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Parental Strategies for Knowledge of Adolescents' Friends: Distinct from Monitoring?

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Abstract

Parental monitoring is defined as a set of behaviors used to gain knowledge about an adolescent's whereabouts, friends and associates, and activities. However, can knowledge of adolescents' whereabouts/activities, and friends all be attained through the same strategies? Or do they require their own strategies? This study used qualitative interviews with 173 parents of older adolescents from 100 families. Emergent themes described strategies by which parents gain information about their adolescents' friends and the substance use of those friends. The strategies included direct interaction with the friend, gaining information from the teen, using second-hand sources, and making assumptions. Some of these strategies were consistent with previous research, while others raise new questions and provide interesting new directions to pursue. Primarily, additional consideration needs to be given to assessments of parental monitoring that include strategies for gaining knowledge of adolescents' friends and their substance use.

Keywords

Adolescence; Parenting; Monitoring; Peers; Alcohol use

Introduction

Parent behaviors have been long documented as affecting adolescent risk behavior, particularly substance use (Bogenschneider et al. 1998a, b; Hawkins et al. 1992; Wood et al. 2004) and is a well-established component of many prevention programs (National Institute on Drug Abuse 2002). Recently, the operational definition of parental monitoring has been called into question. A growing body of literature argues that while the relationship between "monitoring" and adolescent risk behavior is sound, the measurement of monitoring has emphasized parents' *knowledge* about their adolescent's activities, rather than the *mechanisms* through which parents' obtain that information (Lahey et al. 2008; Stattin and Kerr 2000). Monitoring is properly defined as a set of strategies used to gain knowledge about an adolescent's whereabouts, their friends and associates, and their activities (National Institute on Drug Abuse 2002). However, can knowledge of whereabouts, activities, and friends all be attained through the same approaches? While activities and whereabouts are limited in time and space, we would argue that friendships are on-going and dynamic in a way that a weekend party, for example, is not. Knowledge of adolescents' friends and friendships might require different strategies other than solicitation and general knowledge of the adolescent's schedule.

What do Parents of Adolescents Know About Their Adolescent's Friends?

Due to normative developmental changes, adolescents expect and are given increased privacy in their personal relationships as they age (Tilton-Weaver and Marshall 2008), increasing the likelihood that parents know less about their adolescent's friends than they did when the child was younger. Parental knowledge regarding adolescents' friendships is reduced particularly regarding opposite sex friends. In a longitudinal study of 110 preadolescents and mothers during the transition to adolescence, Feiring and Lewis (1993) found that mothers were familiar with best friends, moderately informed about same-sex friends, and not informed at all about opposite sex friends. This pattern was more pronounced among adolescents at 13 years old than at 9 years old.

In addition, knowledge of an adolescent's friends is often measured differently and not typically analyzed separately, but is considered among a list of items related to parental knowledge. For example, items included in monitoring scales ask whether parents know who the friends are ("Do your parents know who you have as friends during your free time?" (Kerr and Stattin 2000; Stattin and Kerr 2000) "Knows who my friends are" (Padilla-Walker et al. 2008)), how well the parents know the friends ("How much do your parents know about who your friends really are?" (Laird et al. 2003), "How much do your parents really know who your friends are?" (Steinberg et al. 1994)), and knowing the company the adolescent keeps on specific occasions ("About how often does your (mother, father) know who you are with when you're not home?" (Lahey et al. 2008), "knowing whom the child is with" (Fulkerson et al. 2008)). These questions are assessing incredibly different phenomena. In the case of knowing who the friends are or with whom the adolescent is currently keeping company, a parent could adequately answer the question with a list of names. Only the question used by Laird and colleagues asked whether the parents have some knowledge of who the friends are as people, implying a more in-depth knowledge. In the utilization of monitoring in order to guide or control an adolescent's activities, knowing friends is only useful to the extent that the parent has some sense of the character and influence of those friends.

Parental knowledge of adolescents' friends' alcohol and drug use is particularly important, since it seems linked to parental assumptions of the adolescent's use. In a study of 1176 parent-adolescent dyads (adolescents 8th–12th grade), parents consistently estimated their adolescent's alcohol use as lower than that of the adolescent's friends (Bogenschneider et al. 1998a, b), which is inconsistent with numerous studies that demonstrate the strong correlation between peers on alcohol and drug use across adolescence (Allen et al. 2003). To date, there are no studies that investigate parents' knowledge of their adolescents' friends' substance use.

