

Parental perspectives on negotiations over diet and physical activity: how do we involve parents in adolescent health interventions?

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1 **Parental perspectives on negotiations over diet and physical activity: how do we involve**
2 **parents in adolescent health interventions?**

3

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47 qualitative interviews. The thematic analysis was conducted by SS, SCS, SJ and STS with
48 guidance from WTL, LM, MEB. All authors played a role in interpreting the results and all
49 approved the final manuscript. This work was conducted as part of the EACH-B study.

50

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52 down in the Declaration of Helsinki and all procedures involving research study participants
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55 Abstract

56 **Objective:** To identify the ways in which parental involvement can be incorporated into
57 interventions to support adolescent health behaviour change.

58 **Design:** Data from semi-structured interviews were analysed using inductive thematic
59 analysis.

60 **Setting:** Southampton, Hampshire, UK.

61 **Participants:** A convenience sample of 24 parents of adolescents.

62 **Results:** Parents consider themselves to play an important role in supporting their
63 adolescents to make healthy choices. Parents saw themselves as gatekeepers of the
64 household and as role models to their adolescents but recognised this could be both
65 positive and negative in terms of health behaviours. Parents described the changing
66 dynamics of the relationships they have with their adolescents because of increased
67 adolescent autonomy. Parents stated that these changes altered their level of influence
68 over adolescents' health behaviours. Parents considered it important to promote
69 independence in their adolescents, however, many described this as challenging because
70 they believed their adolescents were likely to make unhealthy decisions if not given
71 guidance. Parents reported difficulty in supporting adolescents in a way that wasn't viewed
72 as forceful or pressuring.

73 **Conclusions:** When designing adolescent health interventions that include parental
74 components, researchers need to be aware of the disconnect between public health
75 recommendations and the everyday reality for adolescents and their parents. Parental
76 involvement in adolescent interventions could be helpful but needs to be done in a manner
77 that is acceptable to both adolescents and parents. The findings of this study may be useful
78 to inform interventions which need to consider the transitions and negotiations which are
79 common in homes containing adolescents.

80 Keywords:

81 Adolescent; Health behaviours; Parents; Qualitative methods.

82

83

84 Introduction

85 Adolescence is a period often characterised by poor health behaviours including high intake
86 of energy-dense, nutrient-poor food and low levels of physical activity.⁽¹⁾ In the UK, many
87 adolescents fail to meet Public Health England's recommendations for a healthy diet and
88 physical activity levels. Only 8% of UK adolescents aged between 11-18 years eat five
89 portions of fruit and vegetables a day,⁽²⁾ and only 15% of boys and 8% of girls, aged 13-15
90 years, carry-out one hour of moderate to vigorous activity per day.⁽³⁾ Adolescents are the
91 parents of future generations. Thus, intervening during adolescence to improve diet and
92 physical activity has the potential for triple benefit: to the adolescent in the here and now,
93 to the future health of the adolescent, and to the health of the adolescent's future
94 offspring.^(4, 5) Although this age group has been identified as a priority group for health
95 improvement, few interventions aiming to improve adolescent diet and physical activity
96 levels show long-term effectiveness.⁽⁶⁻⁹⁾

97 Adolescence is a period of dramatic physical and psychosocial change.⁽¹⁰⁾ Adolescents
98 experience a desire for increased levels of autonomy over decisions in their life.⁽¹¹⁾ This new-
99 found independence, coupled with increased exposure to factors outside of the family
100 home, can lead to the participation in health-compromising behaviours.⁽⁵⁾ Nonetheless,
101 parents still play an influential role in adolescents' day-to-day lives even though capacity for
102 decision-making is increasing.

103 Health behaviour interventions targeting adolescents have been implemented using a
104 number of different approaches with varying degrees of success.^(6-8, 12) It is argued that
105 many of these health interventions are unsuccessful because they do not address
106 adolescents' desire to feel respected, and fail to offer opportunities for adolescents to
107 exercise autonomy over their health behaviours.^(9, 13, 14)

108 Evidence indicates that interventions targeting children and adolescents which also involve
109 parents have the potential to be successful, but results have varied.^(7, 8, 15, 16) Parents have
110 been incorporated into interventions using multiple 'indirect' and 'direct' strategies.⁽¹⁵⁾
111 Indirect parental engagement strategies have been more commonly used in intervention
112 studies to date and often include delivering health information to parents via newsletters
113 and web-platforms. Direct strategies have included parental attendance at educational and

114 coaching sessions. Studies including such direct strategies are limited and may be subject to
115 bias, as such selection bias where more highly motivated parents participate.

116 The important role parents play in their adolescents' lives, if harnessed appropriately, could
117 promote engagement with interventions outside of the immediate delivery setting.

118 However, there is no clear consensus on what type of parental involvement is most
119 effective.⁽¹⁵⁾ In addition, little is known about parental views of the most acceptable ways of
120 involving them in health interventions targeting their adolescents.

