Youth and social support: A case study of middle class Jakarta youth

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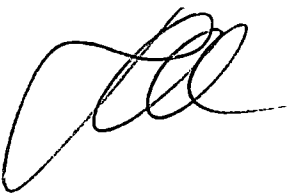University of Tasmania
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Abstract

This research investigated the experience of middle class youth in Jakarta, Indonesia. The thesis is divided into two studies. Study One describes the Australian trial of the research method. Study Two contains the research outcomes on Jakarta youth. Based on an ecological contextual perspective and grounded theory, the data was collected through semi-structured life history interviews. In the first emic study, the researcher trialed a series of techniques with a sample of Australian youth from two youth centers. The life history interview, combined with the availability of the youth from youth centers, was seen as an efficient and cost effective means of accessing a range of suitable subjects. The researcher then adapted the method for use in the second or etic study in Jakarta with youth from a drug dependence unit and a youth club. For study two, the interviews were conducted in the months leading up to the Indonesian General Election in June 1999. This second study was implemented in close consultation with Indonesian psychologists to ensure that cross cultural and ethical issues, such as confidentiality and informed consent, were managed appropriately. The twenty-six interviews with Moslem and Christian youth were transcribed and translated with data coded for contextual factors, social support and satisfaction.

Results indicate that youth valued the social support received and available from their families with relatively fewer references to peers and siblings. With Jakarta youth, evidence was found that the transition to autonomy was delayed into early 20s, as compared to Western youth, with conflict with parents continuing longer for that reason. Youth in study two referred ambivalently to their dislike of sharp verbal reprimands and parental pressure to attend school or university at the same time as a need for parental discipline. Jakarta youth expressed a stronger sense of responsibility toward both parents and family members as compared to Western youth, especially if they were the only male child or the eldest child. This result is consistent with Indonesia's collectivistic culture and social norm that unmarried youth live with their families. In addition, mothers provide considerably more support than fathers, especially emotional. It was found that

fathers provided more advice and tangible support and were sources of higher rates of dissatisfying support than mothers, consistent with their more distant role in the family. There was some evidence that dissatisfying parental support negatively buffered risky health behavior while satisfying parental support, both perceived and available, positively buffered youth during transition and crisis. The research showed that the lives of the youth were affected by the Indonesian monetary and political crisis (Krismon), both directly and indirectly. The research approach was predominantly Western, although adapted for use in an Asian culture, and combined theories of adolescent behavior and social support. When applied to Jakarta youth, a number of new concepts and understandings emerged. The result is a series of guiding principles that can be utilized in the design and implementation of programs for youth in the Jakarta community.

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Glossary and Acronyms

Adat – traditions or customs pertaining to a particular cultural or ethnic group
Anak – child, children
Anak baru gede – local term for children developing into adolescence
Anak remaja – also used to refer to youth
Bapak – Indonesian term for father
Blok M – shopping complex in South Jakarta
Gotong Royong – community self-help
Idul Fitri – Islamic religious event at the end of the Fasting Month
Java – large island in central Indonesia, with a population of 114 million people and a predominance of Moslem religion
Klub Sejuta – literally Million Club, name for youth center near Blok M in Jakarta
Kolusi, koropsi and nepotism (KKN) – collusion, corruption and nepotism
Krismon – the Indonesian monetary and political crisis
Madura – island north of Surabaya in East Java province
Makassar – capital of South Sulawesi province
Manado – capital city of North Sulawesi province
Oma – Indonesian term for grandmother
Padang – capital city on the West coast of West Sumatra province
Pancasila – President Sukarno; Republic of Indonesia. "Five principles enunciated by the late President Sukarno in June 1945 to reconcile the cultural diversity of the embryonic Republic of Indonesia…" Ramage, 1995, p. vii.
Pesantren – Islamic boarding school
Putauw – Indonesian common term for marijuana
Remaja – Indonesian term for adolescent
Sakau – Indonesian term for the craving for drugs experienced by drug addicts
Sekolah Dasar (SD) – Primary school
Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP) – Junior High School
Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA) – Senior High School
Sholat – Islamic ritual prayer performed five times daily by Moslems
Suharto – President of Indonesia from 1966 to 1998
Sukarno – President of Indonesia from 1945 to1966
Suku – refers to tribe or ethnic group
Sunda – predominant suku in West Java
Trisakti University – large private university in East Jakarta

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1.0

Introduction

1.1   A Personal Perspective

My first experience of Jakarta was as a student in 1972. I returned 20 years later. Jakarta was very different, with its many skyscrapers, luxury cars, McDonalds, the Hard Rock Cafe and shopping malls. The young adults who witnessed the murder of the generals in 1965 and the take-over by General Suharto had now become middle-aged parents, with their children now entering early adulthood. One of the concerns I heard in 1993 from friends in Indonesia was how the youth would become politicized when they had not had their parents' experience and learned first hand the reality of politics and independence. These parents were anxious about Indonesia's ability to continue its rapid and very successful development and their own children's futures. A secure political situation seemed to be the key to both.

While living in Jakarta, one can be overwhelmed by the scale of the population of the world's fourth largest nation. In particular, I was drawn on many occasions to observe its youth. The pre-Krismon Idul Fitri in the Jakarta streets in 1997 was an awesome sight as thousands of Moslem youth thronged then circled Jakarta streets in trucks, celebrating the end of the Fasting Month. It is impossible to imagine such an event in the West, especially the whole-hearted devotion to religion and the absence of alcohol. The landmass of Indonesia, with a population exceeding 200 million, is equivalent to the area of Queensland (one large Australian state) and the carefully articulated Australian population options and immigration policy seem very luxurious through Indonesian eyes. Australia, seen as the 'lucky country' also is the place where the Indonesian flag was burnt in 1995. The Irish irreverence that underpins Australia's democracy and the routine challenges to the Australian establishment contrasts with Indonesia's hard won independence and the precious symbols of that fight. Each country has a unique and different heritage and Australians and Indonesians can learn much from each other.

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From 1995 – 2000, I observed the gradual build up of events that culminated in the shooting of the four Trisakti University students and the eventual removal of President Suharto. As events unfolded this generation of student youth became politicized. They learned that strikes and demonstrations were effective and the role of the student movement was a powerful factor in the change of leadership.

Since that time, events have moved on. The first democratic election was held successfully, the reform of the banking system is underway and the political system is now open for public scrutiny with parliamentary sessions televised. Issues of corruption remain endemic and problematic and the reform of a system of this scale is no overnight task. A massive program to decentralize autonomy to the regions is another sign of the changing times. Demonstrations are a regular part of life in Jakarta and the students continue to ask the government to bring the old President to court. But Jakarta is a vast city and life goes on much as usual despite the different impression that CNN gives to the rest of the world.

The common denominator in all these events is youth, the barometer of the community and the voice of the future. Just as the new Government eschews "KKN" and opens itself to community scrutiny, so too the youth want a voice in the decision making of their country. It is hoped that this research contributes to the process of listening to what youth have to say.

The focus of this research is both embedded within and has developed from more than two decades of work with youth in Australia and living in Indonesia for the best part of seven years.

1.2   Social Support

Globally, our youth have grown up in two decades of rapid and unprecedented change, culminating in the explosion of information technology. Youth, whose parents recall the era before the invention of television, must contend with a vast array of choices that their parents may not be even be able to comprehend, let alone advise them about (Gergen, 1991). These trends bring with them a host of new political and ethical issues and potential health problems. Youth have become the key market.

Social support has become a contemporary research topic during the same two decades. Firstly, there are direct and powerful links with health and well being (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Lakey & Lutz, 1996). Secondly, the nature of social support also has great promise in terms of its capacity to integrate across disciplines (House & Kahn, 1985), an appealing quality in a world that seems more and more fragmented. Thirdly, by focusing on social support, we consider the most basic aspect of human experience, our attachments and our capacities to cope with life.

The other side of this argument is that social support, at once esteemed for its practicality and integrative potential, is also appropriately critiqued for its lack of rigor (Pierce, Lakey, Sarason, Sarason & Joseph, 1997). If, as the literature highlights, we can base research on strong theory and use appropriate methods that attend to both reliability and validity, social support may take its place, as an effective and efficient concept, to underpin both research on and interventions with youth.

1.3   Jakarta Youth

Jakarta youth, like Western youth, face a myriad of challenges as they move through this transition to adulthood. Drug use is regarded as one of the major social problems they will have to face. Adolescents must face the normative transition of adolescence and the historical one", with their parents facing "the task of preparing their sons and daughters for a world that they do not really know" (Noack, Kerr & Olah, 1999, p. 714).

A recently completed Rapid Assessment and Response of drug addicts in Jakarta institutions, profiled a largely male and middle class student clientele, between 15 and 29 years (Pramudyo et al. 2000). The youth reported using heroin (63%), amphetamines (7%), marijuana (5%), cocaine (1%) by injecting (53%), inhaling 37% and orally (9%). Most used money from their parents to buy drugs and stole belongings from the family home as well as from the community (54%). Needle sharing was common with users the youth knew and while most say they cleaned needles, they used water or at best some alcohol. The majority was sexually active (82%), with only 58% using condoms. Drugs were readily available in housing complexes, universities, shopping malls, entertainment places and military bases. The street based group of users was also largely male, of similar age-range, less educated and from more working class backgrounds. Heroin was the drug of choice but marijuana was used more compared to the middle class youth, as it is cheaper. Half funded their drug use with money from their parents and a third from their income and 7% from selling goods. Half stole from their families and a third stole from the community. This group was more sexually active, had more sexual partners and a much lower rate of condom use. The results of the first behavioral surveillance survey of 409 injecting drug users in Jakarta were consistent with this data (Utomo & Dharmaputra, 2000). While knowledge about HIV/AIDS was high, youth, especially males, were at risk from needle sharing (55.5%), ineffective cleaning of needles, syringes and equipment and low rates of condom use (8.8%).

1.4 The Research Intentions

The issues raised in this introduction have meaning in the lives of youth in Jakarta. Relatively little research has been conducted with youth and even less on social support, Indonesian culture is collectivist, and one in which social support has a high value (Triandis, 1989). Hence there is a need for a firm research base that will allow policy makers and program implementers to make appropriate decisions with regard to policy options and the prioritization of scarce resources. At the same time, research carried out with youth, as partners will serve to empower and educate.

"I had a bit of a falling out with my father, not my mother. She was much better. She didn't necessarily agree but much more of a mother. Well if you don't like it, it's probably better."

Boy A1

2.0

Review of the Literature

2.1 Chapter Overview

The review will provide pertinent literature from education, psychology, sociology, and, to a limited extent, anthropology. It will be shown how these broad cognate fields play a vital role in providing a conceptual underpinning to this research. References to three specific bodies of knowledge (youth and adolescence, social support and culture) will be also included. This broad reference is important, as one criticism of social support theory is that it developed in isolation from other disciplines, was seen as a "cure all" and needs to be integrated into the principles of psychology and the broader disciplines (Hobfall & Stephens, 1990; Pierce, Lakey, Sarason, Sarason & Joseph, 1997).

A diversity of sources will be provided concerning culture, with a particular focus on multi-cultural and cross-cultural approaches. These sources provide a comprehensive overview of the key ideas pertinent to this thesis and provide some contextual data relevant to Jakarta youth. The thesis takes a constructionist, ecological perspective of adolescent, youth and social support, recognizing the great variety inherent within a pluralistic society.

The thesis acknowledges at the outset, that all theory is a culture bound look at an aspect of life (Pederson, 1991). It also acknowledges that the discussion of adolescence and youth in this review is largely based on the writings of Western authors and researchers. Thus, it is essential to consider youth and adolescence in conjunction with culture, so that any inherent bias is clear. Thus, this chapter is unusually long, both to maintain the cohesion between the major concepts and to provide a comprehensive overview.

2.2 Adolescence and Youth

2.2.1 Global Context and Definitions

Adolescence occurs chronologically from ten to nineteen years with rapid changes in body shape and composition. The onset is during early adolescence, also defined as pre-puberty, and is characterized by rapid changes in body shape and composition, the key transition marker to becoming an adult (Hamburg, 1974). Two reviews of the literature conclude that adolescence involves a dynamic mix of immature coping skills, vulnerability, combined with the rapidity of the adaptive challenge of 'superimposed tasks' (Hamburg, 1974; Schonert-Reichl & Muller, 1996). It is a time of multiple transitions for adolescents who develop greater intellectual capacity, physical and sexual maturity and move toward autonomy, independence and new roles.

A study of over 4000 Scottish, Irish and English adolescents concluded that intimate personal relationships were reorganized, leading to reduced dependence on family and increased dependence on peers (Drury, Catan, Dennison & Brody, 1992). Scottish adolescents studied preferred appreciation and needed relationships where they were taken seriously and people had confidence in them (Hendry, Roberts, Glendinning & Coleman, 1992). They valued mentors who were empathic, trusted and negotiated with them (Phillip & Hendry, 1996). Galbo's (1986) update of the literature also points out that significant adults for adolescents are those who interact reciprocally with them.

Greenberg, Seigel & Leitch (1983) propose a model of psychosocial maturity wherein the family functions to promote law and order and consensual non-problem behavior. Sociologically, the bond between parent and child is essential for the effectiveness of the socialization process, teaching children social mores and norms It is a time when parents attempt to encourage 'optimal functioning' of their children, following age appropriate goals and developing into well functioning adults (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Hendry et al. (1992) conclude that the family is, thus, a microcosm, where the adolescent observes,

participates and moves toward a more autonomous role. Early and intense childhood experiences are often recalled as the adolescent learns to self regulate feelings through socialization (Maccoby, 1992). Adolescents' relationships echo their early relationships with their parents, in particular, their inclinations, attitudes and hopes, according to Sroufe & Fleeson's (1986) review of recent studies.

The parents of Scottish adolescents studied were vital mentors and models, rather than teachers, and mothers tended to be the most significant adults to their children (Hendry et al. 1992) and the presence or absence of mothers as children develop is an important factor (Galbo, 1986). Greenberg et al. (1983) reviewed the literature and point out that parental advice, nurturance and counsel are elicited and valued with most adolescents frequently turning to their parents even when the relationship is problematic, regardless of the stage of adolescence. Families, especially parents, remain the most 'significant others' during this stage although not necessarily for all situations or all aspects of adolescents' lives (Galbo, 1986; Greenberg et al. 1983). Results of a study of Norwegian adolescents indicated, similarly, that the family, and, in particular, parents, had the greatest buffering effect to protect adolescents against the effects of problems (Ystgaard, 1987). The buffering effect provided by family support increased in direct proportion to the scale of the negative event.

An survey of English adolescents concluded that the roles of parents and peers did not contradict but were useful in differing ways, as parents gave advice about issues related to values and longer-term decisions (Musgrove, 1963). Two studies of American adolescent found that peers provided uncritical support (Burke & Weir, 1979; Walker & Green, 1987). Brown (1990) proposes the view that peer attachment is not causal of well being per se but relates positively to the development of both more mature conflict resolution skills and more positive communication. Peer groups are typically divergent and dynamic and as time spent with peers increases, peer groups function more autonomously and at a distance from adults, with opposite sex relationships gradually increasing.

By contrast, American adolescents studied were unlikely to attribute positive characteristics to siblings, resulting from a high frequency of interaction, characterized by competition and conflict, possibly due to the close proximity of family living (Montmayer & Hansen, 1985). Weis (1986) suggests that sibling relationships maintain similar emotional characteristics into adulthood and, thus, siblings play an important role in adult identity, perpetuating childhood themes that continue to be seen in the interaction between the siblings).

Galbo's update (1986) concludes that other relatives are usually chosen as significant adults after parents, followed by teachers, adult friends of the adolescent, ministers or neighbors. Teachers had some impact on adolescents in American and British studies (Drury et al. 1998; Dubois, Felner, Brand, Adam & Evans, 1992) on Norwegian adolescent girls (Ystgaard, 1987) and as authority figures on the lives of mid adolescent Scottish boys (Hendry et al. 1992). Teachers are generally not 'significant others' to many adolescents although they can play a significant role at specific times, especially for students lacking adult guidance in the family (Galbo, 1986). A Scottish study of adolescents concluded that the institutional setting of the school limited the role of teachers, compared to the support attributed to other non-family adults, seen as effective adolescent mentors, guides, teachers, and role models (Hendry et al. 1992). In organized clubs and activities, adolescents were able to learn adult values and a wider variety of social roles through interaction with non-family adults.

A study of British adolescents concluded that the adolescents tended to expect problematic communication with non-family adults, such as police, characterized by a power imbalance or inequality (Drury et al. 1998). However, older socially disadvantaged Western Canadian adolescents studied were more likely to seek professional support than younger adolescents, reflecting a higher use of health care services and learned positive expectations of non-family adults (Schonert-Reichl and Muller, 1996).

The school is one of the major contexts for early adolescence, designed to assist them through the transition from primary school to high school with its more complex social

setting and greater educational demands (Hamburg, 1974). The rapidity of global change has also posed a major and ongoing set of challenges for the traditional community institutions such as the high school. American high schools are described as obsolete, with an a-typical, artificial and shallow culture that is not challenged and consequently wastes the time of many of the students (Botstein, 1999). The early adolescent at school needs the support to deal with biological changes of puberty, the challenge of entering high school and the challenge of the new adolescent role (Hamburg, 1974). As a rite of passage, new behavior is expected of adolescents by adults who themselves change in their ways of interaction. Adolescents at this time also need stable parenting and support to deal with the changes they face.

The boundaries previously clearly delineated for youth are blurred with a new set of myths about age relations that impact on development (Gillis, 1999). Adulthood is now more like adolescence, no longer a plateau but a series of peaks and troughs like the other developmental stages. Adults in their 60s and 70s are active and involved, focused on beginnings rather than endings, so that youth no longer has the same symbolic value between childhood and adolescence (Gergen, 1991). Youth are seen as a state of being rather than becoming, with the consumer tastes of the middle aged without the guarantee of the stable employment necessary to maintain the life style. The Gulf War reflected this change, fought by the middle aged and the media, as compared to the European World Wars, where youth played a real and deeply symbolic role (Gillis, 1999).

2.2.2   Communication

Skills and styles of communication are reflective of and influenced by the family and social environment in which youth develop. Studies of American and Australian adolescents concluded that supportive communication in the family developed social and coping skills as well as adolescent identity (Montmayer & Hansen, 1985, Noller & Callan, 1990). The different styles of communication of mother and father were valuable as parents represented and modeled the variations within culture to their children. Grotevant & Cooper's (1986) literature review notes that changes in communication with

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the parent are moderated and negotiated as the parent develops respect for the adolescent, with more control gradually allowed. American adolescents studied reported experiencing more "good" communication than "bad" with parents, showing improved communication skills over time (Levya & Furth, 1986).

Youth demonstrate a range of abilities in communicating, especially those who are socially and materially challenged. Wallace (1997) talks of the 'culture of inarticulacy' and concludes that English male adolescents may prefer to use silence as their strongest weapon when communicating with a more powerful adult who expects them to communicate. A study of English, Irish and Scottish adolescents similarly showed that it was much harder for youth to communicate with an adult in an unequal power relationship (Drury et al. 1998). Many did not have the skills to express "adult" needs and to get adult help so that communication often failed to achieve the desired outcome. These adolescents reported more positive experiences than negative in their most recent communication, citing good communication with peers, work mates and negative communication with non-parent adults.

Problematic parent communication experienced by the Australian adolescents studied was seen to be caused by parents dominating and not giving adolescents enough room to express their views (Noller & Callan, 1990) rather than the power imbalance suggested by Drury et al. (1998). The studies of British and Australian adolescents indicate that they tended to avoid communication about topics that have caused problems in the past, such as sex and politics, precisely because of this parent domination and lack of "space" or power imbalance in their communication with parents (Drury et al. 1998, Noller & Callan, 1991, Noller & Callan, 1990). Another American adolescent study similarly found that the repetitive nature of parental warnings caused more conflict than the content or behavior involved in the message (Papini & Sebby, 1988).

Results of an Australian study of adolescents showed that they had a low rate of disclosure to parents except for plans and interests where parental support was essential to help adolescents realize their objectives (Noller & Callan, 1990). The Scottish

adolescents studied, preferred communication with the same sex parent (Hendry et al. 1992), valuing support from an adult who has experienced the same problems of gender identification.

In general, communication between British adolescents and their mothers studied was more likely to be ongoing, more frequent, intense and symmetrical with two way sharing and disclosure by mother allowing a supportive relationship to develop (Drury et al. 1998; Hendry et al. 1992). Mothers were often found to be more open and accepting in Grotevant & Cooper's review of the literature (1985). The mothers of British and Australian adolescents studied were more involved in details of day-to-day life and more likely to be often in the home. Consequently these studies reported both more conflict and most disclosure to mothers, especially by female adolescents, who were more satisfied with their communication with mothers despite the higher levels of problematic communication. Generally, fathers did not recognise adolescent views as much as mothers (Noller & Callan, 1985; Drury et al. 1998).

2.2.3   Help Seeking

Help seeking behaviour, a problem solving strategy or subset of coping behaviours, has been defined as "...any communication about a problem or troublesome event...directed towards obtaining support, advice or assistance in times of distress." (Gourash, 1978, p. 414; Schonert-Reichl & Muller, 1996). A study of Australian adolescents and a review of the literature concur that help is sought in relation to types of problems (Boldera & Fallon, 1995, Gourash, 1978), rather than just one problem experienced, with the social network being a "...natural support system...that counteracts the effects of stressful life events." (Gourash, 1978, p. 414). A review of adult help seeking for problematic events indicated that over half seek help from friends, relatives, neighbours and lastly, professionals. However, of Australian and Canadian adolescents help seekers studied, those who turned to self-help groups and professionals, tended to be young, white, educated, middle class and female. Social networks played a major role in screening and referral to professional contacts (Boldero & Fallon, 1995; Gourash, 1978; Schonert-

Reichl & Muller, 1996) as well as transmitting values and norms about use or non-use of professionals (Gourash, 1978).

The study of Australian adolescents concluded that they received help from family members, friends, teachers and professionals with a preference for non-professionals. Male adolescents were more likely to ask parents and females than to ask same sex friends (Baldero & Fallon, 1995). In New Zealand and Canadian studies, adolescents typically increased their utilisation of friends, beginning in early adolescence, with friends not replacing the role of the family. Mothers were seen as available, supportive and more often (as compared to fathers) turned to for help and support (Paterson, Field & Pryor, 1994; Schonert-Reichl & Muller, 1996). When seeking physical proximity with less verbal interaction, adolescents turned to both, though to fathers to a lesser degree. Mothers tended to provide more appropriate emotional support.

A study of American adolescents concluded that the most typical problems were feeling overweight, depression, school failure, substance use, peer pressure and poor relations with parents (Dubow, Lovko & Kausch, 1990). Girls cited more physical and psychological problems related to sexuality, eating and interpersonal relationships. These adolescents lacked an understanding of available resources and one third of those who were troubled had not tried to find help for major problems and thought they could manage alone. A Canadian study of adolescent help seeking (Schonert-Reichl & Muller, 1996) concluded that those seeking help from professionals had lower self worth and those who did not seek professional help tended to be more self-conscious. Barriers to help seeking for American adolescents included a concern that the family might find out, the problem being seen as too personal and a perception that no person or agency could help (Dubouw et al. 1990). In general, although peers tend to respond affectively, it is the parental response that is most related to well being. A cause for concern is the finding that most adolescents do not know about community agencies with the implication that the agencies are not adolescent or youth friendly.

Cultural factors were significant. For example, Pacific Islander adolescents studied in New Zealand interacted verbally less frequently with their mothers than Caucasian adolescents, although their mothers still played an important role (Paterson et al. 1994). The Pacific Islander adolescents had more options in their extended families and tended to interact verbally more with their siblings and relatives.

In an American study, conduct disordered youth were more likely to avoid taking responsibility for their behavior and did not ask for help (Powell & Rosen, 1999). They tended to have an external locus of control and saw causality in relation to external factors, allowing them to avoid the responsibility, guilt and the remorse that gives experience meaning and makes a lasting impression (Moore, 1988). This study recommended parent training to help parents to learn the necessary skills to assist their adolescents to take responsibility, see consequences and show remorse (Powell & Rosen, 1999)

2.2.4 Sexuality

Sexuality is an important aspect of adolescent development and intimate relationships during late adolescence are an important context in the formation of identity. Erikson's (Paul & White, 1990, p. 377) theoretical work on intimacy underpins much of the literature as "...identity and intimacy are both developmental tasks of late adolescence and ... progress toward a mature identity and mature intimacy takes place concurrently...". Intimacy has cognitive, affective and behavioral components, with one model defining three levels of relationship intimacy (White, Speisman, Jackson, Bartis & Costos, 1986). This model uses self-focus as stage one (11 – 13 years), when adolescents are absorbed in their own perspectives, needs and wishes. Adolescents are more likely to communicate about intimacy but have little understanding of the needs of others or the emotional aspects of sex. In stage two or role-focus (13 – 15 years), adolescents are able to acknowledge concerns and share feelings with the opposite sex, but less certain about a course of action. During stage three, individuated-connected, adolescents have a perspective about others and understand their own as well as others' needs. Affect is

often expressed sexually and the adolescent is more tolerant of frustration. In a study of American couples, White et al. (p. 159) concluded that the development of maturity in "...close relationships is a continuum with potential for considerable variability...".

American Midwest youth studied saw intimacy as sharing, physical and sexual interaction, trust and openness (Roscoe, Kennedy & Pope, 1987). Males focused more on physical and sexual interaction and females on openness, with evidence that there were differing gender concepts of intimacy. A similar study of college students found that adolescent sexual behavior often reflected their perceptions of their parents (Mueller & Powers, 1990) with the high school children of friendly and attentive parents being less sexually active. However, when parents were dramatic and contentious, students were more sexually active and used contraceptives less. Parents, especially mothers, shared information about sex more often with same sex adolescent.

2.2.5   Theory and Theorists

2.2.5.1   Storm and stress

G S Hall described the changes in adolescence as a period of storm and stress or a second birth (Hall, 1904). Hall's maturationist view is that conflict and detachment are inevitable (Hamburg, 1974; Steinberg, 1990) and links with psychoanalytic theory. Adolescents become autonomous from their parents as a result of predictable conflict, or, from a Freudian perspective, because the equilibrium between the id, ego and superego is disturbed, leading to storm and stress (Miller, 1989). To counter criticism that psychoanalytic theory was based only on clinical research samples (Hamburg, 1974), epidemiological studies of the general population were carried out (Rutter, Graham, Chadwick & Yule, 1976) and showed that adolescents gradually became more autonomous from parents in early adolescence, while becoming more impressionable to peers (girls being both more autonomous and resistant to peer pressure). Contrary to the psychoanalytic perspective, alienation was not found to be a common feature of parent mid adolescent relationships, and parents maintained a significant influence on their

children. Although adolescents commonly reported feeling miserable and self-deprecating (with adults not noticing their suffering), alienation between parent and adolescent was not a common cause of psychiatric disorder. In summary, the storm and stress perspective is considered an over-generalized theory based on assumptions that have since been discounted.

2.2.5.2 The neoanalytics

The neoanalytic focus on individuation sought to move the emphasis from conflict to cognition, with adolescents developing both a new sense of themselves as well as their parents. Autonomy has been variously defined as "...growing detachment...an outcome of individuation...resistance to pressure...subjective independence...self-reported confidence...and...independent reasoning in...problem solving". (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986, p. 841) but the psychoanalytics and the neoanalytics alike assume that autonomy has negative implications. The neoanalytics, however, interpret the greater dependence on peers as a result of ineffective socialization by parents (Baumrind, 1971; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). Autonomy is then manifested as "... subjective feelings of self reliance or self governance..." (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986, p. 843) and consists of an "...absence of excessive dependence on others, a sense of control over one's life ... initiative..." (Greenberger & Sorensen, 1974, p. 343) paralleling independence, internal locus of control and assertiveness.

Although the neoanalytic perspective implies a relatively simplistic understanding of the causal factors underlying autonomy, it is, however, valuable, in that it acknowledges the interactive nature of the relationship between adolescent and parent. The neoanalytic viewpoint is included in this chapter because it is a precursor to the views of Lerner, Bronfenbrenner and others, who espouse an integrated consideration of development and culture.

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2.2.5.3 Responsible autonomy

Erikson's life span model initiated a change of direction in adolescent theory with a focus on responsible autonomy. Building on the psychoanalytic school, Erikson contributed a psychosocial dimension to the stages of development and underpinned the process of development with the search for identity (Miller, 1989). The eight stages of man including the infant 'trust vs. mistrust', the adolescent 'identity vs. identity diffusion' and finally 'integrity vs. despair', posit specific issues at each stage. This change was influenced by both demographic and individual factors, through the interaction of the different developmental stages of the adolescent and the adult parent (Prosen, Towes & Martin, 1981), within the context of the family system (Greenberg et al. 1983). The scale of these tasks and the "... dual but discrepant issues of identity require significant accommodation and resiliency..." (Prosen et al., p. 177). Bengston & Kuypers (1971, p. 256) explain this as "... the developmental stake and the fear of loss myth...". Parents focus on their children (often resolving their own identity issues through their children's development) wanting to ensure continuation of the generations and reduce the differences between them. Their children, conversely, want to establish independence, lessen parental control and hence enhance the differences.

2.2.5.4 Secure attachment

Attachment is an important concept linking adolescence and social support and has been defined by Weis (1986) as an enduring emotional bond of substantial intensity and attachment to parent(s), with acceptance and trust in the family being the main sources of healthy development for the adolescent. Weis argues that the perceived quality of the attachment and the parent bond established in childhood determines the transition of adulthood and is causal with adolescent well being.

An American study of first year college students used an adult attachment interview and concluded that securely attached children were able to deal more effectively with negative affects, while those insecurely attached demonstrated less than favorable affect

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regulation and distress (Kobak & Sceery, 1988). Secure parents valued the attachment and were available to their children who recalled the attachment experience, including negatives. Avoidant parents dismissed attachment, were rejecting and did not show love. Attachment for these children was frustrating and they tended not to recall distressing childhood events. Ambivalent parents were loving but preoccupied and their children had erratic recall of distressing events. This study exemplifies Weis's view (1986) that adult attachment is a continuation of the system developed in childhood with a move toward new relationships and affiliations in youth or early adulthood (Weis, 1986). New community links are formed with parents initially playing backing up their children until these community links are fully independent. The separation experiences of adolescence habituate the family system to increasing social and emotional independence and eventual physical independence. Adolescents increase independence while maintaining communication and affection with the family and parents allow increased independence while maintaining communication and affection with the adolescent.

In an American study of college students (Sullivan & Sullivan, 1980), boys moving to college became more communicative with their parents, with increased levels of affection, independence and satisfaction in the relationship. Their mothers became more affectionate and communicative while some fathers became more dependent, finding it harder to accept their sons' independence. The timing of these changes results from many contextual factors, taking place anywhere from mid adolescence to youth and into adulthood (Weis, 1986). Cultural norms about autonomy will have a marked impact on this process.

The results of a study of American adolescents showed that paternal stress in adolescence was predicted by non-adherence to parental advice, with some impact on maternal stress. Fathers saw the encouragement of autonomy and advice giving as a part of their role so that non-adherence caused a perceived lack of control and heightened stress (Small, Eastman & Cornelius, 1988). Mothers provided more day-to-day discipline and were most stressed by issues related to increased autonomy and adolescents' contesting of parental rules. Fathers, in comparison, saw autonomy as desirable but left this to mothers

to deal with. Fathers were stressed by adolescent involvement in deviant behaviour, possibly reflecting an adolescent perception that fathers are more accepting and therefore better confidants.

2.2.5.5 Conflict

Developmental theorists such as Kohlberg and Erikson, regard conflict is an important part of development leading to mature growth. Montmayer's review of the literature (1983) argues that some conflict is healthy for adolescent personal development, but that a high degree of conflict may be predictive of problems (Montmayer, 1983). In the 1950s and 1960s, the onset of puberty was seen to be causal with adolescent conflict. In the 1980s, theorists focused on family interaction and the development of new behaviors based on new adolescent status. Psychologists, such as Coleman and Hendry (1990) agree that adolescence is not inevitably stressful, but Montmayer (1983) observes a lack of rigor between the theory and research about adolescent parent conflict with many questions still unanswered, an important theme in the literature that is reiterated in the field of social support.

It is well established that conflict is pervasive in the adolescent's communication with family members. Studies of Australian and American adolescents confirmed that conflict was the part of the process by which adolescents made the transition to adulthood (Noller & Callan, 1991; Papini & Sebby, 1988).Two American studies of adolescence concluded that adolescence was characterized by more mature resolution of conflict, less non-compromise solutions and more constructive compromises such as negotiation and consensus seeking (Levya & Furth, 1986; Smetana, Yau & Hanson, 1991). The mode of resolution was determined according to the content of the issue at hand with compromise more likely to be reached over behavior rather than rights and principles. Collaboration and compromise were generally more mature forms of conflict resolution (Smetana et al.) compared to withdrawing or giving in, as used in early adolescence. There are varying views about whether conflict peaks in early adolescence or mid adolescence with a study

of British adolescents (Musgrove, 1963) proposing the peak with same sex parent of 15 years for boys and 14 years for girls.

Nurmi's review of the literature (1993) suggests that the expression of conflict is determined culturally according to age and behavioral norms, linking with a study of American adolescents that found that the expression of conflict was based on culture specific perceptions about adolescence (Smetna & Asquith, 1994). A study of conflict management by middle class Pakistani and British mother and daughter dyads illustrates the impact of collectivistic and individualistic culture (Gilani, 1999). Pakistani mothers and daughters compromised more than British mothers and daughters and were less aggressive. Their goal was to maintain harmony. The British girls saw themselves, consistent with individuation theory (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986), as both apart from and close to their mothers, and the aftermath of conflict was comparatively prolonged. They were focused on independence and not reliant on their families for their achievement. The Pakistani girls could not recall much tension, were close to their mothers, saw their families as their priority and did not expect independence

A study of American adolescents showed that there is much variation in conflict depending on the specific conflict issue (Montmayer & Hansen, 1985). Similarly, a second American study found that the means of resolving conflicts in the family with adolescents was not consistent, differing according to the content of the conflict. Conflict was predicted by situational factors such as the importance of the issue in the family (Levya & Furth, 1986; Smetana, 1991). There were also aspects of family relationships where conflict does not occur that have attracted relatively little research focus.

Montmayer's review of the literature concludes that most conflicts tend to be about normal day to day matters with parents using tacit silence to avoid the more controversial issues, not unlike the adolescent use of silence (Wallace, 1997). In general, few changes have been observed in what parents and adolescents argue about over the past sixty years. A study of Australian adolescents and their parents found that they tended to quarrel twice a week on average, typically about chores, responsibilities, school work, the

adolescents' friends, appearance, the time adolescents should come home and pocket money (Noller & Callan, 1991; Steinberg, 1990). Adolescent parent conflicts about behavior were more likely to be resolved, but with differing ideas about responsibility and autonomy, personal matters involving values and philosophy of life were often more difficult to resolve. A review of the literature (Bengston & Kuypers, 1971) and a study of American adolescents (Smetana et al. 1991) concurred that appearance, grooming, household chores and homework were contentious issues in many families. Another study of American adolescents concluded that moral issues were discussed less frequently, but more heatedly (Smetana & Asquith, 1994). The complex interrelatedness of frequency, intensity and context in conflict, mean that any conclusions about adolescent conflict need to be made with great caution.

