Adult-Young Person Bonds: A Qualitative Segmentation

Define Research and Insight



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I Introduction

A Background

The Department for Children, Families and Schools DCFS commissioned a two-stage research project to establish a complete and quantified segmentation of their audiences of parents and carers, and those children and young people being parented or cared for.

The overall project aimed to achieve several things. It needed to draw together such information as was already known about the audiences and establish a working segmentation framework covering the whole of the target universe. The insights and principles from the work, and the resulting framework, would inform the second, quantitative, phase of the project.

Two research agencies collaborated to achieve those ends:

- Define Research & Insight was responsible for establishing a full segmentation of the audience through qualitative exploration
- BMRB Social Research, and its then sister organisation Henley Centre HeadlightVision (now The Futures Company) was responsible for a representative survey of English parents and children/young people within their care, and producing a quantitative segmentation.

This report details the findings of the qualitative stage commissioned from Define Research & Insight Ltd, and undertaken in August and September 2007.

B Research Objectives

Overall:

To establish an segmentation of adults with a parenting responsibility and those young people (0-19) who are currently being 'parented'

In order to achieve the overall objectives set for the research, the team had specifically to

a) lay the qualitative foundations of a segmentation that could later be quantified

and

b) deliver a segmentation that would be both **long-lived** (based in essential truths about these audiences rather than hinging on topical issues) and **refreshable in part as well as in full**

The DCFS required that the output from the project be of a very open and flexible nature, allowing the DCFS to incorporate various past and present perspectives within the investigation.

The client wished to understand and actively discriminate between the many aspects of the parenting/caring experience so that they might provide a useful basis for action across the respondent field.

In order to achieve this, Define approached the project with a framework that would allow adults and young people to be included in the same segmentation (rather than creating separate segmentations for each).

Define also sought to uncover key psychological and behavioural markers for segments that would be able to be carried through into a quantitative study and measured.

C Method and Sample

1. Overview of Research Approach

The 12 group segmentation was built up from a 360° qualitative data set. That entailed researching the target audience from a number of different perspectives which would give the fullest picture possible.

The methodology included overt information seeking (interviews, questionnaires, drawings and discussion) as well as covert observation of the target audience during interview.

The research approach combined Define's unique Interactive Gallery method with Peer Workshops; the details of both are included below.

Interactive Galleries - breadth of data

The Interactive Galleries are loosely based on the principal of an Art Gallery and were used in this project in order to gather a breadth of data from which to build a skeleton segmentation.

The galleries were set up in six separate halls across England. Stimulus exhibits were created and positioned around the room.

During the day, pairs of respondents (one adult accompanied by a young person for whom they had parenting/caring responsibilities) were toured around the gallery.

Each pair had their own moderator and viewed the exhibits separately from the other pairs, discussing (spontaneously and with prompts) a variety of issues.

As part of the discussion, each person in the pair was asked to draw a picture of their family or household and to fill in a basic questionnaire which supported their spoken responses. The questionnaire also gave some privacy to their responses, in the event that they were unable to reveal their real thoughts in front of their 'partner'.

Moderators listened to the responses and the discussion between the pair as they answered. Moderators watched the dynamic between the pair and noted subject areas which generated conflict as well as how the couple managed the process of conflict. Moderators explored and pushed the boundaries of the discussion to uncover as much information about the pair as possible.

These respondent pairs gave their responses to twelve different subject areas - (such as TV, money, time management within the home) – which were chosen to access familial life from many relevant angles.

The information gathered from the Interactive Galleries was analysed to produce a skeleton segmentation, which was then put to workshop trios for further development.

Workshops – depth of data

Traditional trios of adults or mini-groups of six young people were convened. These were single gender groups of peers across England.

These trios were presented with the basic findings of the interactive galleries and asked to discuss particular segments. Through a *process of illumination*, the basic segmentation was built up into a more robust framework.

In-depth discussion of the initial segmentation framework followed by *partnership working* with respondents to fill in the detail gave a deep insight into the segments.

From both adults and young people, the workshops delivered further insights into being the young person or the adult in each of the segments.

2. Sample

The six gallery days (with twelve pairs of respondents each day) gave a sample of 144 people. Full recruitment details are given in the appendix, but the sample encompassed the broadest range of home circumstances, age of young person and parenting style of the adult. Young people were recruited from seven years of age and upwards.

The gallery interviews lasted an hour each and fieldwork took place in August 2007.

Various respondent factors were taken into account during recruitment in order to ensure a robust segmentation. These factors included:

- \Rightarrow Biological and non-biological links between respondents
- $\Rightarrow\,$ Intensity of parenting (taking into consideration family size and time input from adults)
- \Rightarrow Age and gender of young person
- \Rightarrow Gender of adult

- \Rightarrow Ethnicity and cultural/religious background
- \Rightarrow The leadership of household (single parent, two-parent)
- ⇒ Role model within family (traditional family role models, role reversal, same-sex parents)
- \Rightarrow Socio-economic status, educational achievement of adult
- \Rightarrow Location within England

For the peer workshops, 24 trios or groups in total were convened. Again, full sample details are in the appendix.

The workshop trios and groups lasted an hour and a half each and fieldwork took place in September 2007.

As well as including respondents similar to those who had been through the interactive galleries, parents of very young people (below the age of seven) and a booster group of parents of SEN young people (up to the age of 21) were included.

The project team comprised Joceline Jones, Anna Thomas, Jill Swindells, David Proctor, Rowan Chernin and Jon Gower.

II Summary

- 1. This report details the research process and final qualitative segmentation of the DCFS target audience: parents, carers, young people and children.
- 2. The conceptual framework for the study was the relationship between the adults and young people: a way of looking at how these two discrete groups are connected via parenting/caring bonds. The research team rejected the notion of producing separate segmentations for each of the parties within the relationship, since it was felt that this would ignore the essential dynamic and issues specific to a particular adult- young person relationship. The research team also rejected the idea of building a segmentation based on families, since again, this might hide some specific issues between individuals.
- 3. The segmentation that emerged was built on a 360° perspective of the adult- young person relationship. It was initially scoped from the findings of broad-brush interviewing of adult- young person pairs in an Interactive Gallery. It was further refined through indepth analysis and partnership working with respondents in same gender peer groups.
- 4. Building the segments through this two-phase process allowed us to measure respondent recognition and gauge whether we were on track, and to access multiple perspectives on each segment
- 5. The findings from the qualitative segmentation have been presented in such a way as to deliver a flexible and timeless segmentation, avoiding topic-sensitive dependency. The process of the research aimed to establish **both** the psychodynamics of the adult-young person pair bond **and** the specific behavioural marker activities that would feed into a second-stage quantification.
- 6. The Interactive Galleries are Define's bespoke vehicle for accessing relationship dynamics and for uncovering complex social and personal decision making processes. More details are in the body of the report, but the methodology is loosely based on an art gallery where an individual moves through the exhibits and relates to each in turn.
- 7. The Interactive Galleries in this study were comprised of twelve exhibits: My Family, Childhood, Timeline of Child Development, Television, Playing Out, Emotions, Careers, Money, Housework, External Support Agencies, Time Management, Food. These topics were deemed to have broad relevance to the underlying questions of the study:
 - \Rightarrow what happens in families/parenting or caring situations?
 - \Rightarrow How do adults experience the process of parenting/caring for a young person?
 - \Rightarrow How do young people experience the process of being parented/cared for?
- 8. Throughout the process, and despite the fact that deeply personal information was sometimes elicited by either party, both respondents appeared to appreciate the opportunity to express themselves and to listen to their partner. It would appear that discussion and interrogation of how they manage themselves within the pair-bond is an interesting, but not examined, topic.
- 9. There are twelve segments for the adult- young person bond (eleven active parenting types with the twelfth being a lapsed or disconnected usu. biological bond).
- 10. The twelve segments are differentiated on three simple axes of Care, Control and Conflict between the pair. These three axes were observed during the Galleries as distinctive variables but they also fit with other models of relationship dynamics and child psychology.

- 11. The twelve relationship types can be further categorised according to how easy it is to communicate with the pair and how much potential benefit might be brought to the individuals within that pair. The four categories may be of some use in strategy development and communications prioritisation.
- 12. The four categories are:
 - \Rightarrow the 'success seeking' (encompassing those pairs who are interested in information and are already well-developed in terms of relationship)
 - \Rightarrow the 'change-resistant' (those who are not interested in information but who are also, fortunately, well-developed in relationship terms and may need less external help in any case)
 - ⇒ the 'hidden economy' (those who have low interest in help or information but whose relationship difficulties and long-term negative effects are currently fairly invisible) and
 - ⇒ the 'high-pain' (who are interested in information because the trauma or challenge of being in relationship with each other is high). These last include those for whom intervention programmes and relationship strategies would be of immense benefit, both societally and on a personal level.

III Detailed Findings

1 Framing the question – how best to consider differentiation?

The questions that were needing to be answered were extremely broad in nature: What happens in families? How do people parent? How do young people experience parenting?

Before seeking to address these questions, the nature of where and how the answers are to be gathered should be considered.

The start point for thinking about parenting and being parented is perhaps naturally the traditional or 'nuclear' family.

Certainly, the advantages for researchers of beginning with a nuclear family are that it can be easily found and defined. Traditional families are fairly commonplace. The exact boundaries and the membership of the family are clear. Decisions about who is and is not in the family are the same from anyone's perspective. Additionally, relationships are presumed to endure over the long term.

The disadvantages of beginning with the nuclear family structure are swiftly apparent. Obviously, as a source of research material it is not in fact so easy to control: within the nuclear family unit, many bonds and relationships exist (either adult to adult, adults to children or children to each other). Each of these relationships may be different, depending on who is involved. Furthermore, birth order, aspirations for each other and willingness to remain within the unit all play a part in the dynamics of family interaction.

Clearly, the nuclear family is not the only pattern for the care and upbringing of young person. Where the family is "broken", the exact membership of the family – and even the number of families that now exist (?one, ?two, more) may differ for each person from the original unit. Thus, the exact unit for research purposes becomes more difficult to define and the numbers of relationships between adults and young people can increase exponentially.

Not only do the boundaries of the family become difficult to establish, but even the identity of the parties to be researched starts to unpack themselves. With divorce, remarriage, and blending of families, those who might be pinpointed as the 'parenting parties' become problematic.

Questions such as 'Who is the 'real' parent?' and 'What qualifies as 'parenting'?' can emerge. Where there are step-parents, cohabiting adults with multiple off-spring, or absent parents, there is a challenge in establishing a clear connection between parental responsibility, day-to-day parenting and overall adult control.

The legal status of the adult doing the parenting becomes an issue to be considered: where relationships are not legitimised, would the father's most recent girlfriend (caring on a daily basis) qualify as parenting. Similarly, where relationships are new would the biological mother's new husband qualify as a parent – even though he does little towards daily care.

In a 'looked after' situation, relationships have completely different models: a relationship may be 'broken' (young people or staff leave the household) but retain legitimacy and a clear sense of who was parenting and who was being parented. Similarly, even very new staff have a sense of parity (unlike parent vs. step-parent).

At this most extreme end of the spectrum, however, the exact boundary of the unit may not be easily defined and will vary for each of the people attached to the core 'looked after' base. Furthermore, the sometimes larger number of young people and adults within the unit significantly increase the complexity of the emotional bonds and the 'parenting' material to be explored.

In attempting to establish what happens in families - how people parent and how young people experience parenting - it becomes arguable that families are in fact perhaps **not** the best starting point.

A segmentation based on families would create significant conceptual issues and recruitment difficulties.

The alternative – to create separate adult and young person segmentations and then to establish links between the two – has obvious positives in terms of being able to easily identify where the research data would come from (parents or carers, and young people under the age of eighteen years).

The questions which might be posed to each audience would be very simple to form:

For the parents and carers -

- How do adults experience parenting?
- How do they manage to look after people younger than themselves?
- What are their needs and how can these be met?

And for the young people -

- How do young people experience being parented?
- How do they relate to the adults in their lives?
- What are their needs and how can these be met?

The downsides of separate segmentations become apparent when referring back to the objectives for the project. Even were it clear how two separate segmentations might be interlinked to form a comprehensive picture of the target audience, the segmentation also needs to be updateable **in part** as well as in whole. Refreshing one half of the combined segmentation would lead to a need to refresh the other half.

Importantly, both these routes fail to deliver a segmentation that has value over and above the *descriptive*. From the conceptual challenges of a family-centred segmentation to the inflexibility of a 'two-halves' segmentation, neither brings a detailed understanding of the complex dynamic underpinning the relationship between adult and young person.

Much academic research already points to the adult-child relationship as the basis for the emotional, psychological, physical and educational achievement of the young person. The impact of the adult-child relationship on the adult is less-well explored.

In order to effect change and connect with either party in the parenting relationship, the mechanics of how they work together needs to be understood. The interpersonal **dialogue** between a given adult and young people within a familial setting needs to form the focus of the study.

In considering the relationship between the pair:

- The parties are interviewed in their parent/parentee roles and responses come from that perspective
- The enforced and enduring nature of the connection is emphasised
- The way in which the parties manage the connection between them in the face of a third party (the research team) can be observed

 Non-verbal cues between the parties - and any tensions around certain subjects – can be more easily accessed if both parties are researched together

By focusing on individual parenting pairs – one adult and one young person – and by exploring that relationship in depth across a series of different circumstances and topics, Define aimed to provide a universal segmentation that answered the wider brief.

The study aimed to understand the relationship of parenting from both sides of the equation.

Specifically, the research aimed to establish

- what exactly happens inside the parenting relationship?
- How does the relationship affect both parties? What are their individual and combined *needs* and how open are the parties to *influence and information*?
- What are the different types of adult- young person bonds and how can each best be reached for the benefit of the parties involved?

2 The Twelve Segments – an initial brief outline

As will be discussed in greater detail, the audience of parents/carers and young people in their care can be segmented into twelve relationship types.

It is our contention that the adult is **always** the lead in the relationship, even if they have assumed a passive position relative to that role. Although the adult may not be as effective a leader as he or she would like to be, ultimately we believe that responsibility for the dynamic must remain with the adult.

Thus the segments incorporate the degree of dominance exerted by the adult over the young person, the amount of energy and time committed to the pair bond by the adult, and the motivations of the adult in establishing such a bond. The reactions of the young person to those elements and the effect those reactions have on the pair bond are also covered.

The segments are identified by both a name and a colour: for ease of reference, the colour is used on quotes throughout this report as the audience themselves found this the most accessible shorthand.

That's us. I'm a Brown with my dad. Definitely. I would like to get on better with him, but I do it to wind him up [young person, 15-17, C1C2, Mids, Brown]

An overview of the segmentation - with colour, name and summary of dynamic, can be provided in table format as:

							\bigcirc			
Improvem ent - focus	Fun - focus	Family - focus	Parent - focus	Our World - focus	Baby - focus	Achieveme nt- focus	Needs - focus	Resentme nt – focus	Self- focus	Survival - focus
Dominant A, secondary B	Collabor- ative A and B	Conscious A, collabor- ative B	Dominant passive A, Secondary active B	Gendered (+ relatively equal) A-B bond	Dominant active A, passive, colluding B	Compet- itive and active A, dominant B	Facilitatory , limited ability B	Conflicted A-B bond, struggle for dominance	Dominant and unpredict- able A, passive and disemp- owered B	Weak and mainly functional A-B bond

Taking (as an example) the red bond, one can see that the adult is highly focused on *improvement* of the young person (often, though not necessarily exclusively, on an academic level). Within this relationship, the adult is dominant and takes control – the young person is somewhat secondary in the relationship. Throughout the research process, where this type of pair were interviewed together, the adult took the lead in answering questions whilst the young person was silent or slumped and spoke when their adult overtly encouraged them to do so. It was clear that the adult agenda dominated. For some of the more extreme red pairs, the research process was a rare event – listening to their young person and hearing their opinion was not normal behaviour.