121 This study therefore adopted a qualitative approach to explore three research questions:

- 122 1) How do parents view their role in supporting their adolescents to eat healthily and
123 be more physically active?
- 124 2) What factors influence the way in which parents choose to support their
125 adolescents?
- 126 3) How can we help parents support their adolescents to make healthier choices?

127 Methods

128 Design

129 This exploratory qualitative study formed part of the developmental work for the Engaging
130 Adolescents in CHanging Behaviour (EACH-B) study. The EACH-B study is a multi-component
131 intervention aiming to support adolescents to engage in healthy diet and physical activity
132 behaviours.⁽¹⁷⁾ The development of the EACH-B intervention was conducted using a Person
133 Based Approach which adopts user-centred methods to design and refine interventions.
134 This involves in-depth qualitative interviews with stakeholders in order to ensure
135 interventions are appropriate to the target population.⁽¹⁸⁾ Reporting of this study follows
136 COnsolidated criteria for REporting Qualitative research (COREQ) recommendations.⁽¹⁹⁾

137 Study Participants

138 A convenience sample of parents, who had at least one adolescent attending secondary
139 school, was recruited from those who were part of an email list following their adolescent's
140 visit to LifeLab. Lifelab is an educational facility based at Southampton General Hospital, UK
141 and is primarily attended by students from Hampshire based secondary schools between
142 the ages of 11-18 years. Parents were sent an email explaining the details of the study. If

143 they were happy to participate, they were asked to reply to the study email. Those who
144 agreed were later contacted by a member of the research team to discuss the details of the
145 study and organise a suitable time for the interview. Parents were excluded if they did not
146 speak English or if they did not have an adolescent aged 11-18 years who was attending
147 secondary school. Prior to participating in the interviews, all parents provided informed
148 written consent.

149 **Setting**

150 The study was conducted in 2018 in Southampton, a large city on the south coast of
151 England, ranked the 67th most deprived of the 326 local authorities in England.⁽²⁰⁾ The
152 interviews were conducted in locations that were convenient for the study participants,
153 including places of work, home and over the telephone for the individual interviews. Group
154 interviews were conducted at a hospital evening event for parents.

155 **Procedure**

156 Four women researchers were involved in the interviews; SS (PhD student and research
157 assistant) and STS (Post-doctoral research fellow) conducted the interviews. SJ (MSc student
158 and research assistant) and D. Watson (PhD student and research assistant) acted as
159 observers in the interviews. All researchers received training in conducting qualitative
160 interviews; SS and STS had previous experience of conducting qualitative research. The
161 researchers were not known to the participants prior to correspondence about the study.
162 Each participant completed a brief demographic questionnaire asking their age, gender,
163 ethnicity and level of education. They were made aware that the research team was aiming
164 to develop an intervention to improve diet and physical activity in adolescents. A semi-
165 structured discussion guide was designed to explore parents' views of their adolescent's
166 health and lifestyle, as well as factors which make it difficult for them to engage in healthy
167 behaviours (Table 1). All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim either by
168 one of the authors (SJ) or by a professional transcription company.

169 **Analysis**

170 Interview recordings were analysed thematically using NVivo software (Version 12) (QSR
171 International, version 12) to manage the data. Researchers familiarised themselves with the
172 data by reading the interview transcripts and listening to the recordings. Inductive thematic

173 analysis was conducted following established guidelines.⁽²¹⁾ Three researchers (SS, SJ, SCS)
174 worked independently to create initial codes in NVivo. After three transcripts were coded,
175 the researchers met to discuss the similarities and differences between the codes. Codes
176 were then organised into themes and sub-themes to create an initial coding frame. The
177 coding frame was refined through coding of all transcripts (SS, SJ, SCS) until a sixth, final
178 comprehensive coding frame was agreed (Figure 1). Themes and sub-themes were compiled
179 together with verbatim quotations and agreed with senior members of the research team
180 (STS, LM, WTL, MEB). This approach was conducted in line with a relativist ontological and
181 subjective epistemic position, following the belief that reality is a matter of individual
182 perspective and based on personal experience and insight.⁽²²⁾

183 Researchers agreed that data saturation had been reached when no new topics arose from
184 the final transcripts. Appropriate transcript excerpts were selected and agreed on by the
185 researchers in order to accurately represent the meaning of each theme and sub-theme.
186 The relationships between the themes were discussed by the research team and visualised
187 by creating a thematic map.

188 Results

189 A total of 24 parents participated in this study; 18 in individual interviews and six in two
190 focus group discussions, each consisting of three participants. Each interview lasted
191 approximately 20–45 minutes. Six individual interviews were conducted via telephone; all
192 other interviews were conducted face-to-face. All participants were women. The majority
193 (71%) were aged between 40-49 years and 96% identified as white (Table 2).

194 Six themes, consisting of multiple sub-themes, were identified by the analysis. Figure 1
195 shows the final coding frame which was used for the thematic analysis. Each theme is
196 described alongside illustrative quotes from the interviews. Figure 2 shows the relationships
197 between themes one to five and how they centre around the parents' sense of control.

