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Early Childhood Parenting Practices in Indonesia

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Abstract

Parenting practices play an important role in early childhood development. Some literature and ethnographic studies suggest that collectivism, as part of local culture, is crucial in determining parenting practices in Indonesia. However, an inter-cultural study shows that parents' socioeconomic status has a stronger effect on the matter. The present study aims to examine the determinants of parenting practices in Indonesia, using data from the 2018 Population, Family Planning and Family Development Program Performance and Accountability Survey, a nation-wide survey conducted by the Indonesia National Population and Family Planning Board, with samples of 19,568 mothers of reproductive age who have children under 6 years of age. Parenting practices are measured using 17 items, covering both physical and psychosocial stimulation. Logistic regression was used to determine the predictors of early childhood parenting practices. The findings highlight that early childhood parenting practices are strongly associated with both cultural values and household wealth status. This study underscores the emergence of emotional/psychological interdependence values in Indonesia, characterised by high family integrity, and encouragement to a child's autonomy and achievement. Our model proposes a family's economic development and a maximum of two parity, which is important for Indonesian early childhood parenting practices.

Keywords

Parenting practices, early childhood, emotional/psychological interdependence, Indonesia

Introduction

Early childhood is a critical period that provides the opportunity to maximize children's capacity for development, following their early developmental stages, and so establishing their health and well-being throughout their life (Raghavan & Alexandrova, 2015). This period is influenced by a suitable environment in the nurturing and parenting process. Therefore, the family has a pivotal role in accommodating these processes to conduct activities and interactions between parents or caregivers and their children in order to promote their children's growth and development (Virasiri, Yunibhand, & Chaiyawat, 2011).

Poverty may restrict a family's endeavours to improve a child's growth and development quality as it may limit access to resources, such as access to obtain nutritional food (WHO 2014). Furthermore, mothers with economic insecurity have been associated with a high level of stress, harsh and coercive parenting, and a low responsiveness to a child's emotional needs (Conrad, Paschall, & Johnson, 2019; Teng, Kuo, & Zhou, 2018). On the contrary, mothers from families with a high economic development background have been associated with good communication skills, and in showing physical and emotional warmth toward their children (Çalik-Var, Kiliç, & Kumandaş, 2015). Socioeconomic status, therefore, plays a decisive role in shaping parenting practices.

There is, however, evidence that loving, interactive parent-child activities are found in families with low socioeconomic status (Dermott & Pomati, 2016). Other studies confirm that culture/ethnicity influences child-rearing practices. Rochanavibhata & Marian (2020) report that Thai mothers of a collectivist culture are more directive in conversation with their children, while American mothers of an individualistic culture provide more feedback. An authoritarian parenting style has been found in Indonesian parents of a collectivist culture. Australian parents have also been found to exercise an authoritative parenting style (Haslam, Poniman, Filus, Sumargi, & Boediman, 2020). A family is part of the context in which they live and humans can interpret and internalize the realities of their sociocultural environment.

To address this debate, we conduct a quantitative study of early childhood parenting practice in Indonesia to determine the influence of cultural values and socioeconomic status of the family. We begin by providing a background and conceptual framework for understanding the collectivist culture of Indonesia as the Indonesian way of life.

Indonesia and collectivist culture

Collectivist culture is the nature of society in Indonesia. Triandis et al. (1993) identify a strong collectivist culture in Indonesia that features high dependency, sociability, family integrity and affiliation without competition. The ideal of a collectivist culture captures the harmony, mutual respect, and mutual help within Indonesian society. As is the nature of society, the weakening of some aspects of collectivist culture in Indonesian society is always brought to light. For example, after the earthquake in 2006, the people of Yogyakarta returned to engage in mutual support, after previously having alluded to the concept of individualism (Schlehe, 2010).