I really enjoyed that. It was really interesting to hear what he had to say and to listen to him. Thank you! [Adult, DE, Non-biol, Intense, North, Red]

At another extreme, the black pair bond is one where the circumstances surrounding the pair mean that the adult has very little capacity for input into the pair bond: they are focused on the physical survival of the pair. Whilst overall the adult would therefore be the dominant party (deciding which direction the pair faces), on a day-to-day basis, there is little connection between the two. The adult gives functional care in the form of shelter and food, but little emotional connection or ethical guidance for example. During the research, the adult was focused on giving information to the researcher and controlling their young person's behaviour where they stepped out of line. Typically, the adult appeared to be under significant emotional pressure and the young person appeared restless in their company. The immediate effects of divorce and single parenthood may trigger this type of bond, increasing the emotional pressure within the family and thus increasing the need to control the young person in a research environment (in case they reveal too much of the adult's information to a relative stranger).

No, don't say that. That's a secret

[Adult, Low Income, Divorced, Not living with Young Person, South, Black]

As will be seen below, the Interactive Gallery format delivered data in the form of overt answers to questions but also in the form of observable non-verbal data such as body language and facial expression, skin colour (blushing and sweating), eye contact, laughter and physical closeness between the pair. All these factors – used to build the segmentation - were stimulated by twelve art exhibits felt to connect to relevant, but flexible, areas of the pairs' lives.

3 Interactive Galleries

The bones of the segmentation came from the Interactive Galleries.

The segments were built up from the adult- young person pair responses to twelve exhibits in the gallery. Moderators guided the respondent pairs round the gallery and recorded their conversation as well as allowed them to record their own answers privately on simple questionnaires (an example of which is included in the Appendix).

For each exhibit, responses and manner of discussion are detailed below.

3.1. Family Dynamics

This exhibit (stimulus shown in the Appendix) included a drawing exercise with coloured pencils and paper.

The pair were welcomed to the Gallery, briefed on the overall process they were about to experience and then asked to draw a picture of their family or household.

Instructions at this stage were deliberately vague in order to avoid leading the pair in their drawing. Overall, there was an extremely positive response to the exercise – and, far from anyone refusing, the vast majority of respondents seemed to enjoy the opportunity to explore their varying degrees of talent.

For most adults, unsurprisingly, this was an activity they had not undertaken (either individually or with their young person) for years. The young people overall were clearly very at home with the idea of drawing.

Oh my God, do I have to draw? I haven't drawn since school! [Mum, Lone Parent, C2DE, South, Yellow]

For some types within the segmentation, this activity was immediately differentiating. In particular, those adults who were extremely 'facilitating' for their young person (the 'Greys') were identifiable at this early stage: they took charge of the activity, re-explaining it to the young person and helping them to use the pencils and create a picture.

Pair bond interactions ranged from very collaborative (chatting and laughing about their shared experience) through to silence and individual drawings. The extent to which the young person was reliant on the adult lead became noticeable at this stage: some young people drew an almost identical version of what their adult had drawn, whilst other pairs seemed to live in almost different households according to their drawings (the most marked of these instances was also one of the pairs with highest expressed conflict throughout the gallery).

Once the pictures had been drawn, the pair were asked to discuss their drawing and to talk about the relationships between the people in the drawings. Most respondents described the people and their characteristics, making judgements about whether they were, for example, 'grumpy' or 'bossy'. A few young people at this stage demonstrated extremely high emotional intelligence and a very mature understanding of the motivations and interactions of those in their family. The adult and young person pair bond in these cases went on to demonstrate other characteristics that underlined their strong 'family-focus' – they were dubbed the 'Greens'.

We know what will upset the other person and so we are careful. We try to say our point and not to upset them. [Young Person, Asian, Muslim, High Disposable Income, Mids, Green]

The exact cast list for the family and household varied considerably – between pairs but also within pairs. Some people included extended and blended family members, cousins and grandparents and pets. Others included just their immediate relatives. In some, people left themselves out and just drew those around them – or, at the most extreme, just drew themselves alone in a newly divorced household.

That's me, and that's my mum, my dad and our dog, Martha. [Young Person, Female, 8, Banbury, Gold]

That's me. My wife and my son live in their own house [Adult, newly-divorced, Low Income, South, Black]

That's my grandfather and my grandmother, my father and my mother, me and my brother – all in order [Young Person, Sikh, Traditional, South, Green]

Relationships (and leadership/hierarchy) in the family were expressed through size or order of characters, clothing or religious wear (Sikh turbans), and other icons (hearts and flowers).

The amount of detail and decoration in the drawings varied enormously.

Importantly, the activity was not a test of drawing 'talent' or communication through art. The relationship of the pair to each other in addressing the task and handling the conversation afterwards was as revealing as the images produced. Those for whom the subject of close relationships was important (both males and females) were naturally more connected to sharing their experience of them – where they could not draw, they added names, colours and extra information or would give large amounts of verbal detail about the matchstick people on their page.

Overall, the exhibit worked to build high levels of rapport between the pair and with the moderator, and gave useful observational data about the pair bond from the start.

3.2. Childhood

The second exhibit presented a more challenging question for some, and the pairs showed divisions as to who led the response. This was an image of a child, alone and drawn in brown crayon. The exhibit was focusing on the experience of being a child, the rules and obligations, and whether there were any key parameters to childhood that would be identified by either party: the young from their immediate position or the adults with the benefit of hindsight. The image was chosen in contrast to other, more stereotyped 'happy childhood' images, in order that it would help normalise and facilitate discussion around negative feelings and experiences.

Some young people were very comfortable to begin with an interpretation of what they were seeing and to connect with what most people felt was an air of isolation about the image. They spoke about the child perhaps having no friends or maybe being sad. The young people on the whole, did not labour on the sadness: this was not how they saw themselves in general, though they could connect with the feeling.

In contrast, some of the adults responded to this air of isolation and a significant number began to reveal judgements and experiences from their own childhood. In some cases, the image was strongly 'not them' and reminded them of just how lucky they had been to have the childhood they had experienced. They spoke of understanding *how hard* their parents had worked to make them secure and provide positive experiences. For others, the image was very much them, and they talked about their conscious decision to ensure that they did the opposite for their young person.

At this stage, some segments started to reveal themselves in terms of their desire and efforts to *improve* the situation and achievement level of their child compared to themselves. The improvement-focused (the Reds) were noticeable at this exhibit and at the Careers exhibit in particular. These adults discussed childhoods that were unsatisfactory in some key ways and considered how that had contributed to their own under-achievement. Importantly, this appeared to be something that they had considered before several times: they had made a conscious decision – backed up by high effort with their families – to make things different.

I had an absolutely terrific childhood, on reflection, but at the time I did not realise that.

[Adult, BC1, Two-parent, High disposable income, Mids, Green]

I don't have many memories of my childhood. Very doomy gloomy sort of environment, not a lot of happiness or fun in the house, because my parents were, you know, not the greatest.

[Adult, Black-African, Lone Parent, North, Red]

For many adults, their parenting "philosophy", such as it might be, was based on their own experiences. This was exactly why they had decided to be 'this kind of parent'. They indicated that their experience of *sadness and loneliness* in their own childhood was a key factor in deciding that this should be avoided for their own children, through them

- buying things and 'spoiling' their child
- being there (giving up work in order to be at home with their children usually the female adult, or being intensely involved in their child's education and achievement – more often the male adult)
- having a laugh (not wanting to replicate their 'distant' parent role model)
- having more children sometimes a large brood made up of their own biological and step-children, but also extending to other people's children whom they cared for or were heavily involved with

I wouldn't repeat my childhood. I won't say that it was all bad, but there were certain things...you know... that I made a conscious decision I would not have for him [Adult, BC1, two-parent, Afro-Caribbean, South, Red]

Because this was an exhibit that allowed for individual responses, there was not much opportunity to disagree. However, some pair bonds (usually the 'Browns' – the resentment-focused) managed to disagree here too.

In some cases, where the young person was struggling for an answer, the adult stepped in to manage the social situation, either by prompting or starting the answer for the child. To some extent, this varied depending on the age and needs of the young person. Most revealing was where the young person had not spoken first but the adult did not force them to speak. This occurred either because the adult did not notice the young person's silence or (at the other end of the spectrum), the adult did notice but gave their answer and then waited patiently for the young person to gather their thoughts. In this latter case, where the young person was given the space, their response was clear and insightful. He seems quite rough maybe. His parents might not care about him and that. He's not having fun

[Young Person, Lone Parent, Afro-Caribbean, South, Orange]

The emotional state of the image, however, prevailed above all else. There was limited engagement or explicit connection of the idea of 'what it's like to be a child' – there were no comments about children who "should be seen and not heard" or "respect their elders and betters". There was no comment about the 'Youth of Today' being different from thirty years ago. There were minimal mentions of set bedtime for some, and tidying one's bedroom.

However, a role model and framework for the behaviour and experiences of young people is impressively absent. Each pair bond approached the question of what it means to be a child from an individual, rather than societal perspective. With the exception of the very family-focused (the Greens), no other pairs talked about the philosophical or biological reasons for childhood.

I think it should be fun, because adults have responsibilities, and stuff, and children don't really have that many, they just do what they can when they do really. We do a lot of fun things as a family, so that is good [Young Person, BC1, two-parent, High disposable income, Mids, Green]

In the Green families, both parents and young people were aware that this stage was a limited phase in their lives. As such, they approached it with some sense of scarcity – both parties understood this was the young person's *only* childhood and the adults *only* time to parent.

Thus both parties were to some extent conscious that they were engaged in the relationship *for a specific purpose:* the adults were leading and educating the young people in order for them to progress to their own adult lives, the young people were protected by the adult and benefiting from their prior experience.

This shared perspective of the 'why' of the relationship did seem to elicit more respect and collaboration from the young person. As a virtuous circle, this meant a more positive experience for the adult and greater contribution from them to the relationship again.

For most pairs, however, childhood was not seen clearly as a discrete stage in and of itself. Unlike babyhood, where parents are clear about the milestones and purpose of their 'job', the years from five to eighteen/twenty-one/marriage, seem to blur into unconscious reaction to each other rather than conscious parenting (which might be defined according to the Greens approach as *growing and nurturing a child into an adult*).

The research team did not expect an overtly conceptual or political response to these questions, but they did notice that there was little childhood 'culture' to connect with.

Most adults seemed to have no idea why childhood might be an important time (e.g. forming personality and social responsibility, learning skills to have strong interpersonal relationships, educating to be self-sufficient). Similarly, young people did not have a clear sense of rebellion (that this was a stage when they were lacking access to money, power, control) or of conformity (they were being 'parented' towards adulthood).

For most young people and their adults, childhood was passing by unnoticed.

3.3. Timeline

The timeline of child development from 0-21 years of age was used to elicit information about the family history. In some cases, the research team expected there would be discussions about arrival of siblings, house and school moves, key decision points at key ages.

In fact, more revealing than any of these in terms of building the segmentation was how the pair managed the discussion between them and the extent to which the young person was shielded (or expected to shield others) from information.

Sometimes, the young person related their own specific events to a certain age. This was true of both negative and positive experiences. However, in at least one case, the young person was able to gloss through an account of their lives to date without revealing a key trauma. This gives strong indication of his capacity – even at a young age – to manage his 'story' according to the social norms he has learnt.

I liked being six. I was riding my bike outside [Young Person, Muslim, Anglo-Turkish, Two parent, Mids, Grey]

X's real dad, his natural father, was killed in an accident. It's been very difficult. He was very upset. I even cried, because he was a nice bloke. [Adult, DE, Blended family, Intense, South, Yellow]

The adult response to the timeline included their own historic and current experience. Some of the adults chose to reveal an event related to their parenting role or the young person. They were very focused in what was happening in their current relationship. Other adults were more engaged with discussing their own childhood events at these key ages. To say they were stuck in the past is perhaps an overstatement, but given the context of the research – where they were seated next to their young person throughout – some adults seemed surprisingly more able to connect to their past than to their present role.

My mum died, and my dad brought me back here...Then after that, I went into care. I think he just couldn't cope with the four of us [Adult, DE, Non-biological, Intense, North, Red]

The 'timeline' exhibit demanded conversation between the pair to create the full picture, and there was careful social management involved in exactly how much to reveal to a 'stranger' as well as how much to share with the young person present.

Where the young person came close to revealing what was considered by the adult to be a 'skeleton in the cupboard', the adult response varied widely. At the one extreme, there was immediate physical tension and overt instructions to the young person not to discuss the topic. There was no social smoothing following on from this between the adult and the moderator. (This was noted in particular with the newly divorced although it may not be exclusively in this circumstance, but certainly related to fear of the control of the ex-partner).

At the other extreme, where the young person opened up a fact about the family or the adult's past which was embarrassing, the pair were able to laugh and joke. The adult might then 'retaliate' and down-scale the tension with a much milder reveal of the younger person which maintained the bond between the pair. (These were usually the fun-focused, the Blues, or the Our-World Focused, the Yellows, who worked hard to keep their banter flowing throughout the interview).

Obviously, to some extent this connection is made possible by the age of the young person. Significantly, the security of the adult would appear to be a key component as to how relaxed they are about giving their young person a loose rein. Where the newly divorced appeared to experience fear at what others might think of them, or how their ex-partner might perceive their behaviour, they were quicker to deliver covert signals (instant frowning and shaking head) or overt instructions not to tell.

For some families, the opportunity to review 'the journey so far' was relished. Some mentioned photographs that both knew about – they had clearly been seen recently or were on proud display. For these pairs, there was a shared fondness and preciousness of the (younger) young person.

Do you remember that photo we've got of you two in the cardboard box. Playing in the kitchen? That was just after we all moved in [Adult, C1, Blended family, Older kids, South, Blue]

As well as looking backwards, however, the timeline also encouraged the pair to look forwards.

The young people in the sample ranged from seven years old upwards. They were often able to talk about starting school or a particular class teacher, but seemed less connected to where they were going in their lives. All knew they were leaving home at some point – although for some segments (the Pinks – whose adults aim to shield the young person from the outside world and keep them young), this was an area of sensitivity.

Well, I'll have to leave home sometime! She don't want me to go but I'll have to go sometime!

[Young person, 18 years old, DE, Afro-Caribbean, Intense, North, Pink]

Careers and choices were not mentioned, nor was birth order or introduction of siblings. For most pairs, there was again a sense that this was the first time they had considered the finite nature of their relationship together. The overwhelming majority could see a 'joined-up' path before them: they recognised various milestones along the way but had not thought about the route-map overall. There was widely positive engagement with the idea of a timeline but limited sense of the journey they were both embarked on, or the main 'flavour' the journey should have.

For many adults, there was little sense that parenting was an activity in its own right; however, the Yellows in particular (who have a very traditional and gendered approach to household) were most likely to reveal that the female adult had stopped work, or changed hours, to fit in with the family because of the importance placed on her role. In some cases, this meant that the family had chosen to take up benefits rather than have a two-parent working household.

3.4. Television

The exhibit about television was intended to provide some mainstream topics for discussion. It was very positively engaged with – and every person had something to say. The conversation ranged from viewing habits, likes and dislikes to rules about TV viewing and who was in charge of programme choices.

There was not always high level of connectedness between the pair on this subject. Some young people and adults have very separate viewing activities and seem to use the television in their household one after the other. Here, this raises some small opportunities for conflict over whose turn it is to have the television. In some cases, the internet featured very prominently as a TV alternative and, as such, avoided television conflict.

Internet: every single day, it's on from when I first wake up until 2-3am in the morning! I chat with my friends and games, and music, school work, I use my laptop to do research, it's easier to get information from the internet now than get it from books. I get music as well. That is all we do really. I haven't used Facebook, I have used MySpace, that's really good.

[Young Person, BC1, Two-parent, High disposable income, Mids, Green]

In other households – especially those where conflict is to be avoided at all costs (the fun-focused Blues), and the convenience focused Yellows) - multiple television sets are the norm.

