

**PARENT-ADOLESCENT RELATIONSHIP AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
IN KERALA, INDIA: A QUALITATIVE STUDY**

by

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ABSTRACT

Adolescence is a transitional period from childhood to adulthood and relationship between adolescents and their parents are vital. Lack of intimacy, lack of parental involvement, lack of guidance, lack of parental attachment, blaming, and anger can lead to delinquent behavior among adolescents. In India, in 2010 alone, there were 34,527 cases of reported adolescent delinquency. There was a substantial difference in the number of crimes committed by boys (95%) and girls (5%) of the total crimes committed by adolescents.

The purpose of this study was to explore and compare, from the adolescent's perspective, the parent-adolescent relationship among adolescents who have engaged in delinquent behavior and those who have not. Participants were adolescent boys in the state of Kerala, India, who discussed the environment they experienced in their home: their relationship with their father and mother; and the control, guidance, and pressure from their parents.

Framed by social control theory and general strain theory, the study used a constructivist paradigm to explore the lived experiences of 21 adolescent boys between the ages of 14 to 17: 12 boys who were nondelinquent and 9 who were delinquent. Each participated in an in-depth interview for 30 minutes to 1 hour and one of two focus groups which lasted for 45 minutes.

The results indicated that parental attitudes and behaviors likely contributed, directly and indirectly, to adolescent behavior. The adolescents with delinquent behavior

were living in a family where parental fights were common, where the father was alcoholic and/or abusive, and where the adolescents experienced severe parental punishment from their childhood. The interviews revealed the lack of parenting skills among the parents of adolescents with delinquent behavior. Adolescents without delinquent behavior experienced higher parental involvement, parental guidance, and attachment. These adolescents were living in a happier family environment with fewer family fights and greater communication.

It is clear that delinquent and nondelinquent behavior adolescents experienced their family life quite differently, and that their respective home and family environments directly influenced behavior patterns. Implications of the research findings for social work practice, policy, and research are presented, as well as the study's strengths and limitations.

To my wife.... Saumya.....

To my daughter.... Elaine.....

To my parents..... Antony and Mary.....

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Young people who are at risk of becoming delinquent often live in difficult circumstances. Children who for various reasons—including parental alcoholism, poverty, breakdown of the family, overcrowding, abusive conditions in the home, the growing HIV/AIDS scourge, or the death of parents during armed conflicts—are orphans or unaccompanied and are without the means of subsistence, housing and other basic necessities are at greatest risk of falling into juvenile delinquency. The number of children in especially difficult circumstances is estimated to have increased from 80 million to 150 million between 1992 and 2000. (UN World Youth Report, 2003)

Adolescence is a transitional period of development from childhood to adulthood with evident biological and emotional changes. These changes bring transformation and reorganization in family relationships (Steinberg, 1990). Moreover, adolescents start viewing themselves as adults and, on the contrary, parents may find it difficult to adapt to this perception. There may also be a shift in the unilateral authority enjoyed by the parents towards a mutual authority in which adolescents share decision-making power and increasing amounts of personal jurisdiction (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Furthermore, interactions between the adolescent and parents can lead to conflict (Steinberg, 1990). Among adolescents, early adolescence (ages 10-15) has been associated with

higher levels of conflict with parents (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998), and adolescent-parent relationships may be transformed dramatically during this period.

When considering the development of an adolescent, the quality of parent-adolescent relationships is vital. In a study by Chao (2001), the closeness of parent-adolescent relationships explained the beneficial effect of authoritative control. Yet another study by Dekovic, Janssens, and Van As (2003), demonstrated that quality of parent-adolescent relationships explains adolescent antisocial behavior. The quality of relationships could be defined as a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child in the long history of the relationships (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Dekovic (1999) found that the negative quality of relationships between the adolescents and their parents is related to higher levels of externalizing problems, such as disturbing others, verbal and physical aggression, and acts of violence (Nelson, Rutherford, & Wolford, 1996). Research has found that the relationships between adolescents with antisocial behavior and their parents are characterized by a lack of intimacy, mutuality, and by more blaming and anger (Dekovic et al., 2003).

Furthermore, research has found that conflicting quality of parent-adolescent relationships leads to adolescent maladjustment (Inge, Maja, & Anne, 2006). Adolescent deviant behavior from the social norms is also associated with parents' relationship with adolescents. In a study conducted by Krohn and colleagues in 1992 (as cited by Alexander & Daniel, 1997), they identified three major factors of family process. They are parental guidance, parental involvement and parental attachment that have effects on delinquent behavior.

Juvenile Crime in India

In India, crimes are usually classified into crimes under the Indian Penal Code (IPC) and crimes under the Special and Local Laws (SLL). There was a substantial increase in crimes committed by adolescents in India from 1997 to 2007 on the national level under IPC. In this period there was an increase from 0.5% to 1.1% in the total crimes committed under IPC. Crimes committed by adolescents under the Indian Penal Code increased by 8.4% from 2006 to 2007, with a reported registration of 22,865 cases in 2007 (Crime in India, 2007). But in 2010 there was a small decrease in the reported cases of crime under the IPC: 22,740 cases (Crime in India, 2010). Adolescent crimes under the SLL have shown a 12% decrease from 2006 to 2007 (Crime in India, 2007). This was further decreased in 2010 with 2,558 cases (Crime in India, 2010), while in 2007 there were 4,163 reported cases. There are substantial differences in the number of crimes committed by boys and girls in India. In 2007, a total of 34,527 crimes were committed by adolescents alone, and 32,671 were committed by boys and only 1,856 crimes were committed by girls. Thus, girls contributed only 5.4% of the total crimes committed by adolescents in India in 2007 (Crime in India, 2007). Additionally, the ratio of girls to boys arrested for committing IPC crimes in 2010 was 1:20, and the ratio of girls arrested for committing SLL crimes in 2010 was 1:11. Considering this gender disparity in crime in India, I explored only boys with delinquent behavior in this study.

The present study did not investigate the adolescents who were in the justice system; rather, it included adolescents who have shown minor antisocial behavior, and tried to compare the results with adolescents who have no reported delinquent behavior cases. Kauffman (2001) found that only 3% of delinquent behaviors are adjudicated in

the United States. Therefore, the majority of delinquent behaviors are not reported in the judicial system. In this study, parent-adolescent relationships are being explored from the perspective of adolescence. The present study explored parent-adolescent attachment; adolescent views towards parental guidance; adolescent perception about parental control; adolescent views of parental pressure; and the type of communication between the adolescent and the parent from a relationship perspective. Additionally, the study investigated differences between adolescents who had been involved in delinquent behavior and those who had not.

Research Questions

Following are the research questions that guided the study:

1. What are the demographic characteristics of adolescent boys involved in delinquent behavior as compared to adolescent boys who are not involved in delinquent behaviors?
2. Do adolescent boys involved in delinquent behaviors perceive their relationship with their mother differently than adolescent boys who are not involved in delinquent behaviors?
3. Do adolescent boys involved in delinquent behaviors perceive their relationship with their father differently than adolescent boys who are not involved in delinquent behaviors?
4. Do adolescent boys involved in delinquent behaviors react differently towards parental control, guidance, and pressure when compared to adolescent boys who are not involved in delinquent behaviors?

Methods

Using qualitative research methods, the above mentioned research questions were explored in this research. For the purpose of data collection, 21 early adolescents ages 14-16 were recruited to the study. Participants were observed, interviewed individually, and participated in focus groups. Interviews and focus groups were conducted in the language called, Malayalam. Later, these interviews and focus group discussions were transcribed into Malayalam. All the narratives from the interviews and focus groups were not translated into English, but those that were in the story line of the findings were translated into English. This translation was done by me and was cross checked by a person who reads, writes, and understands both Malayalam and English. For the purpose of detailed analysis, I used line-by-line coding to identify major themes. I identified students showing delinquent behavior (burglary, theft, arson, peer fights, destruction of property, school norm violation, antisocial behavior, and substance abuse) and not showing delinquent behavior, based on teachers' report. A Higher Secondary School in Kochi, India was the location for recruiting the participants in the study. Volunteers were contacted through the school. Prior to the recruitment of the participants, IRB approval was granted for the study from the Institutional Review Board at the University of Utah.

Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the parent-adolescent relationships of early teenagers with delinquent behavior and compare that with the parent-adolescent relationships of early teenagers who had not shown any reported cases of delinquent behavior. In this study, adolescents' perception of their parents and how the parents react

to various adolescent problems were explored with early adolescent boys of Kerala, India. Study findings have implications for social workers, teachers, and other professionals working in the field of delinquency prevention and intervention, as well as for policy makers at the local and state level in India. The study sought to provide direction for policy development, as well as to inform families, schools, communities, and juvenile justice agencies in modifying existing services or developing new services for the adolescents of Kerala and India.

Organization of the Dissertation

In this chapter, I have introduced the research, methodology, and study implications in a summarized form. Chapter 2 reviews the literature related to the research questions and also discusses social control theory and general strain theory, the theoretical frames used in the study. In Chapter 3, the study methodology is specified, including the research paradigm, research design, participant selection, tools of data collection, data collection procedures, and data analysis. Chapter 4 presents the study findings, focusing on the themes and categories that emerged from the stories and experiences shared by the participants. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the findings and presents the implications of the study for social work practice, policy, education, and research, as well as the study's strengths and limitations.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Delinquency is a universal problem and it is seen all over the world without exceptions to any specific cultures or religions. Generally, delinquency refers to illegal acts, whether criminal or not, committed by youth under the age of 18. The term juvenile delinquency was officially developed in the United States in 1899, when the first code of juvenile delinquency was enacted in Chicago, Illinois (Shoemaker, 2005). The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines a delinquent act as “conduct that is out of accord with accepted behavior or the law” (Merriam-Webster, 2006). If delinquent behavior is viewed from a behavior disorder perspective, it encompasses two broad dimensions: internalizing and externalizing. Internalizing disorders are directed inward and involve behavioral deficits, such as withdrawal, isolation, and depression. On the other hand, externalizing disorders are directed outward and involve behavioral excesses, such as disturbing others, verbal and physical aggression, and acts of violence (Nelson, Rutherford, & Wolford, 1996).

This chapter examines risk and protective factors that explain the role of the parent in predicting adolescent delinquent behavior. Additionally, the chapter examines how social control theory and strain theory frame the role of parent and family in the delinquent behavior of adolescents.

Juvenile Crimes in India

India, the largest democracy in the world, has a population of 1.15 billion people (The World Bank Report, 2009). There are more than 140 million adolescents (ages 13-19) in India according to the 2001 census (Census of India, 2001). The rates of crime are high, with reported cognizable crimes of 6,750,748 in 2010 under the Indian Penal Code and Special and Local Laws (India Crime Statistics, 2010). In India, crimes are generally classified into two categories: crimes that come under the Indian Penal Code (IPC) and crimes that come under Special and Local Laws (SLL). The Indian Penal Code Act of 1860 is the act under which all the substantive aspects of criminal laws are incorporated. This act has been amended several times. All crimes that come under other laws are generally termed as SLL.

Non-Western countries have lower delinquency rates compared to those of Western countries (Friday & Ren, 2006). Nonetheless, juvenile delinquency is a serious social problem affecting non-Western countries and there is much less research exploring this problem (Raval, Raval, & Beker, 2011). In the year 2010 itself there were 25,298 crimes committed by adolescents (Crime in India, 2010). Even though juvenile crimes contribute only 1% of the total share of crimes in India, this adolescent behavior cannot be neglected as the delinquent behavior of adolescents has increased at a much higher rate from 2000 to 2007 and showed only a slight decrease between 2007 and 2010 (Crime in India, 2010). From 1953 to 2000, delinquent behavior contributed only a 0.05% share of the national crime rate. However, this rate increased significantly to 1.1% within a span of 7 years and then declined to 1% in 2010. When considering crimes committed by adolescents, there has been a 5% decrease in the IPC crimes from the year 2009 to 2010.

The highest reported juvenile crimes under IPC in 2010 were criminal breach of trust, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, kidnapping, and abduction. Burglary, sexual harassment, death due to negligence, molestation, rape, and gambling also constituted a major number of juvenile crimes in India (Crime in India, 2010).

Another aspect of reported juvenile crimes in India is that a majority of the crimes are committed by boys. In the year 2010, 28,763 crimes were committed by boys compared with 1,540 crimes committed by girls. Thus, girls committed only 5.1% of the total number of adolescent crimes in India (Crime in India, 2010). During 2007, 12,114 juveniles ages 12-16 were adjudicated under the IPC and SLL, but this number has declined to 10,123. The majority of adolescents apprehended in 2010 were between the ages of 16 and 18, accounting for 19,253 crimes. In this study, I have interviewed adolescents between the ages of 14 and 17. As the majority of the crimes are committed by boys, the study focused exclusively on boys.

The major policy act pertaining to youth in India is the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act of 2000. Under this act, youth who commit crimes are identified as “juvenile’s in conflict with the law” and not as criminals. This differentiation is specifically employed to eliminate any discrimination towards youth and negatively stigmatizing them. Under this act every state in India has to follow its rules.

The state of Kerala has its own peculiar features compared with the other states of India. Kerala has made tremendous achievements with high literacy rates, low infant mortality rates, low population growth, and low crude death rate (Parayil, 1996). According to the 2011 census, Kerala has a population of more than 33 million people.

Compared to the national population growth rate of 17%, Kerala had only 4% population growth from 2001 to 2011 (India Census, 2011). Kerala is one of the states in India whose female population is higher than the male population: there are 1,084 women compared to 1,000 men (India Census, 2011). Additionally, the literacy standards of men and women are comparable, with men having a 96% literacy rate and women 92% (India Census, 2011). Kerala is the first state in the country to have 50% female representation in local self-government bodies. Additionally, the religious distribution in Kerala is much different than in the whole of India: 56% of the state's population are Hindus, 24% are Muslims, and 19% are Christians, and there are minimum numbers of individuals practicing Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, and Judaism (Indian Census, 2011).

