

**INTERGENERATIONAL CONTINUITY OF PROTECTIVE PARENTING
PRACTICES OF BANGLADESHI MOTHERS**

Original published work submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the
Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

July 2025

By

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Declaration

I declare that this study, titled ‘Intergenerational Continuity of Protective Parenting Practices of Bangladeshi Mothers’, is my work and has not been copied from anywhere. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university. It is submitted as the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

I have duly acknowledged and referenced where the use of others' works has been made.

Name: Umme Habiba Jasmine

Signature:  _____

Dated: July 22, 2025

To my beloved daughters

Zafreen Didar

She is a precious blessing and a source of motivation in my life. We will grow together in our own roles.

Zainab Didar

She teaches me how to express love and care.

Presentations Arising from This Research Project

Jasmine, U. H., & Nduna, M. (2024, October 3–4). *“It’s not a solution but a protection”* –

Chaperonage, a protective parenting practice contextualised in social insecurity [Paper presentation]. Fourteenth International Conference on Health, Wellness & Society, Malmö University, Malmö, Sweden.

Jasmine, U. H., Nduna, M., & Nkala-Dlamini, B. (2023, September 14–15). *Impacts of social contexts on parenting: Protective parenting practices among Bangladeshi mothers* [Paper presentation]. Thirteenth International Conference on Health, Wellness & Society, University of British Columbia Robson Square, Vancouver, Canada.

Jasmine, U. H., & Nduna, M. (2021, July 5–9). *Research fieldwork in Bangladesh: A reflection on “distanciation” as a methodological and ethical value* [Paper presentation]. 20th Annual Thinking Qualitatively Conference, University of Alberta and University of British Columbia, Canada.

Jasmine, U. H. (2020, January 24–25). *Universal versus indigenous ethical principles in scientific research* [Paper presentation]. Seventh International SIVUS Conference on Developmental Disabilities, Rajshahi University, Bangladesh.

Jasmine, U. H., & Nduna, M. (2019b, June 25). *Fieldwork practices across cultures: A reflection from Bangladesh* [Paper presentation]. 6th Southern African Students’ Psychology Conference, University of Johannesburg, Auckland Park, South Africa.

Jasmine, U. H., & Nduna, M. (2019a, March 23–25). *Parenting in Bangladesh: A review of the literature between 2006 and 2018* [Paper presentation]. 5th Clinical Psychology Conference, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Jasmine, U. H., & Nduna, M. (2018, November 16–17). *Fieldwork practices across cultures: A reflection from Bangladesh* [Paper presentation]. 14th Psychology Conference, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Publications Arising from This Research Project

Jasmine, U. H. (2025). *Coded interview excerpts about protective parenting practices in Dhaka, Bangladesh* [Data set, Qualitative Data Repository]. <https://doi.org/10.5064/F6BBLHIM>

Jasmine, U.H. (2025). Construction of protective parenting practices in a transitional social context by two generations of Bangladeshi mothers. *International Journal of Health, Wellness, and Society*, 15(3), 97-123. <https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs-2021-0071>

Jasmine, U. H., & Nduna, M. (2022). Parenting in Bangladesh: A review of the literature from 2006 to 2018. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 53(1), 76-103. <https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs-2021-0071>

Jasmine, U.H., Nduna, M. & Mayisela, S. (2025). Bridging Ethics and Local Realities: A Case for Cultural Sensitivity and Reflexivity in Bangladesh [Manuscript under review for publication]. Department of Psychology, University of the Witwatersrand.

Jasmine, U. H., Nduna, M., & Nkala-Dlamini, B. (2025). Intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices in Dhaka, Bangladesh. *PLoS ONE*, 20(2), Article e0300160. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0300160>

Acknowledgments

I am deeply grateful to my parents, Rabeya Khatun and H. M. Yusuf Ali, who understood my struggle, pain, and needs throughout the entire journey of my PhD. My parents also helped me in the data collection phase. My mother even chaperoned me to visit the homes of potential participants. My daughter, Zafreen, suffered the most from my stresses during the programme. My daughter, Zafreen, was safe in my mother's hands while I could concentrate on my studies.

My husband, Md Didarul Islam's encouragement, endurance, and cooperation enabled me to finish this thesis despite many barriers.

I acknowledge the hardships my daughter, Zafreen, endured from the time I conceived her during my second year until I completed my PhD. Every time I looked at her face, I felt sad and guilty for not being able to give her the time and care she deserved. Indeed, earning a PhD requires tremendous sacrifice and support from a student and their family members. Zafreen would be awake, run to hug me when I reached home from the library around 10 pm, and not let me out of her sight. I sent her to daycare to buy study time. I remember my struggles with the people around me, the stigma they associated with daycare, their dissatisfaction, and concerns about my child's health.

My journey in the proposal phase became critical, specifically because of changing the research topic in the middle of the first year and because of the resignation of my former supervisor, Dr Gillian Mooney, just before my proposal submission. I panicked. I thank Prof Andrew Thatcher and Prof Kate Cockcroft, who have turned every stone in their assistance.

I am fortunate to have Prof Mzikazi Nduna as my supervisor, holding my hand at the most vulnerable time and not losing grip until the end. She is an amazing person, a firm,

sensible, caring supervisor, and a gifted scholar. In 2021, Prof Nduna left the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) for the University of Fort Hare, yet continued working with me as a co-supervisor. Being a member of Prof's research teams helped with regular research presentations and discussions. I express my heartiest gratitude and thank her with all due respect.

As the saying goes, "It takes a village to raise a child" - achieving a PhD requires support from many sources. I thank Dr Simangele Mayisela for supervising me through my PhD journey. I also thank Prof Busisiwe Nkala-Dlamini for stepping into the supervisory role after Prof Nduna left Wits and until Dr Mayisela took over.

I am grateful to the FACT team for arranging the research presentations, which helped me gain the confidence to present before experts. Thanks to Leonie Human and Dr. Elvis Munatswa, fellow PhD students in the department, for enriching our academic journey through peer discussions and shared experiences.

I cordially thank Dr Clare Harvey at Wits for providing valuable feedback while preparing the literature review manuscript. I appreciate Wacango Muguro-Kimani, a writing instructor from the Wits Writing Centre, for mentoring me in academic writing and providing unwavering support from thousands of miles away. I have not forgotten Karl and Dr Elizabeth Dettmer, who helped me edit sections of my research proposal.

My heartfelt thanks go to M. Kamruzzaman Mozumder, Professor of the Clinical Psychology Department, University of Dhaka, who voluntarily arranged my access to the Begum Roquia Research Laboratory for five months. This support enabled me to continue working while away from my school campus.

Professor Mohammad Mahmudur Rahman, Department of Clinical Psychology, University of Dhaka, played multiple roles, sometimes as a mentor, therapist, or friend, during my PhD journey. He responded to me positively whenever I needed him and did not let me break down at critical times. He gave me an extra key to his room at the Clinical Psychology Department, University of Dhaka, so I could use the space after the research laboratory had closed. Prof. Rahman encouraged me by saying, “I will make you finish your PhD.” It is one of the greatest gifts in my life.

My deepest gratitude goes to my friends for their emotional support and sacrifice throughout the proposal defence phase, especially Kamogelo Bogatsu, Alisha Mahmood, and Mitu. I sincerely appreciate the Wits library’s digitalised system, which enabled me to access our resourceful online library from anywhere in the world. I also thank Wits for granting me the Post-Graduate Merit Award (PGMA) and the DSI-NRF Centre of Excellence in Human Development Fellowship for three years, which has smoothed my journey towards a PhD. God bless you all!

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CHT	Chittagong Hill Tract
FGD	Focus group discussion
GDP	Gross domestic product
G1	Generation One
G2	Generation Two
G3	Generation Three
IG	Intergenerational
NTCC	National Trauma Counselling Centre
NCF	Nurturing care framework
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Emergency Fund

Glossary

Child: An individual up to 18 years of age according to section 4 of the Bangladesh Children Act of 2013.

Child-care: Taking care of and handling a child to ensure the fulfilment of basic physical, emotional, social and spiritual needs.

CNG vehicle: Small three-wheeler vehicle using compressed natural gas (CNG).

Communication: Using non-verbal signals, verbal expressions, or sounds to convey a message. Warm communication is reflected in openness, where parents consider the child's perspective, use reasoning, encourage dialogue, and express opinions. Disciplinary communication may involve manipulation, where parents control or influence a child's behaviour through persuasive or authoritarian means.

Culture: The implicit and explicit coordination of actions, representations, and artefacts, not a set of norms or traits. It is distributed through social interaction networks. Culture is dynamic, fluid, and situational, influenced by immediate social situations, networks, economies, and histories, as it differs in various times and places. Culture transacts with other variables at many ecological levels and, thus, can bring with it both risk and protective factors, the impact of which varies not only between cultures but also within any culture.

Demandingness: The pressure and scope given to the child to make their own decisions (independence-granting) and to perform up to their intellectual, emotional, and social ability.

Discipline: Parental control focusing on socialising the child to shape goal-oriented activities and alter their aggressive, dependent, and playful behaviour.

Fatherhood: The social and symbolic status bestowed on fathers.

Fathering: Fathers engaging in and carrying out the activities and practices in the care of their children.

Grandmother: In this study, the primary caregiver of the mother includes the biological mother, elder sister, aunt, grandmother, or any significant other.

Intergenerational transmission: The process through which, purposively or unintentionally, an earlier generation psychologically influences the attitude and behaviour of the next generation (Van IJzendoorn, 1992; pp. 76–77).

Intergenerational continuity: Refers to the similarities in the average level of behaviours in successive generations (Kerr & Capaldi, 2019).

Mohalla: Refers to a residential unit or neighbourhood in Bangladesh.

Motherhood: The social and symbolic status bestowed on mothers.

Mothering: Mothers engage in and carry out the activities and practices in the care of their children.

Parenting: The care and handling of children according to specific beliefs with the ultimate goal of raising a child as a competent adult in the context where they live.

Parental beliefs: Parents' culturally shared ideas about children and their development are denoted as parenting beliefs. This includes parental accounts and considerations of everyday events, child-rearing customs and preferences, and, sometimes, the implicit 'taken for granted' ideas about the proper way of thinking and acting (Tuli, 2012). Parental beliefs are analogous to

other concepts in parenting literature, such as parental ideas, cognitions, beliefs, ethnotheory, caregiver psychology, belief orientation, and naïve theory (Sigel, 1992, as cited in Tuli 2012, p. 81).

Parenting dimensions: “The features, the qualities, the descriptive scheme used to capture the nature of parenting.” (Skinner et al., 2005, p. 184). Combinations of parenting dimensions are used to define parenting typologies, such as authoritative, authoritarian, and indulgent.

Parenting practices: Parents’ activities and behaviours “to influence the actions and character of their offspring” (Baumrind, 1966, p. 888). These are the specific behaviours that a parent uses to socialise their children (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Parenting self-efficacy: Parents’ confidence in their ability to influence their children positively.

Parenting styles: Stable characteristics of parents that shape the emotional context for specific parenting practices over time. Baumrind (1991) defines parenting styles as typologies based on the intersection of two key parental dimensions: responsiveness and demandingness.

Protective parenting: Instinctual, contextual, and culturally grounded practices that parents adopt to safeguard their children from physical, emotional, social, spiritual, and financial harm.

Proximity: The physical closeness or distance of a person concerning others.

Social context: The environment shaped by human activity, influencing behaviour and psychological tendencies. Social context and individuals are interconnected, meaning the self or identity always reflect sociocultural surroundings.

Triadic reciprocal determinism: A concept involving three interrelated factors—cognition (inner personal factors), behaviour, and environment, continuously influencing one another. The relative impact of each factor varies across individuals and situations.

Warmth: Parents' love and compassion for their child expressed through verbal approval, touch, affectionate gestures, and sensory stimulation.

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Chapter One: Introduction and Background

Intergenerational Continuity of Protective Parenting Practices of Bangladeshi Mothers

Parenting, a fundamental aspect of human behaviour, has been a subject of extensive study and inquiry throughout history. The understanding and conceptualization of parenting have evolved substantially. Parenting is defined as the care and handling of children according to specific beliefs with the ultimate goal of raising a child as “a competent adult” (Keller et al., 2005, p.158). To engender competency, a parent guides their child through various teachings, including exposure to and discussions of family obligations, entitlements, discipline, customs, and the concept of family. Parents also teach their children ways to internalize the virtues of their surroundings and avoid their vices (Rubin & Chung, 2006). Parenting practices are observable and defined as specific behaviours that parents use to interact with their children to reach socialization goals (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Usually, parenting practices are related to developmental goals (LeVine et al., 1994; Richman et al., 1992), and developmental goals are correlated with the child’s socialization context (Greenfield & Suzuki, 1998). Thus, children’s socialization and developmental goals are informed by cultural expectations.

1.1 Culture and Parenting

Culture is one of the oldest concepts in social sciences. About 164 definitions of culture are found in anthropology. These definitions are developed over time and carry implications. Politicians and decision-makers tend to position the concept of culture in a range of fields of power. The famous anthropologist E. B. Tylor (1958, p. 1) defined culture as a “... complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.” Tylor’s approach was heavily influenced by

Enlightenment principles, which bases Europe as the standard of civilization. This approach has been highly criticized by Boas, who emphasized the particularity of each culture resulting from the group's responses to factors such as environmental circumstances and detailed historical development (Stocking, 1974). Anthropologists treat culture as a set of meanings and ideas shared by a population of homogenous individuals that are self-reproduced, irrespective of economic and political change.

Hall (1993) and Morley and Chen (1996) argue that cultural identity is not inherent, naturally bounded, or stagnant because people grow and change through local, national, and global connections through migration, movement, and technological advancement. Instead, they argue that culture is dynamic, fluid, situational, and specific to time and place. It is always negotiable through power, contestation, and alteration. These characteristics imply that the culture of an older generation and the current generation may not necessarily be identical, and culture may also vary according to geographical locations. For example, the culture in urban and rural areas of the same country may vary.

In the last two decades, psychological and sociological views of culture have converged and rejected the old anthropological idea of culture in favour of a new definition, which defines culture as a dynamic interaction between mind and environment (Vygotsky, 1978). This supports the idea that culture can be experienced differently by people living in different environments, locations, and socioeconomic contexts within the same national boundary. This perspective focalises the importance of identities, institutions, and networks. Some researchers blended the old and new definitions of culture, saying that culture is evidently, and paradoxically, a dynamic steadiness that sustains and yet alters over time (Kashima & Gelfand, 2012). Abu-Lughod (2008) acknowledged the relativizing effect of culture, that “whether conceived of as a set of

behaviours, customs, traditions, rules, plans, recipes, instructions, or programs... culture is learned and can change” (Abu-Lughod, 2008, p. 55). The analysis of culture in psychology offers insight into the historical and contemporary interdependence of social and psychological formations, and how people and their sociocultural environments mutually shape each other. Culture is rooted in the practices and ideas of specific social situations, which are shaped and structured by networks and institutions (Markus & Kitayama, 2010). Thus, culture is the implicit and explicit coordination of actions, representations, and artifacts, a set of norms or traits, distributed through social interaction networks (Kashima, 2000), and practices within a historical period (Mayisela, 2017).

A dynamic view of culture highlights that social contexts and individuals are inseparable, and that social contexts are the artifacts of human activity, which not only influence behaviour but also set up psychological tendencies. Thus, human experience is socio-culturally constructed, and psychological realities like self or identity are both biologically (LeDoux, 1996) and socio-culturally formed (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). As a result, the self or identity always reflects sociocultural context. This socio-cultural grounding of self rejects neither individuality nor idiosyncrasy; it demonstrates how people living in similar cultural contexts or social spaces will diverge in their everyday experiences, responding differently to features of their experience.

This study regards culture as dynamic, fluid, and influenced by immediate social situations, networks, economies, and histories. This conceptualization of culture posits that parenting beliefs and behaviours do not exist in isolation but must be interpreted within the specific sociocultural contexts from which they emerge (Cheung & Cheah, 2025; Rothenberg et al., 2025). It further implies that parenting practices in Bangladesh may differ from those in other Eastern, Western, and African countries, as well as from one generation of Bangladeshi parents

to another. Parenting practices may also vary according to socio-economic and cultural variations among different geographical locations of Bangladesh. When examining the influence of culture on parenting, it is essential to recognise that culture does not operate in isolation but interacts with multiple ecological factors. Culture encompasses both risk and protective factors, whose effects differ across cultural contexts and also within a given culture (Korbin, 2002). Such a perspective underscores the need for a comprehensive approach that accounts for the dynamic and multifaceted nature of cultural influences on parenting.

As every culture has unique characteristics, research findings in one culture cannot be applied wholesale to another culture. Gfroerer et al. (2004) suggest exploring parents' perceptions about parenting, values, and lifestyles to understand the mechanisms by which culture and socioeconomic status influence parenting style. According to O'Neil (2006, as cited in Okpalike, 2015), irrespective of place, human beings have some universal cultural traits such as verbal communication, raising and nurturing children, gendered division of responsibilities, concepts of good and bad behaviour, and classification of people according to age, gender, socioeconomic status, marriage, and kinship. Different cultures have their own specific forms and ways to carry out these traits. Examining parenting behaviour from a cultural perspective adds meaning to behaviours that may appear strange and incomprehensible to outsiders. Different groups' indigenous meanings and ideas about parenting impact the actions people take regarding child-rearing, though parenting ideas may also develop from ongoing child-rearing practices (Goodnow, 2006).

It is essential to acknowledge that cultural influences can shape parenting theories, and cultural variations in parenting styles are evident, with different societies emphasizing distinct values and norms. For instance, collectivist cultures often prioritize interdependence and

obedience, whereas individualistic cultures tend to prioritize independence and self-expression (Fukuyama, 1994). However, the use of broad classifications such as ‘individualistic’ and ‘collectivistic’ to characterize cultures in parenting research is in debate (Harkness & Super, 2002). Some scholars argue that these dichotomous categorizations oversimplify complex cultural dynamics, as all societies encompass both individualistic and collectivistic values to varying degrees. Rather than viewing these constructs as mutually exclusive, it is essential to examine how they are interwoven (Greenfield & Cocking, 2014; Harkness et al., 2000). Understanding these cultural nuances is vital in appreciating the diversity of parenting practices worldwide (Cheung & Cheah, 2025; Yovsi, 2014; Zaidman-Mograbi et al., 2020). One must acknowledge that contemporary understandings continue to evolve, incorporating new research findings and perspectives.

While the concept of parenting and its intergenerational continuity have received wide attention in Western countries and among people of different races, little research exists in Asian, Caribbean, and African contexts. Some studies have examined aspects of Bangladeshi parenting (Ball & Wahedi, 2010; Stewart et al., 2000; Sultana, 2013), but no study has explored parenting practices or constructs within Bangladeshi culture to date (Jasmine & Nduna, 2022). The aspect of intergenerational continuity in parenting largely remains untouched in Bangladeshi cultural settings. This study focuses on intergenerational continuity of parenting by mothers because mothers in Bangladesh play the primary role in child-rearing (Ball & Wahedi, 2010). Although ‘*parent*’ encompasses both father and mother, studies have noted that the slippage from *parents* to *mums* persists (Sunderland, 2006), particularly in Bangladesh. The extended family in Bangladesh idealizes mothers as sacrificing, constructing motherhood as the “only culturally

available identity” for women (Nahar, 2007; Sultana, 2013, p. 22) and the only moral career (Kotalová, 1993).

1.2 Intergenerational Continuity of Parenting

Research on the extent of parental influence on children prompted research on intergenerational continuity of parenting. The construct of intergenerational continuity of parenting practices delves into the sharing of parenting behaviours, values, and techniques across generations. According to Branje et al. (2020), intergenerational continuity takes place when a parenting attribute affects children through genetic inheritance, cultural transmission, or an interplay between environment and genetics. Van IJzendoorn (1992), on the other hand, did not specify genetics or culture in their definition of intergenerational continuity of parenting. Rather, they emphasized the process of purposive or unintended psychological influence of an earlier generation on parenting behaviour and attitudes of the next. This definition incorporates psychosocial components such as social interaction, attitudes, and behaviour to be continued from one generation to the next and can be explored using the social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986). This study adopts Van IJzendoorn’s (1992) definition, focusing on non-genetic aspects of intergenerational continuity of parenting practices.

Research on intergenerational continuity has been conducted primarily in Western countries. For example, O’Brien (2010) reports on intergenerational continuity of parenting practices of Irish immigrant mothers. Hofferth et al. (2012) explored intergenerational continuity of parenting from fathers to sons among young American fathers, where the majority of the sample were African and Latin Americans. Scaramella & Conger (2003) studied the intergenerational continuity of hostile parenting and its consequences among 558 youth and their

families in Iowa, USA. Branje et al. (2020) focused on intergenerational continuity of parenting and psychopathologies among a Dutch population. Crittenden (1984) explored intergenerational continuity of maltreatment to infants in Virginia, USA, and Simons et al. (1991) conducted research on intergenerational continuity of harsh parenting in eight states of North Central Iowa, USA. DeGregorio (2013) investigated intergenerational continuity of abuse in parenting from a neuropsychological perspective. Few review studies are available in this field, for example, Kerr and Capaldi (2019) and Van IJzendoorn (1992). Apparently, intergenerational continuity of parenting practices in African or Asian cultural contexts, particularly in Bangladesh, are yet to be explored.

1.3 Thesis Statement

From research gaps in literature on contextual parenting, this thesis lays the groundwork for culture-specific parenting practice literature in Bangladesh, with a specific focus on protective parenting. This thesis examines the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices among Bangladeshi mothers, focusing on the contextual and traditional approaches of two generations. This study examines how globalisation and modernisation have influenced parenting attitudes of second-generation (G2) mothers, resulting in modifications and openness to certain practices while preserving traditional protective values. The study emphasizes the importance of understanding local parenting values and traditions to inform the development of culturally sensitive and effective parenting programs in Bangladesh. This serves to address the inadequacies embedded in attempts to universalize Western approaches, which often clash with societal norms, causing implementation challenges and tensions between generations.

1.4 The Problem Statement

Over the last 80 years, the conceptualization of parenting has shifted from being perceived as a natural and instinctive process to one increasingly shaped by scientific discourse, largely reflecting individualistic and capitalist values. This shift presents a challenge to parenting practices in more tradition-centred contexts, risking misinterpretation if their unique cultural contexts and values are not adequately recognised. For instance, the traditional strict Chinese parenting might be conflated with the Western notion of authoritarian parenting unless the embedded warmth, parental connectedness, and dedication to train children for success are acknowledged (Chao, 1994, 2001). Recognizing affectionate and nurturing aspects of such practices underscores how applying Western parenting typologies universally is inadequate and highlights that researchers must examine culturally specific parenting values.

Current parenting literature focuses primarily on developing knowledge base that emphasizes technically sound and scientifically validated practices aimed at enhancing child development. A trend toward the globalisation of parenting literature is evident, yet the significance of cultural contexts and parenting values is frequently overlooked (Myers-Walls, 2015). This oversight can create tension between science-informed parents and other family members who might follow instinctive or tradition-centric parenting methods (Hinton et al., 2013), leading to decreased participation in and effectiveness of parenting programs (Engle, 2007). Globalisation, alongside the influence of mass and social media and various parenting initiatives, has contributed to the transformation of parenting norms, often prioritizing knowledge from scientifically advanced nations over local traditional practices. This trend puts traditional cultures at risk of losing their identities. Bangladesh has not yet comprehensively explored its contextual parenting practices, and this lack of research constrains our understanding

of parenting patterns, parent-child relationships, and the results of parenting intervention studies. The lack of insight into contextual parenting and its frameworks may lead to misinterpretations of Bangladeshi parents' efforts and child development parameters.

1.5 The Rationale

Aboud (2007) recognized Bangladesh as a country with scant research and as not yet able to produce sustained academic discussions in social sciences and humanities (Schendel, 2015). Similar to other fields, there is very little research on parenting behaviour, its outcome in a child's life, the parent-youth relationship, and the development and/or adaptation of psychometric parenting assessment tools (Jasmine & Nduna, 2022). Hamadani and Tofail (2014) discussed some of the existing age-wise child-rearing practices from newborns to school-aged children. The content primarily focused on feeding, the use of corporal punishment to discipline, gender bias, parents fostering dependency, limited parent-child interaction and communication, and the traditional roles fathers play in child development. To the best of my knowledge, no prior study has specifically examined parenting practices, values, or beliefs unique to Bangladeshi culture. However, numerous research projects have been conducted utilizing tools informed by Euro-Western parenting values. Often funded by the World Bank, foreign grants, and international non-governmental organizations, these studies largely overlook the culturally specific dimensions of parenting in Bangladesh (see, Aboud, 2007; Aboud & Akhter, 2011; Aboud et al., 2013; Aboud et al., 2008; Hamadani et al., 2006; Nahar et al., 2009; Nahar et al., 2015; Nahar, Hossain, Hamadani, Ahmed, Grantham-McGregor, et al., 2012, Nahar, Hossain, Hamadani, Ahmed, Huda, et al., 2012). This gap calls for research that prioritizes indigenous parenting frameworks and contextualized methodologies.

It is promising that the World Health Organization (WHO) Integrated framework recognized that parenting programs in the host country must be socio-culturally acceptable and contextually adapted to warrant relevance, appropriateness, and community participation (Gardner et al., 2023; World Health Organization, 2022). UNESCO (2019) worked towards adapting a parenting education guidebook for the Bangladeshi context before implementation to enable community involvement in parenting programs. The guidebook focused on educating and training parents in 34 districts on optimizing children's nutrition and enhancing the child's cognitive development through involvement in play activities. They adapted games, play materials, and toys according to the availability and cultural practices, which was a good start for contextualization. However, it is essential to involve parents and other significant caregivers in exploring the barriers, opportunities, challenges, and parenting values related to playing with little children in urban and rural Bangladeshi societies for the success of the programs and sustainable outcomes.

Due to the lack of contextual parenting-related literature, no culturally sensitive psychometric tool has been developed in Bangladesh to measure parenting practices or types, as there has not been any exploration of culture-sensitive items. Arafat (2018) adapted the Parenting Style and Dimension Questionnaire (PSDQ, Robinson et al., 1995) from English to Bengali, but did not incorporate context-related items. This adapted questionnaire has already been used to assess parenting styles of Bangladeshi parents (Arafat & Khan, 2021). The use of Westernised questionnaires to assess parenting styles without exploring contextual parenting practices and the meaning implied in the practices is a serious limitation of parenting literature in Bangladesh. This has handicapped research related to parenting and limited reliable findings.

This knowledge gap warrants an exploration of contemporary belief systems around child development to understand how Bangladeshi parents construct meaning related to parenting. This also provides opportunities to discern standards of child development, enabling the successful creation and implementation of parenting programs in Bangladesh. Besides, relevant cultural barriers, opportunities, and strengths also need to be identified. This study provides a base of information on culturally specific contemporary parenting values, practices, contextual factors contributing to the construction and shaping of parenting practices, and changes in these practices in two generations.

This study is important for its potential contribution to understanding parent-child relationships at various life stages and the impact of cultural heritage on parenting in Bangladesh, concepts deemed essential by Peterson et al. (2003). Information from this study provides insights towards understanding, assessing, and explaining parenting and child development in Bangladesh, as well as identifying areas that can help children grow into competent adults. The findings may also guide the development and adaptation of culturally sensitive psychometric parenting measurement tools for Bangladesh. By incorporating informants from two generations, this study offers a comprehensive perspective on protective parenting among Bangladeshi mothers. This intergenerational approach enables a deeper understanding of the continuities, adaptations, and transformations in protective parenting practices over time, shedding light on the influence of individual, cultural, social, and contextual factors. As a fundamental research area in Bangladesh, this study also provides directions and recommendations for future research.

At its 71st assembly in 2018, the World Health Organization (WHO), with UNICEF and World Bank Group (WBG), offered a global nurturing care framework (NCF) (World Health

Organization et al., 2018) of interventions for optimum child development and parent-child relationships. Bangladesh integrated the framework into early child education programs in pre-primary schools, communities, and family-level interventions. The NCF has five pillars: good health, adequate nutrition, responsive caregiving, security and safety, and opportunities for early learning. This framework is also considered the global childcare model. Protective parenting aligns with the pillar of safety and security, directly related to children's survival in an insecure social context and to ameliorate children's exposure to stresses at different stages of life. Therefore, this study contributes to and sensitises the contextualisation of the NCF in Bangladesh, thereby informing the planning of optimal development for Bangladeshi children.

1.6 Research Aim and Objectives

This study aimed to explore intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices of urban middle-class Bangladeshi mothers. The study had the following objectives:

- 1) To explore parenting practices aimed at protecting children in everyday life in the megacity of Dhaka
- 2) To explore nuances of social and cultural contexts where Bangladeshi mothers construct protective parenting practices
- 3) To configure the channel of continuity of protective parenting practices over two generations

1.7 Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed:

1. How do Bangladeshi mothers construct protective parenting practices based on their lived experiences?
2. What are the protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers grounded in their socio-cultural contexts?
3. What is the process of intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices?

The study provides information on culture-specific protective parenting practices in Bangladesh, and their continuities and discontinuities across two generations. To answer the research questions, I used social cognitive theory, the theory of modern man, functionalist perspectives on the theories of urbanisation, and a framework of five parenting dimensions. Details of the theoretical framework are presented in chapter three.

1.8 The Outline of the Thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters. The subsequent chapters of the thesis are outlined thus:

Chapter Two presents a literature review of global perspectives of parenting, the notion of parenting research in Bangladesh, an overview of child development programs and suggested gaps. A literature review paper has been published as part of this chapter and has been attached as Appendix H.

Chapter Three is an overview of prominent parenting theories, and how the theories form a framework for this study. The theoretical frameworks encompass an examination of the theoretical foundations of the parenting dimension framework, principles underlying the theory of modern man (Inkeles & Smith, 1984), the functionalist perspective of the theory of urbanisation (Wirth, 1938), and the social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1989). The theory of

modern man (Inkeles & Smith, 1984) and theory of urbanisation (Wirth, 1938) addressed the socio-cultural context of parenting constructs, and the social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1989) elucidated on intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices.

Chapter Four provides a comprehensive description of the research methodology employed in this study. The chapter discusses the research setting, population, sample characteristics, ethical considerations, data collection, data analysis, the procedure of managing research rigor, and the researcher's reflexivity. A scientific paper has been produced on the fieldwork experiences that posed a challenge to existing standards of ethical principles in scientific research involving human participants. The paper has been submitted to a journal. The citation has been noted at the end of the chapter, and the paper has been attached as Appendix I. The coded interview excerpts have been curated and published in the Qualitative Data Repository (QDR). The citation is noted in the chapter.

Chapter Five examines the findings and a comprehensive discussion of Bangladeshi mothers' protective parenting practices. Based on the findings of this study, a definition of protective parenting practices is offered. The article produced from this chapter is attached as Appendix J.

Chapter Six presents the findings and a comprehensive discussion of the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices among Bangladeshi mothers. I offer a process model of intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices. An article published based on this chapter is attached as Appendix K.

Chapter Seven is a critique of the protective parenting of Bangladeshi mothers. The critique poses the extensive protective parenting practices against their failure to ensure long-

term protection to girls in Bangladesh, in the backdrop of high rates of sexual abuse, arranged marriages for younger girls, and gender-based violence.

Chapter Eight summarises the study's claims, and strengths and weaknesses, providing concluding remarks with recommendations for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review¹

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the predominant parenting literature, highlighting the dominance of Euro-American perspectives in shaping parenting discourse globally, including the Global South. The mainstream literature noticeably excludes most of the world's research in early childhood development (ECD), and disregards non-Western and Global South parenting contexts (Scheidecker et al., 2024). Consequently, previous ECD-focused programs in Bangladesh overlooked communal cultural contexts, beliefs, and traditional values, and adopted outcome-based parenting models influenced by capitalist ideologies (Jasmine & Nduna, 2022). There is a need for a deeper exploration of parenting literature in Bangladesh to identify gaps in knowledge, to develop scientific studies for establishing a strong foundation for contextualized parenting knowledge, and to integrate these insights into locally relevant child and adolescent development programs, alongside family relationship-focused initiatives.

2.2 Global Perspective on Parenting

Parenting is a fundamental human practice and is diverse across cultural, socio-political, and economic contexts around the world. Despite this diversity, the global research discourse of parenting is largely informed by the Euro-American perspectives, with its emphasis on outcome-

¹ A review article has been produced based on the literature review on parenting in Bangladesh. The article is attached as Appendix H and the citation is as follows:

Jasmine, U. H. and Nduna, M. (2022). Parenting in Bangladesh: A Review of the Literature from 2006 to 2018. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 53(1), 76-103. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs-2021-0071>

based parenting approaches aligned with individualistic and capitalistic values. Besides, this dominance in parenting literature, intervention programs and policy frameworks attempt to shape the global perceptions of ‘good’ parenting.

Parents in North America and Southern Europe work on socialising potentially unreserved and outgoing children (Rubin & Chung, 2006). In Asian countries, parents work on raising the child to be quiet, obedient, and reserved because such behaviour renders children acceptable among adults and peers in their community. However, such children would experience peer rejection and socio-emotional difficulties in the social world of North America and Southern Europe. Asian parents are widely recognized for placing high value on parent–child interactions and fulfilling familial responsibilities, with beliefs focused on guiding, teaching, caring, and loving their children (Lin et al., 2023) while emotional expression is discouraged (Sung, 2010). In East Asian contexts—particularly within Korean and Chinese cultural settings—parenting practices typically place limited emphasis on children's emotional well-being. Instead, values such as absolute obedience, harmonious sibling relationships, respect for family hierarchy, strict discipline, preservation of family reputation, and restrained emotional expression are prioritised (Sung, 2010). Cross-cultural research involving populations from the United States, Japan, China, and Brazil has further indicated that parenting in collectivist cultures tends to emphasize conformity and obedience (Chao & Kanatsu, 2019). South Korea, China, and Singapore have demonstrated considerable adaptability in response to rapid social change, with parenting practices evolving to accommodate the demands of globalisation and compressed modernity (Okazaki et al., 2025). In Singapore, for instance, parenting strategies largely focus on managing the risks and uncertainties associated with children's future (Göransson, 2024). Okazaki et al. (2025) argue that the increasing intensification of parenting within these societies

is linked to the responsibility for securing children's economic well-being shifting from the state to individual families.

The global notion of parenting has been challenged by different forms of parenting in some cultures. For example, in the Nordeste culture in Brazil, a distinct type of mother's love is observed, which is not always focused on raising the child for developmental goals (Scheper-Hughes, 1993). Because of the very high infant and child death rate in that extremely disadvantaged life situation, mothers do not form attachments with their children until they feel the child shows a likelihood of survival. Some mothers allow a weaker and death-prone child to die, even in selective neglect, with little mourning. Scheper-Hughes (1993, p. 342) referred to this phenomenon as "mortal neglect." The mothers reassure themselves with a proverb asserting that fighting with death is very wrong, which serves as a coping mechanism to reconcile with their loss. To them, this form of mothering is protective as they believe that children born *weak* and sick would grow up damaged and would not be able to take care of themselves should they live, so they are protecting those children from growing up damaged and suffering.

Maternal attitude can be represented by the metaphysical attitude of 'holding' which starts from a position of protectiveness, prioritising the conservation and maintenance of what is best for the child's life (Ruddick, 1995). Nordeste mothers have their thoughts and practices guided by the opposite metaphysical position, 'letting go,' where they do not resist death with a child born weak and sick. This does not mean mothers here do not love their children. They create strong emotional attachments slowly, fearfully, and tentatively with their children, a survival strategy. The theory of parenting typologies (Baumrind, 1966; Maccoby & Martin, 1983) might classify this form of parenting as neglectful, overlooking underlying protective

parenting values. This highlights the limitation of prominent parenting theories in accurately representing parenting styles across many parts of the world.

Caribbean parenting would not fit into Baumrind's Westernized parenting typologies either. Caribbean parents have been described as having paradoxical parenting practices. For example, their parenting employs a mixture of warmth and indulgence, together with harsh treatment (Leo-Rhynie, 1997) and physical punishment (Anderson & Payne, 1994; Cappa & Khan, 2011). Therefore, the influences and meanings of parenting behaviours cannot be easily generalized across cultural contexts in a straightforward way (O'Connor & Scott, 2007).

A milestone research study by Lansford et al. (2004) incorporated a sample of 585 ethnologically varied, high- to medium-risk families in the USA. They found that Afro-American families saw corporal punishment as acceptable and necessary to prevent children from engaging in delinquent behaviour, whereas it was unacceptable among white European American families. As a result, corporal punishment was found to be negatively associated with behavioural problems in African American children, whereas it was positively correlated with behavioural problems in white children. The same parenting style may yield different outcomes in children across different cultural contexts, due to varying cultural implications and varying levels of acceptance within cultures. Baumrind (1972) found that authoritarian parenting was associated with assertiveness among African American girls, though it was associated with fearful, timid behaviour and behavioural compliance among European American children. Similarly, Chao (1994, 2001) found that while the authoritarian parenting style correlated with poor school performance in children of European descent, it was positively correlated for children of Chinese descent. Other studies have shown authoritative parenting to be strongly effective in influencing academic achievement in European American adolescents, but least effective in the academic

achievement of Asian American and African American youths (Chao, 2001; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg et al., 1991). These findings suggest an ethnocentrism around concepts of parenting style, which does not capture the inherent features of traditional parenting. The cultural acceptance or rejection of certain parenting behaviours, along with the positive or negative perceptions associated with them, may contribute to varied outcomes in children from different cultures, even when exposed to the same parenting behaviour.

There has been very little empirical research about the conditions contributing to variations in child development in children raised with the same parenting style, especially when different cultures express different norms and preferences for children's behaviour patterns. It is challenging to conclude on the appropriateness of certain parenting styles in relation to a child's developmental stages in general, and the impact the styles have on child development across different ethnic groups. Therefore, it is essential to explore contextual parenting values, expectations, and practices while integrating existing knowledge to promote optimal child development within a specific cultural setting.

2.3 Parenting Research in Bangladesh

[An article titled, "Parenting in Bangladesh: A Review of the Literature from 2006 to 2018" (Jasmine & Nduna, 2022) supplements this section. Please see the attached published article as Appendix H as part of this literature review chapter.]

The article highlights the lack of studies on contextual parenting in Bangladesh. The existing research heavily relies on psychometric instruments, primarily developed in capitalist countries with considerably different cultural values, traditions, and patterns of parent-child interaction and relationships. Despite parenting-related studies in Bangladesh dating back to

1978, a notable gap remains in qualitative research on parenting practices. Among the 19 articles and one book chapter, only three studies employed a qualitative research design, one study used a mixed-methods design, and the remaining 16 papers were quantitative studies. The three qualitative studies (Ball & Wahedi, 2010; Hackett et al., 2015; Naila et al., 2018) and one book chapter (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014) focused exclusively on parenting. The remaining publications addressed parenting only partially, with primary emphasis on topics such as responsive feeding, psychosocial stimulation, barriers to infant nutrition, and parent-child interaction and play. Notably, many of these studies centred on nutrition and incorporated parenting programs to achieve child development milestones set by the World Health Organization. However, even in that parenting program, there was no attempt to integrate knowledge on local cultural values and norms around childrearing. Therefore, the available parenting-related studies provide a limited understanding of contextual parenting practices in Bangladesh.

The ‘Accessing Learning Opportunities to the Young, Adolescent and Livelihood Options for Women’ (ALOY-ALOW), jointly with the local government and the Ministry of Social Affairs, Bangladesh, conducted an early child development project recently in Moulovibazar. The project focused greatly on a parenting program, child nutrition and physical development, pre-primary education involving children aged 5-6 years, financial empowerment for adolescents, adolescent and youth group activities, and community-based child protection programs emphasising the elimination of child abuse and exploitation. Although the project report did not explicitly indicate the framework followed, the ALOY-ALOW project programs touched all five components of the Nurturing Care Framework (NCF), (see, Majumder, 2023).

The strength of the ALOY-ALOW project lay in community education, along with parenting education within the family, involving extended family members (parents, elder siblings, grandparents, uncles, and aunts) (Alam & Bhuya, 2024). In so doing, the project planners incorporated Bangladeshi collectivistic social norms, which involved extended family members in child-rearing practices. Like past projects, ALOY-ALOW also introduced new concepts in parenting, such as parental involvement in child emotion regulation, interactive activities and problem-solving games, spending quality time with children, positive discipline, and valuing children's opinions. In an impact assessment, a focus group participant expressed a positive impact, saying, "Parents are friendly with children. In fact, earlier parents did not pay much attention to children's words. But now they have become more aware" (Majumder, 2023, p. 5). This hopeful claim would require longitudinal studies to examine the long-term responses of parents, extended family members, and the community as a whole to such changes in parenting values and outcomes in children. Traditionally, Bangladeshi parents believe in maintaining a distant relationship with children to achieve respect and "complete," "unquestionable" obedience, have directive over children's choices, and do not allow children's opinion (Hassan, 2020, p. 27). Thus, Euro-American principle-motivated child development frameworks are introducing new concepts and parenting values to traditional culture-oriented communities in Bangladesh.

While introducing new concepts might be beneficial, it is essential to examine the community's cultural values that add meaning to their existence, shape who they are, and define their meaning of life. Introducing new parenting values without preparing people at every level of the community may create contradictions and conflicts within oneself or with others, as one attempts to preserve traditional values while adapting to globalized influences. Therefore,

parenting programs need to take cultural norms and values into consideration, integrate them, and find a way to preserve them while adding meaning with new parenting concepts.

Most people in rural Bangladesh might not be aware of the global concept of child health, or the significance of fostering curiosity and creative play in a child's social and cognitive development (Bhatta et al., 2020; Guldan et al., 1993; Haider et al., 2001). Children are usually taken care of by older siblings or play with neighbouring playmates in their close-knit communal societies. As a result, most parents and adult caregivers in rural Bangladesh do not engage in play or in creating stimulating play environments (Akhtar, 2004), believing play to be a waste of time (Alam, 2022). Rather, they emphasise schooling and academics for their children (Arends-Kuenning & Amin, 2004; Banu, 2014). The minimum level of conversation between children and adults is underlined by parents' belief in a 'natural growth' approach to child development (Lareau, 2011), where adult interference is looked at as unnecessary. Kotalová (1993, p. 68) describes this perception of child development as "an organic process, regulated by nature and God and therefore beyond parental control." Parents in Bangladesh usually consider children under seven years old unable to understand (Aziz & Maloney, 1985), and as the child grows older, parents become more involved in directing and guiding the child's activities into adult roles and responsibilities. These dynamics in child-rearing patterns warrant exploring traditional and contemporary parental belief systems about child development to create and eventually implement successful parenting and child development programs in Bangladesh.

2.4 Conclusion

A singular, dominant model cannot be generalised into a global model. Parenting exists as a complex and evolving construct that requires a sophisticated understanding of historicity,

cultural embodiments, and social transformations. Parenting research and policy must move beyond Euro-America-centric narratives and appreciate the legitimacy of varied parenting practices worldwide for holistic child development across diverse contexts.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

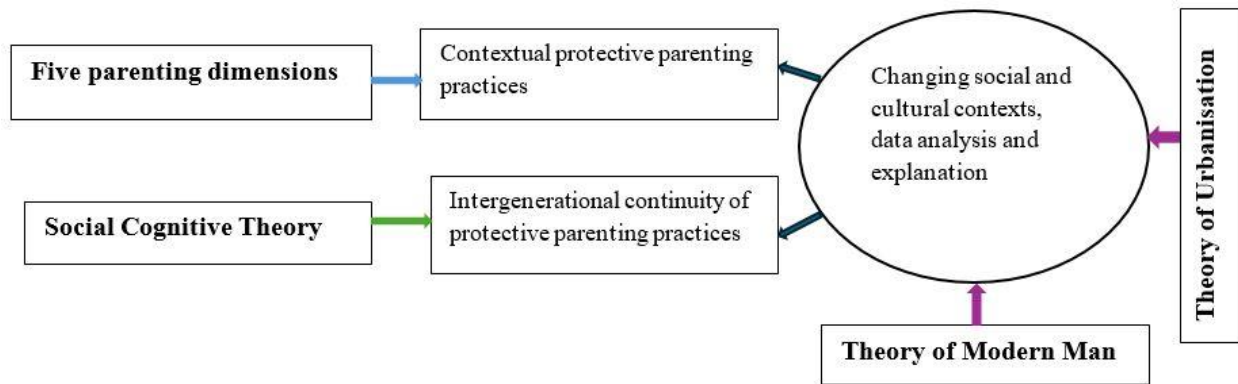
3.1 Introduction

This study used theoretical frameworks to connect existing literature and knowledge to the research questions. The research method was selected to align with these theoretical frameworks. First, I reviewed prominent parenting theories and concepts, for example, the theory of attachment and the theory of parenting typology, which are ostensibly related to my research aims. However, after further engagement with my research questions, I realized that using parenting typologies, styles, specific parenting behaviours, or the concept of attachment would not appropriately capture the ideas this study intended to generate. I, therefore, decided to analyse existing parenting theories for some well-used differential parenting concepts to represent a set of parenting behaviours or practices, which I labelled as parenting dimensions.

A theoretical framework of five parenting dimensions was used to explore contextual parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers. The parenting dimensions and their existence in different parenting theories are discussed in this chapter. The social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1989) was used to explore intergenerational continuation of parenting practices across two generations of Bangladeshi mothers. To capture the changing context of parenting between two generations, and to explain the data and advanced analysis, the theory of modern man (Inkeles & Smith, 1984) and the theory of urbanisation (Wirth, 1938) were also used. Figure 3.1 maps the theoretical frameworks' relevance to my research questions and analysis.

Figure 3.1

Mapping of Theoretical Frameworks' Relevance to Research Questions and Analysis



The following sections present a review of prominent parenting theories, linking their core concepts to the parenting dimension framework of this study. A brief discussion follows on Social Cognitive Theory, the Theory of the Modern Man, and the Theory of Urbanisation, highlighting their conceptual contributions to the theoretical foundation of this study.

3.2 Theory of Attachment

The evolutionary theory of attachment was proposed by Mary Ainsworth and John Bowlby (1991). Influenced by Freud and other early psychoanalysts, the theory of attachment emphasizes the need for a secure parent-child relationship within the first six months to four or more years in a child's life, and the impact of this relationship on their exploration of the world as well as future relationships. Ainsworth proposed four types of attachment based on the response to the child's signals and the availability of a caregiver for the child's needs: secure attachment, insecure-avoidant attachment, insecure-ambivalent attachment, and disorganized attachment.

The attachment theory is regarded as a theory of emotion regulation, linking the attachment relationship to interpersonal functioning, and the expression and recognition of emotion in the self and others (Thorberg & Lyvers, 2010). The caregiver co-regulates the child's emotions, by mirroring and acknowledging their emotions, containing these feelings while offering care and soothing. The concept of internal working model of attachment is one of the major contributions of attachment theory. This model plays out in the child-parent interactions of infancy and determines and guides the child's future relationships and interactions with others. Attachment theory appeals to studies on parenting practices to understand how to promote secure parent-child relationships, the child developing into a secure, confident adult with positive self-esteem (Arnett, 2012). However, due to its causal and outcome-based perspective, the theory of attachment does not align with the research objectives of this study, which are primarily rooted in constructivist perspectives.

3.3 Theory of Parenting Typology

Diana Baumrind proposed classifications of parenting styles, also known as parenting typologies (Baumrind, 1966). Baumrind proposed three parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive. Later, Maccoby and Martin (1983) added a fourth style to Baumrind's classifications: neglectful parenting. These four parenting styles were determined based on the four basic elements: responsiveness vs. unresponsiveness, and demandingness vs. undemandingness. Demandingness refers to a parent's expectation of the child to comply with the parents' rules and standards, and consequences if the expectations are not met. Responsiveness refers to a parents' degree of response to a child's needs in a supportive and accepting approach.

The authoritarian parenting style emphasizes strict rules, high levels of control, and obedience. Baumrind (1966) and subsequent studies (e.g. Darling & Steinberg, 1993), have indicated that children brought up under this style are more disciplined but exhibit lower self-esteem and emotional well-being. The authoritative parenting style emphasizes both warmth and boundaries and encourages child autonomy within reasonable limits. Baumrind (1966) and Maccoby and Martin (1983) claim that authoritative parenting style fosters positive social and emotional development in children, enables self-regulation, and encourages open communication between parents and children. The authoritative parenting style is also claimed as the most favourable for child and adolescent development across all cultural contexts (Baumrind et al., 2010; Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013; Steinberg, 2001).

The permissive parenting style tends to be lenient with little discipline and accepting and responsive to the child's needs without limits and rules. Permissive parents place few demands on children and tend to provide children with freedom, frequently capitulating to the child's demands and desires. Baumrind (1967) suggested that children raised with this style may struggle with impulse control and exhibit behaviour problems. These potential issues highlight the importance of balancing freedom and healthy boundaries to facilitate child development.

The neglecting parenting style involves minimal involvement from the parents, neglecting the emotional and physical needs of the child. Neglectful parents are unresponsive, disengaged, indifferent, and not demand anything from their child (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Children of neglectful parents have been found to test the lowest in social adjustment, having internalized distress, problem behaviour, aggression, difficulty adapting to social norms, and antisocial behaviours (DeRosier et al., 1994; Henry et al., 1996; Knutson et al., 2004; Kupersmidt et al., 1995; Steinberg et al., 1994).

Baumrind's theory of parenting styles serves as a valuable framework for understanding the impact of parental behaviours and practices on child development. It has been criticized for its overly wide categorizations, and globalisation of parenting styles and their impact across cultures (Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011; Smetana, 2017). Kohn (2006) criticised Baumrind's idealised description of authoritative parenting, arguing that it is apparently a fusion of caring and firmness, which is essentially entirely traditional and control-oriented. Grolnick (2012) also critiqued the use of the term *control* to describe authoritative parenting, claiming that the term *control* does not differentiate between coercive power assertion and structure, and high expectations. Lewis (1981), contends that studies did not adequately separate the effect of firm control from the effect of other accompanying parenting practices. Lewis (1981) also argued that studies did not necessarily account for the extraneous variable of the child's willingness to conform, which might be associated with positive effects of parental control rather than the parent's inclination to exercise control.

Chao (1994) and Chao and Otsuki-Clutter (2011) challenged the universal conclusion about the effect of different parenting styles, emphasising parenting assessments based on Indigenous ideas and cultural values. Culture, context, and parenting variations also have an impact on children, and researchers need to be sensitive to this (Smetana, 2017). These findings necessitate that researchers develop an understanding of the culture they are researching and interpret their findings in light of culture and tradition, thereby formulating a contextual understanding of parenting and its influence on children. Considering this, instead of using the theory of parenting typologies, this study rather utilises a framework of parenting dimensions informed by prominent parenting theories (including the theory of parenting typologies), to explore parenting practices in Bangladesh.

3.4 Using Parenting Dimensions to Explore Parenting Practices of Bangladeshi Mothers

Parenting practices are structural components of parenting dimensions. In the absence of a theory of parenting practice, I preferred to use parenting dimensions to study parenting practices in an under-researched Southeast Asian community, as they have the capacity to accommodate culture-specific meanings (Stewart & Bond, 2002). Parenting styles, on the other hand, are a cluster of parenting dimensions that may not untangle culture-specific elements of parenting (Roman, 2014). Using style to characterise parenting has been openly criticised, with propositions to rather use parenting dimensions to define parenting with greater specificity (Cheung & Cheah, 2025; Smetana, 2017). This is primarily because parenting style categories are based on norms derived from samples that are predominantly White, middle-class, and Western. Besides, the parenting style does not fit and capture parenting in all cultures. The theory was insufficient to capture the paradoxes in parenting among Latino (Domenech Rodríguez et al., 2009), Caribbean (Cappa & Khan, 2011), and Chinese families (Wu, 2013). Measuring parenting styles risks pathologizing and handicapping non-Western mothers, here, Bangladeshi mothers whose parenting practices may carry culture-specific meanings and values (Aboud, 2007). Parenting dimensions have been described as better indicators of parenting behaviour (Chao, 1994; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Stewart & Bond, 2002). Skinner et al. (2005) used multiple parenting dimensions to map parenting constructs. They also documented an extensive list of studies conducted in the last 60 years that measured parenting using parenting dimensions. From these limitations of using parenting styles to explore culture-specific parenting practices, and in the absence of a theory of parenting practices, I decided to form a theoretical framework using parenting dimensions, being the constructs composed of a set of parenting practices.

In this effort, I carefully analysed Gesell's (1952) theory of maturation, Ainsworth's (1967) and Bowlby's (1969) theory of attachment, Baumrind's (1967, 1971, 1989, 1991) parenting typology, and Watson's (1928) behaviourism, emphasizing psychological care of infant and child. Among these theories, five parenting dimensions were identified: warmth, discipline, demandingness, proximity, and communication. These dimensions are supported by various theoretical perspectives, including behaviourism, psychodynamic, and social learning theories, and have been widely used in empirical studies (Alvarenga et al., 2016; Chen et al., 2019; Liu et al., 2021; Lo et al., 2021). The dimensions are regarded as universal because they are present in various manifestations across cultures (Stewart & Bond, 2002). Since little research literature has been published on parenting in the Bangladeshi context, I was open to accommodating new emerging dimensions besides these five parenting dimensions.

3.4.1 Theoretical Basis and Empirical Applicability of Parenting Dimensions

This section discusses the theoretical bases and cross-cultural applications of the five parenting practice dimensions, justifying their use as broad categories to explore parenting practices in Bangladeshi culture.

a) Demandingness

The dimension of *demandingness* appears in several parenting theories. Gesell's (1952) theory of maturation talks about a *permissive* way of parenting as child-centred; parents do not impose demands on the child. On the other hand, Baumrind's (1967) theory of parenting styles discusses the *maturity demands* dimension of parenting, defining it as the pressure and scope given to the child to make their own decisions (independence-granting) and to perform up to their intellectual, emotional, and social abilities (independence-training). Both concepts focalise

what parents demand of the child. Where Gesell directly advised not to impose parents' demands on a child, Baumrind described parents' demands as a varied element and one of the key components in her three parenting styles.

The presence of demandingness in parenting is observed across cultures. Domenech Rodríguez et al. (2009) identified culture and gender-specific presence of *demandingness* in Latino culture. Latino families expect girls to mature at a younger age than boys; however, the boys are expected to get a job outside the home at a younger age. Regarding parental control or discipline, Latino families emphasize that boys practice skills in household rules and activities (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007). Africans raise their children based on a culturally bound understanding of a child's needs and expectations, rather than being permissive of the child's own choices or socialization goals, reflecting the demand for culture-specific goals. Sikhs in Punjab expect their adult children to consult with parents and siblings to make important decisions (Gibson, 1988), whereas Indian (Minturn & Hitchcock, 1963), Japanese (Maretzki & Maretzki, 1963), and Tarong and Philippine (Nydegger & Nydegger, 1963) parents demand a sense of responsibility from children and emphasize responsibility training, though timing for this training varies from the age of 4 to 6 years.

b) Discipline

The concept of discipline appears in both Watson's behaviourism and Baumrind's parenting style theory. Watson (1928) focuses on reinforcement and punishment techniques in child rearing for behaviour modification and attaining goals. It has been widely criticized for its consideration of the child as a mechanical being, ignoring their socio-emotional needs. Baumrind's (1967) theory of parenting styles refers to parental control as part of parental

discipline, focusing only on the act of socialising the child to shape goal-oriented activities, to alter their aggressive, dependent, and playful behaviour. Thus, Baumrind's parental control dimension endorses the internalization of behaviour, while Watson ignores internal control altogether. However, both theories aim to establish a disciplining mechanism, either through reinforcement-punishment or behavioural control.

