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PARENTING STYLES AND ADOLESCENTS' BEHAVIOUR IN CENTRAL EDUCATIONAL ZONE OF CROSS RIVER STATE

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Abstract

Transitional period or stage of physical and psychological human development creates in the adolescents a feeling of tension between dependency on their parents and the need to break away. Tension and behaviour disorder, disagreement increases as friends demonstrate a greater impact on one another, new influences on the adolescents that may be in opposition to parents' values. All these conflicts create in parents mixed feelings and makes parenting a complex task, with specific parenting practices which are less important in predicting child well-being. Base on this the researcher was interested in investigating parenting styles and its influences on adolescents' behaviour. Null hypothesis was formulated to guide the study. Review of literature was carried on accordingly. A sample of 627 respondents was selected for the study. The selection was done through the stratified and simple random sampling techniques. Questionnaire was the main instrument for data collection. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was adopted. The hypothesis was tested under a 0.05 level of significance. The result of the analysis revealed that parenting styles significantly influence adolescents' behaviour. Recommendations were made based on the result; that parents and adolescents should maintain cordial relationship and interaction to guide against behaviour misconduct and family conflict, leading to depression, anxiety, aggression and worries on the growing person.

Keywords: Parenting, styles, adolescents', behaviour

Introduction

A thorough understanding of adolescence in society depends on information from various perspectives, including psychology, biology, history, sociology, education and anthropology. Within all of these

perspectives, adolescence is viewed as a transitional period between childhood and adulthood, whose cultural purpose is the preparation of children for adult roles (Karson & Wilson, 2004). It is a period of multiple transitions involving education, training, employment and unemployment, as well as transactions from one living circumstances to another.

Hence, the end of adolescence and beginning of adulthood varies by country and by function. Furthermore even within a single nation, state or culture there can be different ages at which an individual is considered mature enough for society to entrust them with certain privileges and responsibilities. Such milestones includes driving a vehicle, having legal sexual relations, serving in armed forces or in a jury, purchasing and drinking alcohol, voting, enticing into contracts, finishing certain levels of education and marriage. Adolescence is usually accompanied by an increased independence allowed by the parents and legal guardians, including less supervision as compared to pre adolescence.

Adolescence is a search for risk taking, without risk-taking, teenagers would not have the motivation or confidence necessary to make a change in society from childhood to adulthood. Risk taking potentials have lead so many to new found sexual attractiveness, drinking, drug use/addiction, negative attitudes or responses to elders, delinquency, depression, aggressiveness and examination malpractices.

Adolescence makes a rapid change in one's role within a family. Young children tend to ascertain themselves forcefully, but are unable to demonstrate much influence over family decisions until early adolescent (Grotevant, 1997) when they are increasingly view by parents as equals. The adolescent faces the task of increasing independence while preserving a caring relationship with his or her parents (Rawlins, 1992). When children go through puberty, there is often a significant increase in parent-child conflict and less cohesive familial bond. Arguments often concern minor issues

important life issues, most adolescents still share the same attitude and values as their parents (Neil, Carlson & Donald, 2015).

Parenting is a complex task that includes many specific behaviours that work individually and together to influence child's behaviour. Although specific parenting behaviours such as spanking or reading aloud may influenced child development, looking at any specific behaviour in isolation may be misleading. Specific parenting practices are less important in predicting child well being than in the broad pattern of parenting. The construct of parenting styles is used to capture normal variations in parents' attempt to control and socialize their children (Baumrind, 1991).

Parenting styles consider broader pattern of methods, hence, psychologists like Baumrind (1967) theory of social development and parenting styles identify four parenting styles, namely authoritative, authoritarian, permissive and neglectful parenting. The four styles involve a combination of acceptance and responsiveness on the one hand and demand and control on the other hand. While Roe (1956) recognize three primary parenting styles namely: emotional concentration (autocratic), avoidance prone (permissive) and accepting (democratic) models. Autocratic parenting ranges from over protection to over demanding parent expect much of their children but generally do not explain the reasoning for the rules or boundaries. During adolescence the child may have less social competence as the parent generally tells the child what to do (Eric Digest, 2007). On the other hand permissive parenting ranges from neglect to rejection. Within limits both physical and psychological needs of the child are ignored. Parenting adolescents here tends to be more impulsive and may engaged adolescents in behaiour misconduct. In the better cases they are emotionally secure independent and are willing to learn to accept defeat and also able to live life without the help of someone else. While accepting (democratic) parent sees to it that the phys (Santrock, 2005).