Three tellies. One in my room, one in X's room and one in my mum's room [Young Person, Lone Parent family, Afro-Caribbean, North, Yellow]

Where television tastes are shared (i.e. where the adults have very mainstream, family-viewing tastes), many pairs indicated that they watched television as a family. Indeed, as an activity, television was extremely accepted and welcomed by many adults (including the family-focused), and especially some of the religious ethnic minority groups (Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus). These last groups used television to bond through a shared language, culture and values that were specifically non-western. The Punjabi films in particular were mentioned as having strong moral messages.

We all watch. We all watch together when we come home from work. Mostly Punjabi films, my mum likes. But we do watch the English. [Young Person, Lone Parent family, Sikh, North, Red]

Depending on the age and gender of the respondents, a variety of programmes and styles of broadcasting were watched. The objectives of the research underlined the need to focus on the non-topical, rather than the highly current aspects of the relationship. However, as well as Punjabi films, other frequently mentioned programmes included

- Simpsons and Saturday morning TV for younger children
- Soaps
- Sport
- Crime/drama

Importantly, where the adult expressed higher brow, more intellectual tastes, there was less-likelihood of shared television watching. This was not a function of education level – some highly educated individuals with a family focus chose specifically to watch 'silly' things that everyone would enjoy. Rather it reflected the level of commitment to finding a common ground with the young person.

Considering the research topic – adult-young person relationships – and the fact that childhood, parenting and family dynamics had previously been the subject matter, there was very little raised at this exhibit in relation to 'parenting' programmes: Brat Camp/Super Nanny, for example, were not mentioned.

There was also very little overt television management or conscious parenting philosophy about the ills of the medium. With the exception of the Muslim pairs, whose adults said that they avoided some programmes because of content, the vast majority of the pairs did not spontaneously mention TV violence, crime, sex or bad language.

Furthermore, no adult mentioned the educational and horizon broadening values of television for the young person.

It seemed as if television in the context of the parenting experience is very much an entertainment offer and is highly valued for what it brings to the family. Family films and soaps deliver a bonding experience because they have broad and inclusive appeal. They may not fit exactly the individual's choice, but they include everyone in a way that many other activities (and the pressures of life) cannot.

I don't watch a lot at the moment, as I work nights at the moment. If it's on I'll watch it a bit [Adult, Black-African, Lone Parent, North, Red]

Particularly in the single adult household, the ease and affordability of watching a film on television – rather than the cinema - made a contribution.

I send one of the girls to my mum's and then me and the other, we'll sit down and do our nails and watch a film on a Saturday night. Girly night in [Adult, Lone Parent, C2DE, South, Yellow]

3.5. Playing Out

The Playing Out exhibit was interpreted at face value by the young people who often took the lead at this point. There was some adult facilitation where the young person was struggling to remember things they did, and where adults were also highly engaged in 'playing out' – riding bikes and going running or walking – the pairs connected through laughing and joking.

Young people responded easily to the image of playing out on bikes, and for younger respondents, this is still relevant up to around twelve years of age. There was then some reported tail off in terms of bike interest, depending on gender (with younger girls tending to mention other activities – like playing house instead), and younger boys being more engaged than others.

Young people covered general playing outside, calling for friends, skateboarding and hanging round. However, there was not as much spontaneous connection to 'play', either indoor or outdoor games, as there had been with TV. Some respondents mentioned specific games – such as Monopoly or Rummikub – but on the whole, there were few specific content points around this exhibit.

Most adults linked the image to the need for increased security and safety issues, and the other end of the spectrum, some young people reported not being allowed to play out at all. This was a highly likely fact within ethnic minority households, where the young person reported understanding that it was too dangerous to play outside, and they accepted the house rules on this.

Don't talk to strangers. But there's one boy in our flats who's not right. He shouts at *me* [Young Person, Muslim, Anglo-Turkish, Two-parent, Mids, Grey]

He's not allowed to hang around if he is outside. He has to go out for a reason. He's not allowed on corners. He can't go to a shop without telling me first. [Adult, Black-African, Lone Parent, North, Red]

For a small minority of adults, the dangers for their young people were so great in modern Britain, that they were considering emigrating to achieve a better quality of life for their young people.

I have been thinking of emigrating so that I can give the girls a better quality of life. Britain's not safe any more. It's way too dangerous. [Adult, BC1, Two-parent, Intense, High disposable income, Mids, Pink]

Internet again surfaced in this area and for some parents, surfing was a substitute for playing out, despite the sedentary nature of computers. As for playing out, the levels of security and worries about young people's safety were varied: this was not a 'soap-box' for most adults.

No, I have no qualms about it at all. I mean they know themselves that there are some evil so-and-so's out there on the internet, and they have access to the same kinds of music everyone has access to, so I like to think they are level-headed and that if images or influences come up then they would get rid of them straight away. [Adult, BC1, Two-parent, High disposable income, Mids, Green]

The social and physical benefits of playing out for young people were largely missed off the agenda, with the exception being some of the more playful (Blues) or family-focused (Greens). Although a sizeable minority of adults acknowledged that there was more playing on the streets when they were young, few actively mourned the loss of outdoor or indoor fun activities

"Playing outside is very good for the child. Children get a chance to socialize, there is a feeling of freedom and they learn negotiating skills." [Adult, BC1, Traditional, South, Green]

He takes us out on our bikes all the time. We're always having a laugh [Young Person, Asian, Non-biological, 15-17, South, Blue]

3.6. Emotions

The emotions exhibit confirmed the benefits of the gallery approach in terms of its success in building rapport and its ability to access complex and sensitive data. Certainly with the subject area, there was a need for high levels of rapport to access accurate information, especially where the adult was not sure why the question was being asked.

There was a significant amount of suspicion as to why the topic was being raised, and some tension as to whether the young person would be reliable enough to hold the pair-bond confidence – i.e. *not* to reveal all to the moderator. Particularly in the case of 'smacking' and punishment, there appeared to be a worry as to what the young person would reveal and how this would be interpreted by stranger. No adult wanted to be seen as harsh or dominant.

Initially, there was silence on the part of many adults at start of this discussion. For some, a minority, the pair bond was extremely strong and the adult waited for the young person to answer first. However, in all these cases, the young person presented a fairly benign household environment.

yes, my mum sometimes cries, she watches these emotional films on TV, and my Dad too

[Young Person, Muslim, Two-parent, High disposable income, North, Green]

However, for most young people, there were strong impression management cues (frowning, shaking head, avoiding gaze, tense body language) coming from the adult to the young person (and to the moderator) at the start of the topic.

Especially where there had been recent trauma for the adult (new divorce), the adult took the lead and initially headed off the discussion.

I don't feel like crying so much now...as I used to, I wouldn't get to the stage of crying now, but [Adult, Black-African, Lone Parent, North, Red]

In most cases, the young person followed the adult lead and held information back until the adult started to reveal. Where they did not and where they effectively breached the pair-bond confidence by disclosing sensitive negative information quickly to a third party, this was highly distinctive of one segment – the resentment-focused Browns. Between the adult and young person in this pair bond, the connection is hostile and the young person was often deliberately antagonistic or challenging of the adult authority. 'Telling tales' on the adult or putting forward a negative family impression to a third party was a key indicator of the type.

Oh for god's sake! Feelings?! No we don't! [Young Person, Lone Parent, C1, Low disposable income, North, Brown]

We argue all the time but I am quite independent [Males, BC1, 18-19, Diffuse, Nottingham, Brown]

Emotions within a family context are clearly seen as an area not to be discussed with outsiders. Negative emotions – as might be expected –are the main area for concern.

Anger especially was spoken of in a very controlled and managed way, often characterised and undermined by colloquial language, e.g. 'paddies'. Some pairs devolve their responsibility for anger by apportioning this negative emotion to a more dramatic or volatile family member – perhaps the youngest who had 'tantrums' or the father who was 'grumpy'. It was necessary in most cases to reassure the adult in the pair by using similarly diminishing language and comedic terms (e.g. by the moderator using phrases like "plate throwing"/"drop-kicking" rather than talking about 'anger'). Taking a more humorous, informal perspective elicited a better response and lowered barriers.

Overall, there remained fairly high levels of anxiety for many pairs over what might be acceptable to say. Many adults seemed to be uncertain as to whether they were doing this area 'right', and certainly some were worried about what the consequences could be. Where, for example, the young person mentioned "smacking", this was always corrected very quickly by the adult to downplay or 'explain' the punishment.

As might be expected, positive emotions were an acceptable discussion topic and for some few segments (Blues, Greens and Yellows), very evident throughout the gallery. Some pairs laughed and cuddled as they discussed certain topics.

Watching the two of them grow up has been an absolute revelation. It has been wonderful; I have so many memories of us just laughing. We all laugh even now [Adult, BC1, Two-parent, High disposable income, Mids, Green]

In the case of the Blues, positive emotions were in fact the only ones 'allowed'. Both parties in the pair manifested great pro-active impression management –avoiding negative subjects skilfully, even when specifically drawn back to them. Their pair bond depends on their shared fun-focus. They used humour and comedy to diminish negative characters and events. Overall, their strategy was successful in terms of building connection between themselves. However, it did tend to leave the other adult (the non-present parent) outside the bond dealing with many of the negative things in the household. It was not clear how difficult topics were ever raised or resolved in the Blue pair bond.

In the case of the Yellows, it seemed as if the adult approach was to ignore most issues unless something major arose within the household (which was rare).

For many pairs, however, it appears that *emotional containment* (keeping the subject of emotions and family disagreement behind closed doors) overrules *emotional management* (seeking a clear understanding of how one is feeling and how to affect change within the family).

Only one segment appeared to be genuinely attempting to educate their young person in ways of tackling difficult issues effectively or in dealing with negative emotions pragmatically and successfully. The young people in the Green pairs seemed to have the most open licence and the most mature manner when discussing emotions within the family.

As I get older I also think more about how other people feel and not just me, whereas when I was younger I probably just screamed and cried [Young Person, BC1, Two-parent, High disposable income, Mids, Green]

3.7. Career

For some pairs, there was positive connection to this exhibit, but certainly far less across the sample than might be expected either from adults or young people. As with the timeline and childhood exhibit, there was little sense of growth towards a goal and only a vague idea from some adults that they should be guiding this growth.

Towards the younger end of the young people, the acceptance is that this is because the young person is too young to know what they want to do and where they are going. At the older end of the young people sample, there was still very little awareness of *how* to know what they wanted to do, or how to make choices and have career ambitions.

Some adults spoke about their own career, contemplating their ambition and how they had (not) reached their potential, but overall, the pairs seemed to experience a lack of common ground on which to discuss the topic of careers.

There were a few exceptions to this across the types – in particular, where the young person clearly exhibits a talent that has been identified in the outside world (i.e. by school or club), this is likely to be held up as a main possible career route. The achievement-focused pairs (the Golds), were very clear that they had options, since the young person was extremely talented at some subject or sport.

yeah, I'd like to teach football, like when I'm 13, because I'm like really good at it now

[Young Person, Lone Parent, Low income, North, Gold]

Where the adult experienced strong dissatisfaction with their own career path, (and specifically where they identify that they underachieved because of lack of guidance), they are likely to set stronger boundaries for school performance for their young person. This is not necessarily connected to what the young person will become, but more about what they will avoid (low achievement, dropping out of school, low earnings, lack of fame). Because there is no forward looking positive plan, grades at school become a strong focus, and the adult tends to push schoolwork and homework to the fore. The Improvement-focused adults (the Reds), were distinctive at this exhibit – generally discussing the importance of education, rather than the importance of a career path that suited the young person's talents and abilities.

he has to get the education now – by doing well at school. If he does well at school then he gets incentives, but he's doing well at school so that's OK. There has been no resistance from him as yet [Adult, Black-African, Lone Parent, North, Red]

For the vast majority of the other pairs, however, there was some minor reference to school or subjects that the young person is good at. Few pairs had a holistic view of the young person's innate ability and personality. There was very little mention of teacher/careers advisor or mentors. Some young people referred to older siblings' choices in order to help them find a path.

I want to be an accountant ... my sisters want to be Doctors and Lawyers... my parents just want us to be happy. Both money and happiness are important [Young Person, Muslim, Two-parent, High disposable income, North, Green]

For some of the female religious minority pairs (Sikhs and Muslims), career plans were viewed as an interim step - the end goal for the daughter was marriage and motherhood. In this framework, the onus was on the adults to find a suitable partner for her. The responsibility of the daughter was to remain chaste and to possibly find a job that would enable her to contribute towards her dowry.

Across the sample, there was no clear idea of when the 'right time' would be to know or to start making plans. Some adults commented that they would support their young person whatever they chose but didn't know how to aid the process of decision making. This was true even amongst the most family-focused. In the absence of structure and outside direction, most seem to be quietly assuming that the young person will make up their mind at some suitable point in the future.

I will never let them be limited in choices and what they can do. I have been very involved in my children. My parents never ever got involved in my studies or things like that." [Adult, BC1, Traditional, South, Green]

What I look for is as long as the decisions she is making are well thought out, practical, as opposed to spur of the moment and emotional. [Adult, BC1, Twoparent, High disposable income, Mids, Green]

3.8. Money

It was somewhat more difficult than at other exhibits to gain a true picture of circumstances of the pair, financially in this case. In most cases, the adult partner took the lead and the younger person commented if they could. Unlike negative emotions, money is more easily hidden from a younger person. Certainly there was quite wide discrepancy between what the young person marked in their questionnaire (money is not a worry for us) and what the adult marked (money is sometimes tight).

Some adults discussed money in the context of benefits and a few mentioned that they had chosen not to work in order to ensure that they had enough money coming in to the household. Although this capped their earnings at a low level, it also provided an extremely *stable* situation that they could live with for the long-term. This was preferred to the risk and high stress of juggling parenting and a job.

We're not poor poor, but money is tight, I would say [Young Person, Lone Parent, Low income, Afro-Caribbean, South, Red]

In most households, whether State-funded or Self-funded, the domestic budget was often managed by the female and considered as a task under "household management" rather than finances. In some cases, she would discuss with an adult

partner, but in most cases, this was a closed area and certainly not a "family affair". A few young people had savings accounts for birthday and Christmas money, but some adults mentioned that they had set up other accounts for the young person. There was a wide variety of knowledge shared about these other accounts – how much was in them and what they were to be used for. In some cases, even their existence was hidden from the young person, and for some pairs, they were largely a savings account 'belonging' to the adult and ideally to be used to fund the young person in the future – e.g. a wedding account, an education account.

Even on a daily basis, it would seem that financial education and involvement is low and there is generally limited discussion about how the family budget is doing, even with the older young people.

The young person's frame of reference is set clearly as how much money they themselves can have. In general, they do not enter into the adult concerns of saving and managing money. The implications for the pair dynamic are that the young person acts in a vacuum of knowledge – they want more money to do things and they often ask until they get it. This behaviour was exacerbated amongst the achievement-focused "Golds" where the young person not only asked but *demanded* things, regardless of how much the adult explained that they could not afford it.

When I get it I spend it! The other day I found £2 in the fireplace and I hid it in my room!

[Young Person, Lone Parent, Low income, North, Gold]

I spend it straight away. I have a bank account, but I spend it straight away. When EMA comes in I spend it straight away, on rubbish really, like clothes and that [Young Person, Lone Parent, Low Income, Afro-Caribbean, South, Gold]

The enforced dependency around access to money is one of the flashpoints for the resentment-focused (the Browns), where the young person is engaged in a battle for control with the adult. Here, having to ask for money exposes the young person and (they feel) places them in a vulnerable position. Some pairs expressed irritation with each other over the way the young person behaved. In a few cases, where the young person was old enough to get a job, they had done so in order to reduce the control the adult would have over them in the way of granting money.

Overall, most young people were not included in this part of the household life. Their adults lead the discussion and – even where there are difficulties – they do not see this as 'child-friendly' territory.