The discipline aspect of parenting is revealed in research studies across cultural contexts. A study conducted in Trinidad and Tobago revealed a distinct sense of discipline, characterized by a varied combination of rule setting, a moderate level of harsh discipline, a high level of positive parenting, and maternal reinforcement (Roopnarine et al., 2014). Anderson and Payne (1994) found that African-Caribbean parents emphasised autonomy while Indo-Caribbean parents were seen as indulgent and permissive.

Several studies have found that Chinese and Taiwanese parents are more directive (Jose et al., 2000). Chinese parents are characterized as restrictive, loving, over-controlling, overprotective, and harsh, to the extent of inhibiting the child's expression of opinions and independence (Ho, 1996; Wu, 2013). The culture at large approves of parents' use of corporal punishment in discipline (Liu et al., 2021). Vietnamese parents were described as controlling, intrusive, and less encouraging of autonomy (Herz & Gullone, 1999), whereas Japanese parents were found to be very controlling, using punitive measures such as scolding or spanking to discipline the child (Trommsdorff, 1985; Winata & Power, 1989).

Parental control and other practices are associated with socio-economic status (SES), such that Asian parents with low-SES emphasise dominance, conformity, and more corporal punishment with a higher loving attitude than middle- and high-SES parents (Chauhan, 1980).

Interestingly, children of Asian parents associated control with parental warmth, care, and concern (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

c) Warmth

Attachment theory provides concepts of responsiveness, proximity, affective interaction (Bowlby, 1969), and sensitivity to the child's signals and needs (Ainsworth, 1967). These concepts align with Baumrind's (1967) concept of warmth, which is defined as parents' love and compassion for the child, manifested through verbal approval, touch, affectionate expressions, and sensory stimulation. With common elements of affective interaction and affective expression, both theories include *warmth*, though *responsiveness* is used to mean more than warmth and has the added scope of parental acceptance and rejection behaviour to the child (Bowlby, 1969).

A breadth of studies shows evidence of different forms of warmth in different cultural contexts. Parental training of children conveys warmth and control among both Chinese and non-Chinese Asian families, for example, in Pakistan (Stewart et al., 2002). African mothers have a tradition of carrying their babies on their backs and arms as an expression of affection (Mbada et al., 2022; Schön & Silvén, 2007). Caribbean parents, in general, are observed to express warmth to their children with little praise (Anderson & Payne, 1994; Cappa & Khan, 2011). Chinese mothers prioritize building a secure, warm, and loving relationship with their child, while fathers play a larger role in discipline. Chinese fathers often discourage emotional indulgence, despite possessing warm emotions for their children (Jankowiak, 2017).

d) Proximity and Communication

Wilkinson and Canter (1988) defined proximity as the physical distance of a person in relation to others. Proximity is a common element in Baumrind's concept of warmth and communication. Warmth has a physical, tactile aspect, and proximity serves as a source of affiliation (Fay & Maner, 2012). Additionally, it is a crucial element of nonverbal communication (Wilkinson & Canter, 1988). The sense of proximity is also an important element of the theory of attachment. Bowlby (1982) explains that maintaining physical proximity is a biological function of attachment in the parent-child dyad. Bowlby also outlined the evolutionary significance of proximity – keeping infants close served to protect the defenceless neonate from predators. Thus, proximity is an element that comes across multiple theoretical concepts.

Similarly, communication is a common concept in theories on parenting. It is an element of warmth and discipline, where verbal and non-verbal communication convey the intended message to the child. The parent intentionally or unintentionally communicates their feelings to the child - signals reflecting the parents' valuing the feelings of the child can communicate warmth, for example. They also may reflect on parents being open or manipulative to the child, an aspect of discipline (Baumrind, 1967).

The parental values and beliefs surrounding communication and the pattern of parental communication vary across cultures. Bangladeshi adults engage in limited verbal conversation with children, and mostly the conversation includes direct instructions (Kibria & Jain, 2009). In contrast, the Rajput in India believe that children learn by imitation and observation rather than direct instructions (Minturn & Hitchcock, 1963). Immigrant Chinese mothers used reasoning for their expectations and requests, allowing children to “make up their own minds” (Gorman, 1998, p. 78). However, Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong reported having not only less

communication but also negative communication with their fathers (Shek, 2000). Nso parents from the Northwest Province of Cameroon engage in body-based stimulation practices—such as tickling, gentle physical exercise, and rhythmic lifting—to establish bodily communication with their infants. These culturally embedded practices are grounded in the belief that such embodied interactions, along with rhythmic chorusing, play a vital role in nurturing a socially oriented sense of self in the developing child (Yovsi, 2014).

Proximity is observed universally to be acting as reassuring to human infants (Wolff, 1969) and among other primates (Harlow, 1958). In the case of cross-cultural forms of proximity, Bell and Ainsworth (1972), found that physical contact was the most frequently employed means to soothe infants. Grossmann et al. (1985) also found the same in Northern Germany, where physical contact increased the effectiveness of verbal empathy to sooth a child, though German mothers were found to emphasize face-to-face interaction with eye contact and exclusive undivided attention to their babies (Keller et al., 2005). Hunziker and Barr (1986), in a study in Canada, revealed that close physical contact between children and their caregivers lessens the amount of crying and nagging. Japanese mothers provided extensive physical closeness, sleeping and bathing together with the children to protect them from loneliness (Chen, 1996).

The West African Nso population were found to emphasize proximity and bodily warmth as a major interaction mechanism (Keller et al., 2005). They emphasised the practice of mothers' talking to their babies, for their language development. Proximity and communication exist in parenting practices across cultures, though varied to suit cultural preference, values, and development intentions.

The five proposed dimensions of parenting practices are not only theoretically driven but also supported by cross-cultural empirical evidence, possibly suggesting their universality in their different manifestations (Stewart & Bond, 2002). These five dimensions are derived from behaviourism, psychodynamic and social learning perspectives, and emphasise similar aspects of parenting practices - there was little theoretical conflict in combining these dimensions, seeing as the concepts exist across multiple theoretical positions. These theories are all founded on conscious and unconscious aims of parenting, which are to ensure preservation and survival of the species, with specific reference to different socio-cultural contexts of global and diverse human populations.

The five parenting dimensions provided the framework for exploring protective parenting practices among Bangladeshi mothers and for identifying culture-specific distinct parenting practices. They guided the exploration of the similarities and differences in protective parenting practices among two generations of Bangladeshi mothers.

3.5 Theoretical Framework to Explore Intergenerational Continuity of Parenting Practices

There are theories pertaining to parenting practices, yet very few relate to intergenerational transmission of parenting and psychosocial constructs. The theories that address this are the theory of attachment (Bowlby, 1960), the psychological origins of parenthood (Sadow, 1984), and the social learning theory (Bandura, 1977).

Social learning theory is commonly used to explain the key mechanism of intergenerational continuity of parenting behaviours (Bailey et al., 2009; Kerr et al., 2009; Neppel et al., 2009; Rothenberg et al., 2017). Crittenden (1984), Patterson (1998), and Simonton (1983) used social learning theory in their studies on intergenerational transmission or continuities of

parenting practices and traits. Social learning theory explains intergenerational transmission of parenting through social learning mechanisms such as role modelling, observation, and direct instruction. Some research studies follow neo-Vygotskian perspectives, for example, studies on parenting values in Nso, Cameroon, by Nsamenang and Lamb (1993, 1995), and on childrearing practices by Rogoff et al. (1993) in Guatemala, Turkey, India and the United States. These studies showed that children learn through observation and social participation, where learning of parental values is shaped by intrinsic personality traits and different social agents (e.g. habitat, religion, geography, economy, cultural history, and sociocultural system). Crittenden (1984) followed social learning theory and developed three models to explain intergenerational transmission of parenting: (1) A child observes while parents interact with another child and model their parents' behaviour. (2) A child's experience of being parented shapes their behaviour as a parent. (3) Direct coaching from parents during interaction with other children shapes their parenting behaviour.

However, Bandura's (1989) social cognitive theory, a later version of social learning theory, was more suitable for this study for its emphasis on a person's cognitive and decision-making faculties in learning and practices, incorporating different learning mechanisms (observation, direct instruction, and modelling). Social cognitive theory can explain intergenerational transmission of parenting in studies that used social learning theory. Social cognitive theory aligns with the research questions on exploring beliefs and socio-cultural contexts behind protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers. Previous research has applied the theory to explore intergenerational transmission of several psychosocial constructs like intimate partner violence (Yount et al., 2018), divorce, family conflict, negative attitudes

towards marriage, and involvement in a close relationship (Segrin et al., 2005). These assured the theory's applicability in this research study.

3.5.1 Theoretical Concepts of Social Cognitive Theory

Social cognitive theory incorporates behaviour, environmental factors, and cognitive and personal factors, including self-efficacy, perception, beliefs, and physical factors. This theory assumes that learning is internal and behavioural changes or demonstration is not necessary for learning (Bandura, 1986). The theory describes learning as taking place through the process of observation, modelling, direct instruction, expectancy outcome, and self-regulation. Self-efficacy is an integral element. 'Parenting self-efficacy' refers to parents' estimation of their own abilities to influence their children for positive development. Research suggests that parenting self-efficacy plays a prominent role in parents' maintaining of effective parenting practices (Bandura, 1997; Jones & Prinz, 2005).

The theory offers a model of causation described as "triadic reciprocal determinism" (Bandura, 1989, p. 2). There are three factors: cognition or inner personal factors, behaviour, and environment. These factors interact, determining each other and their relative influence varies in different individuals and different circumstances. For example, environmental factors (mother's response calms a child down when it cries) may lead to developing inner personal factors, which are parents' self-efficacy cognitions (I can calm down a child by responding when it cries). These inner personal factors may influence agents' behaviour (respond to their own child when they cry), and the impact of the agents' behaviour in turn alters their parenting related conceptions and environmental circumstances.

The social cognitive theory can be applied to explore intergenerational transmission of parenting practices through decisions made over the course of life as well as self-direction within the bounds of environment.

3.5.2 Cross-cultural Applicability of Social Cognitive Theory

A number of research studies assessed the cross-cultural generalizability of social cognitive theory. Pastorelli et al. (2001) explored the structure of perceived self-efficacy of children in Italy, Hungary, and Poland, and found that the factor structure of children from all three cultures are fundamentally replicated. Kwak and Bandura (1997) found the same structure of perceived self-efficacy in children from collectivist Korean culture. Even the gender differences in perceived self-efficacy are found to be similar across cultures. One key issue here is that even though the factor structure is similar in these different cultures, the different forms of perceived self-efficacy develop differently, also applied to the concept of ‘modelling.’ Bandura (2002) calls modelling a universalised human capacity whose uses vary in different cultural environments. Bandura (1978) also suggests that there is profound adaptive significance to reciprocal determinism for most human populations.

Research in diverse cultural contexts use the parenting self-efficacy concept. Bogenschneider et al. (1997) found significant relationships between parenting self-efficacy and parents’ responsiveness and monitoring practices in a study incorporating diverse families of adolescents. Shumow and Lomax (2002) found that parenting self-efficacy was significantly related to parents’ involvement and monitoring in a Latino sample. In another study on a Mexican American sample, parenting self-efficacy was negatively correlated to inconsistent discipline (Dumka et al., 1996).

Examples show that social cognitive theory can be applied to diverse cultural contexts, including the individualistic and collective. It is applicable to the Bangladeshi cultural context to explore intergenerational transmission of parenting practices.

3.6 Theory of Modern Man

The theory of modern man (Inkeles, 1969; Inkeles & Smith, 1984) is based on a study conducted on around 6000 people from six countries (Israel, Argentina, India, Chile, Nigeria, and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh)), to explore the impact of modernisation at the individual level. From the data collected from people of different levels of education, industrial production, and economy, Inkeles and Smith proposed a universal syndrome of values, attitudes, and behavioural characteristics to define human modernity. Ten characteristics of a modern person were suggested, which are mostly attitude-oriented: A modern person would value education highly, be open to science and technology, interested in the world of information, participate in political activities, be ambitious with aspirations of economic advancement, have an individual sense of responsibility, plan for their lives, be change-oriented, have a sense of self-efficacy, and respectful but not submissive to authority (Inkeles, 2019).

Since the construction of the theory of modern man posits universality of concept, this theory would be a good fit for Bangladeshi social and cultural contexts. However, critics pointed to the use of Western culture-based capitalistic quality items to study modernity in developing countries, which lacks conservative fundamental dimensions, and that the modernity scores of people from these six developing countries, including Bangladesh, might not represent the state's actual modernity level (Murray, 1977). Others appreciated the theorists' strong claim about their suggested universal modernity syndrome, which was the same in all the studied countries (Black,

1976). Notwithstanding, one of the strengths of the theory is that Inkeles and Smith (1984) acknowledge a person's free choice and ability to decide on undertaking anything modernisation has to offer: "Our image of man's nature is not that of a sponge which must soak up everything with which it comes in contact" (p. 91). With volition, a person might choose to continue traditional practices while sharing the space with others who rather choose to follow practices labelled as modern. A person's modernity is selective, where they might adopt modern aspects but hold traditional values in others. This perspective aligns with the decision-making factors of intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices. Considering the theory's conceptual strength, identified parameters of modernisation, and developmental origin to be partly based on the Bangladeshi population, I recognized the theory as suitable for the scope of this study.

3.7 Theory of Urbanisation

The functionalist approach debates the relative merits and demerits of urbanisation, suggesting that urbanisation brings both advantages and disadvantages, and that residents respond to the effects with greater tolerance and creativity. Modernisation comes with urbanisation, which fosters high culture, creativity, population density, impersonality, insecurity, crimes, and many other opportunities and challenges (Okulicz-Kozaryn & Mazelis, 2018). Sociologists differ in their approach to urbanisation. Sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1887/ 2002) was critical about the negative societal changes due to urbanisation, such as weakened and impersonal social ties, seen in a weakened sense of community and development of feelings of rootlessness replacing the sense of stability. Émile Durkheim (1893/ 1997), on the other hand, appreciated the reformed organic societal bonds and sense of community stemming from the division of labour and interdependence of roles. Wirth (1938) took a middle position, agreeing

that crimes, insecurity, a weakened sense of community, and social bonds exist in the cities, but cities persuade higher tolerance and creativity among the residents to deal with the problems. Contemporary research findings support Wirth's hypothesis that crime is profuse in cities (Bettencourt et al., 2007, 2010) and that city residents conceive more tolerant viewpoints (Moore & Ovadia, 2006).

Critics debate the Westernized base of Wirth's theory, which overlooks the social dynamics of lower-tiered cities (Goldman, 2011). My data highlighted how in Dhaka city, dwellers face the challenge of pervasive crimes and insecurity in the megacity. The theory of urbanisation helped to explain the participants' encounters with urbanisation-generated challenges in Dhaka city and their impact on protection.

3.8 Compatibility and Integration of Theoretical Frameworks and Research Paradigms

Parenting dimensions acknowledge the influence of culture on parenting, and that parenting takes place within a dynamic interaction of parents, child, and the culture they live in. The parenting dimensions framework is compatible with the social constructivism research paradigm, which suggests that knowledge is constructed through social interaction. Social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) is also supported by the philosophy of social interaction, suggesting that learning occurs through direct instruction, observation, and modelling in an interaction with inner-personal factors and environments. Thus, by sharing the philosophy of social interaction and acknowledging the influence of environment and culture, both theoretical frameworks and the research paradigm are mutually compatible.

After data collection, I found that the data demanded a theoretical lens to explain its social and behavioural contexts. I used the lens of the theory of urbanisation (Wirth, 1938) and

the theory of modern man (Inkeles & Smith, 1984) to explain the data and support the findings that are results of modernisation and urbanisation. Thus the inclusion of Wirth's (1938) theory of urbanisation and Inkeles and Smith's (1984) theory of modern man to the theoretical framework.

The following lens of the theory of the modern man (Inkeles & Smith, 1984) was used for data analysis: A modern person- (a) keeps themselves updated about major events and news, (b) believes that their actions might affect his life course and that his active efforts can improve his as well as his family conditions, (c) is independent of the traditional authority sources, and (d) is open to novel experiences. The theory also suggests that a modern person uses their choice and decisions and does not 'soak up' everything modernisation brings. This aligns well with the cognitive aspect of social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1989). Self-efficacy is a common concept in both the modernisation theory and the social cognitive theory. The emphasis on a person's free choice and decision-making skills from modernisation theory also aligns with the theory of urbanisation (Wirth, 1938), which emphasizes a person's creativity in responding to its effects.

3.9 Conclusion

Parenting is a multifaceted phenomenon shaped by the dynamic interplay between parent, child, family members, community, cultural values, norms, traditional practices, and broader socio-political and economic factors, at both local and global levels. No single theoretical framework was sufficient to comprehensively explore and examine the constructs of protective parenting practices. Therefore, an integrated theoretical framework—encompassing parenting dimensions, social cognitive theory, the theory of modern man, and the theory of urbanisation—was employed. A critical analysis reveals that these theoretical perspectives align effectively with the social constructivist research approach adopted for this study. This alignment

emphasizes the relevance of the integrated theoretical framework in capturing the nuanced interplay between the evolving protective parenting practices, individual agencies, and sociocultural influences.

Chapter Four: Methods²

4.1 Introduction

This study adopted the social constructivist approach and followed a hermeneutic phenomenology research design. Data were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews. Certain procedures were followed to ensure the trustworthiness of this study, and are described in detail. I also reflect on my understanding, experiences, and familiarity to the research site and how these have influenced this research process.

The sampling and data collection process revealed various customs, practices, and social and communal lifestyles of people in Bangladesh. Based on that, I had to adapt and adjust the research method to meet a few Bangladeshi cultural practices for successful sampling and data collection. I was unable to fully guarantee privacy during the interview sessions, and a dual relationship was established with some of the participants. I contested the *compromise* of participants' privacy and the engagement in dual relationships from an ethical perspective. This

² A data Project, "Coded Interview Excerpts about Protective Parenting Practices in Dhaka, Bangladesh" has been curated and published in Qualitative Data Repository (QDR). The citation is as follows:

Jasmine, Umme H. 2025. Coded Interview Excerpts about Protective Parenting Practices in Dhaka, Bangladesh. *Qualitative Data Repository*. <https://doi.org/10.5064/F6BBLHIM>. QDR Main Collection. V1

The following scientific paper was produced based on the fieldwork experiences of this study, and has been submitted to the *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. The paper is attached as Appendix I.

Jasmine, U. H., Mayisela, S., & Nduna, M. (2025). Bridging Ethics and Local Realities: A Case for Cultural Sensitivity and Reflexivity in Bangladesh [Manuscript under review for publication]. Department of Psychology, University of the Witwatersrand.

chapter presents the research design, sampling, data collection procedure, cultural contexts, culture-bound strategies, and my reflections on the methodology as the researcher.

4.2 Study Site and Context: Introducing Bangladesh

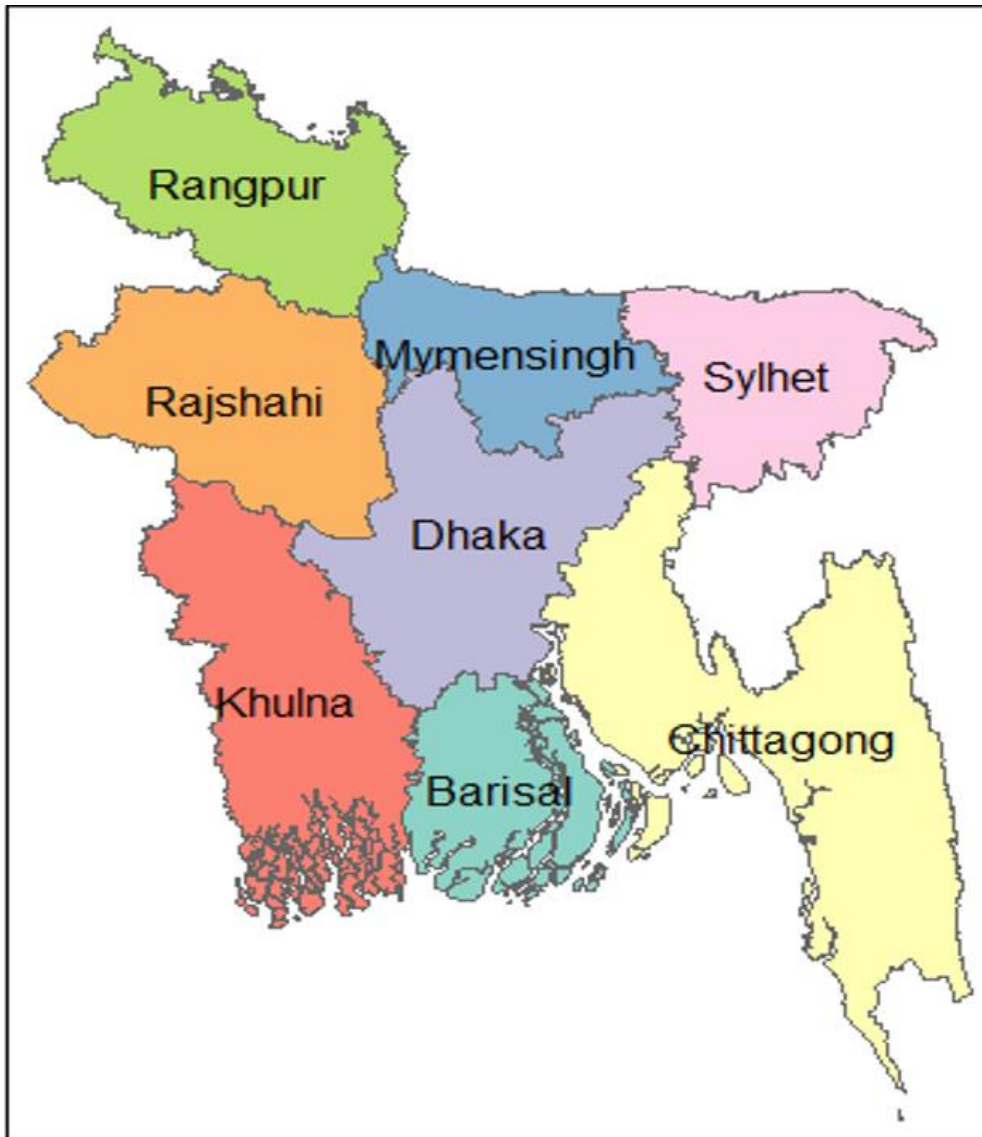
Bangladesh is a lower middle-income country of South Asia with a total area of 143,998 Km². It is geographically located between India, Myanmar, and the Bay of Bengal. Bangladesh shares borders with India to the east, west, and north, and with Myanmar to the south-east. Bangladesh was a part of British India until 1947 and gained independence from Pakistan in 1971. As part of the Indian sub-continent, people of these countries share similar cultural practices and traditions.

According to the most recent data from the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (2023), the population of Bangladesh is over 169.8 million, and the literacy rate of those aged 7 years and above is 74.8%, with 8.8% at least an education of secondary school level and above. As a result of a persistent digitalisation movement in Bangladesh, as of 2024, 72% of males and 28% of females use the internet. The primary official language in Bangladesh is Bengali, followed by English. Though there are several indigenous languages, 98.8% of the total population speaks Bengali as their mother tongue. The majority of the population is called Bangladeshis, and roughly 1.7 million are indigenous people belonging to approximately 54 diverse ethnic groups mainly residing in Rajshahi-Dinajpur (north-west), Sylhet (north-east), Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT, south-east), Mymensingh-Tangail (central north), greater Barisal, Chittagong, and Cox's bazar (south and south-east) (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2023). The government of Bangladesh recognizes these as minor ethnic groups in an amendment to the constitution in 2011. Consistent ethnic oppression and low socio-economic opportunities led these indigenous

people to a civil war against the Bangladesh government in 1973, ending in 1997 with the Chittagong Hill Tracts peace accord (Rashiduzzaman, 1998).

Figure 4.1

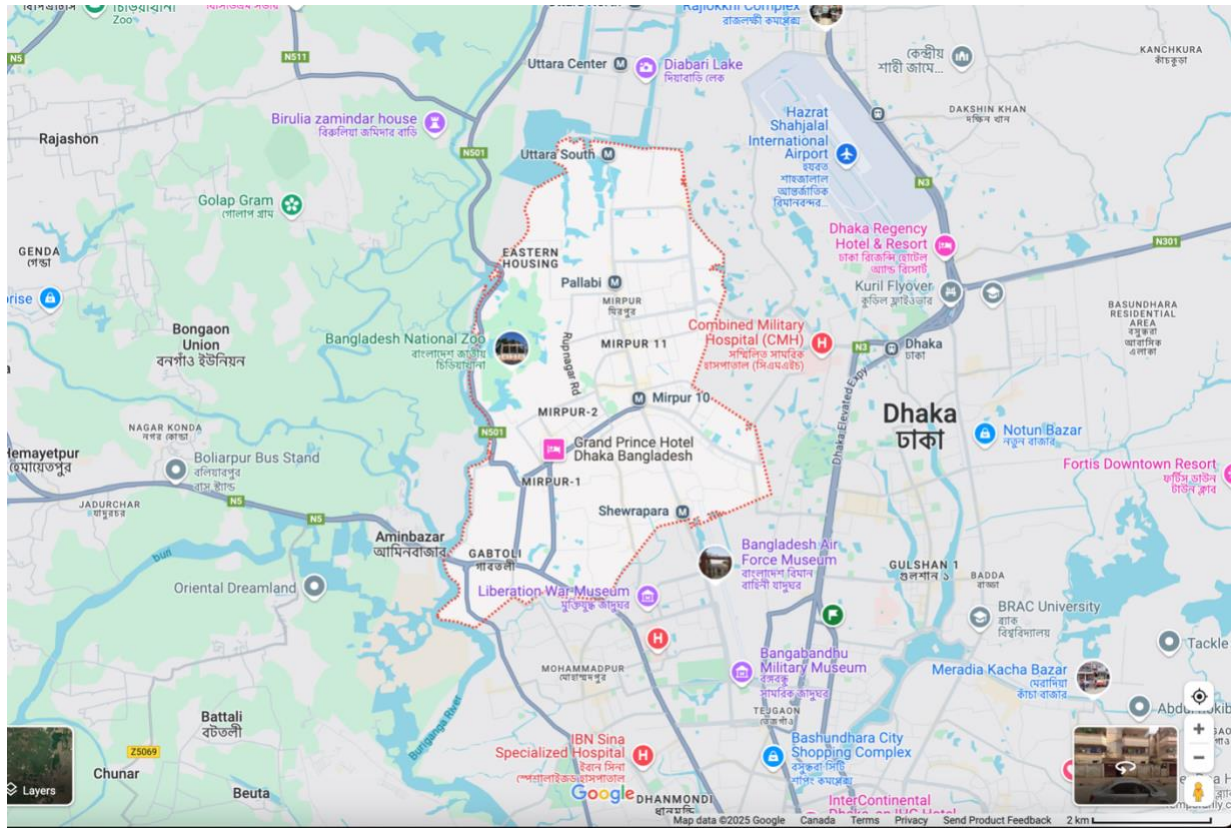
Dhaka City (Central Purple Area)



Source: R Project (n.d.)

Figure 4.2

Mirpur Area (Region Inside Dotted Red Border)



Source: GeoCast (2024)

In 1971, Bangladesh had to fight a nine-month-long liberation war against Pakistan. The war caused three million deaths and resulted in a large proportion of fatherless families and children growing up in a chaotic and unstable social context. More than ten thousand rapes were perpetrated during the liberation war by Pakistani troops and their helpers (Goetz et al., 1995). The exact figure varies from 30,000 to 400,000 in different reports. It is hypothesised that this is underestimated, because many victims and their families did not report the offence out of fear of stigmatisation and immediate rejection by the community and family members. After the war, these women survivors (called as *Birongona*, *Heroine* in English) and their children, born of the rapes, were socially marginalised and stigmatised because of the existing conservative social

values (Gerlach, 2010; International Commission of Jurists, 1972; Roy, 2016; Saikia, 2011; Sharlach, 2000; Siddiqi, 1998). The trauma of the mass gang rape together with social stigma resulted with many mothers wilfully or forcefully giving their children to orphanages or for adoption to save themselves and their children from social stigma (Gerlach, 2010; Mookherjee, 2007; Saikia, 2011). While not a general characteristic of mothering or parenting practices in Bangladesh, the effect of these events might have carried over through generations.

In July 2024, a revolution, popularly referred to as *The Second Independence War*, marked a pivotal moment in Bangladesh's history. On August 5, 2024, the movement culminated in the overthrow of a 15-year autocratic regime of the Awami League-led government. GenZ (Generation Zoomer) declared the day as the *new Independence Day or Independence 2.0* (Azim & Zaman, 2024). The July movement started with a peaceful street protest by students against an askew quota system in government jobs, and subsequently evolved into a full-scale rebellion against the incumbent government after almost 300 civilian deaths and thousands more injured (Azim & Zaman, 2024; McVeigh, 2024). The GenZ students who led the movement demonstrated remarkable courage in the face of bullets and arrests, maintaining unity despite external efforts to sow division and confusion among them. Their decentralized and collective leadership, rooted in the innovative use of information technologies, proved both adaptive and resilient (Zahan et al., 2024). This approach resonated profoundly with the broader population, effectively uniting individuals from diverse socio-economic and professional backgrounds. Tracing back to Bangladeshi history of standing up against oppressors, the movement resonates with student-led civilians' anti-authoritarian battle against systematic institutional injustice, oppression, discrimination, and corruption in the government. However, unlike previous uprisings, this event was characterized by widespread public support and active participation

from the population. Three days after the resignation and subsequent exile of the Prime Minister, an interim government was established, composed of student coordinators and led by Professor Muhammad Yunus, a distinguished economist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate.

Even after going through all the uprisings and movements, Bangladesh won *The Economist's Country of the Year Award* for 2024 for its swift economic growth over the past years and how the country restored order and stabilized their economy after toppling an oppressive and corrupted government in a recent bloodshed movement (The Economist, 2024). Despite experiencing periodic movements and turmoil since its independence in 1971, Bangladesh has garnered global recognition for its humanitarian efforts, particularly for its generosity in accommodating millions of Rohingya refugees and sharing resources to support their needs.

Family is fundamental to Bangladeshi life. Strong family ties are the foundation of family allegiance and community lives, and mutual dependency in the family overrides individual wants and goals (Chowdhury, 1995). Mainly, the family system consists of extended family members and is dominated by male elders, especially the father, husband, or the elder son (Ball & Wahedi, 2010). Children are highly valued, and elders are highly respected. Extended families are often overcrowded, demanding a lot of household labour. Family members actively participate in child rearing. If there are conflicts of parenting beliefs between extended family members and parents, it can sometimes create difficult situations in the family (Elliott & Gunaratnam, 2009).

Dhaka city is slightly different. Residents in Dhaka city get easy access to updated technologies, global media, multicultural society, and various sources of information. Being the centre of administration and opportunities, Dhaka attracts economic migrants and students from

all over the country and abroad. As a result, people usually leave their extended family behind to migrate to the city. As a result, families live in mostly nuclear arrangements.

Marriage is a norm in Bangladesh, and people are mostly monogamous. A woman's social status and respect depend on her marital status and her husband's social position. Children are at the centre of the marital bond (Sultana, 2013). The mean ages of marriage for males and females in rural areas are 24.9 and 18.92 years, respectively, and in urban areas, the ages are 25.89 and 20.04 years, respectively (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2023). The wife and children are considered a man's property and responsibility (Ball & Wahedi, 2010). Women are usually financially dependent on men. This is changing with a large number of women entering the workforce in the last two to three decades.

Gender roles are clearly defined in the home and social life: women are the primary caregivers for children, and men are the breadwinners and make decisions for the family, children's education, and social lives. In Bangladesh, women are structurally submissive, and therefore, their roles are less studied and less understood (Deb & Haque, 2011). In Bangladesh, gender seems to construct a virtual second culture within a culture (Ball & Wahedi, 2010; Stewart & Bond, 2002; Stewart et al., 2000). Families have a strong preference for sons and also invest more in boys to make the best use of their intellect and abilities (Stewart et al., 2000). In contrast, girls are seen as their parents' responsibility until marriage. Afterwards, they are the husbands' responsibility (Sultana, 2013). Even today, marriages are often arranged by the family; securing a spouse is a primary concern for parents.

Around 82.10 % of families are male-headed and 17.90% of families are female-headed (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2023). Female-headed households are usually the result of men

moving far away for work, leaving their children with their mother. The men sometimes get remarried in their new location or die. Growing up without a father affects the child's life, while the mother is secluded from many areas of social life due to the lack of a husband. More than 116 million people live in rural areas, and around 53.7 million people live in urban areas (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2023). Compared to urban fathers, rural fathers manage to spend more time with their sons in conversation, bathing together in the ponds, working together in the field, and teaching work or food production skills (Ball & Wahedi, 2010). In urban areas, fathers spend more time commuting to work and work long hours (Ball & Wahedi, 2010).

Islam is the predominant religion, and Muslims are the largest ethnic group in Bangladesh; other religions and groups are also present (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2023). Most Bangladeshis practice Islam in a moderate form that keeps women sheltered and indoors. Bangladeshi mothers regard childcare as an Islamic duty (Elliott & Gunaratnam, 2009). This is a powerful cultural ideal, especially in rural areas (White, 1992).

The economy of Bangladesh is dependent on agriculture. In the last few decades this has changed, with decreased contribution to the GDP due to urbanisation, transnational labour migration, and natural disasters (Asian Development Bank, 2023). Currently, the country is at a 31.66% level of urbanisation (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2023) due to increased poverty and new urban economic prospects. This has reformed aspects of family life by resulting in an increased number of nuclear families, which are separated from their extended kin.

Mothering and a sense of motherhood have changed in recent years as more mothers entered the workforce. Such changes need to reconcile with the traditional image of motherhood and mothering practices (Ball & Wahedi, 2010). Labour migration, taking a father or a mother

away from children, might have implications for parenting. This, together with advancements in education, globalisation, and technology, indicates potential differences in parenting between generations of Bangladeshi mothers.

4.3 Research Paradigm

This study explored the continuity of parenting practices from one generation of mothers to the next in a social constructivist approach. A social constructivist approach focuses on “the interdependence of social and individual processes in the co-construction of knowledge,” and the mechanisms identified for learning are drawn from Piagetian and Vygotskian accounts (Palincsar, 1998, p. 345). Social constructivism was appropriate for this study because the knowledge of parenting practices was co-constructed in analysing the participants’ social context and their experiences of interaction with children and society.

4.3.1 Research Approach

I followed a qualitative research approach to address the research questions of this study. Qualitative research provides a rich description of people’s experiences, their values, social norms, context, and ethnicity. Qualitative research is able to provide a more human side of information (Mack et al., 2005). Since research in parenting in a transitional social context (of Bangladesh) is still at an elementary level, a qualitative approach fits better to explore idiosyncratic parenting experiences between two generations of mothers in their cultural specifications.

Sometimes, the findings of qualitative research can be extended to people with similar characteristics, although generalizability is not the aim. Rather, gaining a rich description and understanding of a phenomenon is the goal of a qualitative study. Thus, the qualitative research

approach helped to construct a thick, detailed description and understanding of Bangladeshi parenting that is culture-specific and contextualized.

4.3.2 Study Design

A cross-sectional hermeneutic phenomenology research design was followed. As of a cross-sectional design, the data was collected from both generations of mothers at a specific point in time, which was from July 2017 to December 2017. The phenomenological design gave the structure needed to understand the lived experiences of mothers in parenting. Consciousness and experience are the focus and the central emphasis in hermeneutic phenomenology design. Hermeneutics allows for a more productive critique of a work, improving the researcher's specific intentions by revealing the underlying issues or going beyond those (Makkreel, 1992). Researchers emphasized the historical task to understand a hermeneutic task that reflects on politics, economics, communities, and wars to give the meaning of an experience. Thus, the interconnection of science, history, and art is at the centre of hermeneutic phenomenological research design.

I explored the conscious current and retrospective experiences of two generations of Bangladeshi mothers' parenting practices. The learning sources of those parenting practices were explored to build an intergenerational transmission model. Besides, I purposely investigated the underlying beliefs, motivations, and goals of parenting to give a meaning of those parenting practice experiences.

4.4 Sampling

The target population included mothers (G2) with at least one school-going child (Grade 1 to 12) and grandmothers (G1) living in the capital city of Dhaka and its surrounding areas. A

grandmother was identified as the primary caregiver of the mother; this included the biological grandmother, an elder sister to the biological mother, or a natal aunt - whoever played the role of a primary caregiver in the mother's childhood. The target population was predominantly middle socioeconomic class, whose monthly income ranged from 40,000 BDT to 78,000 BDT (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 2016). The middle-class people's lives centred around their families, and their primary priority was to prepare children for a bright future. Most of them were employed in a fixed-income job, which helped them to plan reliably for the present and future of the family.

Initially, I planned to draw the sample from Dhaka and its surrounding areas, where people from various districts of the country converge, with different socio-economic statuses (SES) and educational levels. After trying Mirpur and Shahbagh area, I finally recruited participants from the Mirpur area, where the population was predominantly middle class in terms of living standards, apartment rents, and commodity prices. Dhaka city was ideal to recruit participants originating from different districts.

As part of the patriarchal Muslim social custom, a newlywed woman moves into the in-laws' or husband's house after marriage (Chen, 1986; Kandiyoti, 2002). This caused a challenge in finding two-generations of mother-daughter dyads in close geographical proximity. In addition, residents of Dhaka city are economic migrants from other parts of the country. Therefore, in most cases, the grandmothers (G1) lived in distant villages in different parts of the country. For feasibility and convenience of accessibility, my target population was mothers and maternal grandmothers who raised their children in Dhaka city.

Targeting the population who raised children in Dhaka city might have limited diversification of data, but the mainstay was that the data was a rich account of parenting in Dhaka city. The sampling approach consisted of three aspects: setting sampling criteria, designing sampling strategies, and sample recruitment.

4.4.1 Sampling Criteria

The primary inclusion criterion was that the mother participants (G2) must have at least one school-going child (from Grade one to Grade twelve, aged six to eighteen), irrespective of having any other older or younger children. Another inclusion criterion was that the mother's biological mother or primary caregiver (G1) must be accessible and available for in-depth interviews. Since this study aimed to explore traditional parenting practices, and a child with special needs might require specialised care and parenting approaches (Avis & Reardon, 2008; De Geeter et al., 2002), mothers or grandmothers of a child with special needs were excluded.

4.4.2 Sampling Strategy

I recruited participants following snowball sampling procedures, where my contacts in the community led me to potential participants. Regardless of being selected as my study participants, some of them introduced me to other potential participants through their own contacts.

I contacted potential respondents through two local resource persons: Ms. Rabi³, a representative of a women-only local cooperative society in Mirpur area, and Ms. Lisa⁴, a resident in Shahbagh area. Two different recruitment strategies were designed with the two

^{3, 4} Not real name. Pseudonyms have been used for all the research participants and the local resource persons.

resource persons. With Ms. Rabi, I taught the sampling criteria and then she connected me with the prospective participants from her social circle in the Mirpur area. I applied a different strategy with Ms. Lisa. She and I together approached mothers waiting outside of their children's school in Shahbagh and nearby areas. We were strangers to all the mothers we approached. This was the basic difference between recruitment strategies with Ms. Rabi and Ms. Lisa.

4.4.3 Sample Recruitment

In qualitative research, a researcher is considered an insider when they share some group attributes with the study population (Braun & Clarke, 2013). I was an insider in this study regarding gender, language, and geographic location. Like the target population, I was raised and lived in Dhaka city, my home language is Bengali, and I am a married woman. Although I was not a mother prior to the study, I was an expectant mother during fieldwork, and this helped me earn wider acceptance among the participants. Ms. Rabi used her professional and personal contacts to help me reach prospective participants. Ms. Rabi phoned each one of them, introduced me to them, and then I was on the line with the individual. I set the initial conversation to build rapport, checking the inclusion and exclusion criteria, then making an appointment if the prospective respondent met sampling criteria and agreed to participate in the study. Three of those initial contacts referred several prospective participants to the study; two of these referrals agreed to participate and were recruited. I communicated with the participants at least twice before visiting their homes: once for the initial conversation and again to reconfirm the appointment for their interview.

In the Mirpur area, around 11 kilometres away from Shahbagh, my local resource person, Ms. Rabi, was well-known and well-accepted among local women. Ms. Rabi acted as a reference

point and sometimes accompanied me to participants' homes. The participants openly welcomed me into their homes, and neither I nor the participants had any safety concerns. Thus, sample recruitment through a well-accepted known person proved to be a powerful tool in this community.

I managed to recruit participants through Ms. Rabi by following the first strategy. However, applying the second strategy to secure participants failed. With Ms Lisa, a different strategy was needed. Both Ms. Lisa and I occupied outsider status in relation to the residential location and motherhood status of the target group of mothers who waited for their children outside the school premises. This strategy might have failed because of the ongoing social security concerns and crime in Dhaka city (Khan, 2015; Shafi, 2010), resulting in heightened fear of victimization among women. These mothers might have felt uneasy about inviting me, a stranger, into their homes.

However, Afrose (1991) used a similar strategy to recruit unemployed Bangladeshi mothers, and did not report any challenge with this recruitment strategy. It is possible that the strategy was successful as their study allowed prospective participants to take a self-administered questionnaire home, complete it at own time and return on the following day. That study required no visits to participants' residences nor long one-on-one interviews.

4.5 Study Participants

Initially, the approximate sample size was set to be thirty individuals, as 15 dyads, with the possibility that the sample size might change depending on reaching a point of data saturation (Patton, 2002; Sandelowski, 1995). Data saturation was considered achieved when no additional information emerged that contributed new insights to addressing the research questions, and/or

when subsequent data began to replicate previously collected responses (Rahimi & Khatooni, 2024). In addition to conducting new interviews, I personally transcribed the recorded data and engaged in regular discussions with my second supervisor to reflect on emerging insights and methodological considerations, which served as preliminary data analysis. These two processes helped in forming codes and organising initial themes in my mind. As a result, it was aware when I reached data saturation and a preliminary level of thematic saturation where repeated data and broader themes started to be identified (Rahimi & Khatooni, 2024).

Data saturation was reached after interviewing 18 participants, which was nine dyads. To augment the completeness of information, I interviewed two more dyads of participants. Another reason behind it was that the decision regarding saturation was made based on a partial analysis, and the aim was to ensure that a complete analysis would neither reveal a lack of saturation nor require more interviews.

Three respondents were individually interviewed twice or thrice on different days, depending on the availability of the respondents. Eight respondents were interviewed once for extended hours, ranging from one up to three hours and two minutes. Each of the remaining eleven respondents was interviewed on each dedicated day. These eleven interviews were two to four hours long each, with some breaks in between. The mother group of participants (G2) reflected on their current parenting practices and those they followed in the recent past. The grandmother group of participants (G1) was different in that their interviews were retrospective, facilitated by memory and language, reflecting on their past and lived experiences (Kahn, 2000). Some G1 participants also reflected on their current parenting values and practices with adolescent and adult children.

Description of Participants

All the G1 grandmothers were the biological mothers of the G2 mother respondents, except for one (Panna, 43 years old, G2 participant) whose maternal aunt was identified as her primary caregiver. Some grandmother participants and mother participants were from the same age cohort. One grandmother participant (Jahan, 48 years old) was even younger than a mother participant (Dali, 50 years old). Yet, compared to the mother participants, the (relatively) younger grandmother participants were advanced in their experiences from various social roles and social positions as seniors.

Three grandmothers (Tara, Jahan, and Amena) had teenage children, and reported parenting practices more similar to the mother participants and corresponding less with the grandmother group. Interestingly, these three grandmother participants (G1) reported some parenting practices that they did not use with their older children (who were G2 participants), but instead with their current teenage children who were born with a big age gap after the elder children. This likely indicates the dynamic nature of parenting practices and that these three grandmothers adapted their parenting practices to the trends and demands of the times.

While it has traditionally been common for women in Bangladesh to reside with their in-laws following marriage and to live within extended or combined family structures (Chen, 1986; Kandiyoti, 2002), recent trends indicate a shift in this pattern (Samad, 2015). Contributing factors include evolving gender roles, increased access to education and economic opportunities for women, growing autonomy and decision-making capacity, and broader processes of modernisation and urbanisation. These developments have led to a rising preference for nuclear family arrangements, particularly in urban settings (Samad, 2015). Among my study participants, five G2 mothers—Charu, Jhumjhum, Panna, Dali, and Piu—lived in nuclear family settings,

whereas three—Tonu, Shoshi, and Farida—lived in the typical combined family household with in-laws. Notably, Shoshi initially lived in her natal home with her children to benefit from her mother’s and siblings’ support in the early years of raising her twins. Three G2 mothers—Dina, Shirin, and Pinky—resided with their spouses and children in their own parental homes, reflecting a pattern of co-residence within the maternal extended family. Another G2 subgroup—Jhumjhum, Panna, and Dali—maintained nuclear households located within the same building as their parents, enabling ongoing reciprocal support. These emerging patterns suggest a transformation in family structures in urban Bangladesh, warranting further investigation to better understand the underlying social and cultural dynamics. Table 4.1 presents characteristics of the sample.

Table 4.1*Characteristics of Study Participants*

Dyad	Participant type (grandmother= G1; mother =G2)	Pseudonym	Interview duration (number of sessions)	Highest education obtained	Profession	Monthly family income (BDT) and sources	Family type (marital status)	Age in years (Age at marriage)	Age at birth of first child	Number of children	Children's age range
Dyad One	Mother	Panna	1h 33m 40s (2)	Masters	Housewife	50,000; (husband's business)	Nuclear (married) <i>[Lives in Tara's building]</i>	42 (23)	29 (stillbirth)	1	9
	Grandmother	Tara	1h 44s (1)	Below SSC*	Housewife	100000; rent and husband's business	Combined (married) <i>[Lives with husband and children's families]</i>	56 (13)	20	4	19-34
Dyad Two	Mother	Dali	1h 18m 19s (1)	HSC**	Housewife	48,000; rent and husband's job	Nuclear (married)	50 (19)	20	2	18-29

Dyad	Participant type (grandmother= G1; mother =G2)	Pseudonym	Interview duration (number of sessions)	Highest education obtained	Profession	Monthly family income (BDT) and sources	Family type (marital status)	Age in years (Age at marriage)	Age at birth of first child	Number of children	Children's age range
	Grandmother	Hena	1h 16m 04s (3)	Grade 5	Housewife	35,000; Rent and husband's pension	Nuclear (widow) <i>[Lives alone in Dali's building]</i>	69 (13)	16	4	33-52
Dyad Three	Mother	Shirin	1h 01m (2)	Masters	Housewife	40,000; husband's job	Combined (married) <i>[Lives with husband, children & mother]</i>	49 (31)	30	2	9-18
	Grandmother	Fatima	1h 28m 08s (3)	SSC*	Housewife	40,000; rent and husband's pension	Combined (widow)	68 (16)	17	3	40-52
Dyad Four	Mother	Tonu	1h 54m 01s (1)	Masters	Housewife	35,000; husband's job	Combined (married) <i>[Lives with husband, child,</i>	37 (19)	23	1	12

Dyad	Participant type (grandmother= G1; mother =G2)	Pseudonym	Interview duration (number of sessions)	Highest education obtained	Profession	Monthly family income (BDT) and sources	Family type (marital status)	Age in years (Age at marriage)	Age at birth of first child	Number of children	Children's age range
							<i>& parents-in-law]</i>				
	Grandmother	Mina	1h 04m 04s (1)	SSC*	Housewife	25,000; Rent	Nuclear (Married)	62 (19)	21	3	29-41
Dyad Five	Mother	Shoshi	1h 22m 14s (3)	HSC**	Housewife	50,000; Husband's business	Combined (married) <i>[Lives with parents-in-law and brother-in- law's family]</i>	48 (26)	29 (after 2 miscarr- iages)	2	17 (twins)
	Grandmother	Rehana	2h 15m 18s (2)	Grade 8	Housewife	100,000; rent and husband's pension	Combined (married) <i>[Lives with husband, and son's family]</i>	66 (16)	18	2	45-48
Dyad Six	Mother	Pinky	3h 02m 35s (1)	Masters	Housewife	50,000; husband's job	Combined (married) <i>[Lives in parents' family with husband,</i>	30 (17)	19	2	1-7

Dyad	Participant type (grandmother= G1; mother =G2)	Pseudonym	Interview duration (number of sessions)	Highest education obtained	Profession	Monthly family income (BDT) and sources	Family type (marital status)	Age in years (Age at marriage)	Age at birth of first child	Number of children	Children's age range
<i>children, and siblings]</i>											
	Grandmother	Jahan	1h 49m 53s (2)	SSC*	Housewife	40,000; rent	Combined (married)	49 (14)	16	3	19-30
Dyad Seven	Mother	Piu	2h 48m 06s (3)	HSC**	Housewife	45,000; Husband's job	Nuclear (married)	28 (17)	18	2	3.5-8.5
	Grandmother	Amena	2h 04m 41s (3)	Grade 5	Housewife	32,000; husband's job	Nuclear (married) <i>[Lives with adult children]</i>	48 (14)	15	3	17-28
Dyad Eight	Mother	Farida	3h 58m 05s (1)	Masters	Advocate	85,000; rent, profession, and husband's business	Combined (married) <i>[Lives with husband, children, & mother-in-law]</i>	46 (24)	26 (after 1 miscarr- iage)	2	14-19

Dyad	Participant type (grandmother= G1; mother =G2)	Pseudonym	Interview duration (number of sessions)	Highest education obtained	Profession	Monthly family income (BDT) and sources	Family type (marital status)	Age in years (Age at marriage)	Age at birth of first child	Number of children	Children's age range
	Grandmother	Jobaida	1h 11m 48s (4)	Grade 5	Housewife	35,000; Rent	Combined (widow) <i>[Lives with married children's families]</i>	80 (6 months before puberty. Approx 12 years)	16	9	Not available
Dyad Nine	Mother	Charu	2h 02m 25s (2)	Masters	Teacher	70,000; rent, profession and husband's job	Nuclear (married)	48 (22)	25	2	12-21
	Grandmother	Khadija	2h 37m 34s (2)	< Grade 5	Housewife	25,000; Rent	Nuclear (widow) <i>[Lives with divorced son]</i>	66 (14)	15 (stillbirth)	2	32-48
Dyad Ten	Mother	Dina	2h 55m 38s (1)	Masters	Teacher	100,000; profession and husband's business	Combined (married) <i>[Lives with husband, children, own parents and siblings]</i>	34 (20)	21	2	6-12

Dyad	Participant type (grandmother= G1; mother =G2)	Pseudonym	Interview duration (number of sessions)	Highest education obtained	Profession	Monthly family income (BDT) and sources	Family type (marital status)	Age in years (Age at marriage)	Age at birth of first child	Number of children	Children's age range
	Grandmother	Sharifa	1h 25m 05s (2)	Below SSC*	Housewife	50,000; husband's job/pension	Combined (married) <i>[Lives with Dina's family]</i>	51 (14)	17	4	22-34
Dyad Eleven	Mother	Jhumjhum	3h 14m 47s (3)	Masters	Banker	80,000; job and husband's job	Nuclear (married) <i>[Lives in parent's building]</i>	36 (23)	24	1	12
	Grandmother	Kahi	2h 51m 20s (3)	Below SSC*	Housewife	120,000; rent and son's contribution	Nuclear (widow)	57 (16)	17	5	22-38

* SSC refers to Secondary School Certificate

**HSC refers to Higher Secondary School Certificate

4.6 Data Collection Instruments

Four paper-based instruments and an electronic recording device were used for data collection. The paper-based instruments were a research information sheet (Appendix A), a participant information sheet (Appendix B), an informed consent form (Appendix C), and a demographic questionnaire bound to the interview guide (Appendix D). I listened to the Bengali recordings and translated and transcribed the interview audio recordings from Bengali into English. I hired English language editors to match the English transcripts against audio recordings and edit translations. A confidentiality agreement form (Appendix E) was signed by the transcript language editor.

4.6.1 Paper-based Instruments

All the paper-based instruments, except the semi-structured interview guide, were prepared in Bengali and English. The Bengali versions were used with the participants since Bengali was the mother tongue and commonly spoken, with English as a second language. Along with the research proposal, both Bengali and English versions were submitted to the ethics review committee and to the department's Ph.D. coordinator at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. Both versions of the instruments were also submitted to the ethics review board at the University of Dhaka in Bangladesh.

The demographic questionnaire had items to collect the participant's socio-demographic information, contact information and parental details. The demographic questionnaire and semi-structured interview guide were considered as one set of documents. The semi-structured interview guide contained open-ended questions.

The Research Information Sheet contained a short, simplified overview of the study objectives, purpose, inclusion criteria, how information would be kept confidential, and researcher's identity and contact number. Anyone interested in participating in this study after reading the research information sheet was requested to call the researcher. The participant information sheet detailed information on the research objective, purpose, the possible number of interview sessions, the topic of discussion, confidentiality of their information, risk and benefits to participants, availability of counselling services, and contact details of the researcher and supervisor. The consent form reconfirmed the academic nature of this study along with the voluntary nature of participation, a request for consent to audio record the interview sessions, the approximate number of interview sessions and how long they would be, and information on participants' risks and benefits. The participants were reminded of their freedom to withdraw from participation or to withdraw any information they had already provided, and were asked for permission to use direct quotes in any presentation of this research. The confidentiality of the audio recordings was emphasised, explaining the use of anonymity, and contact information for psychological and legal resources that the participants may use in case of arising needs.

4.6.2 Voice Recorder

A digital voice recorder (Olympus WS-852) was used in the interviews. The recorder was switched on at the beginning of the participant's demographic data collection and continued recording until the end of the interview. After each interview, the audio files were transferred to a password-protected computer, of which I am the only user. The audio files were translated and transcribed into English in the form of an MS Word and a PDF document.

4.6.3 Researcher Factors as a Research Tool

In a setting where the heteronormative matrix is held high and children are regarded as commensurate to marriage (Morison & Macleod, 2015), my pregnancy (as a married woman) became a research tool. The expectant mother status helped me to build rapport with the participants and to elicit data easily - the participants might have considered me as an insider soon-to-be mother, and that I would understand their experiences. For instance, sometimes participants opened the interview by advising me on pregnancy and infant care.

Most participants showed care for me, were cooperative, and eager to engage either in long interview sessions, or short interviews on the same day with some breaks in between. They did it so that I, being an expectant mother, did not need to travel to them again to complete an unfinished task. I communicated that I was eager and able to go for a second or third session, but some participants insisted on finishing the interviews on the same day, with multiple sessions. Some participants lacked time to commit to a second interview, so a single longer session was preferred.