Montmayer & Hansen (1985) reported less adolescent conflict with fathers in their study of American adolescents. A Scottish study and a review of the literature concluded that communication with the father was more unilateral and that fathers were seen to be more judgmental by their adolescent children (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986, Hendry et al. 1992). Fathers of Australian adolescents studied, also were perceived to recognise adolescent views less than mothers and initiate less conversation (Noller & Callan, 1990) resulting in adolescents communicating less with their fathers. Male adolescents talked with their fathers about problems and sex information. In an American study, deviant behaviour was stressful for fathers but not for mothers. Mothers may have been less aware, had less experience or not seen as an appropriate confidant by the adolescent rule breaker. Fathers may have been more tolerant (Small et al. 1988) or more experienced, hence more aware and thus more prone to stress.

American adolescents studied argued with their parents and siblings about similar interpersonal issues, but less about rules (Montmayer & Hansen, 1985). There was a high frequency of reported arguments with siblings (44%) especially same sex sibling. This was partly due to the close quarters in which the families lived as well as the combination of personalities. Half the conflict was resolved by one member walking away, 38% by the adolescent giving in but only 15% by negotiation.

American adolescents studied also compromised more with their peers where power was not such an issue. The path to moral maturity appeared to be through peers where relationships were based more on mutual respect and cooperation (Levya & Furth, 1986). Compared to adult authority, more equal discussion and conflict resolution took place. Adults in authority were seen as more likely to win because of their power and in these situations peers became a valuable buffer against stress.

Girls in an American adolescent study were more likely to reject a conventional interpretation of conflict with age and more conflicts were unresolved in families with boys, possibly reflecting the girls' more effective communication skills (Smetna et al. 1991). Girls in a Norwegian adolescent study, similarly, reported more relationship problems than boys do with parents and friends and seemed more vulnerable to adversity, more responsive to emotional conflicts, and generally more involved with people (Ystgaard, 1987). Overall, adolescent male friendships do not attain the same levels of loyalty and intimacy as those of girls.

Turiel's overview of theory and research (1977) points out that changes in type and frequency of arguments are attributed to adolescents increasingly questioning the right of the parent to make rules. Adolescents express their growing individuality through their challenge to behavioural uniformity and social conventions with underlying concepts of justice that they are no longer willing to accept.

In a study of American Midwest elementary school children (Tisak & Tisak, 1990) children accepted parental control over their choice of friends when moral and prudential reasons were given, while they themselves tended to see direct consequences or indirect negative effects. With age, personal reasons developed rather than prudential. Peer influence was a function of age, event and the peer behaviour. Similarly, relationships were multi-dimensional and complex.

Early adolescents and their parents in an American study agreed that parents should regulate moral issues and adolescents should have autonomy over personal issues (Smetana & Asquith, 1994). A study of San Francisco youth concluded that disagreements over friendship and other prudential issues were inevitable when seen from this generational perspective, as parents and adolescents saw the same behaviour differently (Tisak & Turiel, 1984). Adolescents studied saw friendship as a matter of personal choice, while parents saw it as a matter of parental jurisdiction involving authority over behavior regulation. Friendship involved moral, conventional, personal and psychological issues and parents took more authority than adolescents allowed them (Smetana & Asquith, 1994).

Drug and alcohol use is an example of a prudential act that can have immediate, negative and direct impact or consequences on self and involves safety or harm (Tisak & Turiel, 1984). American adolescent high drug users studied tended to dismiss the potential harm from drugs and regarded drug use as a personal matter without prudential implications; self being "…the only legitimate authority over drug use…" (Nucci, Guerra & Lee, 1991, p. 847). Low drug users tended to classify drug use as wrong because of its prudential aspects. Behavior was thus a function of whether drug use was seen as a personal or prudential matter, however these are not two discrete systems in operation.

Adolescence in America involves changes in the boundaries of legitimate parental authority and adolescent personal jurisdiction (Smetana & Asquith, 1994) with multi-dimensional prudential issues being more contentious. Overall authority does not decline but shifts from parent to adolescent. Parents also tend to see that their sons need control more than their daughters, perhaps perceiving that their sons are more at risk of harm.

2.2.5.6 Parents and parenting style

An American study of adolescents and their parents (Small et al. 1988) indicated that the assumptions of storm and stress might apply more to their parents. Both parents tended to find adolescence a stressful stage of development, with non-adherence to advice being

problematic for fathers and desire for autonomy problematic for mothers. Parents themselves may lack confidence and new and possibly anti-social adolescent behaviour adds stress. Parental reactions reflected both their own childhood experience as well as the extent to which they really understood the adolescent. A literature review (Bengston & Kuypers, 1971) points out that parents tend to over estimate closeness with their adolescent children who in turn enlarge the distance. Similarly, parents will see an interaction as discussion, while adolescents will interpret it as argument.

An Italian adolescent study also concluded that parents' construction of and ideas about adolescence determined how authority and autonomy were developed (Bosma et al.1996). The style of parenting impacted significantly on their children's development and experience of support or lack of support. An American study of respondents with a depressive disorder found that girls temperamentally prone to depression were more sensitive to parental discipline style than their peers. Overall, unfair, harsh and inconsistent discipline was a good predictor of depression (Holmes & Robins, 1987). Parental alcohol problems also linked with depression in children.

Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, (1987) tested Baumrind's typology of styles of parenting in a study of over 7000 San Francisco adolescents and their families. Baumrind's typology originally derived largely from white, middle class families. Ethnic identification was included, with Asian, Black, Hispanic, non-Hispanic and White groups. The study measured parental style and student performance by self-report and grades. In general, a relationship was found between higher parental education and a higher authoritative index and lower permissive and authoritarian indices. Inconsistent parenting appeared to link with lower levels of achievement at school. The group means for Asians and whites in this American study showed that Asian families were higher on the authoritarian and permissive indices and lower on the authoritative index. However, the typology did not seem to work so well for the Asian group, as correlations of grades and authoritative and permissive were very low: the only conclusion being that parenting was a strong predictor of grades. The typology can also be applied to adolescents and their high school achievement but the success of Asian students at school was harder to

explain, with the only clear correlation being between good grades and the authoritarian parenting style of Asian parents.

Foxcroft and Lowe's meta-analysis of research studies (1991) concludes that the most effective parenting style, as evidenced by non-problem behavior, is a combination of high support and moderate control. Family support behavior provides acceptance and comfort and control related interactions direct family behavior consistent with parental values and norms. Extremes of control may be problematic when related to variables of family structure and support. For example, adolescent drinking is regarded as a normal developmental process when appropriate within the norms of a given culture. Socialization acts as a mechanism to develop appropriate behavior and a deficit of support or control may lead to excessive behavior. High support and control results in conforming behavior with moderate support and control being most effective. Heavy drinkers tend to come from controlling families based on self-report data from American studies.

Adolescent perceptions of family life were found to be critical factors in the socialization of health behaviors in a Scottish adolescent study (Schucksmith, Glendinning & Hendry, 1997) with the quality of the relationship impacting on the interaction between support and control in parent adolescent relationships. A supportive family environment, that is, high support and low control, was associated with sensible drinking. Conversely, later problem drinking was connected to a non-supportive environment, low support and high parental control. Adolescents drank less when parents were supportive and direct but drank more when parents were authoritarian, permissive or neglectful.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) explore parent child interchanges involved in socialization and review a useful four fold classification of parenting and family patterns, consisting of high support and high control, high support and low control, low support and high control, low support and low control. This interactive model has value as a means of understanding the interaction of adolescent and parent behavior. Health behaviors show

that authoritarian and neglecting parenting result in higher levels of adolescent drug use and problem drinking.

There is a sound research base for variation of cultural norms, exemplified in Devereux's (1970) study of grade six children in three Western industrialized countries, using control and support as the main parameters. German families were the highest on nurturance, most protective and least rejecting, while English families used the most physical punishment, were lowest on nurturance and expected least responsibility. American families had highest achievement demands, expected most responsibility and were least indulgent. Overall, fathers overall encouraged autonomy, achievement and established discipline but the children in the three samples received the most attention and affection from their mothers who were nurturing and protective and gave their children responsibility. Moderate warmth and control in family interaction predisposed children to be closer to their parents, to spend time with a few friends and to be less likely to spend time with gangs. Boys were more peer focused and girls, adult focused. High parent child contact, especially with mothers, led to a stronger likelihood of the child adopting adult values. Thus, the blend of the support and control varied considerably across cultures and also over time (Devereux, 1974).

The parents of adolescents in a Scottish study, tended, in general, see the world through the lens of their own experience, with a maternal tendency to hold on to children who needed to be getting used to the outside world (Wyness, 1994). Mothers spent more time with their children than fathers and were very aware when their children started to spend less time at home. Parents were more concerned if their children were unemployed, doubting that their children could manage the outside world without work. Parental strategies included knowing their children's friends, being involved in their activities as well as the provision of TVs and computers, described as "…electronic babysitters…" by Greenfield (1984, p. 144) to encourage their adolescent children to stay at home and bring their friends to the house.

This analysis, so far, implies that any research design examining adolescent social contacts should incorporate an understanding of the family in order to understand the style of parenting, the pattern of communication and type and frequency of conflict characterizing the family system. This contextual approach will lead to a broader understanding of youth experience of social support as well as the capacity to assess relative risk and vulnerability.

2.2.5.7 Theoretical, ecological perspectives of development

Bronfenbrenner's ecological perspective of human development was said by Garbarino & Abramowitz (1983, p.13) "...to represent a compelling fourth force...after behaviorist, psychodynamic, and humanistic perspectives". Bronfenbrenner's theory or point of view as expressed in The Ecology of Human Development (1979, p. 13) derives from environmental ecology and "...enlarges the child's conception of the world and the child's ability to act on that world." The most salient contributions of ecology have been to increase collaboration and to provide a means for dialogue between sociologists and developmental psychologists. The ecological view focuses on the relationships between systems and so needs an eclectic or interdisciplinary approach. "The main contribution of the ecological approach is the way it focuses our attention on the relation of development to both the immediate and the more distant cultural environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 17)."

Bronfenbrenner further develops this perspective by defining various levels in the interaction that illustrate the way in which risk impacts on children. The micro system is the most immediate daily world of the child, with a larger micro system indicating a broader range of relationships. The mesosystems are the relationships between the microcosms. The number and quality of linkages between the microsystems gives an indication of the type of connections. The exosystems are outside the child's power, have an impact on him but are those in which the child does not participate, such as the parent's work place. The macrosystems are "... the blueprint for the ecology of

development..." the broad societal patterns, a national political crisis for example could impact on a child.

Coleman's focal theory initially put forward the complementary view of the self-pacing adolescent, dealing with one issue at a time, avoiding major stress by dealing with different issues at different stages (Coleman & Hendry, 1990). Kloep (1999) and Coleman & Hendry (1990) later theorized that adolescents in fact focus on a few problems at once, maintaining that this assists with adjustment by avoiding overload. Focal theory thus has value in a linear sense, but is limited because the researcher cannot engage with the quality of or the interaction. In reality, many issues come at once and cannot be controlled. Focal theory poses questions about the combinations and pacing of adolescence, linking with the concept of environments or territories that are selected by adolescents because they assist adolescents to deal with their issues and allow them to self-regulate or decide on their own terms what to do (Korpela, 1989).

Lerner (1985) focuses on the reciprocity of biological and psychosocial functioning. Adolescence is a challenge of adaptation that is not fully appreciated, caused in part by a range of simultaneous tasks with impact depending on the interaction and its effect on significant others (Hamburg, 1974). Adolescents are thus producers of their own development by influencing the context that influences them (Lerner, 1982). The life span view of development postulates that change is continuous across development with a behavior being the same continuous, or different, and discontinuous with the previous stage (Lerner & Ryff, 1978). Change processes are both simultaneous across different dimensions as well as interdependent within them. "Conceptual and empirical pluralism are essential for descriptions of these multiple and interdependent changes as is descriptive relativism essential to capture each description" (Lerner & Ryff, 1978, p. 6). The systematic integration in a life span orientation is advantageous and allows for a more dynamic and living perspective of development.

The 'match' or 'fit' between the individual's characteristics or style and environmental demands for adaptation is a key aspect of development. For example, parenting style

requires an adaptation by the adolescent whose response to these demands will be based on previous feedback. There are many influential factors such as innate temperament, "...that portion of a designated behavior characteristic...controlled by genetic factors" (Maccoby & Martin, 1983, p. 62). Belsky (1984), in an essay on the determinants of parenting, contends that a difficult temperament can make parenting problematic. Staffieri's research (1967) with American elementary school children concluded that children aged from seven to 10 years perceived their own body shape accurately, this perception becoming a framework for their concepts of body and the development of self. Personality correlates with body type are socially determined, based on expected behavior. Lerner's review of literature (1985) concludes that there is a firm link between body attractiveness, effectiveness and self-esteem. "The adolescents' physical characteristics may provide a source of their own development by either matching or not matching ... the physical stereotypes of their social context" (Lerner, 1985, p. 367).

Thus, many theorists position the child and adolescent as pace setter and active agent of development. The interaction is complex, with the individual an activist functioning to enhance well being within a complex interaction of many factors. These theorists considered, fit coherently within the broader point of view of ecological development.

2.2.6   The Role of Space and Territory

A study of Italian adolescents concluded that changes in puberty demand accomadatory adjustments within the family context to give adolescents room to make decisions and take 'new steps' (Bosma et al. 1996). A Swedish study of nine, 12 and 17 year olds showed that youth appropriated space or environment as territory, showing emotional attachment to a place that influenced their well being and self worth (Korpela, 1989). A place or environment can help youth to deal with life, recover from life events and to achieve balance or self-regulation. The favorite environments described by the Swedish seventeen-year olds were those that put them in a good mood and met their social needs.

Scottish and German studies concurred that adolescents and youth use environments such as leisure venues to meet their social needs by providing places to meet and to interact (Hendry & Raymond, 1986; Noack & Silbereisen, 1998). The trend among the Scottish late adolescents studied was a simultaneous increase in independence from their families and shift from frequenting casual leisure venues to more commercially controlled ones (Hendry & Raymond, 1983).

A study of mid adolescents in Brisbane showed that the most popular places at the 1988 Australian Expo were entertainment areas and the Queensland, Canadian, Japanese and USA pavilions (Cotterall, 1991). These places functioned as territories with both the Swedish and Australian studies concurring that many visits were made to these places because there was a 'fit' youth needs and the characteristics of the environment (Korpela, 1989; Cotterall, 1991). These territories or contexts allowed adolescents to self-direct far more than home or school.

The Berlin Youth Longitudinal Study found that one third of the German youth were motivated to find heterosexual relationships, one third wanted to integrate into a peer group, the rest were interested in whatever the venue provided such as window shopping or exercise (Noack & Silbereisen, 1998). Discos and shopping malls were venues for relationships, and ice skating rinks were venues for peer groups. The swimming pool was the only venue where a specific goal was evident, that is, swimming. The average visit was from two to three hours with twelve to eighteen contacts with other adolescents in that time.

Public settings were described as "...middle ground between home and the hangout..." (Noack & Silbereisen, 1998, p.31) allowed youth more self-directed action, less direct supervision and more access to social interaction and information. Public settings were used more by the fulfilled, that is, those youth who already had a relationship. Hangouts in contrast provided activities that specifically focused on relationships and were used more by seekers, who were in between relationships, or novices who did not yet have a partner. More alcohol abuse was evident in hangouts.

The studies on space and territory supplement the previous considerations on the role of family, friends and school, clarifying the role of environment in most self-regulation and facilitating emotional and social development. There is an important link with the social support aspects of environment.

2.2.7 Work and Unemployment

A study of over 300 Scottish employed and unemployed adolescents in six schools showed that work provided both structure and satisfaction for youth, including a context for socializing and the development of self (Hendry & Raymond, 1983). The employed youth tended to see and define youth in relation to their work while school age youth saw their future leisure as more adult and involved with discos, pubs rather than youth centers. Both employed and unemployed Scottish youth had a low carry over of leisure skills learned at school. Free time was more acceptable if spent with friends but schools were not seen as supportive in helping them cope with leisure time without work. Families were the main source of support for these Scottish youth but the unemployed youth typically felt excluded from the adult style of work and leisure (Hendry, Raymond & Stewart, 1984) with a tendency to identity confusion observed in a study of Australian unemployed youth (Gurney, 1980). A second study of unemployed Scottish youth showed that unemployment placed youth outside the system, frustrating their path to autonomy as well as limiting life style options (Hendry & Raymond, 1986).

Hendry & Raymond (1983) conclude that work enables youth to realize their hopes of work and leisure post school and unemployment compounds possible identity confusion so it becomes harder to reconcile. Unemployment contains many issues impacting on the individual in sequence, and problems occur when there is an accumulation of too many negative issues to deal with at one time (Hendry & Raymond, 1986).

2.2.8   Wishes, Hopes and Fears

An overview of models of social age systems, cognitive personality research and adolescence points out the adolescent future goals and hopes are "...frequently ...topics concerning the major development tasks of late adolescence and early adulthood" (Nurmi, 1993, p. 176). All children and adolescents seem to worry about war but there were some marked differences by nationality. Swedish mid adolescent boys and late adolescent girls (Kloep, 1999) were most concerned about love and did not worry much about conflict with parents. Late adolescent concerns were employment, work and love. Girls listed more worries than boys (Table 1).

In a comparative study of Swedish and Albanian adolescents (Tarifa & Kloep, 1996) Swedish adolescents ranked war, destruction of the environment, death and unemployment, while Albanian adolescents listed criminals, animals, darkness and ghosts. The top Albanian fears are not mentioned in any other studies. Curiously, although unemployment rates were high in Albania, the Albanian adolescents did not list unemployment as a fear. Fears were largely personal, possibly a reflection of the relative isolation of Albania, parental protection of children and grandparents' enculturation of children using tales and legends often featuring animal characters. This study provides an example of a more traditional culture where the social transition to adulthood is delayed by a longer period of dependence and protection by parents.

A study of Norwegian adolescents in three cities indicated that the adolescents were most fearful of nuclear weapons, unemployment and drugs (Raundelan & Finney, 1986). Boys were more optimistic than girls but both were pessimistic about the future with nearly three-quarters displaying negative attitudes. These adolescents were most concerned about preparation for higher education. In a comparative study of Austrian, Finnish and English adolescents (Solantaus, 1987) the most frequent hope expressed was about work and employment. The English adolescents worried most about employment and work and

the material aspects of life. The Finnish adolescents worried about war and global matters and the Austrian adolescents about school and studies.

In general, Scandinavia and American adolescents studied indicated a higher level of awareness and fear of events that they do not necessarily have direct reason to fear, as compared with children in England. Possible causal factors were a higher level of global awareness among American and Scandinavian parents, the proximity of Scandinavia to Russia and a more active mass media. These fears contrast strongly with the perceived fears of the Albanian children.

Table 1

Adolescents' wishes and hopes, fears and worries

Country	Wishes and hopes	Fears and worries	Author (s)
England	Work and employment (79.3%) Future family (46.6%) One's own health	Work and employment (59.1%) One's own health (35.5%) Peace and war (33%)	Solantaus, 1987
Austria	Work and employment (52.6%) School studies (31.6%) Future family (25.6%)	School and studies (51.5%) Work (31.1%) Peace and war (31%)	Solantaus, 1987
Finland	Work and employment (60%) One's own health (36.2%) Future family (29.4%)	Peace and war (78%) Work (30.8%) One's own health (27.1%)	Solantaus, 1987
Sweden	-	War (25.6%) Destruction of environment (15.7%) Death (13.9%) Unemployment (9.9%)	Tarifa & Kloep, 1996
Albania	-	Criminals (19.6%) Animals (14.7%) Darkness (10.3%) Ghosts (8.1%)	Tarifa & Kloep, 1996
Norway	-	Nuclear weapons Unemployment Drugs Pollution	Raundalen & Finney, 1986

This consideration of wishes, hopes and fears provides at once common and unique themes pertaining to youth across cultures. The data provided a rich and complex perspective of adolescents' perceptions as a reflection of their world and the cultures in which they have been raised.

2.3   Culture and Mental Health

2.3.1   Overview

Psychology is a Western discipline, developed in North America and Europe, based on individuation (Gabb, 1998). There is a need for other models that take into account interdependence as a core value rather than assertiveness. Concepts of mental health are derived from concepts of self in a cultural context and, thus, often very culturally specific. Ivey (1981, p. 285) takes a stronger stand on this issue, referring to "… cultural imperialism … our present theories (representing) predominantly white, middle class approaches to human growth and change".

In this section, the concepts of culture, self, psychology and mental health are discussed. There are a number of diverse sources of data regarding the concepts of self, psychology and mental health, including the utilization of mental health services by Asian Americans in the Unites States, theories of cross-cultural counseling and cross-cultural guidelines developed by professional associations in the West. These are relevant inputs for a Western researcher aiming to carry out research in an Asian context.

Cross-cultural counseling is especially useful as it is a relatively new field and is a rich source of data about culture and cross-cultural adaptation of Western methodologies. Pederson (1991, p. 6) claims that it is becoming a fourth area in human services "…complementary to the other three forces of psycho-dynamic, behavioral and humanistic explanations of human behavior, paralleling Garbarino and Abramowitz's

similar claims about the ecological perspective of human development. Reflections on counseling have direct relevance to the design and implementation of social research. Social research and cross-cultural counseling share commonalities of methodology and ethical issues and enable researchers to move from abstract principles to concrete and practical strategies (Draguns, 1989). While a researcher does not approach research design with a therapeutic goal, there is still a need to ensure that "good" takes place.

2.3.2 Culture and Self

2.3.2.1 Definition of culture

The development of youth is impacted by the culture in which it takes place (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) with culture regarded as a dictionary with social and psychiatric components that people learn and then repress (Landrine, 1992). Culture prescribes designs for living, for dealing with social situations and for seeing self as well as social behavior (Triandis, 1989). Landrine (1992) asserts that culture consists of common, unconscious assumptions, a psychological symbolic universe. Despite the fact that there is no one rule that can operate in all cultures, it is likely that there are similarities in how adolescents are affected by and deal with problems across cultures.

2.3.2.2 Definition of self

The concept of self contains both a psychological and cultural constructs (Gaines, 1982) with experience defined in relation to self. Some aspects of the self are universal and some are culture specific. The self can be variously seen as private, public and collective (Triandis, 1989). Inherent in the Western referential concept of self is the distinction between self and non-self with self originating, controlling and creating (Landrine, 1992). This referential self (Gaines, 1982) can be described without referring either to others or context, that is, a free agent with rights, seeking primary control to develop and realize itself (Landrine, 1992). The self is able to initiate change and gain insight from the experience (Gaines, 1982).

A second concept of self is the indexical self, the self of socio-centric cultures. Because the self derives from the contextual aspects of social interactions in many situations, its characteristics are not consistent across situations and it cannot be isolated from relationships and context. The lines between the aspects of the indexical self are permeable, incorporating aspects of other people, family, and the natural and supernatural world. The individual functions to meet the needs of the collective society. Failure to carry out the role of son or daughter, for example, is seen as failure as a person, the loss of self in a socio-centric culture (Landrine, 1992). Lack of understanding of the indexical self may result in Western psychologists attributing behaviors to pathology when, in fact, they derive from an indexical self within a collective culture and may be entirely appropriate. The indexical self is congruent with Lerner's (1985) theory of the reciprocity of biological and psychosocial functioning.

The referential concept of self is derived from Northern European and Latin European origins, while the indexical self is derived from Eastern and Latin European origins, the difference between the Northern European and Latin European, being attributed to religion and impact of religion on social organization. The Northern European derived referential self is practical, empirical and non-magical, linked with Protestant reform. Conversely, the Latin European or indexical self is "... magical ...", accepting of the supernatural, defined by interaction and permeable in boundary (Gaines, 1982, p. 179).

2.3.2.3 Individualistic and collectivistic

The dichotomy between individualistic and collectivist underpins the contrasting concepts of the referential and indexical self. In Western Europe or North America, individualism predominates, seen as an outcome of both cultural complexity and affluence (Triandis, 1989). More in-group membership is possible leading to personal choice about which groups will be joined, more on the basis of compatibility of relationships. An individualistic culture can also however, be characterized by a lack of connection to the past, lack of meaningful attachments in the present and possible

alienation from the local or wider community (Landrine, 1992). While these concepts have utility for the purposes of this study, it is acknowledged that they are limited and should not be seen as capturing the complexity of the many issues involved. They are Western constructs, and as such, imperfect.

In a collective culture such as Asia, personal and collective goals are not differentiated, or if they are, personal goals are less important (Triandis, 1989). Collectivists are more concerned about the impact of the action of the group. Conformity is valued and public expression will thus reflect the collective self. Child rearing practices focus on obedience and proper behavior compared to Western ideals of creativity and individualism. Triandis notes that as a culture becomes more affluent, parents have fewer children and the children are more likely to be individualists.

In socio-centric cultures, the self is not seen to be responsible for behavior but relationships, group entities and situations are seen to be the explanation for feelings, goals and behaviors (Landrine, 1992). The goal may be the advancement of the family rather than the self so only secondary control is possible. In such cases the individual is changed, adjusted, acted on, until he or she fits better in the community. In a therapeutic context, the therapy may increase the social control of all members of a relationship so a better solution can develop. The best label if one is needed is adjustment disorder (Landrine, 1992) to avoid Western pathologies that may not have meaning or relevance. Goals for any applied research should be established in terms of the prevailing cultural beliefs.

Hofstede (1983) developed a four dimensional model based on samples of occupational groups from 40 countries: individualism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity. The dimensions were converted into indices and scored by country. Indonesia, like other Asian countries, ranked 6 – 7 on individualism and 43 on power distance. Australia, in contrast ranked 49 for individualism and 13 for power distance. Masculinity showed some divergence with Australia ranked at 49 and Indonesia 22. The

differences between Australia and Indonesia on this criterion underscore the individualistic and collectivistic bases of their respective cultures.

2.3.3   Studies of American Asians in the United States and their Utilization of Health Services

Studies of American Asians in the United States of America provide a useful source of data for Western researchers about Asian concepts of self and mental health, as rigorous data about these topics is scarce. The term American Asian covers more than 20 nationalities, ranging from Chinese and Japanese who may have been in America for many generations as well as more recent Vietnamese or Pacific Islanders (Kitano & Maki, 1989). The term American Asian covers many languages, identities and cultures but tends to be perceived stereotypically.

In terms of therapeutic interventions, non-Asian therapists treating Asian American families in the United States need to be able to recognize different styles of Asian discipline; the special relationship between mothers and their children, the apparent spoiling of children by Western standards and the high expectations of children by their families (Kim Berg & Jaya, 1993). The process of therapy should acknowledge appropriate social relationships, hierarchy and respect, and focus on practical solutions rather than emphasizing feelings. Authority is vested in age and experience, family elders should be acknowledged as consultants and advisors in the process of the therapy. The therapist has to adapt to the way clients see their lives and work within that perspective, with the family coming first.

Japanese Americans in Honolulu used health care services significantly less than White Americans (Narikiyo & Kameoka, 1992). Usage of mental health services was 5.6% by the Japanese Americans and 25% by the White Americans respectively. The Japanese Americans were more inclined to see endurance and adjustment as a solution to problems and to see interpersonal causation of mental illness rather than intrapersonal. However,

there was agreement about the value of mental health professionals, social support systems and self-help to deal with psychological problems.

Research in Los Angeles County Department of Health (Flaskerud & Lui, 1991; Flaskerud & Lui, 1990; Sue, Fujino, Hu, Takeuchi & Zane, 1991) examined outpatient records of ethnic minority groups. The lowest rate of treatment was seen in African Americans. Asian Americans avoided using the system but if they did, had better outcomes than African Americans. Ethnic match was a significant factor for Asian Americans when primary language was not English with impact on continuation of treatment (Flaskerud & Lui, 1991). Sharing first language (English or non-English) or same Ethnic origin correlated with more sessions with Asian Americans, while a match on language and ethnic origin did not have additional effect. The language match becomes less important as the client command of language increases. However this is only one factor with the author pointing out the need to be sensitive to within group differences.

2.3.4 Relevant Cross-cultural Research in relation to Counseling Interventions

Cross-cultural research about counseling contributes valuable understandings about Asian responses to counseling, thus shedding more light on Asian concepts of self. Sue (1990) proposes a useful theoretical framework that integrates cultural and socio-political factors with a three dimensional rationale in order to explain the match between particular counseling styles and cultural groups. The first dimension is differences in communication style that involve factors beyond content such as views about and usage of personal and interpersonal space. Asian cultures permit closer proximity than some Western cultures with implications for many aspects of counseling such as the positioning of furniture and client therapist distance (Jensen, 1985). Facial expression and body language are also culturally conditioned (Sue, 1990) and can be misinterpreted if culture is not understood. Javanese, for example, adhere to norms of respect and external social harmony (Megawangi, Zeitlin & Cletta, 1995). Direct expression of hostility is avoided, so Javanese can be misperceived as inexpressive and avoidant when they are

trained to control impulses or keep them unexpressed (Geertz, 1961). Timing and duration of eye contact, directness of gaze, volume of speech, use of silence, and directness of communication are similarly strongly influenced by culture (Sue, 1990).

The second dimension is the socio-political aspect of non-verbal communication, exemplified by a Western counselor's non-verbal cues that could influence the process or by a counselor's assumptions that all members of a cultural group communicate in the same way. The third dimension is counseling as a communication style where different theories of counseling embody different communication styles and become "...temporary cultures..." (Ivey, 1981, p. 284). Asian Americans prefer more direct forms of support and help, with directive counselors seen as more credible (Pederson, 1991). Effective counseling, thus, involves a match between the style of the counselor and the developmental need, communication style and culture of the client (Ivey, 1981). If the therapist does not take cultural differences into consideration, it "... may result in unethical practice and damage to the client..." (1987, Ivey, p. 1987). In the past, cultural differences were seen as secondary factors, whereas the individual and the community are both seen as potential focuses for change. However, it is the mix of individual and community focus that can lead to the rethinking of psychology.

The ramifications of Sue's framework are that counselors must be flexible and able to adapt their style when necessary (Sue, 1990; Ivey, 1981). A more direct and active style may be more effective and help the client to understand the counselor's values and attitudes of the counselor more quickly to enhance the effectiveness of the counseling. Sue also recommends a "... paradigm shift..." (Sue, 1990, p. 431) that considers problem-solving techniques used before Western therapy and counseling were available.

Draguns (1989) suggests practical steps for cross-cultural counseling that have direct relevance to research. One strategy is to focus first on training, experience and sensitivity in the same culture and then apply this to other cultures, including relevance, applicability and modification of research design where necessary. The second strategy is conceptual analysis of the values and practices of the culture, including kinds of therapy and the incorporate of the analysis into counseling (Draguns, 1989). This strategy is

based on a willingness to learn from another culture as well as respect for it. A third strategy identifies cultural barriers to effective interventions and the fourth and more formal approach is cultural accommodation (Higginbotham, West & Forsyth, 1988). Cultural accommodation can take place at either individual or group levels and requires exploration, data gathering and negotiations before a new culturally appropriate program is developed in a new setting.

Just as counseling practices and techniques have to be adapted across cultures, so do research techniques, acknowledging the differing norms and expectations about dealing with internal and external stress that apply across different cultures (Draguns, 1989). Relationship however remains the most important factor and flexibility is very important to ensure that the technique is adapted to the client's needs. A practical and complementary developmental approach to cultural sensitivity is proposed by Lopez et al. (1989): Stage One unawareness of culture, Stage Two heightened awareness of culture, Stage Three the burden of considering cultural issues and Stage Four moving to integration. Cultural sensitivity involves the therapist's capacity to deal with and balance universal norms, group norms and individual norms, to be able to see the difference between normal and abnormal behavior, to consider cause and to be able to implement the right style of strategy. Therapists, who remain at Stage One, cannot see their own limitations and working from an emic or universal view, are unable to assess the cultural context of the presenting issues. Stage Two therapists are more aware and may question their ability to carry out etic or culturally sensitive therapy but they are more motivated to train and at times can understand the role of culture. Stage Three therapists are pre-occupied with cultural issues, at times confused. Stage four therapists are more likely to understand the role of culture in behavior and carry out careful analysis. These stages are recommended as a means of monitoring progress. They are also valuable for Western researchers in self-monitoring while carrying out research in another cultural context.

2.3.5   Professional Association Guidelines

Professional association guidelines further contribute to Western understandings of Eastern self and culture as they incorporate the experiences and deliberations of professionals grappling with these issues in service delivery contexts.

The American Psychological Association (APA) has published guidelines relevant to research with minority ethnic groups in cross-cultural settings, including ethical issues, developed and refined in collaboration with psychologists internationally (Tapp, Kellman, Triandis, Wrightsman & Coelho, 1974). Some repeated themes are correctness and desirability of significant involvement of cross-cultural colleagues, the need to determine criteria for informed and free consent in each cultural context, and the ultimate responsibility for making ethical judgment resting with the individual investigator. The investigator must refer to colleagues in both cultures and avoid "...scientific and ethical provincialism ...(attending) ...to the total fabric of the culture in which the research is undertaken..." (Tapp et al.1974, p. 239).

Two relevant guidelines are the Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct and the Guidelines for Providers of Psychological Services to Ethnic, Linguistic, and Culturally Diverse Populations. These guidelines were developed to 'enlighten all areas of service delivery (Gil & Bob, 1999). Ethnic diversity of research teams (including the group being studied) and review boards are recommended safeguards (Atkinson, 1983). These safeguards add insight about the research, increase motivation for participation in other projects and decrease the likelihood of stereotype and bias. Researchers must be careful not to interpret data based solely on their own cultural bias (Atkinson, 1993). Research priorities selected should be priorities for the community as well as the researcher with community wide advisory committees (Gil & Bob, 1999).

Collaboration between researcher and client over the methodology will ensure that the tools used are culturally appropriate, that data increases the understanding of the problem and that the process will be beneficial. Increased awareness followed by the use of

multiple methods for case assessment can enhance cultural competence. Story telling and personal narrative are effective ways to be able to see the subjective culture of the client (Howard, 1991). If thinking is seen a kind of story telling, and cultural differences are embodied in stories, psychotherapy can be conceptualized as "...interesting cross cultural experiences in story repair..." (Howard, 1991, p. 194).

The Recommended Responsibilities and Criteria for Cultural Competence in Research (Gil & Bob, 1999) provide practical strategies for failure to report or inform, diversity among researchers, appropriate study of ethnic minority populations and assessment. They conclude that there needs to be emphasis both on the prevention of harm as well as the provision of benefits.

If it is agreed that psychologists are not moral philosophers (Hillerbrand, 1987), the resolution of ethical dilemmas through dialogue with the community has considerable appeals. Ivey (1987) adds a more relational view of ethics moving from a power base to dialectical enquiry with members embedded in the community who may not necessarily have power. In conclusion, there are no simple principles or processes and these issues need careful thought before any cross-cultural research is carried out.

2.4 Social Support

2.4.1 Overview

This section covers the core concept of social support as well as the major categories. An inter-disciplinary perspective is incorporated as a means of understanding the parameters and constraints of theory, with social support being seen to have "...integrative promise..." (House & Kahn, 1985, p. 84). Definitions and major models are discussed in conjunction with operational issues and measurement options. The selection of the conceptualizations and definitions for research has wide implications regarding

effectiveness of implementation and the generation of indicators for the research (Thoits, 1982).