How do Parents Know About Their Adolescent's Friendships?

Little work has been done thus far to determine strategies that parents use specifically to gather information about their adolescent's friends. In most research, questions about knowledge of friends are included with questions about activity monitoring. The strategies used by parents vary by demographic characteristics. In a longitudinal survey of parents and adolescents (mean age at first administration 16.5), Crouter et al. (2005) studied six methods for obtaining information about adolescent experiences generally: child self-disclosure, listening/observing, solicitation, learning from spouse, learning from siblings, and learning from others (such as teachers and neighbors). Using cluster analytic strategies, they found three groupings of strategies for fathers based on their primary source of information: relational (listening, solicitation, and child disclosure), relies on spouse (spouse), and relies on others (siblings and others). They also found three for mothers: relational (listening and child disclosure), questioners (solicitation), and relies on others (spouse, sibling, and others).

While there was overlap in the clusters, there were clear gender differences. In addition, cluster membership also varied, for example, fathers of daughters were more likely to be in the 'relies on spouse' cluster, and mothers who were questioners had higher mean education levels. Bumpus and Rodgers (2009) studied sources of parental knowledge in a survey of adolescents (mean age 14.0) and their parents. The knowledge strategy used by parents differed by family structure, with original two-parent families consistently reporting using more trust, solicitation, and disclosure than single parent families. Adolescents with two-parent families reported that their parents knew more than adolescents with single-parent or step-parent families.

In the few cases where knowledge of friends can be examined separately, the evidence suggests that parental strategies and subsequent knowledge vary by gender. In a study of parents' knowledge of daily experiences with peers (Updegraff et al. 2001), researchers found that both mothers and fathers of 8th–10th graders spend equal amounts of time with their adolescent and his/her peers, but mothers are more likely to participate in and be knowledgeable about friendships. Gender differences existed for adolescents as well, with fathers more involved in sons' friendships and mothers more in daughters'.

Why Monitor Adolescent Friendships?

Given the strong and consistent link between adolescents' and their peers' substance use, parental knowledge of adolescent's friends' use might be a useful component of monitoring. One study found that for every drinking friend an adolescent (7th–12th grade) reported, the odds that the adolescent's mother perceived the adolescent as drinking increased (Guilamo-Ramos et al. 2006), indicating a link between knowledge of friends and knowledge of their own adolescent's behaviors. This awareness allows more opportunity for parents to intervene regarding their adolescents' underage drinking. Moreover, knowledge of their adolescents' friends provides other useful information to parents: it assists parents in connecting with their adolescents through insight into their relationships, it provides a warning to parents if an adolescent is associating with peers whose behavior is questionable, and provides reassurance to parents that an adolescent is okay if the friends are well-known and a positive influence.

In the present study, we address two major questions regarding parental knowledge about peers: how do parents get to know who their adolescent's friends are? And how do parents gain knowledge about the alcohol and drug use of these friends?

Methods

Participant Selection and Recruitment

Participants in our in-home interviews were drawn from a previous longitudinal study that investigated the role of sexual media exposure and adolescent sexuality with adolescents age 12–17, using a list-assisted sample of households from the greater San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles County, California. For the current study, we used two eligibility criteria: (1) families were to reside in the greater San Francisco Bay Area within a 50 mile radius of the research center in which the study was housed, and; (2) the adolescent had to be between the ages of 15–18 at the initiation of this study. Our goal was to interview 100 families, interviewing two parents and the target adolescent. Via telephone, a parent was asked to participate and to provide verbal consent for their adolescent. If a second parent was available and home, that person was also asked to participate, or the first parent volunteered the second parent's participation. For wrong numbers, on-line directory assistance, letters, and emails were used to follow-up eligible families. Of the eligible households we had a participation rate of 57.8%.

Data Collection

All three family members (two parental figures and one adolescent) were scheduled for one interview time if possible. A team of three interviewers conducted the interviews concurrently in separate locations in/out of the house where family members could not overhear each other. Consent forms were signed at the beginning of the interview. Interviews were audio recorded on digital recorders. Participants were each paid for their participation.