198 Themes

199 My role in maintaining my adolescent's health

200 Parents described exerting authority over their households in several ways, including being
201 in control of food preparation and rules for behaviour within the household.

202 *“I am the one who controls the meals I guess, in the sense that I cook them, I put*
203 *them on the table”- [Parent Group 1]*

204 Parents recognised that promoting independence and encouraging adolescents to make
205 some of their own choices is an important aspect of their parenting role.

206 *“More recently I try and give my daughter a bit more control over her food, not*
207 *because she’s requested it but I guess this comes from a kind of teaching*
208 *background”- [Parent Interview 1]*

209 Even though parents viewed promoting independence in their adolescents as important,
210 they described a reluctance to step back fully from their traditional parental role. They
211 discussed ways in which they attempted to be attentive and supervise their adolescent
212 whilst trying not to be directly involved. This involved checking their homework and food
213 choices when out of the home using mobile apps and monitoring their social media use.

214 *“I try to police it, he’s got like an Instagram account so I’ve set one up for me and I*
215 *can follow him, so I know what he’s up to. He’s got a Facebook account and again I’m*
216 *his friend on Facebook so again I can kind of see what he’s up to”- [Parent Interview*
217 *2]*

218 Parents described themselves as role models to their adolescents but acknowledged they
219 did not always model healthy behaviours. They described modelling behaviours in relation
220 to their own actions as well as the actions of other parents.

221 *“If you’ve got inactive parents, your children aren’t gonna be active”- [Parent*
222 *Interview 6]*

223 What I think about health

224 As depicted in Figure 2, parents recognised that their personal perspective of health
225 influenced how they viewed their role in promoting health in their adolescent. Many
226 parents discussed their own or family members’ experiences of ill health and participation in
227 healthy behaviours. They also outlined the ways in which past experiences influenced their
228 current thoughts about health and leading a healthy lifestyle.

229 *“So health is quite a complex thing in our family. We’ve had, well I’ve had, particular*
230 *periods of extremely bad health, and so therefore being healthy has been something*

231 *that we all take quite seriously in an attempt to counteract that as much as we*
232 *possibly can.”- [Parent Interview 1]*

233 Parents described the importance of taking steps to ensure their families’ good health, but
234 also acknowledged that this is not always a priority for themselves or their adolescent.

235 *“What do you guys tend to do, to be healthy? - [Interviewer]*

236 *Honestly, we don’t do enough, we don’t do a lot.”- [Parent Group 2]*

237 *“I personally think it’s really important, but it’s not just about eating. I think it’s about*
238 *exercise as well, and doing them both.”- [Parent Interview 6]*

239 Parents described barriers to leading a healthy lifestyle and how these justified why healthy
240 habits are not enforced in the family setting.

241 *“You’ve also got to remember that, you know, some of them [other parents] are*
242 *living on a very, very tight budget. It is cheaper to buy convenience food. So much easier to*

243 My adolescent wants...

244 Parents believed that an important factor in determining adolescents’ food choices was
245 convenience and accessibility. They saw their adolescents as wanting foods to be prepared
246 for them or for it to be very simple to prepare themselves. Parents believed that
247 adolescents would not go out of their way to make healthy food choices but are open to
248 healthy choices if they are available and convenient.

249 *“So, when he comes home from school, he definitely wants food. But he is happy for*
250 *Interview 13]*

251 Parents suggested adolescents were not motivated by health messages which are often
252 perceived as boring. They described their adolescents as being willing to participate in
253 healthy lifestyle behaviours as long as there was a reason for doing so that was not just
254 health.

255 *“In terms of sort of physical exercise, the dog has made a huge, huge difference to us*
256 *and we enjoyed the sunshine, we had time together and walked the dog”- [Parent*
257 *Interview 9]*

258 Parents emphasised that their adolescents would only engage with activities they enjoyed
259 rather than those they classed as boring.

260 *“They’ve gotta enjoy it. You’ve gotta find something they enjoy”– [Parent Interview*
261 *6]*

262 Parents recognised the pressure adolescents feel to be accepted and fit in with their peers,
263 and how this can negatively affect their diet and exercise choices.

264 *“Well my kids have said, and I can well believe this, that they do it to be with other*
265 *kids that are buying food. And they don’t want to feel left out, that they’re not doing*
266 *that kind of thing. So I think it’s peer pressure, to be going, to be getting that stuff.” -*
267 *[Parent Group 2]*

268 Conversely, friends and peers could also have a positive influence regarding being healthy
269 and active.

270 *“She’s got some friends who like running... I think parents have got them into cross*
271 *country club and running clubs, and so in their little group that’s acceptable, ‘cause*
272 *there’s some kids who do it. I just think it needs a couple of them to be brave and*
273 *they can then set the norm”- [Parent Interview 5]*

274 Parents believed that when adolescents had autonomy over their health decisions, they
275 made less healthy choices. They described their adolescent’s tendency to select unhealthy
276 foods when they were not around to guide these decisions.