In the state of Kerala, where the study was conducted, the following facilities have been established for the treatment of adjudicated children and adolescents: six Juvenile Homes, 14 observation homes, one Certified Juvenile Home, and two special homes. In the year 2010, there were 826 cognizable crimes of juvenile delinquency in Kerala; 256 involved early adolescents in the 12-16 age category and 544 were committed by adolescents ages 16-18 (Crime in India, 2010). Additionally, there were only 22 cases of delinquency involving girls who were arrested. Under the Juvenile Justice Act of 2000, institutionalization is the last resort. Those who are in lock-up facilities are to be de-institutionalized and admitted to regular schools. Thus, the rehabilitative aspect is emphasized in this Juvenile Justice Act of 2000.

The distinctive role of children and adolescents in Indian families and their interdependency with the family members tends to last much longer compared to many other developed countries (Madan, 1990; Simhadri, 1989). Parents play the primary role

in socializing their children in India (Gupta, 1987; Shukla, 1994). Indian adolescents are faced with various problems such as juvenile delinquency, alcohol and drug abuse, illiteracy, school dropout, low educational attainment, and family violence (Agarwal, 1989; Parikh & Krishna, 1992; Sarkar, 1988). Research indicates that families that are less expressive, experience more conflict, and are more enmeshed are associated with antisocial adolescents (Carson, Chowdhury, Perry, & Pati, 1998). Carson and colleagues also found that family attachment, effective communication between fathers and their children, and fewer family difficulties are important for adolescent development.

Juvenile Delinquency and Family Relationships

Some environments restrict certain behavioral responses of adolescents, while other environments tend to promote a wide range of behavioral adaptations. Kubrin, Stucky, and Krohn (2009) posit that there is movement from restricted (e.g., school, family) to unrestricted environments (e.g., peers, gangs) in adolescence. During this period, teenagers begin to exercise choices independently and try to disconnect from the restricted environment. When considering the social causes for delinquent behavior, one can find studies dating back to the 1950's that examined the role of social institutions in delinquent behavior (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). These researchers found a relationship between the vital role played by family and schools and delinquent behavior. Social role was later incorporated into theoretical perspectives to explain delinquency (Nye 1958; Reckless 1961; Reiss 1951). Hirschi (1969) developed social control theory and posited that delinquent acts occur when an individual's bond to society is either weakened or broken. The weakening of social bonds frees the individual from constraints, which may

open an avenue for committing delinquent behavior. Thus, the weakening of the social bond is a necessary, but not sufficient, reason for delinquent behavior (Kubrin, Stucky, & Krohn, 2009).

Hawkins and associates (2000) cite a number of researchers who found that youth living in poverty are more likely to engage in violent behavior. Research has also found that the prevalence of drugs and firearms in a community predicts a greater likelihood of violent behavior (Hawkins et al., 2000). Community disorganization is another predictor of violent activity. This factor is defined as the presence of high crime rates, gang activity, poor housing, and general deterioration in a given community (Hawkins et al., 2000). Home environments have been found to predict early onset and chronic patterns of delinquent or antisocial behavior in children and youth (McEvoy & Welker, 2000). Other factors, such as parental criminality, harsh and ineffective parental discipline, lack of parental involvement, family conflict, child abuse and/or neglect, and rejection by parents have also been identified as important factors related to delinquent behavior (Patterson, Forgatch, & Stoolmiller, 1998; Walker, Stieber, Ramsey, & O'Neill, 1991). Studies have found that children who are exposed to these patterns of coercive interactions at home are likely to repeat them in school, increasing their risk for school failure (Sprague & Walker, 2000; Walker & Sprague, 1999). Overall, the family's influence on a child's or adolescent's behavior is powerful and can be generational in scope (Allen, Leadbeater, & Aber, 1994).

Resiliency researchers have identified three themes that involve external protective factors: (1) caring relationships, (2) positive and high expectations, and (3) opportunities for meaningful participation (Benard, 1995; Davis, 1999; Grotberg, 1995).

Other family level protective factors include clear boundaries for behavior that enforce structure and rules within the household and reasonable disciplinary actions when rules are violated (Hanson & Carta, 1995). Sanders (1970), in discussing the prominence of family factors in explaining delinquent behavior, stated that parent-child relationships are a major factor in this regard. In a study by Chao (2001), the closeness of parent-adolescent relationships explained the beneficial effects of authoritative control. Yet another study by Dekovic, Janssens, and Van As (2003) demonstrated that the quality of parent-adolescent relationships explains adolescent antisocial behavior. However, the literature cited above is from Western societies; therefore, there is a need for research that explores parental relationship and adolescent delinquency in other cultures, such as India.

Although there are many instances of violent or delinquent adolescent behavior, only 3% are adjudicated each year in the United States (Kauffman, 2001). The majority of crimes committed by juveniles are nonviolent, and these crimes do not require the youth to be apprehended; the majority of the behaviors are dealt with in the adolescent's immediate social systems, e.g., family and schools. Law enforcement seems to focus on violent crimes such as aggravated assault, robbery, forcible rape, or murder, which account for approximately 5% of juvenile arrests (Snyder, 2000). Delinquent behavior, however, extends beyond those who are caught by law enforcement; it includes those who commit lesser infractions and who violate societal norms. This study investigated delinquent behaviors among early adolescents who were not apprehended by law enforcement, but reported by school officials. Early adolescence, between the ages of 14 and 17 years, is indicated as the peak period for juvenile offending (Loeber, Farrington,

& Waschbusch, 1998). Additionally, the relationship between adolescents and their parents was explored in this study.

Gender Differences in Juvenile Delinquency

The majority of adolescent criminal offenses are committed by males. This overrepresentation of males in juvenile delinquency is one of the most robust and stable findings in the literature (Freeman, 1996; Odgers & Moretti, 2002; Quinsey, Skilling, Lalumiere, & Craig, 2004). Starting from later childhood, boys show higher rates of conduct problems than girls (Farrington, 1987). Girls may engage in criminal activities, but boys commit more serious crimes such as aggravated assault, robbery, and murder (Quinsey, Skilling, Lalumiere, & Craig, 2004; Rutter & Giller, 1983). Girls, however, show a propensity towards indirect and verbal aggression (Bjorkvist, Lagerspetz, & Kaukiainen, 1992; Tremblay et al., 1996).

Parents and Adolescent Delinquency

In many cultures, the family has been seen as the central socializing institution responsible for instilling in youth a set of norms, values, beliefs, and ideals (Loury, 1987). The failure of families to accomplish this task may result in serious consequences for the individual as well as for the society at large (Patchin, 2006). Beginning from the 1950s, researchers have examined the relationship between families and delinquency. Sheldon and Glueck (1950, 1962) reported a significant relationship between families and delinquency. But in recent studies, parents and their role in preventing delinquency are given due importance (Anderson, 2002; Bank & Burraston, 2001; Heck & Walsh, 2000;

Thornberry, Smith, Rivera, Huizinga, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1999; Unnever, Cullen, & Agnew, 2006).

Parent-Adolescent Relationships and Delinquency

This section of the chapter examines the role of family, with a specific focus on parents, to better understand the role of parental-adolescent relationships in juvenile delinquency.

Family is important throughout the period of early adolescence. During early adolescence, the developmental transformations are likely to result in changes in adolescents' needs within the family (Holmbeck, Paikoff, & Brooks-Gunn, 1995). Controlling parents and adolescents who strive for more independence are likely to clash with one another. In this context, parental influence among adolescents is mostly seen as a matter of concern. Researchers agree that "bad" parenting is very much a compelling cause for delinquent behavior (Unnever, Cullen, & Agnew, 2006). Glueck and Glueck (1962) reported that parents who demonstrate extreme restlessness and destructiveness are more likely to play the part of antecedent to delinquency in their teenagers. A lack of emotional ties between parents and adolescents also contributes to involvement in maladaptive behavior (Glueck & Glueck, 1962; Hirschi, 1969). Needle, Su, Doherty, Lavee, and Brown (1988) found that family instability, deficient family cohesion, and lack of quality relationships between parents and children resulted in adolescent substance abuse.

Four Paradigms of Parental Negative Influence on
Adolescent Behavior

Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) identify four paradigms that outline how parents can negatively influence adolescent behavior. They are, neglect; conflict; deviant behaviors and attitudes; and disruption. In this exploratory study, these paradigms have been taken into consideration with the intent of further validating the theoretical foundation established by control and strain theories.

Neglect is one of the major causative factors in the delinquent behavior of adolescents. Parents who do not have any control over their children inside and outside the home may foster delinquent tendencies (Nye, 1958). Examples of this lack of parental control include ignoring the delinquent behaviors of their children or being unprepared to address delinquent behaviors when they are acknowledged (Patchin, 2006). Such behaviors may be seen among parents who are afraid to create tension in the family or parents who perceive violations as being trivial and who never punish the child (Patchin, 2006). These parents may fail in setting boundaries and creating a proper structure for their children's behavior (Cobb, 2001). While children from these types of parents love their parents, they often have trouble developing friendships and lack the ability to regulate their emotions (Cobb, 2001). Further, these behaviors place them at risk for frequent quarrels at school or incorporating delinquent behaviors in the process of attempting to win friends (Patchin, 2006).

There are two forms of neglect: lack of supervision and lack of involvement. The literature demonstrates that inadequate or neglectful supervision contributes to association with deviant peers (Ingram, Patchin, Huebner, McClunsky, & Bynum, 2006;

Warr, 2002, 2005). Studies conducted by Glueck and Glueck (1950), Hirschi (1969), and Patterson (1980) found that improper parental supervision results in deleterious effects on children. Cobb (2001) also found that parents who did not adequately supervise their children were unable to effectively control their children's behavior through positive reinforcement and appropriate punishment. A meta-analysis found parental supervision to be among the most powerful predictors of juvenile delinquency (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986). Attachment to parents (Hirschi, 1969) along with parental involvement serve as protective factors in juvenile delinquency (Patchin, 2006). Hirschi (1969) calls this attachment "virtual supervision," in that children avoid delinquent behaviors when they are strongly attached to their parents, even if their parents are not immediately supervising them.

In contrast to the neglect paradigm, parents operating within the conflict paradigm will be using harsh, abusive, and aggressive measures towards their children (Patchin, 2006). This approach will likely result in rebellious behavior among the children and also escalate disruptive behavior (Patchin, 2006). The literature shows that the children of parents who discipline by using very harsh behavior tend to look towards their peers for support and, later on, tend to display higher rates of delinquency and substance abuse (Bank & Burraston, 2001; Hill, Howell, Hawkins, & Battin-Pearson, 1999; Rebellon & Van Grundy, 2005; Wallace & Bachman, 1991; Warr, 2002, 2005). Parents who utilize these behaviors can be harsh in many different ways: physically, sexually, and emotionally. Even without causing physical injury to children, such parental abuse may impact children emotionally as well as cognitively (Hunner & Walker, 1981; Kaplan, Pelcovitz, & Labruna, 1999). The literature also suggests that some children who

experience a pattern of extreme discipline from their parents are more likely to have an increased risk for violence in adolescence (McCord, 1979; McCord, McCord, & Zola, 1959) or a greater risk of future delinquency (Miller & Knutson, 1997). Additionally, parents who are inconsistent in their punishment pattern may influence children to become oppositional and confused as to what is acceptable and what is not (Wahler, 1987).

In terms of Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber's third paradigm, deviant behaviors and attitudes (1986), parents with a history of deviancy themselves are more likely to pass this behavior on to their children (Patchin, 2006). Studies have found that delinquents are more likely than nondelinquents to have been raised by fathers with criminal histories (Glueck & Glueck, 1962; Hirschi, 1969). Many studies have found that parental criminality increases the risk for violent crimes among children and adolescents (Baker & Mednick, 1984; Farrington, 1989; Lipsey & Derzon, 1998). Sampson and Laub (1993) found that parental deviance leads to children having deviant peers. It has also been demonstrated that youth of antisocial parents are at greater risk of violence or delinquency than the youth with the least antisocial parents (Eddy & Reid, 2002). These studies show an apparent link between parents with deviant behavior and future deviant behavior in their children. Causative factors are unclear, yet it is hypothesized that adolescents' delinquent behavior is learned from their parents (Bandura, 1986; Burgess & Akers, 1966), or that the environment where both parents and children were raised elicits delinquent behaviors (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov, & Sealand, 1993). It has also been assumed that biological factors contribute to the development of antisocial behavior (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Based on the above literature review, it is evident that there

is a connection between parents with a history of deviant behavior and children with delinquency.

The fourth and final paradigm is family disruption, which can take various forms such as arguing, mental illness, and single parenting. In most studies, family disruption is linked to single parenthood, and delinquency is found to be common among these types of families (Glueck & Glueck, 1950; Juby & Farrington, 2001). The literature also shows that there are negative consequences associated with families disrupted by desertion, divorce, or death (Glueck & Glueck, 1962; Thornberry et al., 1999). Youth from single parent families are more likely to use drugs (Wallace & Bachman, 1991) or engage in delinquent behavior (Wells and Rankin, 1991).

Social Control Theory

In this study social control theory and general strain theory are utilized to explore and understand how parent-adolescent relationships shape and influence adolescent behavior. Hirschi's (1969) social control theory states that social bonds and attachments are stronger protection against delinquency than other personality characteristics. Hirschi conceptualized social bonds between individuals and society as having four components: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. Social control theory presents the opportunity to determine whether the bonds of attachment, involvement, and school and community measures explain serious delinquency and risky behavior. The importance of social control theory is seen in the arguments of developmental theorists, who posit that changing features of social bonds explain the trajectories of delinquency (Laub &

Sampson, 2003) and the process of desistance from crime (Bushway, Piquero, Broidy, Cauffman, & Mazerolle, 2001) throughout the life course.