Participants

One hundred seventy-four parents or guardians (of 100 youth) were interviewed: 98 mothers, 72 fathers, and 4 (guardian) grandparents. Ethnic breakdown was as follows: 81% Caucasian, 10.3% Latino, 3.4% Alaskan Native/Native American, 3.4% Asian, 1.7% Black, and 1.1% Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander. Parents' mean age was 51.5 (SD = 5.69). For this analysis, one interview was discarded due to low level of detail, leaving our sample of mothers at 97 and a total sample size of 99 families. For ease of reporting results and participant confidentiality, in this paper we chose to identify participants as either "mothers" or "fathers" regardless of whether participants were biological parents or step-parents or grandparents. More than half of the youth were male (59%) and the mean age was 18.0 (SD = 0.56). Most of the youth had not reported any use of alcohol, tobacco, or other drugs (ATOD) in the previous study (61%), with 19% reporting use at one time period, 16% at two time periods, and 4% at all three time periods.

Measures

One portion of the interview was dedicated to the parents' awareness and knowledge of their adolescent's friends. The questions from the interview include (with probes noted in parentheses): How well do you know who your teenager hangs out with? What do you do to keep yourself aware of his/her friends? Do you have a sense about the alcohol or other drug use of your teen's friends? (How can you tell?)

Data Analyses

Audio transcripts were transcribed verbatim and entered into ATLAS.ti (Muhr 2006). The initial codebook was developed with two researchers reviewing six (three mothers and three fathers) transcripts separately, making notes on emerging codes. The topics on which the interview guide was developed were used as index codes. The initial codebook was drafted, followed by review of an additional six transcripts, finalizing a list of 24 codes. Additional coders participated in a training session and were asked to code two transcripts, which were later compared, and another session was convened for discussing differences in coding. Inter-rater reliability was determined using the Coding Analysis Toolkit (CAT) from the University of Pittsburgh's Qualitative Data Analysis Program. As a team, inter-rater reliability, calculated using Fleiss' kappa, was achieved at .70 or higher before proceeding. One CAT test was conducted every month until the completion of initial coding to prevent drift and ensure reliability.

The development of subcodes followed a similar process. In our study, subcodes include both a priori and inductively derived subcodes using open coding (Ryan and Bernard 2003). A query in Atlas.ti was generated based on the topic of interest. Two coders studied ten pages of output and developed a set of initial subcodes. Two additional coders (four total) were brought into code the next five pages of output to test the initial subcodes. A session was convened where subcodes were added, deleted, or refined. Once all coders agreed, a portion of the output was entered in CAT and inter-rater reliability calculated. CAT tests

were run until $k > .70$ at which point coding for subcodes commenced. Additional CAT tests were run at the midpoint during coding and at the end. All transcripts were analyzed.

Subjectivity Statement

Our team represented diverse disciplinary backgrounds (sociology, criminal justice, anthropology, and child development) as well as personal backgrounds (some had experience as parents of adolescents, and we all had our own adolescent experiences). Our disciplinary backgrounds facilitated lively conversations while developing codes, bringing multiple conceptual lenses to the analysis. In addition, the first two authors have extensive experience implementing and evaluating parent-based substance abuse prevention programs for teens, and kept in mind what our results could mean for tailoring those programs for our given age range.

Results

When conducting the analysis, we noted four main strategies on the part of parents: direct interaction with the friend, gaining information about friends from the adolescent, using second-hand sources, and making assumptions about the friend. These strategies were utilized for knowledge of friends as well as knowledge of friends' substance use. However, the percentage of parents mentioning a specific strategy varied for each topic (see Table 1).

Strategies for Knowing Friends

In order to know who their children's friends are and what those friends are like, the strategies used most often were, in order of most to least frequent: direct experience, information from adolescent, assumptions, and secondhand sources.

Direct Experience—A large majority of our parents reported having directly interacted with their children's friends. The duration and intensity of these encounters varied widely, from brief encounters with friends who stop by to pick up the adolescent (a mother of an 18-year-old said, "I talk to her friends when they come by") to traveling with the adolescents' friends. As the mother of 18-year-old son described it, "At any given time, most of them have traveled with us. And we've spent a lot of intimate time in hotel rooms so we know them pretty well."

Some parents noted that their adolescent's friends would congregate at their home. For some parents, this was intentional; for others, it would happen without their direct intervention. The father of an 18-year-old told us.

His other friends are over here frequently. They do movie nights and these types of things. This seems to be a big party place, our house. We have our pool, which is a magnet to having them here, so in that way I guess you could say we're exposed to his friends maybe more than other parents might be exposed to their kids' friends.