Measures of social support reflect the concept of social support being utilized and the wide range of social support instruments parallels the many conceptualizations about its components (Sarason, Levine, Basham & Sarason, 1983). Cauce, Reid, Landesman and Gonzales (1990) stress that the design of the social support instruments must incorporate developmental stage and individual differences as well as being interactive, to motivate participation.

The limitations of both theory and practice are reviewed as well as directions for further research. A final consideration is the limited utilization of research due to a lack of agreement about an explicit definition of social support and its operationalization as well as an inability to draw comparisons between measures, that are in themselves imprecise (House & Kahn, 1985; Sarason, Shearin, Pierce & Sarason, 1987; Thoits, 1982).

2.4.1.1 A general perspective

The concept of social support has shown significant inherent limitations and weaknesses as well as great potential. Pierce et al (1997, p. 4) assert that the concept developed "...in a vacuum..." without the necessary linkages with relevant disciplines such as psychology, psychiatry, sociology and community studies although the concept has the capacity to integrate and draw on a number of disciplines. An understanding of social, psychological and biological processes that link these aspects to health is another essential aspect of theory with inappropriate assumptions of consensus among these definitions and a "...lack of coherent theory of social support..." (Pierce et al. 1997, p. 11).

The other most frequently encountered objection is the concept itself that remains unclear with few theorists in agreement (Tardy, 1985), definitions typically being imprecise (Cohen & McKay, 1984) and the concept lacking distinctiveness. There is agreement that

a global construct of social support is problematic, and Barrera (1986, p.414) concludes that the concept of social support is too broad for research, preferring to focus on the connections between stress and distress variable with more specific definitions being recommended. Cauce and Srebnik (1990, p. 237) conversely, regard social support as a concept sufficiently robust that it can overcome the idiosyncratic nature of the measurement instruments.

These definitional issues are compounded by the fact that much early research also lacks a theoretical basis. Consequently, there is the considerable variety in current measurement approaches so that definitions, methods and methods are not comparable and implications for theory are not clear (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Sarason, Shearin, Pierce & Sarason, 1987). Paucity of data on the comparability of the instruments is compounded by the fact that few have satisfactory reliability coefficients and information about validity. House & Kahn (1985, p.102) conclude that "...measurement is still in a fairly primitive state".

However, the concepts deserve a closer examination to determine the accuracy of these conclusions. Lu makes a strong claim that "social support not only enhances an individual's absolute level of happiness but also contributes to a position change in the level of happiness, that is, by lifting it up in the face of adversity..." (Lu, 1999, p. 5). From a psychological perspective, the earliest interest was seen in 19th century clinical medicine, where the doctor's presence alone was observed to improve the health of the patient (Sarason, Sarason & Pierce, 1990). Cobb (1976) and others were pioneers in the new cross-disciplinary field of research associated with community psychology. Cobb (1976, p. 300) defined social support as "...information leading the subject to believe that he is cared for and loved...esteemed and valued...(and)... to believe that he belongs to a network of communication and mutual obligation". Sociologists were interested in embedded ness and its impact on health, and observed that stressors were more prevalent in the lower social classes. Community workers could make a difference in the lives of those with poor networks, that is, social support buffered crisis situations by assisting people to deal with stress and improve well being (Cohen & Wills, 1985.) The early

tools of social support were basic measures of embedded ness. However, there was no agreement on the conceptualization and operalization of social support (Payne & Jones, 1987).

Research in child development, in particular Bowlby's attachment theory, contributed significantly to the developing concept of social support with theorists such as Weis (1986) exploring the relational basis of adulthood that derives from childhood attachments. These consist of attachment, affiliation, nurturance, collaboration, persisting alliance and help obtaining. "The same perceptual mechanisms and the same biochemical pathways are utilized and the first system modifies itself to become the second...(with)... the interruption of attachment in adults ...(causing)...the same behavioral expressions in children" (Weis, 1986, p. 102).

Social support was, thus, conceptualized as a personality variable, derived from early, intimate relationships. Through this lens, support was viewed as a stable variable over time, a commodity the individual could access through supportive relationships. Studies of perceived social support in the 1980s, thus, concluded that what was perceived might reflect personality rather than social support. Pierce et al. (1997) broadened this debate with the view that as each situation is a unique process of matching a focus on only environment or personality is inappropriate. Social support is "...not a product of either personality or the social environment: instead ... a unique matching between objective properties of social interaction and the personalities of the relationship participants." (Pierce et al. p. 6). Thus, the study of personality and social support links usefully with intra-personal processes. The study of personality in social support research enables better understanding of the characteristics of supportive people and thus, more effective interventions.

Stimulus qualities are seen to be causal factors. Social support is a consistent individual difference variable with patterns from early parent child interaction being seen during the first twenty years of life. Most recent research into social support uses adults or college students (Cohen & Wills, 1985) with the relationship between support and well being,

firmly established. Further interest in the construct itself, led to studies that looked at stability, origins and relationship aspects of social support in college students (Sarason, Sarason & Shearin, 1986). While the support varied by individual differences and environment, it was stable over a three-year period. However, there are methodological problems in generalizing from college student data and such measures are not cost effective for the general population (House & Kahn, 1985, p. 95).

A developmental focus links social support with early experience and more ecological models that are context or interaction focused. Context is defined as "… regularly occurring settings that can affect development by preventing risks and opportunities…(such as)…family, friendship groups, neighborhoods, schools, communities, states and nations" (Garbarino & Gabourey, 1983, p. 4) and highlights the role of parents. The ecological model of child development is valuable in relation to social support because it focuses on environmental and social ecology, providing insight into social context related to social networks, adjustment and the experience of social support (Bronfenbrenner, 1985). This model enables conceptual linkages between the fields of adolescence and social support thus integrating two significant fields (Sarason, Sarason & Shearin, p. 865).

Several definitions in literature are preferred as they capture the essence of this problematic concept. Thoits (1995, p. 64) defines social support as "…a coping resource…a social fund from which people may draw when handling stressors…", the effectiveness of which is entirely situation specific. Sandler, Miller, Short & Wolchik (1989) describe social support as a source of resilience for adolescents and children that determines how well they deal with stressful circumstances. The concept of social support as a resource is expanded by Sarason, Shearin, Pierce & Sarason (1987, p. 830) who describe the common core of social support as how far a person is "…accepted, loved and involved in relationships in which communication is open". They suggest that social support "…involves primarily an individual as engaging in a number of relationships, each differing in quality and depth of caring". This care builds a sense of self-worth and encourages risk taking. Hence it is concluded that the basis of social

support is "...knowing that others us love us and would willing do for us what they can" (1987, p. 831). Thoits (1995 p. 64) states that "The simplest and most powerful measure of social support appears to be whether a person has an intimate, confiding relationship..." also known as the "...one person is enough hypothesis..."(Abbey, Aramis & Caplan, 1985, p.113).

The combination of resource and relationship focused definitions links with attachment theory, a major theory underpinning the concept of social support. The core of social support derives from the concept of secure attachment in that at its core, are rewarding ties with other people (Sarason, Sarason & Shearin, 1986).

Literature on loneliness is a valuable source of data about those with a deficit of social support, that is, those who are persistently lonely, socially isolated and at greater risk of physical or mental illness (Rook, 1984). Like social support, there is no consensus about definitions of loneliness to date. However, it is agreed that unwanted loneliness causes distress based on a discrepancy between what is and what is hoped for. A variety of relationships are needed to meet people's social needs and interventions can improve social bonding for the individual through a focus on social skills, cognitive therapy or community level or environmental enhancement of chances for interpersonal relating. A more direct approach supports those experiencing loneliness (following a major stress) or helps them to deal better with being alone by learning loneliness skills so that they depend less on others and feel more in control (Rook & Peplau, 1982). The family functions to alleviate loneliness through social contact and teaches children how to socialize, thereby building self worth.

2.4.1.2 From stressful events to chronic strains

A number of differing concepts are used to classify the range of life events or stressors that are experienced over a lifetime. These are variously described in the literature as life events, transitions, chronic strains, markers, transformations or continuities and discontinuities.

A severe life event is defined as an experience that requires the person to significantly revise his pattern of behavior (Holmes & Rahe, 1967). Studies have typically used life events scales that show a positive effect from social support (Cohen & Wills, 1985) but they do not explain the impact of the support on the specific event or stressor. Of the 41 events listed in the Social Rating Scale, 25 are considered as loss events, such as the death of a close family member, with some others not clearly positive or problematic, such as a spouse starting work or making a large purchase (Hobfall, 1988). Life events occur and result in social support of various kinds.

Classification of events is problematic and dependent on the circumstances and expectations as well as cultural, familial and individual perceptions (Dunkel-Schetter & Bennett, 1990). However, Dohrenwend, Snell, Krasnoff, Askenazy & Dohrenwend (1978) propose a five type model consisting of death of a loved one, interpersonal difficulties, practical difficulties in school, job or family finances, and events that occur to people important to the respondent. These life events typically result in increases and decreases in supportive relationships (Thoits, 1982).

Events may also be regarded as transition points in the lives of children and adolescents. Cobb (1976) suggests that transitions to primary school and university, first employment, marriage, changes in housing and death of a loved one, are major life transitions. Hobfall (1988) argues that loss events can be difficult processes over a long time period, with the demand rather than the event, causing stress. Divorce is a pertinent example as it is "...a complex stressor sequence that places considerable demands on the adaptational abilities of the individual" (Wilcox, 1986, p. 131). Divorce combines emotional trauma at the prospect of the relationship finishing, pressure from the divorce itself and the impact on personal relationships as "...marital disruption alters virtually every major role filled by any individual, inevitably impacting on social support" (Wilcox, 1986, p. 117). A change in attachment can be experienced as a stressor if it comes unexpectedly or at the wrong time (Weiss, 1986). A positive transition, such as promotion, can also lead to a loss of resources in the process of adaptation. Chronic strains, such as poverty and parental

conflict, are conditions that persist and need ongoing adjustment (Pearlin & Lieberman, 1979). The rate of physical maturation is not typically incorporated into stress inventories but can be a significant cause of stress (Mechanic, 1983).

Change is continuous throughout life span, with continuity defined as "...quantitative increases of elements present in earlier stages" and discontinuity "...new behavior that is not present in earlier stages" (Lerner & Ryff, 1978, p.4). Puberty is a good example of a discontinuity. Lerner & Ryff advocate for the use of life experience and historical events as variables as well as the more often used markers of developmental stages. They pose the view that new phenomena are more likely to emerge from the former. The life span view recommends thorough mapping of the interaction of the individual's age, life events and environment so that the characteristics of the change process can be understood. The variables that emerge from the mapping of this interaction can be used as variables in research.

An event can be stressful due to the interplay of identity and role (Simon, 1995; Thoits, 1995). In a study of employed parents, most fathers link failure to carry out their main role as the breadwinner with stressful consequences (Simon, 1995). Parents agree that the mothers should provide love, emotional support and companionship. Fathers are not conflicted by multiple roles while most mothers express confusion about this, in particular, not being there when their children need them.

Serious events such as an illness or death of a family member may cause the helper closest to react negatively so that support is not given and the helpee feels more isolated and stressed at a time when coping resources diminish (Wortman & Conway, 1985). Negative reactions by helpers are due to apprehension about the future and impact on the family, anxiety about appropriate responses (responses may seem automatic or meaningless) and a misplaced inclination to think that recovery will be rapid. Helpees report that very cheerful helpers who give advice and identify with helpee emotions, provide unhelpful support (Wortman & Lehman, 1985).

Life events were associated with psychosomatic symptoms, especially in boys, in a Finnish study (Aro, Hanninen & Paronen, 1989). Poor relationships with either or both parents were linked with highest frequency of symptoms and more boys than girls reported not having anyone in whom to confide. The buffering effect between the relationship with parents and life events on change of psychosomatic symptoms was statistically significant for boys for life events and lack of friends for girls. In similar research with American youth, personal efficacy, peer support and family cohesion were predictive of well being (Walker & Greene, 1987). Peer support was important for males when negative events accumulated but consistently important for girls. When levels of negative life events were low, family cohesion had an impact, but when negative life events were frequent as seen by high symptom levels, family cohesion had no impact.

2.4.2 Key Concepts in Social Support Theory

This section will present theoretical frameworks that consider social support and the relationship to health as well as information about measurement relevant to the theoretical frameworks presented. Each framework takes a different perspective about the major components. An inherent question underlying these considerations is the epidemiology of social support. When and why do certain kinds of support impact protectively on the health of youth?

2.4.2.1 The measurement of social support and social relationships

House and Kahn's framework (1985) comprises three aspects of social relationships; their quantity and existence, their social integration and the social support they convey. Individuals benefit most from a "...resource rich network..." with many different social ties (Lin & Westcott, 1991, p. 217), with range being considered more important than composition. The most often used example is marriage. Marriage and health correlate positively as marriage leads to the presence of a confidant and increased support as well as the combination of resources that each provides. "It affords and commands an extended network in which each partner serves as a node in an extended bridge..." (Lin &

Westcott, 1991, p. 277) promoting psychological well being through the integration of social networks. A threat to marriage thus comprises a major and very threatening stressor. Remarriage can "...alleviate many instrumental and expressive needs and (improve) ...well being" (p. 228).

Social relationships by their very existence are powerful with House & Kahn (1985, p. 89) concluding that the existence and quantity of relationships with friends and relatives relate "... cross-sectionally to lower rates of psychological and physical disorders and health'. For example, membership of and attendance at church and other voluntary institutions is positively linked with well being. Social relationships are also "...relatively objective, reliable and not artifactually confounded with measures of other relationship variables such as stress and health"(House & Kahn, 1985, p. 90). Quantity in a social relationship precedes structure and function although there are varying opinions about the minimum number of essential supports needed. The Social Network List is an example of a measure that assesses social network characteristics, in which subjects list 20 important people contacted at least once in the last month (Sarason, Shearin, Pierce and Sarason, 1987).

The structural aspect of social support considers the sources or providers of the support. A variety of classifications of social support providers have been suggested with the most basic being by role such as mother, father, parent, siblings, friends or peers, teachers and non-family adults (Cauce, Reid, Landesman & Gonzales, 1990). This can be further simplified into family and non- family, or a continuum from formal to informal. Cohen & McKay (1985) consider from five to ten to be an optimal number to measure in any study with the formal-informal continuum being recommended for high risk youth.

Social network measures focus on the analysis of the structures within the networks and the degree of embeddedness or connections that people have with significant others in their social environments (Barrera, 1986, p. 415). An example of a social network measure asks children for verbal information about network members and uses a barometer to measure satisfaction and interaction with network members (Cauce, Reid,

Landesman & Gonzales, 1990). However, embeddedness, as such, "...does not buffer the physical or emotional impacts of major stressful life events or chronic difficulties." (Thoits, 1995, p. 64). Lin & Westcott (1991) believe that such measurement instruments enable an understanding of the reciprocity of relationships but not an understanding the relationship between support and health outcomes. Network structure is, however, considered to be an important means of assessing the different kinds of assistance (Lin and Westcott (1991) with the size, cohesiveness, reciprocity and types of relationships in the network influencing the support received (Thoits, 1995). Measures are considered to be time consuming, relatively weak and hence not yet shown to be cost effective (House & Kahn, 1985). A variety of social integration measures have been developed but due to limited internal consistency, are useful only for large population studies (Pierce et al. 1997).

Social support refers to approaches that utilize functions or content measures or the interaction of structural and content measures. Measures span a continuum from global to specific with "...differentiations made with respect to quantity or availability of support versus quality or adequacy of support, source of support and type of support" (House & Kahn, 1985, p. 95). Most measures use respondent self-report to gather data.

Functional measures of social support appear to have satisfactory reliability but limited construct validity. These measures have varying usefulness but there is no validated cost effective method that can be recommended.

The functional model considers support by type or content of the supportive interaction categories of support are used so that social support is classified by its function. A functional conceptualisation of social support suggested by Cohen & Wills (1985), has "... theoretical and empirical endorsement with adults..." and uses four categories: esteem or emotional support, informational support, social companionship support and instrumental or tangible aid. House & Kahn (1985) use a similar but simpler framework of emotional, informational-appraisal and instrumental-tangible functions of support. Cohen & McKay (1984) regard these as applicable to cross-cultural settings. Cobb (1976) differentiates between psychological and non-psychological forms of support.

Psychological support entails informational-appraisal and emotional while non-psychological support is tangible or instrumental support. Emotional support can be further categorised as self-esteem and belonging needs and mechanisms. Given the construct overlap between these categories, a simplified classification is preferred but it is clear that some categories are not covered in the measures available.

Cauce, Reid, Landesman & Gonzales (1990) recommend the use of Bogat's categories, "support generalist" and "support specialist", to understand the interaction of provider or source and function or type of support. Support generalists are basic network members such as parents who "...supply an individual with all or many types of support", while support specialists are siblings and friends whose support is the"...unique, limited ...support to the focal individual"(Bogat, Caldwell, Rogosch & Krugler, 1985, p. 25). Research with college students indicated that both were present, but that nuclear family members seemed the most important in relation to satisfaction with support.

Bogat, Caldwell, Rogosch and Reigler's study analysed total support by individual providers (parents, peers and teachers) and calculated total support by all providers by function and specific support functions by specific providers in relation to conflict. The function model was found to have no significance and is not regarded as useful. The provider model was more useful with total parent support relating with mothers' reports of adjustment to school and peer support relating with cognitive competence and curiosity as well as adjustment to school on day one. The interaction model provided reliable data and in combination with the provider model, it was concluded that emotional and instrumental support from parents most influenced adjustment.

Many measures combine aspects of structure and function. Instruments based on types of support with college students can identify a "...common core..." of social support but result in ineffective sub scales (Sarason, Shearin, Pierce & Sarason, 1987, p. 80). The Social Support Questionnaire measures perceived available social support as well as adequacy or satisfaction with the support and is a good example of a well-developed instrument that has a high validity and correlations with other measures (Sarason, Levine,

Basham & Sarason, 1983). Number of dependable supports can be reliably predicted particularly for women but the degree of satisfaction with the support is more variable (Sarason, Sarason & Shearin, 1986). House & Kahn (1985) conclude that quantity, structure and function are the three main aspects of social support relationships with the recommendation that at least two should be conceptualised and measured in any study in order to understand the links between social support and health.

A lack of criterion validity continues to be a major problem with measurement, in that it is not possible to adequately assess the measurement tools. Social support has a strong relationship with health and well being, so that "...when well designed empirical research confirms theoretical ideas about the relationship between social support and health, confidence in both the theory and the measures used to test it are enhanced...(with)...the litmus test... (being) ...it's relationship to the major causes and consequences of social support" (House & Kahn, 1985, p. 87).

2.4.2.2 The buffering effect of social support

Buffering theory allows for a focus on stressors in relation to interpersonal interaction. A consideration of the theory of social support must include an understanding of the mechanisms by which the main effect and buffering occur. The main effect model holds that social resources have a positive effect, regardless of the level of stress, by providing "...positive affect, a sense of predictability and stability on one's life situation, and a recognition of self-worth" (Cohen & Wills, 1985, p. 311) that can impact indirectly on health. The buffering model, conversely holds that buffering, or reduction of the impact of the stressor, will take place "...when the support functions measured are those that are most relevant for the stressors faced by the person" (Cohen & Wills, 1985, p. 314). The functions of the support can be classified as psychological or physiological.

Buffering theory incorporates the concepts of stress and symptomotology. Stress is defined as "...a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources or endangering his or

her well being..." (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 19) or "...ongoing person environment transactions..." (Sandler et al. 1989, p.278). Stressors can be variously life events, chronic strains or transitions.

The timing of the measurement of a buffering effect has a bearing on research with a research dilemma being the confusion between the support, the events and the interaction. Thoits (1982, p.154) provides a more exact view of buffering, where "... the individual is buffered to the extent that he or she is able to retain a high level of social support when life changes occur". The key factor is the maintenance of similar levels of support during the event. Thoits points out that the concept of buffering is problematic as the concept derives from studies rather than theory. She concludes her review of studies by stating that social support can both buffer as well as being causal. The remaining question is the relative role of adjustment caused by the event and the distress, the lowered support caused by the event and the distress and the individual factors involved.

Nevertheless, it can be concluded that social support is more likely to be stress buffering when associated with the perception of available support, with individual differences and personality are significant factors in that interaction. "The perception that one's network is ready to act can be as important, if not more important, than actual supportive behaviors" (Thoits, 1982 p. 84). It is also critical to look at subject ratings of satisfaction, in order to understand what works, when and for whom with the reminder that coping style and personality are much less amenable to change than social relationships themselves Cauce, Reid, Landesman &Gonzales, 1990; Thoits, 1982).

Buffering studies require reliable instruments measuring cumulative events and cumulative stress, a large sample size (with a wide range of stress and symptoms), sound reliability and validity data, a significant relationship between stress and symptoms and clarity about social support and stressor that originate from changes in social relationships. The focus must be on perceived available support and the functions related to coping capacity.

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There are inherent dilemmas with studies that assess only future or past social support. Future focused research is beneficial as current data can reflect the impact of social support received, the change in level of symptoms causing change in support received or other factors such as personality (Cohen & Wills, 1985).

Specific function measures such as perception of an available confidant consistently show buffering effects and assess access to confiding relationships within which emotional and informational support will occur, with women in particular benefiting from confidant support. Distinct or individual support function measures are relatively infrequent and results are inconsistent, largely because a match between need and functional support is required for buffering to take place.

Main effect and buffering effect are different processes whereby social support resources impact on well being. Embeddedness has a positive impact on well being but not under stressful conditions, so while social integration provides a general sense of stability, it is unrelated to stressful events. For buffering effect to occur, particular support resources are activated under conditions of increased stress, so that special support functions respond to the stressor. Network embeddedness sustains an overall sense of stability without any impact of stress (Cohen & Wills, 1985 p. 349).

Thoits (1982) warns that buffering studies need a cautious response. Inadequate conceptualization and operalization of the concept is cited, as well as most studies confusing the effects of the stressor on support with the interaction between events and support. A third factor is the call to look at the neglected main effect of support on distress.

2.4.2.3 An operational framework

Tardy (1985) conceptualizes social support using operational and theoretical aspects of the concept. His framework comprises direction (received or provided), disposition (perceived or received), description/evaluation (satisfaction), content (types or functions)

and network (direction of the support). These are regarded as the primary and interdependent elements of the social support. The review of tools indicates that while received support is included in most tools, none measure support provided that is a valuable measure of reciprocity. Disposition, evaluation and content are well represented in other tools. The evident deficiencies are the provision of support and a clearer focus on types of support, especially emotional support. In summary, Tardy's model whilst thorough lacks the core theoretical component as articulated by Thoits and others. The analysis does, however, highlight important deficits that need attention.

2.4.2.4 The loss and gain theory of social support

Hobfall's theory (1988) of conservation of resources is a valuable addition to social support literature in that it build soundly on the concept of stress and lends itself to needed field level applications and interventions for those facing trauma in their lives. Moreover, it captures some of the more elusive categories of support less amenable to the traditional classifications such the direct effect of loss or lack of support. The model can be used to categorize a range of events and to design ways to offset the impact of the stressors, lending itself to systemic intervention design. This theory is problematic in that it is difficult to measure the contextual aspects of the exchange, the coping styles, individual differences and personality variables.

The conservation of resources model of stress takes a homeostatic view that individuals will try to maintain the resources they have. Stress is defined as an environmental response to a threat of overall resource loss, actual loss or no gain following investment. Resources are defined as "...objects, personal characteristics, conditions, or energies, valued by the individual... " (Hobfall, 1986, p. 26). The concept involves the minimizing of loss and maximizing gain of resources by the individual. Hobfall & Stephens (1990) define major stress events as loss events, that is loss or threat of loss, characterized as enduring and sometimes irrevocable. For example, after divorce and the consequent loss of a partner, establishing a new attachment may be a focus in order to regain lost resources.

Duration also impacts on coping resources so that compared to minor stressors, as "... traumatic experience threatens the viability of our very basic theories of the world and ourselves, including ...an assumption of personal invulnerability, an assumption of meaningfulness, and a belief in one's own self-worth" Janoff-Bulman & Timko (1987, p. 141). Denial functions to assist in habituation to traumatic experience by allowing for gradual acceptance of reality that threatens self and the most basic assumptions about the world.

Interventions for those experiencing major stressors parallel those considered for loneliness and should first look at the kind of loss experienced to determine the components of the intervention. Options are systemic level action, self-help groups or more natural support groups. With prolonged stressors, attention should be given to timing to avoid both mistimed support and supporter fatigue. Attention to different types of support is also critical. Public health planning can look at wide categories of stressors as experienced by particular groups with the system taking some responsibility for the provision of resources to alleviate the stressor.

2.4.2.5 Perceived and received social support

Defined by Barrera (1986, p. 417) as "the actions that others perform when they render assistance to a focal person..." received social support is methodologically strong and applicable to support received in the past. Received support derives both from those available to provide support and the potential support provider's perceptions of the person's need for support. Measures of received support assess how responsive others are in providing support at a time when people are under stress. The focus is on the perception of the recipient of the helpee rather than the provider or helper (Dunkelschetter & Bennett, 1990). Support may be elicited because the event causes those in the network to respond, or those in the network see a need in the person affected by the event, or because the person requests help. The focal points are variously the event, the network or provider or the adequacy of the person. Received support has a

greater effect after stressful events, when there is a single stressor and the supportive behavior is specific to the stressor (Dunkel-Schetter & Bennett, 1990).

Perceived social support is conceptualized conversely as the " cognitive appraisal of being reliably connected to others...(and)...confidence that adequate support would be available if needed..." (Barrera, 1986, p. 417). An alternate definition is information leading to certain outcomes (Cobb, 1976), with the key components being adequacy or satisfaction and availability (Barrera, 1986; Wolchik, Beals & Sandler, 1989). Procidano & Heller (1983) cite three validation studies using perceived social support, concluding that perceived self-report is an effective means of prediction with measures being relatively stable.

Theorists explain perceived social support in the context of stressors and symptoms with the perceptions of the need for social support and its availability influencing the stress experienced (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Perceived support is strongly related to improved mental and physical health (Antonucci & Israel, 1986; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Sarason, Pierce & Sarason, 1990; Thoits, 1995; Wethington & Kessler, 1986) and "...usually buffers the damaging mental and physical health impacts of major life events and chronic strains..." (Thoits, 1995, p. 64). A study of Finnish youth concluded that perceived support (feelings of security) reduced stress and protected healthy males from developing obesity (Ravaja, Keltikangas -Jarvinen & Viikavi, 1998) with a decrease in social support over a three-year period resulting in an increase in the weight height ratio.

Perceived support is more important before an event, while received support is more important after an event (Cohen & Wills, 1985). The most effective support fits with the stressor phase and situation specific needs (Helgeson, 1993). Too much or too little support can cause stress. Emotional support predicts life satisfaction while informational and instrumental support reduces distress and assists with adjustment. An event perceived as controllable will be approached with a problem focus and an uncontrollable event will evince an emotional response (Thoits, 1995). In situations of psychological distress, informational support assists patients and instrumental support assists the spouse. Scale

and variety are important variables, with those who use a large number and varied type of coping strategies or "...versatile coping..." having lowered levels of stress (Mattlin, Wethington & Kessler, 1986, p. 117). Family members provide both positive and problematic support and the impact depends on relative balance of the support received and perceived available (Reveson, Schiaffino, Majerovitz, & Gibofsky, 1991).

In summary, these two measures of social support have a long track record in the literature, with consensus that their roles are divergent, inter-related and complementary. The value of these measures as social support measures for research will dependent on the theory that is selected to underpin the research design.

2.4.2.6 Cultural dimensions

Cultural differences are seen in the way help is elicited and support is given, with four support functions probably found in all cultures: tangible help, positive appraisal, self-esteem enhancement and a sense of belonging (Cohen & McKay, 1984). The existence of cross-cultural similarities most likely reflects the fact that people in many cultures face common cultural challenges and come up with similar solutions. An important challenge for all cultures is how children are raised so that these children as adults will support those in their culture in the 'right' way.

Liang & Bogat (1994) observe that extended Asian families do not provide more stress buffering to family members than Western nuclear families. A study of Chinese and Anglo Americans in America showed no evidence of buffering effect between stressors and illness for Chinese Americans (Lin, Simeone, Ensel & Kuo, 1979). General social support, such as feelings about the neighborhood or close friends in the area had more impact than ethnic items, such as being involved in Chinese association or being an officer in a Chinese association. A second study of Chinese and Anglo Chinese university students in Beijing and Nanjing, concluded that the two groups used social support differently, but that there was no buffering effect for the Chinese students. The predominant Asian cultural norms of "...self discipline ... correct the mind and train the

temperament..." lead overt emotion to be suppressed (Wu, 1982, p. 297). Subtle Asian cultures focus on "...formal, ritualized, display rules..." with non-verbal cues revealing emotional dispositions"(Wu, p. 298). The receipt of support in a high stress situation further stressed the Chinese students as receipt implied a loss of face through the inference of request (Lin, Simeone, Ensel & Kuo, 1979). Perceived appraisal and tangible support were beneficial however, regardless of stress levels, consistent with Cohen and Wills' views (1985). The Anglo group showed evidence of stress buffering, consistent with the link between stress buffering and internal locus of control. It should be noted that the instruments used were developed in the West based on Western theories of social support.

Epidemiological suicide data from Australia and Hong Kong from 1984 to 1994 highlighted the most vulnerable members of the both cultures, who, by implication, appeared not to have received the social support needed (Yip, 1998). Suicide in Australia was most frequently by poisoning (37%), hanging (28%) and firearms (19%). Urban Australian male youth were at greatest risk. Conversely, the highest rate of suicide in Hong Kong occurred in Chinese Asian woman who have relatively low social status, higher economic pressures and the stress of dual role as parent and income earner. Jumping was the main method used in Hong Kong with 85% of the population living in high-rise accommodation. A combination of stressors compounded by role conflict and high-rise housing appeared to be contributing factors.

2.4.2.7 The functions of friendship

Berndt's (1989) review of literature concludes that adults and children describe the supportive qualities of friendship similarly with emotional support from friends enhancing well being, informational support providing advice or guidance and instrumental support providing for practical needs. However, adolescent friendships are comparatively more sensitive with more informational and instrumental support than children's friendships. Supportive friendships have clearly defined characteristics. Both children and adult friendships reduce negative reactions to a stressor such as change, if

the friendships are stable and endure beyond the stressor (Berndt, 1989; Cohen & Wills, 1985). As with social support in general, the effect of supportive friendships is greatest when there is a match between the stressor and the support. Mechanic (1983) suggests that too much talk can interfere with judgment and too much introspection may not be useful. Children must also have the coping skill necessary be able to access the available support.

Personal and environmental factors underlie the effect of social support provided by adult friends (Berndt, 1989). There is a strong relationship between measures of personality and social skills of adjustment. Social support and adjustment overlap, as access to support is an indication of adjustment. Social support mediates the relation between adjustment immediately after the stressor but not to later adjustment. It is important to have the support when the need is perceived. The stability of children's friendships links with adjustment and the children's personality characteristics impinge on their style of making or helping new friends. The implications are that interventions should not disrupt children's friendships and that environmental changes alone are insufficient make a difference.

Studies of the out-of-school hours of American children (Medrich, Roizen, Rubin & Buckley,1982) concluded that most children watched television with their parents and most parents help with homework, except for Asian parents, whose children nevertheless were high achievers. Asian and Caucasian parents were more likely to register their children in classes as well as to take them to the classes. Parents were facilitators, influenced by their income and education with many activities requiring a car for transportation. Families went to restaurants and church together. Chores, however, were a source of tension, with parents using them to give the children experience of a work ethic even thought the chores are typically not important and do not take long. Two thirds of children had at least one after school activity and half the children had two. Participation in activities took place if parents agreed to do so and provided money as well as time to transport their children.

2.4.3 Summary of Social Support

The strongest conceptual strength of social support is its direct and practical relationship with health and its capacity to integrate a wide number of disciplines. The dilemma is the selection of both theory and measurement that are sufficiently rigorous for application in studies and will allow for valid cross study comparisons. This task is no light matter as the literature is replete with critical theorists, who while developing promising leads, dismiss much of the achievements of the past two decades of research as insubstantial. In summary, without attention to this kind of rigour at all stages of research, the promise of social support will not be realized.

The initial research task is to decide on a strong definition that lends itself to implementation and clearly explains the mechanisms related to event, stressor and impact. It can be concluded that research method should differentiate between and measure quantity, structure and functional content as well as received and perceived social support because perceptions of available support relate to stress appraisal and buffering, that are, in turn, related to health and well being. Most emphasis should be given to emotional support because it has the strongest links with health outcomes. The most appropriate measures are those that are multi-dimensional. Research design should include accessing support provided in relation to stressors as well as daily events and relationships experienced during development and elucidating mechanisms. Design should also look at social support over time (coping needs and responses) so it is possible to understand the process (past, present and future). It is essential to consider the fit or match between the event or stressor and support and to carefully consider subject ratings of satisfaction with support received and available. Design should focus on specific events or stressors and consider the variety of coping needs and supports that are experienced. It is critical to look at how social support promotes or does not promote health, under stressful and non-stressful conditions. Research findings should take care to restrict findings to the subjects sampled and avoid generalizing findings from one research population. Cost effectiveness is a useful consideration, with the measure, the duration and data yield balanced against resources and research objectives.

2.5 Indonesian Context

2.5.1 Overview

This section presents information about Indonesia from demography, social research and health statistics in order to provide an overview of the context in which a major part of the research was carried out.

2.5.2 Demographics and Research on Adolescents

Indonesia is the fifth largest country in the world, with a population of approximately 200 million, 14,000 inhabited islands and 200 ethnic groups. The predominant religion in Indonesia is Islam with over 90% of the populations being Moslem, the remainder Protestant, Catholic and Hindu. At the time of completing this thesis, there were 31 Indonesian provinces.

Jakarta, the capital city, has a population estimated between nine to fourteen million people, situated in West Java, and has special status as a province. Jakarta is a dense cosmopolitan city heavily influenced by globalization, Western, Chinese and Javanese cultures so there is, in effect, no typical Jakartan or Indonesian family (Natakusumah et al. 1992). Another significant trend has been the rapid economic growth in Indonesia over the last two decades and the accompanying growth of a large and vocal middle class with the central debate focusing on the critical themes of development and democracy (Van Dongen, 1997).

National education in Indonesia is based on the Pancasila or Government ideology and laws of 1945 (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 1998) and consists of school and out of school education. Pre-school education caters for five and six year olds with basic education consists of six years of primary school (SD) and three years of junior secondary school (SMP) or general secondary education (SMA). Senior secondary

education expands knowledge and skills, preparing students for tertiary study or the workplace.

The Education Department school census carried out in 1996 provides an overview of student and teacher numbers in the Government system. The 173,898 primary schools have an enrolment of 29,236,933 students who are taught by 1,327,218 teachers. Junior and senior high Schools combined, totaled 56,166 schools, 14,306,669 students and 998,600 teachers. The higher education system is relatively smaller with 1667 universities, 2,703,896 students and 189,471 teachers. Class sizes tend to be large and teacher status, relatively low, as evidenced by their salaries.

A recent East West Center report (1999), notes that youth from 15 – 24 years, comprise 21% of the Indonesian population of two hundred million that is transition from a traditional to a modern society. The 8000 + youth surveyed in the report from 20 rural districts in Lampung, West and Central Java, showed that most had heard of AIDS, and one third of those who were single said that they knew others who were sexually active. They learned about reproductive health issues from their friends, boyfriends, girlfriends and spouses, rarely discussing these matters with parents. The Krismon had affected them, especially economically, with less money spent on food, wages declining and some having to leave school.