Families are confronted by challenges of continuous adaption and adjustment to parenting of children or adolescence that is commensurate to the demands of contemporary times. The home therefore, as the child's first environment after birth goes a long way to nurture and modify genetic endowments and behaviours. The child's behaviour may also be a product of his environment over which he had no control (Mussen, Conger & Kungan, 2001). Hence, parents are demanded to ensure the adolescents protection from avoidable illness, harms, accident, abuse (sexual harassment, demanded of them a drunkenness and unwanted pregnancy. It is further demanded of them a degree of parental control over the child, adequate knowledge of physical, emotional and social needs necessary for behavioural and social adjustment

of the adolescents to achieve societal values and responsibilities. With these demands, Nigeria parents needs to readdress their parenting styles and their new orientation in pursuance of money, which has become the ultimate in many families. And also to return to their children the love, care, attention and unity that existed before in the family.

and unity that existed before in the family.

Furthermore, parents who are over-protecting, over demanding, rejecting or accepting breed adolescents with varying personality characteristics. A child brought up by autocratic parents for instance will become aggressive, intolerant, role oriented, brutal and confrontational on the other hand, adolescents from permissive families are prone to such behavioural hazards like pomposity, vulgarity, impulsive behaviour, insensitivity and lack of moral scruples. While adolescents from democratic homes are receptive, socialize, tolerant, open-minded and respectful (Okwubunka, 1994) as a result these contending conflicts and issues between parents and teens. Papalia, Olds and Feldmanal (2004) stated "just as adolescents feel tension between dependency on their parents and the need to break away, parents often have mixed feeling too. They want their children to be independent, yet they find it hard to let go. Parents have to walk a fine line between giving adolescents enough independence and protecting them from immature lapses in judgement". These tensions often lead to family conflict and parenting styles can influence its shape and outcome – their work, marital and socioeconomic status – affects their relationship with teenage children. teenage children.

Similarly the character of family interactions changes during the teenage age. Adolescents and their parents may spend less time than before watching television together, but just as much (and among girls more) in one-on-one conservations. As adolescents grow older, they increasingly see themselves as taking the lead in these discussions, and their feeling about contacts with parents becomes more positive (Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck & Ducket, 2002). As they gain autonomy and develop more mature family relationship adolescents continue to look to parents for comfort, support and advice. During this process conflict may arise over the pace of adolescents' growth towards independence. Most of their arguments with parents concern day-to-day matters like chores, school work, dressing, money, late night, dating, drinking, friends, rather than fundamental values.

Based on this the study was to investigate the influence of parenting styles on adolescents behaviour and their social adjustment problem in central educational zone of Cross River State, with the view of providing

central educational zone of Cross River State, with the view of providing data that would guide parents, adolescents, government of Nigeria, Cross River State and counselors/social worker on strategies to readdress the conflict.

Theoretical background

Bowlby (1958) attachment theory is adopted for this study. This theory advocates the importance of parental attachment to the development of the child. Bowlby in his theory identified four developmental stages of attachment behaviour to include – phase one (1) orientation and signal behaviour without discrimination of figures. Phase two (2) orientation and signal behaviour directed toward one or more discrimination of figures. Phase three (3) maintenance of proximity to a discriminatory individual by means of locomotion as well as by signals. Phase four (4) formation of reciprocal behaviour relationship. The theory is relevant to this work on the basis that attachment parenting seeks to create strong emotional bonds avoiding physical punishment and accomplishing discipline through interactions; and providing insight as to the influence on adolescents behaviour. behaviour.

While Elder (1962) structural variation of parenting styles adopt three primary variation of parenting children such as autocratic, equalitarian (accepting) and laissez-faire (permissive) parenting styles.

- Autocratic parenting – Here parents exercise rigid authority on the

 Equalitarian parenting - Parenting model where there exists minimal role differentiation between the child and the parent.
 Laissez-faire parenting - The young person or adolescent is free to submit or disregard parental wishes.
 The implication of the theory to this work is on the basis that it provides adequate insight to understanding the impact of different parenting style on adolescents' behaviour and enabling parents and caregivers to adopt the best model for productive shild up bringing.
 the best model for productive child up-bringing.