"Money is always an issue for our family because it is such a large family. But we tend not to discuss problems in front of the children because we think that is not fair as they can't do anything about it." [Adult, BC1, Traditional, South, Green]

This was the general picture across the sample, with the exception of one type of pairing (the Parent-focused, "Orange" bond).

In this segment, the young person has assumed a large number of adult chores and responsibilities – such as picking up other siblings or doing housework – in order to fill a void left by another adult. In interview, this pair had shared a significant amount of information about the struggle to manage money. (The young person was equally likely to know the details of the adult's emotional struggle too). This young person was aware of the value of money and very aware about how money came into the household. They seemed to be 'an old head on young shoulders' and to carry a lot of concern around the topic.

I usually do car boot sales with my mates, I clean cars and water peoples plants, and if that doesn't work I get pocket money, or my cousins give me money, but somehow I always have some money. I save it for a bit, like now I have £20. I'm the one who always has the money [Young Person, Black-African, Lone Parent, North, Orange]

In general, this exhibit revealed a major disconnect between most pairs. Neither adults nor young people were particularly engaged with each other or with the topic of money. Of course, there might be some element of sensitivity in terms of revealing details to a relative stranger, but compared with what else was revealed during the Gallery, it would appear that money is the last bastion of secrecy.

Even without a great level of detail, however, the impact of finances on the pair was discernible. Poverty and relative affluence were expressed both in verbal terms – through the limited discussion and factual information - but also in physical terms, in confidence levels, presentation and bearing.

This was partly to do with newness of clothing and across the 72 adult- young person pairs, there was great variance in how they had dressed for the interview. All were in casual, everyday clothes, but for some, their outfits were ironed and clean whilst others were less well-attended to. Generally, the *higher disposable income* households presented a brighter and shinier presence than those on lower disposable income (NB. The recruitment focused on disposability of income rather than absolute income level in order to get a focus beyond class analysis).

However, high disposability of income was also related to low levels of stress amongst the adults – this presented itself in terms of tone of voice and manner through the discussion and was reflected in both adults and young people. Where money was easily available (almost to excess) within a household, the adult and young person had better posture, better eye contact and a more confident presence in the interview. Where money was of greatest concern in the household, the pair both presented with lower self-esteem cues.

Given that the young person is largely excluded from discussion as to the detail around money in the home, such behavioural cues (positive or negative) are adopted in a largely unconscious way from the adult. Where self-esteem and confidence cues are low, they may not be easy to challenge and redress.

3.9. Household

Of all the exhibits, the household management (including cleaning) topic elicited the least variety in terms of response. The responsibility for the domestic environment belongs to the female adult, with an older daughter taking on responsibilities as necessary.

Cooking is the chore most likely – if any - to be adopted by the adult male. Some also mention doing the shopping. In the case of the male adult led pairs, most claimed that they 'shared' or helped out with chores, but all agreed that the role of directing activities (deciding that bed linen needed to be changed) remained the female responsibility. In some cases, this was extended to include not only the mother figure within a household, but also the grandmother figures.

In terms of how the pairs managed this extremely gendered discussion, the pattern was very stable: male-male pairs helped each other to answer questions, male adult-female young person tended to be led by the young person , and pairs including a female adult were led through the discussion by the female adult.

For the most part, disagreement was limited to the tidying of the young person 's bedroom. There was some evidence that this caused bigger arguments between siblings, especially where they shared a room but did not collaborate on the tidying. Issues around personal belongings and private space were raised as complaints from the young person.

The pairs, on the whole, reported very low levels of disagreement between adult partners. It would appear that where there are two adults within the household, the responsibilities for this area have become normatively shouldered by the female and there is little dispute or rebellion. Particularly amongst the Yellow segment (the Our World focused), family and domestic management is quite proudly controlled by the adult female as part of her family identity. She holds this area and teaches her daughters to become involved and capable in it too.

all of us help clean the house, though T (female sibling) does a bit more being the oldest. I have to keep my little sisters out of trouble [Young Person, Muslim, Two-parent, High disposable income, North, Green]

Conflict did arise for another segment (the resentment-focused Browns), for whom the enforced nature of domestic living caused rebellion and fights on a daily basis. Adults reported here that the young person was not pulling their weight and helping with – what they saw – as their responsibility towards the family as a whole. Young people in this segment expressed strong resentment that they should be asked or expected to contribute to the family whilst the adult had free time that could be directed in this area. (This was true even where the adult worked full time and went out only one night a week or where the young person was on holiday from school).

The mismatch between the expectations and values of the pair in the resentmentfocused was of great pain to both, and of great shame to the adult. This was exacerbated where there was only one adult in the household, and in particular, where the young person was female whilst the adult was male. Gender expectations, a need for extra help and the age of the young person contributed to creating an explosive and unpleasant living environment. Ironing and washing in particular seemed to involve most specific disagreement, since these were tasks that the adult felt could and should be done in bulk – regardless of whose actual clothes they were – whilst the young person felt they were being overburdened by being expected to do everyone's.

In direct contrast to the Brown young person resentment, the Orange young person (parent-focused) was extremely compliant, helpful and involved – often to the extent that they took over the chore for their adult. This was true with laundry, cooking, cleaning, shopping and childcare. There seemed to be no area that a young person was unable to be involved with. During the discussions, however, there was some hesitancy on the part of the adult to reveal exactly how much they allowed or expected their young person to do – the mismatch between the Orange pair on this topic was noticeable, although the Orange young person was careful to try and mirror what their adult was presenting as the arrangement.

Sometimes my job is to do the dishes, put them away, hoover the stairs, the landing, and polish mum's room and my room [Young Person, Black-African, Lone Parent, North, Orange]

The gender politics around this subject area are strongly ingrained and have particular implications for adults and young people alike.

An Orange (parent-focused) household is likely to be a single parent household. These were often lower income households, where the option of buying in extra help was not available. There are likely to be more extreme challenges where only one adult has

responsibility for several children. In these households, the eldest female children shouldered a significantly larger burden than the female children in high disposable income – or two parent – households. The contrast in presentation and bearing between the high contribution/low income female children and the high income/low contribution female children was marked. There would appear to be a true 'Cinderella' identity for some young girls: the implications for achievement are not clear, but certainly in terms of their own parenting preferences, there is some evidence that they recognise the undesirability of their childhood role.

I was the eldest of five, and I had to do the dishes every night, ironing and that. but she's like an only child, so I don't want her to be doing the things I had to do when I was nine.

[Adult, Lone Parent, Low income, North, Gold]

Boys seemed somewhat less at the sharp end of the single parent phenomenon – where they are (rarely) expected to take on adult responsibilities, it is often along emotional support lines for the mother rather than actual household duties.

Gender however does have an impact on the adult male single household. In cases, where the male adult was newly alone (after divorce), household management was neglected apart from the absolute basics of preparing food. Toilet cleaning and changing sheets were forgotten. The young person in this situation was clearly aware and had some shame around the lack of domestic management – both parties were aware that this was an 'abnormal' situation, but both seemed unable to do anything about it. Given the prevalence of contact/staying orders, a large percentage of males with parental responsibility may need help in formulating their household management strategy and identity.

I have to cook now, and I can't do proper dinners. [Adult, Low Income, Divorced, Not living with Young Person, South, Black]

Despite the significant impact of a gendered household management structure for a sizeable minority, there is limited engagement with the topic. However, unlike Money and Emotions, this is an area where anxiety is low. Domestic chores are simply not of interest. Furthermore, there is a strong awareness of what does and does not happen in most households - most families present their household as broadly following the 'norm', even if practice does not always mirror this.

3.10. Support

In terms of external support and connection with various sources, there was for the most part very limited connection with this area for most respondents – either face-to-face or on their questionnaires (which had been developed so that the respondents could give sensitive information in private).

This lack of experience with external agencies and lack of interest in what they had to offer was the case even where bereavement, divorce, remarriage, step-parenting, teenager-problems, fostering, mental health, unemployment, bankruptcy or domestic violence issues had already been mentioned in interview.

I must admit, I haven't heard of any of these. But then, we've never been in a situation where we've ever needed any help, have we? [Adult, BC1, Non-biol, Intense, Mids, Blue] [Stepmother to a young teen whose biological mother died of cancer and who had mentioned financial problems, step-parenting worries, having to move home because of repossession and having to help stepson move schools] Across the sample, there was only minor collaboration between a few pairs in discussing potential sources for extra help. Brand awareness was not high and in some cases, where the young person asked who the source was, the adult could not say.

For a tiny minority, there were several familiar faces but for the overwhelming majority, only a few sources stood out. The 'Ask Frank' was commented by teens as being quite a good website – it is a source for information which is unbiased and gives the positives and well as the negatives of drug usage in a respectful and user-friendly tone.

SureStart was mentioned by a few adults and for those on lower incomes, Tax Credits were recommended as being 'good'.

The Tax Credits, oh god yeah. Sure Start, we used that when she was younger [Adult, Lone Parent, Low income, North, Gold]

'Gingerbread' was most likely to be picked out and asked about – the name is distinctive and attractive but not widely known even amongst single parents.

I have heard of Ask Frank, it's on TV. I know Sure Start. XX has teased me about calling Child Line! I laugh about it. I haven't heard of Kid Scape. I think we went to Direct Gov to get their EMA money. I don't know Ginger Bread [Adult, Lone Parent, Low Income, Afro-Caribbean, South, Gold]

Whilst there was no outright rejection of any support agency, there was very little interest – most pairs looked but did not see any one-stop shop brand for them. Family and friends remained the key support.

3.11. Time Management

In terms of how the activities and schedule of the household was managed, both the adult and the young person were able to make comments and offer information.. Usually, the adult took the lead on how things were fitted into the week, but the diversity of responses were usually linked to the age of the young person (the type of activity and the amount of help they needed to organise themselves) and the working status of the female parent (the amount of time they were able to give to making lunches, sorting sports clothes, laying outfits out in the morning or running baths). Similar to domestic chores, although less so, the mechanics of the week are a gendered and largely female domain.

"I am in charge of the household and do most of the organizing. This is how my husband likes it. He doesn't like making decisions. It is mostly me who takes the lead in bringing up the children. But we do agree and sit and discuss things. It works well." [Adult, BC1, Traditional, South, Green]

Many mothers reported using wall calendars to keep the family plans at view. Female planning acumen was passed on to older daughters and as the young person was able to help or to take over their own time-management, they were encouraged to do so.

"We all do our own timetable. I have my own diary and I put the dates into my mobile too" [Young Person, 15-17, BC1, Traditional, Mids, Green] "It would be my responsibility to remember the things and organize them and my husband would drop them and pick them as much as he can do within his work time. He always helps me out. I ask my older children to help out if I have to be in two places at the same time. I can always rely on my older children. My daughter has bought the house next door to me." [Adult, BC1, Traditional, South, Green]

Most pairs had a mixture of formal and informal activities through the week, with a focus on the time left over after school. School-time activities were left largely to the school.

As with the Playing Out exhibit, there was some further information about the extent to which the young person 's time and activities were monitored by the adult (in particular, the Baby-focus, Pink adults, strongly regulated how and where the young person played, stayed over at friends or went shopping on Saturdays).

A few families – most noticeably the Yellows - pre-planned family activities, whilst the very family-focused and fun-focused (the Greens and Blues), devoted large amounts of unstructured time to each other, hanging out and watching television, riding bikes or driving round, going to the cinema or playing in the garden.

On the whole, there were very few spontaneous mentions of pure adult time scheduled, either individually or as a couple. Prompted exploration revealed that there was in fact little planned activity for most adult carers; they were either in family or in work mode.

The exhibit elicited a very straightforward information exchange. As expected, single working females found time management most difficult, although this varied with the number and age of the young people for whom she was also parenting.

3.12. Food

Across the sample, there was a wide variety of responses from pairs, some of whom were very happy to discuss the issue of food at great length and others of whom had very limited response: food was just 'food'. The responses were not highly differentiating of any segment, but give a good indication of current parenting values around food, eating habits and cultural values.

Where the adult (usually male) had a strongly positive response, this was a great bonding subject for both parties. Some individuals enjoyed their character as 'the foodie' of the family.

Sometimes we go home and get a chippy tea. X likes that, don't you? [Adult, C1, Intense, SEN child, North, Grey]

I like jacket potatoes, and roast. I don't really like chewy meat when I eat my tea. I eat it and I have to wait for it to go down. [Young Person, Lone Parent, Low income, North, Gold]

Fish, monkfish, prawns, grilled and fried, different ways. We have just bought a fish steamer as well, so we'll be trying that tonight [Young Person, Black-African, Lone Parent, North, Red]

Where food was more of a non-issue, the pairs gave functional answers only. As this was known information for most pairs, it was usually straightforward in terms of managing the response. The only issue that really caused tension was that of food in different houses – the different rules between divorced households. Here, the non-

present parent was often criticised by the adult in interview in a very subtle manner (be it the biological mother being criticised by the step-mother, the biological father by the biological mother, or the new step-father by the biological father).

Rules around food in situation of conflict were used as evidence that the other adult was a less good parent and therefore a less good person. Where this happened, the young person allied themselves with the adult making the comments (what happens when they are in the other household was not open to observation). The competition between divorced adults seemed to filter into this area more than any other.

However, in 'contained' households (i.e. either step-households where there was no 'competitor', or in non-divorced households), these comments did not arise. Other arenas for eating – such as school, extended family and friends' houses – do not engender the same negative response. Here, difference is merely difference.

For most pairs, eating was reported as a mostly communal activity and there were a few spontaneous mentions of healthy eating. It would seem to be no longer acceptable to eat on one's knees – and the message about sitting up at the table seems to have pervaded the family culture. Although it is clear that all the pairs were aware this was the 'right' response, it is also likely to be the truthful response – adults did not manage the young person's response as they had done with emotions and 'smacking'. They did not attempt to head the conversation off or to influence the subject. Where rules are relaxed, for reasons of space or because the young people are too numerous and thus too noisy to eat with, the adults eat either later or in the same room but away from the youngsters at the table.

They all eat at the table. Sometimes if the little one is awake, we eat in the living room because my husband can't stand being at the table with them all together [Adult, C2DE, Blended family, South, Yellow]

We eat around the table in the dining room, there is no TV in that room. We talk to each other, I like it [Young Person, BC1, two-parent, High disposable income, Mids, Green]

Traditional aspects of eating are raised spontaneously as family 'marker' activities – things that define the family as a group. These markers vary, dependent on cultural background. For the Anglo-Saxon family, Sunday lunch is a key food event that sets the tone for the family. Pairs who focused on Sunday lunch were also likely to focus on other family activities and to set more store by being together. For the Afro-Caribbean and Asian pairs, cooking specific foods – rather than a specific mealtime – were key indicators of their consciousness to passing on tradition, values and attention to their young people.

"We all eat together on Sundays. We some times get a take away on Saturdaythat is our treat. We always do a roast dinner on Sunday- the children love it." [Adult, BC1, Traditional, South, Green]

We all eat together. Mum cooks or one of my sisters cooks and we all eat and talk

[Young Person, Asian, Muslim, Low income, North, Green]

Some pairs related spontaneously how they shopped and made food decisions. Whilst there seems to be some evidence of pester power in terms of specific foods bought, there is by no means the level of constant demand that was demonstrated around the subject of money. It would appear that in most pairs, food is a subject that is led by the (fairly reasonable) young person with the adult's assent. If the young person does not eat fish, they are not given fish. None of the pairs interviewed expressed concern over

their young person not eating five a day fruit and vegetables. Food was not a major battleground.

At the end of the Gallery, and as a small treat, the pairs were offered a choice of sweet from a small basket. Almost without exception, both parties accepted. Either party was likely to lead the sweetie-taking although of the two, the adult was most likely to hang back as if suspecting that the sweets were only for the children.

Where the young person hung back waiting for permission, it was clear that this would be given. The 'Oh, go on then, but only one' cue was clearly a familiar one, given with a smile. This staged negotiation was highly commonplace; young people are skilled in sweet 'etiquette' and sweets are clearly not a banned substance, even where the young person has food sensitivities.