Previous studies show that collective actions, such as *gotong royong* (mutual assistance) and community groups, serve as social capital to increase resiliency (Taylor & Peace, 2015) and address material poverty (Beard, 2018; Sibarani, 2018; Wekke & Cahaya, 2015). Beard (2005) identifies two kinds of community

groups: 'purely existing' and 'state established'. At present, however, it is common for Indonesian people to reduce their involvement in collective actions (Muzayanah, Nazara, Mahi, & Hartono, 2020). The community is increasingly playing a diminished role in rearing children (Siagian, Arifiani, Amanda, & Kusumaningrum, 2019) – an indication of 'decreasing trust' in society. To some extent, the community group only consists of people who either share the same characteristics or are in a family relationship (Beard & Dasgupta, 2006).

Beard (2005) reveals that a purely existing community group prevents impoverished members from participating because of their low financial contribution. Therefore, low-income families cannot get community support, such as information, goods and services at a lower cost. This condition appears to be a double burden for a low-income family caring for a child. The limitation of resources make Indonesian mothers of low socioeconomic status appear to be less sensitive to their children (Zevalkink & Riksen-Walraven, 2001).

Previous studies have shed light on the influence of collectivist culture in Indonesia's parenting practices (Lestari, Adhe & Ardha, 2019; Riany, Meredith & Cuskelly, 2017). Albert et al. (2005), however, shows that while Indonesian parents consider their children to be 'old-age security', they expect both obedience and independence from their children.

Conceptual review

Bornstein (2012) states that parenting practices are shaped by culture. He argues that preparing children to be socially accepted in the culture, where they need to survive, is the parents' task. Based on the findings of Albert et al. (2005) and Siagian et al. (2019), however, the concept of collectivism is no longer sufficient to explain parenting practices. There would also be a need for another theoretical approach to understand current Indonesian society. The model of family change developed by Kagitcibasi (2002) against the overuse of individualism/collectivism is an explanation for the behavioural variation in the individualism-collectivism dimension. Thus, this paradigm explained society in the midst of collectivism and individualism. Based on the psychological perspective, Kagitcibasi proposes that the family model of emotional/psychological interdependence is the product of families encouraging independent decision-making, while strengthening emotional family member ties over several stages of their lives. Compared to individualistic culture, however, the sense of a child's achievement is a family's achievement. There is a decreasing demand for children to contribute in material terms to the family, relative to the collectivist culture. Kagitcibasi postulates that the emotional/psychological interdependence model is a phenomenon within communities that has shifted from the traditional to the modern form.

Based on ecological system theory, parenting practices vary across contextual factors that are shaped by individual-parent characteristics, child characteristics, and family environment (Belsky, 1984; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Kotchick & Forehand (2002) argue that culture, socioeconomic status, and environmental context shape parenting practice. It is, therefore, important to determine the characteristics of individual-parents, family, environment, and culture that shape Indonesian parenting practices.

Aim of the study

Our study focuses on answering the debate about the influence of culture and socioeconomic status on Indonesian early childhood parenting practices. The items of parenting practices in this study were

