much havoc – the parents are just not prepared to come in – step in and say but, you know you've got the absolute **best** opportunity now – I expect of you to do the best…they just back, back down on it…"* (Stakeholder 3).

One of the stakeholders felt overwhelmed as he found himself not only dealing with the LAs but also the parents of the LAs:

> *"…there's many a time that, uhm, the reason why I said the conversation have to be with your child, there's many a child that the child don't even know the history of their parents – and that's so important, and you will discover like, uhm, when I have camps and the child said: 'My parent doesn't speak to me' – uhm, that's when we have to talk to them and say the reason why – you have to go and speak – if your parent don't speak, then* ***you*** *have to ask the questions – maybe change that pattern – just to, just to revive it again – just to let a flame come between there again so…so that's important. Many times I don't have to work with the child, I have to have work more with the parent…"* (Stakeholder 2).

The stakeholder's role was to offer support to the parents and to find ways in which parents could become effectively involved, as they communicated a comprehensive understanding of the adolescent life stage. Stakeholders were cognisant of the parents' life context variables which shaped their parenting and ability to be involved. The major life context variable influencing the parents' ability to communicate and connect with their LAs was their level of knowledge and skills. Stakeholders attributed the parents' limited levels of literacy, knowledge and skills to past socio-political systems and the adverse socio-economic consequences thereof. The greatest concern to stakeholders was how the lack of PI would continue to devastate the wider community and result in further community disorganisation.

6.4 Conclusion

The parents' descriptions of their PI experiences portrayed them as more involved with their LA than the descriptions of the LAs and the stakeholders. Parents shared experiences of being loving, present and supportive as well as administering discipline and control to mitigate LA misbehaviour. Furthermore, despite the challenge of limited knowledge and information, parents described how they were involved in mechanisms such as encouragement,

reinforcement, modelling and instruction. Further PI experiences of parents included attending school meetings, assisting or supporting their LA with their school tasks, and communicating with their LA about the school day. Overall, parents shared a number of home-based PI experiences, indicating that often they were involved in unique, unrecognised ways. Stakeholders described PI and parenting practices as neglectful, permissive, absent, controlling, and abusive. While parents perceived themselves as having adequate parenting skills, stakeholders were generally of the opinion that parents did not exhibit effective parenting skills. Stakeholders were of the opinion that the parents had a limited understanding of the LA life stage, and expressed that parenting practices needed to shift in response to the LA's developmental needs. Parents viewed stakeholders mainly as part of their support structure in raising their LAs, while stakeholders experienced parents as largely uninvolved and unresponsive. Academic socialisation, a developmentally appropriate form of PI during LA, was a common experience of some of the LAs and parents. However, stakeholders viewed parents as impeding their LA's educational and psychosocial outcomes by their lack of involvement and practising developmentally inappropriate forms of PI.

In terms of challenges, parents expressed that PI was hampered by a limited availability of time and energy due to work schedules, additional children, and not having a spouse to assist. Challenges resulting from the SES and family structure became evident. Stakeholders also referred to how the SES of the parents exacerbated adverse life context variables, and in turn influenced their ability to be optimally involved, especially in the LA's educational career. Often, parents struggled to find permanent, full-time work and relied on seasonal or shift work in this rural community. Alternatively, parents in this study had to migrate to other towns where a pattern of separation and reunion was established between the parent and the LA. Moreover, when parents *did* manage to secure employment, older children or extended family

members were tasked with caregiving responsibilities. Socio-economic challenges concerning PI were associated with the socio-political background in which this community was embedded, and connected to a much larger, multi-generational story. FLC stressors which presented as experiences and challenges pertaining to PI included dysfunctional intergenerational family patterns, structural family change, beliefs, unpredicted life events, past socio-political systems of oppression, and developmental transition crises associated with LA. Parents often communicated their challenges and experiences of their LA's behaviour and attitude toward them with high levels of frustration, while the stakeholders and LAs often communicated *their* challenges and experiences of the parents' PI forms with with exasperation. Despite the incongruence between the parents' and stakeholders' experiences, they both conveyed their concern for the educational and psychosocial outcomes of the LA. Amidst their frustration, the common focus was the LA.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the research study, the conclusion of the findings, contributions to existing research and areas for future research. The study set out to explore the perceptions, experiences and challenges of adolescents in a rural community concerning parental involvement during LA. Through utilising a qualitative methodological approach and by means of exploring and describing the perceptions, experiences and challenges of the participants, this aim was reached and the research question was answered.

The objectives aided this study to remain focused on the research aim and to answer the research question. The three objectives were to:

- Explore the perceptions, experiences and challenges of adolescents concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.
- Explore the perceptions, experiences and challenges of parents concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.
- Explore the perceptions, experiences and challenges of stakeholders (i.e. youth facilitators or mentors) concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.

Data was collected from LAs, parents and stakeholders and four themes emerged from the data which were presented in Chapters 5 and 6. In order to substantiate, compare, contrast and explain the findings, literature and theory were applied. A summary of each chapter is presented below along with the conclusions from the findings. In addition this study's contributions, limitations, and recommendations are provided in this chapter.

7.2 Summary of the study

A brief account of each chapter is provided in this section.