The parenting style of culture adopted and practice in the area of study

The most parenting model adopted and practice is the authoritative parenting style (the parent is demanding and responsive). The culture of the Nigerian people, with particular reference to the central education zone of Cross River State, holds that the child learn the basic facts of life from the home, the basic ingredients of life such as respect for the adults or elders, the fear of God, cleanliness, obedience, hardwork, honesty, truth, justice among others. Even if the real parents fails in their duty to teach their children, member of the extended family take over and parents the child on their behalf. Children learn a lot from their parents through interaction (Denga & Denga 2007) Denga, 2007).

Authoritative parenting also called balanced parenting is characterized by child-centred approach. Parents understand their children's feelings and teach them how to regulate them. They often help them to find

appropriate outlets to solve problems. Parents also encourage children to be independent but places limit and control on their actions (Santrock, 2005). He further contents that existence give-and-take is allowed and parent are warm and nuturant toward the child. Therefore the cultural practice of the people in the area of study, subject to the family ties as a form of training for successful adult life. What others regards as child torture and abuse may simply be regarded as an appropriate training for the growing person or adolescent.

Statement of the problem

Looking at the moral values of our society and the changing trend in adolescent conduct in their mode of dressing, dating, aggressiveness, response to elders, cheating, entertainment and relationships with opposite sex. Also the parenting models or methods adopted by families in child upbringing. The lack of attention, love, acceptance, care, attachment to the child and really acting as a source of protection and model for behaviour modification of the growing person.

This contending issue motivated the researcher to investigate and identified the relevant variables of parenting styles that influence adolescent behaviour and their social adjustment; also to find out ways of solving the adolescents' behaviour problem. Adolescents' behaviours were narrow to their attitude towards elders, drug abuse/addiction, sexual behaviour, delinquent behaviour and examination malpractice.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to investigate the influence of parenting styles on adolescents' behaviour among senior secondary school students in central educational zone of Cross River State.

Specifically, the study seeks to determine the influence of parenting styles on adolescents' behaviour.

Research question

The following research question was raise; To what extent does parenting styles influence adolescents' behaviour.

To answer the research question the following null hypothesis was

tested at 0.05 level of significance

Parenting styles has no significant influence on adolescents' behaviour.

Literature review

The review of literature was carried on within the context of the main objective set out for this work, to give direction and a focus on what is being investigated. To determine the influence of parenting styles on adolescents' behaviour. Regardless of ethnicity, the level of family discord in respect to different parenting styles seems to hinge primarily on adolescents' personalities influencing their behaviour and on their parent treatment of them.

Although, adolescents are different from younger children, authoritative parenting seems to work best (Baurmrind, 1991). Overtly strict, authoritarian parenting may be especially counterproductive as children enter adolescence and want to be treated more as adults. Hence when parents do not adjust an adolescent may reject parental influence and seek peer support and approval at all cost.

Similarly, parenting styles should be such that adolescents are given warm relationship, their opinions and suggestion solicited and respected in family decision. Such adolescents will be found to be more yielding to parenting authority and goal oriented. Isangedighi and Akpan (1998) carried out a study on parent/child relationship and disciplinary behaviour of 373 junior secondary school one (JSS 1) students in Calabar Municipality. Using questionnaire, they collected data on the degree of warmth and closeness of the children with their parents in five dimensional indisciplinary behaviour. Results of data analysis showed that 23.86% of the students maintained social distance with their parents, while 32.97% and 43.16% respectively maintained close and moderately close relationships with their parents. This study also showed 28.15% of students as being highly indisciplined, while 39.14% and 32.71% of them being well behaved and moderately being respectful to their parents. Therefore, in parenting children the relationship and attachment to the child or adolescent should be such that nurture adolescents to develop reasonable and sensitive behaviour toward achieving their desired morals and values for successful transition.

Methodology

The design adopted for the study was ex-post facto. The study population comprises all adolescents in Nigeria. The accessible population consisted of all SSII students to represent the targeted population in central educational zone of Cross River State. The choice of SS II students was based on the fact that at this class all of them are at their adolescence age and are able to respond to the questionnaire items effectively. Stratified and simple random sampling technique were adopted. The stratification was based on adolescents in school only, while the simple random technique was used to select the sample by the study. The research instrument which was the questionnaire comprises 12 items parenting styles and 20 items on adolescents' behaviour.