277 *“When she first went to the senior school, I gave her money on her account ... she* *immediately*

278 Parents also believed that their adolescent needed prompting to be physically active.

279 *“If my son had the choice, he would much rather stay in front of a screen” – [Parent* *Group 1]*

280 Parents recognised the importance of adolescents having the right individuals to provide
281 support and encourage healthy behaviours. Parents specified that not everyone can fulfil
282 these roles and that these people need to be acceptable to their adolescents.

283 *“It [giving health advice] shouldn’t be done by someone at school. I mean it can be*
284 *done by someone in the school, but not by a teacher who they wouldn’t respect.”-*
285 *[Parent Interview 3]*

286 Things outside my control that affect my adolescent's health

287 Figure 2 illustrates that parents recognised a number of factors that they considered to be
288 outside their control that influenced what their adolescent wanted and how they viewed
289 their role in promoting adolescent health. Parents perceived that schools did not always
290 provide opportunities for their adolescents to participate in healthy behaviours but
291 appeared to feel there was nothing they could do about it.

292 *"She's doing food tech at school and has learned to make a few meals, none of them*
293 *particularly healthy, interestingly, you know chicken goujons, pizza, muffins, you*
294 *know they've all been those sorts of things. I think its quick food, because they have*
295 *such short lessons. They have to teach you know, it's not nutrition they're learning."* -
296 *[Parent Interview 1]*

297 Parents were aware that technology such as smartphones and video games are valued by
298 adolescents and felt that these got in the way of adolescents leading a healthy lifestyle.

299 *"Her activity levels are low, way too low. And for me, it's the phone. I have real, real*
300 *issues with the mobile phone. Huge issues"- [Parent Group 3]*

301 *"We had a complete break-down, because we were going on holiday and she was*
302 *not going to have internet. 'I've had a forty-day streak with somebody, I can't.'"-*
303 *[Parent Group 2]*

304 Negotiating Control

305 Parents discussed the changing dynamics of control between them and their adolescent,
306 resulting in a culture of compromise between the parent and adolescents which was
307 influenced by several factors inside and outside the home (Figure 2). Parents suggested that
308 their adolescent would ignore or rebel against strict household rules, so they would
309 sometimes relax or modify these in an attempt to maintain control and establish an
310 acceptable compromise.

311 *"If you're too strict with them about what they can eat, then they'll rebel."* - [Parent Group 2]

312 *"I've learnt that the more you badger, the worse it gets"- [Parent Interview 10]*

313 As adolescents gained exposure to factors outside of the family unit, there could be
314 increasing conflict between what is normal for the family and what is normal for others.

315 *"I parent differently, I struggle with that all the way, you know, 'my friends don't*
316 *have to...' Well, your friends don't live in this house."- [Parent Interview 11]*

317 Parents described changes in their adolescents' eating habits which can make mealtimes
318 challenging. To avoid conflict, they provided food they know will be acceptable even if this
319 means cooking less healthy meals.

320 *"I mean, there are times when he refuses things like pasta and rice... and sometimes I*
321 *end up giving him chips." – [Parent Interview 13]*

322 Parents also described the challenges of talking to their adolescent about health behaviours.

323 *"Your mum and dad saying, "Oh, this is what you ought to do," it's gonna be like, no.*
324 *I don't think they generally take very kindly... or a lot of them don't."- [Parent*
325 *Interview 10]*

326 *"I think the most important thing to us is just trying and keep talking with them and I guess as the*

327 Parents reported a reciprocal influence in their interactions with their adolescents. While
328 parents could encourage adolescents to eat healthier and be more active, they could also be
329 influenced by adolescents to pursue a healthier lifestyle themselves.

330 *"On the days when I haven't gone for a run, they go, "Oh, hang on a minute,*
331 *you're telling me to go, but you haven't been. Actually, we could do this together."- [Parent Inte*

332 **What parents think could help support adolescent health**

333 Parents stated that their adolescents appreciated rewards and thought that this could be a
334 useful way to encourage engagement with healthy behaviours. Parents recognised that
335 technology was important to their adolescents and that findings ways in which it could be
336 used to benefit health was important.

337 *"My daughter's recently been doing virtual medals, where you run a 5K or something,*
338 *and then you claim your medal at the end of it, and it comes through the post."-*
339 *[Parent Group 2]*

340 Parents also highlighted that it was important to make participating in healthy behaviours
341 appealing to their adolescents.

342 *"It's got to be a reason to engage in it in some way... it needs to be something that isn't gonna*

343 *"I think for kids it needs to be really easy, and they need to be involved so much that they don't v*

344 When asked how they would like to be involved in health interventions, some parents
345 suggested that facilitating the link between the parent and the adolescent might help the
346 them find ways to support with healthy behaviour changes.

347 *"You could set the challenge of the child creating a weekly menu and you could have the parent s*

348 Others stated that difficulties might arise when trying to engage parents with this sort of
349 health intervention.

350 *"I think a lot of parents think they know things and they probably wouldn't bother attending s*

351 Some highlighted that finding ways to involve parents that were acceptable to their
352 adolescents might be challenging as they valued their privacy.