7.2.1 Chapter 1: Introduction of the study

The first chapter illuminated the outline of the research study by providing the rationale for the study, the theoretical framework that underpinned the study, the research problem, the aim and objectives that guided the study, and the research methodology to execute this study.

7.2.2 Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

The second chapter detailed the theoretical framework that underpinned this study, namely, the *family life cycle* theory as originally proposed by Duvall and Hill (1948) and later expanded by McGoldrick and Carter (1980, 2011, 2016).

7.2.3 Chapter 3: Literature review

The third chapter presented the most recent and relevant academic literature pertaining to the research study's major concepts, PI and LA. This chapter also presented literature to discuss the perceptions, experiences and challenges of PI during LA.

7.2.4 Chapter 4: Research methodology

The fourth chapter detailed the research approach and design of this study. The qualitative approach with an explorative and descriptive design was deemed most suitable to meet the study's aim. Through purposive sampling, the researcher recruited three sets of participants: LAs who had been a part of the NGO youth programmes, parents of LAs who had attended the NGO youth programmes and stakeholders who had

worked with the LAs at the NGO. Data was collected by means of semi-structured interviews and field notes, and thematic analysis was employed to identify salient themes within the data.

7.2.5 Chapter 5: Presentation and discussion of the research findings pertaining to late adolescents

In the fifth chapter, the research findings pertaining to the LAs were presented and discussed. The two themes that answered the research question pertaining to the LAs were the LAs' perceptions of PI followed by their experiences and challenges concerning PI during LA.

7.2.5.1 Theme 1: Late adolescents' perceptions of parental involvement

LAs perceived PI in ways which were congruent with the frameworks presented by Epstein (2008) and Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997). However, they also perceived PI in less traditional forms. They illuminated the importance ascribed to PI, not only in relation to their educational outcomes but also to their psychosocial outcomes. LAs preferred the traditional, nuclear family as the ideal family structure within which to be located.

7.2.5.2 Theme 2: The experiences and challenges of late adolescents concerning parental involvement

Findings confirmed that PI during LA is experienced as a powerful motivating force in both the educational and psychosocial outcomes of LAs. The results in this research study indicated a combination of favourable and unfavourable experiences of LAs concerning PI. Forms of PI were school-based and home-based, and both played an

equally important role in the educational and psychosocial outcomes of the LA. In addition, the LAs' perceptions and experiences elucidated dominant and less dominant forms of PI.

Educational forms of PI included parents attending school meetings, supporting school-related activities or schoolwork and tasks, communicating about school-related matters, and emphasising the usefulness of education in terms of future success, otherwise known as academic socialisation. LAs also experienced varying levels of psychosocial forms of PI including parental love, affection, support, guidance, discipline, communication, time, provision of basic needs and autonomy-granting opportunities.

Challenges concerning PI were inadequate levels and poor quality of PI. These challenges stemmed from family life cycle stressors, parents' life context variables, harsh socio-economic circumstances, and the environment of the wider community.

7.2.6 Chapter 6: Presentation and discussion of the findings pertaining to parents and stakeholders

Three themes answered the research question pertaining to the parents and stakeholders' perceptions of PI and their experiences and challenges concerning PI during LA.

7.2.6.1 Theme 1: Perceptions of parental involvement during late adolescence

Parents and stakeholders perceived the value of PI in the lives of LAs. Parents' and stakeholders' perceptions of PI emphasised the traditional and less traditional forms that fostered both the educational and psychosocial outcomes of LA. However, parents

associated educational outcomes with opportunities for social upward mobility and economic contribution to the family household. The stakeholders' perceptions were informed by their expertise and knowledge of the developmental life stage of adolescence as well as their work experience. Stakeholders associated the importance of PI with improving the health and the functioning of the wider social context for the family and the LA.

7.2.6.2 Theme 2: Parents' experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence

Parents expressed that they were fully involved in their late adolescents' lives on the educational and psychosocial fronts. Their traditional and less traditional experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement were captured in two sub-themes: *Presence and provision of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents* and *Communication and connection of parents with regard to the educational and psychosocial development and outcomes of late adolescents*

Experiences of PI were school-based forms such as attendance of parent meetings and support of school-related activities. Home-based PI was the more prevalent experience of PI and included forms which fostered the educational and psychosocial outcomes of the LA. The provision of love, support, encouragement, guidance, discipline, structure, monitoring, quality time, and basic needs were the forms of PI that parents employed within the first sub-theme. Open communication about school and personal life issues were some of the examples which parents shared within the second sub-theme. Challenges were related to FLC stressors, developmental changes taking place in the

LA's life, the parents' life context variables and the wider community environment. The bi-directional and transactional nature of the parent-child relationship was illuminated.

7.2.6.3 Theme 3: Stakeholders' experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence

Similar to the LAs, stakeholders revealed that their perceptions and experiences of PI were unfavourable. Stakeholders' experiences were characterised by a lack of parental involvement and their constant efforts to engage with the parents of LAs. The challenges were encapsulated within the life context variables of parents, FLC stressors, and wider social context variables. Stakeholders had a keen focus on the intergenerational nature of the family life cycles stressors. Moreover, they viewed the wider social context variables as being embedded within a societal context created by past socio-political drivers.