One of the most persistent explanations for delinquent behavior is the breakdown of the family (Shoemaker, 2005). Hindelang (1973) found attachments to parents are inversely related to delinquency—the stronger the attachment to parents, the less risk there is for adolescent delinquent behavior. Other researchers during the same period also found that broken families and delinquency were correlated (Haskell & Yablonsky, 1982; Rosen & Neilson, 1978). Yablonsky and Haskell (1988) found that internal patterns of interaction within the family are more important than structural factors in the family. So these family interactions, mostly between parents and adolescents, may play a vital role in explaining delinquent behavior. Cernkovich and Giordano (1987) found that intimate communication within the family can lessen the risk of adolescents engaging in delinquent behavior. Social control theory has also been used to explain various aspects of delinquency, such as predicting the levels of self-reported delinquency (Huebner & Betts, 2002) and the onset of gang membership (Thomberry, 2006).

General Strain Theory

General strain theory maintains that people commit crime because of pressure or strain. Agnew argued that strain comes from diverse sources as opposed to a single factor such as economic strain (Agnew, 1985, 1992, 2001, 2006). Agnew presented three types of strain that can lead to crime: (1) the inability to achieve a goal, (2) the removal of positive stimuli or losing something that is valued, and (3) the presentation of negative stimuli. These negative stimuli, or the loss of positive stimuli may lead to negative

affective states, such as anger, fear, frustration, or depression, which in turn may lead to crime (Agnew, 2001, 2006).

Adolescents often find themselves in environments (e.g., family and school) in which they have limited control. Resulting pressures may lead to frustration, and adolescents may try to escape or get involved in criminal activities (Kubrin, Stucky, & Krohn, 2008). Agnew (1985) found that aversive family and school environments have a direct effect on delinquency. Agnew also found that punitive parents, mean teachers, and dissatisfaction with school contribute to higher levels of anger and ultimately lead to greater delinquency. In 1992, Agnew added dimensions of strain that included negative life events, life hassles, negative relations with adults, parental fighting, living in unsafe neighborhoods, unpopularity with the opposite sex, occupational strain, and clothing strain (Kubrin, Stucky, & Krohn, 2008). He also wrote about other strategies or ways of coping with the strain besides committing crime. Included were cognitive, emotional, and behavioral coping strategies that tend to lessen strain on a person (Agnew, 1992).

General strain theory is based on the idea that "when people are treated badly they may get upset and engage in crime" (McCluskey, 2002). The theory identifies two methods for measuring strain in an individual's life: a subjective approach and an objective approach. In the subjective approach, the research participants are directly asked whether they dislike the way they are treated. In the objective approach, I ask about predetermined causes of strain. The importance of an individual's reaction guided the current study, and a subjective, qualitative approach was used to collect data.

General strain theory has also been used to explain the higher representation of males in crime than females. Agnew and Broidy (1997) compared the different levels and

types of male/ female strain and found that females show much more strain than males. They also found that females are more concerned with creating and maintaining close bonds and relationships with others, which leads to lower rates of property and violent crime. On the other hand, males are concerned with material success, leading to higher rates of property and violent crimes. Females faced negative treatment such as discrimination and were found to have high demands from family that restricted their behavior. Males were more likely to be less tolerant, resulting in their getting involved in more conflicts. In relation to goals, females were more likely to be self-destructive when they failed to achieve goals, while males turned towards violent behavior and crime (Agnew & Broidy, 1997). Agnew and Broidy also found substantial differences in emotional responses to strain among males and females. Based on the above data, it can be hypothesized that boys show more violent behavior than the girls.

The Present Study

Guided by the literature reviewed in this chapter and using social control and general strain theories as a framework, this study explored various aspects of the parent-adolescent relationship and the social conditions of families of both delinquent and nondelinquent behavior adolescents. The study did not investigate adolescents who were in the juvenile justice system, but rather adolescents who were reported to have committed delinquent behavior but had not been referred to the juvenile justice system. More specifically, the study focused on behaviors that deviated from school norms, including physical fights with other students, stealing, arson, destruction of property, disrespectful behavior towards teachers (culturally expected behavior is respect towards

teachers), and violating school rules. Parent-adolescent relationships were explored from the adolescents' perspective, and the experiences of delinquent behavior adolescents and nondelinquent behavior adolescents were compared. The study also investigated the reaction of adolescents towards parental guidance, parental control, parental punishment and communication between the adolescent and the parent. The next chapter presents the methodology that guided the study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology used in the present study. The chapter provides a description of the methods that were used in collecting the data, the basic design of the study, information regarding the sample participants, tools of data collection, data collection, and data presentation. The methods that were used for the analysis and presentation of the data will be discussed.

Research Design

The specific purpose of this study was to explore the parent-adolescent relationships of delinquent behavioral adolescents using qualitative research methods. For the constructivist philosophers, “realities are apprehendable in the form of multiple intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature (although elements are often shared among many individuals and even across cultures), and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994: p.206). To understand the experiences of the adolescents’ relationships with their parents from their own mental constructions, which are socially and experientially based, a constructivist paradigm was applied in this

research. I was concerned with the method of eliciting these constructions, which can be only collected and refined through interaction between and among the investigator and the participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The constructive paradigm sought intersubjectivity or shared subjective awareness (Weaver & Olson, 2005).

Grounded theory, which is based on the constructivist paradigm, was used in this particular study. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), grounded theory is derived from data that is systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process. In order to capture the complexities of relationships between parents and their adolescent sons, grounded theory was best suited for this study. Additionally, the deficiency of literature with this population (in the state of Kerala) was yet another factor that underlined the importance of grounded theory to elicit the experiences of the adolescent boys from their own perspective and narratives.

Participant Selection Criteria

Using purposeful sampling technique, 21 participants were recruited from a school (Higher Secondary School) in the city of Kochi, India. I introduced the study to the school and flyers were distributed among the students of 9th and 10th grades (9th and 10th 'standard' is the usage in India). The inclusion criterion for this study for the target group was that participants had to be adolescent boys in the age range from 14 to 17 who had engaged in one or more delinquent behaviors in the past 12 months and was caught doing burglary, theft, arson, peer fights, destruction of property, school norm violation, antisocial behavior, and/or substance abuse by the school authorities. The comparative group is the same as the above mentioned group with the exception of having any

reported delinquent activities in the past 12 months. Before the selection of the participants a flyer was distributed and those who were willing to participate in the study were given further details of the research. The students who were interested in participating in the study were contacted personally and were given detailed information about the study. Participants were also communicated that the information they provide will be kept confidential and no identifying information about them would be used in the manuscripts and documents that emerged from this research. Informed parental consent and adolescent assent were obtained in accordance with the requirements of the University of Utah's Institutional Review Board (IRB). All the interviews were conducted by me. After obtaining the informed parental consent and the adolescent assent, the participants were informed about their rights and were also be given a detailed description of the study prior to the interview and focus groups.

The potential benefits from this study include insight into the parent-adolescent relationships and improved emotional functioning. Participation in the study was completely voluntary and a parent could withdraw their child from the study at any point in time. The participant himself could withdraw from the study at any time. Counseling support was made available from a local nonprofit organization, if there was a request from the participants for such help. The participants were informed about the availability of the counseling support. During the process of data collection no participants availed counseling services. All information about the participants were kept confidential and participants were number coded and are kept anonymous. A list of the names and the code numbers of the participants were kept in locked files and destroyed at the end of the project. Access to the data was restricted to the research committee and me. Only the

final results of the study were shared and discussed in the research proceedings. The results of this study may be published for scientific purposes.

Data were collected from adolescent boys who were studying in 9th and 10th grade. I had spent 2 months with this population before collecting the data. I felt that the time spent with the target population gave them the confidence to share their experiences more openly and in depth with me. The data were collected after this initial familiarization with the adolescents. The interview and focus group discussion were conducted in 2 weeks time. The interviews and the focus group were conducted using the local language called, Malayalam. These interviews were then transcribed into Malayalam by me. Themes were generated from this translated text. Those themes that related to conversations during the interviews were translated into English. The translations were checked by a person who can read, write, and understand both languages. Generating themes in the local language was used to make sure that meaning underlined in the narratives should not be lost while it is translated to English. This helped the analysis to elicit in-depth meaning without compromising both cultural and language contexts. Methods, procedures, and interview guide got approval from the Institutional Review Board of the University of Utah, prior to the data collection.

Tools of Data Collection

For the purpose of adding rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth, a combination of data collection methods was used in the study (Richardson, 1994). I had, in order to validate the research findings, employed triangulation using in-depth interviews, focus groups, and field notes. Triangulation is regarded as the typical strategy

to improve the validity and reliability of the research (Golafshani, 2003). The interviews were conducted using an interview guide which was translated into the local language, Malayalam.

Individual Data Collection

Two instruments were developed by me and used for individual data collection. The initial instrument was a questionnaire developed to collect demographic details of the participants prior to the interview. The demographic questionnaire included the following items: age, educational standard, academic grade, parental occupation, family income, parental education, parental marital status, number of siblings, and involvement in delinquent behaviors (burglary, theft, arson, peer fights, destruction of property, school norm violation, antisocial behavior, and substance abuse). All the items in the demographic questionnaire were close ended and participants answered these questions in less than 5 minutes.

The second instrument was an interview guide. The interview guide was a semistructured, nondirective, interactive and informal process to elicit rich experiences of the adolescent boys regarding their relationships with their parents. This interview style was selected to provide flexibility for me and also for following a participant's lead (Patton, 1990). The interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour. All the interviews were audio taped with the consent of the participants. The interviews were conducted in a conducive, quiet environment so that the participants could feel confident when discussing their relationships with their parents.

Focus Groups

Two focus group discussions were conducted, one with delinquents (9 participants) and one with nondelinquents (12 participants), and audio taped in the study. Each of the focus group was conducted for 45 minutes. The purpose of the focus group was to bring the adolescent boys to share their experiences and to understand different perspectives from other participants. In the focus group the basic themes that emerged from the interviews were also discussed and I sought to understand how the participants constructed meanings to the themes. This method of member checking helped me to further explore the meanings that were generated in the interview process with the adolescent boys.

Field Notes

I personally wrote field notes during all the data collection process. Field notes were about the participants, the interviews, the focus groups as well as my personal thoughts, insights, feelings, and initial meanings about the process.

Researcher's Role

My home town is close to the school that was selected for the study, and so I could not discard the bias rooted in prior experiences in this locality. Additionally, I have experience working with a similar population for more than 6 years. But as a professional, I was aware of these biases. In an attempt to minimize these biases, I tried to keep an open mind while asking leading questions as well as making meaning from what the participants discussed during the interview and also in the focus groups. During

the entire process of data collection and analysis, I tried to maintain impartiality. But I cannot deny the fact that a certain level of partiality might have influenced me in this process of research.

I tried to positively use my own experience of working with a similar population during data collection and analysis. I also tried to make meaning from the data and tried to relate to what I had experienced before. I used a self reflective journal to understand my biases and field notes to understand the participants' views and environment. Both field notes and the journal helped me to reflect on personal experiences with this population and compare them with that of their experiences.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Demographic details of the participants were coded and analyzed. Each audio taped interview was translated into Malayalam and themes were generated in the local language itself. Only the contexts related to final themes generated from the data were translated to English by me and were checked by a person who is fluent in both languages. Identifying details were eliminated from the data when given for cross checking. Each interview and focus group session were written in narrative format and were analyzed using grounded theory approach. I transcribed all the interviews and focus group sessions. This task aided me in immersing into the data more deeply and also created more familiarity with the interviews and focus groups.

Analysis was done using line-by-line coding, identifying themes, coding categories, and by drawing cluster diagrams to uncover relationships between themes and categories (Straus & Corbin, 1990, 1997). The transcripts and field notes were read several times for familiarity. Line-by-line coding helped me to understand even the

minutest meaning hidden in the data. This initial analysis generated a number of categories, themes, and patterns from the data. It was overwhelming in the initial process. Themes were later organized by interconnectedness and patterns in the themes. Then cluster diagrams were developed. After reducing the themes into patterns, they were developed into a story line based on the research questions. The themes were organized into three major categories: (1) relationship with father, (2) relationship with mother, and (3) parental control, guidance, pressure and adolescents reaction towards it. The story line was then developed under these major categories. In the story line, participants' lived experiences and existing conditions in the families of both delinquent behavior adolescents and nondelinquent behavior adolescents are narrated. Themes that emerged from the interviews form the main body of the research.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

In the beautiful countryside, close to the business capital of the state of Kerala, I was quite curious to know about parent-adolescent relationships. More specifically, I was interested in knowing more about the relationships between parents and delinquent behavior adolescents, and also the relationships between nondelinquent behavior adolescents and their parents. When I began this scientific inquiry, many questions, starting from demographic characteristics to the relationships at home of these adolescents came to mind. Economically, India is developing rapidly, so what will be the family-economic status of these-adolescents? Will they be rich, middle income, or poor? Are their parents educated? I was curious to know about the educational background of the parents, as Kerala is the highest educated state in India. In what kinds of delinquent behavior are adolescents involved? What kind of relationship will there be between adolescents and their father or mother? When the data was collected from the 21 participants, there was more revealing information about these families' current economic conditions, educational background, types of delinquent behaviors, and the relationships between parents and adolescents.

In order to present the research results in such a way as to reflect the inductive process of analysis, the findings were organized in the following sections:

1. Demographic characteristics of the participants
2. I am involved in delinquent activities and my father is...
3. I am not involved in any delinquent activities and my father is...
4. I am involved in delinquent activities and my mother is...
5. I am not involved in delinquent activities and my mother is...
6. Control, guidance, and pressure at home—delinquent behavior adolescents
7. Control, guidance, and pressure at home—nondelinquent behavior adolescents

Each section compares and analyzes the responses of both the delinquent behavior adolescents and nondelinquent behavior adolescents.

Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

Age

The participants of the study were 14-17-year-old males attending 9th or 10th grade (“standard” is the term used as a substitute for “grade” in India). Eight participants (38%) were 14 years of age, 10 (47%) were aged 15 and the remaining 3 (14%) were 16 years of age. Eight adolescents (38%) were in the 9th grade and 13 (62%) were in the 10th grade.