353 *"[Name]'s on Instagram but I've no idea what her site is 'cause that's all blocked and hidden from*

354 Discussion

355 This paper identified an overarching theme describing the changing dynamics between
356 parents and adolescents which concern shifting perceptions of control. This was at the
357 centre of how parents viewed their role in supporting their adolescents to eat healthily and
358 be physical active. Parents recognised that their role in supporting these behaviours was
359 reducing as their adolescents' autonomy and independence increased. Parents described
360 negotiations with their adolescents as playing a role in determining the healthiness of their
361 adolescents' food choices and activity levels. Parents found that their attempts to guide and
362 advise their adolescents were poorly received and often caused a breakdown in
363 communication.

364 Parents also recognised several external factors that presented barriers to healthy
365 behaviours in their adolescents and these also influenced how they viewed their role in
366 supporting healthy behaviours.

367 The parents we spoke to felt their adolescents lacked the ability to self-regulate their
368 behaviours and, if left to their own devices, would not be physically active and would
369 choose unhealthy food, especially in environments where such foods were readily available.
370 They also believed that, unless healthy behaviours were normalised in their households

371 from an early age, adolescents tended towards unhealthy behaviours such as eating foods
372 high in fat, salt and sugar and low physical activity levels.

373 Parents recognised that interventions need to be appealing, to fit into their adolescents'
374 lives, and certainly not be viewed as boring. They highlighted that interventions focusing
375 solely on health were unlikely to engage adolescents. Parents also stated that interventions
376 containing parental components needed to fit into their lives otherwise they risked being
377 side-lined as they will not be viewed as a priority in parents' busy lives.

378

379 **Comparisons with previous literature**

380 In line with the 'negotiating control' theme identified in this study, previous qualitative
381 research exploring parent and adolescent attitudes towards sugar-sweetened beverage
382 consumption and screen time has described regular disagreements between parents and
383 adolescents about everyday decisions that influence the behaviours of the family in the
384 household.⁽²³⁾ This research recognised that any adolescent interventions must acknowledge
385 this dynamic in order to be effective.⁽²³⁾ Other qualitative work has also described the view
386 held by parents that controlling the home food environment is one of the most effective
387 methods of promoting healthy food choices by their adolescents.^(23, 24) However, evidence
388 suggests that this practice may vary by socio-economic status, a factor that was not
389 explored in the current study.⁽²⁴⁾ A limitation of previous research is that it has only focused
390 on specific dietary behaviours such as sugar-sweetened beverage consumption, while the
391 current study focused on exploring parents' views of the more complex behaviour of overall
392 food choice. Parents have also previously described a lack of control when it comes to
393 countering the negative influence of peers on the health behaviours of their children and
394 feeling lower levels of control over other household activities such as screen time.^(23, 25)
395 Other authors have identified open communication between parents and adolescents as an
396 important tool for effectively supporting weight management interventions for obese and
397 overweight adolescent populations.^(25, 26) Parents in the current study recognised that
398 communication with their adolescent was often difficult and "the more they badgered"
399 their adolescent the less likely it was for their advice to be accepted. This suggests that
400 training for parents in effective communication skills may be an important strategy to
401 include in interventions for non-clinical, as well as clinical, populations. This is supported by

402 other qualitative research with parents and adolescents that also proposes positive
403 communication styles to be the most effective in promoting healthy behaviours.⁽²³⁾

404

405 Implications for public health

406 Parents described the changing dynamics of their relationships with their adolescents as a
407 major influence on how they provided support, with negotiations seeming to be part of
408 everyday life. Branje describes these negotiations as a reorganisation of the parent-
409 adolescent relationship from one that is vertical, with the parent in a position of power, to
410 one that is horizontal, where power is more equally balanced.⁽²⁷⁾ As part of these
411 negotiations, parents appeared to value their role in promoting independence in their
412 adolescents, though doubted that their adolescents would participate in healthy behaviours
413 if left to their own devices. Previous research highlights that approaches to enhance
414 autonomy are more effective in promoting healthy eating in children and adolescents than
415 more controlling strategies.⁽²⁸⁾

416 To date, the majority of parental components in adolescent health interventions have used
417 indirect, but overt, methods to encourage healthy behaviours in adolescents. Such methods
418 have focused on providing information to parents using newsletters, tip sheets and nutrition
419 and physical activity information sheets.⁽¹⁵⁾ Parents who took part in this study felt that they
420 had less control over their adolescents' food and physical activity choices than when they
421 were children. These findings highlight the importance of how the information provided as
422 part of these interventions is converted by parents into practical support for the adolescent,
423 if at all. It is suggested that direct methods such as parent training and information sessions
424 may be more effective than indirect methods.⁽¹⁵⁾ However, parents themselves felt that
425 such direct methods might be an ineffective way to engage other parents in interventions
426 due to life pressures restricting their ability to attend such meetings. Participants reported
427 that other parents might feel their lives were too busy and that some might feel that they
428 had nothing to learn.⁽¹⁵⁾