7.2.7 Chapter 7: Conclusion and recommendations

The conclusions and recommendations are provided in the final chapter, with an overall presentation of a summary of the chapters covered in the study.

7.3 Recommendations

The recommendations comprised three components: stakeholders working with families with LAs, stakeholders designing PI programmes, and suggestions for future research pertaining to PI during LA.

7.3.1 Recommendations to stakeholders working with late adolescents

- In order to affirm the less recognised forms of PI, it is recommended that stakeholders steer away from a deficit view of PI and rather employ a strengths-based approach when assessing parents' involvement during LA.
- Due to the various family types and how this can influence PI, stakeholders should be aware of the LA's family structure in order to engage parents of LAs effectively.
- Stakeholders should be familiar with the communal, societal, cultural, religious, socio-political, socio-historical and socio-economic context within which their families with LAs are positioned, as this plays a major role in how PI is shaped and functions.
- In order to advise parents on PI effectively, stakeholders should be informed on the accepted and recognised PI frameworks and developmentally appropriate forms or strategies which parents are able to employ with their LAs. This should be done while keeping in mind their particular context.
- Assumptions that PI declines during LA are erroneous. In recognising that PI fosters educational and psychosocial outcomes of LAs, stakeholders should therefore encourage families to remain connected to their LA.
- Creating a hospitable environment in which to interact with parents may potentially create a safer, more inclusive space to encourage parents to become optimally involved in their LA's education.

7.3.2 Recommendations to stakeholders designing parental involvement programmes

- While there are policies that speak to the strengthening and preservation of the family and the protection of children in South Africa, there is no policy which

directly emphasises PI. Stakeholders are recommended to apply pressure in advocating for a policy on PI, not within schools alone but also in the wider context of South African communities.

- The South African Schools Act of 1996 speaks to the importance of parents being partners in the governance of schools. However, stakeholders designing PI programmes would do well to broaden this perception of the parents' involvement. Extending this concept from school-related matters to other forms of PI in parenting programmes would allow for a more inclusive engagement with parents and an appreciation of the parents' life context variables.
- Due to most of the PI frameworks and approaches being developed from Western-based societies, stakeholders designing PI programmes in South Africa are recommended to explore the current research conducted locally in order to contextualise programmes.
- Designing alternative, more inclusive parent involvement strategies can be successful in strengthening the relationships between the school and families. Moreover, stakeholders should consider exploring home-based "complementary strategies" in order to design new PI frameworks to inform policy and practice.
- It is recommended that stakeholders designing PI programmes are familiar with the developmental life stage of LA. They need to acknowledge the potential limitations of the parents' skills and knowledge, and tailor the parenting programmes accordingly.

7.3.3 Suggestions for future research

- Based on the findings, it is suggested that future research contextualises PI and pays attention to the intersectionality of factors when conceptualising this

concept, such as age, family culture, background and family structure, SES, religion, socio-political history and communal environment.

- Building upon the findings of this research study, it is suggested that less traditional PI forms be integrated into PI frameworks and that traditional and less traditional forms or strategies of PI be recognised as having the potential to foster educational *and* psychosocial outcomes of the LA.
- Future research may address the inclusion of less traditional forms of PI when operationalising this concept.
- While this study addressed a specific research problem in a specific area, conducting this research in other parts of the rural town would allow one to explore whether the findings would be similar or different depending on the SES of families.
- If this same research is conducted again, it is suggested that the parent and LA participants who are recruited, should be related in order to obtain a direct comparison of perceptions, experiences, and challenges concerning PI for analysis.
- Future research on this topic may employ a mixed methods approach and not rely solely on qualitative inquiry to explore this topic.
- Recommended is that more research solicit the perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning PI from the perspective of the LAs as they are the ones experiencing firsthand their parents' involvement or lack thereof. Therefore, they are able to make the greatest contribution to constructing the concept of PI.
- The FLCT's vertical and horizontal stressors were valuable in analysing the challenges concerning PI. However, it may be useful to apply a systems-based theory in future research pertaining to PI.

7.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this qualitative research study was to explore and describe the perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement of late adolescents living in a rural community, and this purpose was attained. The findings reflected that parental involvement frameworks, while useful, were unable to account fully for the less traditional forms of parental involvement. Moreover, the findings suggested that traditional and less traditional forms of parental involvement fostered educational *and* psychosocial outcomes of the late adolescent. Despite assumptions that parental involvement declines during late adolescence, it was discovered that parents employed different types of parental involvement in response to their late adolescent's developmental track. Family life cycle stressors and life context variables were major factors that challenged parental involvement during late adolescence. This study proved that families are embedded in a changing society and should not be viewed in isolation. The wider context of South Africa is a changing society which has shaped and continues to shape parental involvement.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethics Clearance Letter – University of the Western Cape

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR: RESEARCH
RESEARCH AND INNOVATION DIVISION

Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535
South Africa
T: +27 21 959 2988/2948
F: +27 21 959 3170
E: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za
www.uwc.ac.za

14 December 2017

Ms L-J Isaacs
Social Work
Faculty of Community and Health Science

Ethics Reference Number: HS17/10/23

Project Title: Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges with parental involvement during late adolescence.