In terms of validation, three experts in educational measurement, research and evaluation affirmed that the instrument was suitable for measuring what it purported to measure. Using the split-half, the reliability index of the instrument was found to be 0.88 to 0.95. Data was collected through the use of questionnaire from the sampled schools. Through the assistance of research persons, all the 637 copies of the questionnaire were retrieved ad were all completed appropriately.

The following null hypothesis was tested

(i) Parenting styles has no significant influence on adolescents' behaviour

The main independent variable for this study is parenting styles while dependent variable is adolescents' behaviours.

Description of the research variable

The research variables, including the three demographic variables of the respondent are described with percentages (for the respondents' demographic variables) and means and standard deviations (for other research variables). The data analysis results that describe these variables are presented in the tables 1 and 2 below

Table 1 shows that the respondents serve equally distributed on sex and that while 40 were of 12-14 years, 27% were for 15-17 years and 33% were of 18 years and above age ranges. The table also shows that 100% of the respondents were drawn from SSII across the area of study from schools.

Table 1: Description of respondents' demographic variables with percentages

Variables	Group	F	%	
Sex	Males	314	50	
	Females	313	50	
		627	100	
Age	12-14 years	251	40	
	15-17 years	168	27	
	18 years and above	208	33	
	Total	627	100	
Class	SSII	627	100	

TABLE 2: Mean and standard deviation of variables

Variables	n	Mean	SD
Autocratic parenting style	627	14.66	1.25
Permissive parenting style	627	14.12	1.28
Democratic parenting style	627	13.80	1.65
Adolescents' attitude to elders	627	10.33	0.87
Adolescents' drug use/addiction	627	14.87	0.80
Adolescents' sexual behaviour	627	12.20	0.54
Adolescents' delinquent behaviour	627	14.46	1.46
Adolescents' examination malpractice	627	11.60	1.59

Table one (1) shows the mean (x) and standard deviation (SD) of the major variables of the study

Results

Hypothesis one: Parenting styles has no significant influence on adolescents' behaviour

In this hypothesis, the independent variable is parenting styles, while the dependent variable is adolescents' behaviour which had five dimensions in this study, namely attitude to elders, drug use/addiction, sexual behaviour delinquent behaviour and examination malpractice behaviour. Respondent in the sample were categorized into three groups (parenting styles) depending on where they scored the highest among the three sub-scale measuring parenting styles. The statistical analysis technique deployed to test this hypothesis was one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA), and the results of the analysis are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3: Analysis of variance of influence of parenting style on adolescents'

Adolescent behaviour sub-	Group (Parenting	N	Mean	SD
variables	Styles)			
Attitude toward elders	1 (Autocratic)	217	10.52	0.83
	2 (Democratic)	272	10.26	1.01
	3 (Permissive)	138	10.19	0.51
	Total	627	10.33	0.87
Drug use/addict	1 (Autocratic)	217	15.16	0.72
	2 (Democratic)	272	14.46	0.74
	3 (Permissive)	138	15.22	0.68
	Total	627	14.87	0.80
Sexual behaviour	1 (Autocratic)	217	12.37	0.52
	2 (Democratic)	272	12.27	0.44
	3 (Permissive)	138	11.80	0.56
	Total	627	12.20	0.54
Delinquent behaviour	1 (Autocratic)	217	11.14	1.46
	2 (Democratic)	272	12.23	1.35
	3 (Permissive)	138	11.09	1.77
Examination malpractice	1 (Autocratic)	217	11.14	1.46
	2 (Democratic)	272	12.23	1.35
	3 (Permissive)	138	11.09	1.77
	Total	627	11.06	1.59