Religion

Six of the participants were Hindus and the rest of the participants (15) were Christians (see Tables 1 and 2). There was a higher number of Christian participants because of the fact that the school is managed by Catholic priests and the locality where the school is located, is predominantly a Christian majority area.

Delinquent Behavior

Nine of the participants had both teacher-reported and self-reported delinquent behaviors and 12 adolescents (both teacher reported and self-reported) were not involved in any type of delinquent behaviors (see Tables 1 and 2). All the delinquent behavior adolescents (100%) were involved in some kind of school norm violation. Fights between peers within and outside of the school (78%) and substance abuse (66%) were the major concerns among the school teachers. Participants disclosed that they were involved only in smoking (cigarettes) and drinking (alcohol) and no other substances were involved. One (11%) of the participants disclosed that he was involved in circulating pornographic material in the school.

Father's Education

Regarding parental education (see Tables 3 and 4), 15 fathers (71%) were educated up to 10th grade, or higher than 10th grade but with less than a college education. Six fathers (29%) had less than a 10th -grade education. There were no fathers who attended college. Among the fathers of the delinquents, 6 (66%) had a 10th-grade education or higher, but less than a college degree; and 3 (33%) had less than a 10th-grade education. Among the fathers of the nondelinquents, 9 (75%) had a 10th-grade education or higher, but less than a college degree; and 3 (25%) had less than a 10th-grade education.

Mother's Education

Two mothers of the study participants were college graduates (10%) and 11 (52%) had a 10th-grade education or higher, but less than a college education. Eight of the mothers (38%) had less than a 10th-grade education. Among the mothers of the delinquents, 1 (11%) was a college graduate; 3 (33%) had a 10th-grade education or higher, but less than a college degree; and 5 (56%) had less than a 10th-grade education. Among the mothers of the nondelinquents, 1 (8%) was a college graduate; 8 (66%) had a 10th-grade education or higher, but less than a college degree; and 3 (25%) had less than a 10th-grade education.

Socioeconomic Status

Economically, 62% of the respondents self-reported being in the Lower Middle-Class Income category while 38% self-identified as being in the Lower Income category (see Tables 3 and 4). There did not appear to be a connection between income and delinquent or nondelinquent behavior of the adolescents. Among the 9 adolescents with delinquent behavior, 6 (66%) were in the Lower-Middle Class Income category and the rest (33%) fell into the Lower Income category. In the case of nondelinquents, 7 (58%) fell in the Lower-Middle Class Income category and 5 (42%) were in the Lower Income category. Twenty fathers (95%) were employed, compared with 11 (52%) of the mothers who were not employed outside of the home, leaving 10 (48%) who were employed outside the home. Two of the mothers who were the only college graduates among the parents, were not working outside the home. With nearly half of the mothers working,

this could be viewed as a move from the traditional pattern of “father is the breadwinner” towards a “working mother” concept.

All of the participants except 1 (5%) responded that they have their own home; with 1 adolescent responding that the family lived in a rented house. There was no specific mention of any household being without food or clothing. At the time of the study, 20 fathers (95%) were working and 1 had been injured in an accident and had been unable to work for a year and a half. But the adolescent in this case reported that his father was planning to reenter the workforce in 2 to 3 months as his medical condition had improved. Of note is that in the Lower-Middle Class Income category only 1 father (8%) was employed in the public (Government) sector and 4 (31%) were either employed in the private sector or had their own business. In 62% of the Lower-Middle Class Income category, both the father and mother were income earners. Of the Lower Income families, 38% reported living with minimum levels of income to sustain their livelihood. Participants in this study were involved in a school that was funded by the public (state government) and managed by the private sector, so students did not have to pay any fees.

I Am Involved in Delinquent Activities and my Father Is...

The adolescent boys involved in delinquent activities talked more about their father, than about their mother. This was not because they liked him very much; rather, they were pointing towards the various negative behaviors of their fathers which directly or indirectly influenced them. While these adolescents were asked about both their parents, they talked more about the negative experiences they had with their father and talked less about their mother. From their discussions about their father, most (89%) of

the adolescents never showed any kind of attachment with their father. Most of the boys talked about a less interactive father, and there were only a few topics discussed in these interactions: education and advice. Most of these fathers never took the time to learn more about their sons' education and their choice was just to say, "Study well." Even for this topic they never found much time. Eight (89%) of the adolescents with delinquent behavior said that they had little interaction with their father and only 1 (11%) had high interaction with his father. Interestingly, this father was always home as he had sustained an accident and could not leave the house due to his medical condition. Three of the adolescents responded as follows:

We talk [father and son], but we never talk about anything personal about me.....he only advises me to study well.

Father comes home only once in a month or he only visits during festival seasons [he is working in another town] so we never talk much.....but when he comes he says to study well.

I never talk of my matters with my father, but I discuss many things with my mother.

One of the adolescents (11%) was scared of his father. The father had very little conversation with him and, like the other fathers, his only advice was to study well and there were no other topics of discussion between them. This adolescent was of the opinion that his father got angry very fast and the adolescent was afraid to respond to this anger. This adolescent was not involved in any explicit fights in the school, but was involved in delinquent activities such as smoking and circulating pornographic materials in the school. These delinquent activities did not occur in the open, but were done secretly.

Most of the fathers of the delinquent behavior adolescents were alcoholic. Seven adolescents (78%) reported that their father was a regular alcohol drinker. One (11%) said that his father had stopped drinking in the last 2 months, but he was abusive when he drank alcohol. Along with the alcohol consumption, 5 of the adolescents (56%) said that they had had high levels of family fights after the alcohol consumption. This environment in the family had deeply affected the adolescents. Many of these adolescents said that the alcohol consumption and the family fights that followed had influenced their studies. These adolescents were living in a household environment where their parents fought with one another, and in some cases the father physically abused the mother.

He drinks (alcohol) every day....he creates problems at home after this. We have problems studying. We moved to this town only recently, in the last place he created many problems due to this alcoholic behavior. Then we moved to this place....initially he is okay, and then he starts fights for very silly reasons. Later he starts beating mother. He beats [her] with [his] hand and whatever he gets in his hand.

When he drinks he says the same thing again and again....then he starts fights for silly reasons....then he may shout at my elder sister, hearing this I will shout back at him, then my mother will interfere....then it will be a big fight....if he drinks, even just moving from our seat will be a huge problem for him.

I get angry because my father drinks (alcohol)....then we cannot sleep well....so we never show interest in our studies....he says he is tired and then drinks, then he starts to argue with my mother.

The alcoholic behavior of their fathers was highlighted by almost all the participants who talked about their father as a regular drinker. They also mentioned that they felt happy when their father either reduced the alcohol consumption or stopped drinking. Emotional outbursts towards their fathers' alcohol consumption and emotional relief when their fathers either reduced or stopped alcohol consumption, were apparent in the adolescents' remarks. One of the participants felt more accepted when his suggestion

of stopping alcohol consumption was accepted by his father and he reduced the quantity of alcohol consumption. He explained:

I got angry when he drank too much alcohol. I also scolded him for this behavior.....father never responds to my shouting. Later he will say, “Those friends of mine have helped me a lot in my work. That’s why I drank with them”.....I got angry because my father drinks too much.....After so much of (*sic*) repeated advice he now reduced his drinking. Only then I felt a kind of interest in studying. When he showed a minimum level of acceptance to our suggestions.....I am not saying he had to stop drinking, but he should have some control over it.

Another participant’s tone of relief and concern over whether his father had really stopped drinking alcohol was apparent in the adolescent’s response:

Now he is okay. He is very decent. He says that he even does not like the smell of the alcohol [expression of a doubt]. For that reason, he now owns a rental car, is attending weddings and also for few other family occasions. [His father currently owns a rental car]. Once he was tested by a friend who kept a liter bottle of alcohol in front of him [laughing]. His friend knew that my father had stopped drinking. But my father didn’t drink it. He also had a habit of chewing betel leaf [a form of substance abuse in Kerala]. My mother kept all those things in front of him, but he didn’t use them.

Apart from their father’s approach towards them or the environment they created in the house, all the delinquent behavior adolescents (100%) said that they loved their father. Even if they had experienced abuse from their father, they still loved their father. Eight of the delinquent behavior adolescents (89%) said that they were physically punished by their father when they were young. Even though many of these physical punishments were aimed at preventing their sons from making mistakes, they were delivered with anger and bordered on physical abuse. The adolescents reported that their father had hit them with their hands, a stick, a belt, and with other things that were within reach. Additionally, the father’s choice of which body area to hit was not of much importance to them: They hit even on the head.

There have been problems: repeatedly. Once he [father] hit me with a soda bottle [glass]. Then I was taken to the hospital and I had number of stitches for that. Seeing this cruelty, [his] uncle filed a police complaint.

Father will try to make them [the group with whom the son fought] understand the problem. But if he thinks I did (*sic*) the mistake, he will hit me in front of everybody.....he will even hit me on the head.

The issue of alcohol was obvious in some of the fathers' abusive behavior. When one of the participants elaborated on his father's behavior, it was quite apparent that the behavior was influenced by alcohol consumption:

My father physically punished me for a long time. Then he stopped the frequent punishments. Two years back my friends were attacked by another group of boys. I couldn't hit them back because they were from my locality [town]. But they came and hit me. I told this to one of my older friends: He went and hit them. Then their uncle came to me and asked, "Did you send people to hit my cousin?" I told them, "No I didn't send anyone." To retaliate, they took my father's bamboo stick [his father had a small boat in which a bamboo stick was used to push the boat]. When my father saw this bamboo stick was used by them he said that "this is mine and I am taking it." Then he came home and asked about what happened and there was a big argument on this. One person used filthy words against my father. But my father thought that he was calling me those words. I told him that they had called him those words and those filthy words were not addressing me. My father thought this because one person had mentioned that I had sent people to hit his cousin. My father insisted that person had called me those filthy words. That day he was too drunk. He slapped me on my face and asked me to leave the house. I left.

This abusive physical punishment somehow vanished when the study participants became teenagers. Interestingly, only 1 participant (11%) said that he had been physically punished by his father after entering his teenage years. Seven adolescents (78%) said that their father rarely physically punished them, and 1 of the adolescents (11%) was never physically punished. Apparently, their fathers accepted the fact that they were mostly like adults and should not be treated like young children. However, 2 of the adolescents said that, even now, their fathers shouted at them and also used obscene words when they found that their sons had made mistakes.

When many of the delinquent behavior adolescents described their father's reaction towards delinquent behavior, it seemed evident that the fathers were not well prepared to handle their son's delinquent behavior. Four of the fathers (44%) opted "not to talk" with their adolescent son for some time if they committed any delinquent activities. One father (11%) kicked his son out of the house and 1 adolescent (11%) left home when his father tried to correct him. In both of these episodes, the fathers either shouted at their son or hit their sons with something.

Two or three times when I got mad at my father [when the father scolded his son for committing delinquent behavior] I told him, "Go away, whatever you say I won't obey it." Then I got angry and left home. Since I didn't return home even after 10 at night, my uncle called me on my cell phone and asked me where I was.....When I returned home my father asked me why I behaved like that and he was very sad.

He slapped me on my face and asked me to leave the house. I left. When my sister asked about this she was also kicked out of the house. Then father waited in front of the house till 11 at night. Then he [father] told my mother not to allow us into the house....later he went out and when he returned he parked the motor bike away from home to see whether we have (*sic*) entered the house [laughing]. But we were waiting outside the house. Next day we were asked by mother to tell father we were sorry and we did so and he let us in.

One of these adolescents' father, himself, got involved in fights with others and another father got involved directly in his son's delinquent behaviors. When he would learn that his son was involved in any kind of fight with other adolescent groups, he literally would go and question the other teens about it and fight with them.

Once I got involved in a fight. The other people involved in the fight told me that they won't (*sic*) allow me to come out of the house and they would send others to hit me. I told this to my parents. Then father went to ask about it and they had a fight. This turned to a huge fight....father asked them, "What's the matter?" One guy told [him] the matter and my father asked them, "Will you hit my son for this reason?" And one guy answered something and father didn't like it and so the fight started.

Yet another father indirectly supports his son's delinquent fights, as explained by the adolescent:

I am told by my father that, if someone has physically harmed me then I must beat him back and only after that I should be (*sic*) coming home. Because if you are a person who starts receiving beating from others, then you will have to live like that for your entire life, you won't be courageous. If someone hit you, you should hit him back. Do not be afraid of any problem. No one is going to beat me (*sic*) coming into our house. I have lots of friends and cousins near our house..... Yes, if I have any problems [fights with others] my family will support me.

In summary, the fathers maintained minimal interaction with the delinquent behavior adolescents. Most evident was the fathers' alcohol consumption, fights in the family, abusive behavior, and lack of parenting skills in dealing with the delinquent behavior of their son. According to the adolescents, even though they said they loved their father and they thought their fathers loved them, neither side had ever expressed this love in words by saying, "I love you."

I Am not Involved in any Delinquent Activities

and my Father Is...

Contrary to what delinquent behavior adolescents said about their father, nondelinquent behavior adolescents were of the view that their father loved them very much and they had experiences that could be shared regarding this love. In discussing their relationships with their father, all of these adolescents (100%) said that they loved their father and they felt that their father loved them, too. There was an element of respect towards their father in their expressions. Although 2 of the youth (17%) described their father as "serious," they were still of the opinion that their father loved them even though they rarely showed it. Ten of the teenagers (83%) said that they loved their father very much and they had various reasons for that:

I love my father. Father never scolds unnecessarily. He fulfils my needs [buys the things he needs]. If I did anything wrong he will correct it. I like my father.....I had this loving experience from my father from my childhood. He has helped me more, (*sic*) even to sleep when I was a child.

Father is very much (*sic*) loving. (*sic*)Then he does not have any kind of bad habits: never drinks (alcohol) or smokes. After all he is a good father.