429 Some parents in this study described how health behaviours, such as home cooking and
430 participating in physical activity, had become normal in their families, having been
431 established and practised for many years. Many parents felt that adolescents were open to

432 eating healthy foods, at least at home, if they were convenient for the adolescent to access
433 and eat. However, most parents still recognised significant challenges when attempting to
434 encourage adolescents to consider swapping unhealthy behaviours for healthier choices. As
435 described in the sub-theme '*schools don't always provide healthy options*', parents viewed
436 the food options that were often available on school premises as unhealthy and thought
437 that adolescents would choose these options if they were available. Previous research has
438 shown that the majority of food high in fat, salt and sugar which adolescents eat is
439 consumed outside of the home.⁽²⁹⁾ Parents in this study perceived that they had very little
440 control over their adolescents food choices outside the home. Adolescents are bombarded
441 with advertising and promotions which promote unhealthy food choices in these
442 environments.⁽³⁰⁾ Public health interventions to encourage more healthful food
443 environments are likely to play a role in promoting healthy dietary choices in adolescents
444 when they are away from the home environment. Adolescent autonomy and sense of social
445 justice has previously been incorporated into an experimental study to highlight the role of
446 manipulative food marketing and promote healthier dietary choices.⁽³¹⁾ Future health
447 behaviour interventions may find incorporating similar techniques as a helpful way to raise
448 adolescents awareness of unhealthy food environments and support them to be more
449 critical of how environments shape their behaviours.

450 Future interventions should aim to equip parents with strategies to promote healthy
451 autonomous behaviours. One such strategy may include facilitating effective
452 communication between parents and adolescents.⁽³²⁾ Communication strategies which were
453 not forceful or pressuring have been found to be preferred by both parents and
454 adolescents.⁽³³⁾ This supports previous research which investigated the role of authoritarian
455 and authoritative parenting styles in relation to adolescent eating behaviours. An
456 authoritative parenting style, one that provides structured guidance and takes the views of
457 the adolescent into consideration, has been shown to be positively associated with
458 increased fruit and vegetable consumption and breakfast intake.⁽³⁴⁾ Qualitative research
459 shows that adolescents do not respond positively to authoritarian parenting styles,
460 characterised by strict enforcement of parental rules with little input from the adolescent,
461 as adolescents reported feeling urge to rebel by eating unhealthy foods if they felt they
462 were being lectured by their parents.⁽³⁵⁾ Parental communication that promotes autonomy

463 in adolescents aligns with adolescents' desire to feel respected and have the potential to
464 increase the effectiveness of interventions.⁽⁹⁾ One potential way of empowering parents
465 with effective communication strategies could be through the delivery of Healthy
466 Conversation Skills training. Healthy Conversation Skills offers a set of accessible, theory-
467 based skills focusing on listening, reflecting and goal-setting.^(36, 37) The use of such
468 techniques may enable adolescents to feel that their views are being listened to, and feel
469 more independent, while still allowing parents to guide their adolescents to identify their
470 own health goals and explore ways of achieving them that they consider acceptable and
471 feasible.^(36, 37) Training in these skills may be more enticing to parents, than information
472 training about healthy lifestyle behaviours, as the focus can be placed on building and
473 fostering relationships between parents and adolescents rather than only focusing on
474 health. This training has not previously been provided to parents but has been shown to be
475 effective in primary health care settings. Providing Healthy Conversation Skills training via a
476 digital platform may be one way to overcome the need for face-to-face training with
477 parents, which has been a barrier to intervention delivery in previous studies.⁽³⁸⁾

478

479 **Strengths and Limitations**

480 The qualitative interviews in this study have provided rich data on parental perspectives of
481 adolescents' lives. This perspective has not often been considered when developing
482 interventions that target adolescents. Despite the best efforts of the authors, it was not
483 possible to recruit any fathers to participate in this study. This recruitment issue may be
484 related to the increased parental involvement of mothers who often take on a traditional
485 primary caregiver role within the family. The difficulty of recruiting fathers to participate in
486 this type of research has been highlighted previously.^(39, 40) It is likely that fathers have a
487 different perspective on their adolescents' lives, and the benefit of including them in future
488 studies would be significant. Most participants in this study were white (representative of
489 locality) and were educated to upper secondary school standard or above. Interviews with
490 more diverse groups of parents may have produced different data. The interpretation of
491 the qualitative data presented in this paper is only one possible interpretation and will have
492 been influenced by the experiences and beliefs of the research team. In order to ensure the
493 research findings from this study fairly represented the views of the interviewees, a rigorous

494 process was adopted that involved double-coding of data, with disagreements being
495 resolved through team discussions. The final interpretation of the data was agreed by all
496 team members after multiple discussions.