Adolescent behaviour sub- variables	Sources of variation	Sum of square	df	Mean square	F- value	Sig level
Attitude toward elders	Between Groups	11.571	2	5.786	7.818*	.000
ciucis	Within Groups	461.762	624	0.740		
	Total	473.333	626			
Drug use/addict	Between Groups	81.833	2	40.917	79.248*	.000
	Within Groups	322.180	624	0.516		
	Total	404.013	626			
Sexual behaviour	Between Groups	29.846	2	14.923	60.375	.000
	Within Groups	154.234	624	0.247		
	Total	184.080	626			
Delinquent behaviour	Between Groups	369.046	2	184.52 3	120.087 *	.000
	Within Groups	958.823	624	1.537		
	Total	1327.869	626			
Exam malpractice	between Groups	189.153	2	94.576	42.618 *	.000
•	Within Groups	1384.755	624	2.219		
	Total	1573.908	626			

* .05; $F_{2.624} = 3.02$

The upper part of Table 3 shows the sizes, means and SDs, for the three groups of respondents on each of the five sub-variables of adolescents' behaviour. The lower part of the table shows the actual results of ANOVA. It is seen from the table that the comparison of the three means values on each of the five sub-variables of adolescents' behaviour yielded calculated Fratios of 7.818, 79.248, 60.375, 120.087 and 42.618 for attitude toward elders, drug use/addiction, sexual behaviour, delinquent behaviour and examination malpractice behaviour respectively. Each of this calculated Fratio is higher than the critical F-ratio of 3.02 at .05 level of significant with 2 and 624 degrees of freedom. With these results, the null hypothesis is rejected in each of the five instances. This implies that parenting style has a significant influence on adolescents' behaviour in all its five dimensions of attitude toward elders, drug use/addiction, sexual behaviour, delinquent behaviour and examination malpractice behaviour.

To further understand the pattern of this significant influence of parenting style on each of the five dimensions of adolescents' behaviour, a post hoc multiple comparison analysis was carried out using Fisher's Least significant difference (LSD) test on each of the five significant F-values. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 4.

TABLE 4: Fisher's least sig. difference (LSD) analysis of the significant influence of

parenting style on adolescents' behavior

Adolescents'	Parenting Parenting	Styles	Mean	Standard	Sig
behaviour sub-	(I)	(J)	Difference	Error	Level
variables	(1)	(0)	(I - J)	121101	LCVCI
variables	Auto	Demo	0.255*	0.78	.001
	Auto	Perm	0.233*	0.78	.001
Attitude toward	Demo	Auto	- 0.255*	.078	.001
Elders	Demo	Perm	0.073	.078	.420
Eluers	Down		- 0.328*	.090	.001
	Perm	Auto			
		Demo	- 0.073	.090	.420
	Auto	Demo	0.701*	.065	.000
		Perm	- 0.068	.078	.385
Dry use/addiction	Demo	Auto	- 0.701*	.065	.000
		Perm	- 0.769*	.075	.000
	Perm	Auto	0.068*	.078	.385
		Demo	0.769*	.075	.000
	Auto	Demo	0.100*	.045	.027
		Perm	0.572*	.054	.000
Sexual behaviour	Demo	Auto	- 0.100*	.045	.027
		Perm	0.471*	.052	.000
	Perm	Auto	- 0.572*	.054	.000
		Demo	- 0.471*	.052	.000
	Auto	Demo	- 1.743*	.113	.000
		Perm	- 0.822*	.135	.000
Delinquent behavior	Demo	Auto	1.743*	.113	.000
•		Perm	0.921*	.130	.000
	Perm	Auto	- 1.668*	.135	.000
		Demo	- 0.499	.130	.000
	Auto	Demo	- 1.089*	.136	.000
		Perm	0.049*	.162	.764
Exam malpractice	Demo	Auto	- 1.089*	.136	.000
•		Perm	1.137*	.156	.000
	Perm	Auto	- 0.049*	.162	.764
		Demo	- 1.137*	.156	.000

^{*}Mean difference is significant at .05 level

The results of analysis presented in Table 4 show that:

- i. On attitude towards elders, adolescents with autocratic parenting style exhibit significantly more positive attitude toward elders than adolescents with both democratic and permissive parenting styles. Mean different between autocratic and democratic (0.255) and between autocratic and permissive (0.328) are each significant at .05 level.
- ii. On drug use/addiction adolescents with democratic parenting style are drug better (in terms of non-use of drug) than adolescents with