It might be tempting to argue that attaining more knowledge is a positive parenting behavior that would increase the likelihood of desired outcomes for adolescents. However, the level of involvement could also have potentially negative impacts on the adolescent's life. A small number of parents talked about drinking and/or smoking with their adolescent and their friends. These parents noted that they provide alcohol, or at least permit it to be brought to the house and consumed, and socialize with the adolescent's friends. As the mother of an 18-year old told us, "they'll think I'm like a cool mom, cause I do come out and I have my wine and I'm having a cigarette or whatever. And I don't yell and judge at them." Thus parents may also be providing access to alcohol and other substances to their adolescent, as well as to their adolescent's friends.

Information from Adolescent—Parents occasionally commented that as their adolescent grew older, his/her social circle expanded, such that the parents were often unaware of some of the adolescent's friends. These friends were often made in circumstances that made it difficult to the parents to get to know them, such as at work. Parents needed to rely on communication with their adolescent in order to have some awareness of these new friends.

For about half of those who obtained this information, parents noted that the adolescent volunteered the information. The mother of 17-year-old said "I don't ask him a lot of questions. He just tells me." Similarly, the mother of an 18-year-old said, "she comes and tells me." A comparable number of parents noted that they ask direct questions of their adolescent, as the father of an 18-year old commented: "I ask him about [his friends]. Communication baby, bottom line, communication all the time. It's kind of where it's at. I want to know and I ask."

Second-Hand Sources—Parents used indirect methods as well, with almost a quarter of families having a parent who relied on second hand sources. Parents reported asking other parents, as the mother of 18-year-old son said: "If he's going with a [new] friend, I'll call [another] friend's mom and say, 'Do you know this family?' And it kind of helps to get more information." Other parents mentioned asking the adolescent's other friends, as this mother of a 17-year-old daughter: "Probably one of my best strategies is that I'm pretty good friends with [her] friends, and so I will kind of pump [her] friends, and find out."

Assumptions—Finally, parents noted that they use their knowledge of other parents as an indication that they know the friends. That is, they assume they know the friend well because they know that friend's parents. For example, one father of 18-year-old son told us: "We feel a little better because they hang out at someone's house, and we know the parents." Likewise, the father of 17-year-old girl noted: "[The] parents' values and our values seem to be similar." One mother expressed surprise that parents would not take the time to meet the parents of the child's friends. She said:

"When the parents come [to pick the friend up], they have to stay and have dessert." [Laughs] And so we're in the backyard with these parents meeting them and they were all, "Oh, this is a really good idea." And I'm thinking, "Duh, you know, your kid's been at my house all day. I could be an axe murderer. Don't you wanna know who I am? My God!" You know? Geez.

Strategies for Knowing Friends' Substance Use

The codes developed in the data relative to strategies to know the adolescent's friends also emerged in strategies to know the adolescent's friends' alcohol and drug use, though with different frequencies. The strategies used most often were, in order of most frequent to least: obtaining information from the adolescent, making assumptions, direct experience, and second-hand information.

Information from Adolescent—At least one parent from half of our families gained information about other adolescents' substance use through conversations with their adolescents. This included parents who asked their adolescent directly and parents whose adolescent volunteered information about their friends (father of an 18 year old: "She has a couple of friends that have had a bit of a problem with [drugs and alcohol], and they still grapple with wanting to drink or maybe even getting stoned. And, she talks to us about it"). In many cases, parents noted that the adolescent volunteered the information. Fewer parents said that they ask direct questions of their adolescent.

Assumptions—At least one parent from almost half our families mentioned that they assumed something about the use of their adolescent's friends, though the reasoning behind the assumptions varied greatly. Some parents were unable to articulate a reason for their assumption. Some parents believed that, due to the nature of adolescence, and the statistics about adolescent use, there was probably a friend or two who were using. As the father of 17 year old son told us, "I don't think they're doing a lot of that. I have no specific knowledge that they're doing any of it. I mean, if you've got a dozen friends, somebody is doing something. I just have no knowledge of it." Some parents offered some evidence, basing their belief on the activities of the adolescents, as this mother of a 17-year-old daughter said: "I think, honestly... none of them are into really drinking. They're all athletes, they're into their bodies. They're into being physically fit, and being healthy and eating healthy."