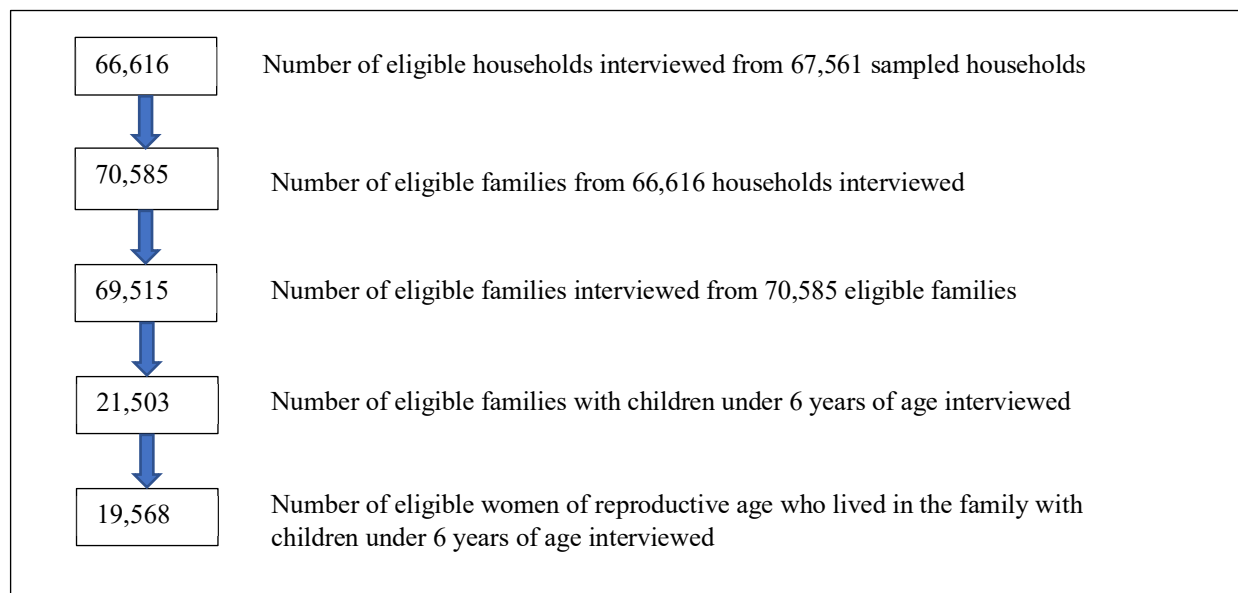
developed following the Indonesia Act No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection, which is related to a child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, and social development (Child Protection Act, 2014, article 8). Both physical and psychosocial stimulations are important for early childhood development (WHO 2006).

2. Materials and methods

Data

The existing data set came from the 2018 Population, Family Planning and Family Development Program Performance and Accountability Survey, a survey conducted by the Indonesia National Population and Family Planning Board in 34 provinces (National Population and Family Planning Board (BKKBN) 2018). Data collection was conducted using the computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) method, with the use of smartphones. If the respondent could not answer one question, then the interview process was stopped. Thus, it decreased the response rate of the survey.

Figure 1. The flow chart of sample selection



Source: National Population and Family Planning Board (BKKBN) 2018, p. 13.

The 2018 Population, Family Planning, and Family Development Program Performance and Accountability Survey was designed initially to examine fertility behavior and contraceptive usage among women of the reproductive age group range of 15–49 years. In general, there are four questionnaires in the survey. First, the household questionnaire (HQ) indicates the household's asset ownership. Second, the family questionnaire (FMQ) identifies family functioning and parenting practices in the family. Third, the female questionnaire (FQ) describes fertility behaviour and contraceptive usage among women of the reproductive age range of 15–49 years. Fourth, the youth questionnaire (YQ) shows adolescent's behavior in the age range of 15–24 years, and not previously married.

The survey used the 2010 Indonesia national census as a sampling frame. The sampling process involved the random selection of 35 households in each selected cluster with a probability proportionate to size (PPS). A complete household mapping and listing operation was conducted before the survey. There were 1,935 clusters of 514 cities/municipalities in 34 provinces, with 67,561 households as the target samples. The total responses (weighted) were 66,616 households, 69,515 families, and 21,503 families who had children under the age of 6 years.

This study focuses on parenting practices performed by mothers; however, the analysis was restricted to the mother-child dyad, in which the child was under the age of 6 and living with a mother of reproductive age at the time of the survey. HQ, FMQ, and FQ data are required to be merged. Therefore, the unit of analysis is the mothers of reproductive age 15–49 years living with children 0–6 years of age ($n = 19,568$).

Study variables

The main outcome variables in this analysis are the determinants of parenting practices. Our study uses three numeric independent variables: 1) maternal exposure to media and community-based development agents (CBDA), 2) providing information on family development programs, and 3) collectivist culture preservation on family functioning. Family development programs are the community groups established by the Indonesia National Population and Family Planning Board to share information, education, and communication (IEC) on family resilience and the well-being of all Indonesian families. The dependent variable (parenting practices, mean = 43.229; SD = 23,623) was treated as numeric, then converted to a binary variable due to the linearity assumption. We carried out internal consistency reliability for these numeric variables. The value of Cronbach’s alpha ranging from 0.7 to 0.9 was acceptable (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011).