I eat sweets after school, crisps about four times a week [Young Person, Lone Parent, Low income, North, Gold]

The only exception to this process was where there was a religious objection. Some of the Asian young people checked that they were able to eat the offer.

4 Segmentation

4.1. Segmentation overview

As has been mentioned above, the pairs (adult and young person) moved through the Interactive Galleries and responded to a series of exhibits related to family life and the parenting experience.

Their responses and interactions were observed and recorded, and formed the basis for a skeleton segmentation. This was then put before workshop peer groups (trios of adults or mini-groups of young people) and the full segmentation was built up.

Workshop groups provided insights into how each party in a segment was feeling, their motivations and their barriers. The groups also gave valuable information as to how the segments were received socially – thus raising some insights into the challenges that may be facing them.

Finally, the workshops gave insights into the language, tone and routes through which each of the segments might best access information from external agencies.

Twelve segments were unearthed – with the twelfth being a non-bond between an adult and a young person (either through desertion or enforced separation) and included in the segmentation below for completeness' sake only.

The twelve segments were found to differentiate according to three major axes, which governed how they related to each other, how often they engaged with each other and indeed, to a large extent how they chose what to engage with each other about.

4.2. 3 Major Axes for Categorising Pair Bonds Explained

The three axes are Care, Control and Conflict: the varying levels of each form the footprint for twelve discrete segments across the adult- young person audience.

Conflict: this axis includes verbal and non-verbal communication and covers the frequency and severity of conflict.

In terms of definitions, we have chosen to look at 'crossed' and 'complementary' transactions between the pairs in the segmentation.

'Crossed' transactions are taken to mean those where the adult and the young person are at odds with each other in terms of tone, meaning and purpose in the transaction. (An adult may speak in a fun, childlike tone hoping to engage the teen, whilst the teen cuts them dead with a judgemental, almost parental tone, for example).

Crossed transactions include where one of the parties overtly and purposefully undermines the impression management attempts of the other (ranging from e.g. open contradiction of what the other person has said through to silently shaking the head in disagreement behind the other's back).

Overt arguing as well as a passive and intentional refusal to collaborate in the pair's response (from either the adult or the young person) would also be included, as would reported levels of conflict between the pair outside the interview process.

Not surprisingly, this last correlated strongly with what was observed during interview.

Control: The second axis is that of Control and covers observed and reported levels of control from (usually) the adult over the young person. At a lower level, it is to some extent legitimised through the "parenting role". However, in the research process it appeared to vary widely in application, from covert behaviour management (frowning and shaking head quickly) through to openly telling the young person *not* to respond to a certain question. Fortunately, this last was a unique but very revealing instance.

Care: The third axis relates to expressions of positive emotion for the partner, including praise as well as physical proximity. Laughter and general warmth within the pair bond were observed, pet names, hugs and eye contact were observed during interview. Reports of shared activities and an expressed intention to try and meet the other person's needs were also included in this axis.

Interactions between the pairs can be characterised by their footprint made up of these three factors in varying amounts. As mentioned before, the factors are observed, self-confessed or reported by others (through the workshops).

It is important that - whether temporary or permanent - the types should be recognisable, authentic and based on essential dynamics rather than topical issues of the day. Each type raises needs and challenges for either or both parties that may be addressed through communications or other work.

4.3. Adult parenting philosophies underpinning their approach

It must be noted however, that the twelve segments that emerge from the analysis are a current snapshot only. It stands beyond the remit of the project to uncover who started the bond typology, who is maintaining it and for how long it might last. It is possible, that some of the bonds emerge with biological, psychological or cultural factors (e.g. teen tantrums moving a previously easy relationship towards a Brown – resentment-focused - bond).

Whatever the genesis, the premise must be - we believe - that *the adult* holds ultimate responsibility for changing the bond. Whether they can effect change is not clear, given the limitations of some of the adults we met.

Underlying each pair-bond, the adult's personal interpretation of their role helps to make sense of some of their interaction and behaviours in response to, or initiated

towards, the young person. Their philosophy and approach to the parenting challenges they faced was a major indicator of how much energy they put into the three axes (care, conflict and control) that differentiate parenting styles.

Three major philosophies emerge as *facilitating, protecting or providing for* the young person and can be further explored as:

1) The adult is facilitating/guiding the young person towards adulthood

- Adults with this mindset saw themselves consciously as 'role modelling' for their young people. They were thus highly aware of being watched, they expected their presence to need to be pro-active and to take effort and patience. As such, they often took a longer-term view of the young person's challenges and the endpoint for them was often in the future when the young person would be independent. They understood a need to build skills and to move towards increased independence at an appropriate age.

2) The adult is shielding/safeguarding the young person from the world

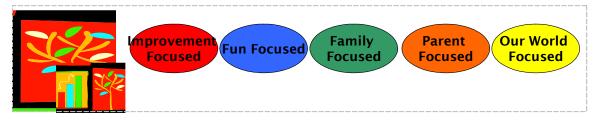
These adults had a strong level of control over their young people in general and saw their role as keeping the outside world influences away from their child. They were effectively guardians of morality, safety and security and as such held tight boundaries around their family that other people were easily not allowed to cross. They typically required, for example, advance warning of anyone coming to their home, or of their young person going to play with someone. They invested large amounts of time and energy thinking and planning for their young person and aimed to control the physical environment around them as much as possible (this ranged from moving to a cul-de-sac so that the play area and friends would be contained, to not allowing playing out because the other children were 'not nice' enough).

3) The adult as provider of basic biological resource for the 'continuing evolution' of the young person

For these adults, the growth and development of the young person was merely a matter of time. The family amounted to little more than a resource for food and shelter. In some cases, this is what it had become because the young person had rejected a more positive connection and they had retreated to separate spheres. However in other cases, it was because the adult had limited interest in the parenting role and experience – they saw no benefits to them. The effects of this parenting philosophy were observed as being fairly negative and having an adverse impact on the pair bond.

4.4. Adult as facilitator/guide for young person – five pair bonds

Looking at the segmentation in terms of those three adult parenting philosophies, we can see that five pair-bonds immediately group together:



All families have their own way and do what they think is right, hopefully, our job as parents is to give them the tools so that they can handle situations that may arise in 10 years time for them, you know...

[Adult, BC1, two-parent, High disposable income, Mids, Green]

Although not without their problems, the five segments that are characterized by an adult motivation to *guide and facilitate* their young person seem to have the most positive impact on the pair-bond as observed in the galleries. These pairs talked to each other, took cues from each other and managed the exercise together.

Key questions that might route respondents through a quantitative questionnaire to identify these groups would be:

Q1. 'Family' as overt priority for focus? – the adults within these segments all recognise family as being their priority, even when they are working full-time or are extremely busy and pressured. They identify strongly with their role as a parent and understand that this requires activity and effort.

Q2. Discussion between family members? – the family is seen as a unit but each individual has a perspective. Recognising this fact, conversation and communication skills are valued and developed as far as possible. The opinions of the other are sought and factored into the decision-making.

Q3. Conflict within family? – there are low levels of conflict within the families, that is to say, both parties within the pairs try to collaborate as much as they can, and try to resolve breakdowns. Neither party is overly punitive or rejecting and both parties appreciate the motives and limitations of the other.

Q4. Mock insults between generations? – the status of the adult is largely not in question and for most of the segments within this philosophy, mild youth to adult teasing was acceptable. Particularly true for the Blues segment – the fun-focused – laughter and humour about each other's weaknesses was a useful way of bonding.

Q5. Family marker activities? – because these adults were aware of their identity as role-models, they planned family marker activities such as Sunday lunch or outings, birthday or Christmas celebrations to mark key events. Time to do things together was factored in and bonding events (like a film every Saturday night) were organised.

Q6. Planned and recognised individual contribution? – each individual within the unit had something specific that they were expected to do and that they – on the whole did. For the young people, this ranged from cleaning their room to washing dishes to cooking or laundry. As levels of conflict have already been established as being low for this philosophy, it follows that the devolution of chores and responsibilities was accepted by the young people. From the adult perspective, this devolution is an essential part of what they are there to do – i.e. give their young people skills to become independent.

In terms of pair bond dynamics, these five segments could be mapped against their axes as shown, tending away from conflict and towards greater care and control overall.



The Reds – Improvement-focused:- Dominant A secondary B

This family is sounding a bit like mine because I want my children to do better than what I've done. [Males, BC1, 18-19, Diffuse, Nottingham]

The red pair bond is (currently) characterised by a complementary dynamic. Roles and responsibilities are generally clearly defined between the pair and they are predictable. The parties however do have a tendency to pull against each other, since the main focus for the adult is the continual improvement of the young person (specifically with regard to schooling). As such, the control element of the relationship is legitimised to a certain extent and the young person is aware that the adult cares for them (because he wanted the best for them).

"He wants me to knuckle down in life and do the best I can, get a good job and that. he doesn't want me to make the same mistakes as him [Males, C2DE, 15-16, Birmingham]

The red adult has a number of specific characteristics and motivations by which they can be identified. Some of these are psychological motivators, and some behavioural. In response to these, the red young person equally has a number of identifiable qualities.

Red Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

I could have gone a long way. But I got put off the route because I messed about at school. Then I had to go back to study when I was older. And I don't want that for my son [Adult, C1C2, Afro-Caribbean, South]

- Adult feels they have not achieved their potential in life because they lacked selfdiscipline, and has lowered self-esteem as a result
- sees their success as a parent in terms of how well they can guide their young person towards adulthood
- · wants the young person to do better than they did
- perceives educational achievement, self-discipline and personal rigour to be the route for success
- establishes lots of rules about homework, routine and timekeeping that they urge the young person to follow
- for the adult, this demonstrates high levels of care for their young person
- however, does not always elicit a positive response in return
- they are often slightly disappointed with the lack of appreciation from their young person – but as long as the young person achieves and does their homework, they are satisfied
- main topic of conversation towards the young person : discipline, or something with a 'message' in it. The adult relishes the task of 'edifying' the young person
- low demonstration of physical affection pat on the back, ruffle of the hair, few hugs and kisses
- their biggest fear is that their young person would go off the rails or not achieve their potential
- tendency towards organising 'boring educational' outings in an attempt to draw the young person further towards an academic topic or interest
- see some, but little, benefit in messing around for its own sake

Red Young Person - Characteristics and Motivation

This is my friend's dad. It's always homework. Have you done your homework? And you can't go out until you have [Young Person, 15-17, BC1, Mids]

- feels somewhat rebellious at being pushed by the adult all the time and irritated with the frequency of corrections and adjustments (to their grammar, posture, manners or self-expression)
- as a result, tends not to initiate conversation with the adult the dynamic takes on a one-way character
- positive connections with other family members, and positive whole family activities can reduce the impact of the adult 'improvement programme'
- rebellion (esp. gender-typical rebellion such as teen pregnancy or aggression) possible if self-esteem falls low enough
- can progress to a negative interaction and approach to adult leading to a more resentment-focused (Brown) pair bond

"I've got pushy parents like this - They don't give you any space" [Males, C2DE, 13-14, Diffuse, Harlow]

Red Communications – Tone, language, Issues and Route

For the adult, communications should ideally be based on the shared value of desire for achievement of the young person:

Share values: We all want our Young People to achieve their best

The red adult responds positively to their expertise and control being acknowledged rather than undermined. They are, after all, the expert on their young person since they have put so much effort and time into them.

Acknowledge control: Build this into what you're doing

In speaking with the red young person, it is important not to undermine the adult goal, since the direction of progress for a red young person could potentially be towards a battle for control and a very negative relationship bond. Thus, supporting the adult goal whilst delivering the message is key.

Do not undermine parental goal: All adults want their Young People to achieve their best.

Similarly, the young person in the red pair has had significant challenges to their selfauthority, and an acknowledgement that they have a role to play in whatever opportunity they are being offered will aid messaging.

Acknowledge autonomy: You know ...

Assist to self-define: You can get the space you need without a fight...

In terms of the **potential issues** for the pair, the adult has an overly defined sense of responsibility towards the young person and lacks humour and perspective. To that end, the potential for the relationship to sour as the young person gets older is high.

For the young person, there are two potential choices – either an outright rebellion, which will take up much of their energy and define their choices in the negative, or a compliance with the adult choices that stifles them. Their familiarity with a one-way power dynamic leaves them open to becoming bullying themselves.

I know one kid at school who was like that; he was working on the stock-market. He was virtually forced into that...but last year he finally stood up for himself and left, and now he's an electrician – something he wants to do. But, he was pushed into that, he told me he was, probably by his dad, who was a teacher [Males, C2DE, Parent of young Person under 5, Mids]

Because the red adult and young person are so connected by school/college, this is an easy route through which to communicate to the pair. Certainly the adult would be present at events like Parent's evening and would be exceptionally keen to hear any information about their young person. Potentially, young person and adult collaborative events that help to build the relationship may be one opportunity for the pair.

The Blues – Fun-focused:- Collaborative A and B

The blue pair bond is characterised by a strong collaborative relationship. They pull together and are defined by the positive relationship, to the extent that they avoid conflict and expressions of control.

I see elements of this, because I am at work all the time and I work long hours as well. When I get home, I get my chance to play with the kids, we mess about, tickle them and throw them around and all that sort of thing. So in that respect I can be the fun time parent and the more business like parent, as my wife is more busy at home and she does not have that quick-fix thing like I do [Males, C2DE, Parent of young person under 5, Mids]

Blue Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

I have never ever wanted to be the 'Father'. That is not me. We all get along together. We are equals in this. And they consider they have two homes [Parents, C1C2D, Leicester]

- Possibly a parent within a 'blended' family
- Highly focused on maintaining a close relationship with the young person
- · Chooses to occupy a role as the 'fun' parent or even 'one of the gang'
- Highly conflict-avoidant
- Not wanting to adopt authoritarian role possibly because avoiding aging, or adulthood, or avoiding own parent model
- May team up with over-responsible partner
- In two-adult household, 'boring' (biological?) parent enforces rules such as homework while fun (blue) parent involved with school sports, games, outings, shopping
- Thus may exclude adult-adult bond in favour of giving energy to young people
- Active and welcomes company of young person's friends in the home
- Adult deliberately lowers status to engage with young person in teasing and mock insulting

All my friends at work say it's like I've got two husbands. I think we all get on really well. He (ex-husband) comes to Sunday lunch. It's great [Adult, Divorced, Remarried, Intense, BC1, Mids]

Blue Young Person - Characteristics and Motivation

when my mates come around, they are all like 'oh I wish I lived here, it's much better than my house' [Males, C2DE, 15-16, Birmingham] *"My parents are more like mates. They are not saying what you doing?"* [Males, BC1, 18-19, Diffuse, Nottingham]

- · Experiences lots of playing and 'mucking about' with adult
- Enjoys exchanging silly jokes, lots of laughing and teasing each other
- \cdot Collaborates in conflict avoidance by diminishing issues and problems
- Has busy social life because very fun-focused
- Enjoys certain amount of notoriety amongst friends for having 'cool' adults at home
- Large amount of freedom and warm household set-up
- May learn gender-discriminatory roles
- May have to collude in undermining 'boring' adult in order to maintain 'fun' adult connection
- May find challenge difficult and self-asserting (where the Blue adult is not in agreement) threatens the bond

Oh well, Steve (step-dad) doesn't say much. He's hardly ever there. But the rest of us are always there [Young Person, Blended family, C1C2, Low disposable income, South]

Blue Communications – Tone, language, Issues and Route

For the adult, communications should be ideally based on a joint identity as collaborators, rather than speaking to 'The Parent/Guardian of X'. Overly serious or authoritative tone does not reach them.

Shared values: based on fun, comedy, informality

The main issue for the blue adult is that they do not want to be seen to be controlling the young person or advising them directly. As a result of this, they prefer to leave the adult role modelling to someone else. An acknowledgement that they can lead in a non-hierarchical way is needed to help them engage with the challenges of 'parenting'.