Direct Experience—Some parents learn about their adolescent's friend's use through direct experience of the friends. For example, one father of 18 year old son replied, "I have personally seen him [drink]." However, some parents had spoken directly to their adolescent's friends about it, such as this father of a 17 year old who said: "His girlfriend ... is adamant about non-alcohol, non-tobacco and drugs. She has no use for it ... I believe her. We've talked about it." A mother of an 18 year old son reported using a somewhat different approach to assessing directly his friend's substance use: "I smell them and I hand them something and ask them to open it and see if they're cognitively impaired."

Second-Hand Sources—Finally, a smaller number of parents reported knowing their adolescent's friends' use through second-hand sources. Most often this was in the form of speaking with other parents, such as the mother of a 17 year old son who said, "It's common knowledge in the parent community that this kid [smokes pot] ... us moms talk."

Discussion

Analysis of strategies used by parents for both knowing their adolescent's friends and knowing the substance use of those friends yielded similar sets of strategies: direct experience of the friend, gaining information about friends from the adolescent, using second-hand sources, and making assumptions about the friend. While the strategies were similar, the frequency with which parents reported using those strategies was quite different. Some of our results were consistent with previous research, while others raise new questions and provide interesting new directions to pursue.

Several of the strategies reported by our parents were compatible with those noted in the existing literature. For knowing about their children's friends, the most commonly reported strategy was communication with the adolescent, with parents relying on adolescent self-disclosure as well as solicitation. Our findings on strategies of solicitation and child disclosure have been frequently documented in other studies, with disclosure of particular interest for its connection with parental knowledge and subsequent outcomes (e.g., Kerr et al. 2010). Also consistent with previous research was the use of other sources of information, in particular, the work of Crouter et al. (2005) who investigated the sources of information parents use to know their adolescents' experiences. Occasionally, parents in our study would refer to the other parent (i.e., their spouse/coparent) as the source of information. However, and in contrast to the Crouter study, in which parents drew information on their adolescent's friends from their other children or from teachers, our parents more often mentioned other parents as primary information sources. However, Crouter's work was inclusive of adolescent activities and whereabouts, which might be more conducive to utilizing the knowledge of the other parent/spouse, siblings of the adolescent, and teachers.

In addition, we noted some gender differences in strategies. While gaining information from the adolescent was more frequently reported by both parents, a higher percentage of mothers reported using this strategy than fathers. When we investigated more closely, twice as many mothers reported child disclosure than did fathers (35.1% vs. 17.6%), perhaps indicative of a closer relationship with the mother or a greater availability of mothers.

A unique contribution of this study is the finding that parents use direct experience in getting to know the friends of an adolescent. While the strategies of communication and utilization of other sources have been found for general monitoring, this result is not one that adapts well to knowing locations and activities of one's adolescent. As many have noted, there are an increasing number of activities in which adolescents engage without their parents, such that "direct experience" would not allow the independence that older adolescents desire. There is some documentation that parents will be present at adolescent activities in order to monitor friendships, like hosting events in the family home (Updegraff et al. 2010), though this is not a strategy that can be used frequently without a significant decrease in adolescent autonomy. In our study, however, the range of responses was quite wide, from briefly interacting with friends when they stop by to pick up the adolescent to spending days or weeks with the friends by taking trips or vacations with them.

It is not yet known whether this direct contact with the friend translates into accurate knowledge, nor how much direct experience is sufficient for accurate knowledge. Could the mother who only insists on being introduced to the friends have enough information? Or should parents go further than that? This highlights the differences in the way knowledge of friends is currently being assessed: knowing who the friends are, knowing the friends well, or knowing who the adolescent is with at a given time. In the open-ended portion of a quantitative survey of parents, Tilton-Weaver and Galambos (2003) found that parents frequently noted the decrease in behaviors such as chauffeuring adolescents and encouraging adolescent activities as adolescents get older, both of which facilitate a parents' knowledge of friends.

Finally, making assumptions was a new finding of the current study. On the face of it, this seems to be a weak strategy. However, many parents said that their assumption was based on the knowledge of the friend's parents. This raises the question again, about whether familiarity, this time of the friends' parents, is predictive of accurate knowledge and if so, how much is sufficient. Future research should explore which specific strategy for knowing friends work effectively for older adolescents.