Table 1. Reliability test
($n = 19,568$)

Numeric Variables	α
Parenting practices (17 items)	0,821
Media exposures (13 items)	0,807
Community-based Development Agents (CBDA) exposures (9 items)	0,788
Features of cultural values (8 items)	0,728

Parenting practices as the dependent variable was measured by 17 items that were used to examine what a mother had done to help a child to grow and develop well, in terms of physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social aspects. Each of the listed items was coded as a binary variable. A value of ‘1’ was assigned if the respondent engaged in each listed item, otherwise a value of ‘0’ was assigned. Each respondent could answer ‘yes’ to more than one item provided. The minimal and maximal number of items in which respondents exercised parenting practices ranged from 0 to 17. Then, the minimum-maximum scores were converted to 0–100. We carried out a logistic regression analysis because the data was not linear. Therefore, parenting practice variables were distributed into two groups of respondents. The first group was the respondents who exercised the number of parenting practices above the median value, while the second

group was the respondents who performed the number of parenting practices below the median value. We used the median value (median = 41.177) to locate the central point of the number of parenting practices.

The survey used nine and eight items to measure parenting practices in relation to a child's physical and social development, respectively. Furthermore, there were 10 items measuring parenting practices about a child's mental/spiritual/moral development. Thus, there were 27 items in total. There was one item 'don't know' provided for parenting practices in each aspect and was aimed at respondents who could not answer what actions needed to be taken for a child's development in either physical, social, or mental/spiritual/moral developments. Options of 'yes' and 'no' were also provided in each 'don't know' item. Our study exercised reliability analysis and removed some items, to improve the value of Cronbach's alpha. Originally, three 'don't know' items were included in the computation, but these items had to be removed. The removal of these three items from the computation increased the value of Cronbach's alpha. Finally, we had 17 items measuring parenting practices, concerning a child's physical, social, mental, spiritual, and moral development with $\alpha = 0.821$ (Table 1).

Independent variables covered the individuals, family, and environmental characteristics. Maternal age (15–24, 25–34, 35–49 years), mother parity (1, 2, 3 or more), and maternal exposure to media and CBDA represented the individual characteristics.

Maternal exposure to family development programs was measured by the mother's exposure to media and CBDA. There were lists of 13 media and 9 CBDA to answer the question *'have you ever read or heard information about the family development program from ... ?'* Each of the listed media and CBDA was coded as a binary variable with values of '1' and '0'. The minimal and maximal number of media that respondents ever read or heard ranged from 0 to 13. As for exposure to CBDA, the minimal and maximal number of CBDA that respondents ever heard ranged from 0 to 9. The mother-to-media exposure and CBDA variables were numeric, with a score conversion range from 0 to 10.

The survey used 15 and 10 items representing media and CBDA, respectively, as the sources for information about the family development program. Each item only consisted of 'yes' and 'no' options. Each respondent could answer 'yes' to more than one item provided. The respondent had to choose one of two options provided for the interview process to continue. Our study carried out reliability analysis and removed some items, to improve the value of Cronbach's alpha. Then, we had 13 and 9 items representing media and CBDA, respectively, as the source of information. Exposure to media and CBDA had internal consistency values of $\alpha = 0.807$ and $\alpha = 0.788$, respectively (Table 1).

Next, the household wealth-index (the poorest, poor, middle, rich, the richest) and the total number of young children under 6 years old in the family (1, 2, and 3 or more) represented family characteristics. Young children in this survey were both biological and adopted children.

The wealth index is widely used as a living standard measure. The survey team has developed the wealth index using measurements by combining a composite measure of the household's assets and separate scores for urban-rural households. The assets ownership was made up of housing structures, access to services (electricity, water, and toilet), ownership of 13 assets (radio, television, land phone, mobile phone, refrigerator, bicycle, motorcycle, traditional fishing vessel, motorboat, cart, car, and boat/ship) and

livestock (cattle, buffalo, horse, goat, pig, and chicken). This index was used to stratify the interviewed households into five wealth quintiles, the poorest (reference category), poorer, middle, richer, and the richest.