A review of student brawls in 1999 concluded that 30 students died as a result of student brawls, an increase of 16 from 1998.[1] Causes of death were generally fatal stabbing with occasional shooting. While this number is a very small proportion of the youth population, the "student brawl phenomenon" requires closer examination as it is reflective of rivalry between male students from different schools. Fighting tends to break out spontaneously when students are going home. This phenomenon is so frequent that motorists often stop their cars on the side of the road when seeing the students coming, to avoid damage to their cars from the stones and other missiles the students throw at the rival groups.[2] Brawls are seen in the city during the school term in university students as well as high school students. The police also report student involvement in bus hi-

jacking, sexual harassment and hold ups. Interestingly the hi-jacking reported was also based on student rivalry.[1]

Youth problem behavior in the print media at least tends to be interpreted as a result of external social factors with one example being a police raid of areas near 162 Jakarta schools. Police seized alcohol, sharp weapons and drugs, to help to reduce the perennial problem of brawls between school students.[3] In a second example, authorities encourage students to change out of their school clothes before leaving school to lessen the recognition of the uniform causing brawls between rival school gangs.[4]

Estimates of drug use by Jakarta students vary considerably, with little hard data available. Some data about youth sexual behaviour is available from the results of the Behaviour Surveillance Survey carried out by the University of Indonesia (1996 – 1999). These data have been obtained from youth in Manado, Jakarta and Surabaya on an annual basis since 1996. The data indicate that male students were more likely to have had sexual intercourse than females (Kaldor, Sadjimin, Hadisaputro & Bardon, 2000). Only two to three per cent of the male students reported having had had sex with a sex worker in the last year, with condom use being less than one in three students. Those most at risk of HIV infection are female sex workers and transvestites, men who have sex with men and injecting drug users. While prevalence of HIV and AIDS is still relatively low there is considerable concern about potential transmission among young injecting drug users, with most recent data from the Ministry of Health showing a doubling of infection rates in the last six months.

A 1992 study applied the circumplex model of family functioning to a cross-cultural comparison of families of United States and Indonesian drug users (Natakusumah et al. 1992). The 61 Indonesian youth were selected from three in patient drug rehabilitation units with a mean age of 18 years. The majority was Moslem and only 4% had parents who were separated or divorced. Using the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (Olson, Sprenkle & Russell, 1979), the researchers found some relevant differences.

Indonesian drug users, relative to the American sample studied, perceived their families as either balanced or enmeshed and their parents seemed to feel a greater sense of guilt and responsibility for their children's behavior. Indonesian families were seen as less dysfunctional, with face saving and a tendency to narrower scoring being partial explanations. The authors of this study cite the cohesion dimension as the most useful variable in predicting drug abuse in the Indonesian sample. The American adolescents tended to be disengaged from their families while the Indonesians were either balanced or enmeshed. Despite its meaning as a Western concept, enmeshment can be understood to mean that there are more resources available to address family problems. The divergent adaptability scores, increased rigidity, greater structure and less flexibility in the Indonesian families may be relevant variables for future qualitative research although the results were not statistically significant.

A study of HIV preventive adolescent behaviors in Jogjakarta (Zondervan, 1997) used in-depth interviews, written questionnaires, participatory observation and focus group discussion. Overall, it was concluded that the involvement of expatriate researchers did not pose a problem, apparently increasing motivation to participate. Despite an emphasis on confidentiality of the interviews (an interpreter was also used), the subjects appeared to be more reserved with an Indonesian in the room. Interviews held by the expatriate researcher with a mix of Indonesian and English, without an interpreter, seemed to make the subjects more relaxed. The loss of some content due to the language skills was offset by the noticeable improvement in rapport. The results of the study reflected the influence of community leaders, the strong religious community and the role of parents with sexual intercourse occurring at a later age than in Western countries. However sexual norms are changing, particularly as education is prolonged and age at marriage later, especially in urban areas. Knowledge about the realities of HIV transmission and prevention was not consistent. Sexually active adolescents were afraid, had some awareness of the risks they took but lacked effective strategies. Involvement of parents, community leaders, religious leaders and schools were recommended as critical elements in response to these needs.

The researcher recommended qualitative data gathering, multidisciplinary research and considerable attention to building rapport with respondents so that trust is established.

The Indonesian monetary crisis or Krismon, played out against a backdrop of general economic crisis in Asia. It began in early 1997, with the rupiah becoming increasingly unstable as the year progressed. The deaths of the Trisakti University students in Jakarta in May 1998 accelerated this process, culminating in the downfall of President Suharto later that month. It continued into 1999 with the first democratic Indonesian General Election in May, the East Timor Referendum in August, and finally the Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections in October 1999. Since the Election of President Abdurrahman Wahid and Vice President Megawati Sukarnoputri, the long-term tension and uncertainty have lessened considerably.

A large-scale survey in 1998 indicated that two thirds of the work force still had full time jobs but that one third had received a pay cut. Religious observance increased from 17% to 26% and more time was spent at home, with television and radio being the main forms of relaxation. Sources of tension and depression for adults were the cost of food, security and unemployment while youth, also cited having to leave school and security (Puspito, 1999). Youth are referred to as the generation of the crisis, who have had the rug pulled out from under them.[5]

2.6 Synthesis of the Literature

The following synthesis highlights the major themes embedded within this chapter in relation to both Australian and Indonesian adolescents. The review consists of literature on social support and cultural issues. Implications for researchers are included in Chapter Three.

2.6.1 Social Support

1   The families, and especially parents, of Western and Jakarta youth, play a very significant role in their development, as a source of social support and in relation to their health and well being.

2   Western youth, with a strong attachment to at least one parent, can deal with stressors more effectively than those who do not;

3   Western youths' hopes, fears and worries are primarily about work, employment and relationship issues, with evidence of impact of local media also being seen;

4   Western youth value social support that is combined with trust, empathy and negotiation as empowering and positive,

5   Money and religion appear to be important social supports for Western youth that are neglected as foci for research.

6   Western youth use space and outdoor environments to meet their developmental and personal needs with varying types of social interaction with peers, and alone, in a less supervised manner.

7   Studies about youth and social support should use contextual interactive methodologies to gain an understanding of the epidemiology of social support in both stressful situations, in transitions and in everyday relationships.

2.6.2 Social Support and Jakarta Youth

The following findings apply specifically to Jakarta youth.

1 Jakarta youth live in an urban community that is undergoing rapid change, due to many factors, such as globalization and the Krismon.

2 Family obligations and group goals are a higher priority in a collectivistic Eastern culture in Jakarta compared to the personal goals of Western individualistic cultures.

3 Parents of Jakarta youth continue to make decisions for their children at a later age than do Western parents, so that youth are likely to experience relatively delayed autonomy compared to Western youth.

4 Life history interviews are an effective method to study the social support experienced by youth from different cultures.

"Sometimes I felt upset when they kept angry at me. The lessons already made me stressed. I wanted to revolt but I didn't know how. They did it for my good."

Girl J24

3.0

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The literature review and synthesis have revealed a number of pertinent trends and imperatives. In the light of the major focus of this particular research (the experiences of social support of Jakarta youth), Study One will serve as the pilot or "emic" trial of the method in the Australian Researcher's culture. Thus, Study One will assess the utility and appropriateness of the method in order to assess, eventually, the social support experiences of Jakarta youth. This chapter details the research questions and method for Study One (Australia) and Study Two (Jakarta).

This chapter provides an overview of the particular methods considered for this research. Methods are drawn from a variety of sources: social support, adolescence, and psychological research specific to grounded theory. Issues such as culture and memory, and methodological options for sampling, data collection and data coding are also described. Considerable reference has been made to the work of Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell & Alexander (1995).

The essence of the chapter is aptly conveyed in Lerner's (1985) recommendations about theory based research, that is, conceptualisations about subject type and characteristics, context and its relationship to the subject and finally a sense of the "...precise process by which the person context transactions occur" (Lerner, 1985, p. 362). There is great consistency between the literature on social support and adolescence, so that research design should facilitate understanding of changes in coping sequences, stress and coping over time (Thoits, 1995).

3.2 Literature Review

3.2.1 Cross-cultural Considerations

Data interpretation is "...based on the cultural lens through which we view the world, and we must guard against this bias..." (Atkinson, 1993, p. 220). The ethnicity of the data collector becomes an important consideration in research, the literature review pointing to a number of practical research strategies to assist a researcher avoid bias and prejudice. A researcher from a different cultural background should set up a research team that is "...ethnically diverse, with at least one member of each ethnic group sampled..." (Atkinson, 1993, p. 220) to decrease the possibility of "...stereotyped views or distorted perceptions..." (Gil & Bob, 1999, p. 50). Data collection and data interpretation should thus take the cultural context into account at all stages to ensure that norms and values are understood (Kim Berg & Jaya, 1993). However, this is not understood to mean that only researchers from the same cultural background should carry out the research (Gil & Bob, 1999). The literature conversely indicates that the combined perspectives of researchers from different cultures add valuable dimensions.

The form of research will be as important as the content in Asian culture (Kim Berg & Jaya, 1993). The establishment of the relationship with the subject will need care so that proper relationship is established. In addition, the authority of the researcher may need to be established with more care than in a Western context, with credentials and previous experience being important information. Informed consent and confidentiality will need to be emphasized so that youth trust the researcher, knowing that their stories will not be identifiable in reports and publications. Asian youth may not feel they can decline to participate for fear of offending. For that reason, more time and attention than usual should be given to clarity of instructions, informant body language and the tone used in verbal responses when participation is being discussed.

The tools used should "...acknowledge participants as cultural beings..."(Gil & Bob, 1999, p. 52). While there is considerable data available in the literature, specifying

methods for competent research, an underlying and more difficult question is how to ensure that methods are utilized. Story telling is an effective means of looking at the inter-relationship between culture and individual identity (Howard, 1991). The building of identity as life story starts in late adolescence (McAdams, 1988), with identity, like story, functioning to integrate or bring together disparate parts, through narrative that can then be classified by form. Research instruments developed in Western countries are likely to be "...emic... (or)...culture specific...(and)...isolated from other cultures..." so to make them culturally competent or "...etic... (or) culture-general or universal..." instruments should be trialed in an emic context then adapted for use in an etic context (Pederson, 1991, p. 7). Research requires the inclusion of local researchers at all stages of the research, consultation with the community about the value or relevance of the research topic and attention paid to the process and accuracy of translations (Gil & Bob, 1999).

Young people, students and ethnic minorities are often used in research because they are readily accessible. Compensation is seen as an ethical requirement of their participation. "The principle of privacy requires that we respect the person and property of other" (Steininger, Newell & Garcia, 1984, p. 23). The underlying principle of beneficence or gratitude "...requires that we ...(researchers)... respond with appreciation to the good things others do for us..." (Steininger, Newell & Garcia, 1984, p. 24) so that avoiding harm to an ethnic minority community group involved in research is not enough. It is a very lack of compensation that is seen as unethical (Atkinson, 1993). Careful application of this principle should be a research priority. The literature also contains consistent warnings about the dangers of generalizing research results from one culture to another, whether from West to East or across Western countries, (Musgrove, 1963) or from one sample of the population to another (Abbey, Abramis & Caplan, 1985).

3.2.2 Memory

Memory is an important consideration when considering methods for study of youth, many of which involve the subject telling his or her story in a single session to an

interviewer, including earliest memories through to the present time, as well as reflections on the future. Tessler & Nelson (1994) argue that autobiographical memory is largely social in origin, based on two reported studies of three and four year olds. The parent-child verbal interaction was the stimulus for memory during and after the experience. Thus, the parent encoded the experience that became memory and was later recalled as the past, with and for the child. The quality of this interaction greatly influenced what was later recalled.

The earliest recall by Caucasian Americans was consistently between three and four years with few memories recalled from infancy and toddler-hood, according to a literature review by Pillemer (1998). A study of American college students recall of main events in childhood concluded that events occurring earlier than two years tend not to be recalled accurately because the process of eliciting them may not have provided appropriate cues (Pillemer, 1998). Exceptions were major childhood events recalled in adulthood, such as the birth of a younger sibling and hospitalization (Usher & Neisser, 1993).

Studies of recall of stressful childhood events are relatively recent and use events such as medical procedures (Goodman, Quas, Batterman-Faunce, Riddlesberger & Kutin, 1994). In one such study of American children aged from three to 10 years, the accuracy of information provided before an invasive medical procedure, correlated negatively with the level of distress experienced by the child. Children, whose mothers took less time to provide explanations and support, had less accurate recall, with parental discussion with their children being an important variable. Thus, Goodman et al (1994, p. 289) conclude that "...parents' communication and emotional support is predictive of accuracy of recall of stressful events in childhood".

In summary, on one hand researchers are skeptical, in that assessment of perceptions about family is complex, with data interpretation needing caution and present perception likely impacting on recall of childhood in retrospective studies (Melchert, 1998) Instruments used to assess family history have methodological flaws in their design. Of the instruments reviewed by Melchert, only half employ a separate scale for each parent

and the instruments are of limited value because they capture only general experience rather than context, sequence and timing. On the other hand, memory of family history is expected to be consistent over time unless there have been intervening processes such as psychotherapy, family discussions, close perusal of diaries and photos of growing up (Melchert, 1998). Memory experts agree that autobiographical memory is reliable, albeit in the absence of the respectability that self-report has attracted in the literature.

3.2.3   Social Support Revisited

Measures of received and perceived social support whilst used as the framework in many studies, remain imprecisely linked, and in the case of perceived support, partially understood. The traditional approach of analyzing the perceived and received social support has lost credibility as it ignores the important relationship context in which the social support is given and received (Pierce, Sarason, Sarason, Joseph & Henderson, 1996). "The relation between perceived support and health appears to be one of the more replicable effects in psychology" (Lakey & Lutz, 1996, p. 435), yet there is still a less than complete understanding of how perceived support buffers stressors (Wills, Mariani & Filer, 1996). Theorists claim that what seems to be "buffering" may, in fact, be the confounding of life events and social support (Thoits, 1995). The most convincing view in the literature concerning perceived support is that it is a general notion of acceptance, based on attachment, that "...may act, in part, as a personality process" (Lakey & Lutz, 1996; Timko & Moos, 1996, p. 450). Perceived support has, in summary, many determinants and it is these determinants that form the basis for interventions.

There is consistent support for the utilization of measures of provider or social support source, with a further qualification that quality is paramount over quantity. Social support measures of function are not robust, as functional types of support tend to be inter-related, and have value when measured in conjunction with the provider, the interaction between the two being equally useful (Burleson & Kunkel, 1996; House & Kahn, 1985).

Several specific gaps in the literature have relevance for this research, in particular the lack of attention to money (Thoits, 1995), religion, passive coping strategies (Mattlin, Wethington & Kessler, 1990) and sibling support (Barrera & Li, 1996). Data analysis in Study Two will code data by informant religion and ethnic background, as well as focusing on the religion and money as social supports.

A second broad and equally important omission from the current literature, is, that providing social support is as important as receiving it (Pierce, Sarason, Sarason, Joseph & Henderson, 1996). Hence there is a need for more attention to the broader concepts of reciprocity, social competencies, assumptive support, the Support Bank and communal versus exchange type relationships, the former being particularly relevant to Asian family functioning (Antonucci & Jackson, 1990).

In summary, Study Two will focus on major events, transitions and perceptions of stressors in the lives of Jakarta youth. Links between sources, or providers, support types and the degree of match, satisfaction or fit will be considered.

3.2.4   Sampling

A key design issue is the selection of appropriate youth populations. Cauce, Reid, Landesman & Gonzales (1985) recommend the involvement of children from lower socio-economic classes to gain important perspectives about poverty and risk. Rutter (1982b) consistently advocates for a study design that incorporates normal youth and high-risk groups. Dubow & Ullman (1989) suggest the involvement of adolescents at school, out of school and in institutions. Thompson (1995, p. 13) interviewed over 400 young women in the United States and she lucidly described her growing awareness of the importance of variation in her subjects, increasingly "...actively seeking out stories that represented racial, ethnic and sexual minorities as well as uncommon sexual and romantic points of view". The range of subjects in her study allowed a representation of minority experience. The social support literature is consistent in this regard, with Cohen

& Wills (1985, p. 317) concluding that it is "...desirable to have a sample with a broad range of stress, social support and symptomatology".

Sampling decisions are made first about probability versus non probability sampling, with qualitative research utilizing non probability sampling, that is incidental, consecutive, snowball sampling or theoretical sampling (Minichiello et al. 1995). The last two types are those most used in qualitative research in that they allow for flexibility as the research rationale may change during field work, as well as allowing for the widest range of possibilities and contrasts until the options are saturated. The use of a sampling model or framework keeps this process anchored and avoids an undue number of variables being considered, although it is only a tool and not all categories may be able to be found.

3.2.5   Methods

3.2.5.1 Observation

Behavioral observations have a limited value for research related to social support, in that they are limited by time and place and necessarily take place in the present. Thus, it is not possible to obtain any retrospective data or data relating to wide ranging experiences. However, observation is an efficient component of any interview, with attention to body language, intonation and pacing being essential to a complete understanding of the subject. Where appropriate, comments about interviewer observations will be made in this research.

3.2.5.2 Parent report and self-report

The literature refers to parents as unreliable sources concerning their children. In a British study, Musgrove (1963, p. 222) reported that adults were "...overwhelmingly negative..." about their mid adolescent children, while Kagan (1984) also cautions

against the use of parents as data sources, as their recollections of their children tend to be systematically distorted.

Self-report is unique in that it provides a phenomenological perspective about life and relationships (Cauce, Reid, Landesman & Gonzales, 1990). Compared to questionnaires, "...content analysis of spontaneous, verbal communications...is a natural undistorted probing of bio-psychological quality of life...(and)... discloses what people in a given society consider their most important priorities (Gottschalk & Lolas, 1992, p. 76). It is more efficient than either observation or parental recollections, involving the recall of many experiences. Self-report is regarded as a basic part of useful assessment of adolescent psychiatric problems such as depression (Rutter, 1986) and children's social support (Dubow & Ullman, 1989) because it incorporates the unique perspective of children and adolescents about their social world (Cauce, Reid, Landesman & Gonzales, 1990).

Self-report is efficient as it enables the researcher to access "...a large number of remembered experiences...weighted by the child as most salient...the only method that provides subjective information about the phenomenological aspect of relationships" (Cauce, Reid, Landesman & Gonzales, 1990, p. 67). Child and adolescent self-report are consistently recommended for research as the subjects have the most thorough knowledge of their own behavior and feelings (Dubow & Ullman, 1989; Schonert-Reichl & Muller, 1996).

Besides the uniqueness of adolescent and youth self-report for research purposes, this method also avoids the study becoming one-sided (Rappaport, 1981). The relative equality of the researcher and the subject gives control to the subject who is a partner in the research. So in using self-report, the researcher "...turns to non experts...to discover the many different, even contradictory, solutions that they use to gain control, find meaning and empower their own lives" (Rappaport, 1981, p. 21). One caution to keep in mind is youth sensitivity regarding privacy and the sharing of personal problems so confidentiality becomes a major consideration (Schonert-Reichl & Muller, 1996).

Self-report can, however, be criticized as subjective and biased, the relevance of the measure, largely determining accuracy of the data generated, as well as other response bias factors such as 'faking good' or 'response set' (Hammond, 1995). Thus, despite the evident advantages inherent within the utilization of self-report, there are also a number of limitations.

3.2.5.3   Interviews

Interviews are used with high frequency in assessing family history and, although time consuming, have high acceptability (Melchert, 1998). Thompson (1995) used interviews over an eight-year period in a study of more than 400 adolescent girls and gradually modified the semi-structured interview format into more open-ended interviews about sexual experience. The interview, then, proves to be both efficient as well as responsive. Subjects were interviewed alone or, if they preferred, in combinations of two or more, using snowball technique. Allden, Chantavanich & Supang, Ohmar (1996) utilised a semi-structured interview to study the impact of crisis on Burmese students then in Thailand, as did Denholm (1985) regarding the Gulf War. In brief, interview allows for interviewer flexibility in guiding the subject to relevant social support experience and obtaining qualitative data (Sarason, Shearin, Pierce & Sarason, 1987).

Minichiello et al. (1995) describe in-depth interviews as conversations with particular purposes so that the researcher can understand the informant's views of self and his or her world. There is a continuum of classification from structured (with a specific schedule) to semi-structured and unstructured, the last two being instances of in-depth interviews. Criteria include more than one interview or repeated interviews, a democratic rapport between researcher and informant and an emphasis on the informant's linguistic or verbal account of reality. In depth interviews are typically used for theory building, where the research topics can be understood only by being able to access interpersonal interaction and where flexibility is an essential ingredient.

When using in-depth interviewing, a number of approaches can be used such as funneling, where the interviewer adjusts the pace from the general to the specific, so that the informant feels more at ease. Story telling is a second valuable technique, especially for the unhurried researcher. Howard (1991) regards stories as a way to understanding cultural preferences with a constructivist view that theory is merely story that explains recognized facts and provides theoretical relationships that are later seen to be correct (Howard, 1991). If story telling is seen as thinking, with inherent cross-cultural differences, psychotherapy can be regarded as "interesting examples of cross-cultural experiences in story repair." (Howard, 1991, p.194). Howard describes stories as a vehicle for personal narrative, observing that there are significant advantages for the subject whose "life becomes meaningful...an actor within the context of a story". Youth are "...free to choose the life story..." that they inhabit and the youth finds they are "...lived by that story". (Howard, 1991, p.196). A third technique is solicited narrative that the informant provides in written form with variations being a life grid, log interview or diary interview.

A life history interview is a history of life as provided by that person using either in-depth interviewing or being a solicited narrative (Minichiello et al. 1995). There are a variety of forms of life histories; such as traditional autobiography that present life as the one living it wishes it be seen. From a sociological perspective, life history provides an understanding of life history as it is for the person living it, mediated through and by the researcher's presence and analysis. Oral history in contrast portrays the past while biographical life history focuses on individual's development. Minichiello et al. 1995) assert that the selection of the type of life history is dependent on the nomothetic or idiographic nature of the research. An additional classification is between case history that covers the data in its entirety because it is inherently worthwhile and case study that uses data for a specific and theoretical reason.

In brief, a life history interview is an appropriate method for a study of youth social support, based on repeated or in-depth interviewing, using an idio-graphic case study approach. Sample sizes should be small, that is between five to six people, with selection

criterion being that the person "...is aware of, informed about and involved in his or her own cultural world and able to articulate his or her own views" (Minichiello et al. 1995 p. 117). The life history interview is unique in that the researcher can access life as it is lived, social change as it is being experienced and the complexity of ambiguities that are a part of everyday life.

A final consideration related to self-report and interview technique is accuracy. While the researcher can use methods such as cross checking and probing to clarify apparent inconsistencies, there is no guarantee, and such a guarantee would be inappropriate, that accuracy is an objective (Minichiello et al. 1995). If self-report and interviews measure phenomenological reality, inconsistencies and ambiguity are likely, and reflective of youths' perceptions of their reality.

3.2.6   Coding

The process of data analysis starts with the coding of data, "...the individual's (verbalized) phenomenological reality" (Shapiro & Bates, 1990), so that data can be conceptualized and transformed into theory (Minichiello et al. 1995). The initial step in coding is to decide on the unit to be analyzed, whether this is word, sentence or theme, based on an empathic or interactive reading of the informants' responses as well as the underlying theoretical concepts. The author has referred to many rigorous studies that demonstrate how coding categories should be established, and utilized these studies to establish the codes for Study One and Study Two (Feeney & Noller, 1991; Gottschalk & Lolas, 1992; Shapiro & Bates, 1990; Snell, McDonald & Koch, 1991; Westbrook, 1976; Westbrook & Viney, 1980).

The next step is to order the data according to conceptual themes, that are then trialed, revised and then allocated a name and abbreviation so the informants' transcripts can be coded. The individual coded units are pasted on cards, with information about identity, concept code and emerging analytic themes. They can then be classified by category, by summary per informant, leading to general propositions and finally typologies.

The categories used in the coding of data in Study Two are based on a psychological and non-psychological support framework, as described by Cohen & McKay (1984). These categories readily incorporate the relevant social support categories, as well as being very economical. Psychological supports are categorized as appraisal and emotional supports and both entail the provision of information as in Cobb's (1976) definition. Appraisal supports add to the individual's knowledge or cognitive systems, operating through mechanisms such as re-assessing perceptions of threat, adopting suggested coping strategies, taking on suggested coping behaviors and encouraging a re-focus on the positive (Cohen & McKay, 1984). Emotional supports meet social and emotional needs through support mechanisms that are focused on the individual's evaluation and feelings about self, and "...directed at enhancing positive emotional states, as well as helping others overcome negative emotional states" (Burleson & Kunkel, 1996).

Non-psychological or tangible support involves the providing of material aid such as goods, money or care (Cohen & McKay, 1984). However, the way in which tangible support is provided can impact psychologically by being provided in a manner that shows caring (Ryan & Solky, 1996). Moreover, tangible support can enhance or threaten autonomy through the message implicit within it.

The application of the coding categories needs some comment. Firstly, as noted in the review of the literature, the functional types overlap so precise definition is not always possible. Secondly, the instances of support often combine a number of types of support and despite a separation of the functional types associated with one event, the decision about the predominant form of support could be problematic. Ryan & Solky's (1996) articulation of the non-psychological and psychological aspects of tangible support assisted in this process and this approach was also relevant to the understanding and coding of appraisal support in Study Two. A further option considered, but considered unwieldy, was the combination of the functional types into split categories.

3.3   Study One

3.3.1   Overview

This study examined the utility of the life span interview to assess social support experiences on a small sample of Australian youth. This study was carried out in Australia to provide the researcher with the necessary experience in the method and awareness of the processes needed to adapt the method for use with youth in Jakarta.

3.3.2   Research Questions for Study One

The research questions were as follows:

1   To what degree is the life history interview an efficient and effective method to access adolescent and youth experience?

2   To what extent is the social support experienced by youth identified as coming from their parents?

3   Will the emic trial in the researcher's Australian culture confirm its appropriateness for use with Jakarta youth and generate key considerations for the etic adaptation?

3.3.3   The Venues and the Informants

The study informants were contacted through the assistance of the staff at two youth-based community organizations in Canberra, with two from the AIDS Action Council and eight from the Woden Youth Center. The staff in both organizations were briefed about the research design and provided with an invitation letter that explained the study, including information about the ethical approval from the University of Tasmania. The staff then contacted a variety of youth asked them if they wished to participate and then set up interview times at the centers. The staff also posted information about the research on center notice boards. This included the information that a $10 AUD fee would be paid to acknowledge the value of their contribution. Once the interview process was

underway, the informants recommended friends whom they thought would have interesting stories to tell. One third were selected through snowball or opportunistic sampling.

Ten informants (four females and six males) participated in this study, aged from 17 to 22 years. The duration of the interviews varied from 30 minutes to 90 minutes with a mean time of 61 minutes. The interviews were carried out from 5 September to 8 September 1995. The researcher transcribed a total of nine interviews (four females and five males). One interview could not be transcribed, as the male informant's voice was so quiet that it could not be heard.

3.3.4   Procedures

Ten to fifteen minutes at the start of each interview were used to build rapport, to explain the study objectives and method and to obtain informed consent, including permission to tape the interview (see Appendix A – Informant consent form used for Study One). The interviews were scheduled after five o'clock in the afternoon, as the youth tended to gather at the center by that time of the day. Center staff were also available if needed. The Researcher made limited notes during the interviews and more complete observations at their completion.

The interview guide consisted of a chronological or developmental sequence from earliest childhood memories, childhood, adolescence and youth (see Appendix B - Guidelines for the informant interviews in Study One and Study Two). The informants could use a story or recursive approach to talking about their lives or use a semi-structured interview approach if they preferred. The Researcher used a mix of knowledge, descriptive, contrast, opinion and feeling questions, with probes as needed, in particular, the nudging and reflecting probe (Minichiello et al. 1995).

Debriefing took place at the end of each interview. The Researcher checked regularly with center staff during the implementation of Study One and there was no indication of

any adverse effect. Contact made with the staff 12 months later confirmed this finding as many of the youth still attended the center and none had any evidence of negative impact from the interview.

3.3.5   Coding

The interviews were transcribed verbatim and then coded for three categories of received social support, consisting of emotional support, tangible support and appraisal support (Table 2). All content referred to actual support received by the subject from family or non-family sources rather than available support. The subject's responses coded as received support were, as much as possible, interactions or events that took place rather than general opinions or introspections. The content was coded for the presence of support from family and non-family sources. The support was also categorized as positive or problematic. Positive support interactions are defined as providing aid, affect and affirmation while problematic support is not supportive, that is, it is not desired or needed or there is not a match between the need and the support type (Reveson et al. 1991).

Inter-rater reliability was carried with three independent professionals who had some previous experience in social research. They were trained in instruction about the method and then given thirty samples to code. The first coding was only partially successful because the samples given to the raters did not provided enough contextual information on which to rate the sample. In the second coding, the raters were provided with several transcripts and then coded samples that had been highlighted. The independent raters reached 80 – 90% agreement on the three categories that could be considered robust and independently replicable (Appendix C – Calculation of inter-rater reliability for coding categories for Study One).

Table 2

Coding categories and examples of social support from Study One

Types of Support

Statement by subject that ES directly experienced	I feel very close to her	F+			F+
		They're important to me, I love my family		
	She (mother) was a support network to me	F+		
Description of situation or	I've go no feeling for my mum	F-		
Event by subject implying ES	My parents made me go to tennis	F-		
	For the first time I am comfortable with who I am	NF+		
Description of others by subject	I just hated her. She was a bossy teacher	NF-		
implying ES received	I just couldn't handle it and used to run off	NF-		

Goods, services, loans, gifts He's	got a computer and he'll check everything I do				F+
provided directly to the subject TS	I remember dad taking us to the snow a few times	F+		
	Well she kicked me out and I'd never taken drugs	F-		
Subject refers to one or more	The old man never took us to sport	F-		
instances of TS	More stable in my job because I have support here	NF+		
	I was stuffed around by DSS because I didn't have an address	NF-		

Statement by subject that AS	My sister gave us a sex education talk	F+		
directly experienced	I am perfectly comfortable and my mum did a brilliant job	F+		
				No, I do
Description of situation or events	My mum never spoke to us about it (sex)	F-		
Implying AS received	I went to see the counsellor a lot	NF+		
	Learned heaps from magazines	NF+		
Description of others by subject	College counsellor was only interested in street kids	NF-		
implying AS received				

Note:

Emotional social support is abbreviated to ES. Tangible social support is abbreviated to TS. Appraisal support is abbreviated to AS. Positive support is indicated by + and problematic support by -. Support received by family is abbreviated to F and from non-family to NF. For example, positive emotional support from a peer is coded as ES NF+.

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3.4 Study Two

3.4.1 Overview

This study used the sociological life history interview to assess the social support experiences of a sample of Jakarta youth. This etic study was carried out in Jakarta after the emic Canberra pilot. The Researcher used an Indonesian Research Assistant to conduct the interviews and a Critical Reference Group to advise on implementation and data analysis with the Jakarta study.

3.4.2 Research Questions for Study Two

The research questions were as follows:

1   Will an Australian researcher be able to carry out effective research in an etic context?

2   To what degree is the Canberra "life history interview " an effective means of accessing the experience of social support of middle class Jakarta youth?

3   What degree of similarity or difference will be found between the experience of social support between the Canberra and Jakarta youth?

4   To what extent is the interview an appropriate method to measure the impact of economic and political crisis upon Jakarta youth?

5   Will there be a trend for protective factors with the Jakarta youth, in addition to evidence of delayed autonomy?

3.4.3   The Venues and the Informants

The first venue used was the Drug Dependence Hospital in Central Jakarta. The Jakarta Province Local Government and the Department of Health established the Hospital in 1972. Most in-patients are male (92.15%), between 15 – 25 years of age, with an average length of stay between 10 – 14 days. On the basis of intake interviews, the cost of their drug habit and the cost of their treatment, it can be concluded that they are middle to

upper class. The addicts use drugs on average three times per day, with a hit costing approximately 20.000 rupiah, the equivalent of $400 AUD per month. Most obtain the money for their habit from their parents, by stealing from their homes or by selling their belongings. There are three fee schedules at the Drug Dependence Hospital, third class (20.000 rupiah per day), first class (150,000 rupiah per day) and VIP (200,000 rupiah per day). The in-patients are admitted from either the outpatient section or the emergency unit, enter the Detoxification Unit for about seven days followed by the Mental Rehabilitation Unit (MRU) for two to four weeks or more. The Hospital offers a range of program after detoxification, including a physical exercise program, group discussion and a music program.

Selected youth in-patients in the MRU were invited to participate in the research by the staff when the Research Assistant and the Australian Researcher were at the Drug Dependence Hospital. The interview times were decided in consultation with the Drug Dependence Hospital staff, depending on the stage of treatment of the in-patients. The majority of the in-patients at the Drug Dependence Hospital were male and only one female youth informant could be interviewed. This could be seen as a weakness in sampling for Study Two, but was considered justifiable, given the utility with which the author could access this sample of youth.

The second center used was Klub Sejuta, near Blok M in Jakarta, a youth club formed in 1996, to provide programs for Jakarta youth, with the slogan "dari remaja, oleh remaja dan untuk remaja", that is, "from youth, by youth and for youth". Members are aged from 13 to 25 years from mainly middle class Jakarta families. Activities include youth dialogue in schools and dance and cheerleader competitions that reach over 7000 youth. The club offers a wide range of dance, music, theatre, art and sport programs and special events, despite limited funding. The Secretary of the Board provided a list of forty names and contact phone numbers of members as potential informants. The Research Assistant contacted these members, explained study objectives and asked about possible participation, with voluntary participation and confidentiality emphasized throughout. A follow up call was made two days later, and if the informant was interested, an interview

time was agreed to. The Research Assistant phoned the informants the day before the interview and the day of the interview. Some informants immediately agreed to participate while others wanted time to consider. A notice was also posted at Klub Sejuta to which two friends replied. The sampling method used combined selection by staff according to specified criteria as well as snowball or opportunistic sampling.

The interviews were carried out from March to June 1999, during the lead up to the Indonesian General Election and this timing gave an edge of uncertainty to the process. As it happened, the General Election proceeded smoothly, despite the gargantuan scale of the undertaking, and the prevailing mood was one of euphoria rather than the tension and uncertainty that had characterized the preceding months. Over 50 possible informants were contacted with 34 informant interviews scheduled, 17 at the Drug Dependence Hospital and 17 at Klub Sejuta. Twenty-six youth interviews were completed and transcribed by the Research Assistant, 15 from the Drug Dependence Hospital and 11 from Klub Sejuta. Two informants failed to arrive at the appointed time. One interview was discontinued after about 10 minutes, as it became apparent that the informant was reluctant to participate, finally admitting to concern that participation could jeopardize his chances of getting a visa to study overseas. Three interviews were not usable due to technical problems. The duration of the interviews varied from 45 minutes to 100 minutes with a mean time of 67 minutes (Table 3).