4.7 Pre-testing the Research Tools

Three pilot interviews were conducted to assess the feasibility of research methods and field visits, and to test the research instruments. I intended to figure out an effective way to proceed with the data collection plan and familiarise myself with the demands of the research field to prepare appropriately for actual data collection (Prescott & Soeken, 1989). The pilot interviews also helped me psychologically and resourcefully to prepare for emerging problems.

Through the pilot interviews, I found that the word '*discipline*' had translational inequivalence, and it carried different meanings for people in Bangladesh. The mothers commonly used this word to indicate timeliness and structured lifestyle, whereas in parenting

literature, the word '*discipline*' deals with the modification of children's behaviour to achieve goal-directed activities and alter unwanted behaviour. Nieman et al. (2004) equated discipline with punishment and control in children's behaviour management, perhaps an assumption I also had. The pilot study helped me to be wary of unreflective transliteration (Regmi et al., 2010), and to clearly explain any English words or terminologies used during the in-depth interview. Piloting also helped me update the questionnaire by incorporating more topics and contextually appropriate wording, as well as formulating some probing questions.

The piloting of the research methods and instruments illuminated the unforeseen ethical dilemma that required the accommodation of some cultural norms and practices into the research design. For example, sharing food with the participants and *compromising* the individualised privacy during the interview sessions. However, the *compromise* of the privacy of participants conflicted with the 24th principle of the 1964 Declaration of Helsinki's later amendments (World Medical Association, 2024), which emphasized taking every precaution to ensure participants' privacy. While ultimate, full privacy in the interview sessions was not possible, this study maintained the confidentiality of the participants' information and anonymity in transcripts, written reports, and journal articles.

The pilot study revealed that maintaining full privacy during in-depth interviews was neither realistic nor appreciated in this context. The communities shared a collectivist culture instead of individualistic lifestyles. The extended family system was still the norm, meaning that strict privacy during and after in-depth interviews created confusion and doubt among family members, as they perceived parenting as an open-to-discussion topic for which privacy was unnecessary. The family members became doubtful and suspicious that I had brought in an ulterior motive different from what they were informed. Strict privacy also raised suspicion that

the participants may have betrayed the family by bad-mouthing and/ or revealing family secrets in the private interview sessions. The family members did not like to be totally secluded during the interviews.

During the piloting phase, after coming out of each closed-door interview session, the family members asked both the participant and me a series of questions regarding the discussion topics. Family members' dissatisfaction and suspicion put pressure on the participants to withdraw from the research. In one case, the family member, who was the mother-in-law to a mother participant, initially referred a prospective participant to me, but cancelled after I had a closed-door interview with the mother participant. The mother-in-law explicitly expressed her suspicion in words and body language that the participant must have spoken badly about the in-laws in the closed-door meeting.

Based on the experience and observation from the pilot study, I modified the research methodology, questionnaire, and data collection plan. To account for the Bangladeshi culture of hospitality, I planned to take food items (cost less than two US dollars) for the participants and to accept food offered by them. I realised that the participants became more welcoming and warmer after complying to the food sharing norm of the community (Mauss, 2002; Mookherjee, 2008). Mayisela (2016) posits that when addressing research dilemmas, one must weigh the *compromise* against the participants' benevolence before and after the interviews, as well as the greater benefits of the research outcomes to the community of participants. I also had to *compromise* privacy to comply with the shared culture. The interviews were conducted in rooms with doors ajar in participants' residences to allow family members access at any time they wanted.

4.8 Data Collection Methods

Various data collection procedures could have been used for this study, such as in-depth interviews, observation, focus group discussions, personal document collection, and other self-report measures. However, in-depth interviews were chosen because they are effective at collecting participants' first-hand life experiences.

In-depth Interview (IDI)

In-depth interview (IDI) focused on participants' first-hand life experiences (De Vos, 2005; Durian, 2002; Rossouw, 2005). An IDI was chosen for its ability to engage participants in an intensive discussion that generates responses in their own words. Thus, it provided vivid first-hand data and insight regarding participants' life experiences in parenting.

IDI provided me with the privilege to use probes and follow-up questions to explore ideas further, based on information provided by the participants. The probing enabled participants to expand and clarify information and helped in the emergence of themes. Besides, the face-to-face interviews also provided an opportunity to read the participants' facial expressions and other non-verbal cues to support, compare and contrast the information provided by them.

The semi-structured interview guide was not intended to be used in an orderly fashion. The topics were pursued according to the participants' interests and the flow of discussion. The tool helped me keep track of the preset topics of interest that did not come up naturally during the interview sessions (Welman et al., 2005).

Each IDI was conducted in Bengali in a room with doors ajar at the participant's residence. Most of the time, I conducted IDI privately with the participants. Sometimes, some

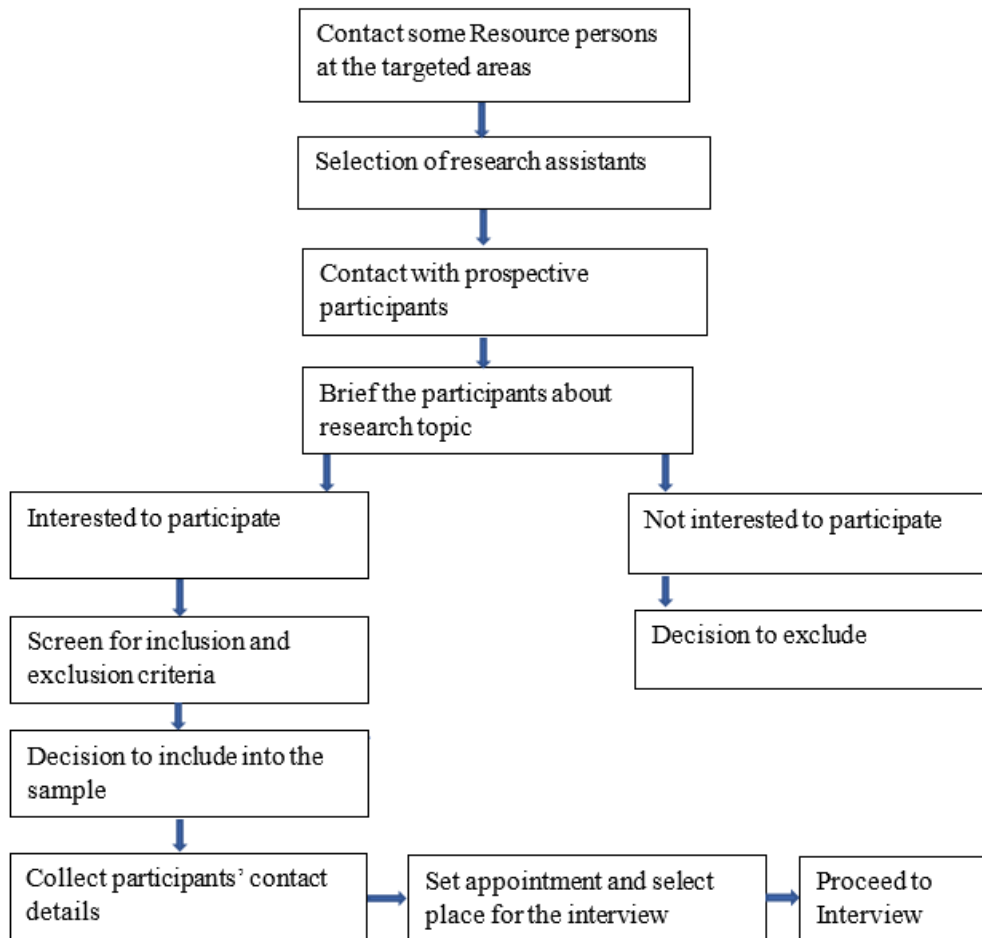
part of the IDI took place in the presence of a curious family member who was eager to listen and contribute to the conversation. Data obtained from uninvited respondents was discarded. Most of the time, I formulated and used vignettes from information obtained from family members to stimulate the discussion with my participants and as a cue to explore further. During the in-depth interviews, I jotted down important cues, and at the end of each interview, I noted the details of the cues to interpret and support the study findings.

4.9 Data Collection Procedure

I provided, read aloud, and explained the details of the research to all the prospective participants in Bengali, using the Research Information Sheet (see Appendix A). After they agreed, I set a time for the in-depth interviews. I supplied them with the Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix B) at the appointment. After they read it, I explained the contents verbally. When they were satisfied with the information and agreed to continue participation, I gave them an Informed Consent Form (see Appendix C) to sign. The consent form itself was also explained to the prospective participant verbally. After signing the consent form, I conducted one-on-one in-depth interviews. The data collection procedure is reflected in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3

The Data Collection Procedure



4.10 Challenges During Data Collection

Four participant dyads were excluded from the study: two due to the unavailability of one member of the dyad, and two due to medical conditions rendering one participant unsuitable for in-depth interviewing. The unsuitability mostly involved an inability to concentrate for more than five to ten minutes. Data obtained from single participants from those four dyads were not included in the research data pool.

During the piloting and actual data collection phases, I found that some participants demonstrated alternative forms of organisation, which created barriers to my data collection plans. For example, even after mutually set appointments for interviews at participants' places of residence, some would be absent when I arrived for the interviews. They would not inform me earlier about cancellations or rescheduling. I returned without an interview and made further arrangements over the phone. After experiencing this twice, I initiated a practice of making phone calls one or two hours before the appointment time to check on the prospective participant's availability for the interviews. Regardless, some participants were unavailable for interviews even after a phone call confirmation one to two hours before the scheduled time. They did not inform me about their changes in availability.

This could reflect the society's relaxed attitude towards research work, possibly due to scarce community-based studies. The prospective participants had no exposure to research processes. It could also reflect a relaxed attitude towards punctuality, which is also discussed by Brett (2003). Only one participant, a schoolteacher, called me to cancel her interview appointment.

At different times, the participants mentioned their ill health, headache, visit of relatives, and children's school exams as reasons to change appointments. Consistent rescheduling of appointments and the birth of my child delayed the completion of data collection. Additionally, finding two generations of mothers was a challenge due to the socio-cultural customs of women marrying into and moving into their in-laws' houses (Chen, 1986; Kandiyoti, 2002), as well as the economic migration of people from rural areas to Dhaka. All these factors extended the data collection time beyond what was anticipated.

Sometimes, I had to cancel a prospective respondent because the second member of the dyads lived in another part of the country. The inconvenient transport system and my pregnancy resulted in dropping those participants. I had to put in an extended effort to find replacements.

4.11 Data Transcription

The audio files of the interviews were transferred to a password-protected computer for the convenience of transcription. After data collection, I translated and transliterated (Rahimi & Khatooni, 2024) the Bengali interviews into English directly from the audio recordings and transcribed (Duranti, 2009) on Microsoft word files. All verbal and non-verbal utterances (punctuations, gestures, coughs, smiles, emotions, interruptions and observed background activities) were noted at relevant places on the transcripts. Semantic (Chang et al., 1999) and cultural equivalence (Verkhovtsova, 2023) were emphasized during the process. Afterwards, four independent editors matched the interview audios with English-translated transcripts and made corrections where necessary. This measure was applied to ensure data accuracy and credibility.

4.12 Writing Field Notes and Memos

I noted field notes and memos from time to time and kept them separate from the primary data. Field notes were written to document my experience and the conditions of the interview sessions, as well as relevant salient information (Gibbs, 2007). I wrote down reflexive notes on periodic insights gained throughout the course of data collection, analysis, member checking, and sharing with colleagues. These notes helped in data analysis, contextualization, theorising, and explanation of the study findings (Gibbs, 2007). The memo was written about my biases, hunches, interpretations, hypotheses, and connections among the codes, ideas, and discussions.

4.13 Data Analysis

Nvivo 10 software was used in coding and data organization. Data on parenting practices of the mother and grandmother generations were compared and contrasted during the coding and analysis phase. Data were analysed using hermeneutic circles considering the social and cultural contexts of the research site.

4.13.1 Data Management in NVivo 10

I transferred the transcript files to NVivo 10 (QSR International, US) software to organize research data. Two casebooks were prepared: one casebook was for the mother participants and another one for the grandmother participants. Participants' demographic information, including age, number of children, marital status, and residence, along with their respective interview transcripts, were attached to the casebooks. The casebooks enabled me to initiate coding and analysis through an index system, which provided text searching and pattern determination facilities by allowing me to search for interrelationships among different codes within and across transcripts (Durian, 2002; Rath, 2011; Walsh, 2003).

4.13.2 Data Analysis Procedure

The data was analysed inductively using the hermeneutic circle. The analysis was done in six phases in a recursive process (Braun & Clarke, 2006), where I moved back and forth between phases as needed. In data analysis and interpretation, a circularity of understanding between the parts and the whole was emphasized (Gadamer, 2004; Grondin, 2016; Heidegger, 1988). I read and familiarised myself with the transcripts and field notes, then generated themes and sub-themes. As a cultural insider, I leveraged my prior knowledge in the data analysis process and was aware of the altered perspectives and interpretations presented by the participants in the text.

My supervisor, MZ, verified the themes and analysis and checked for my personal biases throughout the analysis. This process made me constantly aware of researcher biases and sensitised me to the ‘alterity’ of the text (Gadamer, 2004, pp. 268-273). An example of an analysis of the coding and construction of themes is presented in Table F2 in Appendix F.

4.13.2.1 Phase 1: Familiarizing with Data. I actively read the transcripts of each dyad of a mother and a grandmother repeatedly whilst searching for meanings and patterns before coding the data. This repeated reading revealed ideas and possible patterns in the dataset. In this phase, I made notes and codes in the printed transcripts.

4.13.2.2 Phase 2: Generating Initial Codes. Initial codes were generated from the data during this phase using open coding in NVivo 10 software. Codes are meaningful groups of data (Tuckett, 2005) that are ‘the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon’ (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 63).

I inductively coded the data guided by the theoretical framework and research questions. I gave equal attention to each data item and sought the basis of repeated patterns of information that became themes (Keller et al., 2005). I was careful not to ignore or discard inconsistent or contradictory data items and tried to understand the meaning of each inconsistent data item in relation to other similar data items as well as the overall data set. I coded each statement according to the concepts of five parenting dimensions, the functionality of the statement in relation to a parenting practice, the purpose of the act, the reason behind the act or belief, tradition, social context, sources of learning, and any other supportive ideas behind the way participants raised their children. Initial codes were generated using open coding based on the main idea and concepts of the data. For the convenience of grouping similar ideas, I used several cue words in each code. For example, I used the code ‘*Grandparents practice _ Protect*

children_by choosing friends for them' to indicate that the section of the transcript described a grandmother's (G1) practice to protect their children from any sort of harm and the specific practice was that they selected friends for their children instead of children select their own friend. Another code, '*Practice_Control_Choosing friends for children*', was used to indicate that the section of the transcript described a mother's (G2) practice of picking friends for their children, and it sounded more like a controlling strategy. Similarly, the code "SL" was employed as a cue to denote the *Source of Learning* or the origin of a particular parenting practice or activity. Thus, after coding, it was easier to group G1 and G2 participants' practices, which were further reviewed, reorganized, and recategorized based on the meanings participants added to them and the intrinsic connections and relationships of the codes to form a theme. Table F1 of Appendix F presents an example of initial code generation.

4.13.2.3 Phase 3: Searching for Themes. In this phase, I used axial coding to identify potential themes and assembled the coded data extracts under them according to their relevance. I sought relationships between codes and formed sub-themes (Keller et al., 2005), themes, and overarching meanings of experiences in a circular fashion. No code or data extract was abandoned at this phase, even if they did not fit the existing themes, since the themes have not been defined and refined yet.

4.13.2.4. Phase 4: Reviewing Themes. I refined the initial themes in this phase based on internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity (Patton, 2002), which sought coherence and identifiable distinctions among data within each theme. Here, internal homogeneity meant the matching of basic concepts among data, under each theme. The external heterogeneity meant the basic conceptual differences among the themes.

An essential change took place among the initial themes, where new themes were created by combining, discarding, or breaking down initial themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For example, initially, ‘parents as providers’ was labelled as a theme. In the review phase, this theme was merged with the ‘Saving money for children’ sub-theme under the theme of ‘Financial planning to secure children’s future.’ In this phase, I read all the assembled data extracts for each theme and judged whether they were coherent in pattern. I then checked for validity in relation to the data set. This phase involved re-coding the data. In this case, further review and refinement of the coding took place until a satisfactory set of themes was generated that could tell an overall story about the data.

4.13.2.5. Phase 5: Defining and Naming Themes. This phase involved ‘*define and refine*’ the themes (identifying aspects and the essence of each theme) and the analysis of data within them. I conducted a detailed analysis for each theme, tried to identify each of their ‘story’, and if and how they fit into the overall ‘story’ of the data set in conjunction with the research approach, history, social context, culture, and research questions. I was careful of overlapping themes. I also sought the sub-themes to demonstrate a hierarchy of meaning in the dataset and to give structure to a large and complex theme. This phase ended with each theme having a clear scope and content (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I was thoughtful about the naming of the themes so that they conveyed the sense of their content. For example, the theme ‘gendered norms’ represented the culture-informed codes of ‘mother taking full responsibility of family and the primary caregiver,’ ‘care and demands are culturally different according to the child’s gender,’ and ‘gendered protection.’ The transformation from codes to initial themes, sub-themes, and themes has been depicted with an example of the ‘*Friend selection for children*’ theme in Table F2 in Appendix F.

4.13.2.6 Phase 6: Producing the Report. This research report was produced by providing “a concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and interesting account of the story” across the themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 93). Data extracts were chosen to demonstrate and illustrate points without complexity. The analysis went beyond description to engage in an argument in relation to the research scope and questions. My foreknowledge about the culture, lifestyles, traditions, and expectations contributed to understanding and interpreting participants’ quotes starting from coding to the end of data analysis and relating to literature. Preparing this report involved generating four scientific articles from this study: one of which is published, two are under review, and one has been submitted. Afterward, I put the narrative together into a thesis.

4.14 Time Frame

The pilot study was conducted from August 25 to December 2, 2016. After transcription and reflection on the pilot interviews, I started actual data collection on December 27, 2016, and continued until December 27, 2017.

The audio records of the interview sessions were translated and transcribed concurrently, and the process was completed in December 2018. Data analysis began in January 2019 and continued primarily until April 2020. However, the data analysis was refined and further developed in a hermeneutic circle throughout the writing of research articles and the drafting of the thesis, culminating in 2024. The time gap between data collection and data analysis was informed by several factors, one of which was that I translated and transcribed all 22 interviews, which totalled more than 1,000 pages. Second was the scarcity of good professional English language editors. After putting in tremendous efforts, I managed to recruit four language editors to ensure the credibility of my data. Thirdly, I had to take two study breaks for two and a half

years because of the births of my two children, and the two bouts of COVID-19 infections in 2020 and 2021.

4.15 Ethical Considerations

The ethical review board of the University of Dhaka (Project number: PH160603) and the Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) of the University of the Witwatersrand (Protocol number: H16/06/38) approved the study unconditionally. A research information sheet, a participant information sheet, a consent form, and a confidentiality agreement form were used to guard ethical practices with participants. Both verbal and written information regarding the study was provided to the participants. They signed consent forms for study participation as well as an audio recording of the interviews. Pseudonyms were used to ensure the privacy of the participants, and data was preserved in a password-protected computer. Pseudonyms were used instead of participant numbers to retain the sense of the participants as people and not treat them as objects. No monetary incentive was provided for research participation, yet food items (worth BDT 100–150, equivalent to US \$ 1.18–1.76) were offered reciprocally as part of showing respect to the culture of hospitality of this population (Mookherjee, 2008). Sharing food also helped me in building rapport with the participants and their families. To prevent possible emotional harm to the participants, an arrangement was established with the National Trauma Counselling Centre, a government-funded trauma support and psychotherapy service centre in Dhaka. Upon demonstrating strong emotional reactions during the interview sessions, participants were offered the option of self-referral to the services at no cost. The following sections provide detailed descriptions of the steps.

4.15.1 Verbal Explanation of Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

All the participants were able to read and write Bengali, but not English. Therefore, Bengali versions of the information sheets and consent forms were used. The research information sheet was provided to the prospective participants. After they agreed to participate, I explained the content of the 'Participant Information Sheet' (Appendix B) and the 'Informed Consent Form' (Appendix C) to them verbally.

The consent form included spaces for the participant's and researcher's signatures. All the participants except one (Jobaida, 80 years old) agreed to sign the consent form, even though verbal consent seemed sufficient from their perspective. Jobaida refused to sign the consent form but agreed to participate in this study verbally. Later during the interview, she disclosed that her only son forged her signature to sell her property without her consent. The alleged forgery influenced her decision against providing a written signature. No participant regarded the topic of discussion as private or confidential.

4.15.2 Right of Withdrawal

This consent form explicitly assured the participants' right to withdraw from participation at any time. They were given a copy of the consent form.

4.15.3 Benevolence of the Participants

I offered the participants a referral to free counselling services at the National Trauma Counselling Centre. Before the start of piloting, I met the manager of this facility and reached an arrangement to include the study participants in their counselling services in case the interviews resulted in any intense negative emotions. Since it was a government facility that provided free

counselling services to women and girls of any age, as well as boys under 12 years old, the manager was open to receiving participants from this study for their services upon my referral.

Only one participant among twenty-two became deeply emotional and cried intensely during the interview. I consoled the participant and conducted ventilation and breathing relaxation from a psychological first-aid aspect. I then referred and encouraged her to receive counselling services at the National Trauma Counselling Centre. I followed up after a week and found that she had not taken up the referral. This phenomenon, where study participants do not accept referral services, is common and has been reported in other community-based studies in the global South (Langa, 2010; Manyatshe & Nduna, 2014; Nduna & Jewkes, 2011). A possible reason could be that the participant felt relieved after having the opportunity to vent their emotions in a nonjudgmental interview session, and thus did not perceive the need for professional help.

4.15.4 Privacy

A communal sense of privacy was noticed during the pilot study. I noticed that some family members appeared offended when the interviews were conducted in a closed room. Keeping the door half-open gave the interviewee a sense of privacy and helped in maintaining rapport with the family members. This allowed the family members to enter the interview room if they wanted, to offer an opinion or whisper something to the respondent, though they knew that the interviews were expected to be private. A similar challenge of maintaining complete privacy was noticed in a study conducted in Johannesburg where some participants acquiesced to having other family members nearby during interviews (Manyatshe & Nduna, 2014).

Due to the shared sense of privacy, the study participants were open to allowing family members to attend the interview sessions. Yet, ten of the twenty-two participants (four grandmothers and six mothers) were notably hesitant to openly discuss some issues in the presence of family members. The participants managed those moments by technically sending the family members out of the interview room or temporarily dropping the topic of discussion.

The presence of a third person during interviews has been shown to influence the nature and extent of information shared. The authority of the third party—determined by their age and relationship to the participant—often shaped the focus and content of disclosures (Herrera et al., 2017). Conversely, when the third party was the participant’s partner, studies reported enhanced authenticity in responses, as participants were less likely to report unrealistically high levels of shared household responsibilities (Schröder & Schmiedeberg, 2023). In the present study, it is challenging to draw definitive conclusions regarding the extent to which *compromised* privacy may have influenced participants’ honest disclosure, given that a focused inquiry into this phenomenon was beyond the scope of the research design. Although the ajar door potentially allowed family members access to the interview setting, there was no indication of anyone being present throughout the interviews or listening from outside. Based on my observation, the participants did not appear to be under external pressure. As previously discussed, participants employed their strategies to manage instances of third-party intrusion during interviews. Moreover, the prevailing sense of non-exclusion among household members appeared to foster a low-anxiety, supportive environment throughout the data collection process.

4.15.5 Confidentiality

As a researcher, I committed to maintaining the confidentiality of research data and participants' identities, as stated in the participant consent forms. I also educated the transcript language editors about the concept of confidentiality before hiring them and reached a commitment that they would not share or discuss the research data elsewhere. The language editors had to agree to and sign this confidentiality agreement form before reading the transcripts or listening to the audio recordings of the interviews. The reasons for hiring the language editors have been discussed earlier.

4.15.6 Reimbursement

Reimbursement is associated with paying in the form of opportunity cost for any inconvenience or loss. No reimbursement was paid to the participants of this study. In doing so, I wanted to avoid acting as a motivator or threatening participants' voluntary participation (Fry et al., 2005). Besides, in Bangladeshi customs, monetary incentives have been reported to threaten the self-esteem of a voluntary participant (Mozumder, 2013), and I wanted to prevent that.

4.15.7 Conforming to Tradition

During the pilot phase, I realized that taking food items to the visits was important and had a high impact on rapport building. Acceptance of food from the participants was also found to be important as a part of honouring and complying with the tradition of hospitality in Bangladesh (Mookherjee, 2008a). I followed this tradition of hospitality and reciprocally shared food with them, which facilitated rapport while costing little money (less than two US dollars).

4.15.8 Researcher's Safety

The study design required me to visit the participants' residences. As I was familiar with the pattern of social insecurity in Dhaka city (Khan, 2015; Shafi, 2010), I initially felt insecure about unforeseen harm because I had very little knowledge about the participant, participant's mohalla⁴, the available members at her residence, and other potential threats. Later, my sense of security was restored by Ms. Rabi (the local resource person). She accompanied me to the participants' residences, eased both parties, and left me there comfortable.

4.15.9 Member of the Same Cultural Group

I was born and raised in Mirpur, Bangladesh and thus was familiar with the culture. After completing my master's degree, I moved from Bangladesh (Asia) to Botswana (Southern Africa) to work for a couple of years. Working in Botswana, on a different continent and culturally distinct from Bangladesh, contributed to developing a visitor's perspective on my culture. Yet in the beginning, I failed to make follow-up questions outside of my own assumption of the answers. This was brought to my attention by my supervisor Prof. Nduna. As a result, I had to be careful to bracket my experiences and knowledge about behaviours, beliefs, and culture during subsequent interviews (Husserl, 1931). The supervisor read the first pilot interview and pointed out missed opportunities for probing. This helped me improve the quality of subsequent interviews.

As a member of the same cultural group, I had the advantage of being accepted by the participants easily. At the same time, it caused a barrier to exploring issues in-depth because of my assumptions and assumptions made by participants regarding shared knowledge and

⁴ Mohalla is a residential unit

experiences. These assumptions and expectations prevented them from delving into detail. Sometimes, the participants would give hints of an experience without describing it in detail with the presumption that I understood and needed no elaboration. Therefore, I had to be strategic in making them express their own experiences and explanations without appearing to be ignorant or causing offence. Sometimes, the participants would still be limited in response.

4.15.10 Dual Relationships with the Participants

Complex ethical dilemmas arise while conducting qualitative research. There is a great possibility for crossing the boundary in the researcher-participant relationship. It took place in this study in ways that are similar to those described in Linda Matocha's work (1992, as cited in Bourdeau, 2000, p.3). Dual relationships developed during data collection in unforeseen ways. During the interview, one participant (Dina) became intensely emotional and started to cry while talking about intense and stressful life events, and I had to provide her emotional support and breathing relaxation to normalize her. Whilst this was psychological first aid aimed at containing the situation, dual counsellor-researcher roles are forbidden in standard qualitative research.

The participants assumed my professional knowledge in parenting and three of them shared concerns about sibling jealousy among their children, and other 'difficult, strange, or unusual' (on participants' accounts) behaviours before and during the interview. They requested my expert advice as a psychologist to deal with it. I provided expert insights following data collection while respecting the participants' genuine aspirations and ensuring that my research was not perceived as a self-serving endeavour. I advised those participants on some behavioural techniques to deal with certain behaviours of their children. Besides advising, I also referred participants to the counselling services at the National Trauma Counselling Centre, where

experts would be able to provide formal assistance. Deferring reciprocal advice to the end of the interview is an acceptable practice in interviews, and not a violation of researcher's boundary (Corbin & Morse, 2003; Eide & Kahn, 2008; Ramos, 1989, as cited in Corbin & Morse, 2003; Sivell et al., 2015).

Outside the scope of the researcher-participant relationship, I provided the above support as a token of appreciation for their voluntary participation in the exchange of no material return, and its reward went to the participants. Though it can be regarded as the crossing of a boundary, reciprocity complies with Meara and Schmidt's (1991, p. 245) one of the four guiding principles of treating qualitative research participants, which is *beneficence*. In beneficence, I not only avoided doing any harm to the participants but also attempted to work for their benefit. Following Michael Gottlieb (1993, as cited in Bourdeau, 2000) decision-making model, I found the researcher-participant relationships in this study to be low in power, brief and had clear and specific termination, which left both the participants and me in a lower potential for harm.

4.16 Ensuring Study Rigor and Trustworthiness

To ensure rigor and trustworthiness in this study, I performed triangulation, member checking, credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of the study findings.

4.16.1 Triangulation

Triangulation is used in qualitative research to test the validity of inquiry by converging data from different sources (Carter et al., 2014). In this strategy, multiple data sources or methods are used for a thorough understanding of a phenomenon of interest as well as for “verification and validation of qualitative analysis” (Patton, 1999, p. 1193). Patton (1999)

proposed four types of triangulations in this regard, which are data triangulation, methods triangulation, theory/ perspective triangulation, and analyst triangulation.

In this study, triangulation of methods and data was achieved. Data triangulation was conducted by collecting data from two groups of participants (G1 and G2) to form a single body of data. Interviewing these two groups of participants provided an opportunity to supplement and validate each other's data as well as reflect deeper insight into parenting practices.

4.16.2 Ensuring Trustworthiness

The aim of trustworthiness in a qualitative inquiry is to support the argument that the inquiry's findings are "worth paying attention to" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290). This is quite different from the conventional experimental precedent of attempting to show validity, soundness, and significance. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested four ways to ensure the trustworthiness of qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

4.16.2.1 Credibility. Credibility is a substitute for positivist internal validity, and is demonstrated when it is approved by the constructors of the multiple realities under inquiry. I tried to ensure credibility in this study by taking descriptive notes on the participants, the physical settings, the environment, actions, and verbal and non-verbal cues. The open-ended questions allowed participants to elaborate and interpret information to avoid imposing my meaning on the collected information.

Another step was taken at the translation and transcript phase to enhance credibility of this study. After I translated and transcribed the interview recordings, I took all the transcripts through editors, who were native Bengali speakers and graduated with English Literature. The

editors listened to the interview audio recordings, checked the English transcripts against those, and gave their inputs where necessary. After cross-checking, their inputs were adjusted.

Finally, during the data analysis phase, I repeatedly checked the findings and interpretation against the raw data to maintain ‘referential adequacy’ (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 301). Member checking was conducted, and peer debriefing was also maintained from the formation of the questionnaire up to the end of writing this report. All these together ensured the credibility of the findings of this study.

4.16.2.2 Transferability. Transferability is the extent to which findings from one context (sending context) can be applied to another context (receiving context). It is different from generalizability where a representation of population is concerned. In transferability, a finding from one context to be transferable to another context depends on the factors that define the similarities of those contexts.

In this study, I have given an extensive description of the cultural context, time, people’s behaviour, and practices. This extensive description would help future researchers to compare with other cultures and to decide the extent to which they would transfer the findings and recommendations from this study to those other cultures. The detailed methodological decision-making process described here would assist future researchers’ research design in similar cultural contexts.

4.16.2.3 Dependability. Dependability refers to the reliability of the study findings. While replicability is a prerequisite for consistency and reliability from a positivist paradigm, it cannot be met in naturalistic qualitative research. The reason behind this is that humans are the research instruments in qualitative research, and they experience ‘instrumental decay’, that is, instrumental unreliability or instability of human factors and mind is obvious (Lincoln & Guba,

1985, p. 299). For this reason, qualitative researchers accomplish dependability in different means than replicability.

Since my Ph. D. supervisors were not Bengali language speakers, I had to transcribe and translate the interview audio recordings from Bengali to English. It helped my supervisors to monitor the data analysis and check for the insider or researcher biases, which also enhanced dependability of this study. Altogether, the dependability of this study is accomplished by triangulation, audit trails and inquiry audits.

4.16.2.4 Confirmability. Confirmability is equivalent to the positivist's term of objectivity. Unlike positivist's emphasis on the researcher's characteristics, naturalists emphasize on the characteristics of the data itself. Confirmability was ensured by triangulation, audit trail and supporting the findings with data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

This study claims to be dependable and confirmable because my current first supervisor, who joined the supervisor team after my data collection and analysis audited the methodological process, development of findings, and research reports for accuracy. Thus, my current first supervisor served an inquiry audit of this study. Besides, my current second supervisor, who supervised this study from the inception to analysis conducted an audit trail by auditing my research methodology, field notes, researcher reflexive notes, transcripts, data analysis and reporting. Extensive details of the research process, researcher reflexivity, and the data-supported findings and analysis also helped the reader to assess the dependability and confirmability of the findings of this study. Triangulation, inquiry audit and audit trail ensured the dependability as well as credibility of my study.

4.17 Researcher's Reflection

4.17.1 Social Construction of Literal Concepts

Meaning or concept of the same words (homonyms) may vary depending on the contexts. Some English words referred to different concepts in Bangladeshi society than in the Western literature. One such word is ‘Discipline’.

During one pilot interview, I attempted to explore the disciplinary aspects of parenting and asked a question in Bengali, incorporating the English word ‘discipline’ into the sentence. I did it because it is a common practice for people in Bangladesh to mix English into their speech (Ahmad, 2017; Ahmad et al., 2024), and also because the Bangali language shares a lot of English words. However, during the interview, I realized that there is a different social construction referring to the word ‘discipline’ in this community.

According to parenting theories, parents teach children about the expected and unexpected behaviours through discipline. Nieman et al. (2004, p. 37) define discipline as the “means to impart knowledge and skill- to teach. However, it is often equated with punishment and control.” While the literature defines discipline this way, the mothers in Bangladesh define discipline by timeliness and systematic lifestyle. After much discussion with my second supervisor about the differences in conceptualizing the word ‘discipline’, I avoided using this English word while interviewing. Instead, I opted for the local Bengali word ‘shashon’, whose meaning aligned with Nieman’s definition of ‘discipline’. Then on, I was careful about homonyms and the use of terminology during interviews.

4.17.2 Challenges in Translation and Transcript Preparation

Having English as a second language, I deemed it important to hire translators and transcribers who would translate the interview recordings into English and transcribe. The total

interview audio was 44:29 hours. I was unable to find a skilled and competent bilingual who was interested in transcribing. Most of the people I tried gave up before finishing one interview because of the tedious and time-consuming nature of the job. I eventually translated and transcribed all the interviews myself, which took one and a half years. I translated the Bengali interviews directly from the recorded audio and transcribed them in English, rather than creating Bengali transcripts first. Later, to ensure proper translation and preservation of data content, I decided to hire language editors. The qualifications I looked for were that they would be native Bengali speakers with a qualification in English. They would check the transcripts against interview recordings. Fifteen editors were contacted, but four of them finally fitted to do the editorial work. The editors listened to the audio and checked the English transcripts. After the checks, all the transcripts were run through Grammarly to validate grammatical accuracy. I struggled to find skilled academic editors because both the transcription and editing services were not well-established professions in Bangladesh.

While translating the interview recordings, I encountered challenges in translating some Bengali words into English, a common issue in cross-cultural research (Sechrest et al., 1972). Literature also shows that translation problems may even arise within a culture where the research involves participants from different subcultures because of dialect difference or regional difference in idioms and colloquial speech (ibid.). One such Bengali expression is '*Manusher moto manush kora*'. Its direct English translation would be '*Grow someone as a human-like human*' but the participants meant 'Grow a person as honest, educated, and professionally established', and sometimes they only meant 'Grow a person as educated and professionally established (without an emphasis on the issue of honesty)'. I faced difficulties translating those in the context and used the terms 'grow as a proper human being' and 'grow as an eminent

person' respectively by understanding whether a particular participant emphasized humanity or wealth and fame for their children.

I utilised the Bengali-English Dictionary of Bangla Academy (2015) to translate Bengali words. There are some other words in Bengali that do not exist in English vocabulary; for example, the Bengali word '*obhiman*' in Bangladeshi culture indicates an emotion which can be considered as a combination of a little anger and objection embedded in love. The emotional terms are acknowledged as difficult to translate since emotions are embedded in a cultural system whose meanings get distorted in translation into another language (de Mendoza, 2008). Some terms, child-caring tools, and food items did not exist in the English language. I retained those Bengali words in the transcript and explained those words in English briefly, following the recommendation of Werner and Campbell (1970). For example,

I used to wash one or two bowls of katha-kapor (clothing) every day, my child's katha-kapor (Clothing. Specifically, the hand-sewed small piece of soft cloth that is used under the child while lying/ holding him so that the bed, shared by other family members, does not get wet or soiled if the baby urinates or defecates). (Jhumjhum, 36 years old mother participant)

To make grammatical sense in English, sometimes I had to add a few words which were absent in the original quotes and put them within a closed square bracket to indicate the addition. For example,

Don't some babies tend to cry when their mother goes outside? But my older baby never cried. She used to wave me goodbye. Or, if I [left] something, like

my cell phone, then she would carry out my cell phone for me. (Pinky, 30 years old mother participant)

When we go to the mall, she would say, “Ma, may I see it?” [I reply], “Ok, you may.” [She says], “Isn’t it beautiful?” [I reply], “Yes.” [She says], “Alright. It feels so:: good, doesn’t it?” [I reply], “Yes.” That is how [it goes].” (Pinky, 30 years old mother participant)

Another notable problem I faced was selecting one term out of several English terms in the dictionary for one Bengali word that reflects the nuances and obvious meanings of the original Bengali word. For example, there is a Bengali word ‘*Jed*’ which has several English meanings such as ‘obstinate resolution to do or not to do something; dogged perseverance; a violent passion excited by real or supposed injury; anger; resentment’. I had to do a covert translation to equate the experiences and concepts in the English language because direct translation could not presume equivalent verbal stimuli (House, 2006; Sechrest et al., 1972). I played the role of a cultural broker in this process (Temple & Young, 2004).

4.17.3 Lack of Language and Linguistic Professionals

A cross-linguistic challenge emerged in the preparation of research reports intended for a predominantly English academic milieu, given that the study was conducted in a context where English is not the primary language. There was a cross-linguistic challenge in preparing research reports for a predominantly English academic milieu, which was undertaken in a context where English is not a primary language. Starting at the transcription phase, the challenge sustained in data cleansing, analysis and interpretation phases.

4.17.4 Reflection on Participants' Motivation

At the end of the interviews, I asked the participants to share their feelings and experiences of participating in the study. Their responses were altruistic. Most participants expressed positive feelings after sharing their stories, which they had not had the opportunity to share before. Only one 51-year-old grandmother participant (*Sharifa*) reported that she felt tired and 'hot in her head' for talking about so many issues. Most participants stated that they would be pleased if their information contributed to the success of this study and helped other parents.

Typically, participants from first-world countries reported altruistic motivations behind their participation in a study (see Kost et al., 2011; McCann et al., 2010), whereas participants from lower-middle-income countries expressed a complex interplay of altruistic and self-interest factors as their motivation (Sikweyiya et al., 2016). However, participants in this study reported only altruistic motivation. Future research could investigate the underlying motivations of Bangladeshi participants for engaging in research, providing deeper insight into culturally specific factors that influence research participation. Although some participants requested my expert advice to address some of their children's problem behaviour, that was not a prerequisite for their participation in this study. That explains the absence of demands or expectations regarding any intervening sessions.

4.17.5 Reflection on Researcher Biases

I was born in a village but was raised in a middle-class educated family in Dhaka city. I was the eldest among five siblings and experienced the load of being a role model for my younger siblings. As a result, I had to experience extensive punitive and corporal punishment as part of disciplinary measures taken by my parents and sometimes by my teachers. I grew up

hearing that the body parts where the teachers beat go to heaven. My parents even told my teachers,

I am leaving her with you. You will teach and discipline. You may follow any disciplinary measure, and we are happy with returning her bones only.

This meant they gave every right to the teachers and elders to discipline me, including the use of punishment. I learnt the word ‘beating’ is synonymous with the word ‘discipline’. I also observed the same trend in other families around me, including my relatives’. As a firstborn child, I grew up hearing about the burden of responsibilities. Most of the time, my parents would teach me by pointing to other community members as good or bad examples of those responsible roles.

My growing-up experiences influenced my interviews, as I probed my participants. I knew that a range of punishment methods existed in Bangladeshi communities, and the parents had a bunch of expectations, ranging from children’s education to marriage. As a result, I did not stop probing until they spoke about those. I did not make my participants make up stories about punishment or expectations; rather, I kept probing from different angles in case a participant did not think to mention those. Most of the time, my probing questions were, “What else did you do to discipline your children?” “What else?” “And what else?”

In the beginning, because of my experience of being punished, I had difficulty accepting when someone did not mention corporal punishment. Specifically, the G2 participants mentioned some different disciplinary practices that did not involve corporal punishment. They adopted modern parenting practices and a different set of beliefs in a more financially, socially, and technologically capacitated context. Through self-reflection, I learned about my biases and was

very careful when analyzing data on disciplinary practices. While writing my results and interpretations, I repeatedly returned to my data to confirm that I had accurately noted the participants' experiences, not my own. This part of the writing was stressful since I had to analyse the data and bracket my very emotional experience at the same time. Another bias was exploring the means of affection expression in the parenting experiences of my participants. I do not remember my parents ever hugging, kissing, or touching me out of affection. This created my own interest to know about the participants' ways of expressing their affection to their children and, sometimes, unconsciously, I would match with my parents'.

As mentioned above, I was an expectant mother during data collection. Due to my childhood experience with disciplinary methods, I was interested in learning about alternative approaches to discipline for my future children. Besides, when I was seen as an expectant mother, my participants would often elaborate on their care for newborns, and some even began the interview sessions with pieces of advice. I welcomed those discussions and carried a learner attitude as well. Yet, I had my semi-structured questionnaire, which guided me to navigate all other necessary areas to explore. The semi-structured questionnaire proved effective in preventing the discussion from becoming overly concentrated on a single aspect, thereby avoiding the inadvertent truncation of other areas of exploration. Instead, it facilitated a comprehensive exploration of all aspects of the interview guide, which, in some cases, led to extended interview durations.

I do not think that my personal interest in some areas of parenting posed any negative influence on my participants' accounts; rather, a rich description of those areas was generated, which made the interview sessions longer. My supervisor acted as an external auditor during the data collection phase, reading my transcripts and providing feedback on the researcher factors,

interview gaps, and question patterns. In so doing, I confidently claim that the findings of this thesis reflect the participants' voice, not mine.

4.18 Conclusion

This chapter outlines the social constructivist-oriented research methodology, with particular reference to the principles of hermeneutic phenomenology research. Throughout sampling and data collection, I had to adapt to cultural norms in research strategies to build rapport and effectively interview participants. The pilot study provided valuable insights into the practical adaptation of these cultural norms. As both a researcher and a cultural insider, I navigated the balance between standard research ethics of confidentiality and distancing, my personal involvement, and the expectations from participants and their family members. Continuous self-reflection during data collection and analysis, along with supervision to mitigate researcher bias, helped uphold the rigor of this study.

Chapter Five: Findings and Discussion I⁵

5.1 Introduction

This thesis explores two aspects of protective parenting: (a) Protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers, and (b) Intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices. Findings on protective parenting practices have been presented in this chapter along with a definition and discussion of protective parenting practices constructed based on this study's findings. Chapter 6 presents the findings and discussion on the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices, as well as a process model of intergenerational continuity developed based on the findings of this study. The discussion continues in chapter 7, which provides a critique of the protective parenting practices in terms of the long-term outcomes in the light of the gender-based violence (GBV) and abuse reported in recent Bangladeshi studies.

This chapter addresses the first and second research questions, which explore how Bangladeshi mothers construct protective parenting practices based on their lived experiences and examine the socio-culturally embedded protective parenting strategies employed across two generations of Bangladeshi mothers. Data collected through the semi-structured interview questionnaire (see Appendix D), specifically questions one to ten, 12, 14, and 15, informed the

⁵ A peer-reviewed scientific article has been produced from this chapter and published in the International Journal of Health, Wellness, and Society. The paper has been attached in Appendix J. The citation is,

Jasmine, U.H. (2025). Construction of protective parenting practices in a transitional social context by two generations of Bangladeshi mothers. *International Journal of Health, Wellness, and Society*, 15(3), 97-123.
<https://doi.org/10.18848/2156-8960/CGP/v15i03/97-123>

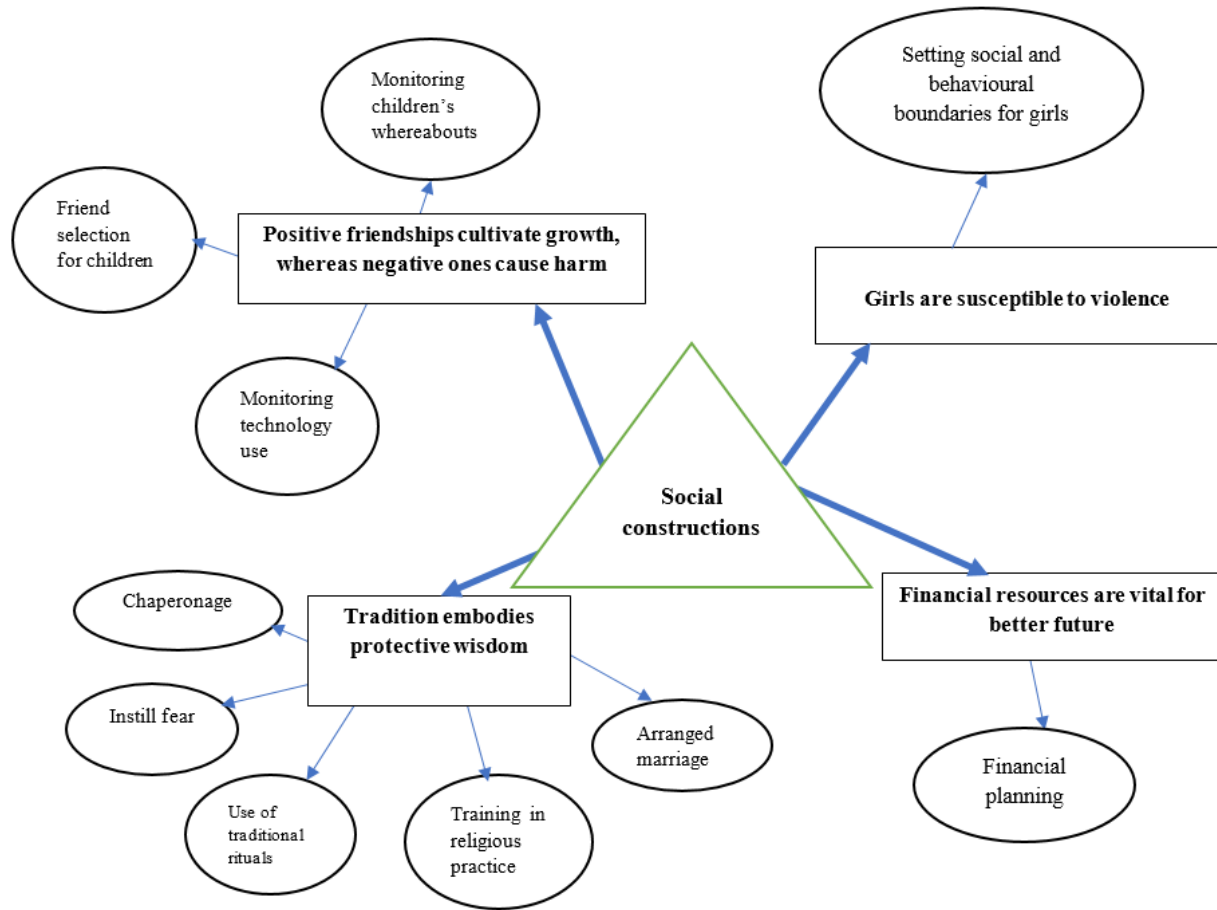
analysis and contributed to answering these research questions. The protective parenting practices identified in this study are derived from four key constructs, which are: a) Positive friendships cultivate growth, whereas negative ones cause harm; b) Tradition embodies protective wisdom; c) Girls are susceptible to violence; and d) Financial resources are vital for a better future. Parental practices were constructed around children's physical, emotional, financial, behavioural, social, and spiritual well-being. Practices differed based on children's age and between generations. Data suggest that participants constructed protective parenting practices through their interactions with their mothers, husbands, family members, children, culture, and social contexts. The participants' perceptions of contemporary society contextualised their constructions.

5.2 Findings

The data reveals the social constructivist nature of parenting as parents appear to construct parenting through collective social agreements, which they knew without a written scripture. Constructions are psychological in nature and function as guiding frameworks for parenting practices. Participants commonly practiced chaperonage, monitoring, selecting friends for children, arranging marriages, setting gendered boundaries, ensuring financial security, communicating and instilling fear, a religious upbringing, and using traditional rituals to protect their children from harm. A summary of the protective parenting constructions and protective parenting practices is visually presented in Figure 5.1. Additionally, Appendix G presents the themes and their respective sub-themes in ten figures (Figures G1 to G10).

Figure 5.1

Protective Parenting Constructions and Practices



5.2.1 Positive Friendships Cultivate Growth, Whereas Negative Ones Cause Harm

The above is a local proverb. It also grounds the protective practice of monitoring children and their companions. The proverb emphasizes mothers' efforts to guard their children's moral, habitual, and social safety in the community. Monitoring children's whereabouts, supervising who they were friends with, and connecting with friends' parents were practiced by both generations of mothers to protect their children from 'bad company.' Due to technological advancement during the G2 mothers' child-rearing period, G2 mothers also had to monitor and

customise their children's use of technology to protect them from negative outcomes. The practice of *Monitoring children and selecting children's friends* is constituted by three elements: *Friend selection for children*, *Protection from the harmful use of technology*, and *Monitoring whereabouts*.

5.2.1.1 Friend Selection for Children, Surveillance, and Building Trusting

Relationships with Children's Friends. Participants generally monitored their children's socialisation, friends, and whereabouts. This was to protect them from 'moral' derailment by bad companions, to prevent involvement in unwanted events or behaviours, and to preclude harmful habits such as smoking and drug use. Sometimes, participants developed a social safety circle by establishing relationships with neighbouring peers, children's friends, school guardians, and their families to obtain a second degree of surveillance over their children. Farida (G2 mother, 46 years old) undertook extensive second-degree surveillance.

In that area, everyone knew me and my kids. I used to get their news as soon as anything happened. I got reports whenever they did anything, whether they went out at noon or flew kites or about who they played with, even before I entered my house. My brother has a store nearby; he used to monitor them and report everything to me.

In their second-degree surveillance, mothers connected with the parents of their children's friends, and they received the same requests in return. Four mothers (Charu, Jhumjhum, Piu and Farida) reported interviewing their children's friends about family backgrounds to assess whether they would be a good influence on their children. If the mothers were satisfied, they allowed their children to continue friendships; if not, they forced the children to disassociate. Farida and Jhumjhum explained,

Umme: You said. You'd ask them to bring over their friends- did you talk to them?

Farida: Yes- if they could impress me- fine, if not I'd be really worried.

Umme: So, you tried to investigate what kind of company he was with?

Farida: Yeah::: And how was their family?... I don't want them to hang out with people outside my circle- I only feel comfortable when they hang out with kids whose parents I know.

Umme: Did you pressurise them into following these instructions?

Farida: Yes, I pressurised them; I pressurised Prince a lot as he never listens.

Umme: I see. Did your mother also used to do this back then?

Farida: What happened during our times was that mothers knew who we were associated with. We were within a specific track; we couldn't go beyond it. Mother used to know, Beli, Memory, Protik, Mridul, Helen they used to be my classmates and that we'd stay together. We'd go to school, return from school together, they knew we would go anywhere together, hang out together... Very often my friends would give "hi, hello" to my mother. That's why they didn't think of any negative things. (G2 mother, 46 years old)

Jhumjhum: ...And I also control whom he is friends with. Sometimes, he shares with me, "Ma (Mom), [a friend] gave me this, offered me this food; I shared this food with him." As far as I know, that boy (the friend) is a bit mischievous or not of the type I like my son to befriend with. Then I say, "No, my son, didn't I tell you not to be that much intimate with him, not to associate with him? ((request in her tone)). Do not let him understand that your Mom forbids you. You won't tell him or won't let him understand! Just avoid him." That is like

that; I try to control a bit. (G2 mother, 34 years old)

Besides directing children about choosing good friends, Piu (G2 mother, 28 years old) was careful to present herself as a role model of having good friends. In this communal culture, friends associate at the family level and, hence, bear influence at various levels. Piu was also careful in selecting good people as her friends so that her children were not exposed to any bad behaviour or habits from her interactions with friends. Piu explained,

I teach them to avoid places and companions that may spoil them. Besides, I try to avoid bad companions so that they do not learn bad things from the people I associate with. They may learn bad things even from my friends. It is not certain that all my friends are good. She (daughter) may learn many bad things from them, as well.

Tara (G1 mother, 56 years old) also used to be observant about her children's whereabouts and their circle of friends, based on her belief in the proverb: "*A good company makes one good and a bad company spoils.*" Farida established cordial relationships with her son's friends to obtain everyday information that her son did not share. She monitored and controlled her son's movements through directions given to those friends. She even reached out to the parents of her children's friends. Farida shared how she ensured good company for her children,

I scold them, counsel them, try to make them understand, ask others to talk to him (younger son, Prince), ask Tutul to talk to him (younger son): "Tutul, tell him not to hang out with other kids. You stay with him". I always decide for them. When he

hung out with other kids, I wondered who that boy was! I'd get worried. [I would ask,] "What's his name?" "His name is Probal." "Bring Probal home someday," I'd say. He brought Probal home and I talked with him. Then I talked to Probal and found that his mother was a doctor. I'd get worried whenever he talked with someone I didn't know... When he goes with his college friends —Caesar, Rafiq—I feel comfortable. When Caesar or Rafiq is at our home, their mothers wouldn't worry as they knew their boys were at Polash's (elder son) house. Caesar's mother would call and ask if Caesar was at our home and I'd assure her he was. Similarly, when Polash was at Rafiq's house I'd call them "Bhabi (common social salutation among women), is Polash at your house". "Yes, Bhabi, they were studying, and it's already too late; let him have dinner here... I wasn't worried even when he stayed over at Caesar's until 11 pm. Caesar's mother is a college professor.

Data shows that mothers dedicated their time and effort to ensuring that their children stayed on the right path and were surrounded by safe friends from good families. Over generations, mothers have remained vigilant about the influence of their children's friends and constantly monitored who their children interacted with on a daily basis. They also used their community networks to enhance their oversight.

5.2.1.2 Protection from the Negativity of Technology Use. The rapid advancement and widespread availability of technology during the child-rearing years of Generation Two mothers rendered it an integral issue to face. Tonu (G2 mother, 37 years old) clarified it, "... our time was different from now. Our necessity was different. Our time was not this fast then. The technology was not this much developed." Generation Two mothers recognised the benefits afforded by technology and, as a result, facilitated access to computers and smartphones for their

children. However, they also acknowledged the potential risks associated with technology and adopted measures to monitor and regulate their children's use of communication technologies, with the intention of mitigating any adverse effects. Farida (G2 mother, 46 years old) shared about her strategies: "I always keep the TV and computer in my drawing room. [...] I place it in an open space so that I can keep an eye on them." Tonu regulated her daughter's access to communication technology by controlling the time of use and by not permitting a personal gadget. She explained,

I don't let her use mobile phones at night... She doesn't have a personal tab because if I give her a tab, I will not be able to guide her. Because if she has a tab, she will keep it with her. How long will we stay in her room at night? We sleep in our room at night; we won't see what she is doing with it [in her room]. Her father told her, "I will not give you even a phone until you pass your O level!... These days, there are a lot of bad things on the internet. If she gets attracted to it, she will feel good. Or, there are lots of adult contents; she may come across them, and she may watch. Besides, at night bbbb ((stammering)) she may chat on Facebook. How can I guide all the time? One day, it will degrade her studies, and her concentration will be diverted.