The place of residence (urban and rural areas) represented the environment characteristics. Lastly, the local culture was a numeric variable with eight items. The questions were about the characteristics of cultural values that were preserved by the family. By preserving cultural values, together the family completed a series of tasks for the development of the family and its members (Dai & Wang, 2015). Each item only consisted of ‘yes’ and ‘no’ options. We scored ‘1’ if the respondent engaged in each listed item, otherwise the score was ‘0’. Each respondent could answer ‘yes’ to more than one item provided. Thus, the minimal and maximal number of features of local culture preserved by the family ranged from 0–8. Then, the total number of items answered by the respondent were converted to a score that ranged from 0–10. Our study exercised reliability analysis and had a satisfactory value of Cronbach’s alpha ($\alpha = 0.728$) (Table 1).

Statistical analysis

Data analysis was computed using IBM SPSS Statistic 23.0. Initially, we used descriptive analysis to show the distribution of the samples based on the variables. Logistic regression was then carried out to view the association of parenting practices (below and above the median value) with all the predictors. First, bivariate logistic regression was exercised between each dependent and each independent variable. Second, multivariate logistic regression was carried out between the dependent and all the independent variables simultaneously, by retaining only significant independent variables in the bivariate regression (if the p-value $< \alpha = 0.05$).

Ethical consideration

This study used the existing data set collected in the 2018 Population, Family Planning, and Family Development Program Performance and Accountability Survey. The survey was approved by the Ethics Review Committee at Indonesia National Population and Family Planning Board No. 1281/PD.101/H4/2018.

Results

Demographic characteristics

Table 2 provides the demographic characteristics of Indonesian mothers aged 15–49 years living with young children 0–6 years of age at the time of the survey. In the descriptive analysis, the majority of the respondents were aged 25–34 years (53.35%), whereas 31.48% were aged 35–49 years and only 15.17% were aged 15–24 years. About 85.32% of the respondents lived with one young child aged 0–6 years, while only 0.75% lived with three or more young children in the family. There was almost an equal distribution for the mother’s parity, household wealth index, and living residence (urban and rural areas).

Television (28.95%) and friends/relatives (28.21%) were the highest preferred media and CBDA source of family development programs-related information, respectively. Family integrity (*living in harmony in the family*) was the highest percentage (61.75%) among other features of cultural values preserved. There was a small proportion of respondents (12.74%) that answered ‘*encouraged the child to compete*’ as one of the parenting practices they exercised.

Table 2. Demographic characteristics of Indonesian mothers age 15–49 years with children less than age 6 years ($n = 19,568$)

Variables	Number	%
Maternal age		
15–24	2.968	15,17
25–34	10.439	53,35
35–49	6.160	31,48
Number of children ever born by a mother		
1	6.076	31,05
2	7.764	39,68
2+	5.727	29,27
Number of young children age 0–6 years old		
1	16.695	85,32
2	2.727	13,94
2+	146	0,75
Household's wealth index		
The poorest	3.809	19,47
Poor	3.691	18,86
Middle	3.974	20,31
Rich	4.028	20,58
The richest	4.066	20,78
Place of residence		
Urban	9.525	48,68
Rural	10.043	51,32
Media exposure		
Q: Have you ever read or heard the information about family development program from ...		
television?	5.664	28,95
newspapers?	867	4,43
magazine?	525	2,68
pamphlet?	1.027	5,25
flipchart?	358	1,83
poster?	1.995	10,20
banner?	2.210	11,29
standing banner?	936	4,78