497 Conclusions

498 This study found that parents recognise and value the importance of promoting good health
499 behaviours in their adolescents but find doing so difficult due to the increasing lack of
500 influence they have over elements of their adolescents' lives. When designing adolescent
501 health interventions that include parental components, researchers need to be aware of the
502 disconnect between public health recommendations and the everyday reality for
503 adolescents and their parents. This research may be useful to inform interventions which
504 need to consider the transitions and negotiations which are common in homes containing
505 adolescents. Future qualitative research using dyadic interviews, conducted with both
506 parents and adolescents, may provide insight into the shared experiences of the changing
507 levels of control in their lives and inform how, and when, to deliver a communication
508 intervention. Researchers designing these health interventions need to recognise that a 'one
509 size fits all' approach is unlikely to produce successful long-term health behaviour change.

510

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611 **Table 1: Interview Topic Guide**

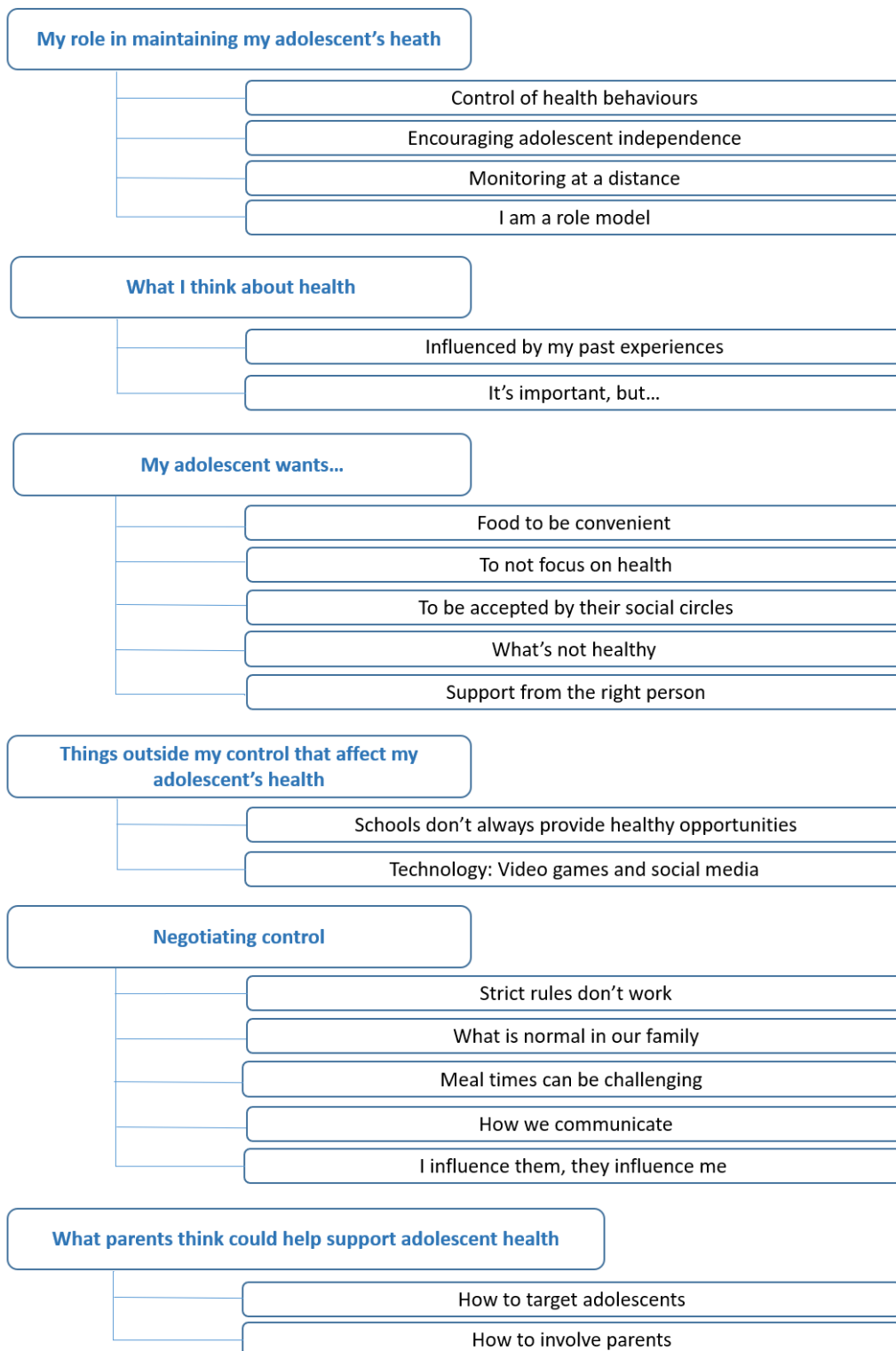
Interview Topic	Interview Questions
Health	<p>What does it mean to you to be healthy?</p> <p>What kinds of things do you do to keep healthy?</p> <p>How often do you and your adolescent talk about health and what it means to be healthy?</p>
Parent Life	<p>What kinds of things do you do to keep healthy?</p>
Family Life	<p>What is a typical day like for your family?</p> <p>How does your family decide what to eat at home?</p> <p>What kinds of things do you do with your adolescent to keep healthy?</p> <p>What kinds of things do you encourage your adolescent to do to keep healthy?</p>
Your adolescent	<p>What kinds of things does your adolescent like to eat?</p> <p>What kinds of activities does your adolescent engage in?</p>
Barriers	<p>What kinds of things make it difficult to keep healthy?</p>
Support	<p>What things in your life have helped you eat well and be active?</p> <p>What kinds of things would help engage your adolescent in eating better?</p> <p>What kinds of things would help encourage your adolescent to be more active?</p>