G2 mothers were apprehensive about freedom of communication and access to media, viewing it as detrimental because it exposed children to unwanted and culturally unacceptable content and attitudes. Some mothers controlled children's use of computers, televisions, and cell phones and monitored the content of their children's calls. Mobile phones were also a key tool for G2 mothers to monitor their children's whereabouts. Shoshi (G2 mother, 47 years old) elaborated on how she used mobile phones to monitor her son: "I check on my son's

whereabouts by calling [him] on his mobile... I confirm whether he truly went to the coaching centre by overhearing the teacher's and children's voices around him." The data suggest that parents' surveillance and vigilance were the norm.

5.2.1.3 Monitor Children's Whereabouts. Both boys and girls were subjected to parental surveillance to deter engagement in socially deviant behaviours, such as substance abuse, petty crime, and romantic relationships. However, the surveillance of girls was intensified due to additional concerns regarding their safety, social reputation, and chastity. Children were consistently required to inform their parents of their whereabouts before leaving home. Farida (G1 mother, 46 years old) recounted her experiences during her school years, highlighting how her parents and elder siblings monitored her movements through the assistance of friends and community members. Farida said,

My brother was probably sitting in the tailors or in the M studio and saw us. He probably followed us and saw us going to Charu's grandparent's house. He came home and asked my mother where I was, and my mother told him I was at school, but my brother knew. So, when I was home, my brother asked me to tell him truthfully where I had been. Then I realized that he already knew. He saw me, or someone told him about it. I told him I didn't want to go there; I only went because everyone else did... "I hope I never see you going anywhere else from school. Only School to home. I'll kill you if I ever catch you talking to anyone on the street. Don't even talk to me.", my brother said...

Umme: What was the reason for this?

Farida: As I was a girl, they were worried I might be talking to boys, or be dating someone, maybe that's why.

Jhumjhum's (G2 mother, 34 years old) story adds to the discourse,

My mother used to be aware of what we were doing, and when, where we were going, etc. We were totally in control of these! They did not let us go outside any time. My son also cannot go out; he only goes out during school time.... My parents have reared us in the same way a hen keeps its chickens under its wings. They did not let us go anywhere and did not let us associate with others out of fear that their children might be harmed. They have kept us totally under their observation, within their line of sight. I also keep a close eye on him (son).

Given that boys are perceived as more susceptible to deviant behaviours, participants expressed heightened concerns regarding their sons' associations and activities. Two G1 mothers, Tara (56 years old) and Khadija (66 years old), reported 'stalking' their sons to discern their actions, destinations, and social interactions outside of parental oversight. The persistence of such extensive monitoring was facilitated by their sons' acceptance and compliance. Tara and Khadija described the strategies they used to monitor their sons:

Umme: ...So::: the way you... asked them the reasons for their late- How did they respond to it?...

Tara: No, they like it! They never disobeyed me that time! One day, he went to his friend on the rooftop of Jamal Sir's building. Afterward, I noticed that he was late. [It came to my mind that] "Aree! He goes there on a daily basis! Why does he go there? I will have to inquire what he does after going over there!" Then I went there one day and found that he was standing at a corner of the rooftop, looking at people walking along the street. He asked me, "Amma, why are you here?" I replied, "I have come here because I see you come here. I know that you

go to the rooftop of Mostofa's house. Even after that, I need to know what you do here, why you come here. You have grown up. I need to know whether you are doing good activities or bad. It is my responsibility to keep an eye on it." After going there, I found them standing. [He replied], "Amma, you go now, I am coming. I am only standing here and looking around." I also found him standing there, not doing anything else. I looked after them this way.

Khadija: ... I raised them with strict discipline (*shason* in Bengali). I used to stand by the road-side at his school dismissal time. Then (.) I saw him coming. I (.) ran away; I ran away to the opposite side. He came and entered home; I entered home from the other side.

Umme: Ooo:: why did you do this?

Khadija: So that::: I mean::: so that he didn't go anywhere else. Going elsewhere after school- I wouldn't let this happen.

Umme: That means::: you followed him up, but you did not let him realize.

Khadija: Yeah yeah, I didn't let him realize. I followed him but didn't let him realize it... Then I realized that "No! There was no need to do that for my son! Those who were bad, he didn't associate with them... I noticed that he got along with good children.

However, Generation Two mothers were cognisant of socio-political transformations and the influence of modernisation on their children's (G3) cognition, personality, and sense of freedom (Yousuf, 2023). Consequently, rather than adhering to a purely authoritative stance, these mothers adopted a seemingly collaborative approach. Societal changes—particularly those perceived as negative—compelled them to adapt to evolving circumstances by implementing

stricter control and monitoring in a manner that appeared cooperative. Piu (G2 mother, 28 years old) explained her logic,

...It will not work if we raise our children in the same way my parents did.

During that time, the society was calm. The society is hot nowadays. It will not work in this hot society if we raise our children without control as our parents did... That is why I try hard not to show the negative sides and try to show the positive sides; I try to explain which issues are negative and which sides are not good. I try to make them understand these.

Rooted in a communal culture and a shared sense of existence, the participants did not articulate an individualised sense of personal boundaries and actively intervened in their children's personal and social lives. This practice was quite common and widely accepted among mothers of both generations. Tara (G1 mother) confirmed this in a quote above. However, Generation Three, who are increasingly exposed to products and effects of globalisation, may develop a modified sense of interpersonal relationships and protective parenting values. The dynamics of intergenerational continuity onto Generation Three parents may present intriguing patterns. It is crucial to examine how protective parenting practices influence parent-child relationships in contemporary Bangladesh, particularly in the context of rapid technological advancements and globalisation.

5.2.2 Tradition Embodies Protective Wisdom

Participants constructed protective parenting with wisdom, tradition, and culture, and an attitude of prioritising children's safety. This effort is expressed through practices such as chaperonage, arranging marriages, religious upbringing, instilling fear, and observing traditional

rituals. While chaperonage and arranged marriage addressed physical and social protection, religious upbringing, instilling fear, and the use of traditional rituals were expected to address moral, habitual, and spiritual protection.

5.2.2.1 Chaperonage: It is Not a Solution, But a Protection. Chaperonage refers to accompanying children in their daily activities. G2 mothers accompanied children to protect them from sexual harassment, abduction, road accidents, and dog attacks. G2 mothers reported expending enormous efforts into chaperonage, but G1 mothers did not report as much concern or effort in this regard. G1 mothers reported accompanying daughters only when they slept at relatives' houses, to protect them from sexual abuse. However, G1 mothers whose children recently graduated from school had similar concerns to G2 mothers. This was clearly articulated by Hena (G1 mother, 69 years old), "I didn't accompany the eldest two daughters to school... they went by themselves along with some friends... But I accompanied the youngest two. This custom started when the little ones started kindergarten."

Increased social insecurity and lack of mutual support in the community made a difference in chaperonage practices between G1 and G2 mothers. Daily news reports influenced mothers' risk constructions. When G1 mothers raised their children in the 1970s, social relationships were strong, and a spontaneous neighbourhood watch existed, unlike G2 mothers' experiences in the 2000s. Pinky (G2 mother, 29 years old) reflected on the negative changes:

During our time, people around us knew us. But at present, no one knows their neighbours. Like, I don't know the people next door. If someone does anything bad to me, there is no neighbour to shout at that person or say, "She is Mr. X's daughter, or she lives there!" ...It was not like this during my growing up time. I

used to know everyone in our neighbourhood. However, my daughter does not even know how many people live in our building.

G2 mothers accompanied their children from the first day of school right through high school, and some even during their undergraduate years - this was an enormous responsibility for participants in the absence of help. Two G2 mothers quit their jobs, and another two did not seek any employment despite financial hardship, because they had no extended family available to accompany their children to school.

The quotidian activities of the stay-at-home mothers entailed ensuring a child's safety. Tonu (G2 mother, 37 years old) Panna (G2 mother, 43 years old) described their daily routines:

After having breakfast (.) like every day, I took him to the coaching centre. I waited there. When his lessons ended, I dropped him off at school and came back home. Then I cooked quickly and went to pick up the boy. (**Tonu**)

She (daughter) wakes up at 6.30 am in the morning... I have to dress her up while she is lying down on the bed... I usually wake up at 5.30 am. I prepare breakfast for her. Put it in a tiffin box for school. Her school finishes at 9:10 am. I take her to the coaching centre at 9.10 am. I prepare another snack for the coaching centre... I take it with me and feed her there... Coaching starts at 9:45 am. I return home when a teacher enters the classroom. I cook after returning home. Coaching finishes at 11:45 am... I go there at 11:30 am to bring her home... I am her full-time companion ((chuckling))... We, mother and daughter, watch TV for some time... After praying Maghrib, she watches TV... She studies until 9:30 pm or 9:10 pm without a break... I tutor her in the study...

Everyone (mothers) is doing the same! (**Panna**)

Chaperonage, as a form of protective parenting, demonstrated evidence of gendered roles in childcare. Mothers took on the role of constant protectors, and their daily routine revolved around monitoring their children's safety, education, and daily activities.

5.2.2.2 Arranged Marriage to Protect Children from Falling for the 'Wrong'

Partner. In this community, arranged marriage was constructed as protective against the possible marital crisis. Arranged marriage is a long-standing and socially entrenched tradition in Bangladesh. Since childhood, the families tried to control children's exposure to evil influences, imposed several restrictions, and systematically provided negative perceptions about love affairs so that the parents could use their wisdom to find a good marriage match for their eligible children. Farida (G2 mother, 46 years old) mentioned her experience with such restrictions, which she later secretly violated.

Umme: What's wrong with cinema?

Farida: Only God know! Maybe cinema will spoil them (children), maybe that's what they thought or something. All the cinemas were about romance and love story back then, that's probably what they thought, why they wouldn't let us go to cinema. This is when my brother threatened me, "I will not tell anything to mother or you, I'll just drink poison and kill myself if I see you in the cinema hall." However, I watched two cinemas later.

Dina (G2 mother, 33 years old) mentioned the negative perception she was given about someone who was in a romantic relationship,

Umme: It seems that you had a negative perception of affairs.

Dina: I thought they were not good girls for sure.

Umme: Did you hear from anyone that they were not good, or that no good girl would do such a thing?

Dina: I mean, it's like, didn't everyone look at them with a negative vibe?

Umme: Who is that everyone?

Dina: For example, my friends themselves or parents. They didn't like these.

Like, if anyone hears, they will not take that easily. And I thought that people who are bad at studying do such things.

All the G1 and G2 mothers' marriages were arranged. Data suggests that G1 mothers enforced strict control over spouse selection, while G2 mothers were somewhat more flexible about children's choices. Even so, G2 mothers set predetermined criteria for a potential spouse, and if not met, the chosen partner would be rejected. The construction of protective parenting was linked to an expectation that children would trust parents' wisdom in spousal selection. Jhumjhum (G2 mother, 34 years old) shared her father's pain when her brother ignored their parents' judgement about spouse selection.

Did you see my elder sister-in-law (wife of elder brother)? She is very short! Very short! Too much short! Her mentality is also not wide. We recognized it at the very beginning, but my elder brother liked her. He used to get very angry if we pointed at the flaws we identified! My parents also told him many times, "This negative side caught my eyes, that negative side caught my eyes," etc., but he did not pay heed to anything. That is the only time in his life, the only time he went out of my parents' say. My parents and none of us wished him to get married there. (.) Their mentality is not good, also miser, (.) small mentality. It is true that

they have money, but (.) overall, we are not satisfied. We managed to identify these in the beginning, but he did not move away from there, he was determined to marry her. We had nothing to do here. My father was in great pain about it.

Jhumjhum's statement also shows that a wedding was more of a family decision where siblings' opinions were also important, and the family decision was based on common interest rather than individual preferences. Overlooking individual preferences has been reported to inflict pain on the individual. Yet, being part of a communal culture, individuals sacrificed personal happiness. Dina (G2 mother, 33 years old) described her emotional struggles over the years after sacrificing her choice and honouring her family's decision on her marriage,

It's not like I got married by full heart uh:::: removed him from my life, it's not true. It would be wrong if I say so. ((Silence)) After marriage ((silence)), I was sad; I used to cry (crying)... (crying). Actually, I believe, if this household (.) and if I hadn't conceived the baby, I couldn't survive; I feel that way. (crying loud) (.) It happened that after having intercourse (with my husband), I cried for him (boyfriend).

G2 mothers were relatively liberal in their views, yet they considered family interests, which aligned with the values of a communal culture. Farida (G2 mother, 46 years old) reported about her criteria for her sons' partner selection,

My only tension is that they might fall for the wrong kind of girl. I told my boys, "I have no problem with you dating or liking someone, but make sure it's the right type of person. Also, I would never accept affairs between agemates." I made it clear to them ... I won't allow it. I don't like these classmate affairs. One of my

nieces did this, my eldest sister's daughter married her classmate, and we all suffer a lot because of her. I don't like this.

While Farida directly advised her sons about her expectations of their partners, Charu (G2 mother, 48 years old) chose a rhetorical way of educating her daughters about her criteria,

Umme: You told me earlier that you are tense about your daughters' companions... whether they are having an affair (romantic relationship) or not::

So::: what do you do...so that these things don't happen?

Charu: I counsel them; I sit with them and talk to them. It may be that I don't mention things directly, but give examples of someone. Um:: by telling a story.

Maybe I tell someone else's story in front of them... The objective is that "So that you don't do anything like this!" I mean, "You too don't cause any occurrence."

Like this.

Umme: Okay, so you don't tell them directly?

Charu: No, I never say directly like, "Never do like that::" or "It's not right to do that." Or "Don't do that!" I talk this way... mmm:: because they may mind (feel offended) it.

In this extract, it is evident that choosing a partner as a protective practice applied to both boys and girls, and age, height, and benevolence were used among other criteria in making a choice.

5.2.2.3 Use of Traditional Rituals. Performance of traditional rituals was constructed to be protective against supernatural dangers, one example being Djinn (spirits who can possess humans). Participants' protective attitude and dedication to ensuring children's well-being

motivated the performance of traditional rituals. Through the generations, participants believed in supernatural demonic spirits and their ability to harm pregnant women and newborns. Rituals for preventing such harm involved fire, salt, and restraining behaviours, and were specific to the child's developmental stages.

Participants believed that evil spirits were attracted to sweets, fried food, and fish. The evening and nighttime were socially constructed to be quite dangerous in this regard. Families with a pregnant woman were only allowed to bring home fish and meat during the day. If fish or meat were brought in the evening, the family had to perform cleansing rituals to ward off harm from demonic spirits. To prevent harm to the foetus, newly purchased sweets or fried food were whirled through fire before consuming. During Jhumjhum's (G2 mother, 34 years old) pregnancy, her mother, Kahi (G2 mother, 57 years old), instructed her to rest the groceries, fish, and meat for half an hour before handling, especially if brought after sunset. Kahi explained:

Djinn stays with raw fish, meat, and chicken... After others take care of groceries, you will get close to that half an hour later... Do not eat those uncleansed foods immediately! ...If it is a fruit or fried snack, whirl it on the fire, nicely! Otherwise, it would be harmful to both you and the foetus.

There were also rituals to follow post-childbirth. The 57 years old G1 mother, Kahi, cautioned her daughter Jhumjhum, when she was a nursing mother, "If you go outside alone, do not directly go to the baby after returning! Wash your hands and face, put some salt into your mouth, and touch the fire! Then you will cool down and go to the child!"

Traditionally, parents in Bangladesh do not praise or show overt affection to their own children (Aboud et al., 2013; Hamadani & Tofail, 2014). One participant, Dali (G2 mother, 50

years old), referred to a culturally embedded belief that a mother's praise harms children and reported technically skipping praising her daughter. She derived this practice from her mother.

Dali said,

... it is said that if a mother praises so much then it leads it (quality) to the wrong way. I mean, this is our scriptural saying that a mother should not praise so much, a mother should not talk so much! Now [I am telling these] because you are taking it for your educational purpose. Otherwise, I do not tell this much with the mothers of her friends... Sometimes, some people understand and say, "Your daughter is very::: good, this and that." I reply, "Where do you find her good? She is mischievous as well." It is said that "If a mother cherishes so much then that quality of her child gets spoiled." Our this, this [belief] (.), it is not something scientific... [It is said that] "Mother's praise may cause harm to a child."... elders say these. Elders have various sayings. For example, even my mother says, "Leave it! Do not praise this much. A mother should not praise this much."

While participants were aware that the custom was unscientific, they still followed it blindly. This points to their respect and obedience to elders as well as their dedication to ensuring children's safety from indefinite harm.

5.2.2.4 "The Fear of Negative Impacts Should Be Instilled in Childhood Through Storytelling So That Children Internalise It". Social context and culturally grounded wisdom guided the participants in instilling fear in children by communicating and presenting evidence to deter them from engaging in risky habits and unapproved behaviours. One such example was smoking. Both generations of mothers believed in the 'power' of fear; therefore, they instilled fear in children to protect them from undesirable outcomes of adverse habits and behaviours. The

fear seems to have originated from the mothers' anxiety regarding children's safety, and the mothers transferred that fear onto the children. Two grandmothers, Hena and Fatima, instilled the fear of kidnapping in their daughters so that the daughters would return home before evening. Hena's daughter Dali (G2 mother, 50 years old) imitated her mothers' strategy and implemented it on her son. Being aware of the prevalence of smoking and drug addiction amongst the younger generation, Dali was worried her son would be at risk of following suit. She used fear to prevent it, saying, "I always talked to him about ill health and cancer resulting from smoking, even during advertisement of cigarettes on TV... because once he develops a smoking addiction, it won't be possible to change... no one can change this." This practice suggests a proactive prevention against even the possible development of harmful habits and risky behaviours. For these mothers, prevention is better than cure.

5.2.2.5 Children Should be Practitioners but Not Extremists. In addition to using fear, the participants relied on religion to prevent undesirable habit formation in children. In this community, religion is constructed as a lifestyle. The participants engaged their children in daily Islamic practices from pre-adolescence to build moral foundations against 'derailment,' usually meaning any socially- or family-disapproved behaviour, for example, smoking and involvement in petty crime. This practice demonstrates the community's engagement and level of trust in religion. Charu (G2 mother, 48 years old) articulated that: "If they (her children) become fully detached from religion, they may go to the [wrong] path. Their mind may be diverted to something else." Dali emphasized the positive impact of religious practices, saying: "If a child prays five times salat [Muslims' daily prayer rituals], they grow good discipline!"

While the mothers were proactive in raising religious children, they were vigilant that children did not become extremists. Hena (G1 mother, 69 years old) identified extremism as one

of the reasons to chaperone and monitor children. She presented an example of a peer's child, "If she (a peer) had chaperoned her son from the beginning before finding out that the kid read Shibir's (Government-recognized extremist group) book, then he wouldn't have gone that far!"

Data indicates that in the construction of protective parenting, mothers had to contend against the child growing into a religious extremist, even as they encouraged them to be religious. Mothers were aware of the difference and managed to draw a line between the two. They took what they felt were the necessary steps to achieve these goals.

Islam has frequently been portrayed in Western media as a religion characterised by discrimination, radicalisation, and regression (Azeez & Jimoh, 2023). However, the participants in this study presented a contrasting perspective. They demonstrated an acute awareness of the benefits of being a religious practitioner as well as the risks associated with Islamophobia and adopted proactive measures to safeguard their children from Islamophobic influences. A study on Islamophobia in Bangladesh revealed that its foundational elements—"misunderstanding, misleading representations, insufficient knowledge, improper correlations, and flawed implementation"—are intricately interconnected (Sultana, 2022, p. 35). These factors collectively shape global perceptions, contributing to the perpetuation of negative attitudes toward Islam (Sultana, 2022), which in turn influence how parents think of protecting their children from the world.

5.2.3 Girls are Susceptible to Violence

Both G1 and G2 mothers exercised *social and behavioural boundaries for girls* as a protective parenting tool. Gender boundaries were constructed around girls' vulnerability to sexual violence, both in domestic and public spheres, while boys' vulnerabilities were generally

underreported, even among this group of participants. Mothers did not allow daughters to talk to male cousins in private, nor did they allow visits to neighbours' or relatives' homes or sleepovers unless accompanied by the mother. Jobaida (G1 mother, 80 years old) was stricter. She did not let her daughters go outside in the afternoon, evening, or at night. Religious restrictions on mingling with the opposite gender outside of marriage reinforce these practices. Fatima (G1 mother, 68 years old) highlighted that: "My father [and] my mother [were] Islamic minded... They used to tell me, 'Don't go to a house where a boy lives! Keep safe from boys, from men...!' Girls of my father's family didn't interact freely with boys."

All participants in this study had a tendency to reduce male contact with their daughters. For example, Hena (G1 mother, 69 years old) learned tailoring to avoid a male tailor taking her daughters' body measurements. Hena's daughter Dali (G2 mother, 50 years old) did the same. Farida (G2 mother, 46 years old) spoke about her mother's efforts to guard her exposure to male cousins and strangers during her adolescence,

Whenever a man came to our house, my mother would ask me to go to my room before opening the door. When my male cousins came to our house, my mother would sit [in front of us] and sort the rice (separate good grains of rice from the dead ones) while we were chatting. Back then, sorting rice was a common practice. I'd wonder why Mother kept sorting the rice all the time, but now I understand that it was just an excuse so that she could keep an eye on us.

Establishing behavioural boundaries for girls exemplifies gendered practices within the community. As mentioned earlier in the section on chaperonage, societal expectations often compel women to sacrifice their careers for the primary responsibility of caring for children.

While various restrictions were imposed on girls to protect them from sexual violence perpetrated by men, no participant acknowledged the vulnerability of boys. None of the participants indicated that they imposed restrictions on boys or took parenting measures to prevent boys from becoming perpetrators or victims of sexual violence.

None but one participant, Dina (G2 mother, 33 years old), mentioned teenage marriage as a powerful resort to protect girls from being involved in pre-marital affairs, or being a victim of sexual violence, as a husband is considered a protector.

Nowadays, parents are working away, and many girls become a little bit different::

Umme: what do you mean by “different”?

Dina: A little bit different means girls are being companied by other boys, other bad boys. Can’t it be like this? I can’t tell now what will happen. If something like this happens, I am thinking that I might marry her (daughter) off early. It will depend upon situation... And as there are a lot of [[my]] relatives abroad, I wish, after her Grade 12 education she is married. And then if she wants, she might study abroad. I wish.

Umme: In case of your son?

Dina: Son:: if he gets a better opportunity in this country he will work here. Otherwise, I will send him abroad.”

Although this is an outlier, this remains an important protective practice in Bangladesh, which is evident by reports that Bangladesh is home to 38 million child brides, of which 13% are married before the age of 15 years. Further, 51% of young girls are married before the age of 18 years (United Nations Children’s Fund, 2020). This has important bearings for girls’ lives as well

as national and global maternal and child health and mortality. None of the G1 mothers mentioned early marriage as a protective strategy for girls. However, of the 11 G1 mothers, four married off their daughters (G2 mothers) between the ages of 17 and 19, and another four did so before age 23. This data evidence the culture's inclination towards early marriage for girls. The participants generally reported rounded or approximate ages for marriage and first childbirth; obtaining precise age data would yield a more accurate understanding of this practice.

According to the Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey (BDHS, 2014), 31% of females aged 15–19 years in Bangladesh begin childbearing, with the rate being higher in rural areas (32%) compared to urban areas (27%) (Field et al., 2018). The participants in this study, predominantly urban dwellers, mirrored these statistics. Among the 22 participants, 81.81% of Generation 1 (G1) and 18.18% of Generation 2 (G2) gave birth before the age of 19. The average age at first conception or childbirth was 17.09 years for G1 and 23.72 years for G2. The average age at marriage was 14.6 years for G1 mothers and 21.9 years for G2 mothers. However, the average age for G2 was marginally elevated due to two participants who married at a proportionately higher age than others, at 26 and 31 years. The age of marriage and first-child conception/ birth is noticeably higher among G2 participants. This generational shift might align with more opportunities for educational attainment. Eight out of 11 G2 participants had completed a master's degree, with the last three attaining higher secondary (HSC) education. In contrast, G1 participants' formal education spanned Grades 5 to SSC (Grade 10), with an average duration of seven years. Education appears to be a critical factor in the intergenerational disparity in marriage and childbearing age, as supported by prior research (Field et al. 2018; National Institute of Population Research and Training (NIPORT) & ICF, 2024; Tavares, 2016). Nonetheless, focused research is warranted to examine the underlying factors contributing to

intergenerational changes.

5.2.4 Financial Planning Secures Children's Future

Financial planning was pursued as a tool to secure children's future and to protect the family from the effects of financial crisis. Mothers invested in career-based higher education for their children and covered the expenses of their children's major life events, such as weddings. These were culturally determined responsibilities of parents. Parents made sacrifices in the range of financial protection they provided to their children. They began financial planning in early lives, reflecting a shared value across generations. Jhumjhum (G2 mother, 34 years old) began purchasing jewellery for her future daughter-in-law before her son turned ten, while acknowledging that 'city-boys' usually get married after securing a stable income. She said,

His (son) father wants to make him a Pilot, and a certain amount of money is already saved for that... I have planned to arrange my son's wedding more luxuriously... I started to make gold ornaments bit-by-bit... because I cannot buy [them] all at once.

While parents carefully saved money for their children's future needs, they traditionally limited young children's direct access to money to prevent them from derailment. Establishing children's financial security was an ingredient to their peace and pleasure. The traditional social structure in Bangladesh prioritizes family identity over individual identity, leading to the collective sharing of financial responsibilities among family members. Kahi (G1 mother, 57 years old) highlighted that spending savings on children's weddings was a norm:

I saved money by tolerating many hardships. Then I arranged my daughters'

weddings... I spent all the remaining money on my youngest son's wedding...

The lion's share was contributed by my elder son, then by me and my daughters.

Tara (G1 mother, 56 years old) envisioned financial security for her grandchildren through investments in her children's education and promising careers. This suggests that a mother's concern was not limited to her children but also extended to her grandchildren. Tara said:

If our children do well, they will be able to make their children do well. If they study well, learn well, and do a good job, they will be able to mould their children... I also think of their children... I want them to live affluently.

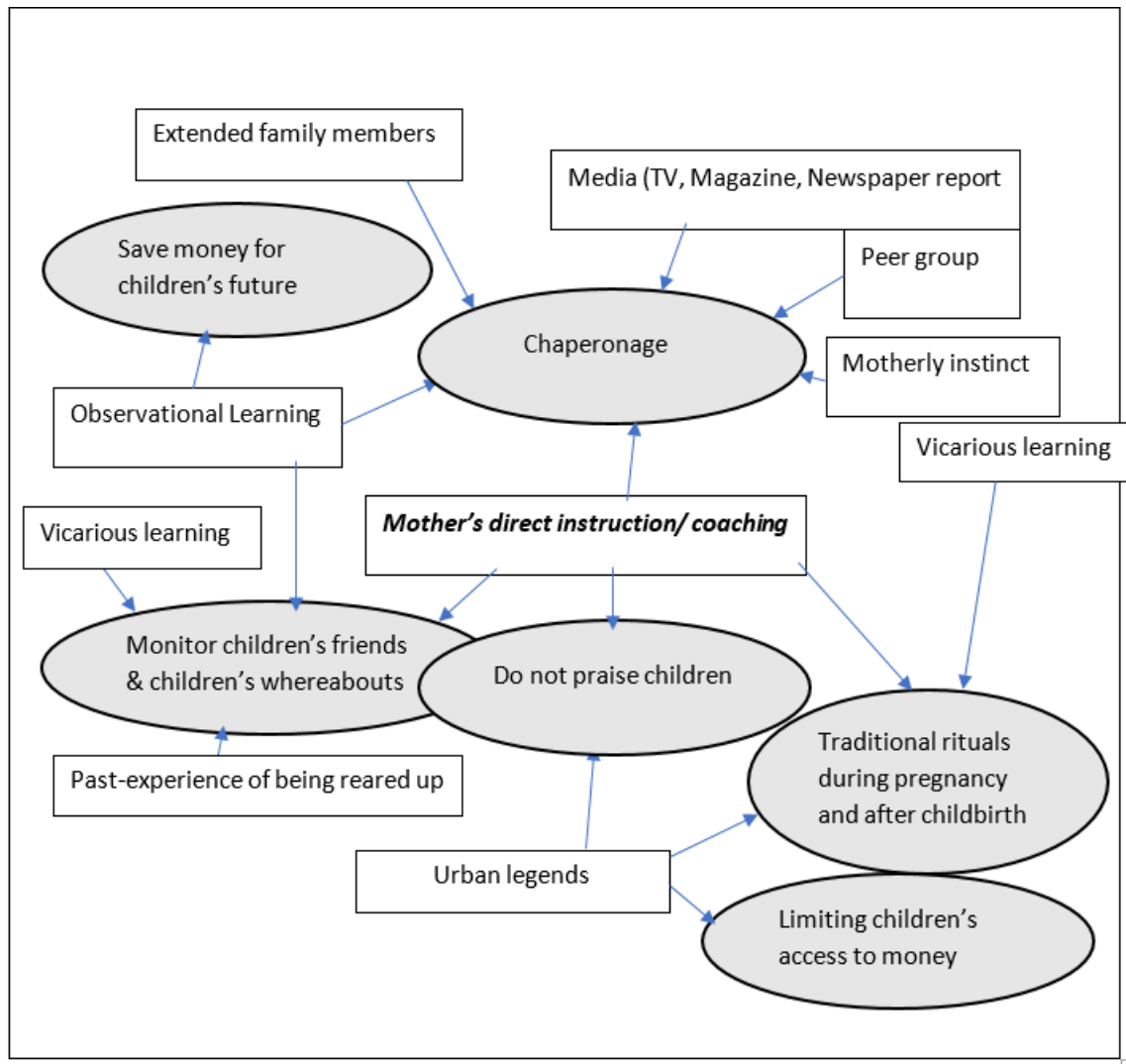
Apart from saving money for children's future needs, Shirin (G2 mother, 49 years old) expressed her expectations for her children's financial independence in the future and was actively putting effort into empowering them towards this goal. This indicates that the participants were aware of not making children passive recipients but rather building sustainable financial security for them. Shirin said,

I [hope] that my daughter may do something good; my son do something good, and become independent... I put importance mostly on their studies (.)... they can play, watch television, but have to make sure nothing hinders their time of studying (.) so that their results are good and so that they can get admitted to good institutions. That's what I try to do.

Several social elements and sources of learning contributed to the formation and sustenance of protective parenting practices among Bangladeshi mothers. Figure 5.2 presents the social elements and sources of learning, along with their direction of influence on specific protective parenting practices. Extended family members, the media, mothers' peer groups, direct instructions and coaching from one's own mother (G1), observation of other mothers in the community, and motherly instincts all contributed to the development of the practice of chaperoning children outside the home. The practice of saving money for children's future needs was essentially learned from observing their own parents' practices. Past experience of being monitored, observing how people benefitted from monitoring children, and their mothers' direct instruction and coaching helped preserve the practice of monitoring children's whereabouts and the quality and family background of their friend circle. The culture-based practice of not praising children and limiting their access to money was preserved by G1 mothers' direct instructions and coaching to G2 mothers, as well as through urban legends. Vicarious learning, one's own mothers' direct instructions and coaching, and urban legends helped in sustaining the protective practice of performing traditional rituals during pregnancy and after childbirth. Among all these social elements, the mother's direct instruction and coaching were the most influential elements that formed and sustained four prominent protective parenting practices: chaperonage, monitoring, traditional rituals during pregnancy and after childbirth, and culture-based practices such as refraining from praising children.

Figure 5.2

Factors Connected to the Construction of Protective Parenting Practices



5.3 Discussion

This study defined protective parenting practices and revealed five constructions of protective parenting. Eight practices were identified across two generations of Bangladeshi mothers. Protectiveness was found to be a prominent parenting value, echoing the findings of Horwath et al. (2008), who reported that Bangladeshi participants consistently expressed concerns about children's safety. This study did not confine its exploration of parenting to a

specific age range. Instead, participants shared their protective practices and values spanning from conception to their children's marriage and beyond, and even into grandparenthood, extending their protective concerns to their grandchildren. However, findings indicate that protective parenting practices are most concentrated during children's pre-adolescent and adolescent years.

The protective parenting practices found in this study encompass the five theoretically grounded parenting dimensions: warmth, proximity, communication, demandingness, and discipline. Protective strategies evolved out of parental love and sacrifice. These strategies incorporate elements of demandingness, engaging children's lifestyles and choices. Demandingness is also expressed through mothers' commands over children's friends and spouse selection. Chaperonage illustrates proximity, and the practice of engineering fear encompasses components of the communication dimension. The disciplinary dimension of parenting manifests in mothers' enforcement of various rules and gendered boundaries. Thus, the protective parenting of Bangladeshi mothers emerges as a distinct phenomenon, heavily influenced by values, culture, and social context.

No available definition is comprehensive enough to explain the type of protective parenting practices found in this study. Therefore, based on this study's findings, I chose to define protective parenting as culturally and contextually grounded practices that parents learn from earlier generations and adapt according to emerging needs to ensure their children's safety and security in various aspects, including physical, emotional, social, spiritual, and financial aspects. This definition enfolds the interpersonal, social, and cognitive aspects of protective parenting practices as well as the culture-grounded elements.

While my definition emphasizes the interpersonal, social, cultural, and cognitive aspects of protective parenting practices, Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn (2017) focus solely on the evolutionary aspect. However, Mowder (2005) asserts that the protective characteristics of parents change over time in response to personal experiences, the child's characteristics, and their cultural milieu. My definition partially aligns with Mowder (2005), who accounts for personal, interpersonal, and cultural aspects of protective parenting.

Due to their social and cultural aspects, protective parenting practices vary across cultures and even across different time periods and contexts within the same culture. This study's findings support this claim, particularly in the case of chaperonage and monitoring practices. While protective parenting practices were primarily learned from earlier generations (Jasmine et al., 2025), Bangladeshi mothers adjusted child-protective strategies in response to social insecurity and traditional values.

Social insecurity in Dhaka can be attributed to modernisation-generated social changes (Khan et al., 2014). While modernisation affords opportunities through advancements in education, technology, and structural development, it also accompanies a rise in complex and multifaceted forms of crime. Internal migrations of opportunity seekers contributed to the amplified number of strangers and crimes in the neighbourhoods of Dhaka (Islam et al., 2022). Ineffective policy provisions, failures in policy implementation, and a flawed law enforcement system have led to a surge in crime in Dhaka (Akter & Aziz, 2020; Hasan & Khatun, 2020; The World Bank, 2007). All these factors potentially contributed to parents' apprehension of victimisation, which motivates practices of chaperonage, monitoring, communication, and instilling fear in children (Skogan, 2012).

The practice of chaperonage appeals on three levels: the individual, community, and societal levels. On an individual level, it denotes intense feelings of social insecurity among parents. At the community level, it signals parents' struggles against social insecurity. At the societal level, it demonstrates unequal gender roles. With these three levels of appeal, the findings on chaperonage as a protective parenting practice are powerful. Chaperonage was constructed in an insecure social context within interactions with family members, peers, and media reports, mostly resulting from urbanisation. In the absence of a structured social security system, parents demonstrated their self-efficacy by taking charge of protecting their children and regulating themselves, their profession, and their lifestyles to continue chaperoning children everywhere outdoors.

Social insecurity puts pressure on mothers to become chaperones for their children's daily activities. The culture expects that women would sacrifice their careers to support their children. In a combined effect, this potentially impedes progress to achieving Sustainable Development Goal 5 (SDG; United Nations, 2017) - "achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls." Thus, this study calls in efforts to deal with social insecurity to support Bangladesh's achievement of SDGs.

Monitoring has been commonly used in an attempt to lower harms to children. Rural Mapuche mothers in Chile kept children under surveillance by using mobile phones Similar to Bangladeshi mothers (Murray et al., 2017). Monitoring as a protective parenting strategy has been found effective in lessening behavioural problems when practiced in high-risk neighbourhoods. Ahmed and Hossain (2015), and Pugh and Richter (2023) found monitoring was effective in mitigating substance abuse risks. Rodríguez-Meirinhos et al. (2020) and Velazquez et al. (2023) reported association among constant monitoring, lower incidence of

substance abuse, and children's lower involvement in risky behaviours. Parents' monitoring practices expanded to accommodate how children use technologies, an effect of globalisation. Through such monitoring, mothers tried to guard children against exposure to culturally unacceptable media content. Development of this protective practice is supported by learning theories' positing that the environment is the primary determinant of human development (Hoffman, 1993). Future research can explore the effectiveness and implications of monitoring on children and parents in Dhaka.

Bangladeshi mothers referred to traditions and wisdom in arranging marriage, religious upbringing, saving money, imposing gendered boundaries, and observing traditional rituals to protect them from harms. Modernisation changed society and social relations (Khan et al., 2014), yet arranged marriage remains customary in Bangladesh (Peterson et al., 2011) and in the Indian sub-continent (Allendorf & Pandian, 2016). It is customary to have an age gap between spouses in Bangladeshi marriages, where the wife ought to be younger than the husband. The belief is that an age gap facilitates the wife's respect towards her husband. Furthermore, another belief is that women age faster than men, and that a wife must be younger than her husband in order to care for him in his old age. However, this study reveals a little shift in perspectives around arranged marriage wherein eligible children were limitedly allowed to use their agencies in selecting a spouse. The findings are supported by literature that reports that parents in Bangladesh have begun taking interpersonal compatibility into account (Allendorf & Pandian, 2016; Fuller & Narasimhan, 2008), and children negotiate their preferences with parents regarding spouse selection (Allendorf & Pandian, 2016; Schaffnit et al., 2023). Research on arranged marriage as a protective parenting strategy would unfold what parents intend to protect

children from in married lives, and how young people use their own agency and partner compatibility.

Mothers' efforts to provide financial protection to their children resonate with the sentiment of a communal culture where siblings and extended family members also participate in the effort (Khaliq, 2022; Della Puppa & Ambrosini, 2022; Schaffnit et al., 2023). This practice was constructed in the absence of structural financial support systems in the country, such as wedding finance, unemployment benefits, government housing, childcare, free healthcare, or support for educational expenses. Literature suggests that financial support between parents and children is mutual in Bangladeshi families. Traditionally, adult sons take over the financial responsibilities for the extended family from their fathers (Jasmine & Nduna, 2022). Daughters have also started to contribute (White, 2007). Mutual support enables families to fend off the impact of lack of structural support. Research must explore parents' thoughts, concerns, and guiding principles behind providing extensive financial support to young adults and adult descendants and how it impacts both parties.

Gendered norms and practices informed by religion are evident in Bangladeshi societies from jurisdiction to education, marriage, employment, and health (Adams, 2015; Ferdous & Mallick, 2019; Lata et al., 2021; Robin et al., 2019). Gender boundaries in protective parenting are not discrete. The findings show persisting gender barriers for women in terms of free movement and pursuing careers. While gender boundaries were described as protective parenting tools to ensure girls' safety, previous research has shown that gendered boundaries negatively impact girls' maternal health and access to healthcare in Bangladesh (Ahmed et al., 2021; Robin et al., 2019). This leads to a logical estimation that social insecurity and culture-motivated gender barriers are potentially contributing to persistent inequalities to health care access. They

potentially erode achievement of *SDG 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages* (United Nations General Assembly, 2017).

The findings indicate that a key motivation for early marriage among girls in Bangladesh is the perception that marriage offers protection from social insecurity, particularly the risk of sexual assault. This aligns with UNICEF (2020), which highlights child marriage as a persistent issue in the country. Economic factors also contribute, as younger brides typically require lower dowries (Chowdhury, 2010, 2016). Families often pay substantial dowries to secure their daughters' safety and stability within their marital homes (Begum, 2006; Chowdhury, 2010; Hamadani & Tofail, 2014). Further research is needed to examine the extent to which concerns over social safety and economic considerations jointly influence the prevalence of child marriage.

This study revealed that boundaries as a protective parenting tool were predominantly applied to girls. While boys were regarded as a potential danger to girls, they were largely exempt from comparable limit-setting or moral guidance, limiting their development of accountability and potentially enabling abusive behaviour. Girls were constructed as weak and easy to victimize in this society. It is necessary to understand whether gender boundaries found in this study 'narrowed' girls' potential to grow and access opportunities.

The findings of this study regarding gender inequality and discrimination are consistent with a broader body of research that highlights the entrenched nature of patriarchal norms in Bangladesh. Parveen (2013) identified gender discrimination and inequality as deeply rooted and pervasive aspect of Bangladeshi society. Building on this, Bagley et al. (2017) emphasised the systematic subordination of women by men, both within the domestic sphere and in wider

societal contexts. This structural imbalance is further reflected in the widespread incidence of gender-based violence. Shahan (2021) documented the persistent presence of violence against women in both private and public domains, underscoring the normalisation of such abuse. Complementing these findings, Islam (2024) reported alarmingly high rates of childhood abuse among married women in Chandpur, Bangladesh—37% physical, 15% sexual, and 26% psychological—highlighting how gendered violence often begins early in life and impacts across the life course. Collectively, these studies reinforce the argument that gender-based discrimination and violence are systemic issues that require multifaceted and sustained interventions.

The findings of this thesis regarding gender-based social insecurity align with Shahan's (2021) critical analysis that described how women in Bangladesh frequently experience insecurity during outdoor movement, showing that parental fear is rooted in pervasive social insecurity. This is worsened by incidents of sexual harassment, including inappropriate physical contact, intentional shoving, gripping of shoulders, and verbal abuse, such as derogatory remarks and catcalling (Shahan, 2021), that participants in this study also recounted. Many women experience abuse in domestic spheres, including neglect, rape, and physical and sexual assault. Shahan's (2021) findings show the picture of society that motivates mothers to limit their daughters' exposure to men they are related to, are strangers, or familiar. These protective measures highlight the pervasive climate of gender-based violence and the need for community-based violence prevention.

South Asian parents, including Bangladeshis, adopt religion as a way of life for children to enable them to differentiate between right and wrong, to promote specific behaviours, restrain bad behaviour, and thus limit troubles in life (Franceschelli & O'Brien, 2014). The mothers in

this research used the same practice as process and goal to produce preferred behaviour. Commitment to religion also served to protect against substance abuse and criminal offenses. However, there are still disagreements regarding the ‘when’ and ‘how’ of the process (Saladino et al., 2024).

Traditional ceremonies often correspond to or exist alongside religion (Wati et al., 2019). Both generations of Bangladeshi mothers in this study constructed traditional rituals as pre- and post-natal protective tools. Sociologists in the Indian subcontinent and in Bangladesh report that people believe in supernatural powers and entities such as ghosts, Djinn, and spirits, and that they perform rituals to protect children from intangible harm (Blum et al., 2009; Kakar, 1979; Karmakar & Khan, 2023; Winch et al., 2005). Mothers in this study believed in the supernatural and took measures to protect and defend themselves and their children, like using fire to cleanse and salt to counter malicious supernatural forces. Modern education and globalisation co-exist for these women, upholding and continuing traditional rituals in an attempt to protect the foetus and pregnant mother. The theory of modernisation asserts the modern person’s free choice – people can choose to live in the modern world with their traditions and beliefs. Social cognitive theory also highlights the concept of free choice – an individual’s choices are influenced by their beliefs and capabilities (Bandura, 1997). The mothers’ choice of sustaining traditional rituals was reinforced by their beliefs in its power.

Fear is a powerful tool of control. The framework, architecture, iconography, and targets of fear are important in this regard (Altheide, 2002). The mothers’ intergenerational use of fear to control children’s movements and habitual behaviour elucidated in this study aligns with the historic use of fear to control societies (Altheide, 2002). Future research could explore whether the instillation of fear in children stems from a process of transference, wherein parents project

their own fears and anxieties—shaped by personal experiences and an insecure social context—onto their children.

5.4 Conclusion

Selecting friends for children, arranged marriages, and ensuring financial security support the culture of shared lifestyle in Bangladesh. In this context, children's personal space and decision-making are not perceived as necessary until they reach adulthood, and family interests often supersede individual agency, even for adults. The array of protective parenting practices reflects both historical and contemporary safety concerns associated with parenting in Dhaka. Along with maternal grandmothers' influence, social insecurity shaped protective parenting practices, impacting children's social and family lives, parents' careers, and financial planning. The findings also highlight Bangladeshi mothers' compliance with cultural beliefs and traditional practices, which stresses the importance of social context and culture in understanding parenting.

Chapter Six: Findings and Discussion II⁶

6.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the third research question: How protective parenting practices are passed on across generations. To explore this, data were collected using a semi-structured interview schedule, specifically questions four, five, six, seven, eight, 14, and 15 (see Appendix D). In line with this objective, this chapter explores the patterns, sources, and processes that contribute to the intergenerational continuity of these practices, drawing on the lived experiences of two generations of mothers. Data was analysed following the hermeneutic circle methodology. The findings suggest that protective parenting practices are learned through parental coaching, modelling, experience, vicarious learning, and observations in a milieu of social and cultural elements. Sometimes, mothers spontaneously internalized certain parenting practices and claimed that those were instinctual.

6.2 Findings

The data suggest that mothers play a pivotal role in the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices, alongside their own lived experiences, observations of parental behaviours, and interactions with societal and cultural agents. These learnings are embedded, internalised, shaping their protective parenting behaviours in response to situational factors and their children's behaviours and characteristics. The nature of protective practices varies across

⁶ A peer-reviewed article has been published in the PLOSOne Journal based on this chapter. It is attached as Appendix K. The citation is:

Jasmine, U.H., Nduna, M. and Nkala-Dlamini, B. (2025). Intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices in Dhaka, Bangladesh. PLoS ONE, 20(2), Article e0300160. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0300160>

generations, influenced by a dynamic of evolving sociocultural and global contexts and individuals' adaptive responses to these changes.

6.2.1 Observational and Vicarious Learning

The G2 mothers explained that they learned about chaperoning and saving money for their children's future by observing their mothers' (G1) practices. Both generations of mothers practiced chaperonage, but G2 mothers exhibited changes and variations shaped by evolving safety concerns in their social context.

Four mothers (G2) affirmed that they witnessed their mothers (G1) chaperone their younger siblings and described a desirable attribute of the practice as revealing their younger siblings' secrets and deceptions. Chaperonage appeared to be a powerful tool for mothers preventing their children from derailment. For example, Piu (G2 mother, 28-year-old) described how chaperonage helped in stopping her sister's deceptive behaviour with their parents,

My sister used to return home alone after school; there were enough opportunities for deception. She used to return one to two hours after school and say, "School finished now!" Once, my mother went to fetch her and found her playing. My father told [my mother], "... If you started fetching her earlier, she could not have deceived us this whole time."

Thus, Piu vicariously learned about the usefulness of chaperonage and practiced it herself to prevent her children from being deceitful and to monitor who they make friendship with. Dali (G2 mother, 50 years old) also reported a similar experience.

Mothers learned about their responsibility to ensure their children's financial security and future from observing their mother's saving money with such goals in mind. Jhumjhum (G2 mother, 34 years old) shared that her parents (G1) spent money on her and her siblings' education and weddings, and she was also saving for her only son's (G3) education and wedding program, following her parents' example. Jhumjhum said,

My brothers' weddings were gorgeous, and my parents spent a lot of money on their weddings... So, I have planned to arrange my son's wedding more luxuriously ... I have started to make gold ornaments bit-by-bit... because I cannot buy those all at once. I want to give many things to my daughter-in-law ... I will make her gorgeous.

Charu (G2 mother, 48 years old) also planned to finance her daughters' weddings, as her mother Khadija (G1 mother, 66 years old) did for her. Vicarious learning and observational learning played a critical role in adopting mothers' practices of chaperonage and ensuring financial security for children, thus facilitating their continuity intergenerationally.

6.2.2 Childhood Experiences

Between the generation groups, common practices included training children to share their daily whereabouts, monitoring their social circles, and enforcing gender boundaries often with slight modifications in G2 mothers. This suggests a carryover of certain practices, incorporating reflections on their childhood experiences.

Dali's (G2 mother, 50 years old) mother, Hena (G1 mother), trained her to report her whereabouts to parents. After becoming a mother, she trained her children to do the same and continued the practice until they were adults.

“Never go anywhere without informing me!” My mother probably told me once when I was admitted to the school. But that word rang in my ears the longer I continued my studies. [I used to tell myself], “I cannot go anywhere without informing my mother!” My daughter follows it the exact way.

Developing a practice of updating parents about their whereabouts appeared to be a form of monitoring children from a distance, and an attempt to control children’s movement. This practice was also an effort to generate self-control within their children by keeping them mindful of their accountability and of their parents’ constant monitoring.

Without exceptions, all the participants from both generations valued gender boundaries for their capacity to protect girls from sexual abuse and harassment. Physically limiting girls’ movement outside the home reduced their exposure to men. Daughters were prohibited from talking to male relatives in private, visiting neighbours alone, or sleeping over without the mother present. Fatima (G1 mother, 68 years old) referred to Islamic values as validation for restrictions. Fatima’s parents were conservative religious practitioners and did not let her spend time with her male cousins alone. Although she herself was not as strict about religion, she followed the same restrictions with her daughter Shirin (G2 mother, 49 years old). Fatima said,

My father’s family was very conservative and Islamic-minded... My father’s family taught me to behave differently towards a male and a female. Girls in my father’s family do not freely interact with other boys. When my daughter got older, I did not allow my nephews or other relatives to stay in my house. Also, I did not [let my daughter stay] at their houses. [My attitude was], “You have

come for a visit, okay visit, have some meal and leave! You will stay at my home... chat with my daughter- that will not happen!” I didn’t allow that.

As she attended a co-education school, Shirin’s (G2) daughter (G3) had more exposure and interactions with male classmates. Even so, Shirin maintained similar restrictions, to prohibit contact with men or male cousins, and always interviewed if she thought she was talking to boys. Shirin said,

I warned her about boys and related issues. I told her “... make sure that I do not catch you going out with a boy” ... I try to make her understand these sometimes. She says, “No, mother, I don’t [have interest] in those kinds of stuff” ... if she gets a phone call, [she says], “My female friends call me. No boy calls on my phone.” ... if she takes too long on the phone, her father scolds her, “Who are you talking to?” Then she’d reply, “No... my friend called, I’m talking to (.) my friend.”

Cell phones and internet access have become easily available in the modern world, and that appears to have created anxiety among Bangladeshi parents about losing grip over their children and children exceeding their boundaries. Therefore, the G2 mothers had to extend the scope of their monitoring of their daughter’s interactions with their male relatives or friends. Although in some cultures, first cousins are considered close as siblings, and marriage is prohibited among them (Bittles, 2009; Frommer, 2021). this is not the case in Bangladeshi culture. Mothers might have been prompted to protect their daughters as these men would be, in theory, ‘eligible’ for intimacy, rather than the clear boundaries of sibling relationships. Male cousins are a threat in the same way as any non-related male.

Each mother undertook different strategies to monitor their children's friendships. Khadija (G1 mother, 66 years old) and Jobaida (G1 mother, 80 years old) used to host their children's friends and established connections with their parents. Khadija's daughter Charu (G2 mother, 48 years old) and Jobaida's daughter Farida (G2 mother, 46 years old) hosted similar gatherings and quizzed their children's friends about their family backgrounds, to assess their suitability as friends. This applied for their children at all ages. Farida extended her monitoring strategy by befriending her children's friends to exert control on her children's activities indirectly - her children were not very obedient, and she wanted to safeguard them from negative influences. Farida said,

My mother knew my friends... They used to visit our house. My mother and all my friends' mothers would think that... their daughters' friends were like their own daughters... The mothers had connections among themselves of their own... I asked our sons to bring over their friends, and I would investigate what kind of company they were and what their families were... My younger son, Prince, is fond of Kiron, my elder son's friend... I ask Kiron, "Talk to Prince... Tell him to hang out only with Tutul and Mubin."

Both G1 and G2 mothers' concerns and efforts regarding children's friendships reflect their conviction in a Bengali proverb that says, '*A bad association can cause an iron rod to float*,' meaning that a bad friend can turn a child against their nature, making them 'bad.' Childhood experience armed the mothers with practices that the G2 mothers adapted and extended to fit the current social safety context and their children's characteristics to avert potential harm to their children. The alterations to practices, like using technology and monitoring its use, suggest that the next generation of mothers, if following the same path, would have to make their own changes.

6.2.3 Direct Guidance and Instructions about Protecting Children

Maternal grandmothers (G1) have a considerable influence on teaching parenting practices. G2 mothers specified maternal (G1) guidance and direct instruction as a learning technique, especially for practices such as gender boundaries, restricting children's movements, and traditional rituals.

Four mothers (G2) reported being explicitly instructed by their mothers (G1) to accompany their daughters during their daughters' visiting of friends. Grandmothers (G1) expanded their protector role to the third generation by guiding mothers (G2) on safety measures for their grandchildren (G3). These included: not leaving daughters at home alone, restricting their children's movements, and ensuring that children did not stay outdoors in the evening. Khadija (G1 mother, 66 years old) advised her daughter Charu (G2 mother, 48 years old),

I will not tolerate my granddaughters associating with bad children, and they must not go out in the evening. They must return home before Maghrib (sunset time). This era is truly very bad. You should not let your children go out alone. As girls grow up, it is inappropriate to leave them alone. It is a bad time. Instead of studying, they may get into relationships with boys... do not even leave them home alone.

G2 mothers mentioned that their mothers (G1) also educated them about traditional beliefs, customs, and child protective rituals against evil spirits. The rituals govern restrictions around what to do when bringing groceries home, avoiding bringing fish or meat home after dusk, and cleansing fried and sweet food by whirling on the fire. Thus, the grandmothers' generation (G1) played the role of responsible guardians. Kahi (G1 mother, 57 years old) talked about learning pregnancy-related customs and rituals from her mother and elders, and instructed

her daughter Jhumjhum (G2 mother, 34 years old) to follow those during her pregnancy,

Djinn stays with raw fish, meat, and chicken... After others take care of groceries, you will get close to that half an hour later... Do not eat those uncleansed foods immediately! ... If it is a fruit or fried snack, whirl it on the fire, nicely! Otherwise, it would be harmful to both you and the foetus.

Jhumjhum, a G2 mother with a master's degree, maintained strong adherence to traditional rituals and cultural practices in child protection, indicating that higher education did not necessarily alter her commitment to cultural values. Both G1 and G2 participants expressed deep respect and trust in their mothers, identifying them as key agents in learning protective parenting practices. Sometimes, their mothers (G1) modelled practices, and sometimes, it was direct instruction, with more urgency before and after childbirth.

6.2.4 Other Sources of Learning

Participants mentioned other learning opportunities besides learning from their mothers. G2 mothers sometimes received advice and direction from fathers and husbands on escorting their children to school. Primarily driven by safety concerns, family members supported and encouraged protective parenting practices. Elders in the community, local proverbs, and urban legends reinforced practices such as not praising children, selecting friends from good families, and not giving money to young children.