There was a higher degree of interaction between father and son among this group of participants. These fathers had spent more time with these youth and had discussed various matters concerning their youth and also had created an environment to talk about various other things, too. Nine of the 12 youth (75%) indicated that they had good interactions with their father. Of these 9, 3 (33%) said that they had a friendly relationships with their father and that they talked a great deal about various things at home: school, and even their personal matters. The other 6 (67%) said that they talked mostly about their school, friends, and other general matters. Three of the 12 youth (25%) said that they had less interaction with their father. Of these 3, 2 (17%) said that their father was a serious person and never talked much with them. The other participant's father was working abroad and because of that, the two usually talked every week on the phone.

It is really fun. Father talks about things that happened at his work place and then I will talk about the things that happened at school.

Father is the person who talks about informative things at home. We [children] only like to read short story books and we are not interested to (*sic*) read newspapers. So then father will take this topic (*sic*) while we discuss and he will inform us about the things happening, like electricity is produced using various resources.

We talk about my studies, then we talk about funny things that have happened around.....we usually talk while we eat our dinner and other times where we sit in our living room.

Father also talks about my health. You know, I should take a bath twice a day, then I should clean my teeth and he talks about such things very carefully. He also

talks about the need to do the (*sic*) workout. He will also talk about eating food to keep the body fit.

The nondelinquent youth also talked about how their parents corrected them if they made any mistakes. These corrective measures were not associated with violent disciplinary measures, but rather, less physically harmful measures. Seven of the youth (58%) said that they had to face physical punishment when they were younger, but unlike the delinquent behavior teenagers, the punishments the nondelinquent adolescents faced were mild.

Yes. I was beaten when I was a child. But it was not much (*sic*) heavy beatings. It was usually mild.

After joining the 9th grade, I was never beaten by my father.....I was usually beaten with a stick. Father never hit me with his hand.....not because of his anger that he beats me, but it was always for me to remember to do good things.

Five of the nondelinquent adolescents (42%) said that they were never physically punished by their father, but were given timely corrections when they made any mistakes. These correctional measures and guidance from their father were highlighted by all 12 nondelinquent adolescents (100%). The responses of two adolescents were as follows:

Father usually gives good advice. He tells me not to get involved with bad company.

You should be (*sic*) having an aim in your life and you should work towards that aim. Then, there will be temptations for doing bad habits and other things in your mind. But you shouldn't be turning towards such things.....He will say, "What I am saying is for your good. This will help you in your life and if you don't listen to this you will have to face its adverse effects."

When asked, the nondelinquent participants said that their father did not have any bad habits. Three of the 12 participants (25%) mentioned that their father was a social drinker, but said that they never showed any violent behavior at home or elsewhere after drinking. The other 9 (75%) said that their father never drank alcohol.

I Am Involved in Delinquent Activities and
my Mother Is...

The predominant father figure overshadowed the remarks about mothers among the delinquent behavior adolescents. Most of these adolescents conversed more about their father and talked much less about their mother. Seven of the participants (78%) had better relationships with their mother due to a higher level of interaction than with their father. One of the adolescents (11%) felt more comfortable talking with his father than his mother. For the most part, delinquent behavior adolescents were of the opinion that their mother was more approachable than their father:

I like mother more than father....Mother helps me. If I had to do any kind of work, mother will help me. If I ask my father, then he will ask lots of questions about it. Then, if I need money I ask my mother [mother is not working]. Mother will ask this (*sic*) to father and I get the money. If I ask my father he will scold me.

Noticeably, 1 adolescent (11%) said that he did not have any kind of one-to-one interaction with his father or his mother. He usually tried to convey his needs when all the family members were sitting together in the living room:

We [both parents and the participant] never talk one-to-one....When everyone is sitting in the living room and talking about something, I try to convey my needs as the last topic and would say that I need this. Sometimes they say no.

One respondent said that his mother was rarely informed about his delinquent acts, while his father was informed by a friend of his father from the school. In contrast, one of the participants reported that his mother rarely shared information about his delinquent acts with his father. Since the father only came home once a month or only visited during festivals, the mother tried to manage the problem by herself. Interestingly, this adolescent manipulated the mother by giving false information:

I will manipulate the information. Once, I was caught for stealing tender coconut and teacher came to know (*sic*) about it. Teacher told me that she would tell this to my mother. So I told mother that “I found a tender coconut lying on the ground and drank it. Maybe teacher will call you to talk about this,” I told like (*sic*) this to mother.

When the adolescents were asked about physical punishment, 5 of them (56%) agreed that they were being physically punished by their mother. The remaining 4 (44%) said that their mother either punished them rarely or that there was no physical punishment at all. In describing the physical punishment, all said that, unlike their father, their mother usually used some kind of a stick to hit them.

I Am not Involved in any Delinquent Activities
and Mother Is...

The role of their mothers was highlighted in the responses of the youth with nondelinquent behavior. From the narration of their relationships with their mother, it was evident that they had higher attachment with their mother. All the participants (100%) said that they had a good relationship with their mother, and the majority (92%) felt more comfortable talking about personal matters with their mother. It was also evident that the parents themselves, had a higher level of interaction than the parents of the delinquent youth. Surprisingly, 10 (83%) of the adolescents said that their mother had physically punished them during their younger years, compared to only 7 (58%) adolescents who were physically punished by their fathers when they were younger. But like their fathers, their mothers used only mild forms of physical punishment. Five of the boys (42%) responded that their mother still punished them occasionally. Only 1 participant (8%) said that his mother was impulsive and got angry quickly:

Mother is the person who usually scolds me. She gets angry easily and scolds the same moment. . . . if I made any mistake, then she will beat me at the very moment.

With exception of 1 youth, all the nondelinquent participants said that they had a high level of interaction with their mother, compared to their father. These 11 participants (92%) revealed that they loved their mother more, compared to their father. One participant, when asked whether he loved his mother, responded “yes,” then continued:

I also like my mother. Even if my mother rarely scolds me, she will correct me. Then usually all (*sic*) will be having more attachment towards mother, like that [laughing]. . . . I love both of my parents, but I like mother more. I usually talk more with my mother. . . . I share the things that happened at school, then about other things. . . . even if my mother shouts at me, that will be there for only a few minutes. Then we will come close and solve it.

One participant said that his mother even helped him overcome the scolding of his father:

I talk more with my mother. I share things that happened at school and also about my friends. . . . mother also helps me when my father scolds me. She will come in between [us] and pleads for me, saying that I will not make that mistake again.

Mother was the person who was more involved in helping the adolescents in their education. Eleven of the adolescents (92%) said that their mother helped them more in their studies, compared to their father. Only 1 participant (8%) said that his father helped him in his studies more than his mother, as his father was educationally more qualified than his mother. One of the participants proudly revealed that his mother bought him books, other than text books, to help improve his knowledge.

Parental Control, Guidance, and Pressure—Delinquent Youth

Parents are typically, as the basic unit in society, the ones expected to teach norms and values, to be the center of advice and suggestions for their family. All 9 delinquent

behavior adolescents (100%) talked about the advice their parents gave them to study well and to be a good person. Culturally, too, this is an expected behavior from parents: to give good advice and guidance. In the participants' narration about family guidance and control, this pattern was quite evidently reflected:

During a time like this you should study well. Only then you will have a future. So you should try to study hard. They would say [things] like this to me.

Father gives lots of advice. I should study well. Then he says that he is working as a bus conductor because of his bad habits during [his] school days.

During the final exams mother would say that I should reach home at 7:30 at night and should attend the prayer at 8:00, then I must study. Mother always says that I should study in the morning and in the evening.

One would expect such parental guidance and support to have a positive impact on the adolescents' lives. However, it was apparent that an entirely different atmosphere prevailed at home. As stated earlier, 7 of the participants (78%) discussed their father's alcoholic behavior and 5 of the youth (56%) experienced family fights. During the study interviews, I sensed that most of these adolescents felt a sense of freedom in expressing their concerns and thoughts regarding their family environment. The participants who mentioned their family fights said they were disturbed by, and sometimes reacted against, the fighting. But in response, the parents reacted by "shouting at them." One participant said he was afraid of the parental fights and sometimes cried alone.

A majority of the parents dealt incompetently with their son's delinquent behavior, when they learned about it. According to several participants, rather than giving timely advice or correcting as needed, their parents used various other measures in response to their delinquent behavior. Four participants (44%) responded that their father kept silent if they had committed any delinquent behavior and did not talk to them for

some time. One participant's father visited the home once a month or only during festival season (which usually happens to be once in 3 months), and so his mother was the person dealing with the information about delinquent behaviors. He revealed that either his mother would not know about the delinquent acts or, if there were a chance of knowing, then the adolescent would give incorrect (and for him, "safe") information about the delinquent activities to avoid punishment. This youth talked more about the freedom he enjoyed socializing with his peers and committing various delinquent acts.

As mentioned earlier, one father used to get involved in his son's delinquent fights. This was yet another example of an ineffective response to the delinquent behavior, and one that conveyed a negative message to his son. Instead of restricting his son or providing guidance to keep him away from delinquent activities, this father was showing his concern for his child in a different way. Unfortunately, this approach never gave his son a model for avoiding delinquent behavior; instead, it gave him the security of knowing that, if he gets involved in a fight, his father will be there to protect him. Along these same lines, another youth mentioned the sense of security he felt from his father and other extended family members if he got involved in fights with peers.

Three participants with delinquent behavior (33%) enjoyed extra freedom because of the conditions at home. The usually expected restriction in a home environment was not seen among these participants. They said that they enjoyed maximum freedom and that their parents were not much concerned about what they did or where they went. All three youth acknowledged that they had been involved in various delinquent activities and their parents were unaware of it. Two of these adolescents got into frequent fights both in and outside of school and had their own rationale for committing such acts. They

were confident and believed that what they did in these fights was right. One of the adolescents said:

Nobody gets the freedom that I get from my parents. Other students have to be home at 6 or 6:30 in the evening, after the (*sic*) classes. That is the practice in most of the houses. What I am told is that you can go till 9:30 p.m. and till then you can do anything you like. I have the freedom to go anywhere I want, and if I want to go any place and I say that beforehand, I will be even provided with the money for that.

He continued:

If I make any mistake [delinquent acts], they never say not to repeat it. But they would say that it is okay because I did that wrong unknowingly.

Similarly, another adolescent enjoyed freedom because of the extreme alcoholic behavior of his father, and his mother was busy managing the soda business they owned. Additionally, there were fights at his home almost every day. When he needed things, his parents were reluctant to provide them. The frustration he felt in these fights and with the alcoholic behavior of his father was quite evident in his interview. Apparently, this youth found his own way of coping with these home conditions: With several (mostly delinquent behavior) friends, he went looking for various jobs to earn money, unlike most teenagers. Traditionally, in Kerala, youth of this age depend on their parents to meet their financial needs and rarely earn their own income. By earning his own income, this particular youth never had to depend on his parents for his needs. The third teenager enjoyed freedom because his father visited only once a month or once every 3 months. This youth's mother was not usually informed about her son's whereabouts and was being misled by him regarding his delinquent activities. Regarding resistance towards parental control, 5 of the adolescents (56%) showed higher level of resistance and would shout at their parents. As mentioned earlier, 1 adolescent left the house when his father

tried to question his delinquent behavior. All such resistance created family problems in the home. But 4 respondents (44%) showed less resistance towards parental control and said they feared their parents.

While 8 of the delinquent behavior adolescents (89%) mentioned that they were never given any special appreciation or gifts for their good deeds, only 1 (11%) mentioned that he was given special considerations and gifts for his achievements by his parents. Thus, on the one hand, these youth are dealt with harshly for their bad behaviors, but, on the other hand, they are not appreciated for their good deeds or achievements—a paradox they face on a regular basis in their lives.

Except for 1 youth, the delinquent behavior participants had never thought about their career goals. Most parents never took the time to help their sons with their choice of careers. Only 1 participant (11%) said that he had a specific career goal and that he had discussed this with his parents, who supported it. The following comments were representative of the situation:

I don't have any special interest (career goal). Then (*sic*) parents never talk about any kind of work for me. I usually go for different kinds of work during vacation or holidays.

I do not have any specific career goal. I have an interest to learn (*sic*) all kinds of work like carpentry, masonry, and all other types of works. Then I could do any type of work.

None of the delinquent behavior youth faced any kind of parental pressure to be educated or to be successful and go on to higher education. Only two (22%) said that their mother helped them in their studies. All of the parents suggested that their sons study up to the 10th grade, which is regarded as the basic level of academic achievement in the state of Kerala, and that they should then find a job to earn a good living.

Parental Control, Guidance, and Pressure-Nondelinquent Youth

The environment that prevailed in the families of the adolescents with nondelinquent behavior was quite peaceful compared to that of the youth with delinquent behavior. All the participants said that their parents did not end up in family fights that disturbed the family peace. Rather, they were of the view that they enjoyed the family atmosphere. All the participants answered that even if their parents had minor fights at times, they solved them immediately and were soon on friendly terms once again.

Among the participants with nondelinquent behavior, the parents had assigned them some duties at home. Eight of the participants (67%) were given specific household chores to be done at home. All these youth did their work happily, performing tasks that would have helped them develop a sense of responsibility at home and for themselves.

These were typical responses:

My parents reach (*sic*) home late from work. So I will (*sic*) make the tea and then clean the house. When we leave the house in the morning, all the things will be misplaced. I will rearrange them. Then I store the drinking water [there is a scarcity of drinking water in this locality]. Then water the plants in the garden.

There (*sic*) will be some work to do in the house.....we have a small cultivation of the (*sic*) green chilies, so I am the person assigned to do the watering for these plants and then we have a few banana plants, I do the watering for them too.

I help mother in doing household chores like helping in the cleaning of the house and the plates in the kitchen. When mother is sick, then I will do other work at home too.

Even though all the parents (100%) appreciated and motivated their son's achievements or good deeds, only 1 family (8%) gave gifts of appreciation. One of the participants talked about how his parents created a good environment and provided support for him to achieve prizes in the competitions. When the nondelinquent youth discussed their studies, it was evident that there was encouragement and slight pressure in

the family to study. All the youth (100%) responded that their parents helped them with their studies. But the adolescents responded that even though they were asked by their parents to study, they never felt their parents were forcing them to do so. Two of the adolescents (17%) mentioned that they were following a time table at home to study and to do leisure activities. This helped them in time management and also in educational achievements.