Approval Period: 14 December 2017 – 14 December 2018

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape

PROVISIONAL REC NUMBER - 130416-049

Appendix B: Letter of Permission – The NGO

the valleys and mountains development foundation
empowering people to learn and to lead

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This document serves to declare that the executive board of directors

of the Valleys and Mountains Development Foundation

unanimously decided to give permission to

Ms LYNN-JOY ISAACS (ID 821202 0118 082)

to do the research for her Master's Degree in Child and Family Studies

through the facilities and programs of the Foundation.

Ms Isaacs worked for the Foundation for eight years as Program and Project Manager

and is familiar with the policies, principles and operational style of the Foundation.

She had a broad and substantial exposure to the community and all the challenges

presented by an extremely complicated demographic profile.

The Foundation is confident that her research will be beneficial for the development

of all communities with similarities in their demographics.

P. J. McDonald: Executive Director
27.10.2017

The Academy for Leadership and Creativity : *holistic development through creativity*
Lammeroes-Projek : early *childhood development : C9547*
Vangnet-Projek : *empowerment of youth: C12544*
Pleister-Projek : *restoration of families*
Registration number: 071-031-NPO / PBO 930038356
P O Box 98 Bonnievale 6730. Tel 072 178 3450 / 079 298 1321 / 023 616 2724 (a.h.)
e-mail: bonnievalekids@gmail.com / website:www.valleysmountainskids.co.za
Anglican Church grounds, New Cross Street, Happy Valley, Bonnievale

Appendix C: Information Sheet - English (Late adolescent)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa

Tel: +27 21- 9592760 Fax: 27 21-9593686

E-mail: cjerasmus@uwc.ac.za; 2138796@myuwc.ac.za

INFORMATION SHEET: Late adolescent

Project Title:

Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges with parental involvement during late adolescence.

What is this study about?

This is a research project being done by Lynn-Joy Isaacs at the University of the Western Cape. I would like you to be a part of this research project because you are a teenager who fits the age group of this research project and so you have an understanding and experience in the focus of this study. The reason why this research project is being done is so that we can look into teenagers' understanding, experiences and challenges of adolescents with the parents' involvement during late teenage years.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to be a part of this study?

If you are under the age of 18 years old, your parent will be asked to fill in the agreement form giving you permission to be interviewed and voice recorded by the researcher. You will also be asked to fill in an agreement form for the interview and voice recorded before the interview starts. You will be asked to answer the interview questions in the way you understand them so in other words, it isn't a test and there are no right or wrong answers. The interview will take about half an hour to 1 hour. The Valleys and Mountains Development Foundation, Happy Valley, Bonnievale will be where the study will take place. The questions for the interview are all your understanding, experiences and challenges of your parents' involvement during your late teenage years.

If I say "yes" to be a part of this study, will what I say in the interviews be kept secret and will people know who I am if they read about the research (in other words, will it be kept confidential and will I remain anonymous)?

The researcher promises to protect your identity and the way in which you were a part of the research study. To make sure that your identity is protected your name will not be shown at all in this research project. A special code will be used for your name so that the researcher can remember who said what during the interviews. Only the researcher will be able to tell who you are and will be able to get hold of your code – this will also be done especially to not get your responses mixed up with anyone else who was interviewed. To make sure that there is confidentiality, the interviews will be copied to a computer immediately afterwards and deleted from the voice recorder. The interviews will be kept in the file which is protected by a password that only the researcher knows. The written copy of the interview will be known through your special code and kept locked away safely in the researchers' personal cabinet. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the highest.

What are the risks of this research?

There may be some risks from being a part of this research study. The risks may include the psychological, social, emotional, and legal risks. There might also be the risks that one cannot plan for because when we are working with one another as human beings, we often share things that are personal and this may cause one to become affected in a way which is not expected. We will try our utmost that you are not affected negatively and if you are, we will immediately support you and if it is necessary, we will refer you to someone who can provide you with counselling.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not being done to help you in a personal way, but the findings could help the researcher learn more about teenagers in rural areas as to their understanding, experiences and challenges of their parents' involvement during their late teenage years. We hope that, in the future, other people might find this study useful and that it can help them to understand the teenager and parent relationship of this community a lot better.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop taking part at any time?

Your taking part in this research is completely voluntary – in other words you may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to be a part of this research, you may stop being a part of it at any time. If you decide not to be a part of this research or if you stop being a part at any time, you will not be punished or lose any of the benefits that you were told about at the beginning by the researcher.

Is any help there for me if I feel I am being affected badly by being a part of this study?
The researcher will try as best as possible to protect you from experiencing any harm from the research process. If however, you are or feel that you are being badly affected by this research the researcher will find you the best help through the NGO (The Valleys and Mountains Development Foundation).