Mothers' peer groups, media reports, and other family members were substantial contributors to the emphasis on chaperoning children. Children's behaviour and actions also influenced protective parenting. Shoshi (G2 mother, 47 years old) and Farida (G2 mother, 46 years old) sometimes found their sons lying and engaging in behaviour that was culturally

opposed. They had to be creative to extend parental protection. Shoshi explained, “I called to check whether he (son) went to the coaching centre truly... [I become sure of it] by listening to the teacher’s and the children’s voices. Boys are not trustworthy, (.) understand?”

Children's perceived ‘inappropriate’ conduct thus prompted the extension of monitoring methods. This included making frequent phone calls, befriending children’s friends to control children’s whereabouts and access to daily updates. Extended monitoring strategies have been reported to bring some positive changes in children’s conduct. It would be interesting to unpack the extent of mutual influence and explore children’s accounts.

Access to global media exposed children to content that the culture might deem unacceptable, meaning that new protective parenting strategies were resorted to deal with issues that did not exist in G1 mothers’ child-rearing time. Tonu (G2 mother, 37 years old) explained how technology grounded her extended monitoring strategy,

I do not let her (daughter) use mobile phones at night. The TV is in my bedroom, so she watches TV there... She doesn’t have a personal tab because if I give her a tab, I will not be able to monitor her... At night... she may chat on Facebook... These days... there is a lot of adult content on the internet she may come across and watch. One day, it will interfere with her studies, and her focus will be diverted. We want to guide her until A-level so that her base strengthens.

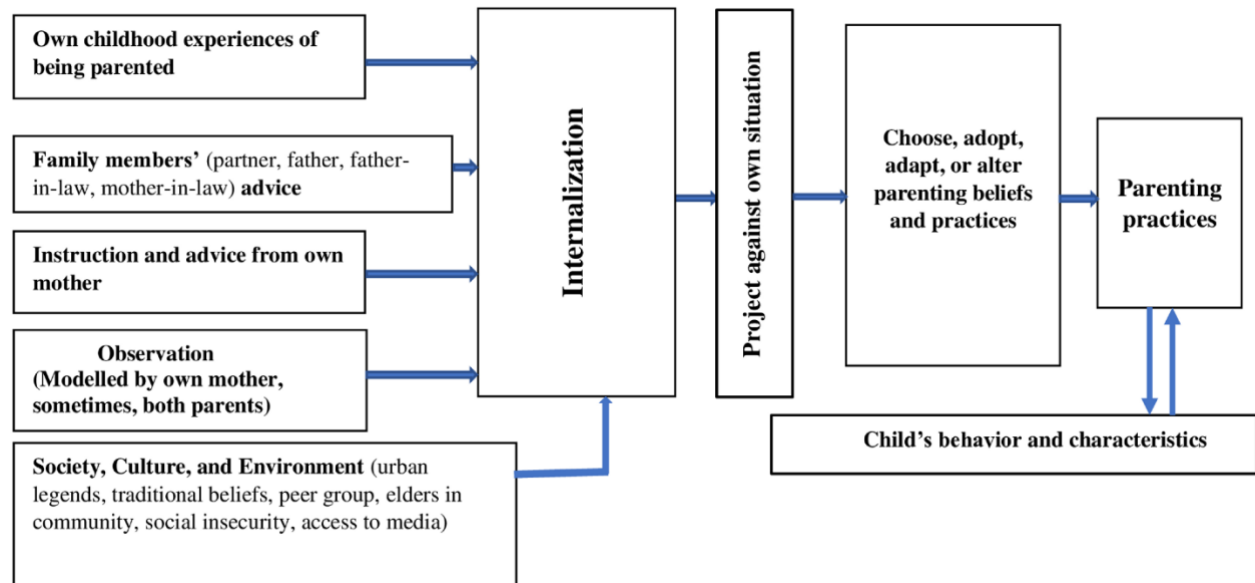
The heightened concern around children’s media access called for creative approaches to balance children’s access to modern technology and preserving traditions and cultural norms. G2 mothers also voiced concerns regarding the growing availability and misuse of substances in recent years. In response, they adopted proactive protective strategies, including maintaining

open dialogues with their children and remaining alert to potential signs of substance intake. These are novel challenges that Generation Two (G2) mothers encountered in the evolving contexts of urbanisation and modernisation. Traditional parenting strategies, derived from personal experience or guidance from elders, were often inapplicable to more modern issues. Consequently, G2 mothers were compelled to devise incidental learning approaches through a process of trial and error. In some cases, they leveraged modern technologies, including mobile phones, tablets, and computers, to tailor their strategies to align with their children's behavioural patterns and responses, as Tonu and Shoshi explained above.

Thus, the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices occurred through an interplay of direct instruction, childhood experience, observing their mothers' practices, and incidental learning opportunities in the context of urbanisation and modernisation in a traditional communal society. Based on these findings, a process model of intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices is illustrated in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1

Process Model of Intergenerational Continuity of Protective Parenting Practices



Note. From “Intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices in Dhaka, Bangladesh,” by U. H. Jasmine, M. Nduna, and B. Nkala-Dlamini, 2025, *PLoS One*, 20(2), p. 5 (<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0300160>). CC BY-NC.

In this intergenerational continuity process model, learning of protective parenting practices starts at home within a complex interaction with social endeavours. A person carries their childhood experience of being parented. Growing up, they observed their parents’ protective practices and their embodiment of protective values. After becoming a parent, one often receives various parenting advice and instructions, mostly from one’s mother, and also from a partner, in-laws, and extended family members. As a member of society, a parent interacts with and is influenced by that society, including its cultural and traditional knowledge, practices, and beliefs, as well as urban legends, peer groups, seniors, community members, emerging technological advancements, global changes, and various aspects of the community,

including security. A person continuously internalises knowledge and practices from all these resources. When they raise their children, they project their knowledge onto their situations. Using their rational thinking, openness, knowledge, and traditional, emotional, and moral values, a parent then chooses which parenting practices to implement with their children and which ones they would modify or alter according to current needs and situational demands. Through this process, parents develop and determine the parenting practices they will implement in raising their children. Children's behaviour and characteristics are living modifiers in the process, which explains why a parent's parenting practices might differ for two children in the same household.

6.3 Discussion

This thesis explored the continuity of protective parenting practices between two generations of Bangladeshi mothers. Supporting the social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1989), the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices took place through an interaction of a set of learning opportunities and contextual factors such as negative changes in the state of social security, access to media, cultural practices, advice, and instruction from family and community members. The continuity process of protective parenting practices aligns with reciprocal determinism (Bandura, 1989) within the interaction of environmental factors, open access to information and media, personal experiences, and observational learning.

G2 mothers raised their children in Dhaka City, where a predominantly individualistic child-rearing approach was practiced due to urbanisation and modernisation. Despite that, combined family loyalty still existed, which was evident in the grandmothers' dedication to securing the future and safety of their grandchildren. Modifications in G2 mothers' protective practices were evident, specifically, in chaperonage, monitoring, and spouse selection. This suggests that the historical and secular changes influenced the parenting of Bangladeshi mothers.

Such changes have been regarded as normal by Mohsin (2007, p 627), who noted that “continuity of a certain practice, belief or norm happens, but that too cannot manifest in its original form.” Mohsin (2007) pinpointed elements such as science and technology, the interaction of ideas, education, media, economic conditions, and knowledge advancement, as contributors to this change, which is consistent with the findings of this study.

The findings are supported by Patterson (1998), who emphasised that intergenerational continuity of parenting occurs through modelling. The findings are also supported by Belsky's (1984) process models of determinants of parenting, which explain that parents' parenting behaviours are developed from their experience of growing up and the personality of their child. The existing intergenerational transmission or continuity of parenting models are predominantly based on parenting mediating and moderating factors, parents' adjustment, and adult and child characteristics and behaviours (Kerr & Capaldi, 2019; Rothenberg, 2019). Learning principles appear to be limitedly applied in the intergenerational parenting models in the literature, for example, in Patterson's and Belsky's models. Studies investigating the intergenerational transmission of parenting (see, Van IJzendoorn, 1992) have used Crittenden's (1984) three transmission models to explain how these practices carry over: 1) Observational learning of a parent interacting with other children, 2) experiences of being parented, and 3) parental coaching to the next generation. Crittenden's models, which are based on social learning theory, could not adequately explain the findings from this study, as the models do not account for the roles of social context, the impact of technological development and globalisation, children's behaviour, and how other environmental factors influence the process.

However, the proposed intergenerational continuity process model presented in this thesis aligns well with the principles of social cognitive theory. The process model is powerful in that it

addresses a person's internalisation and exercise of judgment and decision-making in determining and shaping parenting practices. Moreover, it accounts for the individual characteristics of each child in explaining the variation in parenting practices applied by the same parent within the same household and contextual setting. These combinations make this model unique.

Consistent with Wirth's (1938) framework, this study identified a weakening of social bonds, diminished neighbourhood surveillance, and a rise in impersonality accompanying structural development. Additionally, increased access to advanced technologies, heightened parental concerns, and the emergence of innovative protective strategies reflect parents' adaptive responses to urban risks and the evolving socio-cultural context.

The data exhibited all four characteristics of a modern person (Inkeles & Smith, 1984) among the participants, suggesting that participants are embracing modernisation while preserving traditional values. Firstly, the participants kept themselves constantly updated about major community events through newspapers, television, and informal exchanges of information. Secondly, although negative incidents engendered feelings of insecurity, they did not translate into parental helplessness. Instead, parents exhibited a strong sense of self-efficacy by adopting practices such as chaperonage, intensified monitoring of children's technology use, and utilising mobile phones to track their whereabouts, thereby enhancing their sense of control and security. Thirdly, although the participants continued traditional rituals learned from earlier generations, by choosing not to abandon them, they remained open to gathering and selectively using knowledge from books, television, the internet, and social media. Fourthly, the G2 participants were open to change and to new experiences. They engaged with new technologies, permitted their children to do the same, and demonstrated openness to their children's agency in spouse

selection—albeit within defined boundaries. This approach marked a departure from their own experiences with arranged marriage, which had largely disregarded their personal preferences and needs.

While intergenerational changes in protective parenting practices can be interpreted through Wirth's (1938) functionalist perspective on urbanisation and Inkeles and Smith's (1984) theory of the modern man, the mechanisms of learning underpinning their intergenerational continuity are best understood through the lens of social cognitive theory. The cognitive and decision-making aspects of the social cognitive theoretical framework (Bandura, 1989) can explain why G2 mothers adhered to some traditional parenting practices despite being schooled in the modern education system. However, when examined through the lens of the Euro-Western capitalist society-biased theory of modernisation (Mazi Mbah & Ojukwu, 2019), the participants' adherence to traditional rituals may challenge their perceived modernity, as such practices lack validation within the framework of scientific knowledge. Nevertheless, these rituals and traditions hold substantial cultural value and are deeply respected within their communities. This perspective aligns with dependency theory, which critiques the marginalisation of Global South nations by comparing them to the dominant capitalist world system (Obi et al., 2016). The Social cognitive theory and dependency theory explain why G2 mothers practiced the protective parenting behaviours they had learned from G1 mothers despite having access to updated knowledge through media, the internet, and books.

While some participants referred to books as their primary resource for learning about parenting, none mentioned utilising formal educational avenues such as parenting training programs, workshops, or structured courses. This suggests that, in the Bangladeshi context, parenting is largely regarded as a skill developed organically through socialisation and familial

interactions, as opposed to the Euro-American context, where parenting competencies are more commonly acquired through formal educational mechanisms, typically administered by governmental and non-governmental organisations (Andrew, 2019). Existing parenting education programs in Bangladesh are primarily integrated into nutrition initiatives, focusing on fostering parental involvement in various aspects of early childhood development, including physical, cognitive, linguistic, and motor skills (Hossain et al., 2024; Jasmine & Nduna, 2022; Mehrin et al., 2021). However, with the influence of modernisation and globalisation, there is a growing interest among segments of the population in pursuing formal training on parenting. Consequently, some organisations, such as Brac and Plan International, have initiated positive parenting education programmes (Ayesha, 2024). These programmes, however, are predominantly informed by Euro-Western paradigms and lack alignment with local context. This gap may be attributed to the limited availability of relevant literature from Bangladesh, alongside the prevailing informal approach to parenting (Jasmine & Nduna, 2022).

In the Indian subcontinent, maternal grandmothers often support new mothers with childcare (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014; Isaac et al., 2014) and shape parenting practices in line with their beliefs, culture, and religion. Although new mothers typically live with their in-laws while raising their children (Naved & Persson, 2005), none of the participants referred to the paternal grandmothers as a source of learning. It appears that the maternal grandmother plays a distinct role in passing down parenting practices to the mother's generation. However, at this stage, it is unwise to definitively conclude this, due to methodological reasons. The focus of the study was mothers, and it did not include paternal grandparents. Future studies could include additional family members to develop a more comprehensive understanding of parenting within communal cultures and to enrich insights into the intergenerational continuity of protective

parenting practices. Moreover, research exploring children's experiences and perspectives on protective parenting practices, socio-cultural contexts, and intergenerational continuity would further illuminate the dynamics of protective parenting.

6.4 Conclusion

The study findings place maternal grandmothers as the most mentioned considerable contributor to intergenerational continuity, where social context and technological development paved the grounds for protective parenting practices. G2 mothers adopted new protective parenting measures to cope with threats generated by urbanisation and modernisation. Local proverbs, child's behaviour, social norms, elders in the community, peer groups, and other family members were also identified as contributors to the process. The process model of intergenerational continuity of parenting practices, the identified sources of learning, and their interaction within the transitional social context constitute key scholarly contributions of this study to the parenting literature.

Chapter Seven: Critique of Protective Parenting Practices in Bangladesh

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers, with a particular focus on gender-based social and behavioural monitoring and restrictions imposed on girls and arranged marriage. The restrictions are informed by Islamic virtue as well as social perception of girls as vulnerable. While the restricting girls' interaction with relative and non-relative males is apparently perceived to be positive, the contradicting statistics of girls' experiences of sexual abuse and gender-based violence warrants a critical examination of the gender-based protective parenting practices and their long-term implications.

7.2 Critical Examination of the Long-Term Impact of Gender Barriers as Protective Practices

Although grounded in protective parenting practices, the gender-based social and behavioral restrictions imposed on girls, while intended to ensure their safety, often prove inadequate in ultimately ensuring their protection. Despite rigorous parental vigilance and measures to limit interactions with both related and non-related males, evidence indicates that approximately 54.4% of reported cases of sexual abuse were perpetrated by people known to the victim (Tithila, 2020). This contrasts with 83% of sexual abuse incidents involving non-family members (Fattah & Kabir, 2013). These statistics belie the intended effects of very close protective parenting revealed by this study. This statistic suggests that the perpetrators are often trusted individuals within the family circle, beyond the realm of parental suspicion. Existing literature (such as, Fattah & Kabir, 2013; Kaiser & Sinanan, 2020; Khan & Imtiaz, 2022) corroborates these findings, revealing instances where girls are subjected to sexual abuse by

close relatives, including uncles or even fathers—individuals traditionally perceived as protectors and, therefore, not subject to scrutiny.

7.2.1 Child Marriage as a Means of Establishing Protection Contributes to Gender-Based Violence

In an attempt to shield daughters from societal violence, parents frequently resort to arranging marriage early as a protective measure. This practice is rooted in the belief that married women are less susceptible to harassment and sexual violence. However, in Bangladesh as well as in several countries in the Southern Asia, child marriage often leads to forced unions, including marriages to disproportionately older men, thereby exposing young brides to marital abuse and marital rape (Bagley et al., 2017; Islam et al., 2017) —acts that society does not always recognize as violence but rather normalises under the guise of sanctity. Child marriage, while intended as a protective strategy, has been identified as a significant contributor to divorce rates in Bangladesh (Afroz, 2019). Although divorce holds a stigma for both parties, women experience more stigmatisation than men, who usually tolerate social exclusion and public ridicule - the woman's parental family is also not spared (Rahman et al., 2013).

The implications of a societal mindset in favour of child marriage are dire. Cases of young married girls committing suicide due to physical, psychological, and sexual abuse are not uncommon (Bagley et al., 2017). There is an unconscious collective objective to the protective parenting practices and their tools. The consistent and close guarding against intersex social interaction among children and adolescents is to ensure that the girl child does not lose her virginity or become involved in a socially defamatory romantic relationship. This has become an imperative psychological driver and unconscious motivator of protective parenting with the

purpose of preserving the girl child's virginity. This has several implications: 1) the dowry and the value of the girl to her husband and marital family - with high value placed on a virgin bride; 2) protective parenting may mean the protection of the girl's future image as a young woman - ensuring she gets married, and shielding her from social stigma of being unmarried and the further physical and sexual abuse that comes with that status; 3) this also feeds into the preserving and lifting the family's name and social status in the society. Raising a seemingly well-protected and pure child speaks to the success of the family values. 4) Lastly is the contradiction hidden in plain sight within the system, that women unconsciously perpetuate this abusive system. From their position in the community, women may not have a bird's-eye-view of the system and their contribution to the success and demise of future generations of children. The absence of interventions that break this cycle of violence further underscores the systemic perpetuation of this violence and neglect for the well-being of women and girls. If one looks deeper and longitudinally, one sees a hidden story within this seemingly highly efficient protective parenting system, which functions with the aim of child protection.

7.2.2 Child Marriage as a Means of Establishing Protection Contributes to Maternal and Child Mortality

Aside from contributing to gender-based violence, child marriage contributes to high rates of maternal and child mortality, as adolescent pregnancies are associated with severe health risks. Even with these risks, societal and familial norms perpetuate the practice of marrying off daughters before the age of 18. This systemic neglect undermines the principles of the Nurturing Care Framework (NCF) (World Health Organization et al., 2018), which emphasizes the importance of providing safety and security during childhood. The failure to extend these

protections into adolescence and adulthood highlights the framework's limitations in influencing societal attitudes and practices. To address these systemic issues, the NCF must adopt a more comprehensive, holistic approach that includes measures to ensure the safety and well-being of girls throughout their lives. Without such interventions, the framework falls short in its potential to act as an effective tool for achieving the broader objectives of global health and sustainable development.

7.2.3 Child Marriage as a Means of Establishing Protection Contributes to Adolescent Pregnancies

Gender-based violence is implicated in the prevalence of teenage and unintended pregnancies in Bangladesh (Islam, 2024). High rates of teenage pregnancies contribute to elevated under-five child mortality rates, currently estimated at approximately 18,700 deaths annually (Trommlerová, 2020). To address these challenges, Islam (2024) advocates for an enhanced child protection framework that integrates comprehensive sex education and accessible mental health support. Such measures are essential for reducing unintended pregnancies AND mitigating the long-term repercussions of maternal childhood abuse. However, a lack of discourse on teenage pregnancy occurring outside marriage reflects the conservative cultural values that prioritize marriage as a social institution, thereby excluding alternative narratives from mainstream discussion. This calls for community-based research on teenage pregnancy, abortion, and the abandonment of newborns, issues reported in few studies (Wilson, 1999, 2004; Wilson-Moore, 2008).

7.3 Gender Boundaries Hinder the Achievement of Sustainable Development Goals

The persistence of traditional practices, such as setting social and behavioural boundaries for girls and child marriage, continues to significantly hinder progress toward the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations General Assembly, 2017). This is particularly evident in the case of SDG 3: “Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages,” as it encompasses critical indicators such as maternal and under-five child mortality (indicators 3.1, 3.2), newborn care (3.2), reproductive health care (3.7), adolescent pregnancy (3.7), and suicide prevention (3.4.2). Child marriage also adversely impacts all indicators of SDG 4: “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all,” as well as SDG 5: “Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.” Traditional practices also pose challenges to SDG 11: “Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable,” particularly indicator 11.7, which addresses physical and sexual harassment of women and children.

Furthermore, existing violence against women creates significant barriers to the realization of SDG 12: “Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns,” especially indicator 12.b, which targets sustainable tourism - the lack of safety discourages tourism. Violence against women also undermines SDG 16: “Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development,” specifically, indicators 16.1, 16.2, and 16.3, which concern gender-based violence, trafficking, and exploitation. Moreover, systemic issues, particularly the policy and institutional coherence indicator of SDG 17: “Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development,” highlight the critical need for robust policy formulation and effective implementation to achieve sustainable development goals.

7.4 Arranged Marriage as a Protective Parenting Tool

Lastly, the practice of arranged marriage as a perceived protective parenting strategy warrants critical examination. While participants articulated their intentions to secure a favourable future for their children through family-mediated matchmaking, such arrangements are often shaped by societal imperatives to uphold familial honour over prioritizing the well-being of the individuals involved. This tension is exemplified by Dina's experience (33-year-old, G2 mother), who expressed enduring emotional distress over the loss of a former romantic relationship, even after 12 years of marriage. Sometimes, arranged marriages are forced and girls are married off to men who are considerably older than they are, an element contributing to gender-based violence (Bagley et al., 2017; Islam et al., 2017). The persistence of this cultural practice underscores the necessity for systemic reforms aimed at dismantling entrenched social norms that contribute to gender-based violence and perpetuate structural inequalities.

7.5 Conclusion

This study revealed eight protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers intended to ensure safety of both boy and girl children from conception until young adulthood. The mothers' dedication of time, effort, and self-sacrifice is evident in their protective care. However, under critical examination, some protective parenting practices were found to inadvertently undermine long-term protection of girls and their descendants. As protective parenting practices are identified, further studies are recommended to study the short- and long-term implications of each practice.

Chapter Eight: Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

This study examined protective parenting, a relatively unexplored aspect of parenting both in Bangladesh and globally. It examined how two generations of Bangladeshi mothers constructed protective parenting based on their lived experiences and the intergenerational continuity thereof using a theoretical framework consisting of five parenting dimensions, the theory of urbanisation (Wirth, 1938), the theory of modern man (Inkeles & Smith, 1984), and the social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1989). This study contributes to Indigenous Knowledge Systems and global parenting literature by identifying eight protective parenting practices, formulating a process model of intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices, and offering a definition of protective parenting practice. This chapter presents a summary of the study's aims, research questions, methodology, findings, and both theoretical and empirical contributions. Finally, the chapter discusses the study's strengths, limitations, and recommendations for future research.

8.2 Summary of the Study

Researchers have been conducting parenting-related studies in Bangladesh for decades. However, literature on contextual parenting practices, values, or beliefs is still scarce (Jasmine & Nduna, 2022). This study aimed to reduce these research gaps by exploring the construction of protective parenting practices of two generations of Bangladeshi mothers in Dhaka and intergenerational continuity thereof. The research questions addressed were:

- 1) How do Bangladeshi mothers construct protective parenting practices based on their lived experiences?

- 2) What are the protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers grounded in their socio-cultural contexts?
- 3) What is the process of intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices?

This study, grounded in a social constructivist approach, followed a hermeneutic phenomenology research design. Eleven dyads of mothers (G2) and maternal grandmothers (G1) were sampled purposively to address the research questions and understand the socio-cultural context within which parenting practices manifest. The participants mostly provided written informed consent, and data was collected in the Bengali language through in-depth interviews. The hermeneutic circle was used as the data analysis method and process.

The theoretical framework encompassed three distinct theories: Social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1989), the theory of modernisation (Inkeles & Smith, 1984), and the theory of urbanisation (Wirth's, 1938) and a theoretically derived parenting dimension framework. Derived from developmental and sociological perspectives, these theories were conceptually aligned and integrated with one another, as well as with the social constructivist research paradigm. The social cognitive theory was employed to explore intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices from a learning perspective, while the parenting dimension framework facilitated the exploration of protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers. The theory of modernisation and the theory of urbanisation provided insights into the socio-cultural constructions, adaptations, and modifications of protective parenting practices, and their intergenerational continuity. The theoretical frameworks guided how data was analysed, producing the following findings.

8.3 Findings

This study contributes to the understanding of protectiveness as a core parenting value among Bangladeshi mothers across generations. The findings suggest that protective parenting practices are perpetuated intergenerationally through triadic reciprocal determinism (Bandura, 1989), and are shaped by contemporary social contexts, cultural traditions, urbanisation, and modernisation, particularly in Dhaka. Additionally, maternal guidance plays a crucial role in transferring these practices. The study findings are summarised under four sub-categories.

8.3.1 Definition Originating From the Findings

In the absence of a comprehensive definition of protective parenting practices in the current literature, I conceptualised a definition of protective parenting practices based on the findings of this study. The findings suggests that protective parenting practices are culturally and contextually grounded, learned from the earlier generations, and adapted according to emerging needs to ensure the child's safety and security in various aspects, including physical, emotional, social, spiritual, and financial aspects. This definition encompasses the interpersonal, social, and cognitive scopes of protective parenting practices, anchored in culturally embedded elements.

8.3.2 Parenting Model Emanating From the Findings

I proposed an intergenerational continuity process model of protective parenting practices from the findings. The model illustrates how protective parenting practices are learned from the previous generation of parents within a complex interaction with various social agents. The agents include the social security context, cultural traditions, direct instructions, and modelling, observing, and learning vicariously by watching one's own parents. Additional sources contributing to the adoption of protective parenting practices include pieces of advice of a partner and other family members, exchange and sharing of information with parents' peer

groups, elders in the community, urban legends and local proverbs. Protective parenting practices are constructed socio-culturally through a triadic reciprocal determinism of parents obtaining a sense of relief and satisfaction by undertaking various measures to ensure the child's safety within an insecure social context. Internalising the learning and projecting against one's context remained an important determinant of applying or altering the learned protective strategies into practice. The child's individual characteristics were identified as key factors to explain why the parent employed different protective parenting strategies for different children within the same family.

In intergenerational continuity, the internalisation of learned protective parenting practices and projection on a mother's own situation is the key to determining whether the learned protective parenting practices are necessary in their context and whether they would implement the specific protective behaviour. This is supported by Bandura's (1965) proposition that all learning may not be exhibited in performance. Providing a framework of understanding, predicting, and changing human behaviour (Green & Piel, 2009), the social cognitive theory explains the understanding, constructions, and modifications of the protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers within the dynamic contexts shaped by urbanisation and modernisation.

8.3.3 Protective Parenting Practices are Shaped by Social Context, Tradition, and Culture

The protective parenting values of Bangladeshi mothers manifest through eight key protective practices. They include: monitoring and selecting children's friends, enforcing gender boundaries, practicing chaperonage, arranging marriages, fostering religious upbringing, instilling fear as a behavioural mechanism, observing traditional rituals, and saving money for their children's future. The strong protective values centred on ensuring children's physical,

sexual, behavioural, and financial security, as well as safeguarding their future. Both generations of mothers pointed to their mothers as the primary guiding source in child-rearing values and practices. However, the participants were aware of the social and interpersonal differences between the time they were raised and the time they were raising their children. The participants were able to explicitly relate social aspects that informed the protective practices they were implementing with their children.

Mothers of the second generation raised their children during a period marked by rapid technological advancements and increasing globalisation, in which societal structures and interpersonal relationships underwent notable transformations. Despite these external influences, Generation Two mothers continued to uphold traditional values and persistently engaged in culturally embedded rituals, particularly those aimed at protecting children from perceived supernatural forces.

8.3.4 Maternal Grandmother Plays the Role of a Culture-Bearing Agent

Maternal grandmothers were found to have a prominent role in acquiring protective parenting practices in Bangladesh, although urbanisation and globalisation have gradually modified traditional cultures and lifestyles (Mridha, 2021). Maternal grandmothers (Generation One) transferred protective parenting values and practices to their daughters (Generation Two) teaching them through direct instruction, modelling, and continuous guidance, which fits Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theoretical concepts. Their protective parenting values extended beyond ensuring their children's well-being to actively safeguarding the safety and welfare of their grandchildren. However, as this study did not include fathers, paternal

grandparents, or other extended family caregivers, their contributions to the construction of protective parenting practices remain unexplored.

8.3.5 Impact Studies are Needed for Protective Parenting Practices

While the protective parenting practices identified in this study appear to be well-intentioned and dedicated to ensuring children's safety, there are aspects where these practices may inadvertently undermine the very concept of protection. For instance, an analysis of gender boundaries in relation to women's access to education, occupation, and healthcare, as well as statistics on women's suicide rates, sexual violence, marital abuse, and maternal and child mortality, suggests that these protective measures may not sustain long-term protection. Additionally, certain protective parenting practices—such as imposing strict social and behavioural boundaries on girls and encouraging early marriage—may paradoxically compromise their safety both within and outside the home. Consequently, the effectiveness and long-term impact of these practices require critical evaluation.

The transgenerational practice of gender boundaries and the tendency to marry off daughters at a younger age to substantially older men were found to be persistent among parents, suggesting learned behaviours (Driscoll, 2004). These practices were reciprocally determined (Bandura, 1989) by parents' gaining a sense of relief and accomplishment by handing over the responsibilities of a girl to her husband, and a satisfaction of protecting family honour through their daughter's married status. Culturally, and supported by Islamic jurisprudence, a married daughter's guardianship is transferred to her husband (Qur'an 4:34). Therefore, a sense of relief and a sense of accomplishment worked as intrinsic reinforcement for the parents to maintain gender barriers and early marriage. However, although Islam provides girls the right to contract

their marriage (al-Hibri, 1997), this was not found to be followed by the Muslim participants in this study. The participants were limitedly open to allowing eligible children to exercise their agency for marriage.

Modernisation and globalisation are exerting profound influences on Generation Three children. The influences indicate a generation gap between parents and children in terms of the understanding of socialisation patterns, the sense of freedom (Habib et al., 2018), obedience to parents (Yousuf & Yousuf, 2023), a sense of rights and necessities, the expression of opinion, determining personal boundaries and freedoms, and broader perceptions of life (Yousuf, 2023). Therefore, chaperonage, chauffeuring, and monitoring children's friends might be perceived as undermining the children's autonomy, and increased parental intrusion and control. The perception of control has the potential to generate parent-child conflict (Fung et al., 2017; Gooman et al., 2012). As a result, Generation Three children's responses to parental authority and protective measures may substantially differ from those of Generation Two, and more so from Generation One. The implications of protective parenting practices for the well-being of both parents and children, as well as their influence on the parent-child relationship, warrant further investigation.

8.4 Parenting Programs Need to Adapt Local and Traditional Parenting Practice

Contextual literature on parenting practices is scarce in Bangladesh. Yet a few parenting training programs have been undertaken by some government and non-government organizations. These programs are mostly informed by Euro-American literature and have shown limited community response (Jasmine & Nduna, 2022). Because of the unique cultural and social contexts, and mothers' inclination to following traditional rituals and cultural values,

Bangladeshi culture and context-embedded intergenerational parenting values, beliefs, and practices need to be considered to render the programs more acceptable and effective.

8.5 Strength and Limitations

In this section, I present the theoretical and methodological limitations of the study. While detailing the limitations, I also note the strengths of the study to provide a balanced assessment of its contributions and constraints. A key strength of this study lies in the triangulation of findings through the integration of multiple theoretical perspectives rather than relying on a single theory. Inspired by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's concept of "*The Danger of a Single Story*" (Shumpert, 2018), which highlights how "the single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete," I recognized that a single theoretical framework might be insufficient to appropriately capture the complexities of parenting phenomena in Bangladesh. Therefore, I adopted an integrated multi-theoretical approach to provide a more comprehensive understanding. However, a notable theoretical limitation of this study is the omission of frameworks such as Critical Gender Theory, which could have been applied to examine traditional gender boundaries and arranged marriages as forms of protective parenting practiced by Bangladeshi mothers. Additionally, I did not include Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT; Engeström, 2015; Vygotsky, 1987, 1999) within the study's theoretical framework. CHAT might have been able to help explaining the ethical and methodological challenges I faced during data collection that couldn't be presumed earlier. However, CHAT was used at a later stage to bridge the methodological and ethical challenges with local realities, and this is reflected in the submitted manuscript generated from this thesis (see Appendix I).

In the beginning of data collection, my positionality created some difficulties and limited data generation. I was the interviewer and an insider with an in-depth understanding of the culture and lifestyles of the research population. This was a strength, as it enabled contextualisation of the data and supported the analysis. However, it occasionally limited participant responses. At times, participants did not elaborate on an issue, possibly from the presumption and expectation that the interviewer already understood their intended meaning. In the early interviews, my positionality prompted my assumptions about participant's accounts, which I initially accepted without verification. I came to identify this after questions from my second supervisor (MN) while reading and re-reading the transcripts. To overcome this, I went back to the participants for elaboration on those sections and consciously bracketed assumptions during the later interviews.

The inclusion of grandmother and mother dyads enabled triangulation of data. However, the inclusion of maternal grandmothers in the sample might have created a bias in findings where maternal grandmothers were mostly mentioned. The G2 mothers knew the research topic and were cognisant that their mothers were being interviewed. This might have primed their responses to be about interactions with the maternal figure. Additionally, this study did not include the fathers, grandfathers, paternal grandmothers, or significant extended family members. Thus, the spectrum of protective parenting practices is not complete. Future studies that cover fathers and other extended family members as participants may provide a thorough understanding of Bangladeshi parents' protective parenting practices.

The findings presented here originate from a study centred on general parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers, where protective parenting aspects did not receive a focused exploration. I, therefore, do not claim that this study has compiled a complete set of protective

parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers. However, it compiled a good set of protective parenting practices that transcended all five parenting dimensions. Dedicated studies in the area of protective parenting practices have the potential to broaden and enrich the findings that may be applicable in various settings. Moreover, this study does not specify age-specific protective parenting practices that are normative in child development studies, except for traditional practices against supernatural power during prenatal and neonatal periods. This limitation may leave readers to assume and relate protective parenting practices to different ages of children.

Another limitation of this study is that it did not reflect the connection between education level and parents' choices of protective practices. The change in Generation Two mothers' practices was analysed through the lens of social context, urbanisation, and modernisation. The study did not account for the impact of education level. Future studies may explore how the level of formal education shapes the protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers.

Although the participants originated from different districts of Bangladesh, they were all residents of Dhaka city, which is unique in its social, legal, economic, and other developmental parameters compared to other parts of the country. The risks and opportunities in Dhaka city are also distinctive. Therefore, parental protective practices evident in Dhaka city might differ from those in other locations of the country. Geography-specific constraints in the megacity of Dhaka, as the research site, may have led to a culturally confined view of aspects of protective parenting identified in this study. Exploring protective parenting practices in other locations of the country will enhance the parenting literature.

8.6 Recommendations

This study proposes two levels of recommendations: a) Future research recommendations, and b) actionable recommendations.

Future Research Recommendations

This study highlights a prominent role of the maternal grandmother in the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices. However, due to methodological constraints, definitive conclusions cannot be drawn as paternal grandparents, fathers, and other key family members were not included in this study. Consequently, their roles in the intergenerational continuity process remain unknown. Future studies are encouraged to incorporate children's perspectives on protective parenting practices and their contexts to elucidate a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. Nevertheless, based on the findings on maternal grandmothers' influences and roles in intergenerational continuity of parenting practices, it is recommended that efforts focused on optimal child development should include maternal grandmothers for optimum outcomes. Future studies should consider including fathers, grandfathers, and paternal grandmothers to gain a deeper understanding of the roles of the closest extended family members in parenting practices. The role of other contributors, as well as the extent and mechanism of these elements in intergenerational continuity, should be further investigated. Future studies are recommended to identify factors that account for the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices within the context of globalisation and the interplay of other learning sources and influences.

Additionally, this study did not explore the participants' perceptions of the positive and negative aspects of the protective parenting practices they have experienced and currently employ. While the enquiry of these perceptions was beyond the scope of the present study, such

insights could have enriched the findings and offered a more comprehensive understanding. Future research is therefore encouraged to examine both parents' and children's perspectives on the perceived benefits and drawbacks of protective parenting practices. Such inquiries would enhance understanding of the values embedded within the studied community and inform policy development, as well as individual-, family-, and community-level interventions in response to evolving socio-cultural contexts.

This study reveals that imposing gender boundaries on girls and their early marriage was a construction to protect girls from being victims of sexual abuse. However, this study discusses the limitations of these protective parenting practices in ensuring long-term protection of girls in Bangladesh and how these practices contribute to girls' victimization in gender-based violence (GBV) and discrimination in education, health care, and financial independence. Future studies are recommended to investigate the association between the protective parenting practices and the normalized culturally perpetuated GBV and discrimination.

Actionable Recommendations

The practice of marrying off underage and young girls to avoid the perceived shame of sexual assault constitutes a form of silencing women under the guise of protection, ultimately exacerbating their vulnerability. To address the stigma and shame experienced by women and their families associated with sexual assault, it is imperative to design and implement multi-level interventions. No voice to object perpetuates the vulnerability of these women, reifying the system. Interventions should be strategically directed toward community members, policymakers, and law enforcement agencies. These efforts should utilize a diverse range of communication and educational channels, including television, print media, social media, digital

platforms, formal education systems, and community-based engagement and advocacy movements.

The exploration of protective parenting practices helped identify threats and risks to children in Dhaka City, as well as parents' concerns about their well-being. Therefore, this study is valuable for researchers, policymakers, and implementers in formulating and implementing effective policies to enhance social security. This study highlights the need for developing effective social safety policies that incorporate government administration, community organizations, and residents' representation in an effort to address the current demand for parental protection in raising children. The findings convey implications for child and adolescent services to local and immigrant Bangladeshi families, identifying socio-cultural variables that can be considered when offering culturally sensitive parenting interventions.

8.7 Conclusion

This study has examined the strong protective parenting values upheld by Bangladeshi mothers, which external observers may misconstrue as overindulgence, parental overreach, or a lack of respect for children's autonomy and personal boundaries. However, empirical evidence suggests that these protective parenting practices have been preserved and transmitted intergenerationally, albeit with modifications influenced by evolving psychosocial dynamics. Notable adaptations include variations in chaperonage, parental monitoring of technological engagement, and the proposition of arranged marriages.

Although these protective strategies ostensibly contribute to children's safety and well-being, a deeper and critical analysis reveals that certain practices—such as imposing strict gender boundaries on girls and endorsing early marriage—are favourably linked to gender-based

violence, adverse maternal and mental health, and child health outcomes. These issues have broader global ramifications, particularly in hindering the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which the Bangladeshi government has committed to through agreements with the United Nations. Generational analyses indicate that mothers from the first and second generations have largely adhered to, normalized, and preserved these protective parenting ideologies. However, further inquiry is warranted into how third-generation individuals, who are being socialised within the context of globalisation, perceive, negotiate, and articulate the impact of contemporary protective parenting norms across diverse socio-geographical contexts in Bangladesh.

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Appendix A1: English version of Research Information Sheet



Research Information Sheet

Dear Madam,

I am Umme Habiba Jasmine, a PhD researcher of the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa. I am conducting a research study on parenting. Parenting plays an important role in a child's life. But there is very little knowledge that we have in regard to help us understand the views and practices about child rearing of Bangladeshi mothers. That is why my study intends to research the views, experiences, and practices of mothers in Bangladesh in raising their children.

For this research I am interested in speaking to mothers and maternal grandmothers about their views and ideas about parenting, and about their experiences as parents. I am also interested to know the ways they have learnt about parenting. This research will focus on the mothers who have school going children.

I am cordially inviting you to participate in my study. I am assuring full confidentiality of the participants and expect your support to make this research a success. If you can't decide about your participation now, please call me at +8801993443070 when decided.

Appendix A2: Bengali version of Research Information Sheet



DST-NRF Centre of Excellence
in Human Development

Individual and Society

গবেষণা সম্পর্কিত তথ্য



সুধী,

আমি উম্মে হাবিবা জেসমিন। দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার উইটওয়াটারসর্যান্ড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের একজন পিএইচডি গবেষক। আমি সন্তান পরিপালন নামক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয়ে গবেষণা করছি। সন্তান পরিপালন একটি শিশুর জীবনে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা রাখে। বাংলাদেশের মায়েদের সন্তান পরিপালন সম্পর্কে প্রচলিত ধারণা এবং চর্চা সম্পর্কে খুব বেশী কিছু জানা যায়নি। তাই, আমার গবেষণাটি বাংলাদেশী মায়েদের সন্তান পরিপালন সংক্রান্ত প্রচলিত ধারণা, চর্চা ও ব্যবহারিক বিষয়ে বিস্তারিত গবেষণার একটি প্রয়াস।

গবেষণার কাজে আমি মা এবং নানীদের সাথে সন্তান পালন সম্পর্কে তাদের বিদ্যমান ধারণা ও অভিজ্ঞতার কথা আলোচনা করতে আগ্রহী। আমি এটা জানতেও আগ্রহী যে তারা সন্তান পরিপালন সম্পর্কে কোথা থেকে শিখেছেন। আমার গবেষণার জন্য আমি সেসব মায়েদের সাথে কথা বলতে আগ্রহী যাদের স্কুলপড়ুয়া ছেলে-মেয়ে রয়েছে।

গবেষণায় অংশগ্রহণের জন্য আপনাকে বিনীতভাবে আহ্বান করছি। গবেষণায় সম্পূর্ণভাবে অংশগ্রহণকারীর গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা করা হবে। গবেষণাটির সফলতার জন্য আপনার সহযোগিতা একান্তই কাম্য। গবেষণায় অংশগ্রহণের ব্যাপারে আগ্রহী হলে আমার সাথে যোগাযোগ করুন ০১৯৯৩৪৪৩০৭০ নাম্বারে।

Appendix B1: English Version Participant Information Sheet



DST-NRF Centre of Excellence
in Human Development

Individual and Society



Participant Information Sheet

Dear mothers,

I am Umme Habiba Jasmine, a PhD student at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. I am conducting a research study on parenting. I am interested in speaking with mothers about their views and ideas about parenting, and about their experiences as parents. Parenting plays an important role in a child's life. But there is very little knowledge that we have to help us understand the views and practices about child rearing specifically of Bangladeshi mothers. That is why my study intends to research the views, experiences, and practices of mothers in Bangladesh in raising their children and how they learn to do this.

For my research I will have approximately two interview sessions, each two hours long. I will appreciate your patience during those sessions. During the interview, we will discuss how you raise your children, and your experience of being reared. I would also be interested in how you learnt to raise your children.

In case you experience any negative emotions during the interview, I would offer you free counseling services at National Trauma Counseling Center, which is a government facility and offers free counseling services to all women and children under 12 years. In case any child abuse history emerges, I would bring it to your attention and advise you on available counseling and legal services both for the child and the family. Should you not wish to receive these services I would be ethically bound to report the case of abuse to the appropriate authority. In that situation, you may choose to continue participating or withdraw yourself from this study. Of course, I acknowledge your right not to participate, withdraw from participation, or resume participation at any time.

If you are interested, please contact me on my cell phone number +8801993443070. Thank you very much for reading this document.

Appendix B2: Bengali version of Participant Information Sheet



DST-NRF Centre of Excellence
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Individual and Society

অংশগ্রহণকারীদের জন্য তথ্য



প্রিয় মায়েরা,

আমি উম্মে হাবিবা জেসমিন। দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার উইটওয়াটারসর্যান্ড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের একজন পিএইচডি গবেষক। আমি সন্তান পরিপালনের বিষয়ে গবেষণা করছি। আমি, যে-সব মহিলারা সন্তানের মা হয়েছেন, সেই মায়েদের সাথে সন্তান পালন সম্পর্কে তাদের বিদ্যমান ধারণা ও অভিজ্ঞতার কথা আলোচনা করতে আগ্রহী। মা হিসেবে তাদের অভিজ্ঞতা জানতেও আমি আগ্রহী। সন্তান পরিপালন একটি শিশুর জীবনে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা রাখে। বাংলাদেশের মায়েদের সন্তান পরিপালন সম্পর্কে প্রচলিত ধারণা, এবং চর্চা সম্পর্কে খুব বেশী কিছু জানা যায়নি। তাই, আমার গবেষণাটি বাংলাদেশী মায়েদের সন্তান পরিপালন সংক্রান্ত প্রচলিত ধারণা, চর্চা ও ব্যবহারিক বিষয়ে বিস্তারিত গবেষণার একটি প্রয়াস।

আমার গবেষণার জন্য, আমি আপনার সাথে দুই পর্বে সাক্ষাৎকার নিতে পারি। সাক্ষাৎকারে সন্তান পরিপালনে আপনার অভিজ্ঞতা নিয়ে আলোচনা করবো। আমি এটা জানতেও আগ্রহী যে, সন্তান পরিপালন সম্পর্কে কোথা থেকে শিখেছেন। প্রত্যেক সাক্ষাৎকার প্রায় দুই ঘণ্টা সময় ধরে হতে পারে। আমার সাক্ষাৎকার যদি আপনাকে কোন কষ্টের সৃষ্টি/ অনুভূতির মুখোমুখি করে তোলে তবে জাতীয় ট্রমা কাউন্সেলিং সেন্টারে বিনামূল্যে কাউন্সেলিং সেবা গ্রহণের ব্যবস্থা করে দিতে পারি। সরকারি এই হাসপাতালে পরামর্শ সেবা সকল নাগরিকদের জন্য উন্মুক্ত এবং বিনামূল্যে প্রদান করা হয়।

সাক্ষাৎকারে শিশু নির্যাতনের প্রসঙ্গ উঠে এলে, আমি আপনাকে এ প্রসঙ্গে মনোযোগ আকর্ষণ করতঃ শিশু ও তার পরিবারের জন্য সহজলভ্য পরামর্শ ও আইনি সেবা নেয়ার জন্য অনুরোধ করবো। শিশু নির্যাতন সম্পর্কে আপনি কোনো

পরামর্শ বা আইনি সহযোগিতা গ্রহণ করতে না চাইলে, আমি নীতিগতভাবে শিশু নির্যাতনের বিষয়টি যথাযথ কর্তৃপক্ষকে জানানো।

এ অবস্থায়, আপনি চাইলে সাক্ষাৎকারটি চালিয়ে যেতে পারেন অথবা সাক্ষাৎকার দেয়া হতে নিজেকে সরিয়ে নিতে পারেন। আমি, সাক্ষাৎকারে আপনার অংশগ্রহণ, প্রত্যাহার, এবং পুনরায় অংশগ্রহণের অধিকারকে মূল্যায়ন করি। আপনি সাক্ষাৎকারে অংশগ্রহণে আগ্রহী হলে অনুগ্রহ করে +৮৮০১৯৯৩৪৪৩০৭০ নম্বরে যোগাযোগ করুন।

Appendix C1: Informed Consent Form



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Individual and Society



Informed Consent to Participate

I _____ consent for myself to be interviewed and audiotaped for the purpose of a PhD level research of Umme Habiba Jasmine at the University of Witwatersrand.

I understand that:

- I will be interviewed twice and each interview will take approximately 2 hours.
- Participation will involve me being interviewed and audiotaped.
- Participation in this research is voluntary.
- I have the choice not to answer any questions that I do not want to answer.
- I may stop participating in the study at any time.
- My quotes will be used in the research report, but no personal information, such as my name or places (where I live, where I am from etc.) will be used if a research report is written.
- If I am at risk, the researcher may need to consult with an outside party to ensure my safety; however, this will be discussed with me beforehand.

I give my consent to participate in this research. I understand that:

- The audio recordings will not be heard by any people other than the researcher. They will keep what I said private, unless I give my permission for the audio recordings to be used for teaching purposes.
- After the report is finished, my audio recordings will be kept in a safe place with the researcher and at the University of Witwatersrand.

(Please tick next to the option if you would like)

☐

Yes – I give permission for excerpts of the audio material to be used for teaching purposes.

Your signature indicates that this research study has been explained to you, that your questions have been answered, and that you agree to take part in this study. You will receive a copy of this form.

Signature (mother): _____ Date: _____

Signature of the Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C2: Bengali version of the Informed Consent Form



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অংশগ্রহণকারীর সম্মতি পত্র

আমি, আমার দেয়া সাক্ষাৎকার এবং ধারণকৃত অডিওটি উইটওয়াটারসর্যান্ড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পিএইচডি পর্যায়ে গবেষক উম্মে হাবিবা জেসমিনের গবেষণায় ব্যবহারে সম্মতি দিচ্ছি।

আমি অবগত আছি যে-

১। আমি স্বেচ্ছায় সাক্ষাৎকারে অংশগ্রহণ করছি।

২। আমি দুইটি ভিন্ন সাক্ষাৎকারে অংশ নিবো, প্রতিটি সাক্ষাৎকার প্রায় দুই(২) ঘণ্টা সময় ধরে হতে পারে।

৩। আমার সাক্ষাৎকার পর্ব দুইটি অডিওতে ধারণ করা হবে।

৪। সাক্ষাৎকারে আমার যে-সব প্রশ্নের উত্তর দিতে ইচ্ছা করবে না, সেসব প্রশ্নের উত্তর আমি নাও দিতে পারি।

৫। আমি যে কোনো সময় সাক্ষাৎকার পর্ব ত্যাগ করতে পারি।

৬। গবেষণা প্রতিবেদন তৈরির প্রয়োজনে, আমার উক্তি বা বক্তব্য ব্যবহার করা হবে। তবে, আমার কোন ব্যক্তিগত তথ্য

যেমন-নাম, ঠিকানা প্রভৃতি গবেষণা প্রতিবেদনে ব্যবহার করা হবে না।

৭। আমি কোনরূপ ঝুঁকিগ্রস্থ হলে, গবেষক আমার নিরাপত্তা নিশ্চিত করার প্রয়োজনে কোন তৃতীয় পক্ষের সাথে

যোগাযোগ করতে পারেন। এ ব্যাপারে গবেষক আমার সাথে প্রথমেই আলোচনা করে নিয়েছেন।

আমি এই গবেষণায় অংশগ্রহণে সম্মত আছি, এই মর্মে যে-

১। ধারণ করা অডিও শুধুমাত্র গবেষক এবং তার সহকারী গবেষণার প্রয়োজনে শ্রবণ করতে পারবেন, এবং আমার দেয়া

তথ্যসমূহ গোপন রাখবেন। আমার অনুমতি ব্যতীত এগুলো শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রে পাঠদানের কাজে ব্যবহার
করবেন না।

২। গবেষণা সমাপ্ত হলে ধারণকৃত অডিওটি গবেষক ও উইটওয়াটারসর্যান্ড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় নিরাপদ স্থানে সংরক্ষণ করবেন।

(অপশনটি পছন্দ হলে অনুগ্রহ করে টিক চিহ্ন দিতে পারেন)

☐

জি হ্যাঁ- গবেষণায় ধারণকৃত অডিওটি পাঠদানের কাজে ব্যবহারের অনুমতি দিচ্ছি।

এই গবেষণার উদ্দেশ্য আমাকে ব্যাখ্যা করা হয়েছে, আমার জিজ্ঞেস করা প্রশ্নের উত্তর দেয়া হয়েছে এবং আমি এই
গবেষণায় অংশ নিতে সম্মত হয়ে স্বাক্ষর করছি।

মায়ের স্বাক্ষরঃ.....তারিখঃ.....

গবেষকের স্বাক্ষরঃ.....তারিখঃ.....

Appendix D: Semi-structured Interview Guide



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Individual and Society



Demographic and Parenting practice questionnaire

Interview conducted in Language: Bangla

Interview Starting time:

Date:

Group: (a) Mother

(b) Grand mother

1. একজন মা হিসেবে সন্তান প্রতিপালন সম্পর্কিত অভিজ্ঞতার কথা বলুন।
2. কী করেন?
3. কেন করেন? (cognition belief thoughts)
4. এক্ষেত্রে আপনার নিজের ছোটবেলার অভিজ্ঞতা কী?
5. পার্থক্য এর কারণ কী?

Warmth

Discipline

Communication

Proximity

Demandingness

Mother's details

Cell #

Mother's pseudoname:

Mother's DOB:

Home Language: _____ Other

Language: _____

Home District:

Current residence:

Highest level of education:

Occupation:

Current employment status:

Income:

Marital Status:

Number of children:

Genogram:

Father's Presence

Biological father?---

Is father present?

Married to mother:

Lives with mother:

Who cared for you when you were a child? _____

Mother's female primary caregiver:

Highest level of education:

Occupation:

Describe relationship with her while growing up:

Describe relationship with her now:

Still alive/ deceased:

Mother's father:

Highest level of education:

Occupation:

Describe relationship with him while growing up (Optional):

Describe relationship with him now (Optional):

If cared for by another relative/ foster parent, specify who:_____

Highest level of education of this person:

Occupation:

a) Warmth, involvement

b) Responsiveness

c) Demandingness and Permissiveness

d) Discipline

e) Parental control

f) Communication

- 1) Tell me your relationship with your child?
- 2) How was it during his/her childhood?

START AUDIO RECORDING

a) Warmth, involvement

- 1) How is your relationship with your child?
- 2) How was it during his/her childhood?
- 3) Do you express your love and affection to your child? If 'yes' how do you express? If 'no' why not?
- 4) From whom/ where did you learn about the way of expressive you love and affection with to child?
- 5) Do you think boy and girl child should be shown affection in a different way? If answer is 'yes' probe how girls should be shown affection, how boys should be shown affection?
- 6) Are there any cultural/ religious beliefs in your family about how to express love and affection with your child? আপনার পরিবারে সাধারণত কীভাবে সন্তানের প্রতি আদর-ভালবাসা প্রকাশ করা হয়? পারিবারিক প্রথাটা কেমন?
 - i. Why should certain things be done? (Belief behind them)
 - ii. How do you feel about these things?
 - iii. From whom/ where did you learn these things?
- 7) Does the way your parents expressed their love and affection to you differ from the way you express to your child?
- 8) Do you think how you express your affection to your child has an impact on what kind of adult he/she will become? Give me an example.

b) Responsiveness

- 9) What do you do when your child cries/ shows distress? আপনার কী মনে হয়, যখন আপনি এভাবে response করেন তখন আপনার বাচ্চা কেমন/ কী feel করে?
 - 10) What do you do when your child has a success/ achievement?
 - 11) What do you do when your child fails in something?
 - 12) From whom/ where did you learnt about these?
 - 13) What kinds of things do you think a mother says/ does help a baby to feel safe?
 - 14) What kinds of things do you think a mother says or does help a child to feel confident?
 - 15) Do you think boy and girl child should be responded in a different way? If answer is 'yes' probe how girls should be responded, how boys should be responded?
 - 16) Are there any cultural/ religious beliefs in your family about how to respond to your child?
 - i. Why should certain things be done? (Belief behind them)
 - ii. How do you feel about these things?
 - iii. From whom/ where did you learn these things?