Participants spoke highly about their parents' involvement in their education, which no doubt promoted greater interaction in the family. However, 1 youth said that he experienced tension when his parents compared his grades with those of his sister, who had higher grades in her class:

Then my younger sister is first in her class. So there will be a distance between me and my sister in [our] studies. So my parents would say to make up that distance. They would also say that my sister should learn from me.

When I asked whether this approach created stress, he answered:

Yes, I felt tense. I would like to study well. [This student usually gets A and B grades in all his subjects.] I have a deep desire to study well. But my problem is that I cannot keep the things in my head: memory problem. Some of the information enters into my mind and then I forget it.

Another major subject of discussion was their parents' role in correcting and giving timely suggestions and advice to the adolescents. All the participants said that their parents provided them with timely suggestions.

My father says to me that as I have turned into a teenager, there are more chances that you end up making mistakes. So I will scold you or correct you even for minor mistakes.....My father told me that I am growing and so I may make more mistakes. He is scolding me to control me from committing such mistakes.

My parents remind me of these things when I insist on getting the things I like. They would say that you cannot get all the things you need because of the family financial condition. So you have to adjust to that.

Parents of nondelinquent behavior adolescents used only mild forms of physical punishment as a disciplinary action when their sons committed some kind of mistake. Even though there had been physical punishment in the participants' childhood, most of the parents had stopped physical punishment when their sons became teenagers. As mentioned earlier, all the participants were of the opinion that the physical punishment they experienced was mild in nature. Culturally, parental physical punishment is an accepted measure of discipline in India. But drawing a fine line between discipline and abuse is always a matter of concern.

The parents of these adolescents showed respect for their sons by talking about their age and how they have grown up. The participants spoke of the importance of having their parents accept them as adults:

After joining 9th grade, I think there have been a few changes. Now they never punish me [physically]. Then (*sic*) they would say that I am a grown up and so I have to do things on my own. If you want to go somewhere or do some things, you have to do it by yourself.

They would say that now I am more like a grown up person.Then they would say that I have to do good things because my younger brother will now learn many things from me.

It was quite evident that the parenting approaches adopted above had created a sense of responsibility among the adolescents with regard to their behavior and actions. Youth were aware that they should refrain from engaging in delinquent acts and recognized that the punishment they received from their parents served as a correctional measure for them to do just that. This self-realization and the decisions they made by themselves appeared to serve as a major protective factor:

They will correct me if I have made any mistake. I also try not to commit mistakes, if I realize that the action is a mistake beforehand.They [parents] have a great deal of "belief" in me. In our house, because they come [home] late after their work, only we

two [younger sister and the participant] are there at home. So they never have a thought that I will get involved in any kind of bad habits during that time. They have a belief that I will never indulge in such activities. I realize that and if I do anything against this, their belief in me will deteriorate. So I never cross the limit.

Surprisingly, 11 of the nondelinquent behavior participants (92%) had a specific career goal. Only 1 said that he never thought about it and his parents had not asked about it. But all the other adolescents said that they did have a focus in their life and wanted to achieve their career goals. Their parents had also discussed this matter with them and given motivation to pursue their ambition. Their parents did not insist that they choose any specific career; rather, they supported the career goal of their son.

The next chapter will discuss these findings and their implications and will also link the findings with the theories that frame the study: social control theory and general strain theory. The chapter will also discuss the study's strengths and limitations.

Table 1
Delinquent participants' age, grade of study, and academic grade and delinquency
N=9

No	Age	Religion	Std (grade)	Grade (all subjects*)	Delinquency
1	14	Christian	IX	B,C	Fights, smoking, school norm violation
2	15	Christian	X	B,C	Fights, school norm violation
3	15	Hindu	X	C,D	Smoking, drinking, fighting, school norm violation
4	14	Christian	IX	A,B,C	Sexual videos, smoking, school norm violation
5	15	Christian	X	C,D	Fights, smoking, school norm violation
6	15	Christian	X	C,D	Fights, smoking, drinking, school norm violation
7	16	Christian	X	C,D,E	Smoking, fights, drinking, school norm violation
8	16	Hindu	X	C,D	Smoking, drinking, school norm violation
9	15	Christian	X	C,D,E	Fights, school norm violation

***Subjects means course papers**

Table 2
Nondelinquent participants' age, grade of study, and academic grade
N=12

No	Age	Religion	Std (grade)	Grade (all subjects)
1	14	Christian	IX	B,C,D
2	15	Christian	X	C, D
3	14	Hindu	IX	A,B
4	15	Hindu	IX	B,C,D
5	14	Christian	IX	A,B
6	15	Hindu	X	C,D,E
7	14	Christian	X	A,B
8	14	Christian	IX	A,B,C
9	15	Hindu	X	A,B,C
10	16	Christian	X	C,D,E
11	14	Christian	IX	A,B
12	15	Christian	X	B,C

Table 3
*Delinquent participants' father's education, occupation, mother's education,
 occupation and family income category*

N=9

No	Father's education	Father's occupation	Mother's education	Mother's occupation	Income*
1	10	Construction	7 th	Homemaker	MI
2	10	Bus conductor	12 th	Manager Pvt	MI
3	7	Mason	8	Homemaker	LI
4	ITI*	Public employee (supervisory)	Graduate	Homemaker	MI
5	10	Not working (1.5 yrs)	10	Small business	MI
6	9	Mason	3	Homemaker	LI
7	5	Mason and driver	4	Small business	MI
8	10	Small business	7	Janitor	LI
9	10	Roofing	10	Homemaker	MI

*MI = Lower-Middle Class Income; LI = Lower Income

*ITI- Industrial training Institute diploma

Table 4
*Nondelinquent participants' father's education, occupation, mother's education,
 occupation and family income category*
N=9

No	Father's education	Father's occupation	Mother's education	Mother's occupation	Income*
1	10	Loading/unloading	10	Typist	MI
2	10	Contractor	Graduate	Homemaker	MI
3	10	Fabricator (Gulf)	12	Typist	MI
4	10	Small business	10	Homemaker	MI
5	12	Carpenter	12	Homemaker	LI
6	12	Fisherman	8	House servant	LI
7	10	Realtor	12	Homemaker	MI
8	10	Vestryman	10	Homemaker	MI
9	5	Festival vendor	7	House servant	LI
10	5	Wood polisher	5	Homemaker	LI
11	7	Contractor and vestryman	10	Tailor	MI
12	10	Mason	10	Tailor	LI

*MI = Lower-Middle Class Income; LI = Lower Income

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will discuss the findings of this research; its implications for practice, policy, and research; and its strengths as well as limitations. The purpose of this research was to explore the relationships between parents and their adolescent son. Additionally, I explored the reactions of adolescents towards parental control, guidance, and pressure. Both these research queries tried to compare the views of delinquent and nondelinquent behavior adolescent boys. The research findings were illustrative of the family environments that prevailed in the families of delinquent and nondelinquent behavior adolescents.

Overall, the model generated in this research study could be divided into two major categories: delinquent behavior adolescent boys and their relationship with their father and mother; and nondelinquent behavior adolescent boys and their relationship with their father and mother. Based on the grounded theory approach, the themes and categories generated from the analysis of the data produced two models of parent-adolescent relationship. These two models generated an easy comparative picture concerning the family environment that existed in the families of both delinquent and nondelinquent behavior adolescent boys.

Overview of Significant Study Findings

In their interviews, study participants described their family and their relationship with both of their parents. All of the adolescents fell into either the Lower-Middle Class Income category or Lower Income category, which mirrors the prevailing economic conditions in the state of Kerala. All the parents had attended school or college. However, there were only two parents—both mothers—who held an undergraduate degree. Although there were no college graduates among the fathers, 1 father was educated at a technical institute.

The delinquent behavior adolescents shared a life where parental attitudes and behaviors likely contributed, directly and indirectly, to the delinquent behavior. The adolescents were physically punished from a young age, and most of the time this punishment was abusive in nature. However, the physical punishment was never regarded as abusive by the adolescents; rather, the youth believed the harsh punishment was disciplinary action aimed at correcting their behavior. Most of the time, these adolescents were exposed to alcoholic fathers and family fights. Typically, in the environment in which they were raised, the father turned abusive after consuming alcohol, the mother had to resist her husband's behavior, and the results were family tension and fights. In the midst of these conditions, the youth never felt like studying or they never thought about their studies. Some of them feared their father's behavior while others feared the family fights.

Many of the delinquent behavior adolescents ended up getting involved in fights of their own and choosing to associate with other delinquent behavior peers. There were instances where delinquent behavior adolescents enjoyed extra freedom at home, but this

was often a result of less control on the part of the parents, i.e., parents were often incompetent in dealing effectively with their son's delinquent behavior. Some adolescents questioned parental substance abuse behavior and how their fathers could, in turn, restrict them from acting similarly and using abusive substances themselves.

The parents of delinquent behavior adolescents never pressured their sons to study or to have a career goal; as a consequence, the boys' grades in school suffered. This lack of parental guidance is likely related to a lack father-son interaction, which was evident in the participant interviews. For the most part, it was the mother who was interacting—however minimally—with the son and giving support, as evidenced by participants who said they loved their mother much more than their father.

There were instances where fathers of delinquent behavior adolescents themselves got involved in fights of their own, including one instance where a father got involved in his son's fights. Yet another father supported—even encouraged—his son's fights, advising him not to return home without fighting back (see Figure 1).

On the other hand, the parents of the nondelinquent behavior adolescents showed a much higher level of interaction with their adolescent son. As described by participants, these home environments were more friendly and comfortable. Youth in these households said that they, too, had seen fights between their parents; however, these arguments did not last long and the teenagers saw their parents come back together within a short period of time. None of the adolescents mentioned that these fights had influenced them in any way.

The parents of these adolescents advised their sons to stay out of trouble, and took corrective action, if necessary, in a timely manner. The teenagers themselves realized this

corrective action was for their own good. Although the mother-son interaction was highest in this group, the adolescents also had a high level of interaction with their father. These youth loved their parents and said that they felt their parents loved them as well.

Among these adolescents, many were assigned household chores by their parents, which likely gave them a sense of responsibility and the ability to make decisions. Some of the adolescents felt that they were treated as adults by their parents. Almost all of the youth had a career goal and they were supported by their parents in achieving this goal.

Regarding delinquency, these nondelinquent behavior youth realized the need to abstain from such activities and did so, a situation undoubtedly linked to parental influence and upbringing. One adolescent related how he cared about his parents' belief in him and how he wanted to keep up that belief by not getting involved in delinquent activities (see Figure 2).

In summary, study participants discussed the environment they experienced in their home; their relationship with their father and mother; and the control, guidance, and pressure from their parents. It is clear that delinquent and nondelinquent behavior adolescents experienced their family life quite differently, and that their respective home and family environments directly influenced behavior patterns.

Linking Study Findings with Theory

Social control theory and general strain theory were the two theories under which this study tried to understand the problem in detail. Additionally, the study considered four paradigms of parental negative influence on adolescent behavior asserted by Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986).

Social Control Theory

Hirschi (1969) posits that social bonds and attachments offer strong protection against delinquency. These protective factors were further conceptualized into four parts: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. “Attachment corresponds to the affective ties which the youth forms to significant others. The family environment is the source of attachment because parents act as role models and teach their children socially acceptable behavior” (Wiatrowski, Griswold & Roberts, 1981, p. 525). Commitment, for example, aspiration for going to college or a future goal, is another protective factor against committing delinquent activities, i.e., lacking commitment or the will for having higher goals can lead to delinquent behaviors. When discussing involvement, Wiatrowski, Griswold and Roberts (1981) indicate that “involvement refers to participation in conventional activities which lead toward socially valued success and status objectives” (p. 525). Such involvement prevents the youth from delinquency.

According to Hirschi (1969), belief is “acceptance of the moral validity of the central social-value system” (p.203). Apparently, when youth can accept the value system that prevails in immediate environments such as family and school, they are less likely to commit delinquent acts. Further, Hirsch asserts that affectional identification with parents, intimacy of communication with the father, and identification with the father are associated with abstaining from delinquency.

When this theory is applied to the current study, it is quite evident that the social control aspects of attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief were strong protective factors against delinquent behaviors. Among the families of nondelinquent behavior adolescents, there were higher levels of attachment, interaction, involvement,

and belief between the youth and their parents, when compared to the families of delinquent behavior adolescents.

General Strain Theory

General strain theory emphasizes that people commit crime because of pressure or strain from presentation of negative stimuli or loss of positive stimuli. These situations may lead to negative affective states such as anger, fear, frustration, or depression that in turn can lead to crime (Agnew, 2001, 2006). Agnew presented three types of strains: inability to achieve a goal, removal of a positive stimulus, and presentation of a negative stimulus. When adolescents have little or no control over their family and school environments, and when they are stressed because of the pressure from both these environments, they are likely to be frustrated and may try to escape or engage in criminal activities (Kubrin, Stucky, & Krohn, 2008). Agnew also pointed to parental punitiveness and parental fighting as major factors that could lead to crime.

As seen in Chapter IV, these situations were not uncommon in the families of the delinquent behavior adolescents in this study. These adolescents had experienced aversive family environments that included harsh punitiveness during their childhood, parental fights, and a father being violent when drinking alcohol. On the other hand, the nondelinquent behavior adolescents, surrounded by accepting and caring parents, rarely were exposed to these negative situations.

Four Paradigms of Parental Negative Influence on Adolescent Behavior

Lober and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) developed four paradigms of parental behavior that could negatively influence adolescent behavior: neglect, conflict, deviant behaviors and attitudes, and disruption. Under the neglect paradigm, parents tend to ignore their children's delinquent behavior and are incompetent to address this behavior (Patchin, 2006). These parents fail to set up boundaries and lack involvement as well as supervision, which in turn leads to their child's association with deviant peers (Ingram, Patchin, Huebner, McClunsky, & Bynum, 2006; Warr, 2002, 2005).