3.4.4 The Procedures

3.4.4.1 Field preparation

The field preparation for the major study took place over a five-month period from November to March 1999, involving local level permits, hiring and training the Research Assistant and obtaining the co-operation of the participating youth centers. This time line was tight and anticipated unrest associated with the General Elections had the potential to disrupt the interviewing schedule. The University of Tasmania Ethics Committee approved the research. A study permit was obtained from the Governor of Jakarta Province with support from Dr Charles Suriadi, Center for Health Research, Atmajaya

University, who also assisted with the hiring of the Research Assistant. The Australian Researcher provided a training program for the Research Assistant, who was a young female medical doctor who was interested in social sciences methods and their application to public health. The training involved detailed discussion of the objectives, the life history interview, and close reading of Study One transcripts, some study of relevant references on qualitative research and the conducting of a trial interview with a volunteer psychology student from the University of Indonesia.

Table 3

Informant details by date of interview, age, gender, religion and ethnicity for Study Two.

	Date	Location	Age	Gender	Religion	Ethnicity
1	24/3/99	DDH	20	M	Moslem	Non Javanese
2	24/3/99	DDH	23	M	Christian	Javanese
3	27/3/99	DDH	21	M	Christian	Javanese
4	27/3/99	DDH	19	M	Moslem	Non Javanese
5	3/4/99	DDH	20	M	Moslem	Javanese
6	21/4/99	DDH	23	M	Christian	Non Javanese
7	28/4/99	DDH	23	F	Christian	Non Javanese
8	28/4/99	DDH	22	M	Moslem	Javanese
9	28/4/99	DDH	20	M	Christian	Javanese
10	1/5/99	DDH	19	M	Moslem	Javanese
11	8/5/99	DDH	21	M	Moslem	Javanese
12	8/5/99	DDH	18	M	Moslem	Non Javanese
13	8/5/99	DDH	22	M	Moslem	Javanese
14	15/5/99	DDH	22	M	Christian	Non Javanese
15	15/5/99	DDH	23	M	Moslem	Non Javanese
16	24/4/99	KS	20	F	Moslem	Javanese
17	24/4/99	KS	18	F	Moslem	Javanese
18	30/4/99	KS	21	M	Moslem	Javanese
19	30/4/99	KS	25	M	Moslem	Non Javanese
20	7/5/99	KS	18	F	Moslem	Javanese
21	7/5/99	KS	18	F	Moslem	Javanese
22	11/5/99	KS	18	F	Christian	Javanese
23	11/5/99	KS	18	M	Moslem	Javanese
24	19/5/99	KS	21	F	Moslem	Javanese
25	19/5/99	KS	20	M	Moslem	Javanese
26	11/6/99	KS	21	F	Moslem	Javanese

3.4.4.2 The Interviews

The Australian Researcher and the Indonesian Research Assistant conducted the interviews jointly from 24 March to 11 June 1999. The interviews were conducted in Indonesian except for one female informant who preferred to use English. The Australian Researcher carried out this interview. The interview process was essentially the same as that used in Study One, except for modifications to allow for cultural differences and the inclusion of the Indonesian "Krismon" as a topic.

The Research Assistant introduced the Australian Researcher, explained the study objectives and the consent form and requested permission for interview to be recorded. Each participant signed a consent forms before the interview began (see Appendix D – Informant consent form used for Study Two). The interviews were held after five o'clock in the afternoon or on Saturdays, following the schedule in Study One. There were a number of unavoidable interruptions, given the venues being used, such as a sports game going outside the room, requests for keys or information or informants' mobile phones ringing, but there was no discernible impact on the interviews.

A cash incentive for informants for Study One was not used as the University of Tasmania Ethics Committee thought it inappropriate and the Critical Reference Group thought that the use of a cash incentive would cause social jealousy among non-participating youth. Hence, food, such as fruit and donuts, were provided in the MRU and all the in-patients benefited. A student diary was given to each participating informant at Klub Sejuta.

Soft drinks and snacks were provided in both venues, during the interviews, to help in establishing a relaxed atmosphere. The Research Assistant maintained rapport with the informants although some informants liked to relate to both the Research Assistant and the Australian Researcher. The Research Assistant and the Critical Reference Group

considered that the presence of an expatriate would give added value in the eyes of the informants, as well as causing the informants to be less suspicious about the study and more willing to be 'open'. This is consistent with the findings of Zondervan (1997) in a youth study in Jogyakarta cited in 2.5.2. An important factor in this process was the close teamwork between the Research Assistant and the Australian Researcher so that the interviews flowed smoothly. The pace of each interview was adapted to the style of each story and this factor was important in setting the informants at ease.

Critical Reference Group members, and other professionals, commented positively on the value of the 'emic' and 'etic' stages of the research and the role of the Research Assistant in interpreting (when needed) and translating the transcripts. Members agreed that some youth might not feel able to refuse, seeing refusal as impolite. Members wanted to know how the Researcher would deal with any youth who lied in the interview. These questions emphasized the need to set youth at ease and to be very clear about confidentiality and informants' rights. As the goal of qualitative research is to access youth views, so inaccuracies or 'untruths' may have reflected varying perceptions about the realities that these youth dealt with in their lives.

None of the participating informants 'appeared' to find the interview stressful however three potential informants seemed in hindsight to have been stressed at the prospect of the interview. Two simply did not attend at the nominated time, apparently unwilling or unable to decline directly, one youth doing this three times. A third youth seemed tense in the early stages of the interview and when told again that participation was voluntary, was obviously relieved and discontinued the interview.

The Research Assistant and the Australian Researcher handled debriefing carefully and the snacks and gimmick helped in the process. The Research Assistant maintained contact with staff from both Jakarta centres and no adverse reactions were reported either immediately after the interview or later. Several informants contacted the Research Assistant after interview to say that they had enjoyed it. None asked for their interviews to be deleted from the study, although they were able to do so at any time.

Once the interviews were underway, the Australian Researcher and the Research Assistant debriefed after each interview, as well as a more intensive review every three weeks. The Research Assistant was quick to grasp the interviewing skills and to build effective teamwork with the Australian Researcher (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Her skills were complementary with the Australian Researcher's clinical experience and theoretical understanding. Transcribing the tapes also provided the Research Assistant with direct feedback about her interviewing skills. As a medical doctor she had considerable experience in dealing with patients but little in conduct life history interviews. The new skills involved using open-ended questions, non-directive cues and the use of pauses to allow the subjects sufficient time to reflect. The Research Assistant also undertook a considerable amount of administration and information management required for completion of the interviews.

3.4.5   Language and Nomenclature

Considerable attention was paid to language, as Indonesian and English have very different structures and styles, Indonesian being both more indirect, having no articles and less complex verb forms. The Research Assistant used a great deal of local slang to set the informants at ease. At times, the Australian Researcher would ask for a clarification of an Indonesian term if needed to follow the flow of the story.

The nomenclature used to refer to youth was reconsidered for Study Two, with possible terms, subject, respondent, informant and participant, being considered. Following the lead of Minichiello et al. (1995), the Australian Researcher adopted the term 'informant' because the term implies equality and partnership. This was adhered to throughout both studies. Any specific impact of the term on the participating youth is uncertain, except for one youth who expressed initial dissatisfaction with the interview, having thought that being an "informant" could lead to a part time job. The appropriate Indonesian term for adolescents or youth was also discussed before Study Two commenced. While "remaja" is commonly used, "anak remaja" is also heard, apparently with the same meaning. There

is no exact word for adolescent with "ABG or anak baru gede", being a colloquial term applied to children who have just entered adolescence, and "know everything", or who are visibly part of a peer group and may be sexually active. Jakarta parents refer to their children as "anak", even after the children are youth and early adults. Despite the attention given to terminology, this issue appeared, finally, to be of more importance to the Australian Researcher than the Jakarta youth. That aside, the term informant is used consistently in Study One and Study Two, as a mark of both partnership with and respect for the participating youth.

The adaptation of the interview questions and cues into Indonesian language was very time consuming, as some English words could not be directly translated. Psychologists at the Drug Dependence Hospital also advised that asking youth to be reflective or analytic about their lives could be demanding. At their suggestion, probing questions with feeling content were often replaced with more active verbs and vocabulary familiar to the subjects. The input of the psychologists from the Drug Dependence Unit was invaluable during this process of adaptation.

The Research Assistant's task was of transcribing all the interviews into Indonesian and translating them into English was equally demanding, in particular, the selection of the right words to fit the mood of the interview and the nuances of meaning of the verbal content. A Jakarta psychologist, expert in social research, summarized this dilemma. "It is near to impossible to translate from dialect to English, you lose the subtleties. Put the local term in brackets to remind you."[6] Indonesian language tends to lend itself to a narrower range in expressing opinions or reactions, in part due to social sensitivity to the feelings of others and in part because of the language itself. This was an important factor in the processes of interviewing and the transcribing and tone of voice and behavioral observations were, thus, vital information. The Researcher did not edit the Research Assistant's translations of the transcripts except for one interview carried out in English. The translations of the transcripts appear to capture both tone and mood effectively and minor grammatical inaccuracies were not seen to unimportant (see Appendix E: Samples from Study Two informant transcripts).

3.4.6   The Coding Categories

The coding categories as piloted in Study One were utilized but modified extensively for Study Two following the trends from the continuing literature review, the interviews and consultation with the Critical Reference Group.

The 26 transcripts were coded three times by the Australian Researcher over three months. This process enabled the trialing and refinement of the coding categories. The Australian Researcher found it an effective means of getting to know and use the data and to see which categories had utility (Table 4). Coding categories are indicated by number and letter, with C1 – C6 referring to context, S7 – S12 to social support, and A14 – A15 to the adequacy of the social support. This specific method is a composite result of the review of the literature and immersion in the data itself, using grounded theory. This method has not been cited the literature and can be regarded as a new theory-based approach to social support measurement.

The number of the informant, gender and position in family (C1 – C3) are routine data requirements for social research. Data on religion was requested from all subjects (C4). "Suku" and "adat" were discussed with the members Critical Reference Group and considered to be an important aspect of the study. Each informant provided data on suku, with answers ranging from Sunda Padang Java or Makassar Sunda or a single answer, such as Madurese, Javanese or Manadonese. An extensive analysis of suku and adat was not the study focus and the sample size was small. The solution adopted on the advice of a Critical Reference Group member was to categorize the informants as Javanese or Non Javanese, depending on where they had spent most of their lives (C5). This was the solution adopted.

Table 4

Coding categories and examples of context, social support and adequacy for Study Two

Categories		Examples
CONTEXT		
C1	Number of subject	J1 – J26
C2	Gender	male or female
C3	Number of siblings and position	2/3 – second child in family with 2 siblings
C4	Religion	Moslem or Non Moslem
C5	Ethnicity	Javanese or non-Javanese
C6	Event	I went to university. My parents got divorced.
SOCIAL SUPPORT		
S7	Source	mother, father, parents, grandmother, sibling, peer, teacher
S8	Helpee activation	He supported me but sometimes he wants to know everything about me. That's OK because he is my parent. We had a good relationship (willing). I was accompanied to school and it made me feel ashamed (unwilling)
S9	Helper activation	I think my father tried to make a harmonious family (willing). My mother doesn't want to hear the reason and the explanation from her daughter (unwilling).
S10	Direction	They (parents) give me motivation (received) I taught my friends how to use (provided)
S11	Functional type	It's nice having her with me. I won't be lonely at home (emotional) They bought me a present when I got circumcised (tangible) Parents said maybe it's not my fate to study at that SMA, maybe I have to take another way (appraisal).
S12	Support	My mother scolded me. He sorts out all my friends. My mother asked me to continue my study.
ADEQUACY		
A13	Match/satisfaction	I just ignore them. I didn't give a damn if they were angry (non-match). I was happy (match).
A14	Buffering	I use drugs because he's impossible. I drank insecticide because she scolded me.

Event (C6) consists of a concise summary of the stressor, event or chronic strain to which the informant makes reference. An example of an event or stressor is drug use behavior that results in youth receiving social support that is either positive or problematic.

Source (S7) denotes the provider of the social support. Where an event had more than one provider, the event was coded for each provider. The categorization of persons providing support is by role as indicated by the informant, that is for family, grandmother, grandfather, uncle, aunt, family, parent, father, mother, sibling, self and servant, consistent with the literature about the limitations of using family and non-family (Barrera & Li, 1996; Fuhrman & Buhrmeister, 1985). Informant references to provider as family, aunts and uncles were incorporated into one minor category, family, as numbers were small. Grandparents remained a discrete category. Servants were considered part of family. This approach to provider coding is consistent with the social support literature that points to a need to measure both received and provided support, to learn more about the roles of siblings and grandparents (Barrera & Li, 1996).

Non-family providers consisted of non-family adults and peers. Non-family adults were secular teachers, religious teachers, staff as the Drug Dependence Hospital, people from the community, while peers were girl friend and boy friend and friends. Teachers were classed as secular or religious on the basis of the data in the interview. A third exploratory category of provider consisted of religion, drug use, place and lastly a lack of support. The data was coded by family and non-family as well as by specific provider.

Helpee activation (S8) referred to the willingness of the helpee to provide or receive support with helper activation (S9), referring to helper willingness (Coble, Gantt & Mallinckrodt, 1996). Direction (S10) indicated whether support was received or provided by the helpee, the capacity to provide being as important as its receipt (Pierce, Sarason, Sarason, Joseph & Henderson, 1996; Tardy, 1985). As a result of the inclusion of S10, the provider category "self" was necessary. The coding categories for Study Two, based on a more extensive reading of the literature, indicated that measurement of context,

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support and adequacy would have more utility (Barrera, 1986; Cauce, Reid, Landesman & Gonzales, 1990; Cohen & McKay, 1984; Thoits, 1982. Types or functions (S11) of social support were retained from Study One, as data about function is useful in conjunction with provider data. Support (S12), also used in Study One, was a concise summary of the social support that is received or provided.

The Researcher trialed helper's social skills as a coding category. For example, a Study One youth describes her mother, a willing but unskilled provider.

> (Girl A9): " It wasn't easy for her with children. She smoked pot, only gave up one and a half years ago. When I was growing up and just sort of a teenager, she tried like, but she wanted us to be friends. She's not educated she left school when she was fifteen. She can hardly read. She is a house cleaner, so working all day she would get home at seven or eight. Mum's kind of unreasonable."

A provider may be willing, but lack the skills to provide the needed support, and, thus not be able to provide the needed support (Coble, Gantt & Mallinckrodt, 1996). While this could lend itself well to programmatic implications, the 'skills' category was rarely applicable in these trial coding of the interviews so was not used as a coding category for all transcripts. It remains a consideration, however, in the analysis of Study Two.

The adequacy categories reflected their importance in the literature. In the second trial of the coding categories, both timing and need fit categories were included, but as the analysis consistently resulted in the code for both categories, a composite category 'match' was retained (A14). Match refers to the informant's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the social support received or provided in relation to the event or stressor. Match was coded on the basis of the transcript, the informant's subsequent comments and the behavioral observations recorded in the transcripts. For example, an apparent "match" between a parent's support and a stressful event, accompanied by a cynical laugh, was categorized as non-match. In some cases, the informant was confused or ambivalent about an event, and in that case, the researcher looked at all social supports relating to one event or stressor to gain an overview of the informant's perceptions, that usually clarified whether to record match or non-match.

The second adequacy category, buffering (A15) was important to include because it links with health behavior. Coding trials indicated that negative buffering was associated with received and perceived social support, although personality factors and their partial origin in parent child attachment are considered by some researchers, to be more reliable measures than perceived support (Lakey & Lutz, 1996). Perceived support was not retained, as a discrete coding category but will be assessed from a cluster of the categories used.

Inter-rater reliability was carried out for five of the categories used in Study Two (Appendix F – Calculation of inter-rater reliability for coding categories for Study Two). As in Study One, three independent professionals were trained and given ten samples from each of the five categories. The raters reached between 80 – 100% agreement on all five categories that can also be considered to be independently replicable.

The coding categories utilized for the eight measures of resilience and risk need particular explanation to explain their evolution. In the early stages of Study Two data analysis, methods of categorizing attachment to parents, mother, father and peers, as well as parenting styles of the informant's mother and father were attempted, as these variables are critical in the process of giving and receiving support.

Application of authoritative, authoritarian and permissive or neglectful coding categories (Baumrind, 1971; Maccoby & Martin, 1983) was attempted but was unsuccessful. The autonomy measure utilized was one of the successful single item abbreviations of the Parent Bonding Index (Parker, Hadzi-Pavlovic, Greenvald & Weisman, 1995) that measured autonomy by the mother or father's control over the informant behavior. This measure was a positive or negative score based on the transcript data.

Consistent with the literature, the attachment measure utilized was the balance between the matching and non-matching support from parents, mother, father and peers (Pierce, Lakey, Sarason, Sarason & Joseph, 1997; Reveson et al. 1991; Thoits, 1995). A higher

proportion of matching support was scored " positive", as was an equal number of matching and non-matching supports from a provider, while a higher number of non-matching support was scored "negative". These two domains of experience are considered independent and their impact on psychological well being depends on relative balance. This measure was used as a measure of the degree of attachment, and indirectly of personality. Where no mention was made of the provider, no score was recorded. Position is family is recorded as 1 for the eldest, 2 for a middle child and 3 for the youngest child.

Eight measures or proxies of risk and resilience were subsequently developed, also based on the coded social support and the transcripts. The four attachment measures have already been explained. The additional measures score the degree of parental conflict, informant drug use, and religion and money worries. These are markers of relationships and processes over past and present, rather than risk factors. A positive marital score indicated that the informant referred to little or no parent conflict or parents had divorced and remarried, thereby resolving conflict (Lin & Westcott, 1991). A negative score indicated that informant referred to sustained and unresolved conflict or that parents have recently divorced or separated. A positive religion score meant that religion was a support while a negative score meant it was not a support or non-issue to the youth (Mattlin, Wethington & Kessler, 1990). Drugs were scored negatively for current drug use and positively for never having used or not using in the past two years. Money was scored negative if it posed a problem for the youth, positive if the youth were not concerned or worried about money (Thoits, 1995). The total resilience and risk scores were then calculated with a total positive score over five considered to indicate 'resilience', and a score of four or more negative scores 'risk'. It should be noted that it is the pattern of these measures, relative to another, that is of value, rather than the specific scores for each measure.

The researcher coded each instance of support in the transcripts onto the coding sheets (Appendix G – Informant interview data coding sheet for Study Two). Each completed sheet was then cut into six strips manually, each strip being one fully coded instance of

youth social support that could then be categorized in many different ways. Following the completion of the coding of the informant interviews, the data was analyzed both for at individual informant and for all informants in Study Two, as follows:

- Gender and position in the family, religion and ethnicity;
- The implied impact of the interview process;
- An overview of social support data by gender, provider, functional support type and adequacy. This included social support related to religion, place, money, loss of support and lack of support;
- Patterns of youth autonomy and attachment;
- The Krismon and youths' wishes, hopes and fears.

3.4.7   The Critical Reference Group

Local level consultations were a high priority throughout the implementation of the study. An informal Critical Reference Group was formed in early 1999, consisting of psychologists, doctors, social workers and psychiatrists from the Drug Dependence Hospital, Health professionals from Atmajaya University and the Director and staff from the Center for Quality Physical Development in the National Ministry for Education. These colleagues suggested relevant studies and provided invaluable data from their respective institutions. The researcher also used every opportunity possible to try out ideas and trends as the study progressed, including local historians, Jakarta taxi drivers and others, continuously checking against local perceptions and reactions.

During data analysis, four formal 'work in progress' presentations were made to staff from these institutions, as well as numerous informal discussions. The meetings resulted in practical advice on some methodological issues and gave the Researcher a better understanding about effective ways to disseminate the study in its final form. Their comments are incorporated into Chapters Three, Five and Six. The Indonesian professionals consistently urged a harder line in the data analysis and their constructive

and critical analysis about the research method and aspects of Indonesian culture and religion was invaluable.

3.4.8   Youth Consultations

All youth informants were promised later opportunities for involvement in the dissemination of the data. Some meetings have been held with the Critical Reference Group but the youth consultation stage will commence once the studies have been assessed. A Youth Critical Reference Group will advise on formats and style for the dissemination and oversee that process.

3.5 Summary

In summary, the implementation phase was multi-layered, complex and time consuming. Judging from the data presented in the interviews and consistent with the institutional data available, these informants were largely middle class, representing, to some extent, the "...diverse sampling strategies and culturally sensitive instruments" that are recommended by Pierce, Sarason, Sarason, Joseph & Henderson (1996, p. 76).

The successful implementation of Study Two was, in large part, due to the roles played by the centers, the Research Assistant and the Critical Reference Group. The Research Assistant was essential in communication with the centers and the youth as well as taping, transcribing and translating the informant interviews. The Critical Reference Group provided the solutions for methodological dilemmas encountered and was a sounding board and critical ally for the Australian Researcher.

"I'm growing up in a very painful way but I think that if I didn't feel the pain, I would never grow up."
Girl J26

4.0

Study One

4.1 Overview

Chapter Two presented a comprehensive view of the literature on youth and social support. It is argued that by first establishing a normative context, an examination of atypical or at-risk youth, can then take place. Thus, the sample of youth for this study, or the emic stage of the research, were from youth centers or places that cater for youth who may be in need of social support and have a potentially risky living environment. It is thus anticipated that the subjects in this phase of the research will exhibit more frequent and perhaps more extremes of risk behavior and of social support. While the results from this study cannot be generalized to the behavior of all youth in Canberra, or all youth considered at risk, a number of observations can be made in relation to the trial of the interview method with youth. The "emic" stage of the research was conducted by the researcher with a sample of selected youth from youth centers in Canberra, Australia several years prior to conducting Study Two in Jakarta, Indonesia.

4.2 Results

The Study One informants consisted of four males and six females. The results from the qualitative analysis of life history interviews are discussed in relation to the following functional categories of received social support: emotional, tangible and appraisal. Some quantitative data will be provided where appropriate to provide a comparison between the types of support provided by gender, type and source. Direct quotations will also be used as these provide the "color" and a deeper understanding of informants' perspectives and the context for the support received.

4.2.1   Providers and Emotional Social Support

The nine youth reported receiving a total of 220 instances of social support, with 128 (59%) being received from family and 92 (41%) being received from non-family. The most frequent type of support was emotional support (67%). More emotional support was received from family (60%; 15% parents, 22% mother, 17% father, and 6% siblings), than non-family (40%; 21% non-family adults, 19% peers). The same sex parent was a source of both positive and problematic emotional support while opposite sex parent provided mostly problematic support. Sibling support was minimal. Boys received more negative support from non-family adults than girls did.

Youth recalled positive support from parents about school achievement, sexual identity, security, illness, and from mother about sexual identity, independence and autonomy, security, divorce and pregnancy. Positive support was received from fathers about security, illness and getting a job. Positive non-family support was related to social and emotional belonging, privacy and confidentiality and security. Siblings provided some support but peers were more likely to be confidants. Teachers and youth workers met needs for acceptance and provide support in situations where youth felt insecure.

Problematic family emotional social support was related to divorce and autonomy. Mothers' problematic support related to independence and autonomy, communication and insecurity, similar to some fathers whose support was influenced by them being alcoholic, violent or abusive. Problematic peer support linked with pressure to conform, difficulties finding compatible peers, negotiation with a boyfriend and a lack of trust. Some youth reported that teachers and counselors were unfair and bossy.

4.2.2   Providers, Tangible and Appraisal Social Support

There were considerably fewer instances of received tangible support (13%) and appraisal support (21%). There were no gender differences in this general pattern.

A low frequency of tangible support from family and non-family emerged with two thirds received (65%) from family in relation to access to leisure, skill development, hobbies and practical support (groceries and money). Lack of access to venues and poverty were problematic. Positive non-family support related to jobs, and social security benefits, while problematic support was largely received by youth that were the end users of the social security or juvenile justice system. Appraisal support was received equally from family and non-family. Positive family and non-family support similarly related to the need for achievement, autonomy, and sexual identity and sex education.

Canberra youths' wishes, hopes and fears, in this sample, referred to relationships and employment as well as fears related to future parenting and fears about the future for self or a close sibling. Half of the youth hoped for a good relationship in the future.

> (Boy A1): "It would be nice to meet some one that was a person you could be totally comfortable being with".

Employment and financial security were also issues for half of the youth.

> (Boy A3): "I want to settle down and have a well-paid job".

There were no differences in the number of problems reported by male and female informants, except that the girls were more articulate and discursive about their fears.

> (Boy A6): "I hate talking to people, psychiatrists and all that. I've had a few everywhere I've gone".

> (Girl A3): "It was a totally new environment and I didn't know anybody there and I felt very alone. I knew that if I pulled my head in I could have got great grades; I just built up a whole lot of hate towards going to school. I'd been going to school all my life. I just decided I needed a break".

4.3 Discussion

The nine stories generated information about sensitive and personal memories in relation to attachment, parental discipline skills and youth experience with social services and foster placements. The nature of their relationships with their parents was a dominant theme throughout the life history interviews. Some early memories were unclear and confusing, incompletely recalled from a very early age. For example, an informant reflected about her unclear and stressful childhood memory of her brother's death and her increased understanding over time.

> (Girl A3): "You know you didn't like it but you didn't have the concept. I know what was going on now".

One youth had lost contact with her mother and father, been in and out of foster homes and recently lost contact with her only and very supportive sister. As she struggled with housing, employment and an independent life, her fears and hopes reflected the profound impact of those early losses, and the consequent lack of secure attachments in her life.

> (Girl A8): "I would like a flat to myself. Mm, just to be in a family...I don't know
> if I will see my mum again...I don't think I am ready to go out on my own".

The second female youth (Girl A9) whose own mother was 17 when she was born, reflected on her own fears about parenting,

> (Girl A9): "I am scared I am going to be like my mum. I am scared to have kids".

She commented on her own conflict with her mother during adolescence and her fear that her sister would follow the same pattern, her comments reflecting a quasi-mothering role, as the eldest child in the family.

> (Girl A9): "I worry about my sister. I bring her pamphlets. She already wants to
> move out. I mother her. I'd kill her if she was doing what you're doing".

She was able to see the implications of her mother's age and could articulate the effect that this had on her own upbringing".

> (Girl A9): "She had me when she was seventeen. So I sort of, you know, kind of
> hard. It was not easy for her with children. She's brought me up just like my
> grandmother brought her up sort of thing. It's weird, like a pattern sort of thing".

Despite the repercussions of her mother's youth, lack of education and continued conflict, she was able to show insight into and sympathy for her mother, facing the challenge of bringing up children, under those circumstances.

>(Girl A9): "She was really poor...There were times when she didn't have a dollar and I would walk to school in the rain. She was on the pension, working as a sole parent supporting three of us. She mustn't have felt too good, about herself".

The female youth described the impact of their difficult relationships with their mothers, identifying recurrent patterns in their own lives, with some attempt by one youth to identify strategies to protect her sibling.

Two male youth had experienced abuse and, subsequently, the social services available in Australia One youth romanticized about independent life on the road, having just commented on problems in his shared house because he had not done his chores.

(Boy A6): "I thought I would start with a swag. Having a swag is great. Basic survival gear. Two sets of clothes wrapped up in a swag".

The second youth, who had also experienced a very chaotic life, hoped to become a counsellor to use his insights although he expresses considerable dislike of professionals.

>(Boy A10): "You can't be a counsellor unless you have lived it. I reckon I would be the best counselor there would be. When they'd come, I'd know what they are talking about".

In comparison with the female youth, these male informants appeared to be less mature and less articulate.

Informants, more securely attached to their parents, commented on increased appreciation over time of received family support, as well as a greater understanding of their parents and the life events experienced. One informant attributed his strong identity and confidence to his parents' open-mindedness.

>(Boy A1): "My parents were fairly broad-minded on most things though I didn't know it at the time...the older I grow the more grateful I am that I was able to grow up in such a secure environment, I was allowed to be what I wanted to be".

>(Girl A2): "Not till you get older that you realise how valuable they are to you.

These interviews provided deep understandings of the informants' perceptions of their parents' style of discipline, communication and attitude toward autonomy. Empathy, trust and negotiation characterized youth communication with their mothers. The youth consistently reported that they were emotionally closer to their mothers, who were also more inclined to give them space, fathers tending to be more uncompromising. There was evidence of learned silence in at least one subject's relationship with his father. He chose to sever contact with his father for months while describing his mother as less judgmental, making the effort to maintain links with him. Leaving home after an argument was a common pattern and many had used youth support services during that time. These stories reflected the normal pattern of increasing autonomy during adolescence, accompanied by the continued dependencies on parent figures, that aid youth to reach autonomy (Ryan & Lynch, 1989). One informant articulated as follows:

> (Boy A1): "He said no you won't and I said yes I will...I was very headstrong. I delivered pizza to support myself...Mothers always think they know everything, and they probably do... She didn't agree with the job decision but she was more of a mother, well if you don't like it. He (father) was furious".

Another youth, with a weak attachment with her mother, contrasted more sharply, in her struggle to communicate with her mother in Year 10 in High School.

> (Girl A9): "She kicked me out. We fought heaps when I first moved out. I had never taken drugs. I had never drunken. I was still a virgin, I wasn't pregnant I think it was just really bad communication. My mother's kind of unreasonable".

She compared that situation, with the relative harmony achieved, when her mother remarried, the new husband becoming a very supportive stepfather. The situation was also eased, by her own transition to independent living away from her mother.

> (Girl A9): "My mother was very protective...you're 18 and she wants you home by 5.30. Living separately we get on like a house on fire. It's good to have your own space. You can't live in your room for the rest of your life".

Some youth in Study One, described their path to autonomy without any evidence of major conflict, being rather a gradual process, supported by their families.

Regarding help seeking, one informant confided the news about her pregnancy, having told only three people, including her mother, the youth worker and her boyfriend.

> (Girl A3): "I haven't told anyone else because they are all very opinionated and I don't want their views to be pushed on me as to whether I should keep my child or whether or not I should have an abortion. If they knew, they're going to voice their opinions very very loudly and to bring more stress on top of the stress you already have. You just sort of have your own life support networks".

Her view are very consistent with the literature that youth prefer communication characterized by trust, empathy and negotiation and turn to their mothers rather than their fathers for support related to personal problems (Hendry et al.1992; Paterson, Field & Pryor, 1994; Schonert-Reichl & Muller, 1996).

All the Study One youth referred to the support the centers provided and spoke convincingly of the importance of the continuation of the centers and the impact on their lives. The centers and the staff gave them vital "space" and time to reflect and learn new skills and provided additional resources to deal with their lives. Of particular importance, was the trust the youth expressed toward the center staff and the staffs' ability to talk with them, without imposing their views.

> (Girl A2): "I think for the first time I am comfortable with who I am. That's why I like coming here. I feel accepted".
>
> (Boy A6): "Oh I had a habit of having a war. I just couldn't get past that. I can control it (the anger) a lot through the help of the workers, through outreach".
>
> (Girl A8): "All the workers are very nice. Very friendly, kind of approachable".
>
> (Boy A10): "If this place closed down, so many kids would go downhill. It would be unbelievable".

The interview process also seemed to contribute to this process by assisting them to reflect on their lives in a non-judgmental context and to revalue their experience as input for other youth.

The youth interviewed, observed consistently that they now had a different perspective toward the social support received when they were younger. Increased appreciation of support provided by parents, appearing to be a marker of transition. Two vulnerable youth, aware of their dependency on the center staff, felt that the centers enabled them to deal with their lives more effectively. Both had hope for the future. There was, thus, an observed trend for weak attachment with parents to be compensated by support from the staff and the centers themselves, consistent with the literature (Galbo, 1986).

4.4 Summary and Implications

4.4.1 A Case-study of Social Support

The youth interviewed for this pilot study contributed a broad range of perceptions about a variety of interesting and often stressful events, with specific comment on the value of the centers themselves. The events related to family members or parents (death, illness or loss or divorce of parents), to schooling (school entry, transition, expulsion), to deviant behavior (drug or alcohol abuse, stealing, being placed in a remand home or jail), and to relationships and sexuality (breaking up with partner and pregnancy). The youth received most social support from their families, in particular their parents, with the roles of mothers and fathers, being very different.

There was a high level of trust between the youth and the center staff. The value of these relationships was palpable, forming a formidable resource for the youth, either for dealing with the practicalities of daily living, or the more subtle nuances of coming to terms with sexual orientation. While there were sisters, mothers and stepfathers, who were trusted support providers, the lives of the Canberra youth in Study One were greatly enriched by the availability, trust and friendship they found in these non-family adults.

The major hopes and fears reported by the sample of Canberra youth were principally about employment and relationships, consistent with the literature.

4.4.2 The Trial of the Method

The coding categories trialed in Study One, that is, source or provider, support type by function, also classified as positive and problematic support (Table 1) enabled the coding of a large volume of data from the nine subjects and, thus, the same categories will be utilized in Study Two.

The youth centers were an appropriate means of accessing risk youth and youth who may be at risk, from a range of backgrounds and experiences. A rich understanding of their lives and a high volume of data concerning the social support they have experienced were generated. The analysis of the nine interviews transcribed and analyzed in this emic study indicates that the life history interview is an appropriate and effective way to access and measure social support. However, the inclusion of a below average informant resulted in an interview with very limited content regarding social support, although the impact and value of the center in the youth's life was striking. The subject found it very difficult to verbalize or introspect about his life and it seems that this method has limitations for those with poor expressive language skills.

The centers were also an appropriate context for ensuring adherence to high ethical standards in that the youth had the security of the center and the center staff and the researcher had an immediate means of feedback regarding any positive or negative impact on the youth. Through the general approach provided by the centers, the youth were aware of their rights and approval processes for the study. Follow up contact with center staff indicated that human ethics had been appropriately handled and none of the youth showed any ill effects from their participation in the interviews. The $10 fee acknowledged informants' participation and established them as partners in the research. The youth appeared positive and empowered at the opportunity to impact on the course of research that would impact on youth in the future. The centers also provided a practical

feedback mechanism for the researcher for progress reports and dissemination of the research, giving the centers client data from their users and access to data that can be use in program planning.

Hence, it may be concluded from Study One, that life history interviews with informants from youth centers are appropriate for Study Two, from sampling, data collection and ethical standpoints, but that below average informants should not be included.

From the viewpoint of Study One, the greatest challenge for the etic adaptation with Jakarta youth will be language, cultural differences and appropriate methods to obtain the larger informant sample. Application in Jakarta will require the establishment of a supportive and critical professional peer group and a highly motivated research assistant, willing to work as a member of a research team in the cross-cultural phase of the research. The organization of research in an Asian capital city with a population of over 10 million is likely to be more complex and time consuming than in Canberra. Hence the research assistant will function as negotiator, facilitator and trusted colleague at all stages of Study Two, if it is to succeed. The mechanics and details of the method will come second to the strength of the relationships that will be essential for the research to succeed.

4.5   A Personal Reflection

The experience of interviewing these young people was a salutary one for the Researcher. In each case, every effort was made to make the experience a positive one for the youth. The youth approached the interview in many ways; uncertain, curious, provocative. But all had a story to tell and all were willing to tell it. Despite the events and the stressors they had faced, they were still willing to be involved, trusted a new face and at times confided their secrets, in the knowledge that what they were doing would be useful to other young people.

"My Oma, she loved me very much, used to pay attention to me.

Just like Mama and Papa."

Boy J4

5.0

Study Two

5.1   Overview

This chapter presents the results from the "etic" Study Two, conducted by the Australian Researcher and the Research Assistant with a sample of middle class youth from the Drug Dependence Hospital and Klub Sejuta. Like Study One, the results from Study Two are suggestive of trends, but should not be generalized to all Jakarta youth, or youth at risk. Compared to Study One, Study Two focuses more on context, reflecting its importance, as reflected in the review of the social support literature. More demographic detail is also provided, as these were important considerations in the etic study. The overall pattern of results from the 26 Jakarta youth as a group is also presented, with some specific themes observed across the data, including analysis of some selected individual transcripts.