billboard?	776	3,97
exhibition?	227	1,16
internet?	1.721	8,79
family planning mobile units?	403	2,06
graffiti?	455	2,33
Community-based development agents (CBDA) exposures		
Q: Have you ever read or heard the information about family development program from ...		
family planning field officer?	2.497	12,76
teacher?	1.097	5,61
religious leader?	706	3,61
community leader?	2.116	10,81
doctor?	1.128	5,76
midwife?	4.465	22,82
village officials?	3.875	19,80
cadre?	4.987	25,49
friends/relatives?	5.520	28,21
Features of cultural values		
Q: What have you done in your family daily-life as the preservation of cultural values?		
being tolerant to other people coming from a different religion	6.159	31,47
being kind to other people	10.398	53,14
being patient	4.882	24,95
mutual assistance (<i>gotong royong</i>)	11.819	60,40
problem solving discussion (<i>musyawarah</i>)	7.684	39,27
applying traditional cultural values into daily living	9.363	47,85
showing respect to other people from different ethnicity, religion, and group	8.628	44,09
living in harmony in the family	12.084	61,75
Parenting practices		
Q: What have you done for your child to be physically, socially, mentally/spiritually/morally well developed?		
had the physicians to measure the height and weight of the child	11.822	60,41
had the child immunised by physicians	13.080	66,84
breastfed the child	12.473	63,74
gave vitamin or mineral supplements to the child	10.898	55,69
cared for the child's illness	8.996	45,97
taught the child healthy behaviour	5.308	27,13
stimulated the child's creativity	6.296	32,17
played with the child	12.846	65,65

spent time with the child to study together	9.035	46,17
sang spiritual songs/read a spiritual book to the child	5.840	29,84
became the role model for the child	6.697	34,22
provided child with religious education	11.087	56,66
taught the child about giving thanks to others	7.212	36,86
taught the child about showing respect to others	7.437	38,01
sent the child on courses (informal early childhood education)	1.788	9,14
encouraged the child to compete	2.493	12,74
asked the child to make friends with others	10.491	53,61

Determinants of Parenting Practices in Early Childhood Development

The bivariate analysis (unadjusted) shows that mothers who were 25–34 years old, had two children, had higher exposure to media and CBDA, lived with two young children aged 0–6 years in the family, lived in the poorest households, lived in urban areas and preserved more features of collectivist culture in family functioning, were associated with the number of parenting practices above median value (Table 3).

Table 3. Logistic regression for the predictors of early childhood parenting practices ($n = 19,568$)

Variables	Unadjusted OR (95% CI)	p-value	Adjusted OR (95% CI)	p-values
Maternal age				
15-24				
25-34	1,212 (1,117; 1,315)	< .001	1,001 (0,889; 1,127)	0,989
35-49	1,162 (1,064; 1,268)	0,001	-0,971 (-0,842; -1,120)	0,687
Number of children ever born by a mother				
1				
2	1,143 (1,069; 1,222)	< .001	-0,969 (-0,876; -1,072)	0,544
2+	-0,968 (-0,900; -1,040)	0,376	-0,800 (-0,708; -0,904)	< ,001
Media exposure	1,374 (1,338, 1,412)	< .001	1,021 (0,980; 1,064)	0,325
CBDA exposure	1,208 (1,191; 1,226)	< .001	1,058 (1,033; 1,084)	< ,001
Number of young children age 0-6 years old				
1				
2	1,278 (1,178; 1,387)	< .001	1,346 (1,202; 1,507)	< ,001
2+	-0,946 (-0,683; -1,310)	0,737	1,203 (0,787; 1,839)	0,394
Household's wealth index				
The poorest				
Poor	-0,422 (-0,385; -0,462)	< .001	1,410 (1,252; 1,589)	< ,001
Middle	-0,576 (-0,527; -0,631)	< .001	1,397 (1,240; 1,574)	< ,001
Rich	-0,641 (-0,587; -0,700)	< .001	1,546 (1,369; 1,746)	< ,001
The richest	-0,729 (-0,667; -0,796)	< .001	2,030 (1,790; 2,303)	< ,001
Place of residence				
Urban				
Rural	-0,876 (-0,828; -0,926)	< .001	-0,907 (-0,837; -0,983)	0,018
Cultural values	1,959 (1,922; 1,996)	< .001	1,938 (1,902; 1,976)	< ,001
R^2			0.508	