In the conflict paradigm, one sees harsh, abusive, and aggressive parental behavior towards the children (Patchin, 2006). This parental behavior can foster rebellious behavior among children, who then look for support from their peers, which often leads to further disruptive behavior (Bank & Burraston, 2001; Hill, Howell, Hawkins, & Battin-Pearson, 1999; Rebellon & Van Grundy, 2005; Wallace & Bachman, 1991; Warr, 2002, 2005). Parental deviant history and attitudes towards delinquent behavior comprise the third paradigm under which children tend towards delinquency (Patchin, 2006). Literature shows that parental deviance leads children to delinquency (Sampson & Laub, 1993), and parents who show antisocial behaviors create a high risk for violence in their children (Eddy & Reid, 2002). The final paradigm asserts that disruption within the family is a major factor leading to delinquency. These families are characterized by factors such as family fights and single parenting.

The present study findings clearly support these four paradigms of parental negative influence on adolescent behavior. The neglect paradigm is evidenced in the low level of interaction between delinquent behavior youth and their parents, as well as the

parents' inability to adequately address the delinquent behavior. The extra freedom these parents provided their sons actually had a downside, for it equated to less guidance and looser boundaries, conditions that are conducive to delinquent behavior. The conflict paradigm is clearly present: parents of delinquent behavior youth used harsh, abusive punishment with their sons during childhood and often exhibited violent behavior during alcohol consumption episodes.

Regarding the third paradigm—parental deviant behaviors and attitudes—no data were collected from parents that might have provided a picture of their own history of delinquent behavior. However, the attitudes of some parents towards delinquent behavior could be described as supportive, as evidenced by one parent who, himself, got involved in fights with others; 1 parent who encouraged his son to fight back against aggressive peers; and yet another father who got involved in his son's fights. Finally, the family fights described by delinquent behavior study participants fall within the fourth paradigm of family disruption. While there were no single parent homes in the present study (a component of the disruption paradigm), there were examples of frequent and sometimes prolonged absences by the father.

Implications for Practice

Research findings are vital and valuable for social work practice in India as well as internationally. The findings clearly point to important differences between delinquent and nondelinquent behavior adolescents in regard to their relationships with their fathers and mothers. Study findings call for social workers to focus their practice in two different areas: prevention and intervention.

One of the major findings of this study was the poor family environment that prevailed among the families of delinquent behavior adolescents when compared with the positive family atmosphere among the nondelinquent behavior adolescent families. This poor family environment was marked by family fights, less communication with the father, alcoholism, and incompetency in dealing with adolescent delinquent behavior. Additionally, there were fathers who supported delinquency by encouraging their sons to fight back, as well as fathers who went so far as to fight with their son's peers.

These situations point to the need for prevention and intervention among these adolescents and their families at both the family and school level. There should be a systematic family assessment conducted to evaluate the overall family environment. However, there have been no professional prevention, or intervention activities within schools in Kerala or among the families in the state. In the school, teachers were the only professionals who dealt with the delinquent behavior of these adolescent boys, and it was obvious that the delinquent behavior persists. Ideally, schools should employ professionals—social workers, psychologists, counselors, nurses—to engage in prevention and intervention efforts. This interdisciplinary team, including teachers, could work together in developing plans for educating students and parents about the importance of family relationship in the development of these adolescent boys. Further, the professional team could design a strategic plan (incorporating such things as awareness programs, counseling, leadership development, and group activities) to reduce problematic behaviors and contribute to the students' holistic development.

Implications for Policy

Teachers were found to be the only professionals in the school, thus, students lacked support from other professionals to overcome their personal as well as familial problems that adversely influenced their education and their personal lives. It seemed that I may have been the first person to have inquired about their problems and discussed them in-depth. The conditions that existed in the school call for a policy change regarding services that need to be available for students in school. School should not only be a center for education; rather, it should be a place where the students' holistic development is the primary focus, as discussed above. As education in India falls under the state government portfolio, there should be a planned effort to involve other professionals, such as counselors, psychologists, and nurses, in addressing the students' physical, psychological, and emotional needs.

It was evident in the current research that the parents of the delinquent behavior adolescent boys lacked skills in parenting, and this points to the need for policies aimed at developing programs focused on enhancing parenting skills. This parenting skill development could be implemented through various organizations such as parent-teacher associations. Additionally, the adverse effect of alcohol consumption was quite evident in the research findings. Among the delinquent behavior participants, 78% revealed that their father was a regular alcohol drinker. As the alcohol portfolio falls under the state government, measures should be taken to control the consumption of alcohol, and there should be policies promoting public education campaigns to create awareness about the negative influence of alcohol in the day-to-day lives of families. Moreover, study findings suggest that there should be strong policies to eradicate domestic violence. Many

(56%) of the delinquent behavior adolescent boys revealed that they had experienced domestic violence in their home. This situation calls for policies aimed not only at preventing domestic violence, but also developing programs to support the victims of domestic violence. Even though there are laws to prevent domestic violence and child abuse, the existing system is not found to be effective in the reported cases in this study. So, policies could aim to enhance the implementation of the existing laws and also promote public education campaign that would focus on domestic violence and its consequences and inform families on how and where to seek help.

Implications for Social-Work Education and Research

The present study has generated culturally specific findings that can be incorporated into social work educational programs within India. Educators can think about adding a separate module in their existing HBSE (Human Behavior in the Social Environment) curriculum dealing with adolescent delinquent behavior, or they could develop an additional course about family relationships and adolescent behavior from an Indian cultural context. Developing courses specific to practice and policy in the areas of child and family welfare, domestic violence, school social work, and juvenile justice could be a further step in social-work education programs. Findings related to family environment and adolescent relationships with parents can help social-work students who are soon to be involved in micro, mezzo, or macro level social work practice. Study findings can also create a more informed knowledge base for school social workers, as well as influence the direction of family social work projects.

The current study explored the parent-adolescent relationship between delinquent and nondelinquent behavior adolescents from their perspective. Missing from the study are the voices and views of the parents, and future research should incorporate the parental perspective. Studying the specific needs, aspirations, and challenges of adolescents, both boys and girls, is important. Girls were not involved in the current study, and it would be fruitful to focus future adolescent delinquency research on this population as well. In addition, conducting a similar study among different schools for comparison purposes would be helpful in furthering understanding of adolescent delinquency and the family environment.

Further, this study could be replicated with different populations nationally as well as internationally, which would allow for culturally specific comparisons of models of delinquency. Along these lines, development of a culturally specific standardized scale to conduct quantitative research would also be advisable. Such a scale could incorporate culture-specific measures about parent-adolescent relationship and parenting style in India.

Strengths of the Research

A prominent strength of this research study is that the data were collected from adolescents using various data collection methods: questionnaire, in-depth interview, focus groups, and observation. The triangulation used in the data collection gave more depth to the understanding about the parent-adolescent relationship and the familial environment that persisted in the families of both delinquent and nondelinquent behavior adolescent boys. The topics and themes that emerged from the in-depth interviews were

shared with the participants during focus groups and this gave more clarity to the data collected. This method of member checking, as well as my own observations of the youth themselves, allowed for rich, qualitative descriptions of the parent-adolescent relationship that existed among the participants.

Another strength of the study is that I was born and reared in an adjacent town to where the study took place and so the language and cultural norms were easily understood. Familiarity with the people and the social environment aided me in understanding the problems presented by the participants, which, in turn, helped in generating culturally specific meanings to the data collected. Finally, findings from the current research will enhance the literature regarding the parent-adolescent relationship among delinquent and nondelinquent adolescent boys in Kerala, India. Unfortunately, the literature in this area of research in Kerala is sparse. Despite the fact that the current research was conducted in Kerala, this study could be replicated with other communities—in India and elsewhere—to explore the familial factors surrounding delinquent and nondelinquent behavior.

Limitations of the Research

There were limitations to this qualitative inquiry. Study recruitment was based on voluntary participation, and this process might have been restrictive in obtaining more powerful experiential stories from the adolescents who did not participate. Unwillingness to participate in this study might have been influenced by the fact that the interviews and focus groups were conducted in a classroom space on the school premises. Moreover,

this proximity to the school might have restricted participants from revealing certain information that would have benefitted study findings and conclusions.

Additionally, as the participants had friends who were participating in the study, they might have shared the context of the research with others and might have discussed the study amongst themselves. This could have influenced study recruitment, as well as later participants, who might have changed their views regarding their relationship with their father and mother, based on these earlier discussions with their study peers.

Another study limitation is that the participants' parents were not involved in the research. Inclusion of both the father and mother of these adolescent boys would have given a different perspective on the problem and would have enriched the study. Future research in this area would benefit from parent participation.

Finally, the external validity of the current research is limited, as it focused specifically on the life experience of adolescent boys of the Higher Secondary School in Kerala who volunteered to participate in the study. Consequently, the findings are not necessarily representative of the students who did not participate in the study and cannot be generalized to other populations within the state of Kerala or in India. The intent of this research was to provide a more in-depth understanding of the problem and to inspire further research in this area.

Epilogue

Family should be considered the primary and most influential system for any individual. Consequently, there should be more unique policies and models to strengthen this system in order to develop more responsible and contributing individuals for the

society at large. Professionals, as well as policy makers, should listen to the voices of adolescents, such as those who participated in this study, to understand their needs and wishes, meet those needs, and help create more empowered families.