What if I have questions?
This research is being done by Lynn-Joy Isaacs in the Social Work Department at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact 079 298 1321. If you have any questions about this study and your rights as someone being a part of this research, or if you want to report any problems you have experienced while being a part of this study, please contact:

Head of Department: Dr. M Londt
Dept of Social Work
mlondt@uwc.ac.za
021 9592277

Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences: Prof Anthea Rhoda
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535
chs-deansoffice@uwc.ac.za

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

Appendix D: Information Sheet - Afrikaans (Late adolescent)

UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE WES-KAAP

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa
Tel: +27 21-9592459, Fax: 27 21-9593686
E-mail: cjerasmusuwc.ac.za

INLIGTINGSBLAD

Projek Titel: Tieners in ‘n landelike gebied se persepsies, ervarings en uitdangings omtrent ouerbetrokkenheid van tieners tydens laat-tienerskap

Waaroor handel die studie?
Hierdie is `n navosringsprojek wat gedoen word deur Lynn-Joy Isaacs by die Universiteit van Wes-Kaap. Ons nooi u uit om deel te neem aan die navorsing studie omdat u ervaring het. Die doel van die studie is om die tieners se persepsies, ervarings en uitdagings omtrent ouerbetrokkenheid van tieners tydens laat-tienerskap te verken.

Wat sal van my verwag word as ek deelneem aan die studie?
As u onder die ouderdom van 18 jaar oud is, jou ouer sal gevra word om toestemming te gee dat u mag deelneem. Hulle sal ‘n toestemmingsvorm gegee word om te voltooi. Voor die onderhoud begin, sal u gevra word om u toestemming te gee. Dit sal verwag word van u om deel te neem aan individuele onderhoude of aan groep onderhoude met die navorser en u sal dus vrae moet beantwoord wat die navorser aan u sal stel. Die Valleys and Mountains, Happy Valley, Bonnievale sal as die studie-plek gebruik word. Die vrae vir die onderhoude sal die persepsies, ervarings en uitdagings van die tieners ten opsigte van hul ouer(/s) se betrokkenheid tydens laat-tienerskap verken.

Word my deelname in die studie vertroulik gehou?
Die navorser onderneem om u identiteit en die aard van u bydrae te beskerm. U sal anoniem gehou word, ’n Skuilnaam sal gebruik word en geen dokumentasie sal onder u naam aangeteken word nie. ’n Kode sal ook gebruik word op alle gekollekteerde data. ’n Identifikasie sleutel sal aan u identiteit gekoppel word en sal slegs aan die navorser bekend wees. Om u identiteit te verseker sal allle inligting in ’n geslote kas gehou word en identifikasie kodes sal op die data geplaas word.
Indien ’n verslag of ’n artikel geskryf word, sal u identiteit ook beskerm word. Hierdie navorsingstudie sal gebruik maak van ’n band opname. Toestemming sal van u verkry word om u op te neem en die onderhoude sal beskerm word deur ’n wagwoord te plaas op die rekenaars wat vir die doel gebruik gaan word.

Na aanleiding van die regs vereistes en professionele standaarde word dit verwag dat enige inligting met betrekking to kinderverwaarlosing , mishandeling of moontlike skade aan persone aangemeld word by die toepaslike professionele persone. U sal dan ingelig word dat indien die vertrouens verhouding verbreek sou word, en ook indien hierdie inligting aan die betrokke owerheid gerapporteer word.

Wat is die risikos in die navorsing?

Daar mag risikos wees in die navorsing. Alle menslike interaksie en gesprekke oor ander en jouself mag sekere risikos inhou. Ons sal egter probeer om die meesste risikos te minimaliseer en sal die nodige ondersteuning bied indien u enige ongemak, het sy psigologies of andersins ervaar gedurende u deelname in die studie. Indien noodsaaklik, sal `n verwysing gemaak word na ’n geskikte professionele persoon vir ondersteuning.

Wat is die voordele van die navorsing?

Die navorsing is nie ontwikkel om jou persoonlik te bevoordeel nie, maar die resultate sal egter die navorser help om die persepsies, ervarings en uitdagings van tieners in die landelike gebied oor hul ouer(/s) se betrokkenheid in hul lewens te verken en meer te verstaan. Ons hoop dat ander persone in die toekoms baat sal vind by hierdie studie.

Moet ek deel wees van die studie en mag ek my enige tyd van die studie onttrek?

Jou deelname in die navorsing is heeltemal vrywilliglik. Jy mag kies om nie deel te neem aan die studie nie. Indien jy besluit om nie deel te wees nie of om enige tyd jou te onttrek van die studie, mag jy nie gepenaliseer word nie en sal jy dus nie enige voordele verloor nie.

Wat indien ek enige vrae het?

Hierdie navorsing word uitgevoer deur Lynn-Joy Isaacs, by die Universiteit van Wes-Kaap. Indien u enige vrae het oor die navorsing studie, kontak Lynn-Joy Isaacs op 079 298 1321.
Indien u enige vrae het met betrekking tot die studie en jou regte as `n deelnemer of indien u enige problem ervaar met betrekking tot die studie, kan u die volgende persone kontak:

Hoof van die Departement: Dr. M Londt
Maatskaplike Werk Departement
Universiteit van Wes-Kaap
Privaatsak X17
Bellville 7535
Epos:mlondt@uwc.ac.za
Tel: 021 09592011

Dekaan van die fakulteit Gemeenskap en Gesondheids Wetenskappe:
Prof Anthea Rhoda
Universiteit Wes-Kaap
Private Bag X17

Bellville 7535
chs-deansoffice@uwc.ac.za

Hierdie navorsing is goedgekeur deur die Universiteit van Wes-Kaap se Senaat Navorsing en Etiese Komitee.