- 17) Does the way your parents responded to you distress, success, and failure differ from the way you respond to your child?
- 18) Do you think how you respond to your child has an impact on what kind of adult he/she will become? Give me an example.

c) Proximity

- 19) What do you think of breastfeeding? Did/ do you breastfeed? Why and for how long?
- 20) Do you think children who are breastfed are different from those who are not? If 'yes', how?
- 21) What do you do when your child smiles at you and look at your eyes?
- 22) From whom/ where did you learn about these?
- 23) Are there any cultural/ religious beliefs in your family about physical closeness with your child?
 - i. Why should certain things be done? (Belief behind them)
 - ii. How do you feel about these things?
 - iii. From whom/ where did you learn these things?
- 24) What kinds of things do you think a mother says/ does help a baby to feel comfort?
- 25) Do you think physical closeness to a boy and a girl child should be different? If answer is 'yes' probe how it should be to a girl child and how it should be to a boy child.

d) Demandingness and Permissiveness

- 26) What do you expect from your child to do for his/ her life? (Explore whether she makes those demands considering the child's intellectual, social and emotional ability, or just demanding inconsiderably?) (Also explore whether she gives the freedom to choose for his life)
- 27) What do you expect him/her to do for you? (Explore whether she makes those demands considering the child's intellectual, social and emotional ability, or just demanding inconsiderably?)
- 28) What do you expect him/her to do for the extended family member? (Explore whether she makes those demands considering the child's intellectual, social and emotional ability, or just demanding inconsiderably?)
- 29) If he/ she do not do what is expected to do, how do you respond to him/her?
- 30) From whom/ where did you learn that you can expect them from your son/ daughter? কেন
এগুলোই expect করেন?
- 31) Are there any cultural/ religious beliefs in your family about expectation from a son/ daughter?
 - i. Why should certain things be done? (Belief behind them)
 - ii. How do you feel about these things?

- iii. From whom/ where did you learn these things?
- 32) Do your parents' expectations from you differ from your expectation from your child?
What are the differences?
- 33) Do you think your expectations from your child have an impact on what kind of adult he/she will become? Give me an example.

e) Discipline

- 34) What are the characteristics of a disciplined child? আদর্শ সন্তান
- 35) From whom/ where have you learnt about it?
- 36) How do you discipline since childhood? (explore use of restriction, punitive measures)
- 37) From whom/ where have you learnt about it?
- 38) Are there any cultural/ religious beliefs in your family about disciplining a child?
 - i. Why should certain things be done? (Belief behind them) শাসনের জন্য এটা করাটা কেন প্রয়োজন মনে করেন?
 - ii. How do you feel about these things?
 - iii. From whom/ where did you learn these things?
- 39) Do your parents' methods of discipline differ from your methods of disciplining your child? What are the differences?
- 40) Do you think disciplining your child has an impact on what kind of adult he/she will become? Give me an example. আপনি কি মনে করেন যে, আপনার এই পদ্ধতিতে শাসন করাটা সে কেমন মানুষ হয়ে গড়ে উঠবে তার উপর প্রভাব ফেলবে?

e) Parental control

- 41) What are the goals of your child's life?
- 42) Who set those goals?
- 43) How do you assist you child to reach his/her goals?
- 44) What do you do when your child do something that is a barrier on the way of reaching his/ her goals? (Explore what does she do in case the child is aggressive, playful)
- 45) What extent of dependency do you permit? আপনার উপর আপনার সন্তান কতটুকু নির্ভরশীলতা আপনি allow করেন?
- 46) What are the areas you expect your child to be independent in?
- 47) At what age do you expect you child would operate independently at your standard? কোন বয়স থেকে এটা আশা করেন?
- 48) From whom/ where have you learnt about it?
- 49) Are there any cultural/ religious beliefs in your family about helping a child to reach goals, and being independent?
 - i. Why should certain things be done? (Belief behind them)

- ii. How do you feel about these things?
 - iii. From whom/ where did you learn these things?
- 50) Do your ways of assisting your child to reach goals differ from your parents' methods? What are the differences?
- 51) Do you think your ways of assisting your child to reach goals have an impact on what kind of adult he/she will become? Give me an example.

f) Communication

- 52) How do you communicate with him since his childhood? (probe by stages of life e.g. childhood, adolescence, adulthood) আপনার বাচ্চাদের সাথে আপনার যোগাযোগ/ কথাবার্তা/ sharing কেমন হয়?
- 53) আপনার মা কীভাবে communicate করতো আপনার এবং আপনার ভাইবোনের সাথে? /কি ধরনের কথাবার্তা/ sharing করতো?
- 54) How does your child communicate with you since his childhood? (probe by stages of life e.g. childhood, adolescence, adulthood)
- 55) If you want your child to follow your instruction how do you communicate it with him/her? (Probe whether she gives reason, asks and considers child's opinion and feelings.) আপনি যখন চান আপনার বাচ্চা আপনার কথা শুনুক তখন সেটা কীভাবে বলেন তাকে?
- 56) From whom/ where did you learn about the way of communicating with your child?
- 57) When you want your child to follow your instruction do you have to pressurize him/her for compliance? (probe details how)
- 58) Do you think boy and girl child should be communicated different? If answer is 'yes' probe how girls should be communicated, how boys should be communicated?
- 59) Are there any cultural/ religious beliefs in your family about how to communicate with your child? এ ব্যাপারে আপনার পারিবারিক/ সামাজিক প্রথাটা কেমন?
- i. Why should certain things be done? (Belief behind them)
 - ii. How do you feel about these things?
 - iii. From whom/ where did you learn these things?
- 60) Have there been any specific cultural beliefs about parent-child communication that you feel have helped you as a mother? If so, what are these and how have they helped? (probe for details) কোন factor আছে যেটা আপনার সাথে আপনার সন্তানের যোগাযোগ কে সাহায্য করেছে? সেগুলো কি কি?
- 61) Have there been any specific cultural beliefs that you feel have made communication with your child harder for you as a mother? If so, what are those and how have they made things harder? (probe for details)
- 62) Does the way your parents communicated with you differ from the way you communicate with your child?
- 63) Which modern parent-child communication practices do you value? Why?
- 64) Which traditional parent-child communication practices do you value? Why?
- 65) Do you think how you communicate with your child has an impact on what kind of adult he/she will become? Give me an example.

A. সন্তানের বাবার উপস্থিতি/ অনুপস্থিতি আপনার সন্তান প্রতিপালনে কীভাবে প্রভাব ফেলছে?

B. আপনার সন্তান প্রতিপালনে অন্য কার তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ উপস্থিতি রয়েছে?

** পরিশেষে সন্তান প্রতিপালন নিয়ে আপনার শেষ কথা কি?

Interview Ending Time:

Appendix E: Confidentiality Agreement With the Language Editor



Confidentiality Agreement With the language editor

I, _____, agree to match the transcripts with audio tapes provided by the researcher of the University of the Witwatersrand, Umme Habiba Jasmine, and edit language where necessary. I understand the sensitivity and confidentiality of this study. Hence, I commit to maintain full confidentiality of the audio tapes and written transcripts. I also commit that I will not share or misuse the transcripts and any information derived from this work. I am aware that I might be legally liable if I break this confidentiality agreement.

Signature of the Transcriber: _____ Date: _____

Signature of the Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Appendix F: Example of Data Analysis Steps from Coding to Themes

The following tables (F1 & F2) presents a sample of data analysis steps. A detailed data analysis has been curated and published in Qualitative Data Repository (QDR). The citation is as follows:

Jasmine, Umme H. 2025. Coded Interview Excerpts about Protective Parenting Practices in Dhaka, Bangladesh. *Qualitative Data Repository*. <https://doi.org/10.5064/F6BBLHIM>. QDR Main Collection. V1

Table F1

Codes and Related Illustrations for 'Friend Selection for Children'

THEME: FRIEND SELECTION FOR CHILDREN	
Grandparents practice_ Protect children_by choosing friends for them	Researcher: You said. You'd ask them to bring over their friends- did you talk to them? Farida: Yes- if they could impress me- fine, if not I'd be really worried. Researcher: So, you tried to investigate what kind of company he was in- Farida: Yeah.... And how was their family.... Researcher: I see. Did your mother also used to act this way back then? Farida: What happened during our times was that mothers knew who we were associated with. We were within a specific track, we couldn't go beyond it. Researcher: Who determined this track? Farida: My classmates we hang out together, mejo apa hangs out with her classmates. Mother used to know, Beli, Memory, Protik, Mridul, Helen they used to be my classmates and that we'd stay together. We'd go to school, return from school together, they knew we would go anywhere together, hang out together. Researcher: Didn't this ever happen that she didn't know their parents or where they lived or things like this? Farida: No. My parents were satisfied concerning my friends.

	Researcher: So, did she try to inquire about your friends the way you try for your kids? Farida: They used to come to our house often and go. Didn't she see them always? So, perhaps they never objected to anything by knowing our friends. Researcher: I see. So that means... she also tried to understand at her own level about your company. Farida: Yeah, what sort of people they are. If Lucy came to my home, all of my misdeeds would be forgiven. One day I brought some friends over from school. My aunt asked, ((doubtful)) who are they?? I replied, "These are my friends". Then she said, "You need no friend." "Who needs so many friends! Why so much of them! ((sarcastic))" Researcher: Yeah... Farida: I used to get scared of even bringing any random friend over to my house. We couldn't actually gather the courage to go home taking some random friends. Mothers wouldn't allow. Researcher: Yeah.... Farida: We couldn't find the courage to go to some friends' home at random either. They wouldn't allow it. My mothers and all my friends' mothers would remain assured from thinking that "My daughters' friends are just like my daughter." Farida's friends are similar to her, Papiya's friends are similar to her. We had good bonding with all our mothers. Very often my friends would give "hi, hello" to my mother. That's why they didn't think of any negative things. And in our school, 180 students were combined girls and boys. And only five of us would stay together. That's why mothers would think that they are like their daughters.
Grandparents practice_Protecting children from harm_Don't let associate with others	Jhumjhum: It means, my parents have reared us in the same way a hen keeps its chickens under the wings. They did not let us go anywhere, did not let us associate with others out of fear that their children might be harmed. They have kept us totally under their observation, within their eyesight. I also keep him under my observation.
Practice_Control_Choosing friends for children	Researcher: So that's why you wanted to learn about them? Farida: Yes. That's why I made the choice for them. I told who they can and cannot hang out with. I still say this to Prince, I'm not that worried if you stay at Tutul's house. I say this to Tutul, Tutul's mother -

	both Tutul's and my father were police officers; Tutul's mother, Dulali, was our junior to us but we still used to hang out together. Our families have had close relationship for 40 to 45 years - I'm very "tension-free" when they're at Tutul's house, but if they at somewhere else, it scares me a lot. I always tell them don't hang out with anyone other than Tutul, Mubin in our neighborhood- - but he doesn't listen to me. Researcher: The younger one? [1.52.21] Farida: Yes. He has other friends. He says "What's wrong with hanging out with them! You're the only one who acts this way. Everyone else's mothers are different. Nobody is like you." Researcher: What? Farida: "Other mothers are different. You're the only one who acts like this." Researcher: I see. Farida: "You think like criminals because you spend time with criminals (in court)," he says. Because of these fears, I don't want them to hang out with people outside my circle - I only feel comfortable when they hang out with kids whose parents I know. Researcher: Did you pressurize them into following these instructions? Farida: Yes I pressurized them; I pressurized Prince a lot as he never listens. Researcher: How did you pressurize them? Farida: I scold them, counsel them, try to make them understand, ask others to talk to him, ask Tutul to talk to him: "Tutul, tell him not to hang out with other kids. You stay with him." Tutul's older brother, Kiron is a friend of Polash. I told Kiron to talk to Prince when he goes over - "Kiron talk to Prince. I'm always worried about him. I worry whenever he goes out. It scares me when he hangs out with other kids. Tell him to hang out only with Tutul, Mubin." I always decide for them. I liked it when Polash used to hang out with Antar or Shishir at school. When he hung out with other kid, I wonder who this boy is! I'd get worried. "Just a normal friend," he'd say. "What's his name?" "His name is Probal." "Bring Probal home someday," I'd say. He brought Probal home and I talked with him. Then I talked to Probal and found that his mother is a doctor. I'd get worried whenever he talked with someone I didn't know.
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	Those who I knew – “Who are you going with?” - “Antar will go with you.” When he goes with his college friends- Caesar, Rafiq, I feel comfortable. When Caesar or Rafiq is at our home, their mothers wouldn’t worry as they knew their boys were at Polash’s house. Caesar’s mother would call and ask if Caesar was as at our home and Id assure her he was. Similarly when Polash was at Rafiq’s house I’d call them, “Bhabi, is Polash at your house.” “Yes bhabi, they were studying, and it’s already too late, let him have dinner here.”“-But it’s so late-.” “It’s alright bhabi, I’ll bring him home.” I wasn’t worried even when he stayed over at Caesar’s until 11 pm. Caesar’s mother is a college professor- Researcher: You said. You’d ask them to bring over their friends- did you talk with them- Farida: Yes- if they could impress me- fine, if not I’d be really worried. Researcher: So, you tried to investigate what kind of company he was in- Farida: Yeah.... And how was their family.... Researcher: So did you ever “charge” them? Farida: Yes I “charged” them on multiple instances. Researcher: What was their reaction? Farida: They would reply “What’s wrong with talking?” When Antar and Polash became close, they started going to all the same tutors, Antar’s mother took over the duty of taking them there. Antar and Polash were best friends. Antar was a very gentle and polite boy, the type that never does anything wrong. I always felt relieved when they were together, and Antar’s mother felt the same. Antar’s mother was a housewife so she always accompanied them. Also Apurbo who is Antar’s younger brother was Prince’s friend. Most of Polash’s friends had younger brothers as well, and almost all of them were Prince’s friends. Antar’s mother would accompany Apurbo, and subsequently she also took care of Prince, brought him back. We received that kind of support also. However most of the times my father accompanied them. Ever since my father died in 2009, things were a bit different. Jhumjhum: That is all, nothing else. And I also
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	control whom he is friends with. Sometimes he shares with me, “Ma, [a friend] gave me this, offered me this food; I shared this food with him.” As far as I know, that boy (the friend) is a bit mischievous or not of the type I like my son to befriend with. Then I say, “No, my son, didn’t I tell you not to be that much intimate with him, not to associate with him? ((request in her tone)). Do not let him understand that your Mom forbids you. You won’t tell him or won’t let him understand! Just avoid him.” That is like that; I try to control a bit. Researcher: How do you know that the boy is not good? Jhumjhum: That when I go to his school often, it happens that I take him to school and hear from another guardian [about that boy]. Researcher: You talk with other guardians. Jhumjhum: Yes. Sometimes, some guardian talks to me spontaneously. Then I understand.
Practice_Prevent spoil_Leave own bad friends	Researcher: Apart from explaining things to them do you do anything else? Piu: I teach them to avoid places and companions that may spoil them. Besides, I try to avoid bad companions so that they do not learn bad things from people I associate with. They may learn bad things even from my friends. It is not certain that all my friends are good. She (daughter) may learn many bad things from them, as well. I have such kind of friends who even disappoint me. They speak bigger than it is in reality. It is not a good thing! I usually do not want to point to someone’s bad sides face to face. I mean, I cannot speak about it face to face, but I feel very bad that she is doing those. In fact, she should not do this! She should not do this!
Practice_Protecting children by choosing friends for them	Farida: Yes. That’s why I made the choice for them. I told who they can and cannot hang out with. I still say this to Prince, I’m not that worried if you stay at Tutul’s house. I say this to Tutul, Tutul’s mother-both Tutul’s and my father were police officers; Tutul’s mother, Dulali, was our junior to us but we still used to hang out together. Our families have had close relationship for 40 to 45 years- I’m very “tension-free” when they’re at Tutul’s house, but if they at somewhere else, it scares me a lot. I always tell them don't hang out with anyone other than

	Tutul, Mubin in our neighbourhood- but he doesn't listen to me. Researcher: The younger one? Farida: Yes. He has other friends. He says "What's wrong with hanging out with them! You're the only one who acts this way. Everyone else's mothers are different. Nobody is like you." Researcher: What? Farida: "Other mothers are different. You're the only one who acts like this." Researcher: I see. Farida: "You think like criminals because you spend time with criminals (in court), " he says. Because of these fears, I don't want them to hang out with people outside my circle- I only feel comfortable when they hang out with kids whose parents I know. Researcher: Did you pressurize them into following these instructions? Farida: Yes I pressurized them; I pressurized Prince a lot as he never listens. Researcher: How did you pressurize them? Farida: I scold them, counsel them, try to make them understand, ask others to talk to him, ask Tutul to talk to him: "Tutul, tell him not to hang out with other kids. You stay with him." Tutul's older brother, Kiron is a friend of Polash. I told Kiron to talk to Prince when he goes over- "Kiron talk to Prince. I'm always worried about him. I worry whenever he goes out. It scares me when he hangs out with other kids. Tell him to hang out only with Tutul, Mubin." I always decide for them. I liked it when Polash used to hang out with Antar or Shishir at school. When he hung out with other kid, I wonder who this boy is!, I'd get worried. "Just a normal friend." He'd say. "What's his name?" His name is Probal. "Bring Probal home someday," I'd say. He brought Probal home and I talked with him. Then I talked to Probal and found that his mother is a doctor. I'd get worried whenever he talked with someone I didn't know. Those who I knew- "Who are you going with?" - "Antar will go with you." When he goes with his college friends- Caesar, Rafiq, I feel comfortable. When Caesar or Rafiq is at our home, their mothers wouldn't worry as they knew their boys were at Polash's house. Caesar's mother would call and ask if Caesar was as at our home and I'd assure her he
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	was. Similarly when Polash was at Rafiq's house I'd call them "Bhabi, is Polash at your house." "Yes bhabi, they were studying, and it's already too late, let him have dinner here." "-but it's so late-" "It's alright bhabi, I'll bring him home." I wasn't worried even when he stayed over at Caesar's until 11 pm. Caesar's mother is a college professor- Researcher: You said. You'd ask them to bring over their friends- did you talk with them- Farida: Yes- if they could impress me- fine, if not I'd be really worried. Researcher: So, you tried to investigate what kind of company he was in- Farida: Yeah.... And how was their family.... Researcher: So did you ever "charge" them? Farida: Yes I "charged" them on multiple instances. Researcher: What was their reaction? Farida: They would reply "What's wrong with talking?" Charu: (.) Rather, nowadays, I see that those who follow religious practices, they, in fact::, ((Laughs)) they go to the wrong way. Researcher: What does that mean? Why are you saying that? Charu: By looking at terrorism! ((Laughs)). Researcher: Looking at terrorism? ((Chuckles)). Okay, okay. Charu: Now I become afraid of that also. On the other day, my daughter was discussing about one of her friends who came from Madrasa background. Then I told her, "Associate less with him!" He has been admitted into the Law Department in Dhaka University. They have a good friendship; he's a boy. I said, "Beware! Associate less with him! Otherwise, you would be involved in terrorism." Researcher: I see. I see. Charu: Hm:: Researcher: Oh:: That means there are some restrictions on this side?
Similar_Friend circle of children enquired by mother	Researcher: Do you think that, the way you try to know about your sons' friends, like that your mother also tried to know about your companions? And that's why she could be rest assured? Farida: Who? Mother? It can be! What Mother used to notice was that, who is Protik? Protik is Bhuiya's

	son, and mother had a good connection with them..... Who is Mridul? Mridul is the son of Mr. Robin. Memory's house was beside ours. I mean it was the same area. The mothers had a connection between themselves of their own. They used to hang out in the evening together. It was like a family. And they couldn't think anything else.
Sources of learning_Choosing friends for children_multiple sources	Researcher: No, No. I mean you like to know your kids' friends. You want them to come over and understand them. How does this idea come to your mind? Farida: Well(.) they were growing up during that time. Fears started to creep up inside me that.... (interrupted by Researcher) Researcher: (Let me turn on the fan.) Farida: (The other switch is the fan's.) Well... the people from the school, my husband- they'd tell me to keep an eye on who they hang out with; so did say my mother, my brother, the colleagues from my chamber. Farida "Do they hang out with kids that smoke?" I wondered. I only thought about smoking, not yaba or other drugs. When he first got his mobile phone, it kept worrying me- who they talk with, hang out with? I'd often "charge" them. "Who are you talking with so much?" (.) I'd say, "What are you talking about? ((snapping)) I don't talk that much on phone! I'm a professional lawyer, and yet I don't talk that much, so why do you?"
Sources of learning_Control_Choosing friends for children_Combination of multiple sources	Researcher: That you monitor whom he is mixing with, have you got this from your parents or somewhere else? Jhumjhum: I got it from everything combined, nothing specific. I thought about it everything combined. And I am afraid of this locality that he might be lost if he goes out alone since there is no such direct monitoring here ((which was available in the residential quarter from veranda)). I have not grown up in this locality. I have come here after I am grown up. That is why I do not feel comfortable and safe here. That's it. Researcher: Have you seen any occurrence? Jhumjhum: No, I have not seen any occurrence. Since I am at the office all day long, not at home, which is why I am afraid.

Sources of learning_Control_Choosing friends for children_Know info about different boys from other guardians	Jhumjhum: That is all, nothing else. And I also control whom he is friendly with. Sometimes he shares with me, “Ma, [a friend] gave me this, offered me this food; I shared this food with him.” As far as I know, that boy (the friend) is a bit mischievous or not of the type I like my son to befriend with. Then I say, “No, my son, didn’t I tell you not to be that much intimate with him, not to associate with him? ((request in her tone)). Do not let him understand that your Mom forbids you. You won’t tell him or won’t let him understand! Just avoid him.” That is like that; I try to control a bit. Researcher: How do you know that the boy is not good? Jhumjhum: That when I go to his school often, it happens that I take him to school and hear from another guardian [about that boy]. Researcher: You talk with other guardians. Jhumjhum: Yes. Sometimes, some guardian talks to me spontaneously. Then I understand.
Grandparents practice_Protect children_by choosing friends for them	Researcher: You said. You’d ask them to bring over their friends- did you talk to them? Farida: Yes- if they could impress me- fine, if not I’d be really worried. Researcher: So, you tried to investigate what kind of company he was in- Farida: Yeah.... And how was their family.... Researcher: I see. Did your mother also used to act this way back then? Farida: What happened during our times was that mothers knew who we were associated with. We were within a specific track; we couldn’t go beyond it. Researcher: Who determined this track? Farida: My classmates we hang out together, mejo apa hangs out with her classmates. Mother used to know, Beli, Memory, Protik, Mridul, Helen they used to be my classmates and that we’d stay together. We’d go to school, return from school together, they knew we would go anywhere together, hang out together. Researcher: Didn’t this ever happen that she didn’t know their parents or where they lived or things like this? Farida: No. My parents were satisfied concerning my

	friends. Researcher: So, did she try to inquire about your friends the way you try for your kids? Farida: They used to come and go at our house often. Didn't she see them always? So, perhaps they never objected to anything by knowing our friends. Researcher: I see. So that means... she also tried to understand at her own level about your company. Farida: Yeah, what sort of people they are. If Lucy came to my home, all of my misdeeds would be forgiven. One day I brought some friends over from school. My aunt asked, ((doubtful)) "Who are they??" I replied, "These are my friends." Then she said, "You need no friend. Who needs so many friends! Why so many of them! ((sarcastic))" Researcher: Yeah... Farida: I used to get scared of even bringing any random friend over to my house. We couldn't actually gather the courage to go home taking some random friends. Mothers wouldn't allow. Researcher: Yeah.... Farida: We couldn't find the courage to go to some random friends' home either. They wouldn't allow it. My mothers and all my friends' mothers would remain assured from thinking that "My daughters' friends are just like my daughter. Farida's friends are similar to her..." We had good bonding with all our mothers. Very often my friends would give "hi, hello" to my mother. That's why they didn't think of any negative things. And in our school, 180 students were combined girls and boys. And only five of us would stay together. That's why mothers would think that they are like their daughters.
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Table F2

Construction of Sub-Theme and Theme From Codes of 'Friends Selection for Children

FRIEND SELECTION			
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Codes	Initial themes	Sub-Themes	Themes
G2 ⁷ Grandparents practice_ <i>Control</i> _by choosing friends for them	Ensure good companions for children	Protect children from bad companies. Bad companies lead to bad habits, bad practices, anti-social activities	Friend selection for children
Grandparents practice_ <i>Protect</i> children_by choosing friends for them			
Grandparents practice_Protecting children from harm_Don’t let associate with others			
G1 ⁸ Practice_ <i>Control</i> _Choosing friends for children			
Practice_Protecting children+By choosing friends for them			
Practice_Prevention from spoil	Ensure good companions for children		
Practice_Prevent spoil_Leave own bad friends	Be role model to ensure good companions for children		
Similar_Friend circle of children enquired by mother	Check background of children’s friends_ Ensure good companions for children	Check background of children’s friends	
SL ⁹ _Choosing friends for children_multiple sources	Sources of learning about ensuring	Sources of learning about	

⁷ G2: Generation Two mother (Mother participants)

⁸ G1: Generation One mother (Grandmother participants)

⁹ SL: Sources of learning

SL_Control_Choosing friends for children_Combination of multiple sources	good companions for children	ensuring good companions for children	
SL_Control_Choosing friends for children_Know info about different boys from other guardians			

Appendix G: Diagrams of the Themes and Their Sub-Themes

Figure G1

'Monitoring' Theme and Its Sub-themes

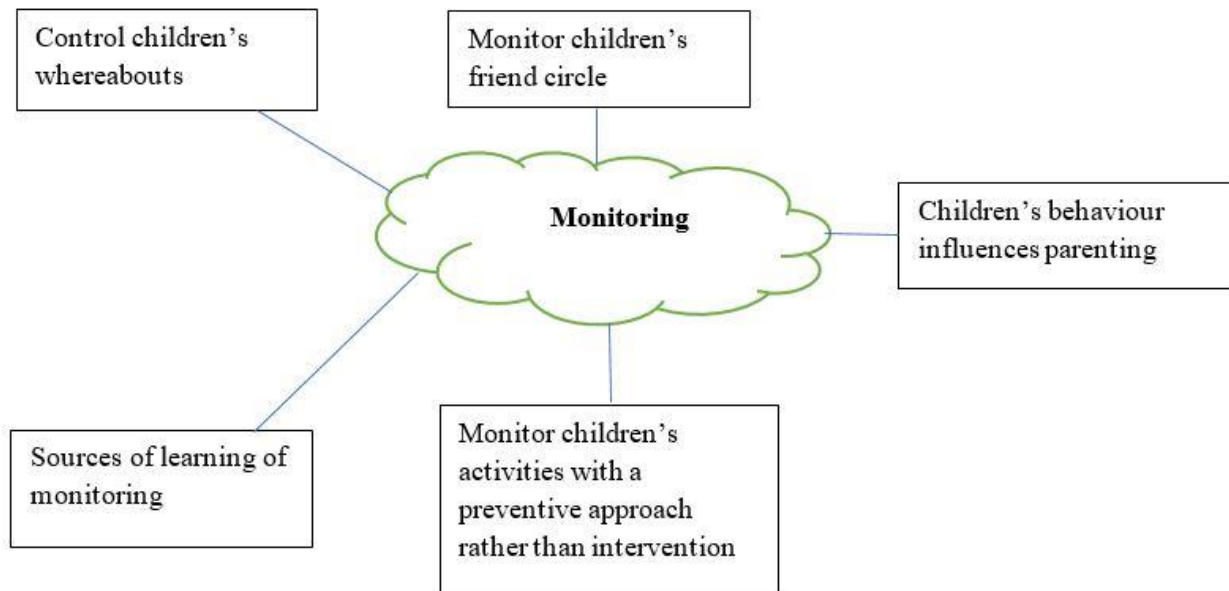


Figure G2

'Protection From the Negativity of Technology' Theme and Its Sub-themes

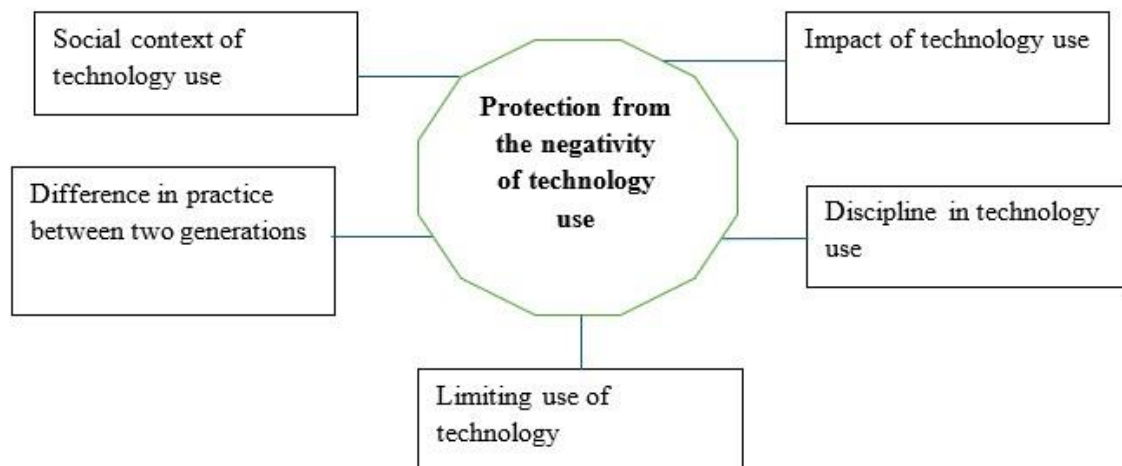


Figure G3

'Select Friends for Children' Theme and Its Sub-themes

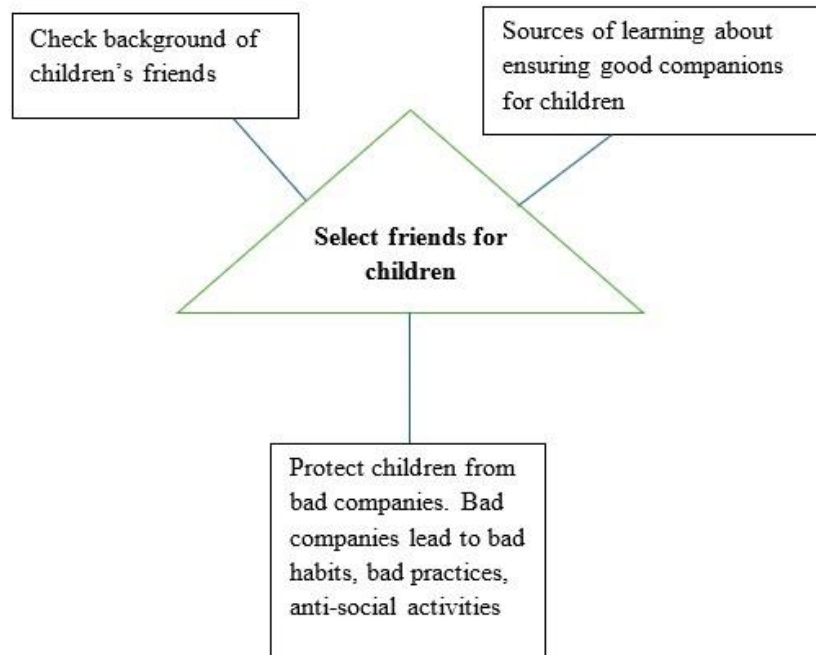


Figure G4

'Chaperonage' Theme and Its Sub-themes

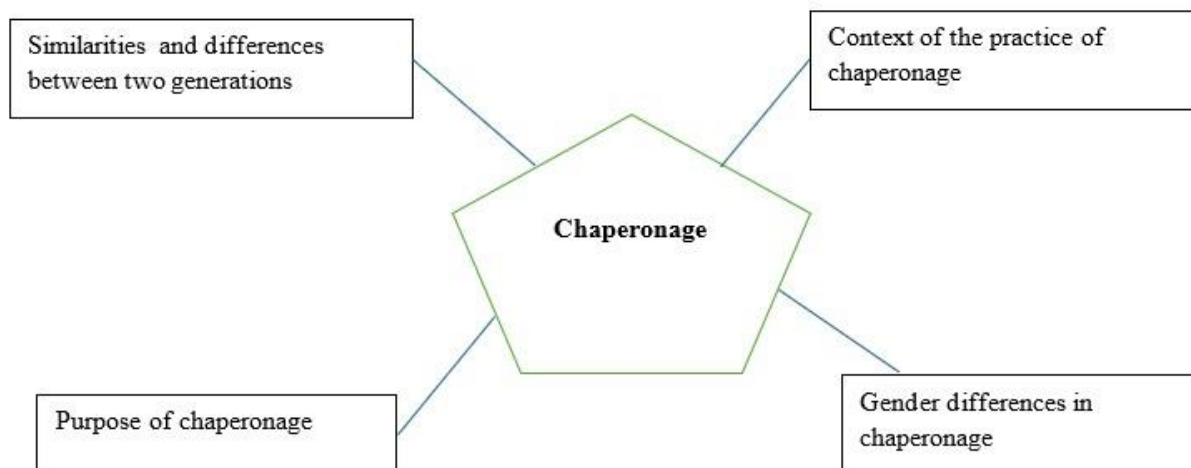


Figure G5

'Children Should Be Practitioners but Not Extremist' Theme and Its Sub-themes

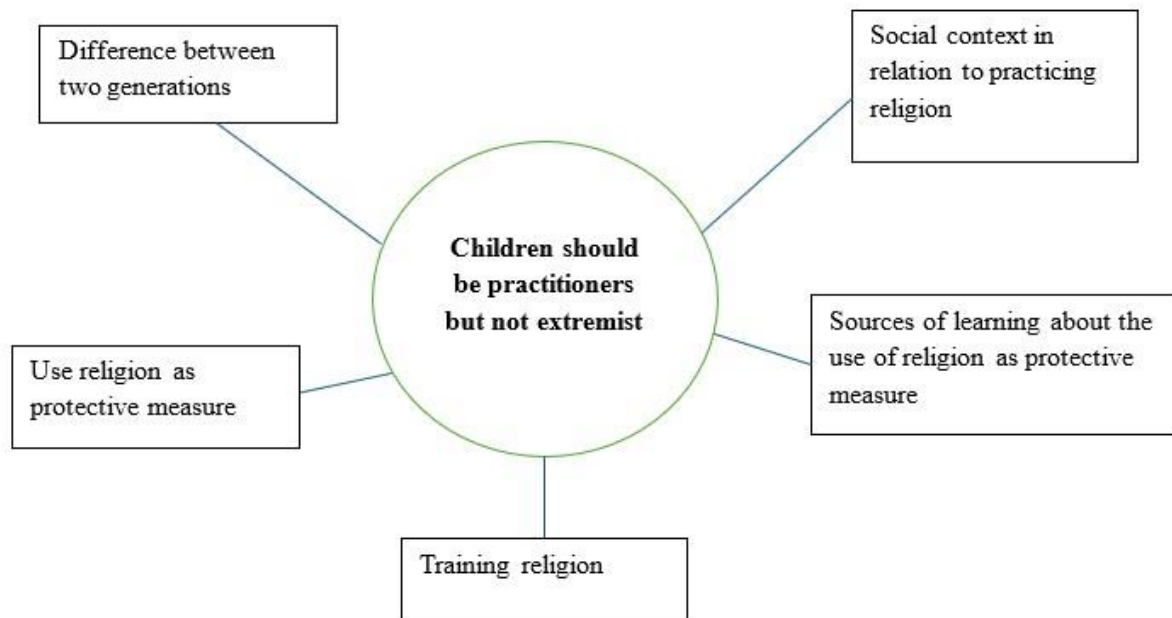


Figure G6

'Arranged Marriage' Theme and Its Sub-themes

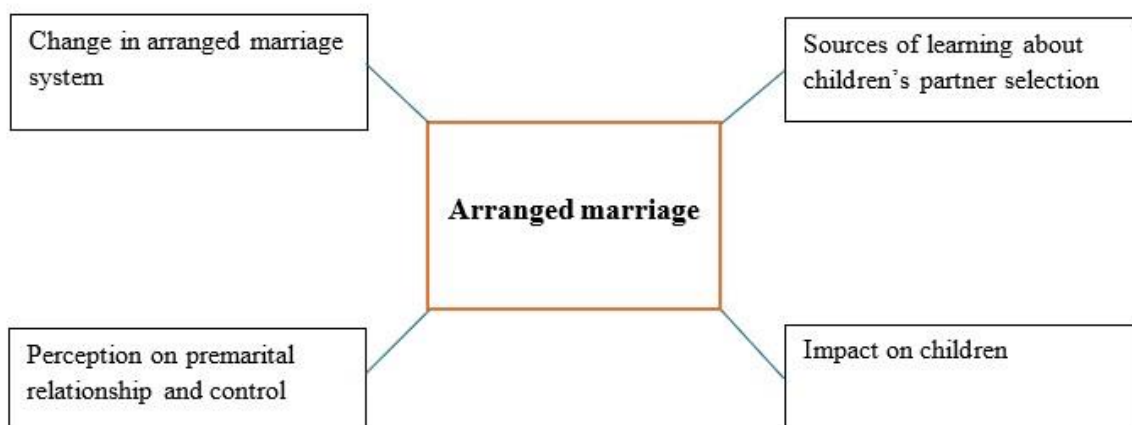


Figure G7

'Gender Sensitivity and Inequality' Theme and Its Sub-themes

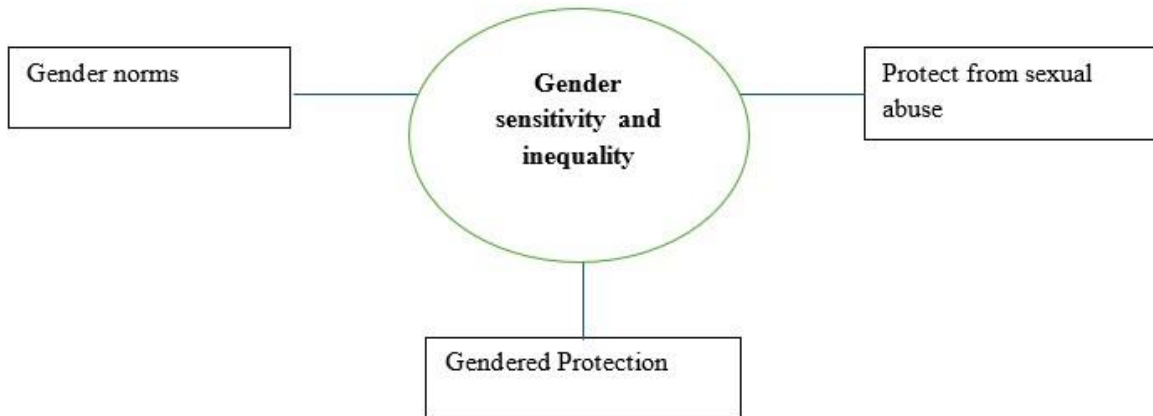


Figure G8

'Financial Planning to Secure Children's Future' Theme and Its Sub-themes



Figure G9

'Instill Fear' Theme and Its Sub-themes

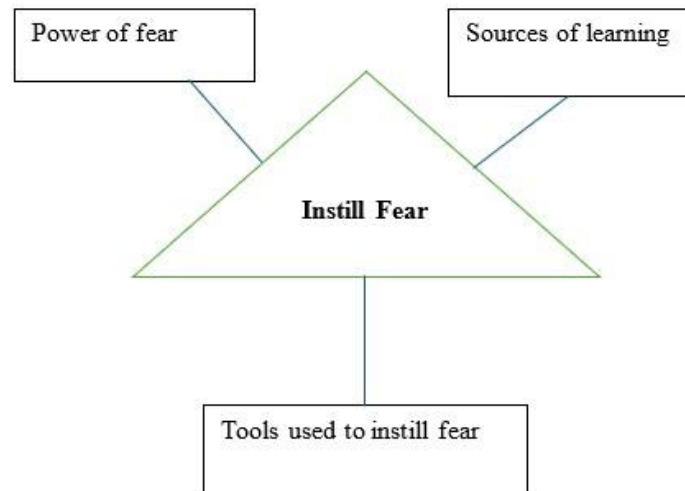
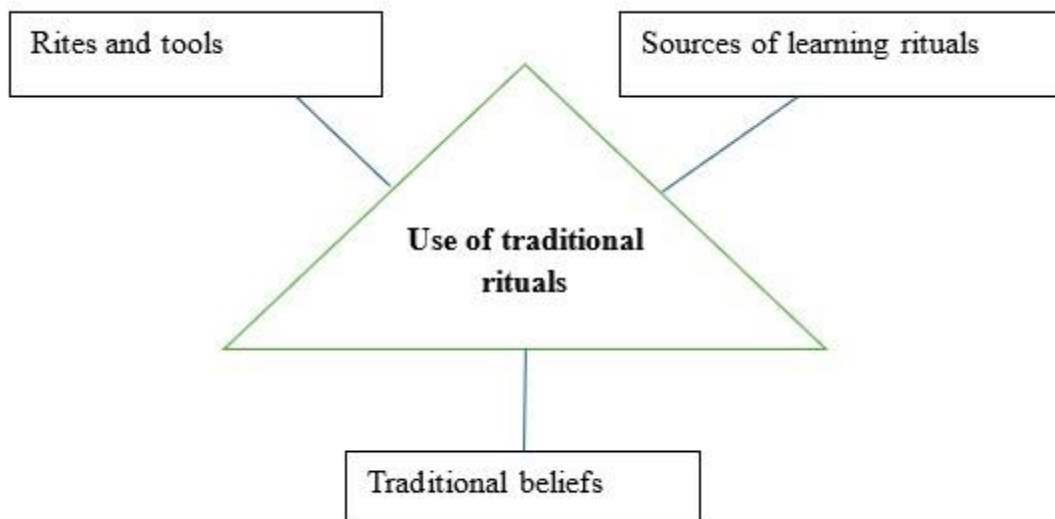


Figure G10

'Use of Traditional Rituals' Theme and Its Sub-themes



Appendix H: Literature Review Paper

Paper One (Published): Parenting in Bangladesh: A Review of the Literature from 2006 to 2018

Appendix I: Paper on Ethical Quandary, Cultural Sensitivity and Reflexivity

Paper Two (under revision): Bridging Ethics and Local Realities: A Case for Cultural Sensitivity and Reflexivity in Bangladesh

Appendix J: Findings Paper One

Paper Three (Published): Construction of Protective Parenting Practices in a Transitional Social Context by Two Generations of Bangladeshi Mothers

Appendix K: Findings Paper Two

Paper 4 (Published): Intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices in Dhaka,
Bangladesh

Appendix L: Ethical Clearance from the Institute and Research Site

1) Ethical Clearance from the University of the Witwatersrand



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Jasmine

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: H16/06/38

PROJECT TITLE

Transmission of parenting practices across two generations of Bangladeshi mothers

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Ms U Jasmine

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

Human and Community Development/

DATE CONSIDERED

24 June 2016

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved
Two year extension only

EXPIRY DATE

13 September 2021

DATE

14 September 2016

CHAIRPERSON


(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Dr M Nduna

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to submit an amendment of the protocol to the Committee. I agree to completion of a regular progress report. For Minimal and Low studies, this is due annually on 31 December. For Medium and High Risk studies, this is due twice annually on 30 June and 31 December.

Signature

Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

2) Ethical Clearance from the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

চিকিৎসা মনোবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ
ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়
কলা ভবন (৫ম তলা)
ঢাকা - ১০০০, বাংলাদেশ



DEPARTMENT OF CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA
Arts Building (4th Floor)
Dhaka 1000, Bangladesh

Tel: 9661900-73, Ext. 7801, Fax: 880-2-9667222, E-mail: clinpsy@du.ac.bd

Date: June 28, 2016

Certificate of Ethical Approval

Project Number : **PH160603**

Project Title : **Intergenerational Transmission of Parenting Practices Across Two Generations of Bangladeshi Mothers**

Investigators : **Umme Habiba Jasmine and Mzikazi Nduna**

Approval Period : **28 June 2016 to 27 June 2019**

Terms of Approval

1. Any changes made to the details submitted for ethical approval should be notified and sought approval by the investigator(s) to the Department of Clinical Psychology Ethics Committee before incorporating the change.
2. The investigator(s) should inform the committee immediately in case of occurrence of any adverse unexpected events that hampers wellbeing of the participants or affect the ethical acceptability of the research.
3. The research project is subject to monitoring or audit by the Department of Clinical Psychology Ethics Committee.
4. The committee can cancel approval if ethical conduction of the research is found to be compromised.
5. If the research cannot be completed within the approved period, the investigator must submit application for an extension.
6. The investigator must submit a research completion report.

Chairperson
Ethics Committee
Department of Clinical Psychology
University of Dhaka



Umme Jasmine <uhjasm@gmail.com>

Permission to submit the publication with my thesis

jcfseditor <jcfseditor@twu.ca>

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All the best,

Judith-JCFS

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Parenting in Bangladesh: A Review of the Literature from 2006 to 2018¹

Umme Habiba Jasmine*, Mzikazi Nduna**

Abstract: This study was a point of departure for future research on the need for a coherent understanding and knowledge of parenting in Bangladesh. This article presents the findings from an integrative research review on parenting in Bangladesh. A comprehensive search conducted in PubMed, Science Direct, and PsychINFO using the keywords "parenting", "childcare", "motherhood", "fatherhood", "mothering", "fathering", each paired with "Bangladesh" yielded 246 articles. Twenty papers published between 2006 and 2018 were selected for thematic analysis based on pre-set criteria. In most studies, the term *mother* was used interchangeably with *parent*, with mothers regarded as the primary caregiver. Parenting in the Bangladeshi context was found to be conceptualized primarily in terms of attitudes, disciplinary practices, feeding, parent-child interaction, and psychosocial stimulation. Parenting components aimed at moral development and attachment building in children were underrepresented. The data revealed largely inconsistent and uncoordinated discussions of parental practices, demonstrating the lack of a holistic approach in the literature in Bangladesh. Research on parenting in Bangladesh favors gendered assumptions of females as the primary caregiver. Based on their findings, the authors recommend qualitative studies to better reflect and conceptualize the concept of parenting in Bangladesh.

Keywords: parenting, Bangladesh, gendered role, integrative review, literature review, mother

Résumé : Cette étude prend comme point de départ la nécessité de repenser et renouveler les recherches et connaissances existantes dans le domaine de la parentalité au Bangladesh. Cet article présente les données d'une revue de recherche intégrée sur la parentalité au Bangladesh. Une recherche exhaustive sur les plateformes de recherche PubMed, Science Direct et PsychINFO avec les mots clés « parentalité », « garde d'enfants », « maternité », « paternité », « soins maternels », « soins paternels », chacun associé à « Bangladesh » a rendu 246

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articles. Vingt articles, publiés entre 2006 et 2018, ont été sélectionnés pour une analyse thématique à partir des critères préétablis. Dans la plupart des études, le terme « mère » a été employé de façon interchangeable avec le terme « parent », les mères considérées comme étant les principaux dispensateurs de soins. Selon les données, la parentalité en contexte bangladais est conceptualisée à partir des attitudes, des pratiques disciplinaires, de l'alimentation, des interactions parent-enfant, et des simulations psychosociales. Les éléments de parentalité visant le développement moral et le développement de l'attachement étaient sous-représentés. Les données ont révélé des discussions dispersées et incohérentes sur les pratiques parentales, démontrant l'absence d'une approche globale dans cette littérature au Bangladesh. La recherche sur la parentalité au Bangladesh favorise des représentations genrées sur la prépondérance du sexe féminin dans le rôle de soignant. Dans cette perspective, les auteurs recommandent des recherches qualitatives afin de mieux réfléchir et conceptualiser la question de la parentalité au Bangladesh.

Mots-clés : parentalité, Bangladesh, rôle genré, revue intégrée, revue de littérature, mère

Introduction

Worldwide, parenting is defined as the care and handling of children according to specific beliefs, the ultimate goal of which is to raise a child as “a competent adult” (Keller et al., 2005, p. 158). According to Jackson (2000, p. 245), “parenting is the performance of all the actions necessary to promote and support the physical, emotional, social and intellectual development of a child from infancy to adulthood.” Parenting is considered a lifelong activity that extends far beyond childhood (Goodnow, 2006). Hoghughi (1998) described parenting as a vital public health dimension in society, with its potential to promote health and well-being, or conversely, to hinder physical and emotional development, the latter of which may produce substantial health and social problems in future generations. Parents usually guide children through teaching, modeling, and training to achieve competence. These include discussions and exposure to family obligations, entitlements, discipline, customs, and the concept of family (Goodnow, 2006).

The biological parents are not always solely responsible for parenting, which sometimes involves grandparents and other extended family members. The culture in most African communities demands that grandparents play the role of primary caregivers, whereas, in North America, this notion is unpopular, and even discouraged by legislation (McHale et al., 2002; Thupayagale-Tshweneagae, 2008). In the Indian subcontinent, while the biological mother is responsible for childcare, the child grows up among extended family members. In most cases, the maternal grandmother supervises and assists the biological mother with childcare, especially in the early stages (Ball & Wahedi, 2010; Isaac et al., 2014). While parenting may be a selfless commitment, adult children are expected to take care of their aged parents in Asian countries such as Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Vietnam, and China (Selin, 2014). Because children are considered a type of “insurance” in parents’ old age, parenting entails simultaneously taking care of one’s children and parents themselves (Mayer, 1961).

Approaches to parenting vary across cultures, which leaves parenting to be a cultural concept too, and contests its universal definition, description, and standardization (Bornstein & Cheah, 2006). Community members in a particular culture may share a similar value orientation and reality though they may differ in individual practices and developmental goals (LeVine et al., 1994). Consequently, Baumrind's (1971) parenting styles typology may not be applicable to all cultures, and research studies may risk misinterpreting certain parenting styles by ignoring their culture-specific uniqueness. For example, the Chinese parenting style might be categorized as 'authoritarian' because of their strict parental controls and lack of reasoning and explanation. However, when considering other elements of their parenting such as ample affection, warmth, love, governance, responsiveness, and high level of parental sacrifice for the child's betterment, this parenting style should not be labelled negatively (Chao, 1994, Xu et al., 2014). While parents' strictness and punishment are associated with hostility in American cultures, these are associated with love and concern for children's well-being in Asian cultures (Mestechkina et al., 2014; Zaman, 2014).

Besides the macro culture, parenting may vary across generations, parents' and extended family members' personal characteristics, a child's characteristics, socioeconomic status, the local customs, exposure to education, media and health care, and geographical location (Conger & Conger, 2004; Clark et al., 2000; Kiff et al., 2011; Lang, 2020). For example, parents in urban India are more child-centered and responsive to a child's needs than parents in more rural areas (Isaac et al., 2014). Ecological context, social support and family-level life stressors also influence parenting practices (LeVine, 1988; Xu et al., 2005).

Ideologies and folk wisdom play important roles in parenting. For example, parents in South Asian and Asian countries such as India, Pakistan, Vietnam, Malaysia and Japan emphasize family bonds, obedience to parents and elders, loyalty to the family, religious beliefs and practices, and academic and professional achievements (Selin, 2014). Based on their belief in children's early learning capabilities, Indian parents start guiding children from a very young age and initiate toilet training as early as one year of age (Isaac et al., 2014). However, depending on their circumstances and motivation to change, generations of parents differ in obeying cultural models (Holloway & Nagase, 2014).

A child's gender determines parenting patterns in Southeast Asia to a great extent. For example, in Bangladesh, boys are provided with better food, education, playtime, flexibility, opportunities and higher status than girls (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014). In Pakistan, women prefer to give birth to boys. In a cis-heteronormative setting, Pakistani mothers try to provide a loving environment for their daughters to prepare them for a difficult environment at the in-laws' house. Chinese parents expect a son to take on his parents' responsibilities, while a daughter takes on the responsibilities of her in-laws (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Similar gendered expectations exist in India and Vietnam. Birth order is also an important factor influencing parental expectations and assigned responsibilities. For example, in the Philippines, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, the

elder son usually takes over financial responsibilities from his father and is thus parented for this role (Selin, 2014).

Social Context in Bangladesh

Bangladesh has a collectivist social system where interdependence is considered a social value over independence and individualism (Hossain, 2013). People value respect for parents and elders and believe in mutual support where parents take responsibility for their children and expect role reversal in old age. Bangladeshi society is informed by very specific gender roles. Women are wholly responsible for childcare and household chores, and men are usually responsible for everything outside the home. These conservative social norms discourage women from pursuing careers, and usually, men are the financial providers and primary decision-makers (Ball & Wahedi, 2010; Hossain, 2013). Women move to the husband's or in-laws' house after marriage and adapt to the in-laws' family culture and customs (Kandiyoti, 2002). While men are responsible for looking after their own parents, women are responsible for looking after their children and in-laws. Altogether, a public form of patriarchy exists where women remain subordinate within themselves (Walby, 2010).

A combined family system is in place, mostly in rural areas, in which three or more generations live in the same household. However, opportunity-seeking nuclear families migrate to urban areas, and sometimes, extended family members join them (Hossain, 2013). Rural Bangladesh usually has a slow-paced lifestyle, less competition, less achievement-orientation and has plenty of open areas for children to play around. Conversely, urban areas are highly achievement-oriented, with a fast-paced lifestyle. Not many playgrounds are available in urban areas because of the high population density. Culture, religion, extended families and patriarchy combinedly and complementarily influence parenting in Bangladesh (Seward & Stanley-Stevens, 2014).

There are over 40 indigenous groups in Bangladesh, with regional variations in cultural practices. However, cultural fusion has meant that childrearing practices in Bangladesh are fairly homogenous, such as pre-lacteal feeding of newborns and shaving of newborns' heads (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014).

Religion significantly influences people in Bangladesh and the government preserves religious freedom. Islam is the state religion, with 90% of the population being Muslims. Other religious groups include Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Baha (Legislative and Parliamentary Affairs Division, 1972). Social customs and laws are primarily informed by Islamic traditions.

Bangladesh is a developing country (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020). A number of government organizations, non-government organizations and research institutes are working towards the realization of the former millennium development goals and current sustainable development goals. Women and children are predominantly the primary beneficiaries in most of these projects, and a parenting program is infused in some of these developmental projects. Twelve papers mentioning parenting elements from some of these projects are reviewed in this article.

While there have been extensive studies into parenting among people of different races in Western countries, the topic has received very little attention from researchers in the global south, including Bangladesh (Gage, Everett, & Bullock, 2006; Hoghughi, 1998; LeVine, 1974; Rao et al., 2003). Some researchers (e.g., Stewart & Bond, 2002) have argued the importance of acknowledging culture-specific meanings of parenting. They have identified some dilemmas about transferring Western parenting theories to lesser-studied non-Western cultures. No review had been conducted of the body of information that exists on parenting in Bangladesh and, therefore, no synthesized understanding of parenting practices is available. Hence, this research study focused on: 1) synthesizing and critically analyzing the literature on parenting in Bangladesh; 2) examining and mapping how parenting is studied and conceptualized in research studies conducted in Bangladeshi social and cultural settings; and 3) identifying and suggesting areas requiring research attention.

Methods

This study received ethical clearance from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) of the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa (Protocol number: H16/06/38) and from the Ethics Committee of the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh (Project number: PH160603). The authors applied an integrative review method to review parenting-related literature in Bangladesh so as to gain insights into the phenomenon of parenting by summarizing a wide range of theoretical and empirical papers (Broome, 1993). To understand the phenomenon more holistically, the authors chose the integrative review method for its strength of simultaneous inclusion of theoretical, experimental, and non-experimental research literature. This review was conducted in five stages, as suggested by Whittemore and Knafl (2005): problem identification, literature search, data evaluation, data analysis, and presentation of findings. Such an approach has the potential to fulfil a wide range of purposes, for example, defining a concept, reviewing evidence, and analyzing methodological issues (Broome, 1993). The research reports on parenting available in Bangladesh followed a variety of research methodologies and were varied in terms of topics and research focus. Therefore, the authors deemed an integrative review method would best serve to review this field of literature.