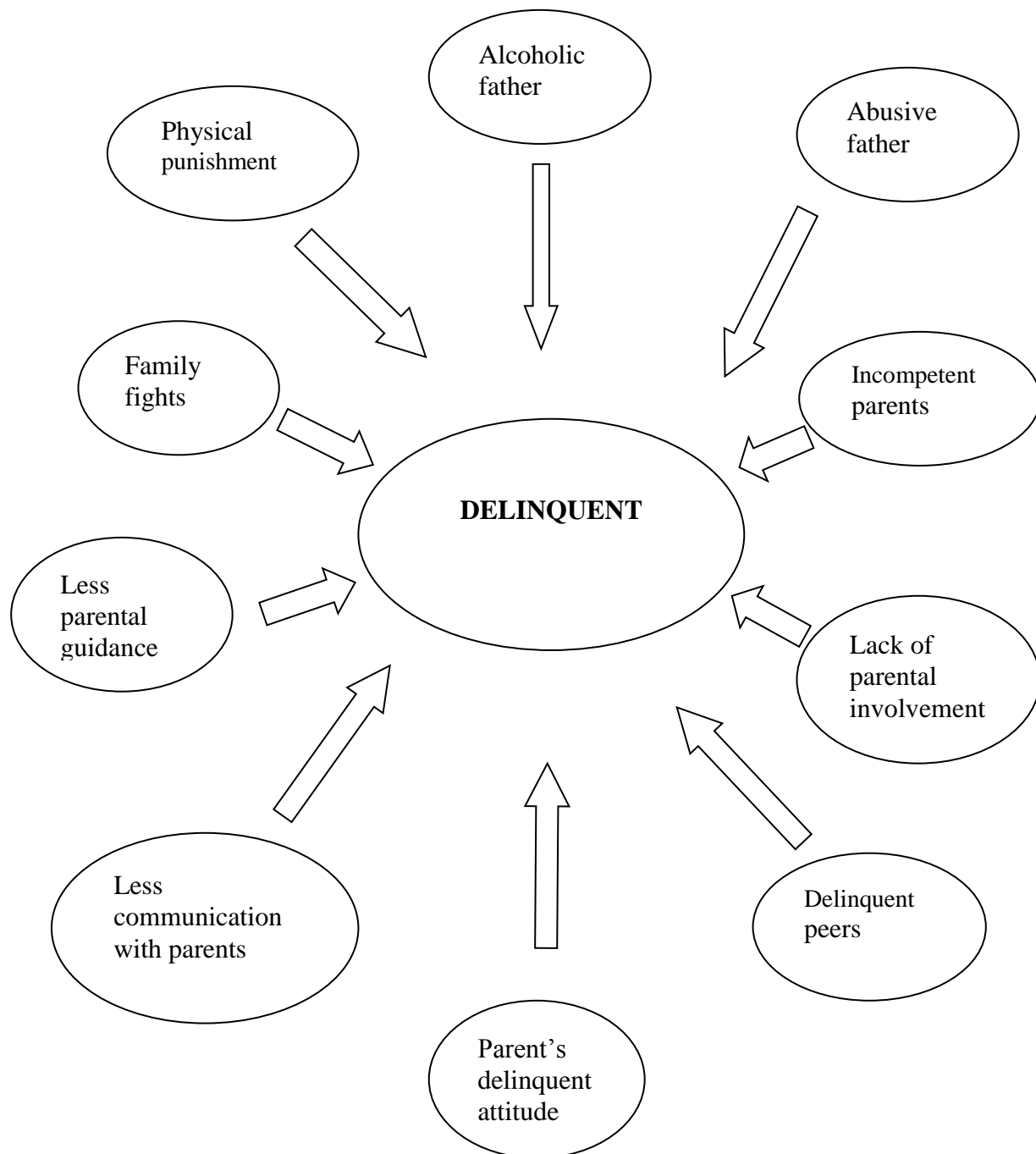


Figure 1
Parent-adolescent relationship: Delinquent behavior

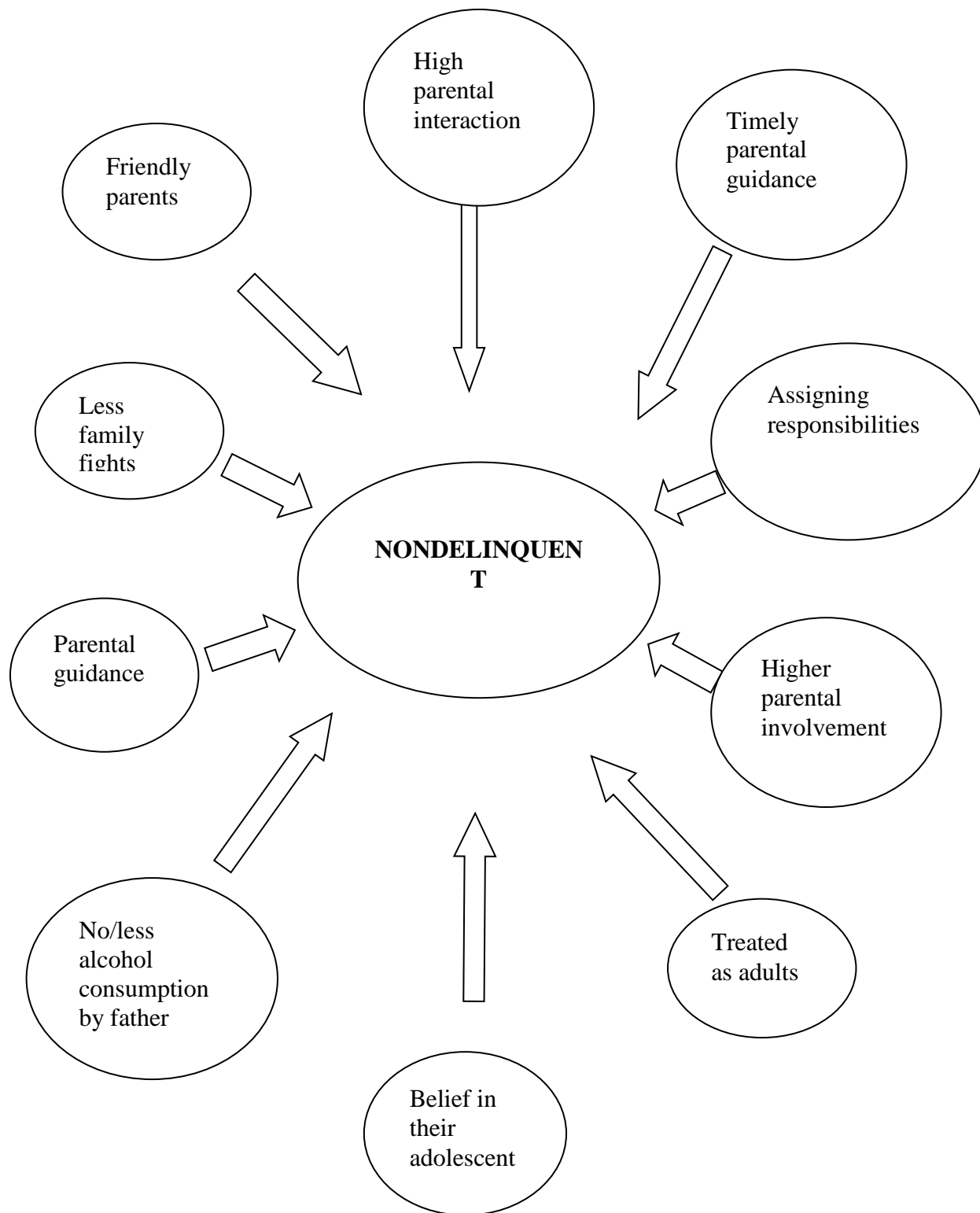


Figure 2
Parent-adolescent relationship: Nondelinquent behavior

APPENDIX A

SEMISTRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Could you talk about your family in general? How many members?
2. How is your relationship with your parents?
3. Could you explain in detail your father's approach towards you?
4. Could you talk about how he reacts to your behaviors?
5. How does your father react when you do a mistake?
6. How does he react when you do a good action?
7. Do you remember any incidence? If yes, could you talk about that?
8. How do you describe your relationship with your father?
9. How do you describe your father's relationship towards you?
10. How often do you both talk each other? About what?
11. Do you have any feeling that your father is trying to control you? If yes, how do you react to it?
12. Did you at any time feel that your father is pressuring you to do anything which you don't like? If yes, how did you react?
13. Do you think that your father's approach towards you has changed since you became an adolescent?
14. Could you explain your mother's approach towards you?
15. How does she react to your good actions and mistakes?
16. Do you remember any incidences? If yes, could you talk about that?
17. How do you describe your relationship with your mother?
18. How do you describe your mother's relationship towards you?
19. How often do you both talk each other? About what?

20. Do you have any feeling that your mother is trying to control you? If yes, how you react to it?
21. Did you at any time feel that your mother is pressuring you to do anything which you don't like? If yes, how did you react?
22. Do you think that your mother's approach towards you has changed since you became an adolescent?
23. Do you want to discuss anything other than these questions about your family?

APPENDIX B

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Could you all introduce yourselves?
2. Do you know why we came here to talk?
3. How do you explain parent's relationship with you?
4. How do you describe your father's relationship with you?
5. How do you explain your mother's relationship with you?
6. How's your relationship with your father and mother?
7. How do they react to your actions- good and mistakes?
8. How should their reactions be?
9. Do they control or pressure you? If yes, how? Do you like it? How do you react to it?
10. Do you want to discuss anything more on this topic?
11. So what is the summary of our discussion?

APPENDIX C

RESEARCH FLYER

Parent-Adolescent Relationship and Juvenile Delinquency in Kerala: A Qualitative Study

BACKGROUND

We are inviting you to participate in a research project conducted by the University of Utah. The purpose of this project is to collect information regarding your relationship with your parents. The information you provide will allow us to better understand parent-adolescent relationships. Your information will help to develop more services for families, schools and adolescents. The researcher, Mr. Henry Poduthase, is a doctoral student in the College of Social Work at the University of Utah.

STUDY PROCEDURE

If you choose to participate in this project, you will be asked to take part in a face-to-face interview and focus group with a researcher from the College of Social Work at the University of Utah. This interview and focus group will include questions about your experiences of your relationship with your parents, their approach towards you and the way they care for you. With your permission, your interview and focus group will be audio-taped and conducted in a place where privacy is secured. Each interview and focus group will last approximately one to one and half hours.

PERSON TO CONTACT

If you want to participate in this study or have any questions, complaints or concerns about this study, you can contact Henry Poduthase at (91)-8891212340. If you feel you have been harmed because of participation, please contact Dr. Moises Prospero at (801) 502-7695 who may be reached during Monday to Friday 8 am to 5 pm. You can leave a message at any time on this number.

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant. Also, contact the IRB if you have questions, complaints, or concerns, which you do not feel you can discuss with the investigator. The University of Utah IRB may be reached by phone at (801) 581-3655 or by e-mail at irb@hsc.utah.edu.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Participating in this project is voluntary, and you can stop the interview at any time. You are free to refuse to answer any question, or to completely withdraw participation at any time. There is no penalty if you want to quit, or refuse to participate.

APPENDIX D

PARENTAL CONSENT

BACKGROUND

We are requesting your permission for your teenage son to participate in a research project conducted by the University of Utah. The purpose of this project is to collect information regarding your relationship with your son. The information you provide will allow us to better understand parent-adolescent relationships. Your information will help to develop more services for families, schools and adolescents. The researcher, Mr. Henry Poduthase, is a doctoral student in the College of Social Work at the University of Utah.

STUDY PROCEDURE

If you agree for your son to participate in this project, he will be asked to take part in a face-to-face interview and focus group with a researcher from the College of Social Work at the University of Utah. This interview includes questions about his experiences of relationships with parents, parents' approach towards him, and the way parents care for him. Again in the focus group he will be asked to talk about similar questions. With your and your son's permission, the interview and focus group will be audio-taped and conducted in a place where privacy is secured. Each interview and focus group will last approximately one to one and half hours.

RISKS

The risks in participating in this study are minimal. As part of the requirements for the project, the data collected in the interviews and focus groups will be incorporated into a report; however, answers will not be connected with your son's name, and responses will remain anonymous. If you do not want your son to participate in the study, you have the right to say no. There will not be any compulsion or consequences for not participating in the study. If your son does not feel comfortable answering some of the questions, he can choose not to answer them or to terminate the interview at any time. If at any point your son feels discomfort about sharing experiences, feels his privacy is being invaded, feels embarrassment, or feels loss of social status, he can choose to stop participation in the study. If during the interview or focus group, your son feels upset, then the researcher will tell him about resources, which are available for his help. During the interview or focus group, if your son discloses actual or suspected abuse, neglect, or exploitation of a child, or disabled or elderly adult, the researcher will report this to Child Protective Services (CPS), Adult Protective Services (APS) or the nearest law enforcement agency.

BENEFITS

The benefit of participation is that information provided by your son will contribute to improvement of the service provided to adolescents. Participation in this study will also contribute to a greater understanding of the consequences of parent-adolescent relationship.

ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES

If you do not want to allow your son to participate in this study, then you will not be forced. Remember, participating in this project is depending on your permission and

assent from your son. No one will be upset if you do not want your son to participate, or even if you change your mind and want to stop. Your son is free to refuse to answer any question, or to completely withdraw participation at any time. Again you can withdraw your son from the study at any time, even during the middle of the study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Data will be kept confidential. Data and records will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or on a password-protected computer located in the researcher's workspace. Only the researcher and members of his study team will have access to this information. Your son's name will not be connected with his answers. All answers will be kept confidential.

PERSON TO CONTACT

If you have questions, complaints or concerns about this study, you can contact Henry Poduthase at (91)-8891212340. If you feel you have been harmed because of participation, please contact Dr. Moises Prospero at (801) 502-7695 who may be reached during Monday to Friday 8 am to 5 pm. You can leave a message at any time on this number.

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant. Also, contact the IRB if you have questions, complaints, or concerns, which you do not feel you can discuss with the investigator. The University of Utah IRB may be reached by phone at (801) 581-3655 or by e-mail at irb@hsc.utah.edu.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

As previously mentioned, if you do not want your son to participate in this study, you do not have to give permission and can discard this letter of consent. Participating in this project is voluntary, and you or your son can stop the interview at any time. Your son is free to refuse to answer any question, and also completely withdraw participation at any time. There is no penalty if you want your son to quit, or refuse to participate.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION TO PARTICIPANTS

Your son will receive school supplies worth Rs 200 for participating in this study after your son complete the interview. If you choose to leave the interview half way through then you will receive school supplies worth Rs 100 for participation. There will be no costs to you for participation.

CONSENT

I am giving my consent to conduct interview and group discussion with my son. I confirm I have read the information in this consent form and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I will be given a copy of this consent form. I voluntarily agree for my son to participate in this study.

Child's name.....

Parent's/guardian's name.....

Parent's/guardian's signature Date.....

Relationship to child.....

Name of the researcher.....

Signature of the researcher..... Date.....

APPENDIX E

ADOLESCENT ASSENT

BACKGROUND

We are inviting you to participate in a research project conducted by the University of Utah. The purpose of this project is to collect information regarding your relationship with your parents. The information you provide will allow us to better understand parent-adolescent relationships. Your information will help to develop more services for families, schools and adolescents. The researcher, Mr. Henry Poduthase, is a doctoral student in the College of Social Work at the University of Utah.

STUDY PROCEDURE

If you choose to participate in this project, you will be asked to take part in a face-to-face interview and focus group with a researcher from the College of Social Work at the University of Utah. This interview and focus group will include questions about your experiences of your relationship with your parents, their approach towards you and the way they care for you. With your permission, your interview and focus group will be audio-taped and conducted in a place where privacy is secured. Each interview and focus group will last approximately one to one and half hours.

RISKS

The risks in participating in this study are minimal. You were chosen to participate based on your experiences. As part of the requirements for the project, the data collected in the interviews and focus group will be incorporated into a report; however, your answers will not be connected with your name, and your responses will remain anonymous. If you do not feel comfortable answering some of the questions, you may choose not to answer them or to terminate the interview or focus group at any time. If at any point you feel discomfort about sharing experiences, feel your privacy is being invaded, feel embarrassment, or feel loss of social status, you can choose to stop your participation in the study. If during the interview or focus group, you feel upset then the researcher will tell you about resources, which are available for your help. If during the interview or focus group, you disclose actual or suspected abuse, neglect, or exploitation of a child, or disabled or elderly adult, the researcher will report this to Child Protective Services (CPS), Adult Protective Services (APS) or the nearest law enforcement agency.

BENEFITS

The benefit of participation is that information provided by you will contribute to improvement of the service provided to adolescents. Participation in this study will also contribute to a greater understanding of the consequences of parent-adolescent relationship.

ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES

If you do not want to participate in this study, then you will not be forced. Remember, participating in this project is up to you. No one will be upset if you do not want to participate, or even if you change your mind and want to stop. You are free to refuse to answer any question, or to completely withdraw participation at any time.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your data will be kept confidential. Data and records will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or on a password-protected computer located in the researcher's workspace. Only the researcher and members of his study team will have access to this information. Your name will not be connected with your answers. All answers will be kept confidential.

PERSON TO CONTACT

If you have questions, complaints or concerns about this study, you can contact Henry Poduthase at (91)-8891212340. If you feel you have been harmed because of participation, please contact Dr. Moises Prospero at (801) 502-7695 who may be reached during Monday to Friday 8 am to 5 pm. You can leave a message at any time on this number.

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant. Also, contact the IRB if you have questions, complaints, or concerns, which you do not feel you, can discuss with the investigator. The University of Utah IRB may be reached by phone at (801) 581-3655 or by e-mail at irb@hsc.utah.edu.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

As previously mentioned, if you do not want to participate in this study, you do not have to participate. Participating in this project is voluntary, and you can stop the interview at any time. You are free to refuse to answer any question, or to completely withdraw participation at any time. There is no penalty if you want to quit, or refuse to participate.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION TO PARTICIPANTS

You will receive school supplies worth Rs 200 for participating in this study after you complete the interview. If you choose to leave the interview half way through then you will receive school supplies worth Rs 100 for your participation. There will be no costs to you for participation.

CONSENT

By agreeing to interviewed, I am giving my consent to participate in this study. I confirm I have read the information in this consent form and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I will be given a copy of this consent form. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Name.....

Signature

Date.....

Name of the researcher.....

Signature of the researcher.....

Date.....

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