In the final model with adjustments for other factors (Table 3), mothers with one parity were 1.25 more likely to prevent themselves from not performing a lower number of parenting practices (below median value), compared to those with three or more parity. Mothers who were exposed to a higher number of CBDA as the source of information on family development programs had higher odds of performing a higher number of parenting practices (above the median value) (AOR: 1.058; 95% CI: 1.033, 1.084). Mothers who lived in the family with two young children aged 0–6 years had higher odds (AOR: 1.346; 95% CI: 1.202, 1.507) of performing a higher number of parenting practices (above median value), relative to those who lived in the family with only one young child. Based on economic status, mothers who lived in the wealthiest family (AOR: 2.030; 95% CI: 1.790, 2.303) had the highest odds of performing a higher number of parenting practices (above median value). Mothers who lived in urban areas were 1.10 times more likely to prevent themselves from not performing a lower number of parenting practices (below median value), relative to those who lived in rural areas. Mothers who preserved a higher number of features of collectivist culture in family functioning had higher odds of performing a higher number of parenting practices (above median value) (AOR: 1.938; 95% CI: 1.902, 1.976). The model can explain 50.8% of the variance.

Discussion

Our model shows that both cultural values and socioeconomic status are the most important factors in early childhood parenting practices that can be seen from the highest adjusted probability ratio in the final model. Among the features of cultural value, '*living in harmony with the family*' has the highest proportion. Interestingly, in the parenting practice variable, '*encouraged the child to compete*' is found in a relatively small proportion to other items. This finding describes that parents encourage their child to be autonomous, yet keep close relationships with other family members, as identified in Kagitcibasi's family model of emotional/psychological interdependence. '*Encouraged the child to compete*' is also presumed to be self-achievement. This achievement, however, extends to the family's achievement. Therefore, the child has emotional value for the family.

The bivariate regression shows the paradox of wealth, whereas mothers from the poorest households correspond to the highest number of parenting practices exercised. Mothers in the 'poor category' have the opportunity to invest more in parenting time, create strong emotional connections, and develop a child's resiliency (Cheang & Goh, 2018; Nikolova & Nikolaev, 2018). In the final model with adjustments for other factors, however, a more prosperous mother performs a higher number of parenting practices. It is assumed that a more prosperous mother has better access to resources, such as nutritional food and health care, in comparison to a poorer mother. In the culture of emotional/psychological-interdependence, economic dependency has diminished. This implies that economic power is becoming increasingly important in society. Therefore, our study proposes that the family's economic development should be taken into account in the culture of emotional/psychological interdependence.

In line with Kagitcibasi's (2002) family model of emotional/psychological values, our study identifies that CBDA exposure corresponds significantly to a higher number of parenting practices exercised, with friends/relatives (28.21%) being the most preferred source of information. As proposed by Kagitcibasi, the family model of emotional/psychological values expects a close relationship among family members.

Lovell (2016) also shows that parents prefer the source of child-related information that is more pertinent to their values.

Our model highlights that mothers with three or more parity are associated with a decreased number of parenting practices exercised. Similarly, our finding shows that the number of parenting practices increases parallel to two children aged less than 6 in the family. However, there is not a significant difference in parenting practices by mothers who live with three or more young children. The quality of parenting practices increases after the second child is born, and remains stable for any further children born (Bornstein, Cote, Haynes, Hahn & Park, 2010). Breastfeeding and recognizing a child's emotions are more likely to be practised among multiparous mothers due to their previous experiences (Maupin, Rutherford, Landi, Potenza & Mayes, 2019; Whipps, 2017), but multiparous mothers are prone to stress and have less interaction time with their children (Lagerberg & Magnusson, 2013). Mothers with one or two children experience stress for different reasons (Krieg, 2007). Based on the findings, a maximum of two parity is critical to promote early childhood parenting practices. In the culture of psychological/emotional interdependence, emotional ties are strengthened through interaction with children.