5.2   Results and Discussion

5.2.1   Gender and Position in the Family

The 26 informants in Study Two consisted of 18 males and eight females. Ten of the informants (8 males and two females) were eldest children, six (three males and three females) were in the middle and nine (seven males and two females) were youngest children (Table 5).

Table 5

Study Two informants by ethnicity and position in family

Position in family	Javanese Moslem	Non Javanese Moslem	Javanese Non Moslem	Non Javanese Non Moslem	Total
Eldest child	5	2	2	1	10 (8/2)*
Middle child	4	2	0	1	7 (3/3)*
Youngest child	5	1	2	1	9 (7/2)*
Total	14	5	4	3	26 (18/8)*

*(males/females)

Due to the small sample of girls in Study Two, the data will not be disaggregated by gender, except in reference to specific individuals. However, the four "only sons" in Study Two (two eldest, one youngest and one middle child), as well as the eight other eldest children (two females and eight females) have similar and distinctive recollections of the "different" treatment they received because of their position or gender. Some limited data from two youngest children are included, as there are indications that youngest children, similarly, are treated differently.

Four informants, two only sons and two eldest children, referred positively to the special treatment they received from both grandparents and parents and the pleasure these memories give them.

> (Girl J26): "I have a very wonderful childhood. I have all the attention because I am the first child in the family, the first grand daughter in the family."

> (Boy J5): "When I was little, my parents spoiled me, because I am the only boy. My sisters were not jealous. I got typhoid fever and was hospitalized and they took me to the VIP room. If my sisters get sick, they will take them to 3rd class."

> (Boy J13): "I'm her grandchild and she loves me the most as I am the one and only boy. My parents treated me in a special way. I could feel it. I was so happy."

One only son, undergoing treatment for drug addiction, reflected, conversely, that he needed stronger discipline from his parents.

(Boy J5): "They gave up and tried to be patient, maybe because I am the only boy they have. So they were rather soft on me. I hate being spoiled by my parents. I want them to give me hard warnings."

Four informants, two only sons and two eldest children made scant and largely negative reference to the implications of being the only son. One only son implied that being the eldest meant that he had too much responsibility.

(Boy J3): " Sometimes he (father) gave me advice but all he would say was you have to look after your sisters."

Another only son complained about his parents' treatment, especially from his mother, implying resentment about a lack of special treatment as the boy in the family. .

(Boy J18): " My older sister is a female and my little sister, so I was treated like a girl. Basically, I have to obey everything they say. They were very strict, especially my mother."

Two youngest sons gave insight into the different roles of the youngest child with some disappointment evident, and a strong view that having family attention and love mattered a great deal to them.

(Boy J4): " I wasn't the youngest any more. The youngest usually being loved more. Since I wasn't, my brother gets most of the love."

(Boy J14): " People say the youngest is always the dearest one."

A second theme, related to family position and gender, was the higher expectations the youth had of themselves as eldest children, including resolving parental and sibling conflict.

(Boy J11): " As his big brother I often protected him. I'm two years older than he is. If somebody teased him I would fight him for sure".

(Boy J6): "As the oldest kid, I used to persuade them (parents) to make peace. When they go into a fight, I broke it up and separated them.

The youth also described the burden of imposed higher parental expectations and needs, as eldest children or only sons, compounded by the prohibition against confiding in outsiders about family problems.

(Boy J11): "At that time I was so sad seeing my mama cry all the time (father had an affair). Because I'm her eldest son, she often shares her feelings with me. It made me depressed but I couldn't talk about it to anybody".

(Boy J 25): "They (parents) fought and shouted to each other. As the only son I felt ashamed about it. He grumbled to me as the eldest son (about money), not to my mother or my brother or my sister.

A variant on this theme, that is, combined higher expectations with a lack of coping skills, led to perceived parental responsibility becoming an intolerable burden. Three male youth, all of whom were drug addicts, described their feelings of being unable to cope with failure.

(Boy J13): "I am the only one who has ruined my family. It's a coincidence that I'm the only boy my mother has with my father".

(Boy J11): "There is no way I can share my feelings with them (siblings), so I carry all the burden on my shoulders by myself, because I am the oldest child. I must be able to solve the problems, to bear those".

Further in the interview, he explained his drug use as a response to fear of failure.

(Boy J11): "Why was I born as the eldest, whom they put so many hopes and expectations on. I feel depressed. I wonder if I cannot make it. My parents would be disappointed in me. I feel under pressure. That's why I can't fall asleep easily. Since I knew putauw I can get some sleep."

This data speaks powerfully for these youth. The interplay of parental expectation and their own hopes and fears is a subtle one where love and duty conflict. In summary, it is apparent that youth consistently perceive that first children and only sons, have different, and at times, more demanding roles in this sample of middle class Jakarta youth. Where youth lack sufficient coping skills, this can become an intolerable burden.

5.2.2   Religion and Ethnicity

The predominant religion is Islam (19 informants) with their suku or ethnic background being mainly Javanese (14 informants) and a smaller number Non Javanese (5

informants). The Non Moslem informants were equally Javanese and non-Javanese. The small number of Non Javanese informants makes analysis problematic, however, there are some informants where 'suku' had significance in the context of the social support reported in this interview and these cases will be noted.

5.2.3   The Implied Impact of the Interview

5.2.3.1 Informant reactions to the interview

There were a variety of reactions to the interview with most informants regarding the process as novel and rewarding. The most typical response from informants from the Drug Dependency Hospital was one of relief or lifting a burden.

(Boy J5): " I feel relief... makes me relaxed."

(Boy J6): "I feel relief, just that. Having some one to talk to, share my feelings."

(Boy J 12): "After I talked to you, my mind becomes open and I feel relief."

The Klub Sejuta informants were comparatively more matter-of-fact about the experience although two also mentioned relief. They mentioned confidentiality more often.

(Girl J17): " We feel relieved. They (our friends) can't keep a secret."

(Boy J23): "It's OK for me as long as you keep my identity confidential."

The following responses are typical of the five informants who intimated that it was a new experience for them to share their feelings in this way. Javanese families tend to educate their children not to confide in people outside the family, as confirmed by the Critical Reference Group. Thus, their responses are an important aspect of the etic Study Two.

(Boy J4): "Very rare. I don't want to talk to the staff. You see I don't want to talk to a stranger. Never share my feelings with others. I try to figure it out myself."

(Boy J10): " I can talk about things I cannot tell my friends, relatives let alone my parents. I think positively about this because I have never done this before."

However, the experience of the interview, appeared to overcome any cultural prohibition the youth may have had, and several were quick to suggest participation of friends with stories to tell, seeming to understand and accept the rationale behind Study Two.

(Boy J11): "You should interview X. His story will be more useful than mine."

Two pairs of female informants (two sisters and two friends) preferred to be interviewed in pairs. One informant explained the reasons for this as follows:

(Girl J20):"Well, we didn't know how it was going to be. I thought I would not be prepared to be interviewed alone. Together, it's all right. It's different."

Thus, these responses simply appeared to reflect the fact that they were more comfortable being interviewed together, than alone, consistent with their collectivistic culture.

Some informants mentioned personal problems during the interviews. There were a variety of ways of dealing with these, from denial to direct request for advice, with some reflection of the counseling literature that Asian clients' engagement is likely to be directive and task oriented with expectation of results in a shorter time, compared to Western clients (Pederson, 1991).

(Boy J23): "I don't think about it too much. I buried the past as much as I can."

(Boy J25): "I've already told my story to my teacher but still have no solution."

(Boy J12): "I want to ask you, can you find me a way out? I want to seek advice. I live in a family that has been shattered and just want to know what is best."

Other informants seemed genuinely pleased that their input would benefit other youth.

(Boy J11): " I hope what I give you can be for the benefit of other youth. Don't let them be shattered."

(Boy J13): "I do it sincerely. This may be useful for others."

In summary, the youth found the life history interview a valuable process, in that it provided them with a supportive environment in which to reflect on their lives. The facilitation of similar sharing and increased insights between parents and youth may be an appropriate process to use in order to build better communication.

5.2.3.2 Interview structure

The structure of the informants' narratives could be classified into three categories, reflecting McAdams' view (1988) that identity can partially be understood through narrative structure. Category one consisted of narratives that moved chronologically through the developmental stages, from childhood to adolescence to youth. The 17 informants in this category preferred the interviewer to provide the structure. Their responses were, initially, brief, then a little lengthier, as the interview progressed. Some youth, especially female youth in this group, tended to be more animated and expressive than the males in telling their stories.

A second category comprised more creative and novel narratives that did not follow a chronological sequence or need much cueing from the Research Assistant. Two female youth related narratives that reflected their outgoing personalities and communication styles. They were perceptive and analytic about their lives, finding the interview very stimulating. Some category one narratives had echoes of story telling in relation to events and life stages, but, comparatively, the category two narratives had an innate and unique structure, integral with their meaning.

An unexpected third category consisted of five youth whose narratives revolved around one major event in their lives. Typically, this event was introduced into the narrative in the first few minutes then became the central reference point for the story. The central events included one youth being sent to a pesantren and four youths whose parents' continues to live in continued unresolved hostility. One female youth in this category had great skill in telling her story so that her interview combined aspects of categories two and three.

In summary, the response and structure of the informant narrative is a further source of rich data about the youth's personality and development. The analysis of narrative has considerable potential as a source of understanding of identity, as the structure of the life history is also reflective of the significance of the relationships and the events.

5.2.4   Social Support in General

5.2.4.1   Overview

The 26 Jakarta youth reported receiving and providing a very high proportion of social support from their families (80%) compared to non-family (17%) with a small category "other" (3%). Overall, they received more support from their families and less from non-family, compared to the Canberra youth. Of the 720 instances of social support, 417 (58%) were satisfying and 302 (42%) were dissatisfying or non-matching (see Appendix H – Informant social support coded by family, non-family, other providers, match and non match for Study Two).

Parents were the most important providers, consistent with studies by Galbo (1986), aptly described by Bogat, Caldwell, Rogosch and Kriegler (1985) as 'support generalists' in children's' lives. Parents provided a composite 58% of all social support, with levels between 16% - 22% for the categories of parent, mother and father. Other family members, such as grandparents, aunts and uncles, provided relatively little support. Sibling support (7%), self as provider and peer support were all at similar rates. There were three instances of household staff support from female informants.

Non-family support was received from peers; girl friends and boy friends were classified using the Bogat, Caldwell, Rogosch & Kriegler's term 'support specialist'. Non-family adults provided 8% of the received support, comprising secular teachers (4.5%), religious teachers (2%), staff at the Drug Dependency Hospital (1.5%), one police and one instance of community support. A third category "other", comprised some trial concepts and yielded 20 items (3%) related to drugs, place, a lack of support and loss of support, caused by events such as the death of a grandparent.

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These general findings reflect the social support and adolescence literature, in that, parents and family are the main sources of support for their children. The following discussion analyses the major trends in more detail, with reference to relevant examples.

5.2.4.2   Provider and social support – family

There were 11 instances (1.5% of total support) of grandparent support, most of which were satisfying. Grandparents provided tangible support (a car and private tuition) and appraisal support 'scolded for my sake'. Six male informants referred to strong emotional support from grandparents, typically being 'her dearest child', or being 'treated in a special way', so that the loss felt at the death of the grandparent was very acute (Table 6).

Table 6

Informant social support coded by family providers, functional type, match and non-match for Study Two

Match	Emotional support	Appraisal support	Tangible support	Total
Grandparents	7	1	2	10
Mother	31	27	34	92
Father	13	12	21	46
Parents	31	13	43	87
Family	9	5	5	19
Siblings	10	14	12	36
Self	15	20	7	42
Household staff	0	0	3	3
Total match	116	92	127	335
Non match				
Grandparents	0	1	0	1
Mother	25	11	20	56
Father	43	9	16	68
Parents	27	11	32	70
Family	5	0	5	10
Siblings	10	1	0	11
Self	11	5	8	24
Household staff	0	0	0	0
Total non-match	121	38	81	240
Total family support	237	130	208	575

The Jakarta youth recalled receiving equal quantities of satisfying and dissatisfying support received from their parents. Satisfying maternal support was consistent across the

functional support types (emotional 27%, appraisal 27%, tangible 29%) and dissatisfying support (emotional 20%, appraisal 29%, tangible 25%). Fathers provided both less support than mothers, (emotional 11%, appraisal 13%, tangible 17%) did and more dissatisfying support than mothers (emotional 35%, appraisal 27%, tangible 20%). The data for mother and father was analyzed more extensively to understand the dynamics within those specific relationships, and the deficit that occurred when either one of those relationships was dysfunctional or absent. The combination of mother, father and parent support gives the full perspective about the social support that the Jakarta youth received from their parents.

Satisfying parental emotional support (27%) was related to providing love, care and attention, understanding, parental pride and recognition of achievements. Appraisal support (14%) related to advice about studying and the acquisition of discipline. One youth explains his parents' supportive response to him when he failed to gain access to a school.

> (Boy J11): " They said that maybe it's not my fate to study in that SMA. Maybe I have to take another way. They said to me that through another way I could also be somebody."

Tangible support (39%) assisted youth to participate in activities such as dancing, marching, and scouts, deciding about school or university. Parents provided goods and initiated activities, such as urine testing for drugs, sending one youth to a pesantren, praying together, providing a religious teacher, providing transport to courses and financial support conditional on performance.

Dissatisfying parental social support was emotional (22%) and tangible (40%). The emotional social support related to parental discipline and being pressured or controlled by parents. Informants recalled severe parental anger about drug use, making mistakes, being expelled and coming home late. Some parents, on the other hand, were perceived to ignore youth or not to care. Youth complained about their parents' conflict and some saw their parents as too soft and overprotective. Parents hired unwanted religious teachers, failed to provide goods the youth wanted or else took too long to do so. Parents advised

their youth about study, personal matters and choice of courses too forcibly, causing some to rebel even more, resulting in increased drug use and lack of achievement for courses subsequently undertaken.

Satisfying emotional maternal support (27%) comprised one large category involving mothers' nurturing and comforting behaviors. Mothers also continued to support to youth emotionally, thus, minimizing emotional distress. Mothers provided their youth with considerable appraisal support (27%), advising them about practical coping strategies to deal with issues such as stress or weight loss. Mothers taught family members to pray and encouraged the family to pray and provided education about puberty. Mothers, like fathers, supported their youth in a wide range of practical ways (27%) and taught or encouraged their youth to learn new skills in many ways.

> (Girl J22): "My mother tried hard to search my talents. She wanted me to be the best in accordance with my talents."

Mothers walked their children to school, drove them if the driver was not available, hired religious teachers, watched over their progress, defended them, went to school to collect their reports, rewarded their achievement and celebrated their birthdays.

Dissatisfying emotional maternal support (20%) consisted of youths' recall of over-strict parenting, harsh language and scolding. One youth tersely noted his mother's disrespectful and hurtful words to his father. There were brief mentions of lack of attention, spoiling a younger brother, being too kind-hearted, and two instances of mothers crying or needing medical attention due to youth behavior and anger over family conflict. Appraisal support (29%) consisted of mothers not listening, giving no advice, bad advice or too much advice. Some youth thought their mothers deferred too much to their father. Problematic tangible support was related to controlling support so that the youth did certain things to 'please their mother', were not allowed to play outside as children, not allowed to take up leisure activities and were forced to accept their mothers' choice of high school or university course. Collectivistic cultures emphasize interdependence and the legitimate role of parents in making choices for their youth (Butzel & Ryan (1997). The results of this study reflect the tension caused by the

"...changing perceptions across generations..." (Bengston & Kuypers, 1971, p. 249). Parents gained great meaning from the development of their youth and while youth appeared to accept their responsibility as players in this 'generational theater', there were nevertheless, strong indications that they wanted to be able to make the big decisions themselves.

Fathers, compared to mothers, provided relatively little emotional support (11%), however it should be noted, that a few fathers were competent emotional support providers, being comforting and nurturing, especially if the mother was strict. One informant exemplifies this well, as follows:

> (Girl J 24): " If I cannot fulfill something, he is not angry with me, but cheers me
>
> up. He says that's OK. My parents really know how their child is feeling."

Fathers assisted with problem solving and advice (13%) encouraged regular prayer and allowed their children to make their own decisions as well as tangible support (17%) such as transport, financial support, including after divorce, and taking their sons to hospital for treatment for addiction. The relative lack of support seemed in part, related to fathers' limited time. Youth referred to this frequently, with some indication that the time decreased as the children got older and fathers became busier.

Dissatisfying paternal emotional support (35%) focused on the fathers' role as disciplinarian and family provider. Fathers were recalled as too harsh or strict, especially about drug use and making mistakes. Some fathers were difficult when youth needed money and others disliked the youths' friends. Some fathers paid no attention to their youth, worked very long hours or withdrew attention in response to sons' drug use. Some youth coped with this, by ignoring their fathers. Appraisal support (27%) consisted of hostility toward father due to family conflict and ineffective advice about how to make friends. Problematic tangible support (20%) involved fathers not providing the family with money for the family, deciding youth needs unilaterally or delaying the provision of the needed goods.

The data from extended family reflected similar trends to parent data, and included uncles and aunts, siblings. Family and family religion were sources of strength and comfort for four informants.

> Boy (J14): " We used to read the Today's Reflection after dinner together. It made me feel comfortable. I was pleased."

Several informants were very close to their aunts, one of whom was supportive by reducing parental conflict. Uncles taught discipline and youth refer to living with aunts, aunts helping to solve problems and teaching religion. Dissatisfying emotional family support consisted of punishment of youth behavior by aunts and uncles, being sent to a Puncak dormitory, studying under supervision and the lack of a family life.

Sibling support (8%) mirrored that of peers, in volume and distribution across functional types, except peers provided more emotional support. Satisfying emotional sibling support (9% of family emotional support) involved close relationships, being kind and understanding. Appraisal support (15%) consisted of the provision of general advice and advice about drug use and courses, and siblings giving values education to their sisters or brothers, to help them cope with life.

> (GirlJ16): " Our brother feels responsible for us. He teaches us to be a responsible person. He makes us a better person."

> (Girl J24): "My sister is the one closest to me. She builds my character, tells me how to decide about what to do. There are many influences from her in myself."

Tangible support (9%) involved providing company, being taken to places or given goods needed. Dissatisfying support was largely emotional and consisted of jealousy of a brother, unwanted sibling sympathy, teasing, too much responsibility and a lack of communication and time with siblings.

'Self' as a category measures the support provided by the informant to others. The provision of support is as important as its receipt, so that opportunities to provide support build self-esteem (Pierce, Sarason, Sarason, Joseph & Henderson, 1996). Several youth in Study Two pointed out that their parents would not accept being given support, that is,

advice or comfort, by their children. A number of the youth commented that their parents had taught them not to confide in people outside the family.

> (Boy J11): " They can't do anything to help you, the most is that they will listen to your story, so what's the use of it. They probably even told your story to others. It will be embarrassing".

Hence, the youth kept his problems "deep inside myself" and was less likely to either elicit support for his needs or to support others in his family. Many other youth related instances of effective support provision. Hence, self, a neglected aspect of social support research, is also an ambiguous matter for Jakarta parents, strong reasons for its inclusion in the study. The "self" category consisted of 11% of the total family support experienced. Satisfying emotional support (13%) fell into five categories. Two informants reflected on their internal locus of control and increased self -awareness.

> (Girl J24): "I want a good mark for myself, not for showing to my parents."

> (Girl J22: "I could start to see myself. I grew to be mature in third year high."

Three youth reflected on their increased confidence as a result of new activities, five had close family relationships and three saw themselves as a reliable friend and support to their siblings and parents. Two informants expressed sympathy for the parent and siblings affected by parents' affairs. Positive appraisal support (22%) provided by self was largely toward parents. These youth convinced in their capacity to take on and solve real family problems. For example, three youth successfully arbitrated with their parents to stop parental conflict. One informant found a solution to a financial problem with his father. A female youth, fearful for her younger sister's vulnerability in the face of a family crisis, convinced her father that her sister should be sent away until the crisis was resolved, as well as reminding him of his financial responsibilities. One youth won space and autonomy from his parents by running away and leaving a letter explaining his needs. Positive satisfying tangible support (6%), involved maintaining supplies needed for drug use, defending a younger brother and being financially independent.

Dissatisfying emotional support provided by self were notably instances of support where the informant felt a sense of guilt of failure (9%), for example, a youth could not realize his mother's hope to have a doctor in the family.

(Boy J23): "I still wanted to be a doctor but I had one minus mark. I felt sorry for myself, and my mother. She put her hope on me. I know she feels disappointed."

Two informants referred to bad relationships with their father and no feelings for their father after a divorce. One significant type of dissatisfying appraisal support (13%) consisted of six youth negotiating about difficult topics with their parents and trying to give them advice. One informant reportedly yelled at her father about an affair then said that she really couldn't communicate with him. Despite her anger and frustration she was very articulate. A second youth reported having told his father not to shout at his children, and gave several examples of what he would like to say, if his parents would let him.

(Boy J25): " Once I told my mother it's better for her to do sholat because I never saw her do it. She didn't get any better but she got angry with me and she gave me a speech. She said it's not good to advise your parents."

Dissatisfying tangible supports (9%) entailed drug related events, selling possessions, a youth who terrorized and forced his mother to give him money, forcing a girl friend to start using drugs and a youth who used drugs because his mother had left home. One informant shouted at his younger brother, reporting that his brother became ill as a result. A male youth recalled a poignant memory of his grandmother's death and his failure to be there, as he was sitting a school exam.

(Boy J23): " I was shocked and so disappointed. I took care of her all those times and I couldn't accompany her at the last moment. I mean when my grandmother wanted to go to the bathroom or something I would help her."

The three instances of household staff support were from female informants and were all instances of satisfying tangible support involving protection or being accompanied to and from school.

5.2.4.3 Provider and social support – non- family

The satisfying support (5%) from girlfriend, boyfriend referred to emotional support that provided motivation to go to school and study harder, to dealing with anger and personal

problems (Table 6). Dissatisfying support consisted of one girl causing her boyfriend to use drugs, so that he, too, become addicted.

Table 7

Informant social support coded by non-family providers, functional type, match and non-match for Study Two

Match	Emotional support	Appraisal support	Tangible support	Total
Teachers	8	5	3	16
Religious teachers/religion	2	7	0	9
Drug Hospital staff	5	2	0	7
Community members	0	0	1	1
Girlfriend, boyfriend	2	2	0	4
Peers	23	7	9	39
Total match	40	23	13	76
Non match				
Teachers	7	8	2	17
Religious teachers/religion	2	1	3	6
Drug Hospital staff	1	2	0	3
Community members	0	0	1	1
Girlfriend, boyfriend	0	0	2	2
Peers	4	1	15	20
Total non-match	14	12	23	49
Total non-family support	54	35	36	125

Matched or satisfying peer support (total of 47% of non-family support) involved mostly emotional support (56%). Informants remarked on new confidence and skills resulting from joining clubs, attributing smooth transition in schooling to peer support. Emotional solidarity with peers was a reason given for fighting by three informants. Many informants recalled companionship, fun, being happy and accepted. Satisfying tangible (30%) and appraisal support (69%) related to peers teaching youth to use drugs and peers helping a youth to resist using drugs. Other advisory support involved issues such as course selection. Non-matched or dissatisfying social support from peers was at a much lower rate, compared to satisfying support. Four youth complained that they were too much influenced by their friends, with one youth describing himself disparagingly as a "follower" while another, stood out against his peers.

> (Boy J25): "I never went to the disco even when my friends asked me to go there. I remembered my strong religious education since I was in primary school. I notice that my friends who like to go to the disco have bad achievement."

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Four youth complained that their peers teased them, talked down to them or were just not helpful or irrelevant. Five male informants tried drugs at their friends' request, liked it and kept using, with two informants knowing about drugs from friends. Four youth had tried drugs at their friends' request but did not continue.

Secular and religious teachers provided 7% of the total support experienced by the Jakarta youth. Religious teachers provided advice about drugs, puberty, and religious education and were seen as kind. Church membership helped a female youth:

(Girl J16): "Helps me to know the difference between good and bad."
Support from secular teachers, consistent with the literature, benefited those youth lacking adult guidance outside school (Galbo, 1986). Secular teachers provided emotional satisfying support. School was described as fun, and the curriculum was exciting in primary school, teachers were nice and close to the students (6%) with some teachers evidently having a major influence.

(Boy J25): "I had a teacher who was really close to me. He is a computer teacher and he is like a father to me. I never had a real discussion with my own father so I talked to him. It's nice because he understands my feelings."
Satisfying tangible support (23%) consisted of extra curricular classes for a student who loved painting, improved study after staying at the Puncak dormitory, a principal taking a student with a broken arm to hospital. Satisfying appraisal support (22%) consisted of a teacher advising a boy about group study, information about puberty and a school taking initiative to deal with student drug use.

Teacher support was dissatisfying when related to student misbehavior and teachers' discipline. One youth ran away from school dormitory many times because he missed his mother, despite good progress there. Teachers reported students to parents, asked parents to come to the school or sent them letters about misbehavior as well as expelling a student for drug use. Mismatched support from religious teachers involved pressure youth to perform sholat at school and pressure from pesantren staff.

The staff at the Drug Dependency Hospital provided satisfying support by motivating five youth. Dissatisfaction came from being treated with suspicion, not wanting to leave the Hospital and not wanting to talk to strangers (four informants). Two curious instances of support from the community involved a dissatisfying episode with the police after a student fight and a male youth rescued from a dangerous fight by the local community.

5.2.4.4 Provider and social support – loss of support, lack of support and place

There were four references to loss of family members (father, grandparents and aunt) with the evident lack of understanding for one boy, who was only six at that time.

>(Boy J8): "When my auntie died, I was close to her, she used to spoil me. That's the only thing that makes me cry."

>(Boy J9): "I was just sad. Didn't know what was going on (death of his father)."

One informant had lost both grandparents and felt the loss keenly."

>(Boy J4): "I was very sad. I was very close to him. He loved me and his grand children. I felt so sad. I cried. She is the only one who loved me the most. She really looked after me."

In one case, the event seems have negatively buffered alcohol use.

>(Boy J13): "Three days after she died I was in an accident. I fell off my motorcycle. I was drunk at the time. I regretted, why did my grandma leave me. She was so special, not like other grandmas. She used to fulfill what I wanted."

Just as grandparents provided the youth with unconditional love and acceptance, so their loss had a major impact.

There were few responses in the "lack of support" category, as suggested by Hobson (1988) but the five informants revealed unmet needs that added to their vulnerability. One informant had no one to turn to about his drug use, having encouraged his girlfriend to start using. Another had "no one to put his anger onto" as he struggles with addiction. Three male informants felt alone and lacked coping resources, for example, " I didn't have some one who can encourage me."

There were few references to "place" except for two male informants, who talked about the value of the disco and the countryside, when he was a primary school, as source of support.

> (Boy J25): "There were rice fields, fish ponds. I used to go to the river or lake. There's no more river or lake now. I don't want to be open to other people about my family's problem. I just swallow it. Or I cry."

Other youth referred to enjoying sitting around with their friends, doing nothing.

> (Boy J25): "On Saturday I always go to the disco. That's all I do every Saturday night. I can spend the night with my girl. I enjoy the atmosphere and I can get drunk. I just like it. That's why I go there. To get drunk."

Place appears to provide a means of self-regulation for several youth, consistent with the literature (Korpela, 1989), to deal with feelings that cannot be resolved or openly discussed with family.

The analysis of the received and provided social support from the sample of middle-class Jakarta youth, illustrated that youth gave and received a much higher volume of support from their families than from non-families. The data also indicated that psychological and non-psychological support types were important and relevant in lives of these Jakarta youth. However, the most significant support type was emotional support, consistent with Burleson & Kunkel (1996, p. 105) who described the "provision of sensitive, effective emotional support ...(as)...no easy task" at each stage of the life cycle. Finally, the patterns of provision of emotional support by mother and father were very different, as was the degree of satisfaction expressed by the youth. These differences reflected parents' traditional roles in Indonesian culture, however, there were consistent indications that middle class Jakarta youth are pushing the boundaries for increased autonomy and that the traditional roles of parents as support providers are undergoing change in response to a combination of socio-cultural factors.

5.2.5 Protective Factors

5.2.5.1 Overview

The analysis of risk and resilience in Study Two was based on Rutter's (1996) differentiation between risk indicators and mechanisms or processes, emphasizing that these are complex processes over time. Resistance to risk may be based in previous inoculating experiences, childhood experience, and the interaction of the mechanisms. Sandler, Miller, Short & Wolchick (1989) used a differently framed, but similar model, consisting of increasing self-esteem, the perceived security of social relations and perceived control. Through these comparable processes, the same "...steeling..." effects are likely to take place when children have coped successfully with stress experiences" (Rutter, 1996, p. 26). This aspect of Study Two explored the extent to which the life history interview can be used to ascertain risk and resilience, thus broadening the utility of the interview.

This data analysis included measures of attachment and autonomy, two interacting and major goals of adolescence. These goals enable the adolescent to give direction to life, to regulate actions and to feel capable. Functional and emotional autonomy results in social competence (Noom, Dekovic & Meeus, 1999) and attachment functions to allow the adolescent to maintain needed connections with significant others.

5.2.5.2. Data trends for autonomy and attachment

Chapter Three describes the method used to assess autonomy and attachment (see Appendix I – Informant scores for social support received from parent, mother, father, and peers for Study Two). The data was analyzed for matching and non-matching support from the most frequently ranked sources of support. The relative patterns of matching and non-matching support showed that 20 of the 26 Jakarta youth interviewed (14 male youth and 6 female youth) had positive attachment with their mothers (Appendix J – Informant score for attachment, autonomy and drug use for Study Two). Six youth appeared to have

a positive attachment with their fathers (four female youth and two male youth). The Jakarta youth interviewed tended to have a more secure personal base with their mothers, rather than with their fathers, consistent with the analysis of the coded social support, where social support from mothers was both more frequent and more satisfying. While there were examples of warm and nurturing fathers, fathers were, overall, more often sources of dissatisfying emotional support, described as being angry and forceful, consistent with their roles as head of the family.

The eleven male youth demonstrated a distinct and consistent trend in relation to attachments to parents and peers. Seven had positive attachment with their mothers who supported their autonomy, nine had weak attachment with their more heteronomous fathers and eight of these youth had positive attachments with their peers. All but one, were currently receiving treatment for drug addiction at the Drug Dependence Hospital. A common theme among these boys was strong resentment and anger toward their father or parents.

> (Boy J6): "I needed a car. He gave it to me a year later. Finally I use drugs. I bear a grudge, because he's impossible. He gives everything to others, instead of his own kids. I use drugs, makes me relax and forget my revenge."
>
> (Boy J9): "They protected me in a way that I thought was weaker than a girl was. I was always scared to come home; scared they would scold me. They didn't let me become what I wanted to be. Every road has a dead end."
>
> (Boy J10): And I would say yes and yes but didn't obey her. Actually my heart was on fire. You never know how hot it was."

The results from the Study Two drug users are consistent with the review of the literature by Wills, Mariani and Filer (1996) who conclude that difficulties in managing anger, having a peer drug user as a friend, deviant attitudes and an accumulation of negative events, predispose to drug use and can be regarded as risk factors.

By contrast, the other fifteen youth had high rates of attachment with both mother and father and two thirds of these youth regarded their parents as being autonomous. Seven

were current drug addicts, and of those, five had positive attachment with peers, two positive attachments with their mothers and two positive attachments with both parents.

These trends were in line with theoretical perspectives presented by Noom, Dekovic & Meeus (1999) and an Indonesian study (Nataksumah et al. 1992), that functionally autonomous adolescents, who possess strong attachment with peers and negative attachment or separation with fathers, will be more susceptible to problem behavior, such as drug use. The results also support the views of Butzel & Ryan (1996) that detachment is an unhealthy separation, interfering with the mutual dependencies that are essential to support the adolescent in his path to autonomy. Thus, autonomy and independence are co-existing conditions for healthy development.

5.2.5.3.Data trends for resilience and risk

This analysis resulted in two categories of youth, that is, 15 resilient youth, and 11 risk youth (Table 8) whose risk or resilience scores were five points or higher. There were no discernible trends related to informants' gender, position in the family, religion or ethnicity in the two categories. The 15 resilient youth, half of whom were female, enjoyed generally positive relationships with both parents, 12 reporting that parents' marriages or remarriages were harmonious. Fourteen youth had no money worries and the same number found religion a support in their lives. Eleven of the youth had positive peer relations. Six youth were currently using drugs, five being in-patients at the Drug Dependence Hospital. A further three had used drugs previously but two had stopped two to three years before.

In general, the youth in this category were resilient by virtue of their increased social support resources, possessing a "... rich social fund..." to draw on when needed (Thoits, 1995). Three of the youth talked of distressing marital conflict, compounded from pressure at being the only son, or the eldest. A female youth's story revolved around her difficulty to come to terms with her father's affair. She spoke movingly of the protective value of her religious faith but then concludes that the tolerant and loving family, in

which she grew up, did not prepare her to deal with life. She described her thoughts and feelings about this with some insight and ambivalence.

> (Girl J26): " My father said you must pray to God every night, every day, five times and don't miss it. I think the basics, when everything blew up, I didn't get carried away using drugs or something because I still have some one to pray to. When the bad times come, I still wasn't ready for it".

Consistent with Rutter's views (1996) this middle class female youth had not been steeled by experience in childhood or early adolescence. However, she had a rich repertoire of cognitive, affective and tangible resources (Table 8).

Table 8

Informant scores for resilience and risk for Study Two

No	Gender	Mother Score	Father score	Marital score	Religion score	Drugs score	Peer score	Money Score	Resilience score	Risk score
1	M	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	2	6
2	M	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	3	5
3	M	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	1	5
5	M	-		+	-	-		-	1	5
6	M	+	-	+	-	-		-	1	5
9	M	-	- *	-	+	-		+	3	4
12	M	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	3	4
4	M	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	4	4
8	M	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	4	4
10	M	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	4	4
25	M	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	4	4
7	F	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	6	2
11	M	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	5	3
13	M	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	5	3
14	M	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	5	3
15	M	+	- *	+	+	-	+	+	6	2
16	F	-	+	+	+	+		+	6	1
17	F	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	6	2
18	M	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	5	3
19	M	+	+	+	-	+**	+	+	7	1
20	F	+	+ *	+	+	+	+	+	8	0
21	F	+		+	+	+	+	+	7	0
22	F	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	7	1
23	M	+	****	+	+	+**	****	+	6	0
24	F	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7	1
26	F	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	7	1

The highest resilience scores were seen in six youth (four females and two males) whose

families combined high levels of social support, generally positive attachment with both parents and autonomous parenting and only one of these youth used drugs. Motivation was largely intrinsic and parents disciplined with reason and encouragement.

(Boy J23): " She was upset but she kept calm and patient. I made a mistake."

(Girl J26): " I never lie to my parents because it's just no use. What for, they understand me. If I do something wrong, all I have to do is tell them why I did it".

One mother stood up for her daughter's independence when the girl's father wanted to enrol her in a school near the new house, rather than travel daily to her old school.

(Girl J21): " He was afraid something would happen to me. My mother was determined. She wants to see her girl become independent so that when I grow up I can go everywhere myself. Finally I tried it and can do it."

While it appears that being female, in a middle class Jakarta family, was protective, there was evidence that middle class girls were socialized not to rebel, and hence, appeared to be more accepting of life events. Girl J24 illustrated this point very well.