Appendix E: Information Sheet (Parent)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa

Tel: +27 21- 9592760 Fax: 27 21-9593686

E-mail: cjerasmus@uwc.ac.za; 2138796@myuwc.ac.za

INFORMATION SHEET - Parent

Project Title:

Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges with parental involvement during late adolescence

What is this study about?

This is a research project being done by Lynn-Joy Isaacs at the University of the Western Cape. I am inviting you to be a part of this research project because you are a parent of a teenager between the ages of 15 – 19 years old so you have skills and experience in the study topic. The purpose of this research project is to explore the perceptions, experiences and challenges of adolescents with parental involvement during late adolescence.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to be a part of this research study?

You will be asked to fill in the agreement form for the interview and use of a voice recorder before the interview starts. You will be asked to answer the interview questions in the way you understand them – it is not a test so there are no right or wrong answers. The interview will take about half an hour to 1 hour. The Valleys and Mountains Development Foundation, Happy Valley, Bonnievale will be where the study will take place. The questions for the interview are exploring the perceptions, experiences and challenges of adolescents with their parents' involvement during the late teenage years.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

The researcher undertakes to protect your identity and the way in which you contribute to this research study. To ensure that your name remains a secret (i.e. anonymous), your name will not be shown at all in this research project. A code will be used to identify the different participants of this study. Only the researcher will be able to tell your identity and will have access to the identification key in order to make sure that there is no mix up of participants. To make sure that what you say remains confidential, the interviews will be copied to a computer immediately afterwards and deleted from the voice recorder. The interviews will be kept in a file which is protected by a password which only the researcher will know. The write ups of all the interviews will be given your special code so that the researcher knows who said what and will be kept safely locked in the researchers' personal cabinet. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the highest.

What are the risks of this research?

There may be some risks from being a part of this research study. The risks may include the psychological, social, emotional, and legal risks. There might also be the risks that we cannot plan for because one never knows how you will be affected by talking about your own personal life and children or family life. We will make sure that we keep the risks low and will immediately support you if you feel you are being negatively impacted by being a part of this study. If it is necessary, we will let you speak to a counsellor to help you.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not being done to help you personally, but the results may help the researcher learn and understand more about teenagers in a rural setting regarding their understanding, experiences and challenges about their parents' involvement during late teenager years. We hope that, in the future, other people might be able to use the findings from this study in a way that is helpful and that it could help others to understand the relationship between the teenager and parent better in this community.

Do I have to be a part of this research and may I stop being a part at any time?

Your being a part of this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to be a part of this research, you may stop being a part of it at any time. If you decide not to be a part of this study or if you stop being a part at any time, you will not be punished or lose any benefits which the researcher told you about in the beginning.

Is any help available if I am negatively affected by being a part of this study? All possible protections will be taken to protect you from experiencing any harm from the research process. If however, you are or feel that you are being badly affected by this research, the researcher will find you the best help through the NGO (The Valleys and Mountains Development Foundation).

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Lynn-Joy Isaacs in the Social Work Department at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact 079 298 1321. Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Head of Department: Dr. M Londt
Dept of Social Work
mlondt@uwc.ac.za
021 9592277

Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences: Prof Anthea Rhoda
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535
chs-deansoffice@uwc.ac.za

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

Appendix F: Information Sheet (Stakeholder)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa

Tel: +27 21- 9592760 Fax: 27 21-9593686

E-mail: cjerasmus@uwc.ac.za; 2138796@myuwc.ac.za

INFORMATION SHEET - Stakeholder

Project Title:

Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges with parental involvement during late adolescence

What is this study about?

This is a research project being conducted by Lynn-Joy Isaacs at the University of the Western Cape. I am inviting you to be a part of this research project because you have worked or currently work with teenagers between the ages of 15 – 19 years of age at the NGO and so you have expertise and experience in the study topic. The purpose of this research project is to explore the perceptions, experiences and challenges of adolescents with parental involvement during late adolescence.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to be a part of this research study?

You will be asked to fill in the agreement form for the interview and use of a voice recorder before the interview starts. You will be asked to answer the interview questions in the way you understand them – so it is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers. The interview will take about 30 to 60 minutes. The Valleys and Mountains Development Foundation, Happy Valley, Bonnievale will be where the study will take place. The questions for the interview are exploring the perceptions, experiences and challenges of adolescents with their parents' parental involvement during late adolescence.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

The researcher will ensure that your identity is protected as well as the nature of your contribution. To ensure your anonymity, your name will not be included for any purpose in this research project. Your name will be assigned a special code so that the write ups of the interviews can be known to the researcher. Only the researcher will be able to link your identity and will have access to the identification key especially for the information verification. To ensure your confidentiality, the interviews will be copied to a computer immediately afterwards and deleted from the voice recorder. The interviews will be kept in a folder which will be protected by a password and which will be known to the researcher only. The transcriptions will be identified with codes and stored in the lockable filing cabinet, personal to the researcher. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the highest.

What are the risks of this research?