While the use of direct experience for knowing an adolescent's friends is an interesting result, the implications for this as a strategy for knowledge of substance use make it far more complicated and less commonly used. An intriguing finding is that relatively few parents use direct communication with their adolescent regarding substance use within the social network, and that many parents make assumptions about their adolescents' friends substance use (see Table 1). Although many parents talk with their adolescents about their friends and have some knowledge of their identity, character, or both, we were struck by the fact that parents don't also ask about the substance use of those friends. This is particularly intriguing in light of recent research which calls into question the extent to which adolescents accurately know the substance use of their friends (Belendiuk et al. 2010). While the adolescent may not know with certainty that a friend is using, a parent might be able to deduce the level of (non-) use based on conversations with their adolescent. Furthermore, given the high correlations between adolescents' use and that of their friends, it was remarkable that so many parents used a passive approach to knowing their adolescents' friends' substance use, through making assumptions. Future studies should investigate whether those who make assumptions are correct in their conclusions, and if the basis of the

assumption (assuming that some adolescents are using because the odds are that someone out of a group is using, assuming that adolescents are not using due to family or lifestyle choices) makes a difference.

We should also note that there were gender differences regarding friends' substance use, as with knowledge of their adolescent's friends. While we were unable to determine statistical significance, more mothers (9.3%) than fathers (2.7%) reported using direct questions about the friends' substance use. This is consistent with Crouter's mother profile of "questioners." Similarly, many more fathers (36.5%) than mothers (23.7%) reported making assumptions about friends' substance use, also similar to Crouter's profiles of relying on spouse/others for knowledge about the adolescent.

Finally, the relationship between knowledge of adolescents' friends and those friends' substance use needs to be investigated. Does knowing an adolescent's friends well enable a parent to have a more accurate knowledge of friends' use? Which strategies tend to work effectively together? For example, if a parent uses the strategy of direct experience with their adolescent's friends, can that parent then use making assumptions about those friends' substance use?

There are several important caveats to the conclusions drawn from this study. First, the sample was overwhelmingly Caucasian, and thus diversity across ethnicities might not have been captured. Second, while interviewing two parents from most families provided us with richer data, we might have seen different strategies emerge from the data had single-parent families been more adequately represented. Finally, given that this work was based on a prior longitudinal study, the families were fairly geographically stable, allowing the adolescents to have long-term friendships and the parents to have long-term knowledge of those friends.

In this paper, we have sought to assess whether knowledge of whereabouts, activities, and friends might all be attained through the same methods. Based on the reports of our parents, several issues call for further investigation. Compared with the existing literature, we have demonstrated that parents use strategies for knowing adolescents' friends and the substance use of those friends that are both similar to that found in prior studies (disclosure, solicitation, second-hand information) and unique (direct experience, making assumptions) as found in this study. While our study investigated the strategies that parents use, we are unable to link those strategies to parental knowledge of adolescent's friends or their own adolescent's substance use outcomes. We recommend that new scales be developed to test the linkage of parents' strategies for knowing friends and knowing about friends' use to actual knowledge of their use and perhaps then to knowledge of substance use by their own adolescent. We might envision a continuum of four strategies, from direct experience with adolescent's friends to communication with own adolescent to second-hand sources to making assumptions. Within each is another continuum: direct experience for example, ranging from having met the friend once to knowing the friend intimately over many years. We agree with Tilton-Weaver and Marshall (2008) that it is important to determine "when 'knowing a lot' means parents know enough and when 'knowing nothing' is not a problem" (p. 38).

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Table 1

Strategies for knowing friends and friends' substance use

	Information from teen		Direct experience		Second-hand sources		Assumptions	
	Friends	Friends' use	Friends	Friends' use	Friends	Friends' use	Friends	Friends' use
Families	74 (74%)	49 (49%)	91 (91%)	29 (29%)	21 (21%)	18 (18%)	51 (51%)	43 (43%)
Mothers	65 (65%)	40 (40%)	81 (81%)	17 (17%)	10 (10%)	10 (10%)	34 (34%)	23 (23%)
Fathers	38 (51%)	22 (30%)	63 (85%)	15 (20%)	11 (15%)	9 (12%)	25 (34%)	27 (36%)

Family totals have at least one parent who mentioned the strategy. Percentages are calculated on the number of respondents mentioning the code divided by the number of total respondents by category
Families $N = 99$, Mothers $N = 98$, Fathers $N = 75$