Acknowledge avoidance: You don't have to be the 'adult' to set great example

For the young person, their connection with their adult and confidence in the adult judgement is strong. However, the adult is unlikely to give much of a judgement in most circumstances. In order to increase engagement from both parties, the spirit and enthusiasm of the tone needs to be high.

Shared value: based on fun and comedy

Because the Blue adult is limited in their capacity to engage with the more functional side of parenting, the Blue young person may need some help to access those aspects of themselves and their life. The 'boring' parent in their lives is still making a valuable and caring contribution that they can mirror. Taking responsibility for the less glamorous elements of adulthood does not have to be a choice that excludes the fun elements.

Acknowledge value of both sides of role modelling: You are getting <u>two sides of the</u> <u>same coin</u> and learning all the skills you need to be independent

In terms of the **potential issues** for the pair, the Blue adults' avoidance of conflict may mean that difficult adult-adult issues are unresolved. They role model one half of the range of emotions – and may find themselves isolated from expressing negative emotions. As a result, they find it extremely difficult to deal with the negativity of others towards them.

For their young people, similar issues arise in terms of dealing with negativity. They tend to avoid issues rather than deal with them head on, given their low skill at relationship and anger management.

Well, my dad's a bit rubbish really. He just stays in his room. My mum is like my best friend. But I love all three of my parents [Young Person, Divorced, Remarried, Intense, BC1, Mids]

In particular, since they depend for their own self-identity on the close bond they have formed with their young person, they find it hard to threaten that bond by asserting differences of opinion, complaining or dealing with others' complaints.

Communication through schools and colleges may not be the best method, then, to engage the Blue pair bond. Events and other shared activities are needed to unite them as the collaborative duo that they feel most comfortable being.

The Greens – Family-focused:- Consciously parenting A, Collaborative B

The Green pair demonstrate high levels of complementary transactions, where their roles are defined and predictable. The parties pull together and both appear to be very conscious of the parenting experience they are sharing.

I feel in family life you try to make the best decisions you can as they arise. There are no set moulds in families; you tackle problems and issues like house moves, school, and health as they arise. [Adult, BC1, two-parent, High disposable income, Mids]

Green Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

For the Green adults, characteristics and motivations centre around this very clear understanding of their role as parents.

It's kind of like what we are trying to do with our own daughter. She has her own mind, she speaks her own mind, and we try and guide her as to what her opinions are, if they are blinkered or unfounded then we try and explain what her options are and why...

[Males, C2DE, Adult of young person under 5, Mids]

- Well-planned family life and conscious decision on behalf of both parents to lead the family
- · Contained household (rather than divorced/shared custody)
- · Simple and clear boundaries around time, activities, expectations and routine
- Usually hierarchical but not rigid in terms of father leading overall with mother leading domestic sphere
- Afro-Caribbean, Anglo, Asian Green families all demonstrating similar levels of adult engagement with role but differing cultural content
- · Marker activities for family time
- High degree of trust in young person, confidence in their opinions and behaviour
- · Using judgement rather than emotions when faced with challenges
- High communication levels with young person

Internet: I can't always tell what they are on anyway. I trust them to use it sensibly [Adult, Muslim, two-parent, High disposable income, North]

Green Young Person - Characteristics and Motivation

Yes, because my mum and dad would not stop me from having fun, but there was a line that I could not cross. I cannot think of a time when they were not really fair towards me, well sometimes I thought they were unfair, but looking back I can see they were right

[Young person, BC1, two-parent, High disposable income, Mids, Green]

Given the large amount of time, attention and skill that is focused on the Green young person, it is perhaps no surprise that they are very positive about the efforts their adults put into helping and guiding them. The Green young person is aware that they are in a minority in terms of their positive relationship with their adult. They are highly compliant with the leadership of their adult because they are given consideration and explanation as to why certain rules have been put in place. In religious ethnic minority communities, these rules extend to television content, food and relationships – but the young people interviewed were very loyal to their adult's non-Western way of living and often supported it in interview.

Because my mum takes part in the decisions as well. But, my dad usually has the final decision

[Young Person, Muslim, two-parent, High disposable income, Green, North]

- · Good understanding of household rules
- Compliance with adult leadership
- Has own opinion which is measured and very mature for their age
- Sits down and does homework with parents –shares challenges expecting support not criticism
- Argues over silly things with siblings, like what's on TV but does not argue with adults
- Absence of childhood trauma or emotional deprivation not necessarily affluent, but high levels of maternal time and attention
- Aware that other families 'not like this' and can be slightly smug

He's like...a little boy, and he's sad because he has his hands in his pockets. He looks like the sort of person who starts fights a lot. His parents don't care much [Young Person, Muslim, two-parent, High disposable income, Green, North]

We all make sacrifices to be part of a family [Young Person, Muslim, two-parent, High disposable income, Green, Mids]

Green Communications – Tone, language, Issues and Route

For the adult, their confidence in their parenting philosophy and strategies is high because they see it working for their family. They are extremely aware and conscious of their philosophy – amongst all the pair bonds, they were largely unique in spontaneously expressing their underlying motivations. Communications which will best engage them connect with these principles.

Shared value based on conscious principles: Family life gives young people a stable and secure base. It gives adults great joy – and some challenges too!

For the young people, similarly, a positive engagement with the family life that they enjoy strikes the right tone.

Shared values: Family life can be fun

As there are few obvious **potential issues** for the Green family, the only thing that might be raised is a question about the closed quality of their community. Adults and young people may not feel able to step outside their family to ask for advice and information if they want to adjust any aspect of their lives (e.g. seek counselling, contraceptive advice). The young people in particular may find it difficult to bring bad news or step outside the family model – especially in non-Western cultures.

My husband and I try to provide what they need before they need to ask us. I look, I anticipate. Otherwise, they will go looking outside the family [Adult, Muslim, two-parent, High disposable income, North]

Joint communication through schools or colleges is possible, since both parties are engaged with their roles (as parent/parentee) In addition, individual communication to each party is important – based on the shared values – but addressing specific points related to confidential advice, information and help.

"She tells us to do stuff and we do it. We listen to mummy. She looks after us well." [Young Person, BC1, Traditional, Green, South]

The Oranges - Parent-focused:- Dominant (passive) A, secondary (active) B

Another pair type with complementary transactions, matching each other's tone and intent, collaborating with each other throughout the gallery. In particular, the pair are characterised by some sense of role-reversal or young person being elevated to adult status in order to fill the void left by an absent parent. The young person over-functions somewhat because avoidant of conflict.

Orange Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

We get home together after I've picked them up. She does the washing and the cooking, or one of them unloads the dishwasher and the other one does the hoovering

[Adult, C1C2, Asian, SEN child, Mids]

- has (at the minimum) significant financial worries and possible divorce, bereavement mental/physical issues
- universally a single parenting family although it is not the case that every single parent family takes this form
- mother may work lack of time and energy for household chores
- father may not work lack of finances contributing to stress
- some level of guilt for having to rely on young person domestically/socially
- May lean on older child more than others in family.
- Seeking comfort and routine for self, but not able to impose normal parenting boundaries and routine on young people
- · Lack of adult support nearby

Orange Young person - Characteristics and Motivation

Well I had to. I would come home from school and get the shopping and cook the tea. My mum worked so whoever was home first put the tea on [Adults, C2DE, Afro-Caribbean, South]

- · Highly compliant and capable in helping to rescue overwhelmed adult
- If not compliant, bond may fail (White non-bond/Black survival-focused) or become highly conflicted (Brown resentment-focused)
- High level of domestic contribution esp. if female (Cinderella role = shame amongst peers)

- · May appear sad to others but seeks fun and comfort within family circle
- · Doesn't have many friends/not much of a social life
- Unlike peers, very aware of the value of money, tries to save or earn at an early age
- Not treated or spoiled often
- Aware of financial budgeting and difficulties at young age
- Would be aware of adult's emotional problems

I do the washing. And the cooking. My mum is tired because she works [Young Person, C1C2, Asian, SEN child, Mids]

We don't know why my dad didn't come back. He just said he was going over for a funeral and to arrange some things, and so my mum has to deal with it all on her own

[Young Person, C2DE, Afro-Caribbean, South]

Orange Communications – Tone, language, Issues and Route

While these adults have a strong philosophy underlying their practice – that young people need to be helped to gain skills for independence – it is a philosophy driven by necessity. There is simply a high need for the young person to be actively involved in some of the parenting tasks from an early age. Specifically, this is given to the oldest female child who typically takes on the mother-role within the family – even where there is a single mother (who takes on the father-role of working outside the home).

I know a few people who have had to do that. Around my age. Starting to look after the mum, coz' they are the older one and the other kids as well. They seemed much more mature yeah, this is when I was at school, and they'd go home and help their mums out. A couple of them were lads, but most of them were girls. It's always the way isn't it? That is how things are [Males, C2DE, Parent of young person under 5, Mids]

For the adult, their confidence in their parenting performance to date is not high. They are aware that others might see their reliance on their young person as unfair, 'taking away their childhood.'

most of the time she is a bit too hard, coz if she calls me in to do a chore, then ten minutes later she calls to me to another one [Young Person, Black-African, Lone Parent, North]

In particular, they are wary of others gaining a clear perspective of just how much their young person does – whilst it is almost certainly not abusive, it does hark back to a previous time. As such, it is essential for this pair that the adult feels empowered to seek external support and advice and to share concerns without fear.

Reassure on confidentiality and support - not "Social Services"!

Similarly, because they are in such need of reassurance and comfort for themselves, they have not taken on board their leadership role within the family. Validation of this role is essential if they are to engage with and to develop it.

Validate ability as adult and reinforce leadership of family: Whatever your circumstance, you are in charge

The young people need to hear that their adult can deal with things without them. Without such emotional security, they continue to offer help and support in case it is needed, and to define themselves by what they do for their adult. Reassure: Your adult can cope

Dismantle self-worth from responsibilities: You are a great help and you can do your own thing too

Potential issues as discussed above stem from the level of stress and overwhelm coupled by a need to hide what their young person is doing (and thus the extent of the help they need). As such, the situation becomes a self-fulfilling, self-referencing circle – with increasing isolation from others who might provide valuable emotional and practical resources. Certainly for the young person, finding the carefree aspect of themselves that will allow them to socialise and have fun is difficult. They are not easily off-duty.

She's (8 yr old stepdaughter) got the alarm clock in her room. And she has to go and get her mum up [Adult, C2DE, Step-parent, South]

Individual communication through GP surgeries or other practical routes will address some of the issues each faces. Joint communication through schools – to the parent – may readdress the imbalance and reaffirm the young person's role as needing guidance.

The Yellows – Our World-focused:- Gendered and relatively equal A-B bond

We are the YELLOW team. We've got problems we'll talk about it...secretly I do wish they were gifted or talented [Males, BC1, SEN child under 20, South]

Within the Yellow bond, the last of the pairs led by an adult who is actively seeking to build appropriate independence in the young person, there are strongly predictable, complementary transactions. The pair tend to collaborate in avoiding control issues because they are focused on life being easy and convenient. Conflict is allowed but similarly is not high – the young person and the adult avoid both by being predictable in their routines and by limiting their stress through lowered ambitions.

Within the family, there are highly gendered roles – the family unit operates in a very traditional and predictable manner right across the board. The adult female passes on 'female' skills to the daughters, the adult male passes on 'male' skills to the sons.

This is the middle of the road most of us can relate to...My wife does do the tea for the boys so that I can go and play with them, so that I can have that time with them. Time is in short supply. [Males, BC1, 18-19, Diffuse, Nottingham]

Yellow Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

Well, I don't work. I've got the kids to look after. I thought about going back, but I'm on a career break and it would take up a lot of time [Adult, C1C2, Step-family, South]

As discussed, there are strong gender scripts being followed within the Yellow family. Thus the Yellow adult motivations and characteristics are to some extent dependent on their gender. Overall, however there are key elements that all Yellow adults have in common:

- Plenty of communication between same-gender pairs and a willingness and expectation that they will pass on skills to the same-gender young person
- Part-time/non-working female 'hours to fit round family'
- Full-time working male manual worker or blue collar usually
- Risk averse and so low credit card bills, good financial management living within means
- Possibly dependent on benefits in order to sustain lifestyle of low risk and average effort
- Time rich, budget well but may find themselves investment/savings and pension poor
- High levels of disposable income (even despite low overall income because outgoings low and financial budgeting good)
- Whole extended family bonds and often living close to other relatives who help with the family
- · Shielded from many traumas because keep within comfort zone
- Challenges to authority from young person often initially ignored
- Family activities and outings enjoyed by adults as much as by young people bowling, go carting, football, shopping, eating out
- Not usually high academic achievement although may return to education after children have left home or in order to progress to management level

Thinking about it, this is me. We go shopping together on a Friday night because I don't like shopping. So we do it all together. [Adult, C1C2DE, Traditional, Mids]

This was my parents. They didn't know what to talk about once we left home and had to talk to each other. [Males, BC1, 18-19, Diffuse, Nottingham]

Yellow Young Person - Characteristics and Motivation

- Reasonable degree of freedom compared to other young people
- Pre-plan activities, active social life
- Pocket money: will get whatever is deemed to be 'the average'
- Close relationship with same-gender adult may not be as close with opposite gender adult
- Limited horizon may take lower level academic/career route in order to keep within comfort zone
- Rebellion difficult close bonds with same gender adult
- · Able to plan and prepare self and set routine from early teens
- Find trauma and unconventional family set-ups hard to deal with tend to avoid

Other people are jealous of them. [Males, C2DE, 15-16, Birmingham]

Yellow Communications – Tone, language, Issues and Route

For the adult and young person, there is little fear or concern about outside agencies. The pair bond are highly conventional, organised and traditional – with lots of support around them. They avoid extreme situations, high levels of effort and prefer advanced warning and clear information.

Shared values: fun, comfort and convenience

Because they are so risk averse, any communication needs to emphasise the triedand-tested aspects and to chime with their own opinions, otherwise they are likely to trust their own experience and judgement over that of the 'experts'. Reassurance of value of experience: You know that what you are doing works

Clear 'mainstream' ideas and expression

Potential issues are apparently few for this pair. There may be some challenge for female adult to find work once young person has left home.

I had an interview a little whole ago. I did have a part-time job – well, I helped out running parties – but that's come to an end, and I don't know whether I want to work now or not. The family doesn't need me to be at home all the time, so... [Adult, BC1, Traditional, Mids]

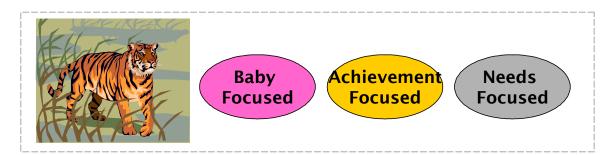
Additionally, any change in circumstance which creates extreme financial hardship or emotional difficulties may be a challenge too far. For the young person, they may need encouragement to try experiences that take them out of their comfort zone. May find it hard to move far from their family of origin, or find confidential advice outside that circle. Overall, though, the Yellow pair type is likely to seek out other similar families to bond with and create new Yellow families since it is a universal and easily replicable pattern for relationship. Seemingly perfect or without difficulties, this pair bond has limits but is essentially extremely stable.

Yeah, I know families like this – little perfect families [Males, C2DE, 15-16, Birmingham]

Joint communication through schools as parent and young person are effective, since such information is conveyed and considered – unlike in more chaotic families.

4.5. Adult as shield/safeguard for the young person from the world – three pair bonds

Three segments group together due to the adult perception of their role as primarily one of protector rather than facilitator:



These three types presented in the gallery with positive interactions between the adult and young person. These are not pair bond types with huge anti-social tendencies. However, the young person tended to be somewhat less mature than their peers and the adult seemed keen – either as a result of this immaturity or as a root cause of it – to control outside influences on their young person and to *shield* them from events and experiences.