Literature Search Stage

This literature review was preceded by two years of reading global research on parenting practices with a view to formulating the research questions. Once the decision to conduct the review had been made, an extensive literature search took place for a period of six months from November 2018 to April 2019. A comprehensive computer-assisted search was conducted in the PubMed, Science Direct, and PsychINFO databases. The following keywords were used: “parenting and Bangladesh”, “childcare and Bangladesh”, “motherhood and Bangladesh”, “fatherhood and Bangladesh”, “mothering and Bangladesh”, and “fathering and Bangladesh”. Motherhood, fatherhood, and childcare were included in the

keyword searches, based on the assumption that the articles focusing on these topics may include some information about parenting; if this was not found to be the case, these papers were excluded from the review. The reference lists of the selected articles were also carefully examined to search for further potential articles. Moreover, the first author consulted six researchers who worked in the area of parenting in Bangladesh to enquire about potential research studies. The authors also examined the five volumes of Bangladesh Psychological Abstracts, a compilation of all published works by Bangladeshi researchers in the discipline of Psychology from 1972 to 2011. Once no additional papers emerged from the literature search, the authors concluded that saturation point had been reached and began a thorough review of the extracted literature.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Any parenting-related research conducted in Bangladesh with a Bangladeshi sample was included. Parenting children with developmental disorders or disabilities requires special intervention and guidance from professionals and does not represent conventional parenting practices; therefore, the authors excluded papers containing information on parenting children with developmental disorders or disabilities. Any studies conducted on immigrant Bangladeshi populations were beyond the scope of this study because immigrant Bangladeshi parents' parenting may be influenced by the acculturation process, different social contexts, dual socialization, parents' struggles, children's identity formation, and environmental stress (Afrin et al., 2019; Cornille, 1993; Herberg, 1993; Maiter et al., 2004; Marin & Gamba, 2003). Consequently, their parenting may be different from that of mainland Bangladesh. Studies on parental acceptance-rejection using parental acceptance-rejection questionnaires were excluded from this review as they reported children's perceptions of their parents' acceptance or rejection and did not include information from parents directly.

During the literature search stage, 13 journal articles published between 1978 and 1996 were identified that focused on parental attitudes towards childrearing, maternal interests, parental involvement, disciplinary techniques, and parents' preference among children. As these represented older and outdated literature, the authors excluded them and included papers published after the year 2000 (see Table 1 for a summary of the literature reviewed). However, no related literature from 2000 to 2005 was found, the reasons for which remain unknown.

Sample

Initially, 246 articles appeared from the computerized keyword and manual search. The titles, abstracts, methodology, findings and discussion sections of each article were carefully read. If the abstract did not contain sufficient information about the areas covered, the paper was excluded. After carefully comparing articles against the inclusion and exclusion criteria, 20 articles were selected for this review. The highest concentration of publication took place in 2017 when three articles were found to address the broader areas of parenting. Not all the

papers included had the word *parenting* in their title, and none of the papers researched all aspects of parenting.

Data Evaluation and Analysis

The final sample of this review included 18 empirical studies, one impressionistic paper (Ball & Wahedi, 2010) and one book chapter (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014). The selected articles were divided into subgroups to facilitate analysis based on the areas of interest. These areas were responsive feeding, psychosocial stimulation, violence against children or harsh parenting, parent–child interaction, and fathering. Relevant data for each subgroup was extracted from the primary sources into a spreadsheet. This method provided concise organization of the literature, which facilitated systematic comparisons of the primary sources on sample characteristics, study variables, funding sources, methodologies used, findings, and recommendations (Garrard, 2010). Funding sources gave an indication of which parenting aspects received attention from the unfunded researchers and which from the international funding bodies and local funders. Table 1 captures details of the literature reviewed.

The selected pieces of literature were reviewed thoroughly. Each of the studies was systematically read and carefully coded based on the subgroups. Afterwards, the authors compared and contrasted the codes, formed themes, identified the commonalities and differences, and staged a set of generalizations. Verification with the primary data source was conducted at every step of the analysis process.

Results

The 20 parenting-related papers published from 2006 and onwards are predominantly research reports of child development projects. Among the 20 papers, three papers followed a qualitative research design, 16 followed a quantitative research design and one followed a mixed-methods design. The research studies were dominated by quantitative methodologies (identified in Table 1), which presented a limitation in understanding the contextual variability of parenting (Mashreky et al., 2010).

Childcare practices, effectiveness of a parenting training program, and parental absence have been covered in parenting research in Bangladesh. Only three qualitative papers (Ball & Wahedi, 2010; Hackett et al., 2015; Naila et al., 2018) and the book chapter (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014) focused solely on parenting. The remaining papers focused partially on parenting, with their main emphasis on the study of responsive feeding, barriers to infant feeding, psychosocial stimulation, play, and parent–child interaction. Nutrition was a focus in many of the articles, possibly because of the alarming malnutrition rate of 45%–48%, and subsequent stunting among infants and children in Bangladesh (Bellamy, 2004; Hamadani et al., 2006; United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), 2020).

Among the 20 studies, six focused directly on parenting aspects such as harsh parenting (Fulu et al., 2017), parental violence during floods (Biswas et al.,

Table 1: Characteristics of the literature reviewed (from earliest to latest dates)

Author	Research design	Sample size	Participants	SES of participant	Ethics approval body	Funding source
Elias, S., 2006	Not mentioned	Students: 100 Parents: 100	Fathers, Mothers, Children	Not specified	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
Hamadani et al., 2006	Cluster-randomized control trial	Control: 102 dyads Intervention: 104 dyads Better nourished: 107 dyads	Mothers, Children	Poor	International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh (ICDDR, B)	Not mentioned
Aboud, 2007	post-test only intervention-control design	Intervention: 170 dyads Control: 159 dyads	Mothers, children	Poor	ICDDR, B	Plan Bangladesh
Aboud et al., 2008	Cluster-randomized field trial	Control: 100 dyads Intervention: 102 dyads	Mothers, Children	Poor	ICDDR, B and McGill University	UK Department for International Development, Plan International, and BRAC University
Aboud et al., 2009	Cluster-randomized field trial	Control: 95 dyads Intervention: 108 dyads	Mothers, Children	Poor	ICDDR, B and McGill University	Not mentioned

(Continued)

Table 1: Continued

Author	Research design	Sample size	Participants	SES of participant	Ethics approval body	Funding source
Nahar et al., 2009	Time-lagged controlled study	Control:43 dyads Intervention:54 dyads	Mothers and children	Not specified	ICDDR, B	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida/SAREC)
Ball, & Wahedi, 2010	Impressionistic	>60,000	Fathers	Not specified	Not applicable	Not mentioned
Biswas et al., 2010	Cross-sectional household survey	638	Mothers	Poor	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
Aboud, & Akhter, 2011	Cluster randomization, Cluster-randomized field trial	Control: 110 dyads Intervention 1: 92 dyads Intervention 2: 100 dyads	Mothers, Children	Poor	ICDDR, B	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
Jesmin & Seward, 2011	Not mentioned	From Bangladesh: 59 mothers, 27 fathers From the US: 38 couples	Fathers, Mothers	Middle and upper middle class	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
Nahar et al., 2012	Randomized control trial	507 dyads	Mothers, Children	Poor	ICDDR, B	Sida/SAREC, Sweden
Aboud et al., 2013	Stratified cluster field trial	463 dyads	Mothers, Children	Poor (wage labor, farmers, small business)	Bangladesh Medical Research Council and McGill University	Save the Children International's Bangladesh office

Tofail et al., 2013	Cluster-randomized controlled trial	Non-anemic: 209 dyads Iron-deficient: 225 dyads	Mothers, Children	Poor	ICDDR, B	Nestlé Foundation and ICDDR, B
Hamadani & Tofail, 2014	Mixed method	Not mentioned	Fathers, Mothers, Children	Upper, middle and lower	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
Nahar et al., 2015	Randomized control trial	507 dyads	Mothers, Children	Poor	ICDDR, B	Sida/SAREC, Sweden
Hackett et al., 2015	Descriptive qualitative	70	Young mothers, nulliparous adolescent girls	Not mentioned	BRAC University	BRAC, the Canadian Institutes of Health Research, and the Canada Research Chair Program
Chan et al., 2017	Multi-country cross-sectional	1301	Fathers	Not mentioned	ICDDR, B (In case of Bangladesh)	UK Government, and Seed Funding Programme for Basic Research, The University of Hong-Kong
Fulu et al., 2017	Standardized population-based household surveys	Rural: 1143 Urban: 1252	Fathers	Not mentioned	ICDDR, B (In case of Bangladesh)	UN Population Fund in Bangladesh

(Continued)

Table 1: Continued

Author	Research design	Sample size	Participants	SES of participant	Ethics approval body	Funding source
Begum et al., 2018	Randomization in sampling. Did not mention study design	882 couples	Both parents	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
Naila et al., 2018	Purposive sampling	95	Mothers and alternative caregivers	Low and middle	ICDDR, B	Bill & Melinda Gates foundation

2010), parenting attitudes (Begum et al., 2018), parental involvement (Chan et al., 2017; Hamadani & Tofail, 2014; Jesmin & Seward, 2011), and fatherhood (Ball & Wahedi, 2010). Eleven other studies researched parenting aspects such as responsive feeding and psychosocial stimulation as part of nutrition-focused projects (e.g., Aboud & Akhter, 2011; Hamadani et al., 2006). A thorough synthesis of the 20 selected papers generated the following themes:

The Concept of Parenting

In the selected papers, parenting is conceptualized in terms of attitude, discipline, feeding, interaction, and play as part of psychosocial stimulation for children. Mothers are regarded as the primary caregivers, and fathers are perceived as supporting childrearing through outdoor activities and financial provision (Ball & Wahedi, 2010; Jesmin & Seward, 2011).

Psychosocial stimulation and mothers' knowledge of children's developmental milestones received focus in parenting practice literature in Bangladesh (see Aboud et al., 2008, 2013; Hamadani et al., 2006; Hamadani & Tofail, 2014; Nahar et al., 2009, 2012, 2015; Tofail et al., 2013). In the reviewed literature, mothers are predominantly considered the primary parents, and activities such as feeding, controlling, disciplining, stimulating for cognitive and language development, and strictness to conform to rigid social values have been regarded as parenting (Aboud, 2007; Aboud et al., 2008, 2009, 2013). These elements seem to constitute the concept of parenting as studied in Bangladesh and are merged into maternal care.

Feeding: An Important Parenting Aspect

Eight of the 20 studies focused on feeding children. These studies examined children's physical development and the development of independence through training mothers in responsive feeding. Where responsive feeding contradicted the mothers' values of childcare, mothers from those studies showed their concern in their children's physical development but ignored responsive and self-feeding training of children (Aboud et al., 2008, 2009).

A large proportion of rural Bangladeshi mothers and caregivers had superstitious beliefs. Believing colostrum to be spoiled milk because of "bad air," they opted to feed pre-lacteal liquids such as water, honey, fruit juice, and tinned or fresh cow's milk (Hackett et al., 2015, p. 179). According to folklore, feeding honey as a pre-lacteal food will make the child sweet-tongued (Hackett et al., 2015; Hamadani & Tofail, 2014). Mothers and caregivers were found to feed complementary food prior to the WHO-and UNICEF-recommended six months. In one study, 26% of the participants recommended that breastmilk should be refused during a baby's illness believing that it was spoiled and contributed to childhood illnesses. This stemmed from people's belief in supernatural forces that cause breast milk to spoil if the mother goes out to the toilet at night (Hackett et al., 2015).

The available literature presents different feeding practices in urban versus rural residential areas as well as in different socio-economic classes. Parents in

urban settings prepared specially cooked, mashed and pureed food for toddlers; however, parents in villages fed regular solid food (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014). Although the approach to feeding preschoolers seemed to vary according to parents' socio-economic status, there were commonalities in practices of feeding children younger than three years. Hamadani and Tofail (2014) reported that usually, middle and upper-class parents fed preschooler children themselves, whereas parents from poorer circumstances demanded their preschoolers to feed themselves because parents lacked time to do so. Mothers, irrespective of socio-economic status, were reported to feed their toddlers themselves. Consequently, several research projects trained parents to teach children under two years to feed themselves (Aboud & Akhter, 2011; Aboud et al., 2009; Hackett et al., 2015). Mothers were the common research subjects in research on responsive feeding, appetite identification and response, and verbal communication about feeding (Aboud & Akhter, 2011; Aboud et al., 2008, 2009, 2013). Responsive feeding was found to contribute to achieving self-feeding skills, and thus achieving independence. It was also found to contribute to overcoming malnutrition (Hamadani et al., 2006). One study identified some strategies the mothers in Bangladesh used in feeding children, which included offering favorite or sweet foods, engaging in playful conversation while eating, and providing children with the food they requested (Naila et al., 2018).

The literature captured Bangladeshi mothers' practice of force-feeding upon their children's refusal to eat (Aboud et al., 2008; Hackett et al., 2015; Hamadani & Tofail, 2014; Moore et al., 2006). Force-feeding included pushing another spoonful of food when a child resisted, or threatening to give the food away, and pressing the child to eat quickly, saying "hurry, hurry" (Aboud et al., 2008, p. 280). One reported reason behind this feeding practice was the mothers desire for their children to finish the whole meal quickly. Researchers also observed that mothers avoided allowing self-feeding because self-feeding materialized at a slow pace and took a child extended time to finish a meal (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014).

Responsive feeding has been regarded as an important aspect of the reciprocal parent-child interaction during meals and play (Black & Aboud, 2011). Responsive feeding training was provided to mothers in five studies in an attempt to change the traditional norm of force-feeding (Aboud & Akhter, 2011; Aboud et al., 2008, 2009, 2013). These studies reached a firm conclusion that psychosocial stimulation and responsive feeding effectively contributed to weight, height, cognitive and language development of undernourished children. However, the training reportedly failed to bring any change in conventional force-feeding behavior (Aboud & Akhter, 2011; Aboud et al., 2008).

Expression of Warmth

Because of the cultural belief that children are spoiled if shown overt parental affection, Bangladeshi parents do not usually show overt affection or praise their children (Aboud et al., 2013; Hamadani & Tofail, 2014). In the extracted literature, the authors found that researchers studied warmth as a supporting component to

feeding only, instead of as an aspect of parenting. Feeding times were considered periods of learning, and love was shown by talking to children and maintaining eye contact. An expression of warmth was also used to promote feeding. While warmth and attachment to one's baby are considered important for child development from a predominantly Western viewpoint (Bowlby, 1960, 1982; Pietromonaco & Barrett, 2000), the lack of research on this topic in Bangladesh may suggest that this society does not place great importance on these elements of parenting. It is also possible that these concepts are grounded in a different way in the Bangladeshi cultural context, which could be explored through open-ended methods (Abels, 2007).

A Parent's Roles

Mothers were the subjects of research in 17 out of the selected 20 parenting-related studies. Fathers were the study population in five of the 20 papers in this review and were the sole participants in only three studies (Ball & Wahedi, 2010; Chan et al., 2017; Fulu et al., 2017). In the available studies, the word *mother* was used interchangeably with *parent* (Aboud, 2007; Aboud et al., 2013).

Parents play diversified roles in different cultures (Nduna & Khunou, 2014). Children in Bangladesh usually reside with their parents. In Bangladesh, parenting is a gendered responsibility where mothers were described as performing all the activities concerning childrearing and caregiving, except for carrying out tasks outside of the home and paying money to other parties, which usually involved fathers, who were perceived to play a disciplinary role (Fulu et al., 2017). Fathers were found to be physically present but absent in interaction as well as in showing love and overt expression of affection (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014). Fathers were reportedly less involved in hands-on childcare but assisted children with their studies and life-skills (Ball & Wahedi, 2010).

Minimal Parent–Child Interaction

Seven studies revealed the absence of play and interaction between parents and children. Parents were described as predominantly involved in directive rather than interactive communication with their children (Aboud, 2007). The lack of interaction and communication placed children at risk of slow cognitive and language development. It also put children at risk of sexual abuse because they lacked understanding of such negative experiences (Aboud & Akhter, 2011; Aboud et al., 2013; Hamadani et al., 2006; Hamadani & Tofail, 2014; Nahar et al., 2015).

Emphasis on Education

The literature revealed that child education is valued and is a priority among parents in both urban and rural areas in Bangladesh. Elias (2006) assessed the effects of parent–child interaction on children's academic achievement. Irrespective of educational status, middle and upper-class parents in urban areas strongly encouraged their children into early schooling (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014).

Corporal Punishment as a Parenting Norm

In Bangladesh, the primary responsibility of childrearing was up to the mother, and physical hitting to enforce discipline was part of this responsibility (Fulu et al., 2017; Jesmin & Seward, 2011). Four among the 20 papers discussed parents' use of corporal punishment or punitive parenting as a common disciplinary technique among Bangladeshi parents (Biswas et al., 2010; Fulu et al., 2017; Hackett et al., 2015; Hamadani & Tofail, 2014). Punitive disciplinary styles, strictness or rigidity in enforcing conformity to rules, controlling of child behavior and no conversing with children may be regarded as traditional practices among Bangladeshi parents, which were reflected in a number of studies (e.g., Aboud et al., 2013; Hackett et al., 2015; Hamadani et al., 2006; Hamadani & Tofail, 2014; Nahar et al., 2012).

Bangladeshi parents were found to practice negative discipline such as scolding, hitting, and slapping. Hamadani and Tofail (2014) found that 80% of children had received minor punishment by the age of 18 months, 43% had received severe, and 27% had received profound levels of punishment. A cycle of abuse has been described in the literature, suggesting childhood trauma resulting from punitive parenting, which may lead to experiencing or perpetrating violence in adulthood. Therefore, positive parenting and gentle disciplinary techniques were recommended and have more recently been incorporated into child development training programs (Fulu et al., 2017; Aboud et al., 2009).

Discussion

Characteristics of the Literature on Parenting in Bangladesh

This review accessed 20 articles published within a period of 12 years. This suggests a dearth of research on this topic, with less than two papers on average per year in the whole country. The dominance of quantitative research among these articles is notable and may be attributed to the fact that most of the studies were part of funded intervention projects, and because developmental partners placed great importance on measurable outcomes (Lewis & Carruthers, 2013; Stoecker, 2005).

Research on parenting has been conducted mostly as a part of other major studies, for example, as part of nutrition-focused studies. Thus, parenting has often received only a partial focus in child development-related literature. Among the available 20 pieces of literature reviewed, parenting received an independent focus in only four papers, including one book chapter that focused exclusively on childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014). As a vital component in child development, an independent and intensive focus on parenting is needed.

Conceptualization of Parenting in Research Studies

Mothers were the focus as the primary caregiver in most of the studies. Similarly, mothers were observed to be the primary caregiver in other countries in East Asia and Southeast Asia, such as China, Japan, the Republic of Korea,

Singapore, Malaysia, India, Pakistan, Vietnam and the Philippines (McHale et al., 2014). A rich discussion on fathers' involvement and fathering practices is present in the journal article by Ball and Wahedi (2010). However, this study's potential limitation includes that it is an impressionistic paper from the authors' clinical practice experience and general observations, and therefore lacks scientific rigor and objectivity. The father's role as a financial provider was prominent in the reviewed literature. Similar roles were found to be played by fathers in India (Sriram & Navalkar, 2013; Sriram & Sandhu, 2013), Pakistan (Jeong et al., 2018; Zaman, 2014), Vietnam (Mestechkina et al., 2014), Malaysia (Hossain, 2014), China (Li & Lamb, 2015), Zimbabwe (Moyo & Schaay, 2019), and South Africa (Richter et al., 2010).

Hossain (2013) also found similar gender role division of parenting in Bangladesh. Comparable observations have been reported in different parts of the world where fathers principally play the role of breadwinners and motherhood is observed to be central in child-care and parenting (Cowdery & Knudson-Martin, 2005). Parents' roles and collaboration is an issue in many countries, depending on parents' perceptions of gender roles.

The gender theory and role theory explain the patriarchy in Bangladesh, which is backed up by the financial power of men who, for centuries, have been the only earning member of the family. This situation has only recently started to change with women entering the workforce. Thus, Bangladeshi mothers traditionally place value on their mothering role. A study of a diverse sample including British American, African American, Hispanic, Asian, and Eastern European participants revealed that the belief in mothers' natural talent for childcare and idealized views of motherhood are the bases of mothers' prominent roles in child-care occur even in gender-equal societies (Cowdery & Knudson-Martin, 2005; Renk et al., 2003).

Studies that implemented parenting programs targeted mothers as primary caregivers and did not involve fathers. It could be argued that this entrenches the status quo. Because children in Bangladesh usually live with both parents, sometimes with extended family members, the authors believe that involving fathers and other extended family members in training programs is important for children's exposure to consistent parenting attitudes and behaviors.

Another salient omission in the parenting training approaches is that they are based on Westernized literature, without examining the extent to which Westernized concepts are accepted by Bangladeshi mothers. However, despite force-feeding being a traditional norm in Bangladesh, a series of studies motivated the mothers to stop force-feeding and trained them in the Westernized concept of responsive feeding, which the corresponding researchers believed to be the right feeding practice over force-feeding. Notwithstanding the apparent positive outcomes, before exploring and establishing a baseline of traditional parenting practices and assessing their effectiveness, experimental studies on the effectiveness of a foreign concept such as responsive feeding could be considered a form of neo-colonialism.

Historically, parents in Bangladesh emphasized education, which has been reflected in earlier parenting-related studies published before 1996, such as the writings of [Banu and Haque \(1985\)](#), [Begum \(1978\)](#), [Begum \(1996\)](#), and [Begum and Huq \(1988\)](#). Researchers of those papers assessed the effects of parents' attitudes, interest, and involvement in their children's adjustment to schooling and academic achievement.

Bangladeshi parents' emphasis on education has social implications. Culturally, they believe that education is a gateway to poverty alleviation and consider it a "passport" to employment in government services where status and financial security in society are assured ([Deb, 2014](#)). Therefore, opportunities abound to enter this dominant elite group. It brings the prestigious title of Bhadrak, meaning "the respectable people or gentleman" ([Broomfield et al., 1968](#), p. 5). This perception is linked to the twentieth century Bengali social class divisions based on the stigma attached to physical labor ([Brosomfield et al., 1968](#)). While Bangladeshi fathers pay close attention in their children's education and school performance, mothers spent significantly more time helping their children meet their academic goals ([Hossain, 2013](#); [Hossain & Atencio, 2017](#)).

A recognition of the value of education is shared among parents across South Asia ([Isaac et al., 2014](#)). Parents in urban Bangladesh are in a practice of providing early schooling to their children to ensure future financial independence. This may be motivated by the fact that the population in urban areas faces greater financial pressure because of the higher cost of living ([Banks et al., 2011](#); [Ravallion et al., 2007](#)). Ensuring financial security sometimes becomes more important than establishing parent-child interaction within a family, which is indicated by this study's findings on parents' emphasis on education and lack of attention to parent-child interaction. Indian parents were also seen to spend substantial time, money and energy on their children's education to secure a good future.

In Bangladesh, corporal punishment is considered an important parenting value. It is also a common practice in abusive and non-abusive families across the world, from North America to Africa to Asia, although the intensity and form varies across different social groups ([Danish & Iqbal, 2016](#); [Dawes et al., 2005](#); [Lansford et al., 2010](#); [Mayisela, 2018](#); [Rowland et al., 2017](#); South Asia Initiative to End Violence Against Children [SAIEVAC], 2011, p. 2). Usually, corporal punishment is used to make the child obey parents and protect children from becoming spoilt, a practice that is justified with the saying "spare the rod and spoil the child." Establishing parental control in this way is rooted in a power relationship between parents and their children ([Clément & Chamberland, 2014](#)). Parental violence towards children and harsh parenting practices appeared in seven of the 20 studies (including [Biswas et al., 2010](#); [Fulu et al., 2017](#); [Hamadani & Tofail, 2014](#)). However, an in-depth understanding of the nature of harsh parenting, disciplining, and the conditions that encourage or discourage these behaviors is lacking. The motivation behind the use of corporal punishment in Bangladesh may be rooted in and supported by the social expectation of unconditional respect and obedience to elders and the elderly in Bangladeshi society.

Research Recommendations

Research and policy need to address parent–child interaction and communication among the Bangladeshi population. Even though child sexual abuse is prevalent in Bangladesh (Tithila, 2019), it does not appear that parents, schools, or other authorities educate children about this risk. Consequently, children also do not communicate with their parents regarding any abuse that may have taken place (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014), thereby the relationship between parents and children is delimited. There is a need to research the relationship patterns between parents and children and the implications for both parties.

The authors found a scattered and uncoordinated discussion on different parental practices in the available papers. No dimension of parenting practice, except for feeding, has been researched extensively. The diversity of contexts and different influencing factors in parenting in Bangladesh has not received adequate focus in the available literature. The role of socioeconomic factors in parenting has been largely overlooked. The available studies were predominantly conducted in rural areas with participants from poor and lower socio-economic status. There is also bias from specific geographical locations where the organizations conducted implementation research on the mainstream population. Thus, the findings do not represent other parts of Bangladesh.

The available literature covered limited components of proximity, parental control, responsiveness, demandingness, and disciplinary dimensions of parenting. Examples of these components in respect to parenting dimensions are breast-feeding (proximity), force-feeding and responsive feeding (parental control), and corporal punishment (discipline). One paper (Hamadani & Tofail, 2014) discussed the absence of warmth and communication between parents and children. None of the available studies explored Bangladeshi culture-specific expressions of warmth with children. Therefore, we argue that Bangladeshi parenting research has scientific gaps. A study exploring parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers is currently being undertaken by the authors in response to this research gap.

Looking carefully into Bangladeshi culture suggests that a restless culture has developed over the past two decades. Various adolescent and youth gangs are being formed, who are committing crimes such as mugging, substance abuse, sexual harassment, drug trading, extortion, stalking, and killing rival gang members. Experts, from law enforcers, to sociologists, to religious leaders, attribute this to failure by parents in spending quality time with their children to ensure healthy social, emotional, and moral development (Saad & Rahman, 2020). From this perspective, studying parenting, fatherhood, and motherhood is crucial for future policy and social reform.

Study Strengths and Limitations

Reporting only statistically significant results causes publication bias (Mayisela, 2018). This literature review endeavored to overcome publication bias by reviewing research papers irrespective of reported statistically significant or non-significant results.

One potential limitation of this literature review is that it excluded unpublished theses because of the absence of research repositories at institutional and national levels. The authors were committed to obtaining a high standard of review by including only published research reports that have demonstrated consistency of quality by the journal reviewers and book editors (Broome et al., 1989).

The second limitation is the potential exclusion of possible research studies that may not have appeared in computerized search engines. According to Whittemore and Knafl (2005), searches in computerized databases generate about 50% of eligible studies because of problems associated with indexing and inconsistent search terminology. The authors attempted to overcome this limitation by using consistent search terminologies, networking with six researchers at the local level, manually searching some journals published in Bangladesh, and presenting papers at scientific conferences to access a greater number of local experts. Among the contacted six local researchers, there were two psychologists, two anthropologists, one sociologist, and one medical anthropologist. Four of them were researchers in the area of parenting, and the other two were professors who had taught child development at university level for many years.

Conclusion

This review presents one step towards forming a baseline for future research on contextual parenting practices in Bangladesh. The authors are aware that the population in Bangladesh is heterogeneous with various social classes, ethnicities, castes and religious differences. Even though small differences may exist, a common form of parenting practice can be expected, with possible exceptions among the Indigenous populations.

Extensive qualitative research is needed to further explore parenting practices and their relationship to social and cultural traditions and values. Researchers in Bangladesh need to pay attention to the currently ignored dimensions of parenting. This paper highlights the areas of parenting that have been researched and the areas that have been overlooked despite their importance in both research and practice. Furthermore, this paper compiles the findings of responsive feeding and psychosocial stimulation programs, which can be considered while developing local policies. Bearing in mind the current conditions of social unrest, the study's social reform perspective emphasizes the study of parenting, fatherhood, and motherhood for developing effective policies and practices to address the state of affairs in Bangladesh.

Note

1. Acknowledgement: UHJ conducted the review work and wrote the manuscript. MN supervised every step of this review, enriched the work with critical review and contributed to the writing of the manuscript. The support of the DSI-NRF Centre of Excellence in Human Development at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in the

Republic of South Africa towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not to be attributed to the CoE in Human Development. We thank Prof. Dr. Mahmudur Rahman, Department of Clinical Psychology, University of Dhaka, for supplying some valuable research reports to conduct this review work, and also acknowledge his constant moral support. Our cordial gratitude to the Father Connections research team (FACT), Dr. Clare Harvey and Elvis Munatswa from the University of the Witwatersrand for providing feedback while preparing this manuscript. FACT served as a reliable and professional technical board throughout the study for methodical and conceptual advice and rendered invaluable feedback on the preliminary analysis.

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Original Research

Construction of Protective Parenting Practices in a Transitional Social Context by Two Generations of Bangladeshi Mothers

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Received: 10/16/2024; **Accepted:** 02/13/2025; **Published:** 03/21/2025

Abstract: The construct of protective parenting in Bangladesh is understudied. To address this gap, this study explored how two generations of Bangladeshi mothers constructed protective parenting practices. This study followed a cross-sectional hermeneutic phenomenological research design. Using purposive sampling, eleven maternal grandmothers (first generation, G1) and eleven mothers (second generation, G2) were selected. Data were collected using semi-structured in-depth interviews and analyzed using the hermeneutic circle. Eight protective parenting practices were uncovered: monitoring and choosing friends for children, gender boundaries, chaperonage, arranging marriage, religious upbringing, engineering fear, observing traditional rituals, and saving money. While protective parenting values were sustained across both generations, differences were revealed between the G1 and G2's identification of security risks and modes of ensuring safety. The findings of this study emphasize the importance of considering cultural and social contexts in understanding parenting. The scholarly contributions of this article are the identification, contextualization, and definition of protective parenting practices. Additionally, this study contributes to research methodology discourses by presenting a parenting dimensions framework to study parenting practices in under-researched communities. In future studies, fathers, grandfathers, and paternal grandmothers should be included to glean a more complete picture of the protective practices of Bangladeshi parents. This study highlights the need to develop effective social safety policies with the efforts of administration, community organizations, and residents' representatives. This study also offers insights into rendering parenting interventions more culturally appropriate.

Keywords: *Protective Parenting, Transitional Social Context, Bangladesh, Culture and Tradition, Intergenerational*

Introduction

Protective parenting practices play a vital role in children's survival, nurturing the overall well-being and development of children. Despite its importance, the protective parenting construct is largely overlooked in parenting research (Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn 2017). Further, the influence of social context in the construction of protective parenting is understudied. This study investigates the construction of protective parenting practices by two generations of Bangladeshi mothers in their daily lives. This study also explores the role that social and cultural contexts play in this process.

Protective parenting encompasses a wide range of behaviors and strategies that are employed by parents or other caregivers to ensure the safety, security, and healthy development of children. Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn (2017) characterized protective parenting as an evolutionary behavior across species that complements “the innate bias of each newborn to strive for proximity to a potentially protective attachment figure” (47). On the other hand, Kiel and Buss (2011) conceptualized protective parenting as the presence of warmth, comfort, and restriction on children’s unwanted behaviors. Thus, researchers identified evolutionary, affective, and disciplinary characteristics.

Protection-Focused Parenting

The literature on protective parenting focuses on parental monitoring, positive discipline, and parental involvement. Parental monitoring is an essential element of protective parenting practices. Rodríguez-Meirinhos et al. (2020) and Velazquez et al. (2023) reported that consistent monitoring was associated with a lower incidence of externalizing behaviors, substance abuse, and engagement in risky activities among adolescents. Ryan-Pettes et al. (2022), on the other hand, recommended that parental monitoring only in the presence of consistent discipline is effective against marijuana use and associating with deviant peers in crime-concentrated neighborhoods. However, parental monitoring in early adolescence rather than late adolescence was suggested to be effective against associating with deviant peers and marijuana use (Booth and Shaw 2023). In the context of internet and technology development, parental monitoring is extended to track children’s, especially adolescents,’ use of social media, exposure to questionable content, national and cross-national cyberbullying, and cyberbully victimization (Baldry et al. 2019; Wang et al. 2005; Zhu et al. 2021). Sometimes, parents make an effort to reduce children’s technology and internet use and resort to parental control software to reduce young children’s exposure to inappropriate content (Gallego et al. 2020). The context naturally demands the development of children’s media use-specific family rules and parenting practices. Positive discipline reportedly protects children from physical, habitual, and psychological harm by promoting a nurturing and supportive environment that fosters healthy development. Studies by Adalbjarnardottir and Hafsteinsson (2001) and Bej (2016) found that children who experienced positive discipline were less likely to engage in socially risky behaviors and substance abuse, while Nelsen et al. (2016) discovered that this approach was also protective against depression. Furthermore, research by Bej (2016) and Durrant (2016) revealed that children who received positive discipline reported higher life satisfaction and self-esteem, dignity, and non-violent communication skills. Overall evidence suggests that positive discipline not only prevents physical and psychological harm but also promotes healthier habitual behaviors and enhances overall well-being. Likewise, parental involvement variables such as parents’ high aspirations for children’s success, parent–child communication, and parental encouragement

and support promote academic achievement (Boonk et al. 2018; Jaiswal and Choudhuri 2017). These factors also shape children's values, competence, and positive character traits (Brannon 2008). By so doing, parents promote high achievement and enhance their children's self-esteem.

Parents' use of protective and safety measures is commonly discussed in the context of high-risk neighborhoods (Jarrett 1999; Tillyer et al. 2018); child road-traffic accidents (Dellinger and Kresnow 2010); indoor and outdoor unintentional injuries, death (Kendrick et al. 2013); substance abuse, behavioral problems (Becerra and Castillo 2011; Pugh and Richter 2023; Simons-Morton 2004); and combating supernatural powers (Hamadani and Tofail 2014). Nevertheless, the literature on protective and safety measures in everyday parenting in Bangladesh is limited. This study aims to bridge this gap, and addresses the following questions: (a) What protective parenting practices do Bangladeshi mothers follow? (b) What roles do social and cultural contexts play in shaping protective parenting practices?

Culture in Contextualizing Parenting Behavior

Culturally specific variations in parenting motivate researchers to find culture-specific meanings. Baumrind (1966) and Maccoby and Martin (1983) suggest four parenting styles based on the North American, White, and middle-class populations. Domenech Rodríguez et al. (2009) found eight contextual parenting styles among Latino populations, one of which is protective parenting. The difference in findings suggests that parenting practices and styles are built upon socio-cultural needs, demands, and traditions.

Diverse belief systems around the world lead to diversity in the practices and meanings of child protection. For example, Zimbabwean mothers smear breast milk on babies' genitals to protect them from sex addiction in adulthood and to prevent them from having multiple partners (Kudzai 2013). Bangladeshi parents use kohl on a child's forehead or soles, and tie amulets in the home or on the baby, believing that these protect the child from "evil eyes" (cultural belief that people curse out of jealousy and send bad luck with a glare of eyes) (Hamadani and Tofail 2014). Some traditional beliefs related to child protection can be deadly. A study in Matlab, Bangladesh, identified the belief that if parents try to rescue their child who is drowning themselves, then the child would die (Blum et al. 2009). Consequently, parents would rather find a third party to rescue the child. Nordestino mothers in Brazil believe that children born weak and sick will be further damaged if they live. As a result, they let those sick children die by selective neglect (Scheper-Hughes 1993). These mothers believe they are saving their children from growing up as "deficient" or "burdens." These examples indicate that cultural beliefs and social contexts shape child protection strategies and suggest the importance of considering protective parenting within cultural contexts.

Theoretical Framework

Parenting practices are structural components of parenting dimensions. In the absence of a theory of parenting practice, I preferred to use parenting dimensions to study parenting practices in a less-researched Southeast Asian community. This was because of its capacity to accommodate culture-specific meanings (Stewart and Bond 2002). Parenting styles, on the other hand, are a cluster of parenting dimensions. Parenting styles may not untangle culture-specific elements of parenting. Based on this assertion, I analyzed existing parenting-related theories. These included Ainsworth (1979) and Bowlby's (1969) theory of attachment, Baumrind's (1967, 1989) theory of parenting typology, Gesell's (1952) theory of maturation, and Watson's (1928) behaviorism, emphasizing psychological care of infants and children. Five parenting dimensions were identified from the analysis: warmth, discipline, demandingness, proximity, and communication.

The warmth dimension is derived from the affective interaction concept of the theory of attachment (Bowlby 1969), sensitivity to children's needs and signals concept of Ainsworth (1967), and the affectionate expression concept of Baumrind's (1967) theory of parenting typologies. The discipline dimension lays its root in the concept of management of reinforcement and punishment for behavior modification of Watson's (1928) Behaviorism, and the concept of parental control of Baumrind's (1967) theory of parenting typologies. The demandingness dimension is derived from the permissive concept of Gesell's (1952) theory of maturation, and maturation demand concept of Baumrind's theory. The proximity dimension remains common in both the theory of attachment and the theory of parenting typologies' concept of warmth with a physical ground. Close proximity functions as a means of affiliation and non-verbal communication. In this regard, communication is also a common element of warmth and proximity. Moreover, the communication dimension also appears in the concept of discipline with both verbal and non-verbal media. Consequently, the communication dimension is deeply grounded in the theory of attachment, the theory of parenting typologies, and behaviorism theory.

Methods

The article explores two generations of Bangladeshi mothers' constructions of protective parenting practices from their lived experiences. Cross-sectional hermeneutic phenomenology design was followed from a social constructivist philosophical position. This article is based on a study conducted in Dhaka, Bangladesh, which investigated the general parenting practices of two generations of Bangladeshi mothers.

Study Site and Participant Selection

The study was conducted in Mirpur, Dhaka. Being the capital city and the center of administration, education, and opportunities in Bangladesh, Dhaka accommodates diverse residents from across the country. People from diverse subcultures of the broader Bengali culture live there. It is a city of migrants with predominantly nuclear family structures, which enables parents to be children's primary caregivers. This diverse population provided rich data.

A Short Description of the Context of the Study Site

Large-scale urbanization in Dhaka began in the 1990s, driven by inner migration and housing facilities for the middle-class population. Mirpur is predominantly a habitat of middle-class residents. The second wave of urbanization followed in the 2000s with notable developments in residential and commercial sectors. This second wave reformatted the cultural identity of migrants while eroding the traditional communal nature of the city (Rashid 2021). Subsequently, social bonding, values, and the sense of communal responsibilities were ominously impacted. Over time, Dhaka increasingly faced rising insecurity and crime. Reports from 2006 highlighted a rise in substance abuse, abduction, and gender-based violence (Hossain 2006), concerns that remain relevant to this day (Atkinson-Sheppard 2019).

Sample Selection and Participant Characteristics

Through purposive and snowball sampling eleven maternal grandmother (first generation, G1) and mother (second generation, G2) dyads were selected. The primary criteria of sample selection were that the mother (G2) participant would have at least one school-going child of grade 1 to 12 with an accessible grandmother (G1) participant, and that the participants would not have a developmentally challenged child. Incidentally, all participants were Muslims, likely due to the high density of the Muslim population (91.08%) in the country (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2023). The participants' socio-demographic information is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants

<i>Dyad #</i>	<i>Type of Participants</i>	<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Number of Children and Age Range</i>	<i>Level of Education</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Monthly Family Income (BDT)</i>	<i>Income Source</i>
1	Mother	Panna	42	1 (9 years)	Master's	Housewife	50,000	Husband's business
	Grandmother	Tara	56	4 (19–34 years)	Below SSC*	Housewife	100,000	House rent and husband's business
2	Mother	Dali	50	2 (18–29 years)	HSC**	Housewife	48,000	Rent and husband's job
	Grandmother	Hena	69	4 (33–52 years)	Grade 5	Housewife	35,000	Rent
3	Mother	Shirin	49	2 (9–18 years)	Master's	Housewife	40,000	Husband's job
	Grandmother	Fatima	60	3 (40–52 years)	Matric	Housewife	40,000	Rent and husband's pension
4	Mother	Tonu	37	1 (12 years)	Master's	Housewife	35,000	Husband's job
	Grandmother	Mina	62	3 (29–41 years)	Matric	Housewife	25,000	Rent
5	Mother	Shoshi	48	2 (17 years twins)	HSC	Housewife	50,000	Husband's business
	Grandmother	Rehana	66	2 (45–48 years)	Grade 8	Housewife	100,000	Rent and husband's pension
6	Mother	Pinky	30	2 (1–7 years)	Master's	Housewife	50,000	Husband's job
	Grandmother	Jahan	49	3 (19–30 years)	SSC	Housewife	40,000	Rent
7	Mother	Piu	28	2 (3.5–8.5 years)	HSC	Housewife	45,000	Husband's job
	Grandmother	Amena	48	3 (17–28 years)	Grade 5	Housewife	32,000	Husband's job
8	Mother	Farida	46	2 (14–19 years)	Master's	Advocate	85,000	Rent, occupation, and husband's business
	Grandmother	Jobaida	80	9 (N/A)	Grade 5	Housewife	35,000	Rent

9	Mother	Charu	48	2 (12–21 years)	Master's	Teacher	70,000	Rent, profession, and husband's job
	Grandmother	Khadija	66	2 (32–48 years)	< Grade 5	Housewife	25,000	Rent
10	Mother	Dina	34	2 (6–12 years)	Master's	Teacher	100,000	Occupation and husband's business
	Grandmother	Sharifa	51	4 (22–34 years)	Below matric	Housewife	50,000	Husband's job/pension
11	Mother	Jhumjhum	36	1 (12 years)	Master's	Banker	80,000	Occupation and husband's job
	Grandmother	Kahi	57	5 (22–38 years)	Below matric	Housewife	120,000	Rent and son's contribution

*Secondary School Certificate

** Higher Secondary School Certificate

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected using semi-structured in-depth interviews in Bengali language from July 2017 to December 2017. Participants were assigned pseudonyms, and the recorded interviews were translated, transliterated (Regmi et al. 2010), and transcribed (Duranti 2009) into English. Semantic (Chang et al. 1999) and cultural equivalence (Verkhovtsova 2023) was emphasized during the process. NVivo 10 software was used for data management. Data were analyzed inductively using the hermeneutic circle. I read and re-read the transcripts and field notes to understand the parts and wholes of the stories, and to generate initial codes. Then I categorized the initial codes based on similarities of function and perspectives. Reading and re-reading the initial code categories, texts, research aims, and research questions helped in generating broader themes, sub-themes, and interpretations of the meanings of participants' lived experiences. This process was repeated several times until finalizing the article. A research supervisor verified the themes and analysis. As a cultural insider, I used my foreknowledge in the data analysis process and was aware of altered perspectives and interpretations of the participants in the text. The research supervisor checked for personal biases throughout the analysis. Thus, I was constantly aware of researcher biases and was sensitive to the "alterity" of the text (Gadamer 2004, 268–273).

Research Ethics

This study secured ethics approval from the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa, and University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. Both verbal and written information regarding the study was provided to participants. Participants signed consent forms for study participation and audio recording of the interviews. Pseudonyms were used to ensure participants'

confidentiality. Data were preserved in a password-protected computer. No monetary incentive was provided to research participants, but food was offered reciprocally as part of showing respect to the participants' culture of hospitality (Mookherjee 2008). This also helped build rapport. To prevent possible emotional harm to the participants, an arrangement was established with a government-funded trauma support and psychotherapy service center. Participants were offered the option of self-referral to the services upon demonstration of strong emotional reactions in the interview sessions.

Findings

Data suggest that participants constructed protective parenting practices when interacting with their mothers, husbands, family members, children, culture, and social contexts. Parental practices were constructed around children's physical, emotional, financial, behavioral, social, and spiritual well-being. Practices differed based on children's age and between generations. The participants' perceptions of contemporary society contextualized their constructions. Participants commonly practiced chaperonage, monitoring, selecting friends for children, arranging marriages, setting gendered boundaries, ensuring financial security, communicating, engineering fear, instilling religious values, and using traditional rituals to protect their children from harm.

"Good Company Makes One Good and Bad Company Damages"

This local proverb grounded the protective parenting construct of "Positive friendships cultivate growth, whereas negative ones cause harm," and the protective practice of monitoring children and their companions. This proverb emphasizes participants' efforts to guard their children's moral, habitual, and social safety in the community. Monitoring children's whereabouts and friends and connecting with friends' parents were practiced by both generations of mothers to protect their children from "bad company."

Sometimes, participants developed second-degree surveillance over their children by establishing relationships with neighboring peers and school guardians and connecting with children's friends. Two mothers (Charu and Farida) reported interviewing their children's friends about family backgrounds to assess whether they would be a good influence on their children. If the mothers were satisfied with these backgrounds, the mothers allowed their children to continue friendships, if not, they forced the children to disassociate. Farida established a friendly relationship with her son's friends to obtain daily information about her son and controlled his movements through directions given to those friends. When participants connected with the parents of their children's friends, they received the same responses in return.

Increased crime and substance abuse rates motivated G2 mothers to extend monitoring strategies, gendered boundaries, and the selection of friends. G2 mothers monitored children's

use of communication technology. Farida (46 years old) shared about her strategies: “I always keep the TV and computer in my drawing room....I place it in an open space so that I can keep an eye on them.” In the context of technological advancement in the 2000s, G2 mothers appreciated the virtues of technology yet were apprehensive of the freedom of communication and access to media, viewing it as detrimental as it exposed children to unwanted and culturally unacceptable content and attitudes. As a result, mothers undertook measures to protect their children from harmful use of technology. Some mothers controlled the usage of computers, televisions, and cell phones, and monitored the content of their children’s calls. Mobile phones were also a major tool for G2 mothers to monitor their children’s whereabouts. Shoshi (47 years old) elaborated on how she uses mobile phones in her son’s surveillance: “I check on my son’s whereabouts by calling [him] on his mobile...I confirm whether he truly went to the coaching center by overhearing the teacher’s and children’s voices around him.” The findings on this theme suggest that parents’ vigilance was a norm.

Tradition Embodies Protective Wisdom

Participants constructed protective parenting with wisdom, tradition and culture, and an attitude of safeguarding children. The practices of chaperonage, arranging marriage, religious upbringing, instilling fear, and observing traditional rituals were formed in this effort. While chaperonage and arranged marriage addressed physical and social protection, religious upbringing, instilling fear, and use of traditional rituals were expected to address moral, habitual, and spiritual protection.

Chaperonage: “It Is Not a Solution, but A Protection”

Chaperonage refers to accompanying children to their daily activities. “It is not a solution, but a protection” (Tonu, a 37-year-old mother). G2 mothers accompanied children to protect them from sexual harassment, abduction, road accidents, and dog attacks. G2 mothers reported expending enormous effort into chaperonage, but G1 mothers did not report as much concern or effort in this regard. G1 mothers reported accompanying daughters only while sleeping at relatives’ houses to protect them from sexual abuse. However, G1 mothers whose children recently graduated from school had similar concerns as G2 mothers. This was clearly articulated by Hena (a 69-year-old grandmother), “I didn’t accompany the eldest two daughters to school...they went by themselves along with some friends...But I accompanied the youngest two. This custom started when the little ones started kindergarten.”

Increased social insecurity and lack of mutual support in the community made a difference in the practice of chaperonage between G1 and G2 mothers. Daily news reports influenced mothers’ risk constructions. When G1 mothers raised their children in the 1970s, social relationships were strong, and spontaneous neighborhood watches existed. This was

unlike G2 mothers' experience in the 2000s. Pinky (a 29-year-old mother) reflected on the negative changes:

During our time, people around us knew us. But at present, no one knows their neighbors. Like, I don't know the people next door. If someone does anything bad to me, there is no neighbor to shout at that person or say, "She is Mr. X's daughter or she lives there!" [...] It was not like this during my growing-up time. I used to know everyone in our neighborhood. But my daughter does not even know how many people live in our building.

The G2 mothers accompanied their children from the first day of school through high school, and some even during their undergraduate years, and this was an enormous responsibility for participants in the absence of helping hands. Two G2 mothers quit their jobs, and another two did not seek any job despite financial hardship because no extended family member was available to accompany their children to school. The stay-at-home mothers' daily activities entailed ensuring a child's safety. Tonu (a 37-year-old mother) described her daily routine, "After having breakfast...like every day, I took him to the coaching center. I waited there. When his lessons ended, I dropped him off at school and came back home. Then I cooked quickly and went to pick up the boy."

Chaperonage as protective parenting demonstrated evidence of gendered roles in childcare. Mothers undertook the role of a constant protector, and their daily routine revolved around monitoring their children's safety, education, and daily activities. Mothers were expected to sacrifice their careers and personal time to ensure their children's well-being.

Arranged Marriage to Protect Children from Falling for the "Wrong" Partner

Arranging marriage was constructed as protective against marital crisis. Arranged marriage is a long-standing tradition. All the G1 and G2 mothers' marriages were arranged. Data suggests that G1 mothers enforced strict control over spouse selection, while G2 mothers were somewhat more flexible about children's choices. Even so, G2 mothers set predetermined criteria for a potential spouse, and if not met, the chosen partner would be rejected. The construction of protective parenting was linked to an expectation that children would trust parents' wisdom in spousal selection. Farida (a 46-year-old mother) reported how strict she was in her choice:

My only tension is that they might fall for the wrong kind of girl. I told my boys, "I have no problem with you dating or liking someone, but make sure it's the right type of person." Also, I would never accept affairs between age-mates. I made it clear to them...I won't allow it.

Use of Traditional Rituals

The performance of traditional rituals was constructed to be protective against supernatural dangers, one example being djinn (spirits who can possess humans). Performing traditional rituals was motivated by participants' protective attitudes and dedication to ensuring children's well-being. The participants believed in supernatural demonic spirits and their ability to harm pregnant women and newborns through generations. Rituals involved fire, salt, and restraining behaviors, and were specific to the child's developmental stages. Participants also believed that a mother's praise would harm children and reported the custom of not praising children in order to retain their good qualities.

The evening and nighttime were socially constructed to be dangerous in this regard. Families with a pregnant woman were only allowed to bring home fish and meat during the day. If fish or meat were brought in the evening, the family had to perform cleansing rituals to avoid being harmed by demonic spirits. Participants believed that evil spirits were attracted to sweets, fried food, and fish. To prevent harm to the fetus, newly purchased sweets or fried food were whirled through the fire before consumption. During Jhumjhum's (34-year-old mother) pregnancy, her mother, Kahi (57-year-old grandmother), instructed her to rest the groceries, fish, and meat for half an hour before handling, especially if brought after sunset. Kahi explained:

Djinn stay with raw fish, meat, and chicken...After others take care of groceries, you will get close to that half an hour later...Do not eat those uncleansed foods immediately! If it is a fruit or fried snack, whirl it on the fire, nicely! Otherwise, it would be harmful to both you and the fetus.

There were also rituals to follow post-childbirth. The 57-year-old grandmother, Kahi, cautioned her daughter Jhumjhum, a nursing mother, "If you go outside alone, do not directly go to the baby after return! Wash your hands and face, put some salt into your mouth, and touch the fire! Then you will cool down and go to the child!" "The fear of negative impacts should be instilled in childhood through storytelling so that children internalize it" (Dali, a 50-year-old mother participant).

Social context and culturally grounded wisdom directed the participants to instill fear in children through communicating and presenting evidence so that children would restrain themselves from risky and unapproved behaviors. One such example was smoking. Both generations of mothers instilled fear to protect children from undesirable outcomes from those behaviors. The fear seems to have originated from the mothers' anxiety regarding children's safety, and mothers passed that on to their children. Two grandmothers, Hena and Fatima, instilled the fear of kidnapping in their daughters so that the daughters would return home before evening. Hena's daughter Dali (a 50-year-old mother) imitated her mother's strategy and implemented it on her son. Being aware of the prevalence of smoking and drug

addiction among the younger generation, Dali was worried her son would be at risk of following suit. She used fear to prevent it, saying, “I always talked to him about ill health and cancer resulting from smoking, even during advertisement of cigarettes on TV...because once he develops a smoking addiction, it won’t be possible to change...no one can change this.”

Children Should Be Practitioners, but Not Extremists

Besides using fear, the participants also relied on religion to prevent undesirable habit formation in children. Religion in this community is constructed as a lifestyle. The participants engaged children in daily Islamic practices from pre-adolescence to build children’s moral foundations against “derailment.” This practice demonstrates the community’s engagement and level of trust in religion. Regarding religion, Charu (a 48-year-old mother) articulated, “If they [her children] become fully detached from religion, they may go to the [wrong] tracks. Their mind may be diverted to something else.” Dali emphasized the positive impact of religious practices, saying, “If a child prays five times salat, they grow good discipline!”

While the mothers were proactive in raising religious children, they were vigilant that children did not become extremists. Hena (a 69-year-old grandmother) identified extremism as one of the reasons to chaperone and monitor children. She made an example of a peer’s child: “If she [a peer] had chaperoned her son from the beginning before finding out that the kid read Shibir’s [Government-recognized extremist group] book, then he wouldn’t have gone that far!”

Data indicates that in the construction of protective parenting, mothers had to contest against a child growing up as a religious extremist even as they encouraged them to be religious. Mothers were aware of the difference and managed to draw a line between the two. They took the necessary steps to achieve these goals.

Girls Are Susceptible to Violence

Both G1 and G2 mothers exercised gender boundaries as a protective parenting tool. Gendered boundaries were constructed around girls’ vulnerability to sexual violence both in domestic and public spheres. Boys’ vulnerabilities were underreported. Participants did not allow daughters to talk to male cousins in private, nor allowed visits to neighbors’ or relatives’ homes or sleepovers unless accompanied by the mother. Jobaida (an 80-year-old grandmother) was stricter. She did not let her daughters go outside in the afternoon, evening, or at night. Religious restrictions on mingling with the opposite gender beyond marriage reinforce these practices. Fatima (a 60-year-old grandmother) highlighted: “My father [and] my mother [were] Islamic minded...they used to tell me, ‘Don’t go to a house where a boy lives! Keep safe from boys, from men...!’ Girls of my father’s family didn’t interact freely with boys.”

All participants in this study tended to reduce male contact with their daughters. For example, Hena (a 69-year-old grandmother) learned tailoring to avoid a male tailor taking her daughters' body measurements. Hena's daughter Dali (a 50-year-old mother) followed the same practice. Setting behavioral boundaries for girls is an example of gendered practices in the community. While they applied various restrictions on girls to protect them from men-perpetrated sexual violence, no participant reported their awareness about boys' vulnerability. None of the participants reported posing restrictions on boys, nor reported any parenting measures taken to prevent boys from becoming perpetrators of sexual violence.

Financial Resources Are Vital for a Better Future

Financial planning was viewed as a tool to secure children's future and to protect them from the effects of financial crises. Mothers invested in career-based higher education for their children and supported the expenses of children's major life events such as weddings, which were culturally determined responsibilities of parents. Data revealed sacrifices made by parents and the range of financial protection they provided to their children. They began financial planning in their early lives, reflecting a shared value across generations. Jhumjhum (a 34-year-old mother) began purchasing jewelry for her future daughter-in-law before her son turned 10, albeit acknowledging that "city-boys" usually get married after securing a stable income. She said, "His [son's] father wants to make him a pilot, and a certain amount of money is already saved for that...I have planned to arrange my son's wedding more luxuriously...I started to make gold ornaments bit by bit...because I cannot buy [them] all at once."