- both autocratic and permissive parenting styles. Mean different between democratic and autocratic (0.701), and between democratic and permissive (0.769) are each significant at .05 level.
- iii. On sexual behaviour, adolescents with autocratic parenting style, and adolescents with democratic parenting style are significantly worse in sexual behaviour than adolescents with permissive parenting style. Similarly, adolescents with autocratic parenting style are significantly worse in sexual behaviour than adolescents with democratic parenting style. Mean differences between autocratic and permissive (0.572), between democratic and permissive (0.471), and between autocratic and democratic (0.100) are each significant at .05 level.
- iv. On delinquent behaviour, adolescents with autocratic parenting style are significantly better than adolescents with both democratic and permissive parenting styles. Similarity, adolescents with permissive parenting style are significantly better (that is, less delinquent) than those with democratic parenting style. Mean differences between autocratic and democratic (1.743), between autocratic and permissive (0.822), and between democratic and permissive (0.921) are each significant at .05 level.
- v. On examination malpractice, behaviour, Table 8 shows that adolescents with autocratic parenting style and adolescents with permissive parenting style are significantly better than adolescents with democratic parenting style. Mean differences between autocratic and democratic (1.089), and between permissive and democratic (1.137) are each significant at 0.5 level.

In summary, and answer to research hypothesis 2, parenting style has a significant influence on adolescents' behaviours. In attitude toward elders, adolescents with autocratic parenting style do significantly better than their counterparts with either democratic or permissive parenting styles. On drug use/addiction, adolescents with democratic parenting styles do significantly better (in non-use of drug) than their counterparts with either autocratic or permissive parenting styles. On sexual behaviour, adolescents with permissive parenting style do significantly better than their counterparts with democratic and autocratic parenting styles. On delinquent behaviour, adolescents with autocratic parenting style do significantly better (are less delinquent) than their counterparts with either democratic or permissive parenting styles. On examination malpractice, adolescents with autocratic and those with permissive parenting style do significantly better than their counterparts with democratic parenting style do significantly better than their counterparts with democratic parenting style do significantly better than their counterparts with democratic parenting style.

Discussion

The result of the hypothesis revealed that parenting styles has a significant influence on adolescents' behaviour. The finding was in line with view of Isangedighi and Akpan (1998) who in their study on parent-child relationship and disciplinary behaviour of 372 junior secondary school one (JSS I) students in Calabar Municipality. Collected data on the degree of warmth and closeness of the children with their parents in five dimensional indisciplinary behaviours. Result of data analysis showed that 23.86% of students maintained social distance with their parents, while 32.99% and 43.16% respectively maintained close and moderately close relationship with their parents. The study also showed 28.15% of students as being highly indiscipline, while 39.14% and 32.71% of them being well-behaved and moderately being respectful to their parents. Hence, when parents do not moderately being respectful to their parents. Hence, when parents do not show a change or adjust an adolescent may reject parental influence and seek peer support and approval at all cost; breeding in negative behaviours and responses to parents and others. Also the basic human needs require by the family have to be provided for peace and harmony to prevail between parents and their adolescents

Conclusion

One null hypothesis was generated and tested in the course of this study. Based on the result and findings, the following conclusion were reached; Parenting styles to adolescents' behaviour significantly influence all its five dimensions of adolescents' behaviour in their attitude towards elders, drug use/addiction, sexual behaviour, delinquent behaviour and involvement in examination malpractice. On attitude toward elders, adolescents with autocratic parenting styles do significantly better than their counterparts with democratic or permissive parenting styles. On drug use/addiction, adolescents with democratic parenting style do significantly better (in non-use of drug) than their counterparts with either autocratic or permissive parenting styles. On sexual behaviour, adolescents with permissive parenting do significantly better than those with democratic and autocratic parenting styles. On delinquent behaviour, adolescents with autocratic parenting style do significantly better (are less delinquent) than their counterpart with either democratic or permissive parenting styles. While on examination malpractice, adolescents with autocratic and those with permissive parenting styles do significantly better than their counterparts with democratic parenting style.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following major counselling implications were recommended.

- 1. Parents and caregivers should learn to accept, guide and be concern over their children's or adolescents' need to avoid their behaviour misconduct, health, emotional and social problems.
- Parents and their adolescents should also learn to maintain a cordial 2. relationship and interaction to guide against family conflict, depression, aggression, anxieties and worries on the developing person and parent at home school and society. Parents also should be good models for their children.

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