Key questions that might route respondents through a quantitative questionnaire to identify these groups would be:

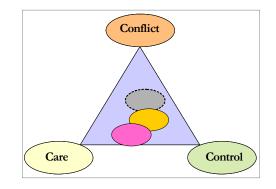
Q7. Adult protectiveness towards young person? – the adults within these segments all professed significant concern for their young person and the dangers of the modern world in their lives. These adults went to great effort to protect their

young people, vetting their friends, picking them up from activities, not letting them stay at other's houses, taking a very active role in their school/sporting/social life

Q8. Identity connected to role? – for the adults in these segments, the identity of protector was one they had adopted to the exclusion of other roles. They perceived huge risks in the outside world and did not easily lay down their responsibility. In some cases, their pair bond with their young person had excluded an adult-adult pair bond from their lives

Q9. Adult translating for young person? (NB. young person may not be able to identify themselves) – in the most extreme case, the adult was literally translating for the young person. Otherwise, the adult greatly afforded a bridge between the young person and the moderator in the galleries, ensuring that all questions were effectively fielded and managed properly by them first.

In terms of 'footprint', these segments tended away from extremes but would use any of the factors (conflict, care or control) to achieve their end goal of keeping their young person safe.



In this respect, many of the interactions were crossed (negative, undermining or contradicting each other) as well as complementary (positive and collaborating).

The Pinks – Baby-focused:- Dominant A, passive colluding B

The pair type are characterised by a very protective adult and a colluding young person (allowing the adult to take care of them and remove responsibility from them). Clearly, the adult tendency to protect is appropriate up to a certain age. However, the pink bind becomes incongruous as the young person grows older; the young person needs to 'behave downwards' in order to maintain the adult position. This pull against independence appears to create an increasingly conflicted dynamic – the young person either has to develop a public and private persona at odds with each other, or comply to type and become frustrated with parental limitations.

Pink Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

I am protective of my daughter, she will not play out in the street, I try to provide everything she needs in the house, so in terms of protecting her from the outside world…yeah.. [Males, C2DE, Oldest child 4-6, Mids]

The pink adult, by contrast, finds strong personal identity in the dynamic of protector. Indeed, their identity is founded largely on being a parent or carer – to their own or other people's children. Key characteristics and behaviour include:

- · Emphasis on safety: checking up on young person's movements
- Insisting on advanced notice and adult chaperoning wherever possible
- Tight control over social influences and movements. Must be in earlier than average young person of that age. Maybe prefer to let young person play in back garden than outside.

- 'Adult' topics such as drugs/drink/sex not broached with young person
- Social status through young person: don't let young person get dirty/knock on doors for friends - 'common'
- High expressed concern over external influences and other people
- · Lost sight of adult-adult bond and own social life due to effort to parent so intensively
- Make choices for the young person (clothes, games, belongings) that others of that age are able, and encouraged, to make

I think my sister in law is a bit like this. She has only got the one, and she lives for him

[Females, SEN child, C1C2, Mids]

It seems as if they are over-protective, but they have a close relationship and they don't get out much. The mother keeps herself to herself [Males, BC1, 18-19, Diffuse, Nottingham]

Pink Young Person - Characteristics and Motivation

That's me and my mum, but I wouldn't tell her because she would be upset [Females, 11-13, BC1, Mids]

The pink young person was highly differentiated by their younger than average manner, including a very young voice and vocabulary. For some young people, their estimated age could be six or more years younger than their actual age.

In addition, the young person

- Does not feel at ease expressing themselves honestly in front of their adult especially where they want to discuss issues around freedom and independence
- Aware that their adult has a strong vested interest in them remaining at a • parentable age - the adult identity depends on it
- Comparatively young for age
- Clothes bought for them, or chosen by adult
- Tendency towards secretiveness because of need to hide growing independence from adult
- Aware of own compliance in protecting adult's world view
- Not spontaneous in going out with friends needs to be 'handed over' from one adult guardian to another with checkable permissions from both: highly dependent on adult
- Afraid to disappoint adult or upset them. Over-focused on the adult's emotional security at the expense of their own

She takes her daughter dance class on Saturdays and when she's in, her mum goes and buys her clothes for her. And she says, I've bought you this and this. And she wears them

[Young Person, 11-13, C1C2, Mids]

Pink Communications – Tone, language, Issues and Route

Above all else, the pink adult is focused on maintaining their bond with their young person and retaining control. As such, a firm acknowledgement of the bond is essential in communicating with these types.

Acknowledgement of control and bond: You and your child...

Similarly for the young person, who will have to show and share any information with their adult, an overt acknowledgement of the shared bond is essential before the messaging can address issues of independence or support.

Acknowledgement of control and bond: You and your mum/dad...

For both, the main potential issues arise around separation and self-identity. Thus, confirmation about the journey towards, and benefits of, separation is key for both parties.

The adult finds it hard to set age-appropriate boundaries and to trust a liberal society which has produced much of the inappropriate influence around them. As well as anxiety about relinquishing control over their young person, they are also challenged by finding a new identity for themselves: what do they do once they are not 'needed' anymore?

It seems weird doesn't it? It's not good for the kid either. The mum needs help, I'd say!

[Males, C2DE, Oldest child 4-6, Mids]

I am the mother hen for my family. When she's grown up and gone off to live her own life, then I'll go back to Jamaica and live with my husband [Adult, Lone Parent of 18 year old, Intense, North]

For the young person, the burden of having to support the adult's identity via a suppression of their own is extremely heavy. Their challenge is one of supporting both parties to find their own path.

If he's older then he has missed out on life hasn't he? He needs to get socialised, get some life and that [Males, BC1, 18-19, Diffuse, Nottingham]

Joint communication to the pair – through schools and colleges is possible. However, of particular importance is a future-focused communication indicating the direction and next steps of the journey for each.

The Golds – Achievement-focused:- Competitive and active A, 'dominant' B

This type is stereotyped by a significantly talented young person who is proudly paraded by the adult for his or her achievements. The parties appear to be collaborative but largely following the young person's lead. The adult appears to be pandering to the young person's demands and to be avoiding conflict in doing so.

It is our contention that the relationship boundaries between a young person and an adult are always the responsibility of the adult. In this type, despite the fact that the young person appears to be in charge, there is high dependency on keeping the adult's approval. If the young person fails to achieve, the adult loses status.

They had two daughters that ended up rebelling. They just couldn't take being as good as the parents were saying. Parents ended up divorced. The girls turned into Goths, it was a way of getting away from the princess thing [Males, BC1, 18-19, Diffuse, Nottingham]

Gold Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

I don't punish her and say you're not getting your pocket money, or I'm taking away your PlayStation off her. It just gets forgotten about doesn't it? ... she just knows not to do it again

[Adult, Lone Parent, Low income, North]

The Gold adult is characterised by a poor self-image which they attempt to improve through the achievements of their young person. Typically, they exhibit:

- highly competitive
- affluent or 'visible affluence' (if not wealthy then living beyond means with high levels of debt)
- low levels of conversation between adult and young person. Their attention is mostly directed towards others outside bond - and main subject of conversation is young person success/achievements
- demonstrating affection through attention
- other adults put off by bragging irritated by competitive nature
- Gives in easily to demands of young person or tolerates high levels of poor behaviour because it is easier option
- Devote large amounts of energy and effort to facilitating young person's talent or sport
- Display medals and symbols of achievement visibly in their house

Mum was always so busy, but she was never a 'I love you' person, I thinks she did, but I demonstrate this more with the boys than she did [Adult, Lone Parent, Afro-Caribbean, South]

Gold Young Person - Characteristics and Motivation

I like swimming because I am the best swimmer in my class. [Young Person, Lone Parent, Low income, North]

We don't have any chores. It's really good [Young Person, Lone Parent, Afro-Caribbean, South]

The young person in the Gold pair was visible through the Interactive gallery and appeared as quite 'spoilt'. Their tendency was to take control of the discussion and to interrupt in order to divert attention towards themselves.

Key characteristics include:

- May have poor manners or make inappropriate/bragging comments about personal achievements
- May put others down (express superiority over adult/other siblings)
- Friends put off by bragging so potentially generating high levels of conflict, competition and jealousy amongst others
- Appearing arrogant and highly competitive
- Louder than others of same age, and seemingly very confident
- Deep-seated need to win in order to retain adult approval thus experiences losing as a significant threat. May cheat to achieve or be a 'bad loser'
- Little control over dynamic between adult and themselves
- Desire to avoid adult life and responsibilities may manipulate adult in order to benefit from their situation

like going to youth clubs and foot ball training, but when you get older you can't, you get your own house and you're in charge. I play for three football teams. I play centre-mid

[Young Person, Lone Parent, Low income, North]

Sometimes she gets angry, it just depends. Sometimes she blames it on something she eats, so if she has had something wrong she'll go all weird [Adult, Lone Parent, Low income, North]

Gold Communications – Tone, language, Issues and Route

The adult and young person both gain security and personal esteem from the young person's success. Winning and competition are highly valued. In order to communicate with this type, an acknowledgement that "some young people stand out from the crowd more than others" allows them to automatically position themselves within the sentence.

Acknowledgement of young person success and brilliance: (All are great but) some are even brighter than others

Activity for its own sake is not overly valued. Unless there is something to be won or measured on, the pair have limited engagement.

Acknowledgement of fun of achievement: Winning is great

However, in terms of potential issues, the young person's self-worth is pinned to achievement. Clearly, the danger arises when they do not achieve – in this respect, expanding their self-definition to include other activities is important. However this is done, there is a risk that the adult will view this as undermining and sabotage of the young person's potential and focus.

Improved relationships with peers is one area where the young person can build themselves a more stable psychological base. Their ability to make friends is currently limited, and they are at risk from bulling and isolation, but their emotional intelligence and empathy could be strengthened with support.

Expand self-definition to include other qualities - provide modelling examples of empathy towards peers

For the adult, help and clarity in setting appropriate boundaries is key to encouraging the young person towards independence rather than co-dependence.

I least enjoy doing the bathroom, because they just don't clean up after themselves. They leave their clothes and their underwear on the floor, so it just infuriates me.

[Adult, Lone Parent, Low Income, Afro-Caribbean, South]

Joint communication through school is an easy route to this segment. Both parties are interested and engaged in the parenting relationship.

The Greys – Needs-focused:- Facilitatory A, limited ability B

I never know what to do…I find myself explaining him to other people, so that they won't feel embarrassed or weird about him [Adult, BC1, SEN child, Mids]

Although the Grey segment was comprised of an adult with a special needs young person, not all special needs young people and adults came into this category. The needs-focused segment was one where the predominant guide was the capacity of the young person.

In this case, there were many crossed transactions, since there was tension between what the young person wants and what adults believes is best. As such, the relationship boundaries and roles were unpredictable and unstable – coming under constant attempts to renegotiate from the young person.

Grey Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

X has got learning difficulties, haven't you? There's lots he can't do [Adult, Role reversal Family, SEN child, North]

"My boy has reading difficulties, you have to read it to him for him to understand" [Males, BC1, SEN child, South]

The Grey needs-focused adult is highly focused on their role as translator for their special needs young person. Typically, they have a low expectation of the child's ability, and make strong efforts to compensate. Characteristics and motivations appear to be:

- · low expectations of child's ability
- delayed adaptation to changing needs parenting always one step behind child
- · strained relationship with young person because of their frustrations with adult input
- could typically be classed as "over-involved" with what child does at school/home
- SEN young person (though not all SEN carers in this segment)
- Potential absence of deep adult-adult bonds because majority of energy going towards young person
- High concern and anxiety over young person's ability to cope

Well, we don't know what happened. How she got like this. But she can't do lots of things. She can't cook....well, she can cook a breakfast [Adult, C2DE, Non-biol, SEN child, Mids]

In reaction to their adult's high levels of involvement, the Grey young persons we interviewed expressed some frustration and annoyance that they were being controlled by the perception of the adult. At the same time, they were confused as to the real extent of their abilities and slightly anxious towards new situations because of this.

They indicated:

- Some frustration
- A feeling of being held back from 'unhampered' contact with others
- Rebelling against adult perception of them but some uncertainty as to what real capacity is
- Aware of special needs
- · Not able to conceptualise/establish what their real future might look like

I don't know what I want to be when I grow up [Young Person, Role reversal Family, SEN child, North]

I can cook – I can cook a breakfast. I can cook better than you [Young Person, C2DE, Non-biol, SEN child, Mids]

Grey Communications – Tone, language, Issues and Route

The challenge for any parent is to balance the capability of the young person with their needs for support. Unless exceptionally insightful, there will rarely be a perfect match. In the case of the Grey segment, the adult appeared to be very much lagging behind the young person's capabilities and in some situations, holding them back.

She mollycoddles him [Males, BC1, 15-16, Birmingham]

The adult certainly focused on the challenge of parenting a special needs child rather than the fun of parenting per se. In communicating with these adults, it is important to maintain a lightness of tone and not to sympathise with their particular difficulties – they are sensitive to being patronised.

The Grey adult is aware that they have the tendency to become 'stuck' in a needscentred universe and become a campaigner for their child. They are aware that this is a huge turn-off for others and they need help in separating out their parenting life from their friendships and relationships. In particular, the adult needs reminding that other adult relationships are a *necessary and positive* part of daily life; that over-focus on needs can be draining and unsatisfying for all.

As a young person, the young Grey is potentially subject – as are all young people – to being bullied and isolated. However, because they are uncertain just what they are capable of, they find deep peer relationships difficult to form. As a special needs person, their own particular challenges are not subject to a segmentation.

Joint communication through schools is certainly possible to engage with the parent of the young person. However, wider opportunities to communicate outside of the 'SEN' circle would be welcomed by the adult in particular.

4.6. Adult as provider of basic biological resource – three (four) bonds

As has already been mentioned, the pairs under this banner or 'philosophy' presented with the most disturbed or difficult relationships. In interview, the partners were openly hostile to each other, overly controlling or absent from the relationship altogether.

In terms of social and personal challenges, these are the segments where most challenge appears to arise.

The segments are the resentment-focused, self-focused, survival-focused and – for completeness – the no bond segment (where the adult and young person previously connected now have no relationship at all).



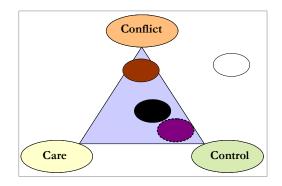
Key questions that might route respondents through a quantitative questionnaire to identify these groups would be:

Q10. Continued family bond? – in order to establish that there is a bond between the pair. If not, the previously connected young person or adult has a no bond with their partner. They may have new relationships with others, but this null set must be available for those biological and step-parents who have lost contact with children for whom they previously had a parenting responsibility

Q11. Frequency of 'crossed transactions'? – where the level of conflict is high on a daily basis, the pair bond is resentment-focused. Uniquely in the segmentation, this is the only type characterised by extreme conflict, irritation, contradiction and almost continual undermining especially of the adult by the young person

Q12. Separate spheres? – because the relationships are low-reward for bit parties, the adult and young person tend to develop separate spheres for daily life, interacting only where they have to – on issues of money, food and possibly access to the house. Neither party experiences a great sense of belonging to the other – this pattern may pervade a whole family or just one pair within the unit. It may arise where the adult is so focused on survival that they literally have no time for the children, or where the adult has no interest or awareness of a potentially different relationship.

In terms of pair bonds, mapping across the three axes shows that they are care-avoidant, but conflict and control focused. The black (survival-focused) bond tends towards control largely because that is necessary in order to ensure that the adult can achieve the basics that ensure the family survival.



Getting the young person to bed on time so that everyone can get up in the morning and arrive in work on time becomes critical when there is only one adult wage coming into the household, for example. Underlying that position is obviously a latent care element of some sort. However, none of these three types hugged or connected warmly with each other. Relationships were on the whole, strained and functional. Tension was high and the atmosphere was unpleasant when in the company of a Brown, Black or Purple pair.

The Browns – Resentment -focused:- Conflicted A-B bond and struggle for dominance

To some extent, the transactions between the pair in a Brown segment are very predictable. They are naturally and constantly in conflict and both are extremely care-avoidant.