(Girl J24): " They didn't force me to do anything, they gave me freedom. Sometimes I felt upset if they keep being angry with me. The lessons had already made me stressed. I wanted to revolt but I didn't know how. I know they did it for my good."

The 'risk' youth, comprised two sub categories, four with marginal risk and seven with more pronounced risk. Of the marginal risk youth, (Boy J4, Boy J8, Boy J10, Boy J25) three were receiving treatment at the Drug Dependency Hospital at the time of interview. These youth had good relationships with at least one parent, but two lived in conflicted household, two had money worries and two had rejected religion as a support. Of significance, was the importance of grandparents to two of these youth, who felt a great sense of loss (Hobfall, 1988). This acute sense of loss seemed to have been problematic to resolve and may have been acted out or internalized. At least one youth recalled that the death of his grandmother negatively buffered increased drug use, hence a critical time when added family support was needed. Of these youth still using drugs, strong attachment with parents combined with religion and money as supports, may give them

some greater protection and it is possible that these youth have a greater likelihood of recovery from drug addiction, than the other risk youth.

The remaining seven "risk" youth comprised seven males who were receiving treatment for addiction at the Drug Dependence Unit. These youth had few or poor relationships with parents, appearing to perceive that they mattered less to their parents than the resilient youth (Rosenberg & McCullough, 1981). They had largely positive relationships with their peers. Five came from conflicted families or parents that had recently divorced (Wilcox, 1986) with the accumulated strain that accompanies these events. Consistent with Thoits (1995) and Mattlin, Wethington & Kessler (1990), money and religion were important social supports in this study. Five more vulnerable youth had money worries and five did not regard religion as a support, having fewer resources to deal with stressors and chronic strains. One youth had only his mother, another commented on a lack of engagement between members of his family.

> (Boy J2): " My family almost never eats together. Never. There is no such thing as familial relationships. Each of us minds our business."

This youth's loneliness was evident in the way he described his family, as he lacked the identity, support and protection that a stable family provides from negative events (Wolin & Bennett, 1984).

An additional use of the transcripts is the longitudinal view of events and attitudes over time, providing an understanding of accumulated stressors in interaction with context. An example of this is a vulnerable male informant who describes a chronic strain of events.

> (Boy J3) "Teachers are fed up every time they see me. I fell asleep in class so many times. The teachers expelled me from school in SMP and my parents were shocked. I explained about it with many reasons and I blamed the teachers. Since then I study in a private school that is not so strict and my parent never knew the truth. I kept using and I taught my friends to use. My parents were ashamed of me. I then went to the faculty of economic but my achievement is very low."

The pattern of this data suggested some similarities with the results of the studies by Werner and Smith (1980), and suggests that the life history interview has the potential to assess levels of risk and resilience. The presence of seven male youth (five current users and two ex-users) in the 'resilient' category seems inconsistent but, relative to the 'risk' youth, they did, in fact, have more resources than the risk group. One possibility is that the method is most effective in identifying the 'very risky' and the 'very resilient', in which case, provisional on further verification, the method appears to have value as an assessment tool.

5.2.6 Youth Views on Parenting

The youth in Study Two were articulate in their views about parenting. The most frequent theme in their narratives related to discipline, with the implication being that discipline is perceived as one of the parents' main roles. The youth had firm views about how discipline is carried out, the basis being a caring parent who maintains open communication, more like a friend. They advocate for this open communication to be combined with an active interest in the child's affairs.

> (Boy J12): " They have to give their attention to their child's life. The future of their kid is on their hands."

> (Boy J7): "I want them to come to me every time they have a problem."

A critical role of parents was to warn and guide their children.

> (Boy J3): "If I've done something wrong, he should warn me, remind me."

But, they also expressed strong views about freedom and limits, advocating an authoritative mix of high support and moderate control, with a strong emphasis on the need for trust between parents and their children.

> (Boy J15): "I would send them to a pesantren but I wouldn't be hard on them. The more I restrain them, the more they break loose, so I would educate them in a gentle way."

> (Girl J19): " Set them free as long as they obey the rules."

> (Girl J20): " Give us a chance to explain our reasons."

(Girl J24): "If they gave us more freedom, we can be more aware and responsible with the trust they give us. It is better than restraining somebody who deep down in his heart, wants to revolt."

Four youth mentioned teaching their children about religion.

(Girl J22): " I want them to get close to God."

The noteworthy aspect of the youths' views was the consistency of their opinions about parenting. These views applied to all categories of youth across the sample from the two centers.

5.2.7 Youth and Politics – The Impact of the Krismon

The data provided about the Krismon from the life history interviews was both comprehensive and subtle. The reason was that the interview enabled the topic to be approached through direct questions as a part of the interview, and revealed indirectly, as the youth talked about many aspects of their lives.

Six youth in this middle class sample stated that there was no impact from the Krismon, one youth referring to his father's business receiving increased orders. Support from the extended family provided protection to another youth's family, while a female youth was able to go overseas when she needed to.

The most overt effect of the Krismon was economic with evident social and emotional repercussions. Some youth mentioned that planned overseas study and large family purchases had been being deferred. In several cases, allowances were cut, lunch was being taken to school to save money and two youth left English courses to save money. Special occasions were celebrated modestly. Fathers typically had to work much harder, taking on additional jobs, with two fathers described as stingy and getting upset about rising university fees. Some youth complained that their fathers were inattentive or just too busy to find time for them. Costs of family members being hospitalized were another cause for concern. One female youth noted an impact on moral values, with some young women she knew, choosing to have 'one night stands', so they could get designer clothes

or bags they could no longer afford. The overall unpredictability of the Krismon was seen as the main reason for the stress that it generated.

The youth showed a marked lack of interest in the politics underlying the Krismon, either choosing to make no comment, or focusing on the direct and indirect economic impact both for their families and themselves. Two female youth explained their views.

> (Girl J 24): " Politics is a cruel thing, so many intrigues. I really hate those kind of people. It seems so easy for them to kill some one so I have so sympathy for it. Most of my friends have the same opinion."

The second youth had some views on political leadership.

> (Girl J26): "If I have the power I will keep the old man. I feel he still has charisma or something."

While members of the Critical Reference Group cautioned against making too much of the Krismon data, the findings, nevertheless, indicate a range of impacts that have implications for the family relationships and for democracy education for youth. The role of the National Ministry of Education could, in this respect, be significant, through the provision of teacher training and core curricula for high school students on the system and government and the new political system in Indonesia.

5.2.8   Youth Wishes, Hopes and Fears

The two most frequently expressed wishes and hopes were to finish their studies and get university degrees (19 youth) and then to get a job (14 youth). The focus on future employment was consistent with the Canberra pilot study and the literature review. Two of the male youth hoped to study overseas. Two youth who had highlighted parental conflict as a major source of stress, emphasized making money and gaining independence as a outcome of living with conflicted parents, one to avoid the vulnerability that she saw in her own mother, the male youth wanting only to leave home.

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Getting married was mentioned by only a few youth, with the impression that this was an inevitable event or a societal expectation, rather than an important personal hope. Being successful and getting a good job were much more important. This was a very different trend compared to the Canberra youth, half of whom talked a great deal about what they would like in a relationship. Five Jakarta youth hoped to be "good" people and two wanted to improve their religious life. Eight youth's hopes and wishes were integrally related to their parents' well being. Six wanted only to satisfy their parents or make them happy and proud. Two others, both eldest sons, hoped to ease their parents' burdens, referring to their fathers' coming retirement and their responsibility to support younger siblings.

The youth being treated at the Drug Dependence Hospital talked of hopes related to their addiction. Five hoped for recovery, one youth wanted to go to another treatment center after discharge while three wanted to go far from Jakarta and their network of drug using friends. Five youth, still grappling with addiction, wanted to be 'busy', to have a person to trust and hold onto. Another wanted the center staff to advocate with his parents to explain his needs.

Fears were expressed only by five youth. A male 'vulnerable' youth was very apprehensive about leaving the Drug Dependence Hospital. Two others (Boy J8, Boy J 12) were very worried about their parents' possible separation, one feeling that he had caused it, compounded in one case with acute anxiety about the future.

> (Boy J8): "I don't know if I have a future or not. It is always on my mind. I try to figure it out. You know I'm a man and a man has got to have a future."

A 'resilient' male youth reflects on the same theme.

> (Boy J11): "I'm scared. I have wasted three years of study. I have got to be somebody. I am the oldest son. My brothers are still little kids. What would they do if I became a mess."

There were no differences by gender in the number or types of problems reported by male and female subjects and both male and female youth were equally articulate and discursive about their fears.

5.3 Summary and Implications

5.3.1 A Case-study of Social Support

The Study Two results presented indicate that the social support experienced by Jakarta middle class youth, is very similar to that experienced by the Canberra youth. However, the Jakarta youth experienced a higher volume of social support from extended family, and parents, relative to non-family providers. Teachers and peers were important providers for some boys who had weak attachments with their fathers. The Jakarta youth appear to feel more responsible toward their parents and siblings than the Canberra youth. The Krismon had varied impact on this sample of youth, with economic impact being most evident and the youth being very disinterested in politics. Relative to the Canberra youth, the Jakarta youth's wishes and hopes were more focused on study and employment, with relationships rarely mentioned. Consistently with their collectivistic culture, the Jakarta youth showed evidence of later autonomy than the Canberra youth.

Protective factors for Jakarta youth appear to be being female, strong attachments with one or more parents, no money worries and functional religious beliefs and practices. These trends reinforce Dilworth-Anderson & Marshall's (1996, p. 74) observation that social support for Asian-American children "...takes place in a context of discipline, self-control and extended family networks".

5.3.2 The Method

The results and analysis from Study Two indicate that the life history interview was an effective method to gathering data about youth, in particular the Krismon, as the method enabled both direct and indirect impacts to be assessed. The interview also empowered youth at a critical stage in their development. This application of the life history interview to the field of youth social support was based on strong social support and adolescent theory. The interview method was efficient, allowing access to youth recollections about

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past and present as well as future hopes. The coding system appeared to be reliable as seen by the consistency in the data trends related to context, social support and adequacy, in that, the "...research confirms theoretical ideas about the relationship between social support and health" (House & Kahn, 1985, p. 87). A commitment to dissemination and practical applications is also a critical component and this will be the focus for Chapter Six.

The use of Indonesian language and an Indonesian Research Assistant was similarly important, giving the Australian Researcher deeper access and insights into the study questions. While transcribing and translating the interviews was very time consuming, it was an important aspect of Study Two, because, compared to Study One, the informants interacted with two interviewers. The Australian Researcher's role changed to that of observer, to maintain consistency of method and to intervene if an informant was distressed. The use of the Research Assistant's translated transcripts enhanced the value of the interviews by allowing the youth to use their own slang as in Study One. The dual involvement of Australian and Indonesian researchers in Study Two, thus, enriched the study. The matter of informed consent, however, remains problematic. While the author remains confident that the all informants participated voluntarily, it was nevertheless evident, that, for cultural reasons, it was harder for some Jakarta youth to decline participation.

The value of the life history interview as a cross-cultural vehicle was confirmed, with the Study One and Study Two case studies reflecting comprehensive overviews of the youth experience of social support. The use of the life history interview was both youth-friendly and flexible, enabling critical themes and life events to take a central role in story construction. The patterns in the youth narratives confirm Howard (1991) and McAdams (1988) views about the value of story as a cross-cultural tool and the role of narrative in relation to identity, starting in late adolescence. Given the role of oral story in Indonesian culture, this could be a promising focus for future research as it is both non-threatening than more formal research questionnaires and clinical assessment techniques, and if carried over several interviews, could be even more rewarding.

The implementation of 'emic' Study One in Canberra and 'etic' Study Two in Jakarta, has also demonstrated that this method has benefit for the quality of the research and that the Australian Researcher was able to carry out effective research in Jakarta. This conclusion is drawn on the basis of the feedback from the youth, the observations of the Australian Researcher, the adaptation of the method, the response from the centres and the positive reaction from the Critical Reference Group, and the case study of social support. The role of the Critical Reference Group was one of the most important aspects of the etic Study Two. The continuous consultation, interaction and stimulation from these professionals opened up many new considerations and avoided many potential misunderstandings.

"I got sakau. Bapak didn't allow me to go outside. He even left his work to watch over me. There are iron bars on every window and door in my home. Bapak slept in front of the door. After three days I couldn't take it any more. I begged them to take me here."
Boy J3

6.0

Summary and Research Implications

6.1 Overview

This chapter will draw integrate the findings from both studies and look at the implications of both the method and the two social support case studies in relation to social support theory and field applications. The Critical Reference Group referred to the need to consider the impact of changing norms in Indonesia and the Jakarta case study has made a contribution to this process. The focus in Chapter Six will be on the trends that seem most likely to lend themselves to practical application, with priority given to the institutions of the family, the school and the health care system, as well as ways to empower youth themselves.

The literature on social support interventions provides a framework for these considerations. Studies of interventions based on increasing levels of social support and participation in support groups have concluded that they are ineffective (Lakey & Lutz, 1996). Systemic level interventions were neither cost effective not readily implemented, with only social skills training or cognitive restructuring having demonstrated effectiveness. Successful interventions focused on negative views about social relationships and questioned the accuracy of perceptions. For example, why was the Jakarta male youth forced to go to a pesantren? If youth could understand their parents' perspective about events of this magnitude, the anger and resentment could be overcome.

Training methods aimed to improve perceived support were effective, with the overall match between the helper and helpee being the most important factor. Teachable skills included how to build friendships with those who have the ability to be supportive and

how to make small talk, including studying topics of interest to others. Equally, youth could be taught how to start social activities as well as the skills involved in expressing positive emotions. However, interventions such as these needed to be based on research and a sound grasp of how people make social judgments about social support, as exemplified in Study One and Study Two. These findings will be used as a guideline when considering the implications of the two studies.

6.2   The Life History Interview

6.2.1   Efficacy

The sample of middle class Jakarta youth were positive in their response to the life history interview, a new experience most said they would like to repeat it, with confidentiality an essential pre-condition. The interview is an effective method of self-expression and advocacy, summarised well by a Jakarta colleague: "the youth will feel valued and think the unthinkable, enlarge their options."[7] Participation in Study One and Study Two was of therapeutic value to some participants, consistent with the literature, that researchers should adhere to the secondary moral principles of not only non-maleficence, but also beneficence, promise-keeping and gratitude (Steininger, Newell & Garcia, 1984).

The agencies and organizations involved, whether as study sites, or in supporting the research, also indicated that the involvement in the research was of value, even though the process of dissemination is, as yet, far from complete. The research appears to have stimulated agency staff regarding new theoretical options, and provided feedback about client perceptions of service provision. The sampling framework provided an overview of the target youth group that has many applications, as it "gives a very rich feeling of what it is like to be in a particular world."[8]

The method is also cost effective, both from resource and methodological perspectives. Utilisation of the method by Indonesian agencies would not require translations of the

interviews, so the time for data processing would be significantly reduced. The data analysis framework developed from social support theory and experience, seems robust and independently replicable. The trends in the data were directly linked with health outcomes, and showed consistently high levels of inter-rater reliability, both satisfactory indications of reliability and validity.

Finally, the ecological contextual perspective in which the life history interview is based was an appropriate framework within which to study the social support experience of youth. This method of enquiry has provided a deep understanding of the social support experience of these Jakarta youth in their cultural environment, as well as the influences on and risks to development (Garbarino & Ambramovitz, 1983). The life history interview is appropriate and effective for use in cross-cultural contexts.

6.2.2   Two Case Studies of Social Support

The case studies of the Canberra youth and middle class Jakarta youth provide developmental perspectives about their experience of social support and an understanding of their views about competent support providers (Burleson & Kunkel, 1996;Thoits, 1995). These two studies are entirely consistent with the individualistic and collectivistic cultures in which these youth have developed.

The 'emic' Study One, profiles Canberra youth, who, while they received considerable support from their parents and siblings, were relatively autonomous and engaged with non-family adults and community organizations. The youth centre staff were important resources to the youth in dealing with life events and transitions, because of their availability, their uncritical support and their trustworthiness. The staff were, above all, committed to and involved in the task of providing support to the youth, that is, willing providers (Burleson & Kunkel, 1996). Money was an important resource for these youth and a lack of money was a source of stress. Religion, in contrast, was rarely mentioned, and did not seem to be a coping support in their lives. Peers were important reciprocal support providers in their lives.

The Jakarta youth, in comparison, received a higher volume of support from their parents, with siblings and peers also valued resources. Received and provided parent support was consistently reflective of matri-focal households. Mothers were the most support providers, being the centre of their children's emotional life, with fathers authoritarian and more distant, representing the external world to their youth (Mulder, 1996). Jakarta youth were expected to be obedient to their parents, and consistent with the Indonesian cultural norms, reached autonomy later than the Canberra youth, akin to the results of Gilani's study (1999) of Pakistani youth in Britain.

Parents were the main source of influence concerning important decisions, such as choice of courses, while peers influenced choices related to life style, consistent with the findings of Barrera & Li (1996) and Greenberg, Siegel and Leitch (1983). Some Jakarta youth used passive or repressive problem solving strategies and avoided conflict, having been socialized by their parents to keep personal problems within the family. Parents' helping tended to be direct advice, with some evidence of face saving. An experienced Nepalese psychologist described this culturally determined pattern where "family function is based on respect, honor and hierarchy, the father, distant, functioning as the main authority and problem solver, expressing his authority through the mother, whose role is to mediate with the children. Parents actively discourage their children from taking about problems with outsiders, although the family might agree to use a professional help if it is warranted."[9] This traditional pattern of social support appeared to satisfy many of the Jakarta youth in the sample and the depth of feeling and respect in the relationships between some youth and their parents argues cogently for the richness of a collectivistic, caring and engaged culture.

Jakarta youth, compared to Canberra youth, were more reliant on their families for practical assistance, while the Canberra youth were able to access support from a wider range of formal Government and community supports. However, the Jakarta extended family in the spirit of "gotong royong", fulfilled many of the functions undertaken by Australian community organizations and the government services, necessitated by the

increasing isolation of the nuclear family. These findings are reflective of the complex patterns of strengths and weaknesses underlying the two cultures.

It was very evident that the socio-cultural environment of the Jakarta youth is changing. Urban families were spending less time together, and identity, as measured by their wishes, hopes and fears, was defined more by occupation and income, with money and increasing markers of position, achievement and, even, affection (Mulder, 1998; Megawangi, Zeitlin & Cletta, 1995). The Jakarta youth showed evidence of the rapid changes over the last two decades, and increasing social saturation (Gergen, 1991). Some youth, and their parents, are, becoming "disengaged from traditions where each problem had a solution".[10] The tension in this transition was most embodied in the 'risk' youth, who ambivalently, aspired for more freedom and autonomy, but still respected their parents and felt shame if they, as their children, failed to achieve.

Drug use, now 'normal' behaviour for many middle class youth, is one example of the social changes and youth culture that many parents do not understand. A second example was the youth living in conflicted households, who paid a higher developmental cost, especially when the conflict was exacerbated by accumulated risk factors, such as money worries, weak attachment with one or both parents and a lack of religious observance. Resolution through divorce appeared to be the least harmful solution, albeit culturally frowned upon. The Jakarta Study Two indicated that rapid social change, compounded by the Krismon, had subjected some middle class Jakarta parents to strain, subsequently reducing the support parents were able to give their children, consistent with findings by Barrera & Li (1996). Thus the case studies have confirmed the impact of major stressors such as divorce and financial problems on available social support, and confirmed the need to incorporate these findings into parent programs.

6.2.3   A Screening and Monitoring tool

Currently the Drug Dependence Hospital uses an intake interview that focuses on drug use, family relationships, school history, sexual activity and developmental milestones. A

supplementary strategy could utilize the life history interview once youth are stabilized and have entered the Mental Rehabilitation Unit. The profile of support providers, support patterns and levels of risk could assist the youth to gain a more insight into themselves and involve them as decision makers in their own treatment, including strategies to avoid relapse after release. Similarly, the interview could be a useful tool to assess progress over time.

The National Ministry of Education staff saw the potential of the study to gain a greater understanding of factors giving youth immunity against harmful environments. The life history interview is cost effective and appears to be able to identity protective and risky processes. If these findings were confirmed by more extensive validation of the method, the life history interview could be piloted in the ministry through a teacher training institution or a Jakarta high school. A pilot program consisting of 10 – 15 committed and capable teachers and counselors from two Jakarta high schools as well as parent representatives, could be trained in the method, and on the basis of the youth profiles, develop pilot interventions for risk youth at school and at home.

The similarities between the Canberra and Jakarta case studies, and the successful cultural adaptation of the method, also imply that the programs for high risk youth, developed in Western contexts, could, similarly be adapted for use in Jakarta, with modification for the different roles and patterns of family interaction. Thus, the insight gained about the cultural adaptation of the method, could be the basis for a series of adaptation of appropriate youth programs developed to address social problems in Western schools or communities, with possible topics including bullying, fighting and drug use. The essential aspects of this process are the time and expertise needed to assess, modify and evaluate the Indonesian adaptation of the program, with involvement of representative students, teachers, parents and community members as end beneficiaries.

6.2.4   Drug Use Programs

The Jakarta case study, consistent with the literature on social support and drug use (Wills, Mariani & Filer, 1996), implies that prevention programs for at risk middle class youth should be implemented during primary school, before the initiation of drug use. Drug use typically started between 12 – 15 years at the invitation of a persistent drug using peer or sibling. Gateway substances were pills, alcohol and marijuana and most youth progressed to use heroin. Having drug-using peers was predictive of drug use, an important implication for prevention programs.

The middle class family appeared to be a protective factor for drug use, with some middle class able to impact on "...deviance prone attributes such as anger and tolerance for deviant behavior..." (Wills, Mariani & Filer, 1996, p. 541). Youth with an internal locus of control, reared by authoritative parents, were self-controlled and self-regulating. A cohesive family environment also appeared to be a protective factor. Parents need support to educate them about the protective role of their relationships with their children, with the relationships capable of being risk or resilience enhancing.

Youth with weaker attachments with their parents, limited parental support, pattern of accumulative stressors, an external locus of control, and high levels of anger and tolerance for deviant behavior will be appropriate candidates for preventive intervention programs. Lower levels of parental support appeared to negatively buffer risky health behavior such as drug use and suicide attempts. The youth drug addicts in Study Two, with weak or no parental attachments and a lack of the intimate and trusting relationships, most exemplified this trend (Coble, Gantt & Mallinckrodt, 1996). Active involvement in their children's lives and knowing what they are doing increases parental trust in their children (Kerr, Stattin & Trost, 1999, p. 749), with "spontaneous disclosure" by the child the most important way for parents to know what their children are doing, as compared to strict supervision. Noom, Dekovic & Meeus (1999) focus on the behavioural and attitudinal components of attachment and autonomy, including the ability to trust self and others, as foci for programs. Noack, Kerr & Olah (1999) reinforce the theme from the

Jakarta youth that parenting relationships should be based on trust and open communication. The life history interview and the measures of risk and resilience developed in the study could be used to select risk youth for such programs.

At risk Jakarta youth need programs and parenting that encourages them to be "self-disclosing about emotions and problems" (Wills, Mariani & Filer, 1996, p. 543) to lessen the likelihood of involvement in deviant behavior and enable them to access support from their networks when needed. It is well established theoretically that reciprocity of social support gives it value (Pierce, Sarason, Sarason, Joseph & Lakey, 1996) but the parents of Jakarta youth did not regard provision of support as a role for youth. Moreover, the role model for emotional support was the mother (Burleson & Kunkel, 1996, p. 127), who performed "comforting acts" and responsively nurtured them. Fathers provided advice and tangible support, but more often than not, were too forceful and just not available to their youth (Ryan & Solky, 1996). Hence, youth were unable to access their father's emotional support at critical moments to resolve misunderstandings and build the secure emotional basis they needed with their fathers. A defensible trend in Study Two was that the traditional social support roles of mothers and fathers, mitigated against middle class Jakarta fathers becoming the role model to teach youth the emotional coping skills needed to deal with problems such as drug use.

However, the interaction of the causal factors remains unclear and this is in itself an important factor. The study results have shown that adolescent and youth experimentation with drugs increased parental stress, consistent with findings by Small, Eastman & Cornelius (1988). Adolescent drug use impacts on parenting, just as the parenting impacts on the drug use, and Stice and Barrera (1995) advise that the reciprocity of these effects should be considered in all interventions. The complexity of the interaction and the multiple factors that precede the initiation of drug use, further underscore the implication of the study, that parental prevention efforts in childhood may be the most effective strategy.

6.2.5 Parent Programs

The Critical Reference Group recommended that the study findings be made available and used as the basis for a parent program. Initial steps include involvement in dissemination meetings at the centres as well as a presentation of the study at a weekend workshop for Jakarta psychologists and social workers. Options being considered are a publication for parents, co-authored with an Indonesian psychologist. A second option is a publication dealing with parenting styles and discipline practises for cross-cultural parenting situations. This study can also contribute in some way, to the development of a theory driven, culturally sensitive program for Jakarta youth and their families.

An observation from the 'risk' Jakarta youth, was that ritual played a relatively small role in their family life, was no longer a priority in a family in conflict or never had been a priority. In either case, the security and identity that such events convey had been lost (Timko & Moos, 1996; Wolin & Bennett, 1984). This implies a need for inclusion of ritual as a component in parent programs, to enhance understanding about its importance. In the author's experience, the anticipation of ritual, combined with shared experience, heightens sensitivity and leads to experience providing deep emotional and psychological security and meaning for family members.

6.2.6 Youth Empowerment

A visit will be made to the participating centres in Canberra to provide copies of the final report to the organizations involved and to meet with youth in those centres. The results of the studies will be disseminated to Jakarta youth through a series of consultations with youth accessed from the participating and other interested youth groups. Forum Remaja at the Drug Dependence Hospital is one such option. These dissemination meetings will ensure that feedback is available to youth, with the information about dissemination meetings being posted at the centres, and confidentiality about informants maintained throughout.

However, the youth are more likely to be empowered by this research, if youth are given the lead role. A youth-friendly process planned is to bring together a small group of Indonesian youth facilitators, to initiate consultations with Jakarta youth, using the visual and creative arts as the vehicle. This process would use the research results as the stimulus, and implement consultation workshops with Jakarta youth. The consultations would result in a visual arts performance, such as an installation or a publication, encompassing follow on recommendations for community projects to deal with social problems in Jakarta.

A final comment is needed about the implications of the attitudes toward politics by youth in the Jakarta case study. While most youth appeared apathetic and disinterested, the antecedents to these attitudes were times when there were strong reasons to fear and avoid politics. The success of the first Indonesian General Election and the subsequent process of democratisation are processes on a massive scale. The implication of these findings is that political education for youth is needed. There are a number of alternative approaches globally and this theme could be addressed in the youth consultations as well as by the Department of National Education.

6.3   Personal Reflections

The conception and implementation of Study One and Study Two took place during my own personal and professional transition from Tasmania, to Canberra and then to Jakarta. The origins of the thesis were in law reform in Tasmanian, my frustrations as a policy maker and my conviction that youth, more than policy makers, knew their own needs. My nine-year journey has not changed these views, but rather, convinced me, that youth across the Asia Pacific Region are much more the same than different.

The journey has taken me deeply into the values and mores of Islam and Javanese culture, so that my own interpersonal responses are now, relatively speaking, more muted, my values more aligned with the collectivistic. Being a psychologist, 'attuned' to

interpersonal feedback and analysis, has caused this process to be both profoundly difficult and deeply satisfying as I oscillated between the "...emic burden of considering culture..." and the "...etic moments of cultural sensitivity..." (Lopez et al. 1989), with an increasing ability to "...entertain both the etic and emic views...", the hallmark of cultural integration (Lopez et al. p. 375). I have long observed responses to new cultures, to culture of origin and learned that reverse culture shock is curiously more difficult (Gaw, 2000). In summary, this research and the cultural immersion on which it is based, has convinced me that the capacity to understand other cultures, and to be able to move easily between them, ultimately matters most, and is the foundation for effective cross-cultural research.

Footnotes

1   Student brawls continue to take their toll in 1999. (1999, December 29). <u>Jakarta Post</u>, p. 3.

2   Personal observation in Jakarta, July 1999.

3   Bottles of liquor sold near schools seized. (1999, May 5). <u>Jakarta Post</u>, p. 3.

4   Students asked to change clothes to avoid brawls. (1998, December 9). Jakarta Post, p. 3.

5   Dr Dede Oetomo, 1999, 14 December, personal communication.

6   Dr Irwanto, 1999, 15 August, personal communication.

7   Stephen Suleiman, 2000, 14 January, personal communication.

8   Dave Burrows, 2000, 17 January, personal communication.

9   Asha Basnyat, 2000, 4 March, personal communication.

10 Dr Irwanto, 2000, 20 January, personal communication.

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Appendix A: Informant consent form used for Study One

Dear Participant

Over the last eight years, I have been involved in programs for young people. Youth programs are often of limited value, because they are not based on good understanding of the views and experiences of the young people themselves. I am currently doing a doctorate under the supervision of Associate Professor Carey Denholm at the University of Tasmania, carrying out research using interviews with some young people in Canberra. The reason for collecting this kind of information, is to improve the understanding of teachers and youth workers through the information gained directly from young people, so that better programs can be developed.

This letter is to request your permission to participate. In acknowledgement of the importance of your contribution to this research, you will be paid $10 for your participation. Each interview is likely to take sixty minutes. Anonymity and confidentiality are assured and all responses will be destroyed after they have been collated.

If you would like to participate, please sign the form.

'I have read the information above. I have agreed to participate in this investigation. I understand that I may withdraw any time without penalty. I agree that the research data can be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject.'

Signature of the Subject.......................

Date.........   Contact...............

'I have explained the purpose of the interview and the implications of the research to the volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implication of the participation'.

....

Jane Wilson, Researcher,
Department of Education, University of Tasmania

Date.........

Thank you for your contribution to this study.

Appendix B: Guidelines for the informant interviews in Study One and Study Two

The subject may provide a structure through the specific sequence of each individual narration. Alternatively, the researcher may use the more structured approach provided by the topics listed although this should not imply any particular sequence:

➢ age, religion and position in the family
➢ earliest memories from childhood
➢ childhood games, family atmosphere
➢ parents and number siblings
➢ school entry and reactions to school
➢ relationships with teachers
➢ achievement in primary school, parental response to achievement
➢ parental discipline in primary school
➢ peers and leisure activities
➢ transitions to junior high school and senior high school
➢ puberty, reactions to puberty, sources of information
➢ peer relationships in high school
➢ parental discipline in high school
➢ youth perceptions about their preferred style of parenting
➢ youth wishes hopes and fears for the future
➢ views about the Krismon (Study Two only)
➢ response to the interview

Appendix C: Calculation of inter-rater reliability for coding categories for Study One

Social support number *	Emotional social support	Appraisal social support	Tangible social support	Social support type	Inter-rater agreement
1	* ^ #			ESS	90%
2	* ^ #			ESS	
3	* ^ #			ESS	
4	* ^	#		ESS	
5	* ^ #			ESS	
6	* ^ #			ESS	
7	* ^ #			ESS	
8	* ^ #			ESS	
9	* ^ #			ESS	
10	* ^ #			ESS	
11		* ^ #		ASS	80%
12		* ^ #		ASS	
13		* ^ #		ASS	
14		* ^	#	ASS	
15		* ^ #		ASS	
16		* ^ #		ASS	
17		^	* #	ASS	
18		* ^ #		ASS	
19		* ^ #		ASS	
20		* ^ #		ASS	
21		*	^ #	TSS	
22			* ^ #	TSS	
23			* ^ #	TSS	80%
24			* ^ #	TSS	
25			* ^ #	TSS	
26		#	* ^	TSS	
27	#		* ^	TSS	
28			* ^ #	TSS	
29			* ^ #	TSS	
30			* ^ #	TSS	
Total	11	12	12		

* Social support items were given to raters in random order

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Appendix D: Informant consent form used for Study Two

Wawancara mengenai dukungan sosial

Calon Partisipan yang terhormat

Lebih dari 10 tahun terakhir, saya terlibat dalam pembinaan/ pengembangan berbagai macam program untuk kaum muda. Program-program tersebut seringkali manfaatnya terbatas karena tidak didasarkan pada pengertian yang baik tentang pandangan dan pengalaman anak muda. Saat ini saya sedang melakukan studi untuk gelar Doktor dibawah supervisi Profesor Cary Denholm di Universitas of Tasmanai di Australia. Saya sudah melakukan beberapa wawancara terhadap pemuda-pemuda di Australia. Dan saat ini saya akan melakukan wawancara yang sama terhadap pemuda-pemuda Indonesia untuk memperoleh suatu perbandingan antara kedua kerlompok tersebut. Hal ini saya melakukan untuk mengingatkan pemahaman dari pada orang tua dan para pekerja bidang kemudaan mengenai kaum muda serta berbagai macam dukungan sosial yang telah mereka alami. Sebagai tindak lanjut, akan diselenggarakan suatu program bagi orang tua dan pekerja bidang kemudaan di Jakarta atas dasar hasil-hasil wawancara tersebut diatas.

Surat init bertujuan untuk meminta partisipasi anda. Wawancara akan dilaksanakan ditempat yang anda setujui, pada waktu yang anda tentukan. Wawancara akan berlangsung kurang lebih satu jam. Wawancara ini akan bersifat rahasia dan semua informasi akan dihancurkan segera setelah data dianalisa.

Jika anda setuju untuk berpartisipasi, harap bubuhkan tanda tangan anda dibawah ini dan beritahukanlah kepada orang yang menghubungi anda. Saya akan secepatnya menghubungi anda untuk menentukan waktu wawancara di tempat yang akan tentukan.

"Saya sudah membaca dan mengerti isi surat ini dan saya setuju untuk berpartisi dalam penelitian ini. Saya mengerti bahwa saya dapat mengundurkan diri kapan saja saya mau. Saya setuju bahwa data penelitian dapat dipublikasikan, dengan syarat bahwa saya tidak dapat diidentifikasikan sebagai seorang subjek/peserta wawancara."

Tanda tangan subjek/ peserta wawancara:................................

Tangal:...................................

"Saya sudah menjelaskan tujuan dari wawancara ini dan implikasi dari penelitian ini kepada partisipan tersebut, dan saya yakin bahwa persetujuan ini didasarkan atas pemahaman yang penuh dan bahwa partisipan mengerti tentang implikasi/ dampak dari keikutsertaanya sebagai subjek wawancara."

Jane Wilson, Peneliti..........................
Departemen Pendidikan, Universtitas Tasmania

Tangal:.............

Appendix E: Samples from Study Two informant transcripts

Informant	Date and time	Place	Ethnic Background	Religion
Boy J5	3/4/1999 13.30 – 14.45	Drug Dependence Unit	Sunda Makassar	Moslem
Boy J18	30/4/1999 17.00 – 18.00	Klub Sejuta	Javanese	Moslem
Girl J24	19/5/1999 16.20 – 17.20	Klub Sejuta	Javanese	Moslem
Girl J26	11/6/1999 19.00 – 20.30	Klub Sejuta	Javanese	Moslem

The four selected transcripts represent a cross-section of the informants' life histories. The Research Advisor cues are in plain type and the informants' responses are bold. These transcripts have not been edited except for the removal of any identifying information about the informants. A dotted line indicates that a section of the transcript has been omitted.

<u>Section from Informant Transcript (Boy J5)</u>

....