612 **Table 2. Characteristics of the parents**

Characteristic	n (%)
<u>Age (years)</u>	
30-39	2 (8)
40-49	17 (71)
50-59	5 (21)
<u>Gender</u>	
Women	24 (100)
Men	0 (0)
<u>Ethnicity</u>	
White	23 (96)
Arabic	1 (4)
<u>Highest Qualification</u>	
Lower secondary education or below (GCSE)	2 (8)
Upper secondary education (A-levels or equivalent)	7 (29)
Post-secondary education (Higher National Diploma or equivalent)	2 (8)
Bachelor's degree or above	10 (42)
Other	3 (13)

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625 **Figure 1: Coding frame used for thematic analysis**

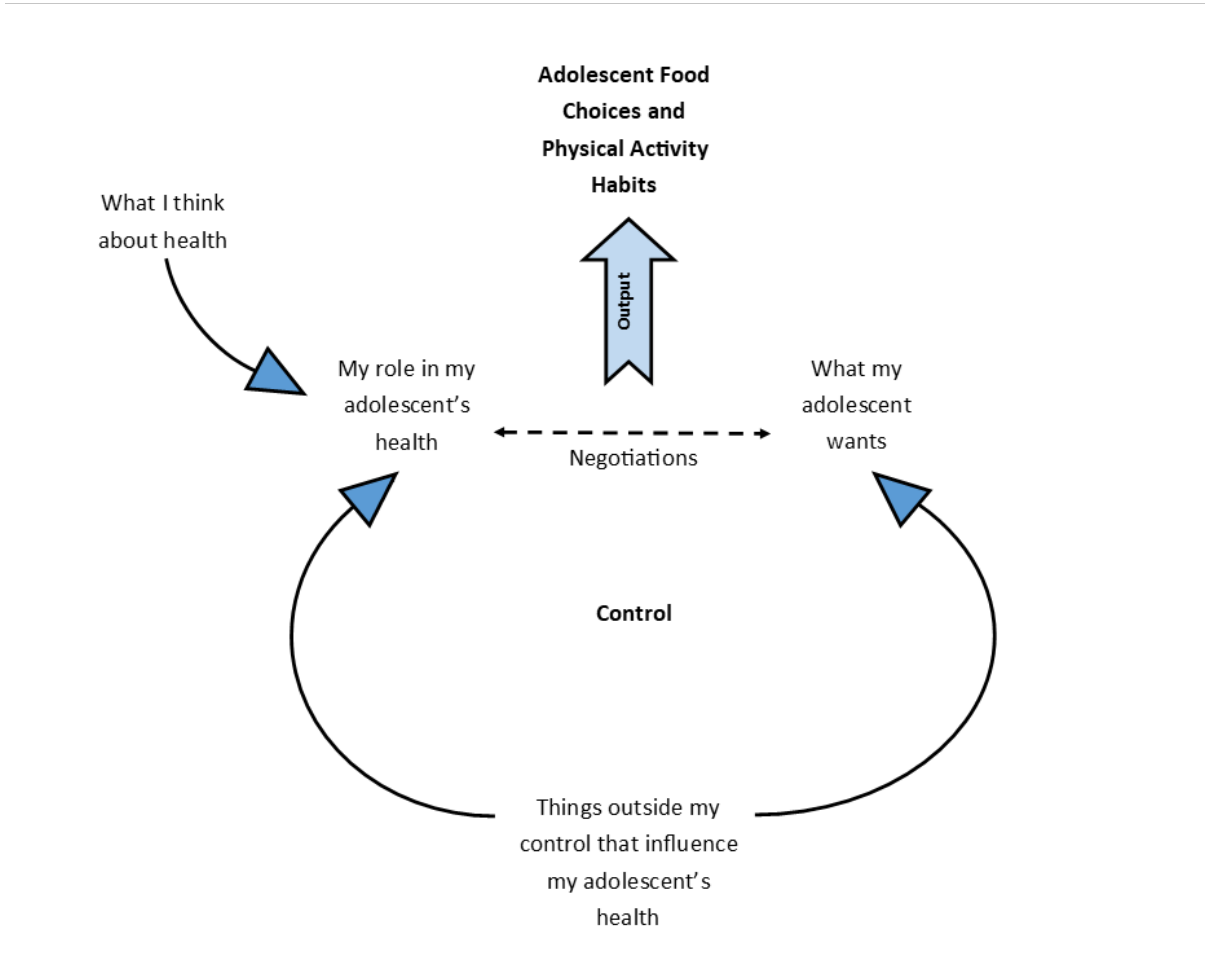


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628 **Figure 2: Thematic map showing parents' perspectives of their role in supporting**
629 **adolescent health**

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