In part, this is possibly the result of biological factors- teenage tantrums may have some impact on relationships. However, for some of the Browns interviewed, past and unresolved trauma in relationships had created a dynamic where the adult and/or young person were too sensitive to show care and vulnerability. As such, they seemed to deliberately move towards animosity and conflict as a way of avoiding intimacy.

Brown Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

Shut up! Just shut up, will you? [Adult, C2DE, Traditional family, North]

The adult is currently struggling with the relationship which is negative and ongoingly hard work. Typically, the adult:

- · Is care-avoidant
- Would like more connection with the young person, but feels abused/disrespected
- Has experienced many broken promises from their young person and is suspicious of further contact
- Finds adult-adult bonds extremely strained when young person is around
- Would like the young person to help and collaborate more but experiences shame that they refuse
- · If young person does not listen, argument can end up getting physical
- Labels young person as 'ungrateful' finds their attitude towards money very distressing
- · Experiences an overwhelm at young person demands
- Would experience 'decommissioning' difficult

She (my wife) left. She went off with another bloke. Well, I came home at lunchtime to find him in my bed, put it that way... [Adult, Lone Parent, Low disposable income, North]

I do try. But you've been in all day and you don't even work. I'm out there grafting and I come home and there's stuff everywhere [Adult, Lone Parent, Low disposable income, North]

The young person is also currently struggling with the relationship, having to be dependent to some extent on their adult but resenting the enforced interaction which is negative and ongoingly hard work. Typically, the young person:

- Is embarrassed by their adult (blaming them for some element of their family life poverty/unconventionality/lack in young person life)
- Continually acting out and expressing their frustration
- · Avoiding intimacy content of arguments less relevant than distance
- May have lots of bad language towards adult, and does not hold normal conversation rules
- · Gains attention and connection through conflict
- Care-avoidant (either mirroring the care-avoidant adult or dealing with their own unresolved personal trauma)
- Would relish warmth and commitment from adult but perceives none will be forthcoming
- · Keen to put distance between self and adult in order to avoid control
- Would find 'decommissioning' difficult

He says he tries, but he doesn't. How do you try??! [Young Person, Lone Parent, Low disposable income, North]

Brown Communications – Tone, language, Issues and Route

Communicating with the parties in a Brown relationship is fairly difficult, given the high levels of hostility which exist between the pair. The young person is not at this point interested in having a relationship, while the adult – showing interest – is interpreted as attempting to exert undeserved authority over the young person.

God, this is me I think. My dad just comes in and sits down. He grunts. I just can't get on with him [Females, BC1, 15-17, Mids]

It is this stalemate which provides the challenge. In the first instance, any communication should be directed towards the indisputable source of pain in the relationship – rather than the mere fact of a parenting relationship itself.

Acknowledgement of conflict in relationship

The adult has lost a perspective on the young person's position and motivations. Their authority has been undermined continuously and there is a need to re-establish their own position, including being made aware that the young person needs support to stop their behaviour and that they lack the skills to transform the relationship themselves. Given that the adult finds the demands of the young person overwhelming, the opportunity for shared activities (with clear boundaries in terms of time and expense) may be an important route through to improved communication.

For the young person, the personal benefits of family harmony appear to be missing. It is almost as if the young person has not realised they are contributing to the bad relationship which is marking their (only) childhood.

Not a lot of affection so they attract the parent's attention to make them lose their minds and then they blow [Males, BC1, 15-16, Birmingham]

Reinforce benefits to young person of harmony (through regained childhood): this is your only childhood. You are throwing it away by arguing all the time. Do your bit to make it what you want it to be

The feelings of low self-esteem and shame associated with the failure of the relationship are prevalent and often expressed by the adult. If the relationship does not improve and the adult becomes increasingly angry, distrustful and cold towards the young person, the bond may turn towards a self-focused or even broken bond as each party seeks refuge in their own world.

For the young person avoiding vulnerability in relationships, an adult receding into their own world vindicates the young person's hostility. They were going to be abandoned anyway – the adult did not stick by them all the way. In terms of patterns for future relationships, this creates a tendency to bail out of relationships at the slightest hint of challenge – a 'jump before you are pushed' mindset, and a hair trigger for separation, divorce and abandonment.

We argue all the time but I am quite independent [Males, BC1, 18-19, Diffuse, Nottingham]

Above all else, shared opportunities for conflict resolution are urgently needed within this pair bond. Other information is probably best delivered through individual routes rather than to the pairs defined by the parenting relationship.

The Purples – Self-focused:- *Dominant and unpredictable A, passive and disempowered B*

The purple, self-focused, pairs demonstrate a mixture of complementary and crossed transactions. Unlike the Browns, this pair are conflict avoidant on a daily basis largely because the consequences of conflict are higher. For the most part, the temperature of the relationship seems to be highly dependent on the mood of the adult. When this

adult is unhappy or angry, the young person is likely to be the target for the emotions. Otherwise, the pair lead very separate lives with little positive interaction.

In some cases, the purple pair bond can be an end result, as other bonds deteriorate, as discussed. However, newly formed pair bonds can adopt this way of relating quickly because the levels of connection - and the need for each other – are very low.

Purple Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

Yeah, my sister. Her kids are running around drawing over all the walls...she waits and waits and then she goes mad and grounds them, she has four kids [Males, BC1, 15-16, Birmingham]

The purple adult in interview behaves more like a child, continually drawing focus and controlling the discussion. Equally, at home, discipline is enforced in an erratic and self-controlled manner, depending on what the misdemeanour is and how the adult is feeling. Where they have had a good day, punishment is light – otherwise, punishment is very harsh. Given that the purple self-focused mindset is unaware of other ways to parent, it is clear that for many respondents this is a repeat of a childhood pattern of parenting.

Key characteristics and motivations are:

- untidy/chaotic house (no routines or collaboration to achieve domesticity)
- no planned or clear boundaries- the young person is in trouble when the adult says they are
- Possibly an unwilling parenthood (teen pregnancy or inherited young person along with new partner)
- Sporadic and unpredictable fun, treats, praise. All events dependent on adult mood
- Adult sulky
- · Raises concerns about pregnancy and drugs in young person has low trust
- Ignores many other parenting issues the young person should cope with those themselves
- Shows low involvement and care for young person's daily life prioritises own social life
- Focus on other people and events in life young person 'just there' no sense of 'family and shared activities (expect perhaps TV)

It's inconsistent parenting here. It comes in where the kid might have done something really bad, like break some furniture or something, that you'd expect to get a bollocking for, but then nothing gets said, and he'll go to the kitchen and get a biscuit, and then suddenly the parent will ground him without asking...that sort of inconsistency

[Males, C2DE, Oldest child 4-6, Mids]

For the young person in the unpredictable Purple bond, the impact is large. They have lowered self-esteem and a passive approach to their circumstance because it has been so out of their control. Used to having to respond to a variety of circumstance before they are quite ready, they are likely not to seek adult help. Typically, they have

- Low confidence due to adult over-bearing attitude
- Firm intention (when old enough) to leave home will walk away from family
- Few predictable patterns in their home lives which could give a sense of structure or routine
- High awareness of, and attempts to control, adult mood youth becomes expert manipulative
- Patterns of seeking comfort and surrogacy in older partners
- · No-one at home or school who 'understands' them. Lonely in household

- High likelihood to drop out of school or to under-achieve
- Age inappropriate rules (drinking at home, smoking, swearing)
- Ostensibly strict behavioural regime generating secrecy and dishonesty

She got pregnant at seventeen and it's like her parents are making her pay for it. They make her do everything – look after them and her kid and her brother and sisters [Females, 15-17, C1, Mids]

In communicating with the pair, it is important to remember that neither has a strong connection to the parent/parented dynamic. It is not relevant to who they are or how they live their lives.

But they are drifters - with the inconsistency in the discipline, their kids quite quickly become their own people and drift away... [Males, C2DE, Oldest child 4-6, Mids]

Thus, although some sort of acknowledgement about the current challenges (coldness, lack of relationship) should be made explicit, the pair most strongly respond to their individual paths.

The challenge to reach this pair is hard. New 'right' behaviour has to be 'modelled' in order to be taken up. Importantly, before it is even modelled, it has to be sold to the purple adult, with a clear benefit to self in order to generate any interest in information or programmes; other people being impressed by their parenting skills is at least one positive way to sell the transformation.

She is concentrating on Number One, more than the kid himself [Males, BC1, 15-16, Birmingham]

As far as potential issues go, the relationship is unstable and subject to increased pressures making it very unpleasant for the young person. There is – we believe – a high risk at that point to physical or emotional well-being for both. Substance reliance and abuse would not be an uncommon consequence.

For the young person, the issues stem from low confidence and self-worth. A chaotic and unloving home-life is the pattern they are learning and likely to repeat. Classic self-sabotage behaviours such as teen pregnancy and acting out are highly possible. Communication to the young person as an individual is important, but the challenge to engage and reverse the effects is a tough one. The only intervention that may have impact is provision of mentors.

The Blacks – Survival-focused:- Weak and mainly functional A-B bond

The pair are connected by biology; the household may be single or two parent, but the attention of the adults is on survival of themselves and their family at the most basic level. There is provision therefore (varying in quality) for physical needs but limited emotional connection.

Black Adult - Characteristics and Motivation

I had to find somewhere else to live and it's a bedsit. It's not very good, because I can't get anywhere else [Adult, Low Income, Divorced, Not living with young person, South]

The adult role develops in different directions depending on the reason for the emotional detachment. Where it is the result of being a single parent who has to work

night and day to keep a roof over the young person's head, there is one set of motivations and characteristics. Where the Black bond is the result of the adult having no interest at all in the young person, rather seeing them as a moral burden to be shouldered but little else, there are other characteristics. In general, however, the outcome for both parties is the same – limited connection and control although low conflict.

The adult may be as follows:

- (If exists), there is a complete detachment of father from family
- Not certain father wanted a family (perhaps purple relationship with young person initially but became even more distant as worlds separated further)
- mother brings up family and (on verge of emotional or financial collapse) keeps going in order to survive
- Possibly little daily contact with extended relatives and friends no support structure
- · Isolated and stressed relieved when day is over. No 'me' time
- Few emotional bonds with other adults (none with young person who is the reason for burdens)
- This model might also be the bare-bones of 'looked after' system

For the young person, the absence of family centre causes them to drift. Where they end up depends very much on fate and who they are lucky enough to come into contact with. They are aware of the situation around them, and can end up selfblaming.

- · May become lost absence of connection/difficult to express
- Craves affection or shuts down emotionally needy but lacking resource to satisfy emotional needs effectively
- Seeking positive bonding with other adults grandparent/parent substitute/childminder
- · Few/no shared activities
- Highly functional interactions with others
- May be scared of cold unloving adult risks associated with lack of bond
- Low self-esteem inappropriate partner choice and low achievement (below potential)

Engaging with the adult in an attractive way is difficult – they are already at their limits in emotional and physical terms. Thus, hyperbole and drama to mirror their heightened stress levels and gain their attention ('Young people are a nightmare! There's never enough time!) may be one route.

However, they are more difficult to reach than some of the other segments. Emphasis should be placed on the <u>abundance</u> of support with easy access that will make the situation better *for the adult*.

Connecting with the young person is somewhat easier. They are aware – from seeing other bonds – that theirs is somewhat colder than the norm. This needs to be acknowledged in a low-drama way so that they understand they are included in the messaging (and not just engaged with it as 'imposters').

Daddy cries sometimes

[Young Person, Low Income, Recently Divorced, Not living with Young Person, South]

Any offer or intervention should be normalised as much as possible so that they do not perceive they are in need of 'rescue' – which further undermines their self-esteem.

Similar to the Purple bonds, however, the risks and potential difficulties that lie within reach of this bond are fairly negative. With increased pressure and stress, the adult may dismantle the bond altogether and become White (non-bond), leaving the young person in the care of others.

There may also be increased risks of physical or emotional abuse of the young child and substance reliance and abuse for the adult.

The young person, repeating the cycle they have experienced, drifting towards other influencers – who are possibly less benign – and underachieving, suffers serious and life-long consequences.

Individual communication to the young person through the school environment is possible. The adult is fairly hard to reach through school relationship because sees school as having a separate responsibility for the young person that they should not be handing back to the adult. Communication routes outside of school are more likely to engage. If working, communication through employers is possible.

The Whites - No-focus:- Absence of bond between A and B

This pair bond is included for completeness sake and covers the dismantled adult and young person relationship. The research did not focus on these people simply because the methodology included adults with their young person. A discontinued relationship may have failed for several reasons – not all within the grasp of the adult themselves. Certainly, whilst of interest at a human level, it is of perhaps less relevance at a strategic level and is therefore not investigated further.

5 Targets for activity

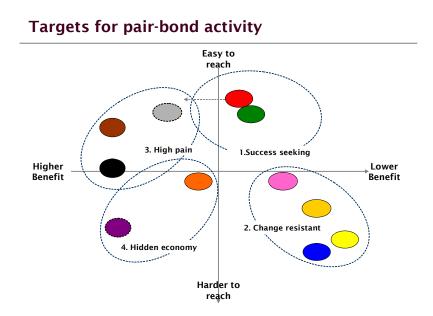
The twelve segments are described above and some indicators for areas of concern have been included. However, looking across the segments, it becomes clear that there will be targets that are easier to reach than others – and certainly some where the benefits of intervention and communication are higher.

Below is a diagram grouping the segments according to those two axes: ease of engagement and relative benefit of intervention.

The quadrants can be labelled as:

- 1. Success-seeking including the Improvement focused reds and the Familyfocused Greens. Easy to reach and actively seeking information for their young people, they are perhaps not the highest priority for intervention since they are doing fairly well by themselves.
- 2. Change-resistant including the fun-focused Blues and the Our World focused Yellows, the Baby-focused Pinks and the Achievement-focused Golds. Because their frame of reference more actively rejects the conventional and the outside world, they are less easy to reach with messages. Since the potential risks arising from these pair bonds are not highly negative, again they are perhaps less urgent to target.
- 3. The High-pain including the Black (survival focused) and Brown (resentment focused). These pairs are relatively easy to reach because they have motivation to reduce their own personal pain levels. The risks for the young people in these pair bonds are fairly high and if neglected – extremely high. There fore, as a priority target with a relatively immediate impact, they are the target for focus.
- 4. The Hidden Economy including the Purples and the Oranges. Their bonds are based on a lower pain interaction and to a certain extent, are

unnoticeable in that the parties have no motivation to seek change. The adult leading the bond in each case is in control and has significant benefits to maintaining the status quo. The young person is perhaps not as aware as they might be of the imbalance in the situation. Whilst the benefits in reaching these groups remains high, the challenges of reaching them are also high.



<u>Appendix</u>

	Pairs	1 parent	2 parent	Biological bond	Non- biological bond	Intense relationsh ip	Diffuse relations hip	ЕМ
MIDS	12 pairs	3	9	9	3	5	7	5
MIDS	13 pairs	5	8	10	3	8	5	3
SOUTH	11 pairs	4	7	9	1	5	6	5
SOUTH	12 pairs	3	9	8	4	5	7	6
NORTH	12 pairs	2	10	10	2	6	6	2
NORTH	12 pairs	6	6	10	2	6	6	5
Total	72 pairs	23 pairs	49 pairs	56 pairs	15 pairs	35 pairs	37 pairs	26 pairs

Adults Working Group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Gender of respondent	Female	Female	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male	Male
Age of oldest child	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-19	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-19

Adults Working Group	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Gender of respondent	Female	Female	Male	Male	Female	Female	Male	Male
Age of oldest child	0-3	4-6	0-3	46	SEN Under 11	SEN Under 20	SEN Under 20	SEN Under 20

Young People Working Group	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Cender of respondent	Female	Female	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male	Male
Age of oldest child	10-12	13-14	15-17	18-19	10-12	13-14	15-17	18-19

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