My mother came from X, and my father came from Y. I am 20 years old. I live in a harmonious family actually, but it's too conventional for me...so I feel that my freedom are inhibited ....so I break out to get my freedom....and I end up involved in something like this....(drug abuse).

What about your family? Can you tell me more?

I am the youngest among the four of us. I have 3 sisters...and none of them behave like me...all of them are devout persons...they are religious persons...

What is your religion?

Islam. You see....when I was in SMP, they sent me to "Pesantren" (Pesantren is school of Koranic studies for children and young people, most of whom are boarders). It was my parent's will, not mine. I went there because I had to.....So...when I returned home, I found new things outside the Pesantren"s wall....I wanted to explore them, to try everything. At first, I smoked marijuana, and then used drugs...just like that. I think that my personality is different from my sisters...they live in order, they always obey our parents. I can't be like that...I'll do what I want to do. Well,...... I guess what I've been doing are wrong......I guess I use those things at first because I want to take revenge to my parents for sending me to Pesantren....I felt forced ... I didn't want to go there......Yeah,.....so I use everything in the past 5 years......and I have been using this (Putauw) for quiet a long time....

Which one of your parent who actually wants you to go to Pesantren?

My mother.

In her opinion, why must you go there?

Well,....so that ...you know...devoted to my religion, having my religion faithfully....but actually I didn't want to go...

Why?

Well,...I ....you know,....I guess I've already get a perception that there are no freedom at all in the Pesantren.....whereas in the contrary I worship the freedom....(laugh a little).

How's your parent's opinion about the education of religion at home?

In their opinion, it's very important....

You mean...they are obedient?

Yes, all of them. You see, I'm the only boy in my family, and I feel that my personality is not compatible with my sister's and my parent's.

Mmm....do they give you the freedom to choose your religion?

No.

How do you feel being a Moslem?

Well, actually,...I thank God for being a Moslem...but since I use those things...I don't have my religion anymore....I almost forget what Islam is....in the past 5 years, I never sholat (Moslem's ritual prayers and actions performed five times daily)....never do anything...

In your own opinion, what is the meaning of the religion?

For me, ...religion is something to reach the heaven after we die.

How's your religion inspire your daily life?

Well,...my daily life.....just like that....in the past years all I do just get drunk...nothing else....just get drunk.....I've done almost every negative thing...

Let's go back to your childhood....how's your life at that time?

Well, when I was little,...I was like other ordinary boys....play the game...I mean it was normal, there's nothing wrong with me....until they made me go to Pesantren...

How's your relationship with your sisters when you were little?

When I was little, well,...my parents spoiled me...because I'm the only boy they have...but my sisters were not jealous....they didn't complain...

How do they spoiled you?

Well, for example, once I got Typhoid Fever and hospitalized.....they took me in the VIP room. Usually, if my sisters get sick, they will took them into the 3rd class room of the hospital.

When you went into TK or SD for the first time, being away from home, how did you feel?

Well,...I was fine, it was normal...just like any other kids....but when I was in SMA, I became a rebel....

How did you feel when you pass the TK and went into SD?

Ee.....I don't know....it's hard to tell...just normal....

Tell me about your time during SD...

I had fun....I liked to go to school at that time...I never cut classes...I was happy ...

How's your achievement?

My achievement in SD...I think it was not bad...I used to be in the big five...

Mmm...from SD to SMP...how was it?

That's when it started....I didn't want to go to school.....You know, it was when I went into the Pesantren....so I went into Pesantren and SMP at the same time.

How old were you at that time?

At that time....I was...13 years old....or 11......I forget...

How long did you have to stay in Pesantren?

3 years....during SMP.

Oh,....and you had to leave your home?

I had to. I lived there.....outside the town.

Why did you reluctant to go to Pesantren?

I didn't want to go because I had to leave my friends....and I thought that I have to do this and that in Pesantren, have to get up very early in the morning...and so on...Well, actually I like being sent into Pesantren because my parents forced me to ...I pretended just to please my parents...

What did your parents expect from sending you into Pesantren?

Well, they expected me to be ....to be clever, have strong faith in my religion, have a broad knowledge about my religion...

So...you live in Pesantren for 3 years, being away from your family and friends...how was it?

Well, frankly I didn't like it...didn't feel at home...but I grin and bear it...just try my best to like it...

....

How many brother or sister do you have?

There are three of us. My older sister is one year older than I am, and my little sister is five years younger.

So you are the only boy in your family?

Yes...

Do you still remember your family's atmosphere when you were child?

My family... well...I was treated like... my older sister is a female so does my little sister so I was treated like a girl... and so... basically I have to obey every little things they say... And then they were very strict... especially my mother... she is very strict in teaching their children... if she has to punish and hit us, she really hit us... My father is a patient man ... he is an understanding person... my mother is not like that... she usually use her hand...

How was your feeling living in a situation like that?

I was upset because every time... they seemed always angry with me, always angry... It looked like I always made mistakes.

Hmm... and how was your parents' attitude to you? Have you tried to express what you feel to them?

No... I couldn't express it...until I was in the first year of senior high school, and... and so I... so I can revolt... something like that.

....

Oh... when I was in the elementary school, e... I often got a good mark... good rank... the third rank... the second rank e... In the first year I got the third rank, but it's if I'm not mistaken... Yeah, it went up and down... from the second to the third, from the third to the second...

What did you feel when you got a good achievement and rank?

Proud... very proud... and there was often a competition... like painting competition, drawing... I loved to join that competition...and sometimes I became my school's representative.

How about your parents' reaction when they saw your achievement?

They seemed to support me... very proud of me... especially my mother, she seemed very proud...but that achievement made the things went odd... If the time to study was come, we must study... it's like restraining me... no time for play.

Umm...how was your home's atmosphere when you were in the elementary school?

My home's atmosphere... (Silent for a moment)... Well... I still remember when my mother and my father often had a fight... usually about economic problem...I still remember it... it happened some times... the area my house's located is such a silent place... and when they were had a fight sometimes they shout, shout to each other, wow... (Laugh a little)... If that thing happened I used to keep silent...there's nothing else I could do...

What did you feel when they had a fight like that?

Yeah...I felt disappointed... upset and... ashamed... it look like the problem couldn't solved so they have to shout over and over...

How about your sisters' reaction about it?

Just the same, they just keep silent... if my parents started to fight no body have the courage to speak, we keep silent. If we tried to speak they would be angry with us too...

How your parents faced you when they had a problem?

Usually when they had a problem... they become quieter...and I knew it from their face when they were angry... We tried not to add more problems... we just kept

silent...yeah... we obeyed what they said.

....

I want to ask you about the religiousness in your family... How did your parents teach you about religion since you were a little?

Yeah...when I was a kid they sent me to... a teacher who teach how to read and write Arabic. Every evening in the Musholla there was a "pengajian". They asked me to join the "pengajian". But... it was until, what class it was... It was only in elementary school I joined the "pengajian"... that's all.

Did your parents ask you to do "sholat berjamaah"?

Sometimes... a long time ago.

In the elementary school?

Yes... since then each of us did it ourselves.

When you were in the elementary school... did you still play with your sisters?

Sometimes...

Do three of you close to each other?

No, my older sister is close to my little sister. I've been close to my little sister... we played together... but when we grew up... we became rather apart... there's a distance...until now.

How about your relationship with your parents at that time?

With my mother and my father... not too good, I think... I just obey them, I had no courage to say my opinion, I was afraid to speak... I just obeyed what they said.

Did you often have an intensive communication with your parents...? I mean chatting with your mother and father about something...

No, never...

When you were in the elementary school, when you had a problem, whom did you talk to?

I... yeah, no... I've never talked about it... I buried it... I just kept silent...

....

Well... in the first year...my achievement dropped I guess, I've never got a good achievement in the first year. In the second year I got the ninth rank from 500 students. And then I was involved in a case...some kind of drugs case...well... it started from that time... my parents pay more strict attention to me.

Your mark was dropped when you were in junior high, how did your parents see about that?

Yeah, a little bit angry, absolutely... they blame me... "See, you are too much playing, to much this and that"... so... They watch me when I was studying... Sometimes they waited near me while I was studying... so I... I studied under my parents' force...I didn't feel I want to do it.

Actually in your opinion why did your mark dropped at that time?

If I may say, it was because... we were just come into junior high, we were happy to be junior high student... we still at the happiest moment... playing with new friends.

How did your feel being watched over all the time?

My feeling... well how to say it...I felt it more... yeah, more forced so I didn't like that, well... I want ... a little bit relax. I have an obligation to study, so I study... they don't have to watch me 24 hours a day... I can study... I can study with my own will, without any order from anybody.

....

I want to ask you about the drug you said you've used... When was the first time you know it?

In junior high school... in the second year.

Ee... could you tell me, why did you use drugs? What was your reason?

It was... at that time ... one of my friends was a supplier in my junior high. I didn't know about it before... and then he said, "Try it..." I asked him, "What is this?" ... and I tried it... I didn't have any idea about the effect of that drug. But I didn't use drugs for a long time...Ee... finally my parents knew about that. I stopped using drugs when I was in the third year.

You said about a case... do you mean you got caught by your parents or what?

Yes, they knew... my friend was drunk in the class and he called by the counselor teacher, he was interrogated to find out who the supplier was and who the buyers were... And then they called me...

How did your parents know about it?

The school gave them a letter.

When your parents knew about it, what was their reaction?

They were very angry... I got hit ...(laugh a little, bitter)..."How could you be like this, why did you want to try it?" I thought... I just want to try it for fun.

Who hit you, your mother or your father?

My mother...

Mm...at that time, how did you feel when you saw you parents' reaction?

Yeah...I just accepted it, I felt guilty...

So... what was going on after that?

I stopped using drugs... I was in the class...with my "PMP" teacher... He made me swore under the Holy Al-Qur'an...I didn't want to do that at the first time, I wasn't dare because I have to take the responsibility when I grow up later... or maybe I would loose control in the high school. I wasn't dare to do it... but finally he forced me...and I did that... Since then I stopped using drugs.

May I ask you, what exactly the reasons which made you stop using drugs?

I was just afraid... yes, because I've already sworn by the Al-Qur'an... I thought it was not a game anymore, it connected with God.

When you were in the third year of junior high, how was your achievement?

I couldn't get good rank...I reached the big ten in the class, but I couldn't get the big five ranks in the class.

Your parents were very strict with you after they knew you used drugs... how do you feel about your parents' attitude?

Yeah... I was trying to fix my self... I obeyed them... basically I was trying to make them happy.

What do you want the most when you were in junior high school?

When I was in junior high...(silent a moment)...I want to buy a motorbike (laugh a little) and my mother said, later, we'll buy it when you are in college.

How do you about not getting the motorbike you want?

That's not a big problem for me, besides after I was thinking about it again... if they cannot buy me a motorbike I won't forced them.

....

<u>Section from Informant Transcript (Girl J18)</u>

I am 21 years old. I was born in a Javanese family. You can feel the Javanese atmosphere in my family. And then... I have no impressive memories since I was born until now... My life goes straight like line... It seems there's nothing hampered my life... Maybe there are problems but it don't bother us too much...

You said that your family is a very Javanese family. Do your parents bring you up in the Javanese way since you were kid? How is that?

They didn't teach me the Javanese language but they teach me the manner...They don't say it to me... but I can see it from my parents' attitudes and habits... So my father does something and I follow him... They never forced me how should I behave... but I just follow their attitudes.

What about your religious life since you were kid?

My religious life... Most of the old people in Java are still "Kejawen". So religion is not the first thing for them... They placed their believe to God at the first list... I got the religious education from school... They teach me Arabic language and sholat. My parent just teach me how to behave well...

From the kindergarten you entered the elementary... Do you remember how it's feel?

When I was in the kindergarten they introduced me to writing, drawing... And in the elementary we're focusing on reading... Reading was the most exciting thing for me. But I love mathematics...

What about your achievement in the elementary school?

My achievement in the elementary school was pretty good... There were two classes in each grade and there were 35 students in each class... I have got the 1st, 2nd or the 3rd rank... Once I was shocked with the lessons in the 3rd year because it was very different with the lessons that I got in the 2nd year... I got the 5th rank...It was really dropping...because I used to get good marks... It seems I lost my self-confidence...

Did your parents support you in your study?

In my study... they would tell me to study if I played too much... But when I've grown up they gave me freedom, they didn't restrain me... I guess they think I'm old enough to know what's the best and I know how to study...It's better for them to treat me that way... But they gave more attention to me when I graduated from high school and was going to college... My parents' wanted me to enter the state owned university but I couldn't... Since I was kid they gave me freedom... My mother allows me to play outside my house... She allows me to play after school. Whereas the other kids cannot play after school, they have to take a nap and do their homework.... I used to do my homework in the evening...My parents never asked me whether I have a homework or not... So it was my own initiative to do my homework.

How was your parents' reaction with your achievement?

Happy... but they didn't show it because my sister got better achievement than I did. When I went to my friends' house their parents often asked me whether I got a present because I have good mark...

But I want a good mark for myself... not for showing to my parents. They live it up to me whether I want to get a good or bad mark...But I'm sure they're happy because I got good mark.

How was your relationship with your friends in the elementary school?

I loved to play with few friends, just in one gang... All of the gang members were girls. We can't get together if there's a boy in our gang. Since I was in the 1st year until the 6th year I played with many different kind of friends. But I preferred to have a girls gang...Usually it consists of 4 or 5 persons...

How is your home atmosphere when you were in the elementary school?

Lonely, I guess... because my father was busy and my brother had very little time for me so it wasn't too lively. I have a brother. We often fought if we play together. You know, the boy's style... But the three of us often went out together and we played with my sister's friend so they knew me well...

How was the communication between you and your parents at home?

Just fine I mean just so... so... My father usually chats with us if he had a time. Because we rarely had a chat, we feel so happy if we had a chance to do it and we can express our feeling. We want to have a talk... My father often told his experiences in his childhood... We were happy to hear that because it's different with what we had right now... so does the society... He grows up in Yogyakarta. I want to be like him... Yeah... we have to accept what we got right now...

Do you often share your story with your mother?

Sometimes ... I wasn't too close with her since I was a little kid...I just told my story to her...I didn't share my feelings with her like what I am doing right now... But we are getting closer now.

After graduated from elementary school you continue your study to the junior high school, right. Do you remember those changes?

Yeah... I felt so happy when I got the new uniform... My former uniform is white and red. I have a big body posture since I was a kid so I sat at the back row. When I was in the 6th year of elementary school I thought it's not suitable for me to use the white and red uniform anymore... So I felt really happy to get that uniform. I want something new and I was really happy to have new friends. We could know more about people. It's very different with my years in elementary.

What about your achievement in junior high school?

In junior high school... my achievement was rather dropping... The competition was tight... It was lucky for me to enter the private owned elementary school. I entered the state owned junior high school and it was harder than before. I could only get the big ten ranks and my best rank was the 7th rank. It can't be as good as in the elementary...

How was your parents' reaction about your achievement?

Maybe just so... so... because my sister and I went to the same elementary school and junior high school. So my parents know how it's like and how the competition was. So they wasn't hard on me. I still play... still free like before...And I had the same type of friendship like I've had before but with different kids. There were all girls in our gang... I still came to my friends' house after school... so there's no big difference...

....

How is your parents' reaction about your activity in high school?

They give me a way... they allowed me... If we want to join the extracurricular we have to pass the orientation period first...Usually it held on Saturday in the camping area in Cibubur... My parents allowed me to go there... I mean usually parents didn't allow their children to stay far away from home...But my parents didn't restrain me at all...They give me freedom... As long as I like it and as long as it's not negative they will support me...

What do you feel when your parents give you freedom like that?

I feel it would be bad if I destroy their trust to me. I have to keep it. If they restrain me maybe I would revolt... They give me freedom and I don't want to destroy it...I have too keep it well and I don't want to go out of the line...

Now we play the movie again from the junior high school to your senior high school. What did you feel that time, how it was?

At that time... from junior high to senior high... The puberty period, right... I'm very happy at that time and I started to know about boys. It's not like in the junior high school, it was just so... so... Luckily I entered the favorite high school so I have selective friends, not just ordinary students. I started to fall in love with a boy and I started to chase them... I loved a boy who is smarter than me...

What about the lessons in high school?

It's harder. I was shocked at that time... When I was in junior high school I like the English lesson because it was easy. But in high school it's getting difficult and more challenging... I have to be serious in that lesson. I was relax at first because I thought I would get good marks... In high school I have to study very hard to get 9... I have to pay attention seriously if the teacher explain the lesson... No time for joking. We have to be serious because reading books it's not enough anymore...

What about the other lesson?

The other lesson was hard too, especially the chemistry... It's the first time I take that lesson. And then physic... It was easy before... In junior high school I joined the additional lesson course and maybe I became depend on it... In junior high we have good teachers from the course so when we got the same lesson in school we've already understand it... In high school I feel like I have no one to rely on because the teachers is limited... The other lessons like math is not a big deal for me and the teacher was good.

What about your achievement in high school?

Dropping... dropping drastically, because the competition was tight. When I go to school with bus and stop in front of my school, people would think I'm a smart student because I study there. Every passenger would look at me, they think we are clever. But they didn't know we really struggle in there... (Laughing)...

How were your parents when they see your achievement?

Yeah... they restrained me a little bit... They sent me to the additional course and to the private course...They put me in their order...

What do you mean?

Maybe they didn't restrain me... They just gave me the course list and asked me to join it. And then I joined the course. But I become tired because after school I have to go to the course and I came home in the evening around 6 or 7... I cannot play as I want, like I used to be in junior high...

What do you feel when they treat you like that?

Actually they didn't restrain me that much and I knew my friends got the same treatment, even more than I did. I feel lucky I have the freedom, not like the other kid it's difficult for them to go out. I still relaxed but I felt there's something burdened me. I felt the lesson I got is more than my brain capacity...I compare it with the college... I feel like I just freed from the chain, free as I like...It's feel like there's no burden in my brain... We used to get difficult lesson but in the college everything seems easier...

....

When you had a problem, whom you talked it to?

Usually to my sister... I have a close friend since I was in the kindergarten. We were in the same school since we were in the kindergarten but we are not in the same campus...her house is near to mine... We still hang out together until now... I share my stories with her... But we rarely meet since we were in college so I share my stories with my campus mate...

....

My sister number three... she is the closest one to me... Every time I had a problem or I want to do something I discus it with her... I ask her opinion. I really do what she said. Sometimes I didn't do her saying but then something bad happened... She would tell me "See, I have told you". She builds my character, I mean she tells me how to decide about what should I do... There's a saying "I am what I am" but I guess it doesn't work for me because there are so many influences from her in my self... maybe because we are too close...

From your high school we go to the college... Now you are mature enough right... What is your perception about life now, compare with what you have before... Is there any different or just the same?

Yeah... absolutely different... very different...It was very different when I'm going to college... So does the society, big different... and I was really surprised... I was confused meeting that kind of people, it's new for me... My friends have unique habits... most of my friends in college are boys. There are 5 girls in my class and the rest of them are boys... It changed drastically... I used to have a girl's gang but now I have a gang which most of the members are boys. Now I'm getting to used to hang around with some boys...

Mmm... what is your parents' reaction since you entered the college?

They were surprised... Why most of my friends are boys... And then I said that most of the students in my faculty are boys. They understood after I explain it...

You said that your father want you entered the X but you couldn't fulfill it. How was his reaction?

Yeah, they were very disappointed...I often have the same feeling and the same desire like my father has on his mind. If I cannot fulfill it he didn't angry with me but cheers me up. He said that's OK. But if I want something he will give it to me... That failure made me so sad... And my parents really know how their child's feeling...

So, let's say you're a mother, how you would educate your children?

Maybe it would be similar with what my parents have been doing... If they gave us more freedom we can be more aware and more responsible with the trust they gave to us. It's better than we restrain somebody but deep inside his heart he want to revolt... If they restrain us there would come the time when we cannot take it anymore and feel like want to explode... Maybe it will be an incredible explosion... It's better to give them some freedom but we also want them to be responsible... Yeah... it's hard, especially if I have a daughter later... I will try my best to do it...

....

I want to ask you about one thing... What is you opinion about this campaign?

Well...I don't know...ee... Actually I don't really like the political matter. Politic is a cruel thing, so many intrigues in it... I really hate that kind of person... It seems very easy for them to kill someone so I have no sympathy with it... Most of my friends have the same opinion...We are not interested with the political problem.

I want to ask you about your parents... How is your parents' attitude in front of their children? Do they very close? What happened when they had a fight?

They are opened persons. They never hide their closeness... sometimes we made a joke... The negative side is that they never hide their fight, but I think it's better for the children not to know their parents' fight... I don't want to follow them in that way because it brings bad influences to the children...

Once more, maybe the last. What is your hope for your future?

Ee... just like the other people... got a good job, good family... and hopefully there's nothing gets in my way...

Once more OK... What is the principle from your parents that you still hold until now?

Yeah... trust someone... especially someone who close to us... If we trust people they will try to use it very carefully... That's the most thing planted on me...

I have a very nice grand mother. My grand father already died when my mother was about six years old maybe... My father and my mother is a good parents... e... I have a very wonderful childhood, I have everything I always want. I have all the attention because I'm the first child in the family, the first grand daughter in the family.

....

My mother always gives a time to educate me when I was a little child.

What's your feeling with that?

It's good, because I think you can control your child only at the early age. Or else you will lose her or him... I don't know, because I see a lot of friends. If he doesn't have strong, very strong background he can be fall like trying drugs or something. I don't do it because I have the strong basic that didn't carry away my points. So I think it's very important to have a strong basic when you were kids.

When you were kid before you go to school, what would your parents react if you do something wrong or something they don't like? How they discipline you?

OK, if I do something wrong... All I have to do is just tell them why I did it. And if I make mistake I admit that and I think they will forgive.

You mean you tell the truth.

Yeah... my mother is very fair. We both are close, not like other kids. I never lie to my parents because... I don't know, it's just no use, what for... They can understand so what for... I never lie to them. And then I finish my high school. I always gets the 1st rank but I think I still want that kind of harmony family so when my father had an affair we couldn't face it. So my family has torn apart. It's a very... very stressed moment...

How old were you when that happened?

About... 20 I think... 20 or 19. I really thought that if I marry somebody it has to be like my father. I want to be like my mother, just like that. And then everything you believe in is just torn away so you don't know what to hold on anymore. Every thing is just like torn apart so the family began to... My mother send me to my grand mother because she don't want me to know every thing happen between my father and her

So it's a very difficult transition period for you, went through it all...

Yes. I never look for anything... I did not have any friends because I just stayed at home, studying and doing what my parents want. So my family was everything and that's gone, so I do not know what to hold on. I do not close to my other relatives. I just love my family and it's all gone... So it's a very hard time...

What was the thing helpful for you during that time? What does help you to come out of it?

....

Ee... I do not... I always think that... what can I do if I cannot accept it... What can I do... Thing will never be the same again, it will never change back or turn back. I can't repeat the time so what's

for... I do not... it's not useful to regret it. I just have to live with it... Now I accept about it... but nothing I can do about it...

....

How was that transition? From being the top in the primary school to being one of the youngest in the school?

I felt very ugly...

Oh yeah... why?

Because other girls are very crazy and start to see the boys. So school was not a very interesting point but the boys seemed very interesting for them. I fell in love with a guy in junior high school. And all I could do is just look at him... (Laughing)...

From a distance?

Yeah, from a distance... (Laughing)... I have a very slow development about romance. I didn't feel very attractive. My friends always ask me have I kiss him or something... I used to say that I have a lot of love in my home so what the use to look for another love from a boy... yeah, I always say that. I have a lot of love from my mother, my father, my grand father, and my sister so what a boy for? I don't need that just like that...(laughing)...

How was high school at that time when you were getting 14, 15 or 16 years old?

OK... in high school I was a very naughty girl. In junior high school I was very chubby because I just sit, learn and study at home and never socialise to other people so I got fat and I felt ugly so I felt a little bit lack of self-confidence. I felt the other people are so pretty and I felt so ugly and then I got sick. So when I was in high school I got thinner, so boys started to like me and I started to play with them.

....

Which faculty did you going to?

A X course.

OK...

Because my father ask me to go to the X at university I want to become a Y but my mother said there's no prospect on that one. So I just go with their choice.

So how was the computer science, did you find it satisfied, productive or...

Unsatisfied...(laughing)...

For what reason?

I take the X because of my father and I begin to hate my father until everything inconvenient. I really do not like X... So I never touch my book I do not know how can I graduate in four years?

One thing we haven't talk about it all is about your religion. What religion...

Oh religion... I'm a Moslem, and... my father, my mother always teach us to pray five times a day since I was five years old until now...

Pray with the other or pray alone?

Pray together and alone. My father said you must pray to God every night, every day five times a day and don't miss it. Even when you are alone or when you are with somebody or when you are with anybody. So I never skip the pray five times a day until now. I think that when everything just blew up I didn't get carried away like using smoke or drugs or something because I still have someone to pray to.

I hear you said in the way that your parents brought you out and giving you a lot of thing to hang on to in a hard time.

Yes... but when the time is come, when bad time come I still didn't ready for it. Yes they give me basic like... but when... I don't know how to say it... (Laughing)... It's just unbelievable. Because they told me everything and they blew up everything. I don't know what to believe anymore... So I think when you have a good religion you are a very trustable person but it's seems that's not. A religion is just another thing... and you can trust people just another thing.

…………………………………..

Yes I have to see my parents as a human being that can make a mistake. They always be my idols so they can't make a mistake.

What have you found, you said that crying and religion is helpful during this time. Have there been other things that help you to get use to the changing in your family?

Yea just the passing of time I think. And I realise that I could never do anything to fix it so I just have to face it... just like that... Nothing help me until now nothing... just the one who still there and it's not haven't heal yet and I think just the passing of time...

…………………………..

Well looking back at your life which very interesting and has many experiences or pressure. So what is your assessment of your life so far, how do you say your self... Being through in this kind of family and most kind of experiences...

Sometimes... right now sometimes I'm a very dependable person for my friends so they can rely on me to solve their problem. But sometimes I get really fragile... so I can... like hit anything or just when I get stressed very stressed. So my boyfriend... I have a boyfriend few months ago. He said that I need to see the shrink because I have been through a very stressful moment with no one help you. Maybe you accept it but inside you do not so you express your anger like that and it is not healthy because you hurt your self instead you hurt other people. So I working on that right now... It's very helpful right now so when I get angry I just say be calm down, just accept the situation because you can never change anything.

………………….

Does the crisis brings some influences in the way you relate one to another?

Not, not really... except all the prices are rise up and so we have to discuss that we have to save some money... no problem. If the form is too high I just split with my sister I pay half and you pay half. There's nothing too important...

It's kind of a cut back not changing the right way.

Not really affected in my family just you buy the folder this moth and next month I buy it just like that...(laughing)...

Maybe in another way putting it, what is your hope for your future for you life in Indonesia... What kind of life do you see it...?

Well...(silent)...just think that how can deal with this moment like the monetary crisis. Monetary crisis is happening right now and so I must quite awake to anticipate it...I don't know because this situation is very unpredictable. No just make some preparation anticipating something happen... I never predict that... no it's so unpredictable.

So the unpredictability I shocking, is it frightening?

No...

Not frightening but what...

No I'm not frighten but I feel like everything can happen anything can happen so...

So uncertain perhaps...Yes it's very uncertain so I think that I have to make, I have to have a house a car or something it's just like...I think the political uncertainty because it's affected the financial.

Yea the two are close.

Because right now likes my friends complain. My friends in office complain about the price of the milk for their children it's very stressing and the rate of credit card like that. And my other friends in college are also complaining about the high college fee. I think every body confused about the economic situation.

....

In college my friends also talking about that a lot of Indonesian people are uneducated so when the press say that somebody corrupt something so they just judge it and don't think about it. It also affect the situation just like Ghalib had corrupt or something I think no... He is not that stupid... (Laughing)... how can he transfer the money to another bank in Swiss... I don't know all just get angry and protest it (someone accidentally opened the door)... in worse thing like a protest or something...

Some like a simple judgement you mean in assumption...

Yea they were very easy to get like a provocateur. I want the people to go this way so they just doing something very transparent and very stupid. So it blew up again the riot and everything. Everything was so chaos and the dollar was rise up again and the political, economic are blew up again like that... It's exactly like what we talk before like what you said that last two years is very different to this year. People are reacting differently.

(HS) people learning from mistake. You just told about the rough year, it's very different with the past year.

But I still say if I have he power I will keep the old man because I feel he still have a charisma or something...

....

I thought that life will be as colourful as my life but then I see it. A lot of people in poverty and unhappy, get divorce, arguing something... In my home everything is tolerated yea... I'm not prepared to face a conflict or something...

So maybe it's the part of why it's so difficult then...

Yes I think... because I think everything would be as happy as can be, forever... (Smiling)... Nothing can go wrong with that. Just like that I have a perfect family and I will have a perfect family too...

....

Growing up is just hurt... (Laughing, bitterly)...I'm growing up in a hurt way, in a very painful way but I think if I didn't feel that pain maybe I will never grow up I will always live in a happy family, always in the way I hope, I pray. But I must accept that sometimes I have to accept something I do not like.

It's really an achievement to get to that point.

But it really painful...

Yeah... life is isn't it....

Yea... (Laughing)... Like sometimes when I was a kid I can do anything I want. But now I have to learn hat sometimes I can never fix somebody else's mistake. So when there is a mistake I have to keep quiet like that, I have to deal with it. So it's very...

Oh I see...

Until now I say that I have to make my own money so I will never depend on my husband. It also affected my point of view, when I was thought that my husband will do the job and I do the house...

But now not anymore. I have to make my own money.

Appendix F: Calculation of inter-rater reliability for coding categories for Study Two

Social support*	Willing	Not willing	Coding category	Inter-rater agreement
1	* ^ #		Helpee activation	80%
2		* ^ #	Helpee activation	
3		* ^ #	Helpee activation	
4	*	^ #	Helpee activation	
5	* ^ #		Helpee activation	
6	* ^ #		Helpee activation	
7		* ^ #	Helpee activation	
8	* ^ #		Helpee activation	
9	* ^ #		Helpee activation	
10		* ^ #	Helpee activation	
11	* ^ #		Helper activation	100%
12		* ^ #	Helper activation	
13	* ^ #		Helper activation	
14		* ^ #	Helper activation	
15	* ^ #		Helper activation	
16	* ^ #		Helper activation	
17	* ^ #		Helper activation	
18		* ^ #	Helper activation	
19	* ^ #		Helper activation	
20		* ^ #	Helper activation	
21	* ^ # Received	Provided	Direction	80%
23		* ^ #	Direction	
24	* ^ #		Direction	
25		* ^ #	Direction	
26	* ^	#	Direction	
27		* ^ #	Direction	
28	* ^ #		Direction	
29	*	^ #	Direction	
30	* ^ #		Direction	
31	Match	* ^ # Non-match	Adequacy ⁄	100%
32	* ^ #		Adequacy	
33		* ^ # ·	Adequacy	
34	* ^ #		Adequacy	
35		* ^ #	Adequacy	
36		* ^ #	Adequacy	
37	©* ^ #		Adequacy	
38		* ^ #	Adequacy	
39	* ^ #		Adequacy	
40		* ^ #	Adequacy	
41	* ^ # Buffering	Non – buffering	Buffering	100%
42	* ^ #		Buffering	
43		* ^ #	Buffering	
44		* ^ #	Buffering	
45	* ^ #		Buffering	
46	* ^ #		Buffering	
47	* ^ #		Buffering	
48		* ^ #	Buffering	
49	* ^ #		Buffering	
50	* ^ #		Buffering	

* Social support items were given to raters in random order

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Appendix G: Informant interview data coding sheet for Study Two

INFORMANT CONTEXT					
No. of support					
C1 No of subject					
C2 Gender					
C3 Position in the family					
C4 Religion					
C5 Ethnicity					
C6 Event or stressor					
SOCIAL SUPPORT					
S7 Source					
S8 Helpee activation					
S9 Helper activation					
S10 Direction					
S11 Type					
S12 Function					
S13 Support					
ADEQUACY OF SUPPORT					
A14 Match					
A15 Buffering					

Appendix H: Informant social support coded by family, non-family, other providers, match and non-match for Study Two

Family providers	Match	Non Match	Total
Grandparents	10	1	11
Mother	92	56	148
Father	46	68	114
Parents	87	70	157
Family	19	10	29
Siblings	36	11	47
Self	42	24	66
Household staff	3	-	3
Total family support	335	240	575
Non-family providers			
Teachers	16	17	33
Religious teachers/religion	9	6	15
Drug Hospital Staff	7	3	10
Community members	1	1	2
Girl friend, boy friend	4	2	6
Peers	39	20	59
Total non-family	76	49	125
Other providers			
Drugs	4	3	7
Place	2	-	2
Loss	-	4	4
Lack of support	-	7	7
Total other support	6	14	20
Total all support	417	303	720

Appendix I: Informant scores for matching and non matching social support received from parent, mother, father and peer for Study Two

No	Parent Support	Parent Support	Mother support	Mother support	Father support	Father support	Peer support	Peer support
	Match	Non-match	Match	Non-match	Match	Non-match	Match	Non-match
1	4	5	2	1	2	3	1	0
2	0	2	6	1	1	4	2	0
3	5	3	3	3	4	8	2	1
4	2	3	1	0	3	0	2	0
5	3	4	0	3	0	0	0	0
6	2	5	4	0	0	9	0	0
7	1	2	11	1	2	2	1	1
8	1	4	7	2	2	7	2	0
9	14	12	0	4	1*	5	0	0
10	10	2	0	1	1	3	1	0
11	5	1	4	2	1	2	4	2
12	0	0	4	2	0	2	1	0
13	5	5	8	0	2	4	0	2
14	5	3	2	1	0	3	4	0
15	4	0	1	1	3*	4	3	3
16	1	0	3	7	4	0	0	0
17	1	0	2	6	2	0	0	1
18	3	6	2	2	2	0	4	1
19	6	5	4	1	1	1	1	0
20	2	1	6	2	3*	0	3	1
21	10	1	2	0	0	0	3	2
22	2	0	12	1	1	4	6	0
23	5	2	6	3	0**	0	0	1
24	6	0	4	0	2	2	1	0
25	7	2	3	5	1	8	2	1
26	6	3	9	1	4	4	4	1

*informants refer to stepfathers
**Informant's father died in his infancy

Appendix J: Informant scores for attachment, autonomy and drug use for Study Two

No	Gender	Religion	Position family	Parent score	Attachment mother	Attachment father	Autonomy mother	Autonomy Father	Drugs use score	Attachment peer
1	M	M	2	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
2	M	NM	3	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
3	M	NM	1*	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
5	M	M	3*	-	-		-	-	-	
6	M	NM	1	-	+	-	+	-	-	
9	M	NM	3	+	-	- *	-	+	-	
12	M	M	1		+	-	+	-	-	+
4	M	M	2	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
8	M	M	3	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
10	M	M	1	+	-	-	+	-	-	+
25	M	M	1	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
7	F	NM	2	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
11	M	M	1	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
13	M	M	1*	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
14	M	NM	3	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
15	M	M	1	+	+	- *	+	-	-	+
16	F	M	2	+	-	+	-	+	+	
17	F	M	2	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
18	M	M	2*	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
19	M	M	3	+	+	+	-	-	+**	+
20	F	M	3	+	+	·+ *	+	+	+.	+
21	F	M	3	+	+		+	+	+	+
22	F	NM	1	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
23	M	M	3	+	+	****	+	****	+**	
24	F	M	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
26	F	M	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+