There may be some risks from participating in this research study. The risks may include the psychological, social, emotional, and legal risks. There might also be the risks that one cannot plan for as all human interactions and talking about oneself or others carry some amount of risks. We will however try to keep these risks to a minimum and act promptly to assist you if you experience any discomfort, psychological or otherwise during the process of your participation in this study by referring you to a counselor or suitable professional for further help.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the researcher learn more about teenagers in a rural setting regarding their perceptions, experiences and challenges as it relates to their parents' involvement during late teenage years. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of the adolescent-parent relationship in this community.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop being a part of it at any time.

If you decide not to be a part of this study or if you stop being a part at any time, you will not be punished or lose any benefits which was communicated to you by the researcher.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study? All possible protections will be taken to protect you from experiencing any harm from the research process. If however, you are or feel that you are being badly affected by this research, the researcher will find you the best help through the NGO (The Valleys and Mountains Development Foundation).

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Lynn-Joy Isaacs in the Social Work Department at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact 079 298 1321. Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Head of Department: Dr. M Londt
Dept of Social Work
mlondt@uwc.ac.za
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Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences: Prof Anthea Rhoda
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This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

Appendix G: Informed consent/assent form (Late adolescent)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa

Tel: +27 21- 9592760 Fax: 27 21-9593686

E-mail: cjerasmus@uwc.ac.za; 2138796@myuwc.ac.za

ASSENT FORM - Adolescent

Title of Research Project: Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence

The study has been described to me in language that I understand. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand what it means for me to be a part of this study and I choose by myself to be a part of this study. I understand that my name will not be revealed to anyone. I understand that I may stop being a part of this research study at any time and that I do not need to give a reason for why I decided to stop being a part of the study. I also understand that I cannot be punished if I decide to stop being a part of this research study.

_____ I agree to be voice recorded during my being a part of this study

_____ I do not agree to be voice recorded during my being a part of this study.

Participant's name……..

Participant's signature…….

Date……

Appendix H: Informed consent form (Parent of adolescent minor)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa

Tel: +27 21- 9592760 Fax: 27 21-9593686

E-mail: cjerasmus@uwc.ac.za; 2138796@myuwc.ac.za

INFORMED CONSENT FORM – Parent of Adolescent who is a minor

Title of Research Project: Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence

The study has been described to me in language that I understand. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand what it will mean for my teenage child to be a part of this study and I have given permission for my teenage child to be a part of this study by myself and out of my own free will as the parent. I understand that my teenage child's name or identity will not be revealed to anyone. I understand that I may stop my teenage child from being a part of this study at any time without giving a reason and without having any fear of being punished or losing any benefits.

_____ I agree that my child may be voice recorded during his/her participation in the study.

_____ I do not agree that my child may be voice recorded during his/her participation in this study.

Parent of the Participant's name……..

Parent of the Participant's signature…….

Date……

Appendix I: Informed consent form (Parent)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa

Tel: +27 21- 9592760 Fax: 27 21-9593686

E-mail: cjerasmus@uwc.ac.za; 2138796@myuwc.ac.za

INFORMED CONSENT FORM - Parent

Title of Research Project: Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence

The study has been described to me in language that I understand. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand what it will mean to be a part of this study and I have chosen to be a part of this study by myself and out of my own free will. I understand that my name will not be revealed to anyone. I understand that I may stop being a part of this study at any time without giving a reason and without having any fear of being punished or losing any benefits.

_____ I agree to be voice recorded during my participation in the study.

_____ I do not agree to be voice recorded during my participation in this study.

Participant's name……..

Participant's signature…….

Date……

Appendix J: Informed consent form (Stakeholder)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa

Tel: +27 21- 9592760 Fax: 27 21-9593686

E-mail: cjerasmus@uwc.ac.za; 2138796@myuwc.ac.za

INFORMED CONSENT FORM - Stakeholder

Title of Research Project: Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence

The study has been described to me in language that I understand. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand what my participation will involve and I agree to participate of my own choice and free will. I understand that my identity will not be revealed to anyone. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without fear of being punished or loss of benefits.

_____ I agree to be voice recorded during my participation in the study.

_____ I do not agree to be voice recorded during my participation in this study.

Participant's name……..

Participant's signature…….

Date……

Appendix K: Interview Schedule – English (Late adolescent)

INTERVIEW GUIDE – LATE ADOLESCENT

NB: ensure written consent form is signed and collected before the interview commences.

Research introduction: This study is conducted in fulfilment for the requirements to obtain a Masters degree in Child and Family Studies at the University of the Western Cape. The study seeks to find out what adolescents in a rural setting's perceptions, experiences and challenges are concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.

Interviewer:	
Respondent Code:	
Age:	
Gender:	

1. Tell me a bit about yourself (Background information of participant, family structure, where you live, school-going etc.).
2. Describe a typical day in your home.
3. Describe parent-Late adolescent relationship.
4. Parent involvement in child's life (Educational dimension, psychosocial dimension, the future).
5. Observations of parent-late adolescent relationships and families in your community.
6. How did you find this interview – is there anything else that you would like to add that I didn't perhaps ask you regarding parental involvement?
7. If I was unknown to you, how would you have shared?

Appendix L: Interview Schedule – Afrikaans (Late adolescent)

ONDERHOUDGIDS – LAAT-TIENER (Afrikaans)

Belangrik: Maak seker dat die toestemmingsvorm onderteken en ingedien word voor die onderhoudproses begin.