While parents saved money for children's future needs, they traditionally limited young children's direct access to money to prevent them from derailment. Establishing children's financial security was an ingredient of their peace and pleasure. The traditional social system in Bangladesh discourages individual identity in favor of family identity. Resultantly, other family members share financial responsibilities for one member. A G1 participant, Kahi (57 years old), highlighted that spending savings on children's weddings was a norm, "I saved money tolerating a lot of hardships. Then I arranged my daughters' weddings...I spent all the remaining money on my youngest son's wedding...The lion's share was contributed by my elder son; then by me and my daughters."

Tara (a 56-year-old grandmother) envisioned financial security for her grandchildren through investing in her children's education and promising careers. This indicates that a mother's concern was not limited to her children but also extended to grandchildren. Tara said, "If our children do well, they will be able to make their children do well. If they study well, learn well, and do a good job, they will be able to mold their children...I also think of their children...I want them to live affluently."

Discussion and Conclusion

This study's findings revealed four constructions of protective parenting, supported by eight protective parenting practices identified across two generations of Bangladeshi mothers. Protectiveness was found to be a prominent parenting value, which echoes the findings of Horwath et al. (2008), where Bangladeshi participants reported constant concerns about children's safety. By analyzing and comparing the philosophies of the eight protective parenting practices with each parenting dimension of the theoretical framework, a clear connection to the conventional parenting theories is established.

The protective parenting practices found in this study transcend the five theoretically grounded parenting dimensions: warmth, proximity, communication, demandingness, and discipline. Protective parenting strategies evolved out of parental love and sacrifice. These strategies have elements of demandingness where they engage children's lifestyles and choices. Demandingness is expressed through mothers' commands over children's friends and spouse selection. Chaperonage illustrates the proximity dimension, and the practice of engineering fear encompasses components of the communication dimension. The disciplinary dimension of parenting manifests in mothers' enforcement of various rules and gendered boundaries. Thus, the protective parenting of Bangladeshi mothers emerges as a distinct phenomenon, heavily influenced by values, culture, and social context.

No available definition is comprehensive enough to explain the type of protective parenting practices found in this study. Therefore, based on this study, I define protective parenting practice as culturally and contextually grounded practices that parents learn from earlier generations and adapt according to emerging needs of ensuring safety and security for their children in various aspects including physical, emotional, social, spiritual, and financial. This definition encompasses the interpersonal, social, and cognitive aspects and culture-grounded elements of protective parenting practices.

While my definition emphasizes the interpersonal, social, cultural, and cognitive aspects of protective parenting practices, Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn (2017) focuses solely on the evolutionary aspect. However, Mowder (2005) asserts that the protective characteristics of parents change over time in response to personal experiences, child characteristics, and the cultural milieu. My definition partially aligns with that of Mowder (2005), who accounts for personal, interpersonal, and cultural aspects.

Due to its social and cultural aspects, protective parenting practices appear differently across cultures, and even differently across time periods and contexts within the same culture. This study supports this, particularly in the case of chaperonage and monitoring practices. While protective parenting practices were primarily learned from earlier generations (Jasmine et al. 2025), Bangladeshi mothers adapted child-protective strategies based on social insecurity and traditions.

Social insecurity in Dhaka can be attributed to modernization-generated social changes (Khan et al. 2014). While modernization affords opportunities, education, technology, and structural development, it also brings compounded crime. Crimes and the number of strangers have been amplified in the neighborhoods of Dhaka due to increased internal migrations (Islam et al. 2022) of opportunity seekers. Ineffective policy provisions, failure in policy applications, and a deficient law enforcement system caused a crime surge in Dhaka (Akter and Aziz 2020; Hasan and Khatun 2020; The World Bank 2007). All these factors potentially contributed to parents' apprehension of victimization, which motivates practices of chaperonage, monitoring, communication, and instilling fear in children (Skogan 2012).

The practice of chaperonage appeals to three levels. Firstly, on an individual level, it denotes intense feelings of social insecurity among parents. Secondly, at the community level, it signals parents' struggles against social insecurity. Thirdly, at the societal level, it demonstrates unequal gender roles. With these three levels of appeal, the findings on chaperonage as a protective parenting practice are powerful.

Social insecurity-persuaded needs for chaperonage pressure mothers to be available for children's daily activities. Culture expects that women would sacrifice their careers to support children. In combined effect, this potentially impedes progress toward achieving Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5, which is to "achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" (United Nations General Assembly 2017, 18). Thus, this study calls for efforts to deal with social insecurity to support Bangladesh's achievement of SDGs.

Monitoring as a protective parenting strategy has been found effective in lessening behavioral problems when practiced in high-risk neighborhoods. Ahmed and Hossain (2015), and Pugh and Richter (2023) found monitoring to be effective in mitigating substance abuse risks. Rodríguez-Meirinhos et al. (2020) and Velazquez et al. (2023) reported an association between constant monitoring and lower incidence of substance abuse, and children's lower involvement in risky behaviors. Future research can explore the effectiveness and implication of monitoring on children and parents in Dhaka.

Bangladeshi mothers used traditions and wisdom in their efforts in arranged marriage, religious upbringing, saving money, imposing gendered boundaries, and observing traditional rituals to protect their children from harm. Modernization changed the society and social relations (Khan et al. 2014), yet arranged marriage remains customary in Bangladesh (Peterson et al. 2011) and the Indian subcontinent (Allendorf and Pandian 2016). It is customary that there be an age gap between spouses in Bangladeshi marriages, where the wife ought to be younger than the husband. This is due to a belief that an age gap facilitates women's respect toward a husband. Furthermore, there is a belief that women age faster than men and that a wife must be younger than her husband in order to care for him in his old age. However, parents have begun taking interpersonal compatibility into account (Allendorf and Pandian 2016; Fuller and Narasimhan 2008). Literature suggests recent changes in children's use of their agency to negotiate their preferences with parents (Allendorf and

Pandian 2016; Schaffnit et al. 2023). This supports the findings that G1 mothers allowed children to choose a partner within parents' predetermined criteria, and this change might have occurred as an impact of modernization. Research on arranged marriage as a protective parenting strategy would unfold the aspects parents intend to protect children from in married lives, how young people use their own agency and partner compatibility.

The efforts of mothers within this study to provide financial protection to their children resonate with the sentiment of a communal culture where siblings and extended family members also participate in the effort (Khaliq 2022; Della Puppa and Ambrosini 2022; Schaffnit et al. 2023). This practice was constructed in the absence of structural financial support systems in the country, such as wedding finance, unemployment benefits, government housing, childcare, free healthcare, or support for educational expenses. Literature suggests that financial support between parents and children is mutual in Bangladeshi families. Traditionally, adult sons take over the financial responsibilities for the extended family from their fathers (Jasmine and Nduna 2022). Daughters have also started to contribute (White 2007). Through mutual support, Bangladeshi families try to beat the lack of structural support.

Gendered norms and practices informed by religion are evident in Bangladeshi societies starting from jurisdiction to education, marriage, employment, and health (Adams 2015; Ferdous and Mallick 2019; Lata et al. 2021; Robin et al. 2019). Gender boundaries in protective parenting are not a discrete matter, and has been informed by Quranic verses (for example, Qur'an 33:32, 53, and 59; 24:31; Shaheen International 2004) that encourage both men and women to maintain distance (Qur'an 33:32) and pose restrictions on interaction between a woman and non-related men (Qur'an 33:53; Shaheen International 2004) and girls maintaining a veil as an attire to protect themselves by hiding their attractiveness from men (Qur'an 33:59 and 24:31; Shaheen International 2004). Among the eight protective parenting practices, participants related two protective practices with the religion they followed, which was Islam. Quranic references are available in support of restriction in mixing of women and non-related men (Qur'an 33:32, 53 and 59; 24:31; Shaheen International 2004) and training children in religious practices (Qur'an 20:132; Shaheen International 2004). However, misinterpretation of the Quranic verses and the society misusing the verses in suppressing and depriving women of their rights, education, and professional development has been reported in literature (Kabeer 1991; Murshid 1997; Patoari 2019; Hannan 2016). A close examination is required to reveal how Islam is shaping the protective parenting practice of Bangladeshi mothers and the protective practices of setting social and behavioral boundaries for girls. This study finds persisting gender barriers for women in terms of free movement and pursuing careers. While gender boundaries are identified as protective parenting tools aiming to ensure girls' safety, literature reported those boundaries affecting girls' maternal health and access to healthcare in Bangladesh (Ahmed et al. 2021; Robin et al. 2019). These two findings bring to a logical estimation that social insecurity and culture-motivated gender

barriers are potentially contributing to persistent inequalities in healthcare access. Thus, they potentially erode the achievement of SDG 3: “Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages” (United Nations General Assembly 2017, 16).

In this study, boundaries, as a protective parenting tool, were found to be mostly applied to girls. While boys were regarded as a potential danger to girls, they were found to be excused from limit setting or moral training, preventing them from developing abusive behavior. Girls were constructed as weak and easy to victimize in this society. Further research may address whether the gender boundaries found in this study narrowed girls’ space to grow and access opportunities. Furthermore, the high incidences of gender-based violence and sexual abuse of women by acquaintances (54.4%, Tithila 2020) and non-family members (83%, Fattah and Kabir 2013) contradicts the intensive and extensive protective parenting practices. Therefore, a concern is raised about the effectiveness and long-term outcome of the identified protective practices.

South Asian parents, including Bangladeshi parents, embrace religion as a way of life for children to enable them to differentiate between right and wrong, to promote specific behavioral guidelines, restrain bad behavior, and thus limit troubles in life (Franceschelli and O’Brien 2014). This study’s findings support these assertions. Commitment to religion is also found to be protective against adult-onset drinking (Cheng and Lo 2018), juvenile substance abuse, and criminal offenses; however, disagreements remain regarding the “when” and “how” of the process (Saladino et al. 2024).

Traditional ceremonies are often compared with religions (Wati et al. 2019). The findings of this study suggest that both generations of Bangladeshi mothers constructed traditional rituals as pre- and post-natal protective tools. Sociologists in the Indian subcontinent and Bangladesh report that people believe in supernatural powers such as ghosts, djinn, and spirits, and that they perform rituals to protect children from intangible harm (Blum et al. 2009; Kakar 1979; Karmakar and Khan 2023; Winch et al. 2005). The findings of this study align with the available studies by revealing mothers’ beliefs in supernatural powers, notably the use of fire and salt.

Fear is a powerful tool of control. The framework, architecture, iconography, and targets of fear are important in this regard (Altheide 2002). The mothers’ intergenerational use of fear to control children’s movements and habitual behavior elucidated in this study aligns with the historic use of fear to control societies (Altheide 2002). It is a matter of further research whether mothers’ effort to generate fear in children is a transfer of parents’ fear and apprehension originating from children’s safety concerns in an insecure social context.

Selecting friends for children, arranged marriages, and ensuring financial security supports the culture of shared lifestyle in Bangladesh. In this context, children’s personal space and decision-making go underrecognized until children’s young adulthood, and family interest supersedes individual agency. However, globalization, media, and technology, an outcome of modernization, are wielding intense influence on third-generation children,

contributing to a generation gap between parents and children, shaping their sense of freedom (Habib et al. 2018), expression of opinion and personal boundaries (Yousuf 2023), and obedience to parents (Yousuf and Yousuf 2023). Resultantly, chaperonage and extensive monitoring of children might be perceived as parental intrusion and control, while the perception of control potentially generates parent–child conflicts (Fung et al. 2017; Gooman et al. 2012). Therefore, children exposed to globalization may substantially differ in responding to authority and protective measures of parents and grandparents. An in-depth investigation is warranted to reveal the implications of protective parenting practices for third-generation children.

The array of protective parenting practices reflects historical and contemporary safety concerns of parenting in Dhaka. Along with maternal grandmothers' influence (Jasmine et al. 2025), social insecurity was found to shape protective parenting practices, and impacted children's social and family lives, parents' careers, and financial planning. Besides, the impact of urbanization and globalization is traced in the shift from absolute arranged marriage to children's use of agencies, initiation of the practice of chaperonage, monitoring of children's use of phones and computers, and extensive monitoring of children's whereabouts out of a concern of substance use.

Social contexts, traditions, cultural beliefs, and modernization contributed to the construction of protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers. The findings highlight Bangladeshi mothers' compliance with cultural beliefs and traditional practices and stress the importance of social context and culture in understanding parenting. This study also reflects on a mother's extensive involvement in children's lives and establishes protectiveness as a parenting value of Bangladeshi mothers across generations. The exploration of protective parenting practices assisted in identifying threats and risks to children in Dhaka and parents' concerns for children's well-being. Therefore, this study is valuable for researchers, policymakers, and implementers for effective policy formulation and implementation. Here, highlighted is the need to develop effective social safety policies that incorporate the administration, community organizations, and residents' representatives to address the current demand for parental protection in raising children.

This article contributes to Indigenous knowledge and global parenting literature by identifying protective parenting practices, attitudes, the social and cultural context of those practices, and the definition of protective parenting practices. Furthermore, in presenting a parenting dimensions-based theoretical framework, this study contributes to the discourse of research methodology by offering a theory-based structure for understanding parenting practices—the structural components of parenting dimensions. This study conveys implications for offering parenting interventions to render such programs more culturally appropriate. It is important to note that Dhaka is unique in risks and opportunities, as well as in its social, economic, legal, and developmental parameters. Hence, protective parenting practices in Dhaka might not be inferred to other locations of the country.

Strength of the Study

In the scarcity of research revealing contextual parenting in Bangladesh, this study is a pioneer in exploring the protective parenting practices embedded in the socio-cultural background as well as in the inevitable influence of globalization and modernization. This study provides a baseline to engage with epistemic discourse around parenting, child development, and parent–child relationships in Bangladesh. However, except for the traditional rituals during pre- and post-natal periods, this study did not outline age-specific protective parenting practices, which are imperative to developmental psychology. Another limitation of this study is that it did not reflect on the impact of education on protective parenting practices. Future studies may research how parents’ education levels and children’s ages shape the protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers.

Policy and Research Recommendation

Based on the findings of this study, I recommend formulating social safety policies and generating specific strategies to reduce social insecurity and increase social protection for better achievement of several SDGs: gender equality, women’s empowerment, education and culture, care services, reduced inequalities, health, and justice. I also recommend that future studies include fathers, grandfathers, paternal grandmothers, and other contributing family members as participants. Since extended family members contribute to and influence parenting in Bangladesh (Jasmine et al. 2025), the complete spectrum of protective parenting practices might not have been reported here, as this study only included mothers and maternal grandmothers as participants. In addition, focused studies on protective parenting in other parts of the country would help in understanding the overall nature of protective parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers.

Acknowledgment

The support of the DST-NRF Centre of Excellence (CoE) in Human Development at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in the Republic of South Africa, toward this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not to be attributed to the CoE in Human Development. My gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Mzikazi Nduna, for guiding me throughout the development of the article. I am sincerely thankful to Wacango Kimani from Wits Writing Centre for coaching me in academic writing. The research participants gave their valuable time and shared personal experiences, which made this study possible.

AI Acknowledgment

Generative AI or AI-assisted technologies were not used in any way to prepare, write, or complete essential authoring tasks in the manuscript. The author confirms that they are the sole author of this article and takes full responsibility for the content therein, as outlined in COPE recommendations.

Informed Consent

The author has obtained informed consent from all participants.

Conflict of Interest

The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

Data Availability Statement

All relevant data are available at Jasmine, Umme H. 2025. "Coded Interview Excerpts About Protective Parenting Practices in Dhaka, Bangladesh." Qualitative Data Repository: QDR Main Collection. V1. <https://doi.org/10.5064/F6BBLHIM>.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices in Dhaka, Bangladesh

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Abstract

Intergenerational transmission of parenting practices is a new dimension of research in Bangladesh. This study used a social cognitive theory framework along with a theory of urbanization and a theory of modernization to examine the continuity of protective parenting practices across two generations. A cross-sectional hermeneutic phenomenological study design was followed from a social constructivist paradigm. Eleven maternal grandmothers (G1) and 11 mothers (G2) were purposively selected from Mirpur, Dhaka, Bangladesh. Data were collected through semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The mothers learned protective parenting practices from the grandmother generation through direct instruction, experience, observation, and modeling within an interaction of various social elements. Protective parenting practices were found to be essential and persisted with some modifications despite modernization. Based on the findings, a process model of intergenerational continuity of parenting practices has been offered, which depicts intergenerational learning within a transitional social context.

OPEN ACCESS

Citation: Jasmine UH, Nduna M, Nkala-Dlamini B (2025) Intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices in Dhaka, Bangladesh. PLoS ONE 20(2): e0300160. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0300160>

Editor: Srinivas Goli, IIPS: International Institute for Population Sciences, INDIA

Received: February 22, 2024

Accepted: January 24, 2025

Published: February 28, 2025

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Data availability statement: All relevant data are located at Zenodo.org (DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.14333627), and at Qualitative Data Repository (DOI: [10.5064/F6BBLHIM](https://doi.org/10.5064/F6BBLHIM)).

Funding: UHJ has received grants from the DST-NRF Centre of Excellence in Human Development, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa, for their PhD program from which this paper was produced. Grant number: D20190006 & D2020006.

Introduction

Intergenerational continuity of parenting

Intergenerational (IG) continuity of parenting practices delves into sharing parenting behaviors, values, and techniques across generations. Researchers started intergenerational parenting studies based on assumptions that parenting knowledge, practices, and styles are passed down to the following generations, and the following generations mimic parenting behaviors of their parents knowingly or unknowingly. IG parenting studies were started with retrospective data based on these appealing intuitions. However, because of the limitations of recall biases and people's tendency to validate their parenting behavior, researchers initiated prospective IG studies in the 1990s [1]. Terms such as intergenerational transmission, intergenerational continuity-discontinuity, and intergenerational stability-instability have been used in IG studies that communicate similar meanings with slight differences. Van Ijzendoorn [2, pp 76-77] defined intergenerational transmission of parenting as "the process through which purposively or unintendedly an earlier generation psychologically influences parenting attitudes and behavior of the next generation." However, it extends beyond individual families, as societal, cultural, and environmental factors play vital roles in this process

Their web address is <https://www.wits.ac.za/coe-human/>. UHJ also received a research grant from the Ministry of Science and Technology, Bangladesh, under the Research and Development (R&D) Project 2019 # 39.00.0000.012.002.05.19- (Serial# 158). Their website address is <https://grant.most.gov.bd/en/services/most/grants-application-r-and-d-project/>. The funder did not play any role in the study design, data collection and analysis, decision to publish, or preparation of the manuscript.

Competing interests: The authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

[3,4]. Intergenerational stability denotes similarities in rank order, whereas intergenerational continuities denote similarities in mean levels of behaviors across generations [1]. However, the term intergenerational continuity-discontinuity appeals to us in this fundamental study in the Bangladeshi context because we believe that the exploration of similarities and differences across generations should come first before stability rank order. We consider that intergenerational continuity is an active process where, consciously or unconsciously, both generations play an active role in the process.

Child developmentalists have been intrigued by the question, “Why do parents parent in the way they do?” [5,6]. Researchers determined to answer this question focusing on IG transmission/ continuity of parenting practices. Numerous studies investigating IG parenting have provided supporting evidence using multigenerational samples [2,7–10].

A literature review by Kerr and Capaldi [1] reported the paucity of IG parenting studies, and that the available studies mostly focused on problem outcomes such as psychopathology and substance abuse other than parenting itself. There are countless studies on the intergenerational transmission of corporal punishment and abusive and harsh parenting [5,11–17], while other parenting aspects received less attention. A couple of studies are found in the area of intergenerational transmission of attachment [18,19], parental monitoring [11], parental rejection [20], emotional warmth and acceptance [21], constructive parenting [22], and initial reaction [23]. Yet, exploration of intergenerational continuity of specific parenting dimensions that comprise a set of parenting practices is limited. As such, research on the intergenerational continuity of *protective* parenting dimension is limited except for the practice of parental monitoring, which is one of the practices of protective parenting dimension. While researchers in Western countries have examined intergenerational parenting transmission; parenting in general, protective parenting practices in particular, remains understudied in Bangladesh [24]. This study addresses research gaps by exploring the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices among urban-dwelling middle-class Bangladeshi mothers.

Modernization effects, economic and historical changes in society, culture, and the external world affected the context, attitude toward certain parenting behaviors, and outcomes [1]. After approaching millennium two, the number of women joining the workforce increased remarkably, which empowered the current generation of mothers in many ways, more importantly, financially and in decision-making. However, it also caused a mother's absence in childcare for a long period of a day. This indicated a possibility of intergenerational change in parenting practices and sharing parenting responsibilities with the father and/ or other family members. Increased substance usage in society, availability of contraceptives to decrease teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, availability of cell phones, and parents' and children's exposure to the internet and social media, have a bearing on real and perceived threats for children [1]. This appeals to different approaches to parenting while fundamental parenting concepts and practices could remain similar.

The impact of modernization might cause the dynamics of intergenerational continuity of parenting practice to be more complex than ever before. Traditional parenting knowledge and cultural practices, that conserve distinct customs and contribute to building resilience [25], might be lost if not passed over through media, mainstream education, and documentation [26]. Besides, intergenerational continuity of parenting practices in a shared communal culture like in Bangladesh might not be the same as in individualistic Western societies. In-depth exploration would inform the planning of parenting and child development programs for Bangladeshi communities to promote positive outcomes while reducing the negatives. In-depth exploration would also suggest effective modes of sharing and preserving parenting knowledge and would enrich Indigenous and global parenting literature.

Theoretical Framework

Psychologists and anthropologists regard social learning theory as a universal learning mechanism for cultural knowledge and practices [27]. Therefore, social learning theory is commonly discussed as a key mechanism of intergenerational continuity of parenting behaviors [9,17,28]. However, the social cognitive framework [29], a later version of social learning theory, was most suitable for this study. In addition to incorporating all the learning mechanisms, such as observation, direct instruction, and modeling, the social cognitive theory emphasizes a person's cognitive and decision-making aspects in learning and practices.

Although we started this study with a social cognitive framework, it was found inadequate to explain the data that emerged in the context of urbanization and modernization. Therefore, Wirth's [30] theory of urbanization, and Inkeles and Smith's [31] theory of modern man were added to the theoretical framework. The functionalist perspective of the theory of urbanization was used, which suggests that urbanization brings both positive and negative outcomes, and the residents respond to the effects with greater tolerance and creativity. The participants' creativity in responding to the urbanization-induced insecurity challenges in Dhaka city was addressed with this theory of urbanization.

The lens of the theory of the modern man [31] was used during data analysis, which states that a modern person- 1) keeps themselves updated about major events and news, 2) believes that their actions might affect his life course, and that his active efforts can improve his as well as his family conditions. 3). is independent of the traditional authority sources, and 4) is open to novel experiences. The theory also suggests that a modern person uses their choice and decisions and does not 'soak up' everything modernization brings [p 82]. This perspective aligns well with the cognitive aspect of social cognitive theory [29]. The emphasis on a person's free choice and decision-making skills of modernization theory also aligns well with the theory of urbanization [30], which emphasizes a person's creativity in responding to the effect of urbanization.

Study site and study population

This study focused on the parenting practices of the middle-class population of Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. The following matters were considered for choosing the middle class as the study population. The lives of the middle class generally center around their family; preparing their children for a bright future is their top priority. History suggests that the middle-class population played irrefutable roles in socio-cultural activities, intellectualism, political change, and leadership [32]. Besides, the middle class constitutes a large portion (25%) of the entire population in Bangladesh [32].

The study field, Dhaka, is densely populated, accommodating around 20 million people [33]. As the center of education, administration, and financial opportunities [34], this cosmopolitan city attracts around 30,000- 40,000 inland migrants every year [35]. It hosts people from various subcultures of Bengali culture. Consequently, we considered Dhaka an opportune setting to obtain enriched data on protective parenting.

In Dhaka city, huge-scale urbanization started in the 1990s when a large influx of inner migration and housing for the middle-class population started there. A second wave of urbanization took place in the 2000s with remarkable development in residential and commercial aspects. The urbanization process configured a new cultural identity for the migrants and tarnished the inherent nature of the community [34]. Sultana [36] reported that children in Dhaka city grew up in isolation inside homes with no interaction and not knowing the closest neighbors. This impacted their social bonding, social values, and responsibilities. Gradually, Dhaka has become a city of insecurity and crime. A rise in drug use, kidnapping, and violence

against women was reported in 2006 [37], which is also valid to date [38]. The study also reported increasing loss of trust and loss of mutual understanding among the residents.

In the last two decades, the Shahbagh, Uttara, Mirpur, and Mohammadpur areas of Dhaka city have been primarily occupied by middle-class people. Among these areas, Mirpur was selected as the study location based on one primary condition: greater access to the study site. The first author grew up in Mirpur and was an insider by residence and lifestyle. This helped to achieve trust and access in the community for data collection. Besides, around 47 percent of the population in Mirpur belongs to the middle class [34]. Around 45% of the total income of Mirpur residents comes from fixed jobs [34]. This helps them plan for the future of their children and families.

A threshold of USD 2-3 per capita per day income is considered to be included in the middle class [39]. A survey on the emerging middle-income class in Bangladesh revealed that the monthly family expenditure of 85% of middle-class households was between BDT 30K to 99K, 15% had BDT 100K to 250K, and a negligible number of households had BDT 250K [40]. The family income stated in Table 1 indicates that G2 participants belonged to the middle class. The family income during children's school-going stages of G1 participants was not collected because that would not explain their former socioeconomic status now. However, none of the participants reported or indicated poverty, financial hardship, or financial abundance while sharing their parenting experiences.

Method

This study used a social constructivist paradigm and a qualitative research approach. A cross-sectional hermeneutic phenomenological research design was followed. The study aimed to understand the meaning and process of continuity of protective parenting practices constructed in the Bangladeshi cultural context from the experiences of two generations of mothers. Purposive snowball sampling was used to recruit 11 mother-maternal grandmother dyads of participants from Mirpur in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Data was collected through semi-structured, in-depth interviews. Data was analyzed following a hermeneutic circle method.

Ethical considerations

Ethics approval was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee (non-medical) of the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa (protocol number: H16/06/38), and the Department of Clinical Psychology Ethics Committee, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh (project number: PH160603). For better communication with participants, the Bengali version of the participant information sheet and informed consent form were used. Besides, the first author, who was also the interviewer, explained the participant information sheet and informed consent form in Bengali for the participants' better understanding. Written informed consent was collected from all but one G1 participant (Khadija), who gave verbal consent because of having no trust in written consent.

The ethics application stated that the interviews would be conducted in private. Yet, the plan changed following the pilot study when the researchers discovered a shared sense of confidentiality in the population as part of a communal culture. Additionally, conducting interviews closed door affected rapport and brought family members' disappointments towards both the participants and the researcher. Participants also did not agree that closed-door privacy was necessary. Therefore, the following interviews were conducted keeping the door semi-closed. A semi-closed door communicated a sense of privacy and allowed interested family members to enter the room when deemed necessary.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of participants.

Dyads	Type of Participants	Pseudonym	Age in year	Highest Education obtained	Profession	Monthly Family Income (BDT) and sources	Number of children	Age range of children
Dyad # One	Mother	Panna	42yr	Masters	Housewife	50,000; Husband's business	1	9 yrs
	Grandmother	Tara	56yrs	Below SSC*	Housewife	100000; rent and Husband's business	4	19-34yrs
Dyad # Two	Mother	Dali	50yrs	HSC**	Housewife	48,000; rent and Husband's job	2	18-29yrs
	Grandmother	Hena	69yrs	Grade 5	Housewife	35,000; Rent	4	33-52yrs
Dyad # Three	Mother	Shirin	49yrs	Masters	Housewife	40,000; Husband's job	2	9-18yrs
	Grandmother	Fatima	60yrs	Matric	Housewife	40,000; rent and Husband's pension	3	40-52yrs
Dyad # Four	Mother	Tonu	37yrs	Masters	Housewife	35,000; Husband's job	1	12yrs
	Grandmother	Mina	62yrs	Matric	Housewife	25,000; Rent	3	29-41yrs
Dyad # Five	Mother	Shoshi	48yrs	HSC	Housewife	50,000; Husband's business	2	17yrs (twin)
	Grandmother	Rehana	66yrs	Grade 8	Housewife	100,000; rent and Husband's pension	2	45-48yrs
Dyad # Six	Mother	Pinky	30yrs	Masters	Housewife	50,000; Husband's job	2	1-7yrs
	Grandmother	Jahan	49yrs	SSC	Housewife	40,000; Rent	3	19-30yrs
Dyad # Seven	Mother	Piu	28yrs	HSC	Housewife	45,000; Husband's job	2	3.5-8.5yrs
	Grandmother	Amena	48yrs	Grade 5	Housewife	32,000; Husband's job	3	17-28yrs
Dyad # Eight	Mother	Farida	46yrs	Masters	Advocate	85,000; rent, profession, and husband's business	2	14-19yrs
	Grandmother	Jobaida	80yrs	Grade 5	Housewife	35,000; Rent	9	Not available
Dyad # Nine	Mother	Charu	48yrs	Masters	Teacher	70,000; rent, profession and Husband's job	2	12-21yrs
	Grandmother	Khadija	66yrs	<Grade 5	Housewife	25,000; Rent	2	32-48yrs
Dyad # Ten	Mother	Dina	34yrs	Masters	Teacher	100,000; profession and Husband's business	2	6-12yrs
	Grandmother	Sharifa	51yrs	Below Matric	Housewife	50,000; Husband's job/ pension	4	22-34yrs
Dyad # Eleven	Mother	Jhumjhum	36yrs	Masters	Banker	80,000; job and Husband's job	1	12yrs
	Grandmother	Kahi	57yrs	Below Matric	Housewife	120,000; rent and Son's contribution	5	22-38yrs

<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0300160.t001>

Inclusivity in global research

Additional information regarding the ethical, cultural, and scientific considerations specific to inclusivity in global research is included in the Supporting Information (S1 Checklist).

Participant selection and data collection

The parenting practices of two generations of Bangladeshi mothers were explored using semi-structured in-depth interviews of 22 purposively selected participants of 11 mothers

(*second generation; also referred to as G2*) and 11 maternal grandmothers (*first generation or G1*). The participants were selected based on three criteria: a) the mothers (G2) with at least one grade 1 to grade 12 school-going child, b) the maternal grandmother (G1) be accessible and fit for an in-depth interview, and c) the participants with not developmentally or mentally challenged children. The grandmothers were the biological mothers or primary caregivers of the mothers. Participants were assigned pseudonyms, and the recorded interviews were translated, transliterated [41], and transcribed [42] into English. We emphasized cultural equivalence [43] in the process. NVivo 10 software was used for coding and data management.

Along with data collection, the first author occasionally wrote field notes and memos, which helped with data analysis and interpretations. The field notes were about their experience, the environment of the interview sessions, and relevant and noticeable information. The memo was about their biases, hunches, interpretations, hypotheses, and connections among the codes, ideas, and discussions. [Table 1](#) depicts the participants' socio-demographic background.

Data analysis

Inductive data analysis was conducted using a hermeneutic circle. UHJ repeatedly read each transcript and the field notes to understand the stories' parts and wholes and generated initial codes. UHJ was attentive to the participants' altered perceptions and interpretations while reading the texts. They applied axial coding to categorize the initial codes based on functional connectedness and perspectives. UHJ read and re-read the code categories, texts, research objectives, and research questions to generate broader themes and sub-themes and to interpret participants' lived experiences. Initial themes were generated. Then, the initial themes were refined based on internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity [44]. The protective parenting theme was divided into four sub-themes: practices, beliefs, learning, and influencing elements. The data on each sub-theme were compared and contrasted between G1 and G2. This procedure was carried out multiple times till the manuscript was finalized.

MN verified the coding, themes, and analysis. UHJ's knowledge and experience as an insider, as well as the literature on culture and traditions, helped contextualize and interpret the data. MN and BND checked for personal biases throughout. Accordingly, we were persistently aware of researcher biases and sensitive to the text's 'alterity' [45, pp 268-273].

Data triangulation was achieved by collecting data from participant dyads of two consecutive generations. Their inputs supplemented and validated each other's data without sharing information. The credibility of this study was achieved in three phases. During interviews, open-ended questions were used to avoid imposition of the researcher's meaning on data. After translation and transcription, a language editor matched the Bengali interview audio with the English transcript. Finally, during the data analysis phase, the findings and interpretations were repeatedly checked against the raw data to maintain 'referential adequacy' [46, p 301]. Besides, descriptive notes were taken during the research process, member checking was conducted, and peer debriefing was also maintained from the formation of the questionnaire up to the end of writing this report. Confirmability of this study was achieved by an audit trail and inquiry audit, which were conducted by the second and third researchers, respectively.

Findings

This study aimed to understand the patterns, sources, meaning, and process of continuity of protective parenting practices based on the experiences of two generations of mothers. The findings suggest that protective parenting practices are learned through parental coaching,

modeling, experience, vicarious learning, and observations within an interaction of social and cultural elements. Sometimes, mothers spontaneously internalized certain parenting practices and claimed that those were instinctual.

Observational and vicarious learning

The participating mothers (G2) acknowledged learning about chaperoning and saving money for their children's future through observations of their mothers' (G1) practices. Chaperonage was present in both generations' parenting practices, but G2 mothers exhibited changes and variations shaped by evolving safety concerns in their social context.

Four mothers (G2) affirmed that they witnessed their mothers (G1) chaperone their (G2) younger siblings and identified the strength of the practice in revealing their younger siblings' secrets and deceptions. Thus, chaperonage appeared to be a powerful tool for mothers in protecting children from derailment. For example, Piu (28-year-old mother, G2) described how chaperonage helped in stopping her sister's deceptive behavior with their parents,

My sister used to return home alone after school; there were enough opportunities for deception. She used to return one to two hours after school and say, "School finished now!" Once, my mother went to fetch her and found her playing. My father told [my mother], "... If you started fetching her earlier, she could not have deceived us this whole time."

Thus, Piu vicariously learned about the usefulness of chaperonage and practiced it to prevent her children from being deceitful and to monitor their friend circles. Dali (50-year-old mother, G2) also reported a similar learning experience.

Parents' responsibility to ensure their children's financial security was also learned from observing their mothers' practices of saving money for their children's future. Jhumjhum (34-year-old mother, G2) shared that her parents (G1) spent money on her and her siblings' education and weddings, and she was also saving for her only son's (G3) education and wedding program, following her parents' example. Jhumjhum said,

My brothers' weddings were gorgeous, and my parents spent a lot of money on their weddings... So, I have planned to arrange my son's wedding more luxuriously ... I have started to make gold ornaments bit-by-bit... because I cannot buy those all at once. I want to give many things to my daughter-in-law ... I will make her gorgeous.

Charu (a 48-year-old mother, G2) also planned to finance her daughters' weddings, as her mother Khadija (a 66-year-old grandmother, G1) did for her. Vicarious learning and observational learning played a critical role in adopting mothers' practices of chaperonage and ensuring financial security for children, thus facilitating their continuity intergenerationally.

Childhood experiences

By comparing the reports of the G1 and G2 participants, practices such as training children to share their daily whereabouts, monitoring their social circle, and imposing gender boundaries were found common in both generations and often with slight modifications in the mother generation (G2). This indicates the carryover of certain practices from one's own childhood experiences.

Dali's (50-year-old mother, G2) mother, Hena (G1), trained her to report her whereabouts to parents. After becoming a mother, she trained her children to do the same and continued the practice until they were adults.

“Never go anywhere without informing me!” My mother probably told me once when I was admitted to the school. But that word rang in my ears the longer I continued my studies. [I used to tell myself], “I cannot go anywhere without informing my mother!” My daughter follows it the exact way.

Developing a child’s practice of updating parents about their whereabouts appeared to be a form of monitoring children from a distance, and an attempt to control children’s movement. This practice was also an effort to generate self-control within their children by keeping them mindful of their accountability and of their parents’ constant monitoring.

All the participants from both generations valued gender boundaries unexceptionally for their capacity to protect girls from sexual abuse and harassment by limiting girls’ movement outside the home and by reducing girls’ exposure to men. Daughters were prohibited from talking to male relatives in private, visiting neighbors alone, or sleeping over without the mother. Fatima (60-year-old grandmother, G1) validated that restrictions to girls’ free movement were motivated by Islamic values. Fatima’s parents were strict religious practitioners and did not let her spend time with her male cousins alone. Although she was not a strict religious practitioner, she followed the same practice and did not allow her daughter Shirin (49-year-old mother, G2) to talk much with male cousins. Fatima said,

My father’s family was very conservative and Islamic-minded... My father’s family taught me to behave differently towards a male and a female. Girls in my father’s family do not freely interact with other boys. When my daughter got older, I did not allow my nephews or other relatives to stay in my house. Also, I did not [let my daughter stay] at their houses. [My attitude was], “You have come for a visit, okay visit, have some meal and leave! You will stay at my home... chat with my daughter- that will not happen!” I didn’t allow that.

Schooling in co-education, Shirin’s (G2) daughter (G3) had more access to male classmates. Yet, Shirin maintained similar restrictions, did not allow their own daughter to interact with men or male cousins, and always interviewed if she ever talked to them. Shirin said,

I warned her about boys and related issues. I told her “... make sure that I do not catch you going out with a boy” ... I try to make her understand these sometimes. She says, “No, mother, I don’t [have interest] in those kinds of stuff” ... if she gets a phone call, [she says], “My female friends call me. No boy calls on my phone.” ... if she takes too long on the phone, her father scolds her, “Who are you talking to?” Then she’d reply, “No... my friend called, I’m talking to (.) my friend.”

Cell phones and internet access have become easy in the modern world, and that appears to have created anxiety among Bangladeshi parents about losing a grip over children and about children exceeding their boundaries. Therefore, the G2 participants had to extend monitoring of their child’s interaction with their opposite-gender relatives or friends. Although in some cultures, first cousins are considered close as siblings, and marriage is prohibited among them [47,48], this is not the case in Bangladeshi culture. This might have prompted the participants to protect their daughters from male cousins in the same way they would from any non-relative male. Each mother undertook different strategies to monitor their children’s friendships. Khadija (66-year-old grandmother, G1) and Jobaida (80-year-old grandmother, G1) used to host their children’s friends and establish connections with their parents. Khadija’s daughter Charu (48-year-old mother, G2) and Jobaida’s daughter Farida (46-year-old mother, G2) similarly hosted and quizzed their adolescent and young adult children’s friends about their family

backgrounds, to assess their suitability as friends. Farida extended the monitoring strategy by befriending her children's friends to control their activities indirectly because her children were not very obedient, and she wanted to safeguard them from negative influences. Farida said,

My mother knew my friends... They used to visit our house. My mother and all my friends' mothers would think that... their daughters' friends were like their own daughters... The mothers had connections among themselves of their own... I asked our sons to bring over their friends, and I would investigate what kind of company they were and what their families were... My younger son, Prince, is fond of Kiron, my elder son's friend... I ask Kiron, "Talk to Prince... Tell him to hang out only with Tutul and Mubin."

Both the G1 and G2 mothers' concerns and efforts regarding children's friendships reflect their conviction in a Bengali proverb that says, '*A bad association can cause an iron rod to float*,' which means that a good friend positively influences lives, and a bad friend influences negatively. Childhood experience armed the participants with some protective parenting practices, and the G2 participants adapted or extended those practices based on their assessment of the current social safety context and their children's characteristics to avert potential harm to their children.

Direct guidance and instructions about protecting children

Maternal grandmothers (G1) were found to have a considerable influence on teaching parenting practices. Mothers (G2) specified maternal (G1) guidance and direct instructions as a source of learning about protective parenting practices such as gender boundaries, restricting children's movements, and traditional rituals.

Four mothers reported being explicitly instructed by their mothers (G1) to accompany their daughters when they visit friends. Grandmothers (G1) expanded their role by guiding mothers (G2) on safety measures for their grandchildren (G3). The safety measures included not leaving daughters at home alone, restricting their children's movements, and ensuring that children did not stay outdoors in the evening. Khadija (66-year-old grandmother, G1) advised her daughter Charu (48-year-old mother, G2),

I will not tolerate my granddaughters associating with bad children, and they must not go out in the evening. They must return home before Maghrib (sunset time). This era is truly very bad. *You* should not let your children go out alone. As girls grow up, it is inappropriate to leave them alone. It is a bad time. Instead of studying, they may get into relationships with boys... do not even leave them home alone.

The participating mothers (G2) mentioned that their mothers (G1) also educated them about the traditional beliefs, customs, and child protective rituals against evil spirits. The reported rituals were restrictions in attending to groceries soon after bringing them home, not bringing fish or meat home after evening, and cleansing fried and sweet food by whirling on the fire. Thus, the grandmothers' generation (G1) played the role of responsible guardians. Kahi (57-year-old grandmother, G1) reported learning pregnancy-related customs and rituals from her mother and elders and instructed her daughter Jhumjhum (34-year-old mother, G2) to follow those during pregnancy,

Djinn stays with raw fish, meat, and chicken... After others take care of groceries, you will get close to that half an hour later... Do not eat those uncleansed foods immediately!... If it is a fruit or fried snack, whirl it on the fire, nicely! Otherwise, it would be harmful to both you and the fetus.

The G2 mother, Jhumjhum, was highly educated, with a Master's degree. Yet, she strongly believed in traditions and chose not to give up tradition- and culture-supported practices in child protection. Both generations of participants expressed honor and trust in their mothers and identified them as important agents in their process of learning protective parenting. Sometimes, the mothers (G1) modeled those practices, and sometimes, they instructed their daughters (G2) before and after childbirth.

Other sources of learning

Participants mentioned other learning opportunities besides learning from their mothers. G2 participants sometimes received advice and directions from fathers and husbands about escorting children to school. Primarily driven by safety concerns, family members supported and encouraged protective parenting practices. Elders in the community, local proverbs, and urban legends reinforced practices such as not praising children, selecting friends from good families, and not giving money to young children.

Besides the direct instructions from the grandmothers (G1), the significance of chaperonage children was emphasized by the mothers' peer groups, media reports, and other family members. Sometimes, children's behavior and actions were reported to influence protective parenting. Shoshi (47-year-old mother, G2) and Farida (46-year-old mother, G2) sometimes found their sons lying and engaging in culturally disapproved behavior, and they had to be creative to extend parental protection. Shoshi explained, "I called to check whether he (son) went to the coaching center truly... [I become sure of it] by listening to the teacher's voice and the children's voice. Boys are not trustworthy, (.) understand?"

Children's 'inappropriate' conduct thus prompted the adoption of extended monitoring methods, including frequent phone calls, befriending children and their friends to control children's whereabouts, and having access to daily updates. Extended monitoring strategies have been reported to bring some positive changes in children's conduct. However, the extent of mutual influence cannot be reported here as this study did not explore children's accounts.

Access to global media exposed children to socially unacceptable content, resulting in the development of new protective parenting strategies, which were absent and irrelevant in G1 participants' childrearing time. Tonu (37-year-old mother, G2) explained how technology has grounded extended monitoring strategy,

I do not let her (daughter) use mobile phones at night. The TV is in my bedroom, so she watches TV there... She doesn't have a personal tab because if I give her a tab, I will not be able to monitor her... At night... she may chat on Facebook... These days... there is a lot of adult content on the internet she may come across and watch. One day, it will interfere with her studies, and her focus will be diverted. We want to guide her until A-level so that her base strengthens.

Participants had heightened concern about children's media access and that called for their creativity to put a balance between access to modern technology and preserving local traditions and cultural norms. Mothers (G2) also engaged in open conversations with children and were vigilant of warnings of substance abuse, while the mothers (G2) reported an increase in the availability and misuse of substances in recent years.

Thus, the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices occurred through an interplay of direct instruction, childhood experience, observations of mothers' practices,

and other learning opportunities in the context of urbanization and modernization in a traditional communal society. Based on these findings, we propose a process model of intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices in Fig 1.

According to this intergenerational continuity process model, learning of protective parenting practices starts at home within a complex interaction with social endeavors. A person carries their childhood experience of being parented. Besides, while growing up, they observed their parents' protective practices and parents carrying protective values. After becoming a parent, the person often receives various parenting advice and instructions, mostly from their mother, and also from a partner, parents-in-law, and extended family members. As a member of society, a parent interacts with cultural and traditional knowledge, practices, and beliefs, urban legends, peer groups, seniors, community members, emerging technological and global changes, and various aspects of the community, including security. A person continuously internalizes knowledge and practices from all these resources. When they raise their children, they project their knowledge onto their individual situations. Using their rational thinking, openness, knowledge, and traditional, emotional, and moral values, a parent then chooses which parenting practices to implement with their children and which ones they would modify or alter according to current needs and situational demands. Through this process, a parent develops and determines the parenting practices they would implement in raising their children. Children's behavior and characteristics remain as live modifiers in the process, which explains why a parent's parenting practices might differ for two children in the same household.

Discussion

This study explored the continuity of protective parenting practices between two generations of Bangladeshi mothers. Supporting the social cognitive theory [29], the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices took place through an interaction of a set of

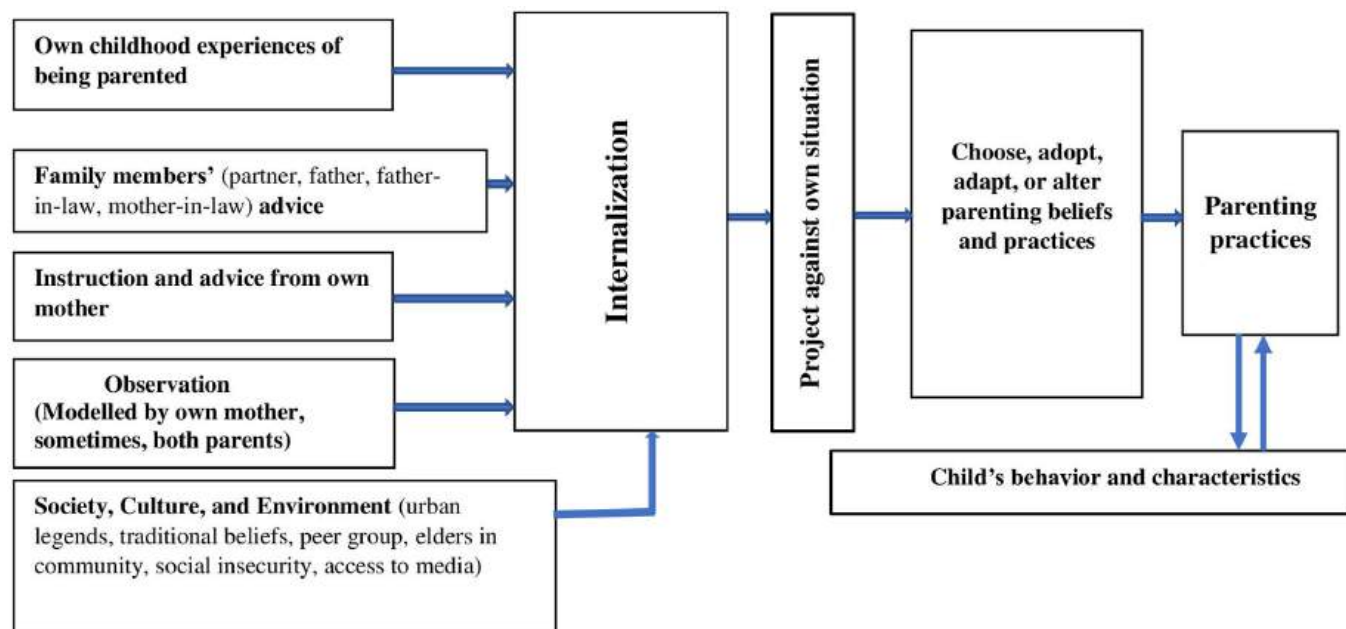


Fig 1. Process model of intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices.

<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0300160.g001>

learning opportunities and contextual factors such as negative changes in social security, access to media, cultural practices, advice, and instruction from family and members of the community. The findings are in line with Patterson's [49] emphasis that intergenerational continuity of parenting takes place through modeling. The findings are supported by Belsky's [50] process models of determinants of parenting, which explain that parents' parenting behaviors are developed from parents' experience of growing up and the personality of the child.

A couple of intergenerational transmission or continuity of parenting models are found in literature, which are predominantly based on parenting mediating and moderating factors, parents' adjustment, and adult and child characteristics and behaviors [1,51]. Limited learning principles are found to be applied in the intergenerational parenting models in the literature, for example, in Patterson's and Belsky's models. However, our proposed intergenerational continuity process model fits very well with all the learning principles. Our model is powerful in addressing a person's internalization and application of judgment and decision-making in determining and shaping parenting practices. Besides, it addresses individual children's characteristics in determining the different parenting practices of the same parent to different children in the same household and context. This combination makes this model unique.

G2 mothers raised their children in Dhaka City, where a predominantly individualistic upbringing was practiced. Despite that, combined family loyalty still existed, which was evident in the grandmothers' dedication to securing the future and safety of their grandchildren. Modifications in the protective practices, specifically, in chaperonage, monitoring, and spouse selection, among the G2 generation were evident. This reflects that the historical and secular changes influenced the parenting of Bangladeshi mothers. A change has been regarded as normal by Mohsin [52, p 627], suggesting that "continuity of a certain practice, belief or norm happens, but that too cannot manifest in its original form." Mohsin [52] pinpointed elements such as science and technology, the interaction of ideas, education, media, economic conditions, and knowledge advancement, as contributors to this change, which is consistent with the findings of this study.

Although the learning part of the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices can be explained by social cognitive theory, the explanation of the changes in practices calls for Wirth's [30] functionalist perspective of the theory of urbanization and Inkeles and Smith's [31] theory of modern man. In support of Wirth's [30] theory, this study revealed weakened social bonds, lack of neighborhood watch, development of impersonality along with structural development and opportunities, access to advanced technologies, residents' worries, and creatively finding ways to protect children from being victims of city-centered crimes. Aligned with Inkeles and Smith's [31] theory of modern man, this study revealed all four characteristics of a modern person among the participants, which indicates participants embracing modernization while preserving traditional values. Firstly, the participants constantly kept themselves updated about the major events in the community through newspapers, television, and the exchange of information. Secondly, the negative incidents generated insecurity feelings in them. It did not make them helpless; rather, they demonstrated a sense of self-efficacy through forming the practice of chaperonage, extended monitoring of children's use of technology, and using cell phones to monitor children's whereabouts to increase their sense of security. Thirdly, although the participants continued traditional rituals learned from the earlier generation because they chose not to abandon those, they were still open to gathering and selectively using knowledge from books, television, the internet, and social media. Fourthly, the G2 participants were open to change and to new experiences. They used new technologies, let children use technologies, and were open to children's use of agencies in a spouse selection within certain limits instead of the total arranged marriage they had

experienced. The cognitive and decision-making aspects of the social cognitive theoretical framework [29] and the third proposition of Inkeles and Smith's [31] modernization theory can explain why G2 mothers followed some traditional parenting practices while living in the modern world. They can also explain why G2 mothers practiced the protective parenting behaviors they had learned from G1 mothers despite having access to updated knowledge through media, the Internet, and books.

The continuity of protective parenting practices in this study aligns with reciprocal determinism [29] within the interaction of environmental factors, open access to information and media, personal experiences, and observational learning. Studies investigating the intergenerational transmission of parenting (see [2]) have used Crittenden's [53] three transmission models: 1) Observational learning of a parent interacting with other children, 2) experiences of being parented, and 3) parental coaching to the next generation. Crittenden's models, which were based on social learning theory, were found to be inadequate in explaining this study's findings, as they did not explain the roles of social context, the impact of technological development and globalization, child's behavior, and how other environmental factors influence the process.

The findings on child monitoring strategies addressed Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn's [54] question, "What strategies do modern parents use to protect their offspring: tend-and-befriend (use of social relationships for protection) or tend-and-defend (aggression against the threatening stimulus)?" In this study, both generations of mothers (G1 and G2) used the tend-and-befriend strategy.

In the Indian subcontinent, maternal grandmothers often support new mothers with childcare [55,56] and shape parenting practices in line with their beliefs, culture, and religion. Although new mothers typically live with their in-laws while raising their children [57], none of the participants referred to the paternal grandmothers as a source of learning. It could be said that the maternal grandmother holds a distinct role in transferring parenting practices to the mother's generation. However, at this stage, it is difficult to definitively conclude that due to methodological reasons as the study did not include paternal grandparents. Future studies could consider including paternal grandmothers, grandfathers from both sides, fathers, and other members of the family as part of the communal culture to obtain a comprehensive picture of the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices. Besides, future studies collecting children's feedback on protective parenting practices, socio-cultural contexts, and intergenerational continuity will contribute to revealing the overall scenario.

The study findings place maternal grandmothers as the most mentioned considerable contributor to intergenerational continuity, where social context and technological development paved the grounds for protective parenting practices. The G2 mothers adopted new protective parenting measures to cope with threats generated by urbanization and modernization. Local proverbs, child's behavior, social norms, elders in the community, peer groups, and other family members were also identified to contribute to the process. The process model of intergenerational continuity of parenting practices, sources of learning, and their interaction within the transitional social context are this study's scholarly contributions to parenting literature.

Strengths and limitations of the study

The inclusion of maternal grandmother and mother dyads enabled triangulation of data. However, the inclusion of maternal grandmothers in the sample might have created a bias in the findings, as maternal grandmothers were mostly mentioned. The G2 mothers were cognizant that their mothers were being interviewed, and this may have primed their responses to be about interactions with the maternal figure.

The findings presented here originate from a study centered on general parenting practices of Bangladeshi mothers, and protective parenting aspects did not receive a focused exploration. Besides, geographical constraints might have a culturally confined view of aspects of protective parenting. A dedicated study conducted in different geographical regions in Bangladesh has the potential to enrich and broaden the applicability of the findings.

Conclusions and recommendations

This study explored the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices between two generations of Bangladeshi mothers. It also identified several aspects and sources of learning that contributed to shaping protective parenting practices learned from earlier generations and to introducing new practices. Future studies are needed to identify the factors that account for the intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices within the interaction of other learning sources and influencers in the context of globalization and freedom of information.

This study reports that maternal grandmothers have a prominent role in acquiring protective parenting practices in Bangladesh, although urbanization and globalization have gradually modified traditional cultures and lifestyles [58]. Efforts focused on optimal child development, should include maternal grandmothers for better outcomes. As a recommendation, future studies should consider including fathers, grandfathers, and paternal grandmothers to extend research on the intergenerational continuity of parenting practices. The role of other contributors as well as the extent and mechanism of these elements in intergenerational continuity, should also be further investigated.

Supporting information

S1 Fig. Process model of intergenerational continuity of protective parenting practices. (TIF)

S1 Table. Socio-demographic characteristics of participants. (DOCX)

S1 File. Inclusivity in global research. (PDF)

Acknowledgment

The support of the DST-NRF Centre of Excellence in Human Development at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in the Republic of South Africa towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not to be attributed to the CoE in Human Development. We thank the research participants for their valuable time and for sharing their personal experiences. We extend our gratitude to Professor Mohammad Mahmudur Rahman of the University of Dhaka for his availability for discussions and invaluable encouragement, and S. Aminul Islam, Honorary Professor, University of Dhaka, for their guidance on the social and cultural aspects of Bangladeshi society. We are sincerely thankful to Mrs. Rabeya Khatun and Ms. Bina Akhter for their technical support during the data collection phase and to Livhuhani Manyatshe for language editing the draft of this manuscript.

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