Mothers in urban areas exercise a higher number of parenting practices than their counterparts in rural areas. It is implied that lack of access to transportation, affordable markets, and health facilities, may restrict parents from providing for their children's needs (Mizutami et al., 2019; Sano, Routh & Lanigan, 2019), thereby reducing parenting practices that should be performed. Improving access to resources that deliver child development needs, may result in higher numbers of parenting practices. Therefore, it is advisable to enhance access to resources in both rural and urban areas.

In the final model, with adjustments for other factors, maternal age is not significantly associated with parenting practices. Massat (1995) reports that compared to maternal age, socioeconomic status has a stronger prediction for parenting practices. The young mother might perform better parenting practices with social support (Easterbrooks, Chaudhuri, Bartlett & Copeman 2011; Lee 2009; Riggs, Holmbeck, Paikoff & Bryant 2004).

There are contradictory findings related to media exposure. The bivariate analysis shows maternal exposure to media is associated with parenting practices, with television as the preferred information source. Television has the potential to reach a wider community and is more in demand by mothers with young children (Metzler, Sanders, Rusby & Crowley, 2012; Radey & Randolph, 2009). After adjusting for other factors, however, media exposure does not significantly correspond to parenting practices. The information from the media in terms of quality and accuracy might be confusing (Sanders & Prinz, 2008; Velardo & Drummond, 2013). Parents use the media as a source of information, providing they do not get social support (Nikken, 2019).

Items of parenting practices that are used in the present study highlight several aspects, such as the importance of mother-child interaction, anthropometry, the mother's role in a child's cognitive development, social development, physical development (for example, breastfeeding, food intake, immunisation and health care), and moral development. The data source in this study is similar to the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 6 (MICS6) of UNICEF, which uses the mother's report as a data source. The data set of our study, however, excludes a child's functioning and the practice of child discipline.

The strength of the present study is the largely national representative data set. Furthermore, our model is able to describe the determinants of Indonesia's early childhood parenting practices. It did not, however, measure the parent's mental state and the child's characteristics as stated in Belsky's parenting model (Belsky, 1984). Parental self-efficacy (Belsky, 1984; Liang, Berger & Brand, 2019; Rochelle & Cheng, 2016; Taraban & Shaw, 2018) and child's characteristics – such as gender (Marjanovič-Umek & Fekonja-Peklaj, 2017) birth order (Bornstein, Putnick & Suwalsky, 2019) and age (Knauer, Ozer, Dow & Fernald, 2019) – affects parenting practices. In addition, this study has six other main limitations. First, our study only records the mother's activity in association with a number of children. There is a limitation to considering the interaction between a mother and one specific child's characteristics in view of the survey's questionnaires. Second, data on parenting practices are based on a self-administered questionnaire, so it is not possible to assess the interaction between parents and children. Third, the information with regard to the classification of the mother's occupation and duration of work is not available in the data set. Fourth, there is a wide proportional gap between a single mother (2.1%) and a two-parent unit (97.82%). The possibility exists that this wide variation may have been accounted for in the results. This study, therefore, excludes the mother's occupation and relationship status due to data processing limitations. Fifth, the cross-sectional study design can not determine causality between the variables; it only measures the association. Sixth, the study only measures mothers' parenting, whereas there were differences in using resources and methods in parenting between a mother and a father (Kwon, Han, Jeon & Bingham, 2013; Newland et al., 2013).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the present study offers social network supports from '*emotional/psychological interdependence*' as a new perspective of Indonesian early childhood parenting. Our model confirms the interplay of '*family integrity*' and '*autonomous/self-achievement*' as the culture of emotional/psychological interdependence. In this society, friends/relatives are reliable sources of child-related information. Access to affordable resources needs to be enhanced, especially in rural areas. While the approach of Kagitcibasi's model of family change emphasises the emotional values of the child, our study proposes a family's economic development and mothers with a maximum of two parity as the characteristics of modern society in the culture of emotional/psychological interdependence.

Author's contribution

MDP designed and conceptualised the manuscript; SP ensured the statistical analysis; AR and WF analysed the findings. All authors are the main contributors and equally provided input on the final manuscript.

Competing interests statement

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

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