Research introduction: Die uitgesette vereistes in verband met die Universiteit van die Wes-Kaap se Meesters graad in Gesinsstudies is voldoen tot die beste van my vermoe. Hierdie navorsingsstudie word geïmplimenteer om te ontdek wat tieners in 'n landelike gebied se persepsies, ervarings en uitdagings in verband met tieners se ouers se ouerbetrokkenheid tydens laat-tienerskap.

Onderhoudvoerder:	
Onderhoud gevoer-kode:	
Ouderdom:	
Geslag:	

1. Vertel my 'n bietjie van jouself (Agtergrond, gesinsstruktuur, waar u bly/woon, gaan skool of nie ens.).
2. Beskryf 'n tipiese dag in jou huis.
3. Beskryf u verhouding met u ouer.
4. Ouerbetrokkenheid in u lewe (Opvoeding, psigo-maatskaplik, die toekoms).
5. Waarneming van ouer-laat tiener verhoudigs en gesinne in u gemeenskap.
6. Hoe het u hierdie onderhoud gevind? Is daar enigiets anders wat u sou wou gehad het ek moes gevra in verband met ouerbetrokkenheid?
7. As u my nie geken nie, sou u anders gedeel het?

Appendix M: Interview Schedule – English (Parent)

INTERVIEW GUIDE – PARENT

NB: ensure written consent form is signed and collected before the interview commences.

Research introduction: This study is conducted in fulfilment for the requirements to obtain a Master's degree in Child and Family Studies at the University of the Western Cape. The study seeks to find out what adolescents in a rural setting's perceptions, experiences and challenges are concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.

Interviewer:	
Respondent Code:	
Age:	
Gender:	

1. Tell me a bit about yourself (Background information of participant, family structure, where you live, work, origin, etc.).
2. Describe a typical day in your home.
3. Describe parent-Late adolescent relationship.
4. Parent involvement in your child's life (Educational dimension, psychosocial dimension, the future).
5. Observations of parent-late adolescent relationships and families in your community.
6. How did you find this interview – is there anything else that you would like to add that I didn't perhaps ask you regarding parental involvement?
7. If I was unknown to you, how would you have shared?

Appendix N: Interview Schedule – Afrikaans (Parent)

ONDERHOUDGIDS – OUER (Afrikaans)

Belangrik: Maak seker dat die toestemmingsvorm onderteken en ingedien word voor die onderhoudproses begin.

Research introduction: Die uitgesette vereistes in verband met die Universiteit van die Wes-Kaap se Meesters graad in Gesinsstudies is voldoen tot die beste van my vermoe. Hierdie navorsingsstudie word geïmplimenteer om te ontdek wat tieners in 'n landelike gebied se persepsies, ervarings en uitdagings in verband met tieners se ouers se ouerbetrokkenheid tydens laat-tienerskap.

Onderhoudvoerder:	
Onderhoud gevoer-kode:	
Ouderdom:	
Geslag:	

1. Vertel my 'n bietjie van jouself (Agtergrond, gesinsstruktuur, waar u bly/woon, werk ens.).
2. Beskryf 'n tipiese dag in u huis.
3. Beskryf ouer-tiener verhouding.
4. Ouerbetrokkenheid in u kind se lewe (Opvoeding, psigo-maatskaplik, die toekoms).
5. Waarnemings van ouer-tiener verhoudings en gesinne in u gemeenskap.
6. Hoe het u hierdie onderhoud gevind? Is daar enigiets anders wat u sou wou gehad het ek moes gevra in verband met ouerbetrokkenheid?
7. As u my nie geken nie, sou u anders gedeel het?

Appendix O: Interview Schedule (Stakeholder)

INTERVIEW GUIDE – STAKEHOLDER

NB: ensure written consent form is signed and collected before the interview commences.

Research introduction: This study is conducted in fulfilment for the requirements to obtain a Master's degree in Child and Family Studies at the University of the Western Cape. The study seeks to find out what adolescents in a rural setting's perceptions, experiences and challenges are concerning parental involvement during late adolescence.

Interviewer:	
Respondent Code:	
Age:	
Gender:	

1. Tell me a bit about yourself (Background information of participant, family structure, where you live, origin etc.).
2. Describe your work with late adolescents and involvement of parents.
3. Describe parental involvement in late adolescents' life (Educational dimension, psychosocial dimension, the future).
4. Observations of parent-late adolescent relationships and families in your community.
5. How did you find this interview – is there anything else that you would like to add that I didn't perhaps ask you regarding parental involvement?
6. If I was unknown to you, how would you have shared?

Appendix P: Editor's letter

JUDY TWYCROSS

Editor & Proofreader

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I hereby confirm that I am an academic editor and have provided editing services to Lynn-Joy Isaacs for her thesis entitled 'Adolescents in a rural community's perceptions, experiences and challenges concerning parental involvement during late adolescence' for the University of the Western Cape.

I have provided these services, which consisted of checking grammar, sentence construction and making suggested language changes. I have not in any way contributed or changed the substantive content of the thesis.

I may be contacted on the phone number or email below, should any questions arise regarding these services.

Sincerely,

J H Twycross
30 May 2020

J H Twycross
072 037 3755
jtwycross@gmail.com